Studia honoraria archaeologica

Zbornik radova u prigodi 65. rođendana prof. dr. sc. Mirjane Sanader

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FF press

Za nakladnika
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Godina tiskanog izdanja: 2021.
Godina elektroničkog izdanja: 2022.

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Dissertationes et Monographiae 9
Urednik serije: Krešimir Filipec
Prihvaćeno na Vijeću Arheološkog zavoda 22. 05. 2019.

ISBN 978-953-175-809-3
978-953-379-034-3 (PDF)
https://www.doi.org/10.17234/9789533790343

CIP zapis dostupan je u računalnome katalogu Nacionalne i sveučilišne knjižnice u Zagrebu pod brojem 001085692.

Objavljivanje ove knjige financijski su poduprli Ministarstvo znanosti i obrazovanja Republike Hrvatske i Grad Zagreb

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Zagreb, 2020.

SADRŽAJ

Mirjana Sanader i Odsjek za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu

Domagoj TONČINIĆ, Zagreb

Nakon mature na splitskoj klasičnoj gimnaziji, studija klasične arheologije i povijesti umjetnosti na Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta Leopold-Franzens u Innsbrucku te promocije na Institutu za klasičnu arheologiju disertacijom *Kerber u antici,* Mirjana Sanader akademsku karijeru započinje na Katedri za antičku provincijalnu i ranokršćansku arheologiju Odsjeka za arheologiju Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Poslije odlaska u mirovinu dotadašnjeg predstojnika Katedre, prof. dr. sc. Marina Zaninovića, prof. dr. sc. Mirjana Sanader preuzima vođenje Katedre te postaje njezinom predstojnicom. Od tada nadalje, profesorica Sanader usmjerila je svoju neiscrpnu energiju i entuzijazam prema afirmaciji arheologije kao nezaobilazne i društveno neophodne znanosti u Hrvatskoj, afirmaciji hrvatske arheologije i arheološke baštine u inozemstvu, unapređenju hrvatske arheološke znanosti i arheoloških iskopavanja te poticanju razvoja i napredovanja mladih arheologa.

Kako rječito govori sam naziv Katedre, profesorica Sanader vodila je znanstvenu i nastavnu brigu za dva znanstvena ogranka, za antičku provincijalnu i za ranokršćansku arheologiju. Ta je zadaća tražila od profesorice Sanader kreativan i angažirani pristup u oblikovanju i uvođenju novih nastavnih kurikula kojima je na svoje suradnike i studente prenosila različita znanja stečena tijekom školovanja u inozemstvu, ali i u kasnijem znanstvenom i istraživačkom radu. Kad je potom preuzela i vođenje Arheološkog zavoda Odsjeka za arheologiju, napravila je ključan iskorak u radu i prezentaciji Zavoda putem interneta pa su trud i rezultati, kako njezine Katedre tako i kolega s drugih Katedri, postali vidljivi i na društvenim mrežama.

Potičući vlastitim primjerom suradnike, profesorica Sanader nikad nije zanemarila i onu drugu ulogu sveučilišnog profesora — objavljivanje svojih radova. Kroz čitav svoj radni vijek objavila je niz knjiga, što samostalnih što s kolegama, u Hrvatskoj i inozemstvu. Pritom valja naglasiti da je po pozivu pisala i za renomirane inozemne izdavače (Philipp von Zabern Verlag iz Njemačke ili talijanski Mondadori) koji su joj objavili monografiju o rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji (u Njemačkoj pod naslovom *Dalmatia: Eine römische Provinz an der Adria,* u ediciji *Orbis Provinciarum,* u Italiji pod naslovom *Dalmazia. Una provincia sull'Adriatico)* i knjigu o Hrvatskoj u antici *(Kroatien in der Antike),* u kojoj je bila u dvostrukoj ulozi — kao autor i kao urednica knjige. Za obje je knjige dobila godišnju nagradu Hrvatskog arheološkog društva, a za *Kroatien in der Antike* (zajedno s drugim autorima) i godišnju Nagradu INA-e za promicanje hrvatske kulturne baštine u inozemstvu.

Njezin rad u inozemstvu, od studija u Innsbrucku, sudjelovanja u studentskim iskopavanjima na različitim europskim lokalitetima, preko organizacija i sudjelovanja na simpozijima do objavljivanja knjiga na njemačkom i talijanskom jeziku, nije ostao nezapažen. Profesorica Sanader je članica više uglednih strukovnih međunarodnih udruga. – *Association Internationale d'épigraphie Grecque et Latine*, *Arbeitsgemeinschaft Christliche Archäologie*, *Verein zur Förderung der Christlichen Archäologie Österreichs*, *Görres Gesellschaft*, dopisni član *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*. Profesorica je *Expert Member ICAHM-a*, bila je članica znanstvenog odbora XIX. međunarodnog Limes kongresa održanog u Pečuhu (Mađarska) 2003. i znanstvenog odbora XXIV. međunarodnog Limes kongresa održanog 2018. u Viminaciju (Srbija). Od 2002. stalna je članica znanstvenog odbora međunarodnog Kolokvija o problemima rimskog provincijalnog umjetničkog stvaralaštva. Bila je hrvatski predstavnik u Bratislavskoj skupini i osobito se angažirala oko podnošenja službenog zahtjeva UNESCO-u (pristupna lista) za proglašenje hrvatskog dijela limesa na Dunavu spomenikom svjetske baštine. Članica je znanstvenog odbora *Laboratorio di studi e ricerche sulle Antiche province Danubiane dell'Università degli Studi di Ferrara*. Uz nabrojena članstva u inozemnim udrugama i znanstvenim odborima, profesorica Sanader je, dakako, i članica Hrvatskog arheološkog društva, koje je donijelo odluku da joj se dodjeli nagrada za životno djelo „don Frane Bulić“ za 2019. godinu.

Tijekom svog radnog vijeka proučavala je različite probleme i teme antičke provincijalne arheologije te je rezultate svojih istraživanja sustavno bilježila i objavljivala u zemlji i inozemstvu. Autorica je više od deset samostalnih knjiga (te još nekoliko sa svojim suradnicima), kao i mnogobrojnih znanstvenih radova. Osobito je važno spomenuti njezinu vrlo koncentriranu, sustavnu pozornost prema ranokršćanskim arheološkim temama, koja je rezultirala znanstvenim raspravama i, napokon, s radošću dočekanim prvim sveučilišnim udžbenikom o toj temi u Hrvatskoj, pod nazivom *Ranokršćanska arheologija, od početaka do konstantinskog obrata*, te organizacijom I. skupa hrvatske ranokršćanske arheologije (HRRANA) 2018. godine, ali i objavom zbornika skupa dvije godine poslije.

Profesorica Sanader bila je članica uredništva časopisa *Opuscula archaeologica* te urednica serije *Dissertationes et monographiae*. Osobito se angažirala na pokretanju Hrvatskog arheološkog godišnjaka te je na njezinu inicijativu i došlo do serije objavljenih godišnjaka kojom je uspostavljena praksa godišnjih rezimiranja arheoloških istraživanja u Hrvatskoj i njihovih rezultata, kao što je to slučaj i u drugim europskim zemljama.

Od samog je početka svog znanstvenog i nastavnog angažmana na Odsjeku za arheologiju, na Katedri za antičku provincijalnu i ranokršćansku arheologiju, profesorica Mirjana Sanader promicala ideju o učenju kroz terensku nastavu, što znači studentsko sudjelovanje u sustavnim arheološkim iskopavanjima jednog lokaliteta. Sebi svojstvenom upornošću tu je zamisao i ostvarila kada je započela s projektima arheoloških istraživanja rimskog legijskog logora Tilurija u selu Gardun kod Trilja. Na tom su lokalitetu deseci i deseci studenata, ne samo s Odsjeka za arheologiju iz Zagreba, nego i iz inozemstva, u posljednje dvadeset i tri godine stjecali potrebna znanja o specifičnostima i zahtjevnosti arheološkoga rada na terenu. Uvođenjem obavezne terenske nastave studentima je bilo omogućeno produbljivanje i proširivanje stečenih kompetencija te razvoj odgovarajućih vještina za bolje snalaženje u arheološkom radnom okruženju čime su nesumnjivo stekli neophodnu samostalnost i ojačali potrebno samopouzdanje, istovremeno zadržavajući uvijek potrebnu kritičku distancu prema napastima brzopletih i lakih interpretativnih rješenja. Arheološka istraživanja pod vodstvom profesorice Sanader podupirali su Grad Trilj, Splitsko-dalmatinska županija, Ministarstva znanosti i kulture Republike Hrvatske te Hrvatska zaklada za znanost.

Odlični rezultati postignuti tijekom tilurijskih istraživanja pokazali su da je lokalitet od izuzetnog značaja, kako za nacionalnu tako i za međunarodnu arheologiju, prije svega zbog činjenice što je to bio prvi rimski vojni objekt u Hrvatskoj na kojem su se svake godine počela provoditi sustavna arheološka iskopavanja. Budući da Rimsko Carstvo nije moguće zamisliti bez aktivne uloge rimske vojske koja je bila ključni čimbenik politike njegova širenja na sve četiri strane svijeta, tako je svaka nova informacija o vojnim objektima, nalazima rimske vojne opreme i naoružanja, vojnim djelovanjima raznih postrojbi, vojnicima, njihovom svakodnevnom životu, veteranima kao i o civilima iz njihova okruženja, za arheološku znanost općenito vrlo dragocjena.

Usto je Tilurij, lokalitet na kojem ranije nije bilo istraživanja nego samo sporadičnih slučajnih nalaza, pružio idealne uvjete za provođenje nauma profesorice Sanader da vlastitim primjerom pokaže kako je potrebno prekinuti s ustaljenom praksom izbjegavanja znanstvenih obveza arheologa da nakon arheoloških iskopavanja rezultate analiziraju i objave. Naum je od prve istraživačke sezone u 1997. godini potpuno uspio jer se od tada u petogodišnjim intervalima objavljuju tijek i rezultati terenskih iskopavanja kao i analize svih pokretnih nalaza. Ta je ideja na tilurijskom primjeru zahtijevala marljiv i minuciozan kabinetski rad većeg broja suradnika njezina istraživačkog tima te je, u konačnici, iznjedrila niz znanstvenih monografija o tom legijskom logoru, veliki broj stručnih radova i znanstvenih članaka te predavanja na međunarodnim skupovima. Nadalje, potaknula je organizaciju međunarodnih znanstvenih kongresa na Odsjeku za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu – VIII. međunarodnog kolokvija o problemima rimskog provincijalnog umjetničkog stvaralaštva 2003. godine i XVII. Roman Military Equipment Conference 2010. godine, što je pridonijelo daljnjoj popularizaciji samog lokaliteta i arheološke znanstvene discipline općenito. Obrađujući nalaze i rezultate terenskih iskopavanja u Tiluriju brojni su članovi istraživačkog tima profesorice Sanader stekli akademski stupanj doktor znanosti i danas su priznati stručnjaci za pojedine kategorije nalaza i za teme iz područja rimske provincijalne arheologije.

Sve spomenute aktivnosti profesorica Sanader iskoristila je da bi ostvarila još jednu svoju ideju, osnivanje muzeja u Trilju u kojem bi se izložili obrađeni i objavljeni arheološki nalazi iz Tilurija, ali i dokumentirala i čuvala etnografska baština triljskoga kraja. Muzej triljskog kraja osnovan je 1996. godine, a za javnost je otvoren 2006. i uz legijski logor na samom Gardunu danas spada u stalnu kulturno-turističku ponudu tog dijela Dalmacije. Za njezino uspješno dugogodišnje istraživanje Tilurija i zauzeto promicanje grada i njegove kulturne baštine Trilj se profesorici Sanader odužio dodjelom Nagrade grada Trilja za poseban doprinos istraživanju antičke baštine triljskoga kraja 2003. godine te 2016. godine dodjelom Povelje Grada Trilja za 20 godina arheoloških istraživanja rimskog legijskog logora 'Tilurija' na Gardunu Odsjeku za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Uz Muzej triljskog kraja profesorica Sanader je svojim stručnim savjetima sudjelovala i u idejama oko izgradnje Muzeja antičkog stakla u Zadru, Arheološkog muzeja Narona, Arheološkog muzeja u Osijeku ili primjerice, u debati o tome hoće li Apoksiomen „ostati" u Lošinju ili će biti premješten u Zadar, Zagreb ili u neki drugi veći centar. Slijedeći suvremeni trend u arheologiji, zauzimala se za trajno izlaganje *in situ* tog sjajnog primjera grčkog kiparstva.

U samom središtu angažiranog znanstvenog i nastavnog djelovanja profesorice Mirjane Sanader bila je i ostala skrb za studente i suradnike. Zahvaljujući svojim kreativnim idejama, osmišljavala je iznimno atraktivne, a prijeko potrebne znanstvene projekte, od projekta *Starogrčka koroplastika,* preko *Rimskih vojnih logora u Hrvatskoj* — pa projekta *RoMiCRO – Between the Danube and the Mediterranean. Exploring the role of Roman military in the mobility of people and goods in Croatia during the Roman Era,* do posljednjeg u nizu *AdriaRom – Understanding Roman Borders. The Case of the Eastern Adriatic.* Projekte su podupirali Ministarstvo znanosti Republike Hrvatske i Hrvatska zaklada za znanost.

Svojim organizacijskim i pregovaračkim vještinama profesorica Sanader omogućila je zapošljavanje čitavog niza mladih istraživača na Katedri za provincijalnu i ranokršćansku arheologiju kao i na drugim katedrama Odsjeka za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu.

A kao što je inicirala i vodila arheološka iskopavanja i nabavku suvremene računalne i tehničke opreme neophodne za samo istraživanje, kao i za njegovo dokumentiranje po najsuvremenijim znanstveno provjerenim metodama, tako je i za potrebe kabinetskih istraživanja brinula o nabavi stotina knjiga i publikacija. Za svoj je predani rad 2004. primila i Memorijalnu nagradu Zagrebačkog sveučilišta i Istraživačkog centra za arheologiju.

Nema dvojbe, zaključno, da je profesorica Mirjana Sanader svojim znanstvenim nervom, organizacijskim talentom i marom, svojim ostvarenim uspjesima, svojim predanim istraživačkim, nastavnim i pedagoškim djelovanjem, neumornim poticanjima razvoja i napredovanja svojih mladih suradnika, svojim neumornim promicanjem hrvatske arheologije u inozemstvu, imala presudan utjecaj ne samo na razvoj svoje Katedre i Odsjeka za arheologiju zagrebačkog Filozofskog fakulteta kao i Arheološkog zavoda Odsjeka za arheologiju, ne samo na istraživanje Tilurija, nego — slobodno se može reći — i da je bitno pridonijela razantnom razvoju i uzletu hrvatske arheologije u posljednjim trima desetljećima. Bivši studenti profesorice Sanader, diplomirani arheolozi, magistri i doktori znanosti, danas zauzimaju važne i odgovorne funkcije u nacionalnim (dijelom i internacionalnim) znanstvenim i kulturnim institucijama te nastavljaju njezinim putem slijedeći prepoznatljivu školu koju je ustanovila. U nadi da ćemo svoje nasljednike zadužiti u istoj mjeri u kojoj je nas zadužila naša prethodnica, prigodom njezine 65. godišnjice života svi mi zajedno želimo profesorici mnogo zdravlja i daljnjih arheoloških izazova s uvjerenjem da će joj i ovaj Zbornik biti još jedno drago i vrijedno priznanje.

Ad multos annos!

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Iva KAIĆ, Zagreb

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Live long and prosper! Rhyta as a symbol of wealth and infinity

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Hail you who have suffered what you had never suffered before.
You became a god instead of a mortal.
Gold leaf from Thurii, Southern Italy
(Early or mid-fourth century BC)

New interpretations, promoting concepts of entanglement, acceptance and rejections, enabled modern understanding of specific items of Mediterranean material culture in prehistoric Iron Age contexts. They enriched our understanding of the intercultural character of the world in the 4th century BC. Valuable as vessels of exclusively symbolic significance rhyta will be discussed presenting their typological and stylistic determination and proposing their most probable place of production.

Iconographically, the rhyta were mostly interpreted as an essential ritual vessel, as the symbol of the continuity of life celebrated on festivities. It became therefore accepted that rhyta as symbols and attributes of Dionysus as well as of heroes and heroized ancestors, were the reception of the unification of death and divine. On the territory of the Eastern Adriatic and it's hinterland we have detailed knowledge about only two contexts of discoveries – of rhyta from Stična and Jezerine. Further, we can ascribe to burials the rhyta from Tujan and Nesactium, while the finds from Valtida, Trogir and Palagruža should be considered as elements of the banquet service used during specific ceremonies in settlements or on specific ritual grounds. Their use was based on an existent ideology embedded within the societies, which had the communal feasting ritual at its core, an ideology susceptible to symbols coming from Mediterranean production centres. Focusing on rhyta as symbols of Mediterranean imports, our archaeological interpretations will become more culturally sensitive and anthropologically relevant by focusing on culture contact and redistribution of material culture.

Keywords: *Eastern Adriatic, Dolenjska, Pounje, Iron Age communities, ceramic rhyta, symbols, cultural contacts*

The Research

Although we would like to think that it happened a few decades ago that the flow of information, the globalization of markets and the diffusion of value and network society changed the world we are living in, it actually happened a long time ago. To demonstrate these processes we have to understand the proper relation between the Mediterranean cultures, especially the Greek or Greek influenced centres of production, and the world investigated by the archaeology of Iron Age Europe. This simple research focus has become increasingly relevant at the outset of the 21st-century in studies on intercultural characteristics of prehistoric societies. Not being any more archaeology of the spread of Greek artefacts through the world performing impact on indigenous peoples, the focus shifted towards comparability of artefacts and especially social practices in which these artefacts were employed. It was, focusing on individual cases, a departure from the generalizing grand narrative and the subtle introduction of individuals with their agencies into focus of archaeological research.

Such approaches replaced the callow understanding that culture contacts were exposed by the presence or absence of Greek/Mediterranean artefacts (actually by observing specific contexts and quantifying the ratio to indigenous ones). Recently archaeologists reframed their intellectual positions of the discipline towards the spread of Greek cultural practices and do no longer perceive the spread of artefacts as historical documents designed by culturally and economically superior societies (or modes of production). They became observed artefacts of surplus value, but at the same time recognized as elements of material culture manipulated in similar or even same practices in different political contexts – reflecting identical habits, symbolic background and ideological understanding minimizing the cultural differences between what was once considered being centre and periphery of the ancient world.

In the past presence of imports impeded considerations that some sites in their regional contexts acted as loci of cultural interactions and redistribution of exotica (Nesactium, Osor, Vičja luka ...) (Blečić Kavur 2015; Blečić Kavur & Kavur 2016; 2017), the places of their origins and mechanisms of their redistribution remained in the narrative a cultural fantasy. Although previously mostly focusing on the Greek presence in the Adriatic in the recent years, observing the distribution of luxurious metal vessels, the importance of Macedonian production/trade was addressed several times (Blečić Kavur 2012; Blečić Kavur & Kavur 2010; 2015; 2017.).

Still, in traditional interpretations, the territory of northern Adriatic pertained its role as an interstitial location, a “non-place” between Mediterranean and prehistory. At the same time was in archaeological explanations abandoned the uncritical position that prehistoric/indigenous peoples of south-eastern Alps impassively accepted the foreign artefacts they were offered. These prehistoric communities were only the geographical other, but not the ideological one and presence/use of rhyta, discussed in the present paper, is a clear denial of the symbolic geography of northern inferiority. Actually, it contradicts the narrative that Mediterranean centres of production and trade (equated with the Greek presence/Macedonian influence) functioned as the axis of binary distinction. It demonstrates that assumptions central to occidental fantasies of “superiority” such as Greek/barbarian distinction, so deeply embedded within the century long materialist narratives about Iron Age archaeology, are not relevant to the theoretical perspectives of the present Mediterranean cultures. Today, they should not be any longer perceived as the only effective cultural performers, agents of creative and artistic superiority who could perfectly enact their colonial plans in perfect conformity with a complete oblivion of the prehistoric cultural environment, this is the people, they have encountered, but creative partners in a dialogue, equally performed on both sides.

These new interpretations have altered the discourse on the Mediterranean (cultural) colonialism by promoting concepts of identity and entanglement, acceptance and rejections, acquiescence and resistance, most recognizable not only in presence but also in the use of specific items of material culture. This intellectual process significantly enriched our understanding of the intercultural character of the world in the 4th century BC. Consequently, archaeology, for decades embedded in the historical narratives, became an even more culturally sensitive and anthropologically relevant endeavour. Modern studies, focusing on culture contact (and culture redistribution) have transformed the archaeology of Mediterranean trade into a discipline with transdisciplinary relevance. A widespread critical consciousness about indigenous cultural practices (and material culture production and consumption) surfaced during this (fashionable) rise of multiculturalism. A leap was made from just talking about things and their physical properties to dealing with societies in terms of abstract processes of ideological manipulation with material culture.

The Rhyta

Ceramic rhyta are luxurious forms of plastically formed drinking vessels, cups, of an open form and standardly manufactured with a single handle. Unable to stand alone when filled, they had to be held in hands. Originally, their form was imported from metal vessels, traditionally retaining the funnel shape. They were parts of drinking sets used in banquets during different festivities and parties, especially drinking rites performed by male companies. Further, they were used as ritual vessels for libations during different sacrifices and in burial ceremonies, especially in the Greek world (e.g. Hoffmann 1962; 1966; 1989; 1997: 164–205; Schreiber 1999: 237–241; Ebbinghaus 2008). Truth to say, the rhyton is an innovation of the classical Greek ceramographic production of the red-figure style of 5th century BC, experiencing as a form the broadest spectrum of use and formal development during the 4th century BC. Different regional styles of production were created in the workshops of Greek southern Apennine peninsula (Hoffmann 1962; 1966; 1989: 141; Rotroff 1997: 204–206; True 2006; Ebbinghaus 2008: 145–147).

Fig. 1. Rhyton from the hillfort of Valtida near Rovinj (photo: courtesy of the Rovinj City Museum).

The Iron Age cultural territory of the Eastern Adriatic coast and towards it gravitating hinterlands do not, despite the presence of numerous ceramic imports from Mediterranean workshops, feature a numerous and representative sample of most luxurious goods such as rhyta. Still, fragments of seven extraordinary vessels of this kind originate solemnly from the territories of Istria, Dalmatia, Pounje and Dolenjska region.[1] Valuable on their own right, they will be, as vessels of exclusively symbolic significance, analysed in the present study with the application of the archaeological method focusing on their typological and stylistic determination, suggesting their most probable origin/place of manufacture. In an adjacent detailed evaluation of the contexts of their discoveries, we will formulate and interpret their value within the heterogeneous autochthonous societies of the Late Iron Age on the discussed territory.

Presently known examples from Istria were fragmented and exact information about their discoveries are missing. The best-preserved rhyton comes from the hillfort of Valtida near Rovinj. The ceramic is of light yellowish colour, it has a cylindrical upper portion of the body with and the cup/beaker with a

1 There is a red-figure rhyton with a ram's head of south-italic production coming from the Nugent Collection in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Rendić-Miočević 2011).

Fig. 2. Rhyta from 1 – Tujan near Bale and 2 – Nesactium (Vizače) (photo: courtesy of the Archaeological Museum of Istria).

preserved part of a handle.[2] The lower part of the vessel is formed as a cattle head – more precisely it is a completely preserved depiction of a young bull/calf. An identical state of preservation is characteristic for the fragmented rhyton from Tujan not far from Bale.[3] Both vessels were technologically and stylistically almost identical, accordingly suggesting that they were most probably produced in the same workshop.

Heads of young cattle were modelled in a mould depicting an animal with a narrowing lower jaw, rounded facial part and pronounced nostrils while frontally were positioned two in relief-depicted almond-shaped eyes. Above them, located on the temple area, were on both sides of the head two circular protrusions indicating the ears, while above were from the parietal bone protruding small horns. Rhytons figural part ends with the parietal part of the head while the upper cylindrical part was manufactured on a potter's wheel (Schreiber 1999: 237, 239). The third, highly fragmented, rhyton known from Istria was discovered in Nesactium. The preserved piece depicts only an eye with a part of the horn of the animal. Nevertheless, despite its fragmented state is the original surface well preserved and still covered with a polychrome coating.[4]

Morphologically could be both vessels from Valtida and Tujan included in the group of curved rhyta with protomes (cf. Hoffmann 1966; Ebbinghaus 2008). On their surface is partly preserved the black, once shining, coating characteristic especially for the pottery production from workshops creating on the Southern Apennine territory. It was characterized by the polychromy of motives and lively artistic expression, created with white and yellow paint applied directly upon the black shiny coating before the firing or before the second firing (Lanza 2006: 113–116). On individual parts of the rhyton from Nesactium are visible the remains of white and yellow painting. Due to characteristics of fine production, artistic creation and relatively light colour of the ceramic, we could ascribe the piece to the production of red-figured pottery of Gnathia style from Southern Apennine peninsula. Its production could be dated into the second half of the 4th century BC, which would correspond to phase VI of the local Istrian relative Iron Age chronology (Mihovilić 2002: 508, T. 5: 3; 2004: 113, Fig. 9c; 2013: 278; Mihovilić *et al.* 2002: 57).

However, the currently known two fragments of rhyta from Dalmatia should be observed in completely different circumstances. The first one comes from the centre of the city of Trogir (Greek *Tragurion*), where it was discovered during archaeological research in the Duke's palace. The second one comes from the island of Palagruža. This fragment, depicting the head of a donkey, should be attributed to the Attic production of the 5th or 4th century BC (Kirigin *et al.* 2010: 105–106; cf. Kirigin 2010: 109; 2013: 64), while the fragment from Trogir is much more illustrative and was in a previous analysis described as a head in the form of a maritime monster (*ketos*). Such examples were included in the so-called "main group" type of classification of south-italic plastic vessels according to Herbert Hoffmann and dated in the second half of 4th century BC (Petrić 1992: 32, 34–35, sl. 6; Kovačić 2010: 141). Both fragments, determined and dated according to their typological characteristics were discovered on sites directly linked to the Greek presence in the Adriatic and not like others to sites attributed to autochthonous Iron Age communities.

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2 Valtida, Rovinj, Rovinj City Museum, inv. no.: 510: ROV; 1786: A (Mihovilić *et al.* 2002: 57).

3 Tujan, Bale, Archaeological Museum of Istria, inv. no.: A 4985 (Mihovilić 2002: 508, T. 5: 3; 2004: 113, Fig. 9c; Mihovilić *et al.* 2002: 57).

4 Nesactium, Vizače, Archaeological Museum of Istria, inv. no.: P 26256 (Mihovilić 2013: 278).

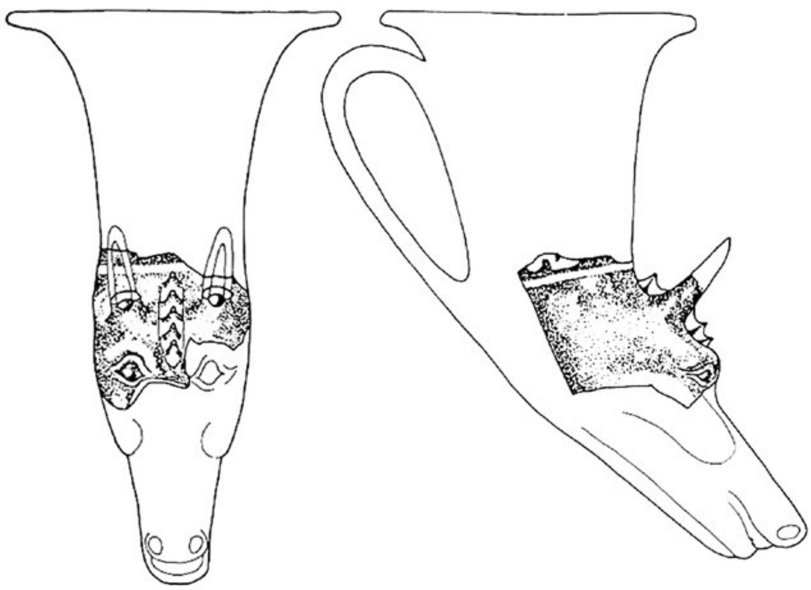

Fig. 3. Rhyton from Trogir (Duke's palace) (according to Petrić 1992).

Nevertheless, these Dalmatian and Istrian fragments are not the only known finds. Already in the 19th century was discovered a fragment of a rhyton, depicting a cattle head, in a grave from the necropolis Jezerine in Pritoka near Bihać in Pounje. It was discovered in grave 361 – a cremation burial in which besides the fragment of a rhyton a ceramic urn, covered with a bowl and two bronze fibulae of the middle La-Tène scheme were discovered (Radimský 1893: 397–398, T. VII: 17, T. VIII: 1, T. L: 13; cf. Teßmann 2001: Abb. 28: 6). Preserved protome, forming the lower part of the vessel, according to its production and style of decoration as well as the black slip, corresponds to the rhyton from Istria. Due to astonishing similarities, we could even assume that they were produced in the same production centre. Fibula with a globule on the foot as well as the other example with a hollow boat-shaped bow and a disc on the foot on which was most probably attached an amber pearl, belonging to the variant 90a according to typology of Fulvia Lo Schiavo, feature elongated crossbow shaped coils dating them into the 3rd century BC. It was a period when such types of fibulae were modern in the middle La Tène horizon of Celtic culture and their influence spread into the adjacent areas (Lo Schiavo 1970: 455, T. XXXIV: 13, carta VII; Guštin 1984: 322; Drechsler-Bižić 1987: 412, T. XLVII: 4; Teßmann 2001: 61–62). Taking into consideration the discovered grave goods and comparing them to other burials at the necropolis, we could assume that the deceased,

Fig. 4. Rhyton from the necropolis Jezerine in Pritoka near Bihać, grave 361 (photo: courtesy of the National Museum in Sarajevo).

buried in the grave, could be interpreted as a high-ranking person within the society buried in Jezerine. It could be dated into the 3rd century BC or into the 6th phase of cultural development in the eastern Japodian region according to the local relative chronology of the Iron Age (Drechsler-Bižić 1987: 411–415).

Even more interesting is the rhyton from Stična in Slovenia.[5] It was discovered in grave 47 from tumulus IV. Most probably being already plundered in antiquity, it contained bronze ribbed ankle rings, amber and glass beads and a smaller ceramic spindle-whorl as well as horse bones (Wells 1981: 66, Fig. 101: b–e; Dular 2007: 739–740; cf. Frie 2018). It was interpreted as a burial of an important member of the broader Iron Age community in Stična who was buried with all her credits including the burial of a horse (or its parts) as well as with luxurious imported items from the Mediterranean cultural circle. H. Hoffmann focusing on Tarentine production already analysed the rhyton from Stična in a detailed study. It was ascribed to the class of "Tarentine rhyton with ram's heads" from series C (Hoffmann 1966: 96–97, 146–147). Despite its precise identification, the discussion about it and/or its broader cultural significance in the context of its discovery never developed. Neither were noticed in the discussion the rhyta from Istria and Pounje.

The find from Stična is currently the best-preserved example, partly reconstructed from fragments of light brown pottery. Damaged was only the upper portion of the cylindrical neck. The band-like handle joins the upper and lower part extending from the central portion of the elongated neck. Despite the good general state of preservation, the surface is weathered – the slip and the painted decoration are missing.[6] Still, as in the case of rhyta from Istria and Pounje, several incised and black painted portions are visible. The lower, figural part of the vessel represents the image of a ram's head. Characterized by the modelled strong jaw, rounded facial portion and smaller nostrils positioned directly above a slightly opened mouth. Within the latter is located the opening for the flow of fluids – a formal element only rarely present in ceramic rhyton of a mostly late variant (Hoffmann 1966: 106; 1989: 157; Ebbinghaus & Jones 2001: 385). Frontally are located on each side in relief formed eyes, modelled from three concentric circles with a distinctively shaped circular iris. Above them, on the temporal area of the head, are two circularly involute, realistically modelled and with incisions decorated horns. Eyes and horns, in a reduced selection of decorative elements, dominate the vessel as such and especially in its lateral perspective. Horns, evidently not fully grown, beside the formation of the head itself, suggest that we are observing the head of a young animal – a young ram. It can be, due to its curved shape and ornamental elements such as circularly modelled eyes, triangular forehead and lacking the traditional fleece, as well as the opening for the flow of liquids, attributed to the South-Italic production of Gnathia style from the late 4th and early 3rd century BC.[7]

Analysing the chronological position of the grave, the situation becomes complex. Especially since only a minor proportion of grave goods were preserved. The later, consisting mostly of jewellery, are chronologically less sensitive. Of course, the massive ribbed ankle-ring with touching ends of the IIIb variant according to the typological classification of Sneža Tecco Hvala is a typical example of female attire of Iron Age Dolenjska region where, beside bracelets, they were mostly worn in pairs. Discovered in graves of wealthier individuals they are considered being emblems of status and indicative for the age of the deceased. Unfortunately, they are less chronologically sensitive since with minor variations they were used during the period from the Stična to Negova phase of the local relative chronology covering almost all of the Early Iron Age (Teržan 1995: 95; Grahek 2004: 148, sl. 39; Tecco Hvala 2012: 302–304, 306–307). Although the ankle ring could, with its massive appearance, indicate an older tradition, the grave should be taking into consideration the dating of the rhyton, to be more precisely, it should be dated in to the middle of the 4th century BC. A dating that would correspond to the final of the Negova phase, which is the end of the Early Iron Age of Dolenjska region.

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5 The *Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology*, inv. no.: 40–77–40/13526 (Wells 1981: 66, Fig. 101: a; Polizzoti Greis 2006: 64–65, Pl. 4).

6 Soil acidity in Dolenjska region damaged the surface of numerous imported vessels (cf. Polizzoti Greis 2006: 64; Križ 2012: 38, 41).

7 Hoffmann 1966: 96–97; Wells 1981: 66. Although H. Hoffmann did not personally see the rhyton from Stična, he considered it's possible origin in the Greek cities of the eastern Adriatic coast!?

Fig. 5. Rhyton from Stična, grave 47/4 (according to Polizzoti Greis 2006).

The Symbol

Today it is well known that moulds for the production of rhyta depicting young animals, especially cattle and sheep, were mostly discovered on the territory of Southern Apennine peninsula. Consequently, all presented fragments, including the fragment of *ketos* from Trogir, could be attributed to the Apulian artistic production, more precisely to workshops from Taranto (cf. Hoffmann 1966; 1989). According to their typology, the vessels from Stična (Hoffmann 1966: 96–98; 1989: 157) and Trogir, since the *ketos* features an opening at the base/muzzle, could be included into the group of so-called "real rhyta" or "theriomorphic funnels". While the vessels from Istria and Jezerine are typologically cups, from which liquid, that is pure wine, was drunk.

Iconographically, the rhyton was mostly interpreted as an essential ritual vessel, as the symbol of the continuity of life celebrated on festivities with large quantities of the vine. It was, in the symbolic system of Greek art, mostly associated with the god Dionysus, whose attribute it became (Hoffmann 1989; True 2006; Ebbinghaus 2008: 146–151; Manassero 2018: 294–295). Ram, bull and donkey were the most frequent motives for the plastic decoration of vessels. Their selection was linked to the function of the vessel in individual ceremonies and festivities, especially during offerings and sacrifices. However, the cattle motive and especially the depiction of bulls were characteristic for the repertoire of products from workshops working on the southern part of Apennine peninsula (Holo 1974: 92–93; Hoffmann 1989: 141, T. 1; cf. Ebbinghaus 2008). Selection of motives was closely linked to the mysteric doctrines of the Dionysus web of that ambivalent deity – especially since bulls were among the leading animals in his accompanying

Fig. 6. Distribution map of imported rhyta on the territory of the Eastern Adriatic and its hinterland.

bestiary. Often the god himself was identified and worshipped in the form of a bulls/calf head, as a man with bulls' horns and as the god of wine. However, at the same time, he was also the god of the underworld, creator of ceremonial madness, religious enthusiasm and especially the god of sensuous women, fertility and carnal pleasures (Burkert 2011: 249–257; cf. Seaford 2006: 21–25; Isler-Kerény 2007). The bull, as a symbol *per se*, characterized by its inspiring presence, designating death and rebirth of Dionysus, of the man turned deity. It was another reason why, in burial rites, the bull as a metaphor symbolized the heroic ritual of an ordinary mortal. In addition, it was from there that it derived its eschatological dimension (Hoffmann 1989: 142).

The ram was also closely related to Dionysus. This time not as a symbol of the later, but as to the god most often dedicated animal. Consequently, ram's head was the most frequent and important motive in the symbolic repertoire of rhyta of Attic ceramic production. Rams, especially young animals, were traditionally sacrificed in sanctuaries and during burial rites. Therefore, the head became actually a *pars pro toto* for all the forms of sacrifice and finally death itself. Enjoying exceptional importance in their social system it was, due to the "golden fleece", equated with gold and wool, the basics of Attic/Greek economy. Very soon, it developed into a symbol of immortality – but also of power and wealth which, in the end, was equated with the heroic status of the deceased (Hoffmann 1997: 47–51; cf. Ebbinghaus 2008).

Summarizing – the ceramic rhyton was a *specific subject* of Dionysius used during festivities, on ritual places and during burial rites. It was not only mandatory gear in processions but most of all in trance dances of farrish and ecstatic women (Maenads), itifalc Satyrs and/or Silens in other forms of orgies (cf. Kefalidou 2009). Finally, during the midst of 4th century BC was developed the attribute of a hero-ancestor, an iconographic model well known from Attic grave reliefs of that time. It was therefore accepted that rhyta as symbols and/or attributes of Dionysus as well as of heroes and heroized ancestors, were the reception of the unification of death and divine. With other words – they were not just used as drinking vessels, but they were also a part of funerary furniture/service (Dentzer 1982: 314; cf. Holo 1974: 85; Hoffmann 1989: 134–137; Ebbinghaus & Jones 2001: 391–392). A rhyton placed into a grave, beside the deceased, designated the aristocratic ideal towards which the deceased strived. It assured his or her heroization – guaranteeing endless symposia, rebirth and fertility. It positioned the deceased into the same mental category as the participant of the divine banquet in the transition of the social and metaphysical meaning (Hoffmann 1989: 162–163; 1997: 47–50). As a medium of precisely determined meaning, it had a connotation of a peculiar form of "sacred ownership" of the deceased person. Sacrifice in every sense was a magical and mysterious act, extraordinary in its eschatological practice regardless of the type of medium (animal and/or wine). Namely, the "transition" between words enabled a death that "purified"; it enabled disconnecting the pure and spiritual from the impure and material. Moreover, it was the sacrificial victim, the animal or its substitute, that, as a metonymy, became the symbol of identity, of an extended ego expanding into unconsciousness. Exactly such a paradigm of "transition rite" was normal for the sacrificial and burial rites (Hoffmann 1989: 133–134).

The Society

Observing rhyta, their use and meaning in past societies, we can understand the past, or more exactly, construct the narrative about the past by contextualizing the discovery of these items. Understanding that the material culture is not only an accumulation of all the items included into our lives but the sum of individual objects with their own stories and meanings, own narrations which can be susceptible to analysis. How can we understand and interpret the rhyta in autochthonous contexts of Iron Age communities? What do they tell us about these communities? First, we should repeat that we have detailed knowledge about only two contexts of discoveries – of rhyta from Stična and Jezerine. With high certainty, the rhyta from Tujan and Nesactium can be ascribed to burial rites, while the finds from Valtida, Trogir and Palagruža should be considered as elements of the banquet service used during specific ceremonies in settlements or on specific ritual grounds.

Rhyta from Stična and Jezerine were discovered broken to pieces – we can assume that they were intentionally fragmented during the burial rites. They were, as a part of the funerary service included in the eschatological practice of sacrifice – considered being a medium, together with vine and other containers. If we, based on archaeological evidence, acknowledge the inclusion of rhyta into such contexts, they will become the main argument against a widely accepted perception of the great divide between Mediterranean civilizations and prehistoric barbarians in their hinterlands. Such evidence are the direct opposition to popular notions that the barbarians, contrary to "modest" Greeks were heavy drinkers consuming pure vine from large vessels (Hoffmann 1989: 134; cf. Blečić Kavur 2012: 158). Further, it is well known, that the societies of Dolenjska culture, as well as Japodi and Histri, performed burial rites and, through them, expressed their ideals and confirmed social status of members of their elites. In their own way, they followed and performed the praxis of heroization of the deceased. These practices were known from numerous contexts and could be documented by the discoveries of different items, but most of all they were made recognizable by monumental stone sculpture and the much more intimate art of the situlae.[8]

Imports of luxurious pottery, at the moment, the remains of four rhyta, can't be interpreted as being random or just a reflection of contemporary fashions. Adding the fact, that during excavations of the alleged tomb from 1981 in Nesactium, in a feature beneath the Roman temple, which had beside the burial most probably also a ceremonial function, several cattle bones were discovered (Jurišić 1996: 65, T. 21). Taking this into consideration we can confirm that the festivities and rituals of the local aristocracy did not differ

8 E.g. Mihovilić 2001; 2013 – with the earlier literature.

significantly from the rites in the southern Mediterranean world – at least when observing the mandatory inclusion of ritual ecstasies and feastings.

Unfortunately, lacking their archaeological context for several rhyta, we have to observe the relations they created in the cultural context in which they were discovered. We do need to look for and formulate narratives, which have explanatory and predictive rather than simply descriptive force – otherwise, we do prehistoric communities the discourtesy of failing to recognize them as functional and coherent cultural systems. Consequently, we can all the rhyta discovered in Iron Age cultural contexts consider being a part of heritage of local communities, a *specific subject* coming from and indicating a precise system of symbols, which performed its role in everyday performances and burial rites demonstrating the cultural cohesion, mutual understanding and entanglement between superficially different cultures of the Old World. Rhyta as far-reaching influences from abroad made a huge difference for the mental wellbeing of the social elites – they enabled the existence of creative ritual space in prehistoric peasant societies on the edges of the Mediterranean world and beyond. These elites were, despite their spatial isolation, diligent in acquiring new information and active in their redistribution within their societies. Imported artefacts and their public display in ritual actions became the means of demonstration of the intercultural character of individuals included into long-distance trade and distribution well as redistribution of Mediterranean artefacts coming from centres of artistic production and targeting prehistoric societies of its hinterland consuming this artefacts/information. Such performances were functioning as active acts of creations in social status. Although it were not only artefacts but also information about these artefacts, about their use and explanation in ritual and social practices, which were introduced into presumably different cultural environments. Such knowledge played the main role in the repeating process of renegotiations of the social status of participants of these rituals. Communal feasting and display were a vehicle used to both imbibe and display the virtues of leaders and their social status. They were built on an existent ideology embedded within the society which had the communal feasting ritual at its core, an ideology susceptible to symbols coming from Mediterranean ideologies and not so different from them.

Acknowledgements

We sincerely thank everyone who generously helped us with this research study. Firstly, we would like to thank Branko Kirigin (Split), then Darko Komšo (Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula), Damir Matošević (Rovinj City Museum, Rovinj), Ana Marić (National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo), Maja Miše (University College London) and Amela Veledar (Sarajevo).

The study was made within the scope of the "*Communities of the dead, societies of the living. Late Bronze Age of Eastern Slovenia* (J6-9363)" project financed by the Slovenian Research Agency of the Republic of Slovenia.

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Toponimi *gradine* i *kašteliri* u vremenu i prostoru

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Toponimi kao odraz izgleda prostora, gospodarstva, povijesnog razvitka te društvenih odnosa govore nam o slojevitosti naseljavanja određenog teritorija. Toponimi gradine i kašteliri javljaju se vrlo često na prostoru Istre, a najčešće označavaju ostatke prapovijesnih naselja iz vremena brončanog i željeznog doba (okvirno 2. i 1. tisućljeće pr. Kr.). Njihov je razmještaj zanimljiv u odnosu na obalni i kopneni dio Poluotoka i to s obzirom na prapovijesnu naseljenost ali i s obzirom na kasnija povijesna razdoblja koja su se izmjenjivala na prostoru Sjevernog Jadrana. Na temelju terenskih istraživanja, korištenja podataka s povijesnih i suvremenih topografskih karata izradila sam razmještaj toponima i analizirala njihovo postojanje s obzirom na današnja jezična istraživanja hrvatskog i talijanskog jezika, ponajprije njihovih dijalekata. Pokušala sam dovesti u vezu toponime, odnosno njihovu pojava u prostoru, s granicama, ili prostorima na kojima su živjele ili žive hrvatska, odnosno romanska zajednica. Dio rezultata pokazao je vrijeme njihova nastanka, a drugim smo utvrdili postojanost imena mjesta, poštivanje zatečenog stanja bez obzira na njihovo porijeklo.

Ključne riječi: *toponimi, gradina, kaštelir, Istra, Hrvatska, lingvistika*

Istra, najveći poluotok na istočnoj strani Jadrana, svojim se položajem, ali i zanimljivošću, nametnuo u istraživanju prapovijesnog fenomena tzv. *gradina* ili *kaštelira*.

Što su to *gradine* ili *kašteliri*? *Gradine* ili *kašteliri* u arheološkoj terminologiji označavaju ostatke prapovijesnih naselja najčešće na uzvisinama zaravnjenih vrhova i okruženih terasama koje podržavaju zidovi napravljeni u tehnici suhozida. Prirodna konfiguracija terena utjecala je na gradnju zidova ili bedema, a njihov je oblik determinirao oblik gradine (kružne, elipsoidne, polumjesečaste...). Njihova pojava seže početkom drugog tisućljeća pr. Kr. Na nekima se život neprestano odvijao kroz gotovo dva tisućljeća, do rimskog osvajanja Poluotoka, do drugog stoljeća pr. Kr. Zbog slabe istraženosti nije sa sigurnošću moguće reći kojim su intenzitetom naseljavane ili napuštane, no jedno je znano da gradinski način života prestaje upravo ustanovljavanjem državnog poretka kojeg je donijela rimska prevlast (Buršić-Matijašić 2007). Tijekom rimskog razdoblja stagniraju, život se seli na ravničarske prostore, uz obalu mora, a intenzivniji povratak stanovnika na vrhove brda bilježimo tijekom kasne antike i srednjeg vijeka kada dolazi do tzv. kastrizacije (Levak 2015: 371–398).

Naravno, to su činjenice kojima baratamo, do nekih novih saznanja. Danas je na više položaja dokazano upravo takvo stanje, no, istraživanjima na brdu Monte Ricco kraj Vrsara, provođenjem projekata Hrvatske zaklade za znanost[1] možda ćemo morati mijenjati ustaljena mišljenja. Naime, na lokalitetu, na brdu 54 m n/v, antička stambena struktura nalazi se na prapovijesnim temeljima.

[1] Projekti Hrvatske zaklade za znanost: „Rimskodobne preobrazbe prapovijesnih gradina u Istri" – Klara Buršić-Matijašić i „ArchaeoCulTour" – Robert Matijašić.

Osim arheološkog i kulturološkog fenomena, gradine predstavljaju zanimljiv jezični „problem“.

U analizi toponima govorimo o prostoru Istarskog poluotoka koji obuhvaća površinu od 3.476 četvornih kilometara. To područje danas dijele tri države: Hrvatska, Slovenija i Italija. Vrlo malen dio Istre, tek sjeverna strana Miljskoga poluotoka, pripada Republici Italiji. Slovensko primorje s Koparskim zaljevom i dijelom Piranskoga zaljeva do ušća rijeke Dragonje dio je Republike Slovenije. Najveći dio, ili 3.130 četvornih kilometara, pripada Republici Hrvatskoj. Većina hrvatskog dijela poluotoka nalazi se u Istarskoj županiji 2.820 četvornih kilometara, što je 4,98 posto od ukupne površine Republike Hrvatske. Ostali dio administrativno-teritorijalno pripada Primorsko-goranskog županiji.[2] Dio u sastavu Hrvatske koji obuhvaća oko 90% Istarskog poluotoka i u kojem žive većinom Hrvati sa oko 75 % stanovništva dok manjine čine oko 25% stanovništva od čega Talijani 7% a ostatak razni drugi narodi. Istra u sastavu Slovenije obuhvaća oko 9% Istarskog poluotoka, a Slovenci su apsolutno većinsko stanovništvo. Istra u sastavu Italije obuhvaća manje od 1% površine Istre i obuhvaća svega dvije male općine kod Trsta od kojih su u jednoj većinski Slovenci, a u drugoj Talijani.

Jezična povijest istarskog poluotoka vrlo je složena. Predstavlja susret više dijalekatskih i lingvističkih raznolikosti čime je postala višejezični teritorij gdje se govori šest jezika iz dviju jezičnih skupina: slavenske i romanske (Filipi 1993: 275). Slavenske jezike predstavljaju slovenski, hrvatski i crnogorski jezik (Filipi 1989: 156).

Romanskim jezicima istromletačkom, istrorumunjskom i istriotskom (ili istroromanskom) možemo dodati mugližanski, koji se ugasio pred kraj 19. stoljeća, i tergestinski, koji se ugasio početkom 19. st. Mugližanski i tergestinski su ladinski dijalekti. Ladinskim ili retoromanskim nazivom označuje se „cjelokupnost različitih romanskih idioma koji se poglavito govore na središnjem i istočnom alpskom području. Naziv ladinski je autohtoni samo na jednome malome dijelu područja (Val Badia i dio Engadine) i pravilni je nastavak od latinus, termin uveden od J. Th. Hallera 1832. bio je posebno rabljen od talijanskih lingvista...“ (Tagliavini 1964: 319). Istromletački je najrašireniji romanski idiom Istre. Jedan je od mletačkih dijalekata, a stigao je u Istru s Mletačkom republikom – Serenissimom 1420. Predstavlja dijalektalni koiné italofone zajednice u Istri (Milani-Kruljac 1990: 23). Istriotski ili istroromanski jedini je autohtoni romanski govor na poluotoku, a razvio se iz vulgarnog latinskog. Pod stoljetnim pritiskom mletačkog i slavenskih dijalekata njegovo se područje smanjilo na samo šest mjesta na poluotoku, tj. Rovinj, Bale, Vodnjan, Galižana, Fažana i Šišan, iako se još krajem 19. st. govorio u Puli i Piranu, a jedna njegova varijanta bila je prisutna i u Vrsaru (Ive 1888: 7). Treći romanski idiom koji se govori u Istri je istrorumunjski. Govore ga stanovnici ponekih sela Ćićarije, na obroncima Učke: na sjeveru u Žejanama s oko 400 stanovnika, a na jugu u Šušnjevici, Letaju, Gradinama, Grobniku, Brdu, Novoj Vasi, Jasenoviku, Kostrčanima i Zankovicima. Ukupno ga govori oko 500 osoba. Istrorumunjski dijalekt izdvaja se od talijanskog sustava da bi ušao u sustav rumunjskih dijalekata (Filipi 2002).

Brojno najbolje zastupljeni dijalekti u Istri su slavenska narječja. Istra je za čakavologiju i hrvatsku dijalektologiju uopće jedno od najzanimljivijih područja. Višestoljetne migracije pučanstva, počevši od naseljavanja Hrvata u Istru, u 6. stoljeću, te velika migracijska kretanja pučanstva prouzročena turskim nadiranjima u 16. stoljeću, kad se na jednu trećinu pošastima opustošene Istre doselilo 200 „morlačkih“ obitelji, tj. „hrvatskih ikavaca iz dalmatinskoga štokavskoga zaleđa, koji su se čakavizirali do Istre i u Istri“ (Šimunović 1991: 370).

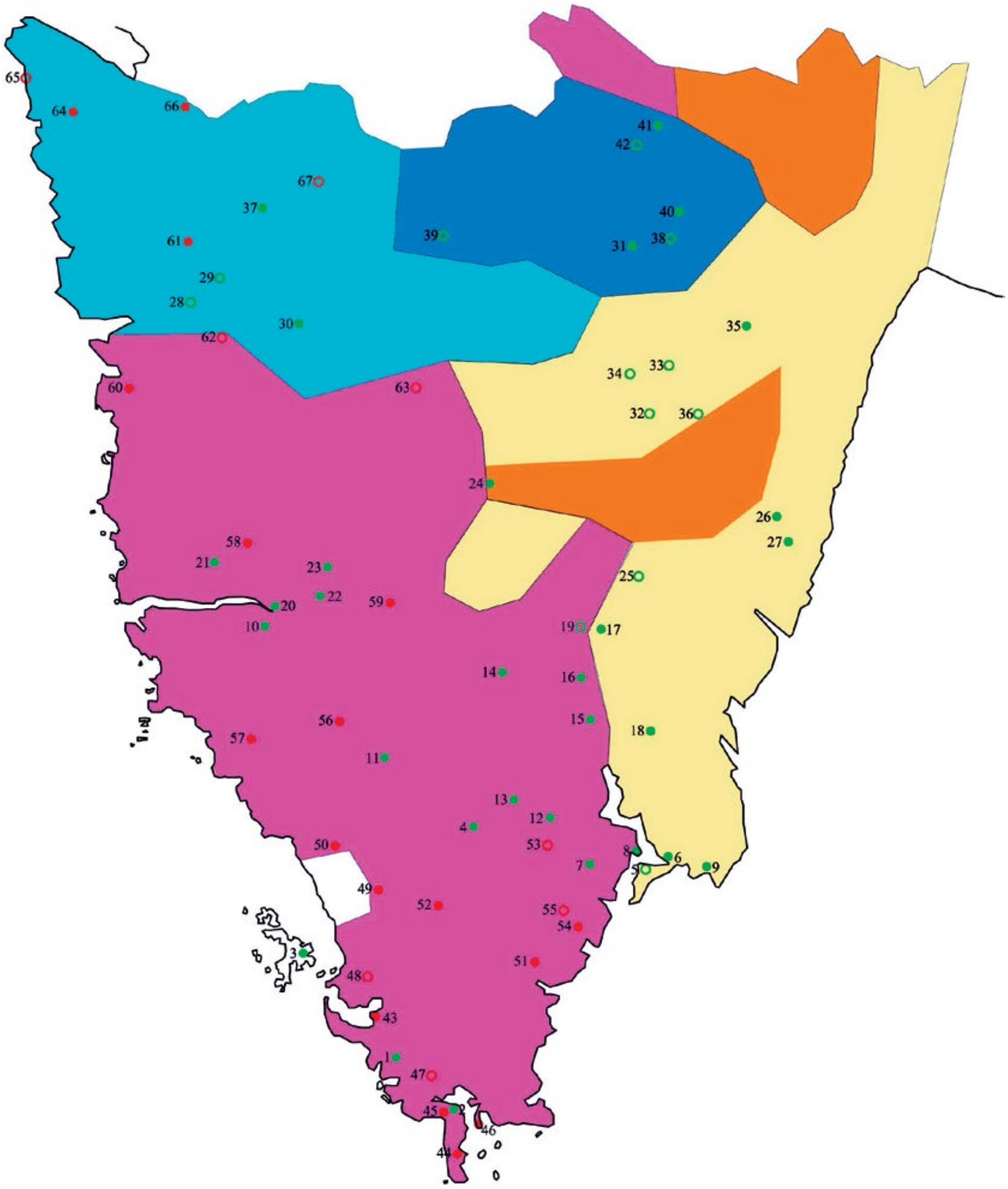
Uzevši kao kriterij raspodjele čakavskih dijalekata refleks /ě/, starohrvatske konsonantske skupine št', žd', Brozović je podijelio čakavsko narječje na šest dijalekata, od kojih se pet prostiru u Istri (Brozović & Ivić 1988: 87–88) (Sl. 1).

1. Buzetski ili gornjomiranski dijalekt govori se u sjevernom dijelu kopnene Istre. Ovaj dijalektalni tip ima i specifičnih veza sa slovenskim jezikom.
2. Jugozapadni istarski ili štokavsko-čakavski dijalekt teritorijalno je najrasprostranjeniji. Proteže se zapadnom istarskom obalom južno od donje Mirne, a pripada mu i vodička oaza u sjeveroistočnoj Istri.

[2] http://www.istra-istria.hr/index.php?id=263 (3. 11. 2014.).

3. Sjevernočakavski ili ekavskočakavski dijalekt jedan je od najstarijih tipova čakavskog narječja. Pripadaju mu istočnoistarski govori od ušća Raše na sjeveru, okolica Žminja i pazinski kraj u srednjoj Istri, obala Hrvatskog primorja do Bakra i otoci Cres i sjeverni Lošinj (Brozović & Ivić 1988: 88).
4. Srednjočakavski ili ikavsko-ekavski čakavski dijalekt najraspršeniji je među čakavskim dijalektima. Susrećemo ga na svim našim otocima od Krka i Lošinja do Ugljana i Dugog otoka, a na kopnu od Kraljevice do Novog Vinodolskog. Po recentnijim istraživanjima govori se na Opatijskom krasu i u unutrašnjosti Istre zapadno i jugozapadno od Učke (Lukežić 1990: 22, 23, 29).
5. Migracijski ikavskočakavski govori smješteni su u sjeverozapadnoj Istri između donje Mirne i Dragonje, s jednim pojasom južno od Mirne, a pripada im i južno Gradišće (Brozović & Ivić 1988: 88).

Zbog povijesnih prilika dio stanovništva je dvojezičan. Dvojezičnost ili bilingvizam, u pravnom smislu je ustroj koji autohtonim nacionalnim, etničkim i jezičnim skupinama, posebice manjinskim, osigurava uvjete



Slika 1. Razmještaj toponima gradina i kaštelir na prostoru čakavskih dijalekata prema podjeli akademika Dalibora Brozovića.

za očuvanje jezične i kulturne baštine pravnim instrumentima koji im jamče ravnopravnost i jednakopravnost u korištenju nacionalnog jezika na području njihove povijesne prisutnosti.[3]

Ono što je u jezičnom ali i povijesnom smislu važno jest porijeklo određenih jezičnih skupina, a porijeklo, odnosno vrijeme doseljenja vrlo je važno zbog analize naših toponima, ***gradine*** i ***kašteliri***. Dok Istriote smatramo direktnim nasljednicima romaniziranih stanovnika Istre, Istrorumunje, odnosno Vlahe ili Ćiribirce, možemo pratiti na putu do sjevernog Jadrana krajem srednjeg vijeka (Kovačec 2002: 7–10). Suvremene teorije govore o potomcima balkanskih Vlaha koje spominju mnogobrojni srednjovjekovni izvori. Prve vijesti o vlaškim stočarima u Istri potječu iz 12. st., no današnji istrorumunji „vjerojatno su potomci Vlaha koji su koncem 15. i početkom 16. st. dovedeni na otok Krk, a zatim i u Istru" (Filipi 2002: 35).

Romanske idiome, ponajprije istrovenetski, vezujemo uz prevlast mletačke vlasti na istočnom Jadranu. Mletačka vladavina na području hrvatskog dijela istočne obale Jadrana trajala je od 11. stoljeća do 1797. Za vrijeme stolovanja dužda Petra II. Orseola oko 1000. godine, Venecija je okrenula svoje polje interesa prema istočnoj obali Jadrana. Mlečani od Hrvata preuzimaju Dalmaciju od Krka do Dubrovnika, a Petar Orseolo se prozvao *dux Dalmatiae* (Čoralić 2004).

Prije analize prostorne rasprostranjenosti naših toponima, valja pojasniti porijeklo imenica *gradina* i *kaštelir*.

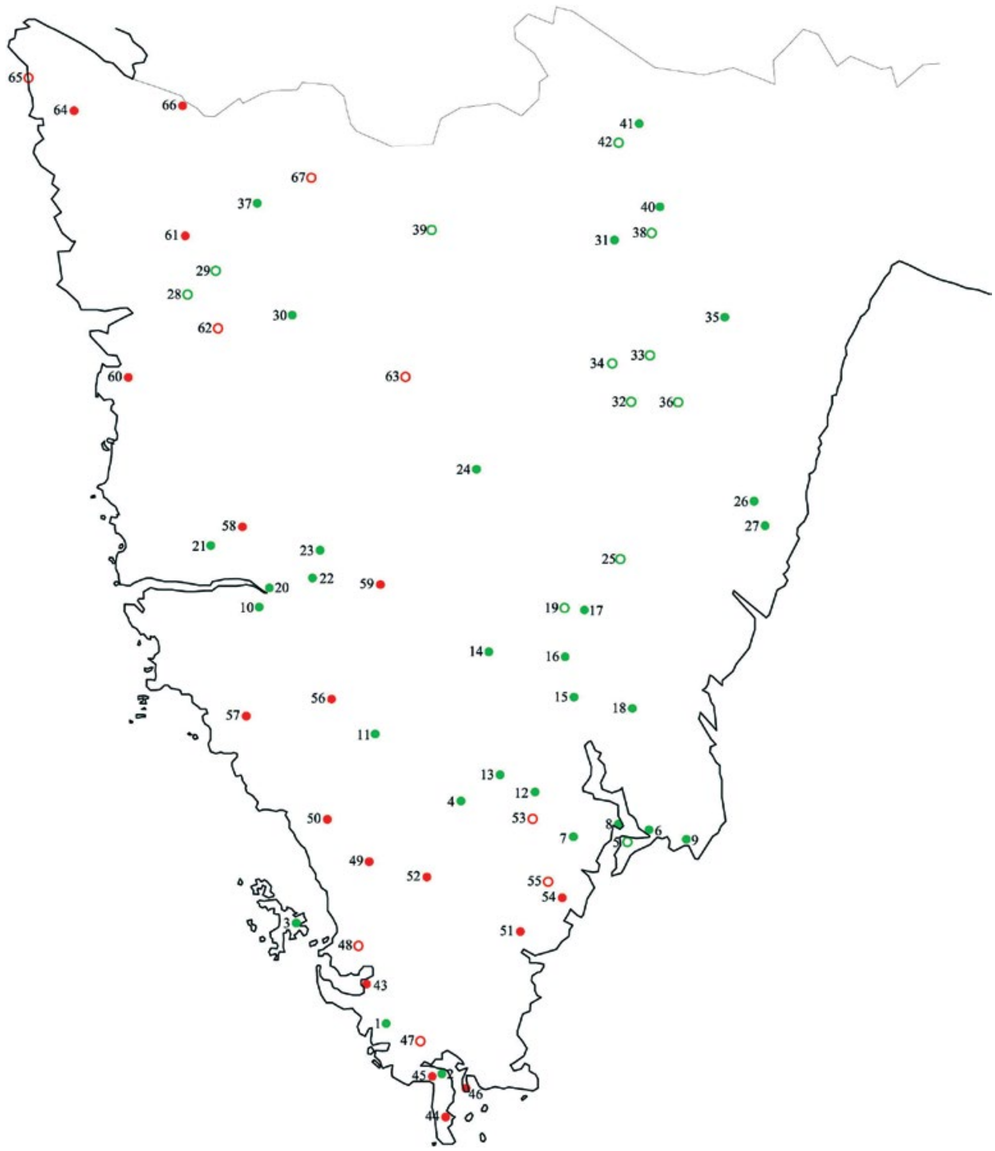
Gradina ili kaštelir u arheološkoj terminologiji znači prapovijesno naselje ali i srednjovjekovni burg ili njegove ruševine. U jezičnom smislu, gradina je hrvatska riječ, a kaštelir je kroatizirani oblik talijanskog, odnosno romanskog, odnosno latinskog oblika. Kašteljer ili kaštelir dolazi od tal. riječi *castelliere*, odnosno kaštelir znači kaštel → lat. *castellum*, i, n., odnosno deminutiv od *castrum*, i, n. = grad, kula, tvrđava. Imenice gradina znači *veliki* grad, odnosno ostatke naselja na dominantnom položaju od kojih su najčešće vidljivi veliki kameni građevinski elementi (Buršić-Matijašić 2007: 549–550).

Prema motivu postanka, a po klasifikaciji Petra Šimunovića (primjeri se odnose na sjevernu Istru, Buzeštinu), toponime možemo razvrstati u dvije kategorije: one s fiziogeografskim značajkama i one koji su nastali pripadnošću tla pojedinim osobama ili kolektivima. Najbrojnija su imena mjesta motivirana fiziogeografskim karakterom objekta, poput uzvisina: Brdo, Brežac, Hum, Vrh, Glavica, Slum; ravnica i udolina: Ravne, Dol, Dane, Vala, Valice, Klanac; sastav i izgled tla: Kras, Pietra Peloza, Krog; objektima na terenu (osobina objekta): Pećina, Grižan, Cunj, Obešenjak; prenesena imena: Rim, Rimnjak; veličinom i drugim osobitostima objekta: Mali loh, Vela peć, Veli Vrh, Debeli Vrh te metaforama: Kuk, Globučica, Rota, Korona, Rebar, Kotli, Buraj. Zanimljiva su imena mjesta motivirana biljem: Brest, Črnica, Grabrovica, Klenovšćak, Planik, Trstenik, kao i kultiviranim biljkama poput: Jašmovice, Lanišće, Hrušćica. Orljak na Buzeštini spada u imena mjesta motivirana životinjama, a Račice i Boljun su motivirane potočnim vodama, dok Vodice, Soline i Čiriteš, vodama stajaćicama. Za analizu prapovijesnih naselja najzanimljivija su imena mjesta koja pokazuju utjecaj čovjeka na zemlju (uljuđena imena). Tu spadaju naselja i staništa, poput Šalež na Buzeštini. Druga kategorija su obrambena mjesta i položaji: Gradinje, Kastel, Beligrad, Črnigrad, Taborina, Gradac, Straža, Stražnjak, Zrenj, Vardica, a treća su sakralni objekti poput Svetog Petra, Svetog Tudora, Svete Jelene ili pak Svetog Donata. Toponimi Brajdice, Zatka, Gorica govore o obradi tla, a Meja i Mejica o međašima i dijelovima posjeda. Prapovijesna naselja mogu biti imenovana prema drugim objektima, poput Podrebra, Zagrada, Zazida (Šimunović 1992: 51–57).

U Istri je zabilježeno oko 450 gradina, od kojih je oko 240 s materijalnim dokazima (puni krugovi), a ostatak su dvojbene (kružnice). Čak 46 (10%) nalazišta ima topografski naziv Gradina ili jednu od izvedenica poput Gradišća ili Gračišća, a 27 nalazišta nosi topografski naziv Kaštel, Kaštelir ili jednu od inačica (Buršić-Matijašić 2007: 582–587, 553–555).

[3] „Primjena dvojezičnosti uređena je u Istarskoj županiji čl. 6. i drugim člancima III. poglavlja županijskoga Statuta (posebice čl. 24., 25., 26., 27., 28., 29. i 30). Statutom je određeno da su hrv. i tal. jezik »u ravnopravnoj službenoj uporabi u radu županijskih tijela u samoupravnom djelokrugu«. (http://istrapedia.hr/hrv/609/dvojezicnost/istra-a-z/)

1. Gradina 49.9, Vintijan	43. Kaštel 31, Pula
2. Gradina 76	44. Kastril 37.0, Premantura
3. Gradina, Brijuni	45. Kaštelir 67.8, Crvene stine
4. Gradina, Kužinići	46. Punta Kašteja 4.3
5. Gradina 66, Ubac	47. Kaštijun 65.9
6. Gradac 32, Tunarica	48. Kaštelir 45.0, Štinjan
7. Gradina, 160, Krnica	49. Kaštelir 124.5, Vodnjan
8. Gradina, Stari Rakalj	50. Kaštelir, Batvači
9. Gradac-Turan, Koromačno	51. Kaštelir 92, Valtura
10. Gradina 201	52. Kašteljer galižanski 171.9
11. Gradina 225.7, Čabrunići	53. Kaštelir 208.3, Krnica
12. Gradina 231.9, Bratulići	54. Kaštelir, Duga uvala
13.Gradina 220, Glavani	55. Kaštel 170, Šegotići
14. Gradina 373, Gočan	56. Monkaštel 232, Bale
15. Gradište 244	57. Kaštelir 75.8, Stancija Gati
16. Gradine 208, Prnjani	58. Kaštelir, Medvidići
17. Gradina, Sv. Križ, Kacur	59. Kašteljer, S. Agata
18. Gračište, 269, Kršulji	60. Monkaštel 50.5, Červar
19. Gradina 242, Sutivanac	61. Kaštelir 101
20. Gradina, Lim	62. Kaštelir 236.3
21. Gradina, Geroldina	63. Kaštelir, Škropeti
22. Gradina, 255.6, Morozula	64. Kaštelir 56.5, Umag
23. Gradišće 247.0, Selina	65. Rt Kaštel, Sipar
24. Gradišće 461.6, Bertoši	66. Kaštel, Buje
25. Gradina 282, Licul	67. Kaštelir 348, Oprtalj
26. Gradina, Kožljak	68. Kosmati Kaštel – Pietra Pelosa
27. Gradac, Brseč	
Gradina (?), Mošćenice	
28. Gradina 140	
29. Gradina 117	
30. Gradina 338.0, Ferenci	
31. Gradac 454, S. Clemente	
32. Gradinje, Gologorica	
33. Gradina, Paz	
34. Gradinji breg 497	
35. Gradac, Vranja, Castello	
36. Gradina 224, Letaj	
Gradina (?), Boljun	
Gradina (?), Stefančići	
37. Gradina 335, Fraške	
Gradec (?)	
38. Gradišće 505, Prusijani	
39. Gradišće 767, Semić	
40. Gradina 674, Lanišće	
Gračišće (?), Brest	
41. Gradina, Rašpor, 828	
42. Gradišće, Prapoće	



Slika 2. Razmještaj toponima gradina i kaštelir na prostoru Istre (crvene oznake – kašteliri, zelene oznake – gradine) i granica između mletačkog i austrijskog dijela (oko 1700.). Kartu izradio dr. sc. Davor Bulić.

Na karti Istre (sl. 2)[4] označeni su svi lokaliteti s toponimima gradina i kaštelir. Iz razmještaja toponima vidimo da je najveća gustoća toponima gradina na sjeveroistočnom dijelu Istre, a najveća gustoća toponima kaštelir na zapadnom i južnom dijelu. Razmještaj se u velikoj mjeri poklapa s granicom koja je odvajala mletački od austrijskog dijela Istre. Iako su različitog porijekla, i jedan i drugi naziv su kroatizirani oblik što je za očekivati zbog omjera govornika hrvatskog odnosno talijanskog jezika i „snage“ službenog hrvatskog jezika na Poluotoku.

Iznimke postoje. U blizini današnjeg naselja Krnica, iznad Raškog zaljeva, koji je do 1797. pripadao Veneciji, s istočne strane mjesta nalazi se ostatak naselja gradinskog tipa, topografskog naziva Gradina, a samo nekoliko kilometara zapadnije, Kaštelir (Buršić-Matijašić 2007: 158, 164, 167). Tu je i Glavica, no ona predstavlja ostatke antičke aglomeracije (Matijašić 1988: 38). Iznenađuje da u centralnoj, odnosno sjevernoj Istri gotovo da ne postoje kašteliri, koje smo očekivali s obzirom na ostatke srednjovjekovnih kaštela. Toponim kaštelir u vrijeme doseljenja slavenskog stanovništva sigurno je ukazivao na postojanje ruševina nekog kaštela prije no prapovijesnog lokaliteta, iako su i ovi posljednji bili sigurno puno vidljiviji u prostoru nego što su to danas.

Najrašireniji romanski idiom jest **istromletački**, koji se proširio za vrijeme vladavine Mletačke Republike. Istromletački su talijanski govori u slovenskom i hrvatskom dijelu Istre koji se u osnovnim crtama uklapaju

4 Kartu je izradio dr. sc. Davor Bulić kojemu najsrdačnije zahvaljujem.

u mletački dijalektalni sustav. Najrašireniji je istroromanski idiom i nije autohton. Mletački se dijalekt u Istri uglavnom širio s mletačkom vlasti, postupno potiskivao predmletačke romanske istarske govore, ponajprije istriotski i prevladao u urbanim sredinama, poglavito nakon što je 1420. Venecija ovladala većim dijelom Istre (Filipi 2002: 51; 2005: 343–344). Temeljem upitnika ispitanika u *Istromletačkom lingvističkom atlasu* (ImLA) od Nove Vasi na sjeveru do Labina na istoku, za pojam, vrste uzvisina, u pravilu je korijen riječi *monte* (*montižel*, *monti*, *montana* ...) iako se javljaju i *kole*, *kolina* (Filipi & Buršić Giudici 2012: 84) kao fiziogeografska značajka terena. Zanimljivost predstavlja odgovor ispitanika u Taru koji pored *monte* izdvaja i imenicu *monparlon* kojim je u arheološkim kartama označeno brdo s ostacima prapovijesnog naselja. Uzvisina **Monperlon**, južno do današnjeg naselja Tar smještena je na prostoru plodne ravnice Poreštine. Zbog dvojbenih dokaza o postojanju gradinskog naselja, uvrštena je u hipotetične gradine (Buršić-Matijašić 2007: 367, 373). Drugi primjer arheološkog lokaliteta predstavlja toponim **Montižana**, na Poreštini, u blizini današnjeg Dračevca. Ostaci prapovijesnog gradinskog naselja nalaze zbog svoje visine dominira širim prostorom. Lokalitet čine prepoznatljivi gradinski elementi: centralni platò promjera oko 100 m, i tri terase. Dijelovi obrambenog sistema izgrađeni su tehnikom suhozida, a zemlja obiluje sitnim arheološkim materijalom, ulomcima prapovijesnih keramičkih posuda (Buršić-Matijašić 2007: 283–284).

Istriotski ili istroromanski jezik druga je skupina predmletačkih autohtonih romanskih govora istarskog poluotoka. Govornici čine jezični otok na jugu Istre gdje su se sačuvali u samo šest mjesta: Rovinju, Vodnjanu, Balama, Fažani, Galižani i Šišanu (Buršić Giudici 2017: 59–68). Temeljem upitnika ispitanika u *Istriotskom lingvističkom atlasu / Atlante linguistico istrioto*, za pojam *vrste uzvisina*, ispitanici su u pravilu odgovarali varijante riječi *monte* (*montižel*), a u jednom punktu (Ližnjan) odgovor je bio hrvatskog karaktera – *brig*, *vrh* (Filipi & Buršić Giudici 1998: 43). U neposrednoj blizini Šišana nalazi se toponim **Montici**. Brdo predstavlja ostatke prapovijesnog naselja (Buršić-Matijašić 2007: 112–113).

Treću skupinu čine Istrorumunji ili Ćići. Sela se nalaze na istoku Istre, podno Ćićarije, a stanovništvo, danas uglavnom Hrvati, govori vlastitim (**istrorumunjskim**) jezikom, a koji je mješavina rumunjskog i hrvatskog. Na njihovom teritoriju nekoliko je gradinskih lokaliteta. Uzvisina Brdo, kota 244 m n/v, nalazi se na zapadnim obroncima nekadašnjeg Čepićkog jezera, danas polja. Ostatke gradinskog naselja odaje pogodan strateški položaj, izgled brda, urbanizam sela kao i prapovijesni materijalni ostaci pronađeni sredinom 19. st. Naziv lokalitetu dala je karakteristika prostora, a on je ostao nepromijenjen od dolaska vlaških stočara u srednjem vijeku. Sagradili su selo na položaju prapovijesnih ostataka i dali mu ime po fiziogeografskim karakteristikama – Brdo, istrorum. *Berda* ili *Berdo* (Filipi 2002). Kontinuitet u ovom slučaju je samo odabir strateškom položaja.

Jedna vrlo mala kulturološka i jezična enklava nalazi se na zapadnoj obali Istre. Radi se o mjestu Peroj s većinskim pravoslavnim življem pretežno crnogorskog porijekla. Osim rasprava o njihovom porijeklu temeljno pitanje predstavlja i kojim jezikom govore i pišu. Znanstvenici se slažu da je 15 porodica (10 iz Crmnice i 5 iz Ljubotinja) pravoslavne vjere doselila 1657. iz Crne Gore i da im je materinji jezik crnogorski (Nikčević 1999: 65–83). Danas znamo da je njihov jezik štokavski idiom arhajskog tipa gdje su strukture i leksik ostali nepromijenjeni od druge polovine 17. stoljeća (Filipi 2002: 51). Peroj predstavlja zanimljiv slučaj gdje se crnogorski jezik sačuvao četiri stoljeća *„zbog izoliranosti od matice zemlje s minimalnim utjecajem jezika sredine u kojoj se našao.“* (Nikčević 1999: 85). U tom kontekstu zanimljivost predstavljaju i toponimi brda s ostacima gradinskih naselja u njegovoj neposrednoj blizini. Skromni ostaci prapovijesnog gradinskog naselja (građevinski elementi – bedemi i nekropola) devastirani su šezdesetih godina 20. stoljeća izgradnjom vodospreme na brdu Magornjak. Zaštitnim istraživanjima i površinskim pregledom nalazište je datirano u drugu fazu brončanog doba Istre i rimsko razdoblje (Buršić-Matijašić 2007: 127). ***Magornje***, top., „komunal, gmajna“. Usp. tal. magrone „svinja koja nije stavljena na postupak debljanja“ (DEI), u Abruzzima macrone „mršava živina“. U nas izvršena metateza magrone>magornje (pridjev?). Komunal je služio za ispašu svinja, vjerojatno i druge stoke. Smatramo slučajnom suzvučnošću u REW navedeni magorn „udo (o ruci, nozi)“, očuvanom u keltskom u Provansi (Putanec 1999: 90). Drugi toponim na prostoru kojeg naseljavaju Perojci jest **Mandriol**, također s ostacima prapovijesnog naselja raspoznaju se u izgledu prostora i urbanizmu današnjeg naselja, a mnogobrojni sitni materijalni ostaci datiraju život na brdu u brončano i starije željezno doba (Buršić-Matijašić 2007: 132–133). Mandriol, top., „livada“, uso. (REW, DEI) tal. mandria (< grč.) „1. Branco di bestie, 2. Terreno recintato, recinto, ovile“. Ovdje u nas sa suf. –olu. Livada je služila za ispašu i kao stan za stoku. Osnovna je riječ balkanizam (alb. mandri „ovile, hrv. Stan“, mandre „stado“). Deminutiv kao u Peroju rijetko je potvrđen u Romana (cf. REW) (Putanec 1999:

90). Iz navedenog, i jedan i drugi toponim nije u vezi s prapovijesnim naseljem. Doseljenici na uzvisini nisu prepoznali prapovijesne ostatke već je toponim nastao zbog namjene prostora za ispašu.

Zaključak

Zemljopisna su imena po svojoj prirodi najpostojaniji dio leksika. Ona su čvrsto vezana s mjestom koje imenuju, pa zato mogu preživjeti i po nekoliko seoba naroda i promjena jezika prilagođujući samo svoj lik. Imenovanja su postojala otkad je neki kraj naseljen, no zapisana su i „čuvaju" se u memoriji stanovnika samo ona većeg značaja, a zapisana su tek u srednjovjekovnim vrelima (Istarski razvod – Ivšić 2012; Buršić-Matijašić 2013: 61–70). Na istarskom poluotoku zamršene povijesne prilike rezultirale su i zamršenim jezičnim odnosima, odnosno zamršenom istarskom jezičnom povijesti. Preslojavanje naroda rezultira slojevitom diferencijacijom toponima kao što se prožimaju i etimologija i leksikologija. Lingvistika nam pomaže u pronalaženju jezičnih "relikata". U njima možemo prepoznati 3 povijesna (predrimski – histarski, romanski i slavenski) i 7 lingvističkih slojeva (predindoeuropski, indoeuropski, indoeuropski ilirski, rimski klasični, rimski vulgarni, srednjovjekovni romanski – Šimunović 1992).

Naravno, najzanimljivije pitanje je pitanje postanka, odnosno starosti određenog imena mjesta – toponima. Tako je Šimunović slikovito objasnio: „Toponimi dugom uporabom, etničkim i jezičnim miješanjem gube iskonsko značenje i mijenjaju iskonske likove. Ako ih pravilno protumačimo, govore više od numizmatičkih i arheoloških nalaza, više od sadržaja freske ili glagoljskih zapisa u kamenu. U ovim imenima sadržana je kondenzirana povijest ljudskog življenja na ovom tlu." (Šimunović 1992: 58). Najbrojniji su hrvatski toponimi. Toponimi prethrvatskog, najčešće romanskog porijekla, preuzeli su Hrvati od Rimljana ili romaniziranih starosjedilaca. U njima se javljaju elementi istriotskog, furlanskog jezičnog supstrata, a izostaju elementi kasnijeg mletačkog utjecaja. Jedan od najzanimljivijih je svakako toponim Buzet/*Pinquentum*, ali i Poreč/*Parentium* gdje je „dokazan ulazak imena u hrvatski jezik za zajedničkog supostojanja romanskih jezika i hrvatskog u Istri" (Šimunović 1992: 44–45). Buzet zemljopisno ulazi u austrougarsku sferu, dok Poreč u onu mletačku. I jedan i drugi pokazuju značaj mjesta kao lokalna središta sa širim značajem. Poreč na zapadnoj obali Istre odigrao je važnu ulogu u vezi Poluotoka i Venecije, dok je Buzet, na samom sjeveru Istre, bio prva važna točka u obrani Buzetske kotline, a time i kopnenog prolaza prema Istri.

Od sveukupnog broja prapovijesnih nalazišta gradinskog tipa, najviše njih 450, što s materijalnim dokazima što dvojbenih, najveći dio nosi nazive ***gradina*** ili ***kaštelir***. Među njima, gradine, i njihove inačice dominiraju u omjeru 47 : 27. Jezično gledajući, toponimi pokazuju prevlast Slavena (Hrvata i Slovenaca) nad Romanima, jer iako imenica kaštelir dolazi od talijanskog, odnosno latinskog korijena, ona je u Istri dobila kroatizirani oblik. Njihov razmještaj u prostoru pokazuje da je najveća gustoća toponima gradina u sjeveroistočnom dijelu, a onoga kaštelir u zapadnom i južnom dijelu Istre što se podudara s podjelom Poluotoka na Austrijski i Mletački dio. Gradina, Gradac, Gradec, Grad, Gradak, Gračišća, Gračišće, Gradišće, Gradiška, uobičajeni su toponimi šireg jadranskog prostora motivirana izgledom pojedinog zemljopisnog objekta. Kaštelir, Kaštel, Kaštela, Kaštelet, Kaštil, Kaštel-Stari, uobičajeni su duž istočne jadranske obale, a ušli su u hrvatski jezik romanskim posredovanjem (Šimunović 2005: 167).

Na kraju treba naglasiti kako i gradina i kaštelir ukazuju na svijest stanovništva o naseljenosti prostora u neka davna vremena, bilo da se radilo o „keltskim ili rimskim ostacima" što je bilo uobičajeno vjerovanje do početka dvadesetog stoljeća (Bandelli 1977: 113–137). Početkom 20. stoljeća s radom Burtona i Marchesettija, otvorila se nova stranica istarske arheologije i poimanja gradina u svim istraživačkim aspektima, pa tako i onim jezičnim. Toponimi su vrijedni podaci prilikom arheoloških istraživanja, a analizom toponima možemo potvrditi postojanje arheoloških lokaliteta kao i pronalazak novih.

Popis kratica

DEI	*Dizionario etimologico italiano*, I–V, Firenze, 1948–1957.
REW	W. Mayer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1968.

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Unpublished relief of Attis from the "Roman bridge" in Blažuj – Ilidža near Sarajevo

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The bridge in the village of Blažuj in Ilidža Municipality, near Sarajevo, built in the 16th century, consists largely of stone spolia from the nearby Roman archaeological site. A stone bearing a relief was built into the parapet, with the relief facing outwards. Though this Roman relief has long been known, it was never the subject of archaeological analysis. This paper determines, from a study of the iconographic content and comparison with other monuments, that it represents the cult of Attis, a Phrygian deity, which reached the province of Dalmatia in the 1st century. The relief from Blažuj displays most of the typical iconographic features of Attis. These include the crossed legs, the naked belly, the navel, and probably the long curly hair or a Phrygian cap, and a cornucopia or wings. He is leaning on a shepherd's crook, suggesting that the relief is of "Attis tristis." The relief dates from the 2nd or 3rd century.

Key words: *Attis, Cybele, stone relief, Roman cults, iconographic analysis, Ilidža – Aquae S.....*

Circumstances surrounding the relief of Attis

The Ottoman-period bridge in Blažuj, Ilidža Municipality, is known colloquially as the Roman bridge (Ćeman 2000: 207–209), probably because it was largely built of stone spolia brought from the nearby Roman site belonging to the urban settlement of Aqua S.... (Sergejevski 1936: 1–3). Considerable evidence of the Roman presence has been found at the site: a villa urbana (Busuladžić 2011: 158–159), a Roman hospicium (Pašalić 1959: 113–136), and quantities of movable artefacts – jewellery, weapons, pottery, coins (Kellner 1895: 161–198), lamps[1] and other everyday objects. The nature of the site as a whole is also revealed by the discovery of large mosaics (Busuladžić 2008: 38–45), evidence of its status and importance and of the way of life of the people who lived there.

When the need for a bridge became apparent, the shortage of building materials was compensated by using worked stone from the nearby Roman settlement. The bridge dates roughly from the mid 16th century, and was perhaps built, or simply restored, by Grand Vezir Rustem Pasha or Gazi Ali Pasha (Ćeman 2000: 207). (Fig. 1–2).

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1 Busuladžić 2007: 107, nos. 20 and 21, 109, no. 28, 111, no. 38, 121, no. 67, 142, no. 143, 145, no. 159, 146, nos. 160 and 161, 151, no. 186, 182, no. 306, 184, no. 314.

Introduction

Attis was a Phrygian (Roller 1994: 245–265), oriental (Frazer 1907) deity, directly associated with the goddess Cybele (Cumont 1959), Magna Mater (Miletić *et al*. 2014: 129). Originally worshipped in Phrygia (Vassileva 2001: 51–64), her cult spread westwards, becoming widespread, as attested by the many monuments to her that have been found (CCCA I – VI). This divine couple was also worshipped, in various manifestations, in the Greek (Sfameni Gasparro 1985: 49–56) and later in the Roman world (Sfameni Gasparro 1985: 56–64). The cults of Cybele and Attis[2] were the oldest oriental cults in Rome.[3] Cybele was a goddess of life as a whole, of motherhood, and the protectress of cities (Schwenn 1922: 2250–2297). It is said that Attis (Cumont 1896: 2247–2251), was her consort (Ciglenečki 1999: 21–31) and favourite (Osvalt 1980: 181–183; Miletić *et al*. 2014: 129). Attis is best known for his self-castration (Vermaseren 1977: 96–101; Karković-Takalić 2012: 93; Miletić *et al*. 2014: 132). He grew to become a handsome youth, and fell in love with the nymph Sangaride; but jealous Agdistis/Cybele caused him to lose his mind, running wildly before stopping under a pine tree and cutting off his genitals (Vermaseren 1977). He died of this act of self-mutilation, and violets sprang from his blood. The anniversary of this tragic event, 24 March, was celebrated as part of the Megalasia. It was common for the Corybantes, the priests of Cybele, when in a state of ecstasy, to perform the same act of self-castration (Vermaseren 1977: 113–125). The essence of this myth and its various features were to be found in many other myths in a variety of civilizations, including those of Orpheus (Roscher 1897 – 1902: 1058–1206.), Tammuz (Roscher 1915: 46–71), Zagreuz and Adonis (Uranić 2005: 12 and 24). The festival of the Megalasia included periods of grieving and of joy, a feature that has given rise to different interpretations. One view is that it was a celebration of the rebirth or resurrection of Attis (Miletić *et al*. 2014: 132). Some hold that after his death Attis survived in some mystical manner like the evergreen pine beneath which he emasculated himself, and which later became one of his symbols (Sfameni Gasparro 1985: 125). The cones produced by the pine, perpetually growing, became the symbol of his eternal life (Colin 2004: 43). Another myth relates that he lived on after his death. He is also associated with Zeus, who, when asked to bring Attis to life, agreed only that his body should remain incorruptible, his hair should always grow and his little finger be endowed with everlasting movement (Miletić *et al*. 2014: 132). Another myth relates that Zeus himself was hostile to Attis, who introduced the cult of Cybele to Lydia, where she was greatly venerated. Her popularity aroused the jealousy of Zeus, who sent a boar to destroy the Lydian crops, but the boar killed Attis. The cult spread in Phrygia, Lydia, Bithynia and the island of Rhodes. However, its spread was limited by the custom of castration, which was alien to Greek culture and to human sympathies in general. For this reason it was not much favoured on the Greek mainland.[4] In Hellenistic and later in Roman times Attis became popular. The iconography of Attis became somewhat standardized in Rome, where he was typically shown standing, with legs crossed, leaning on a pedum and holding a syrinx or a tympanum,[5] often wearing the typical Phrygian pointed cap, sleeved tunic and long trousers (Srejović & Cermanović 2004: 64). This figure on funerary monuments is identified by many as Attis symbolizing eternal life and the hope of life after death (Graillot 1912: 412; Sergejevski 1934: 30; Sfameni Gasparro 1985: 92–98). It is said that Attis had a funereal countenance, and was regarded as the guardian of the grave, hence his depiction on sepulchral monuments (Nikoloska 2013: 523). The interpretation is further complicated by the fact that the cult of Attis underwent a degree of syncretism with indigenous cults in Liburnia and Dalmatia (Turković 2006: 7). This was particularly the case with Silvanus, who wholly replaced Attis in the case of the dendrophori, who carried the sacred pine of Magna Mater (Vilogorac-Brčić 2012: 135–136). As a result of these polysemic processes the cult of Magna Mater (Cambi 1993: 33–44) and Attis was quite well represented in the eastern Adriatic coastal region (Vilogorac-Brčić 2014: 119–134; Karković–Takalić 2015: 371–391), whence it spread into the interior (Medini 1993: 1–32; Nikoloska & Vilogorac-Brčić 2014: 103–128).

[2] For their presence in the Balkans, see Marić 1933: 73.

[3] Sanader 2008: 181–182; for oriental cults in the Roman world see Vermaseren 1981.

[4] For its present in Attica see Frapiccini 1987: 12–26 and Fontana 2001: 92–124.

[5] For iconography, see Vermaseren 1976: 47–62; 1966.

1.

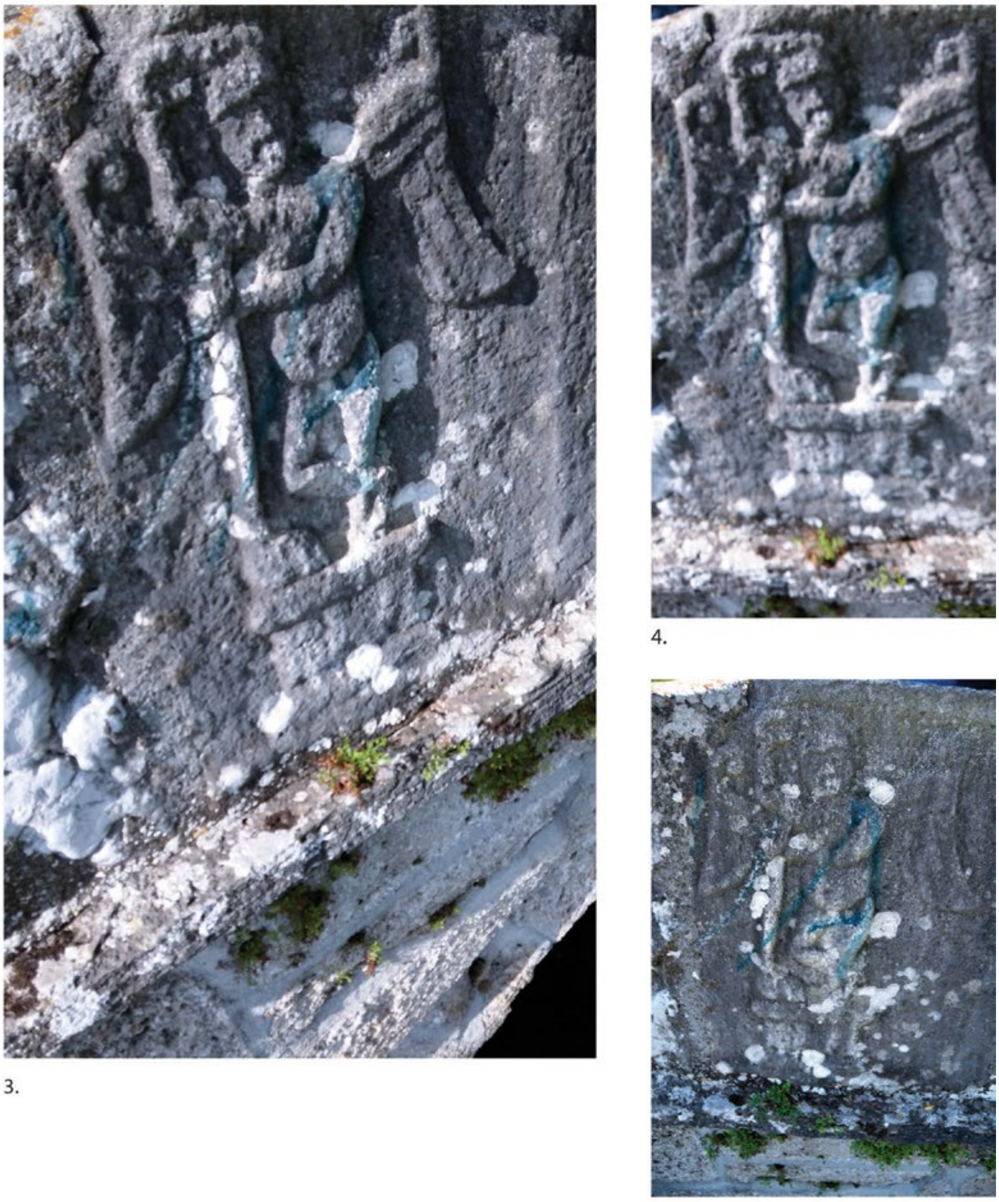
2.

Fig. 1. The Ottoman-period bridge in Blažuj, Ilidža Municipality, colloquially known as the Roman bridge (Photo: Adnan Busuladžić, 2015).

Fig. 2. The position where the relief of Attis is located (Photo: Adnan Busuladžić, 2015).

Analysis of the relief

Among the many worked stone blocks used to build the bridge was spolia in the form of a relief of Attis in typical pose, legs crossed. The block was laid, doubtless deliberately, with the relief on the outer face of the parapet, so that for many years those who crossed the bridge did not notice it. The relief, which is 87 cm long and 54 cm wide, shows a nude figure with a prominent belly, leaning on a pedum or shepherd's crook. The legs are crossed, the characteristic pose of Attis and the main reason the relief is identified as of that deity. The scene is set on a plinth. The relief is of rustic, local provincial work; the head, body and extremities are noticeably out of proportion. A further dilemma is created by the objects to left and right of the figure – probably a cornucopia, but possibly a syrinx, or a poorly carved cloak. It is impossible to be sure, given the poor state of preservation of the head, whether the figure is wearing a Phrygian cap, though one can make out what may be the conical top of the cap, falling to one side. Another view is that the head may have had long, curly hair, another attribute of Attis, but the damage is such that this is mere conjecture. (Fig. 2.)



3.

4.

5.

Fig. 3–5. The relief of Attis from the "Roman bridge" in Blažuj – Ilidža (Photo: Adnan Busuladžić, 2015).

There are doubts among scholars even as to the interpretation of such reliefs. Most believe that they represent the Phrygian deity Attis (Nikoloska 2007: with other literature; 2010: with other literature; 2013: 507–527, with other literature), but several scholars of repute hold that these reliefs merely relate to the deceased, in the case of funerary monuments, or are purely decorative (Cambi 1960: 55–67; 2003: 511–520). In the former view, these figures would be popular on account of their sorrowful appearance, either directly associated with the death of the deceased (Schröder 1902: 75), or representing servants at the funerary banquet (Miletić *et al*. 2014: 134). In another, similar view, Attis tristis was a symbol of those who died in alien lands (Landskron 2005: 121–130). A third group of scholars believe that a long and complex process was at work, involving changing beliefs and iconography and, consequently, the interpretation of reliefs with such figures. In this view, they would originally have been Metroac in nature, later becoming decorative (Hepding 1903: 212). A similar view is that at first the reliefs were unrelated to the Phrygian Attis, but were later equated with him (Struveras 1968: 39). Some scholars, analysing images the iconography of which belongs to this phenomenon in the light of the context in which they were found, such as military stelae, believe that they represent Roman military triumphal iconography, or a simple shepherd, or a sorrowing Eros (Cambi 1991: 473; 2002: 158; 2005: 102–105 and 188–189).

The iconographic features of Attis on Roman monuments include not only the crossed legs, the shepherd's crook or pedum, the Phrygian cap,[6] trousers and shoes, but also in most instances a tunic and a cloak of some kind (Cumont 1896: 2247–2251). Analysis of the images of Attis reveals that his cult was very diverse iconographically (LIMC III/1: 23–44 and LIMC III/2: 15–45). Our relief clearly shows a nude figure, with a somewhat rounded belly, which could be interpreted as an image of Eros (Busuladžić 2016: 142), especially since a significant number of figures of Eros with legs crossed have been recorded (Paškvalin 2001: 39). The rounded belly could also suggest Eros (Osvalt 1980: 133–134). Despite these doubts, based mainly on this particular iconographic feature, most other features support the conclusion that the relief is of Attis. The absence of garments may be directly associated with his self-castration, the more so since no genitalia can be seen on our relief from Ilidža, whether on the figure itself or any of his attributes, not even in stylized form. Such nude figures of Attis, though not common, are not unknown (Medini 1980: 118; Tadin 1979: T. XXVIII, fig. 62, T. XXXIX, fig. 97; Paškvalin 2001: 33, T. I). The relief could depict Attis resting immediately after emasculation. Furthermore, along with the typical stone reliefs of Attis with narrow trousers, tunic and cloak, a few mainly bronze statuettes have been recorded where the garments are lying discarded to one side. In these instances the deity is naked, with a prominent belly (Tadin 1979: 31, 39). The characteristic iconographic feature of Attis's shepherd's crook or pedum also, in the case of our relief, points to the conclusion that it represents his cult. Attis is often depicted holding a pedum, lowered or raised; other images show him leaning on his staff. Scenes of Attis with his staff lowered were found in Fojnica, for example (Paškvalin 2001: 37, fig. 1). On the other hand, Attis is typically shown leaning on his staff, as in the relief from Blažuj near Ilidža. A pensive Attis in this pose is known as Attis tristis. Many comparable examples have been found in the Roman province of Dalmatia (Miletić *et al*. 2014: 129–144). The closest analogy to Attis leaning on his staff is the figure of Attis on a cippus from Rogatica (Paškvalin 2001: 35, fig. 1). Another comparable specimen that must be mentioned here, on account of its proximity, was found in Ilijaš Municipality, north of Sarajevo, which displays very similar iconographic features – in particular the absence of garments, the figure being naked apart from pleats on the shoulders indicating a chlamys or cloak. Another feature of the Ilijaš Attis that matches ours is the absence of genitalia. The main feature that identifies the figure on the Ilijaš relief as Attis is the crossed legs (Paškvalin 2001: 33, fig. 1). Another significant feature of the Ilijaš Attis is the manner in which the stone was worked. As already noted, the relief from Blažuj displays all the characteristics of rustic provincial workmanship, with its obvious shortcomings. The one from Ilijaš is also of rustic workmanship, probably by an indigenous sculptor executing works in the spirit of Roman ideology, mythology and culture. It is very possible, given their relative proximity, that the same person made both, a conjecture supported by the absence of garments, the disproportion between the head, body and extremities, and the clumsy workmanship of both. As a result, the relief of Attis from Blažuj may be dated to the 2nd or 3rd century, the same as the Ilijaš relief. The evidence of numerous archaeological excavations and the analysis of the material found has shown that Romanization was at its height in this period. Once the Romans had conquered the region and consolidated

[6] For details of the Phrygian cap, see Medini 1976/77: 197.

their authority, the adoption of Roman culture and the Roman way of life began, reaching a peak in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Archaeological evidence reveals that the cult of Cybele and Attis was already present in the 1st century in the province of Dalmatia (Sanader 2008: 181–182).

The rustic workmanship allowed for various interpretations of the part of the relief to the left of Attis. One is that it probably represents part of a fluttering cloak on the deity's back. This most closely resembles a dadophorus of Mithras (Paškvalin 2001: 35, figs. 3 and 4), or Mithras himself,[7] though bronze statuettes of Attis with a cloak are known (Tadin 1979: T. XXVIII, fig. 62 and 63, T. XXXIX, fig. 97). When these are compared with the Ilidža relief, however, it is apparent that the object on the latter is very unlikely to be a cloak. It is not worn on the figure's back, but merely has a single point of contact with his shoulder. This allows for the view that the object represents a cornucopia, which occurs along with fruit and grain on Roman figures of Attis (LIMC III/1: nos. 132–140, 151–153, 291–296). The fact that it is touching his shoulder may be due simply to the limitations of space. The object has three longitudinal grooves and one transverse line clearly separating its upper and lower sections, suggesting that it is a syrinx, which is also a symbol of Attis, though less commonly seen (Tadin 1979: 31). The cuboid projection at the top of the object, probably a ring used to hang it, could equally feature on a cornucopia, however. Together with the barely decipherable right-hand section of the relief, this could realistically suggest wings. Winged figures predominate in the large group of Attises classified by J. Medini (Medini 1984: 34–44). Any one of these interpretations is more or less likely, given the difficulty of making out just what the objects are. What they have in common is that in every comparable example, they are symbols associated with Attis.

The quantity of analogous specimens allows for different iconographic interpretations of this relief. A significant number of Attis figures have been recorded in Bosnia and Herzegovina in addition to those from Ilijaš (Paškvalin 2001: 32–41) in Fojnica, Crvica (Bojanovski 1967: 43), several sites around Srebrenica and Višegrad, and in Rogatica (Imamović 1977: 442–444). It is clear even from a glance at the sites where these Attis figures have been found that they are concentrated along the River Drina. This suggests that a significant majority are from sites forming part of or gravitating towards larger urban sites such as Domavia, Col. Ris. . ., and Aqua S..., which in turn reveals that this deity was closely associated mainly with foreign settlers, who could have had some influence on the local population. Much the same is true of the bronze statuettes of Attis found in the city of Siscia, where there was also a clear concentration of this deity (Tadin 1979: T. XXVIII, fig. 62 and 63; T. XXXIX, fig. 97). Other sites in the province of Dalmatia where Attis figures have been found in significant numbers include Gardun, Burnum, Salona, Enona, Blandona (Medini 1968: 141–181; 1984: 107–126; 1986: 109–124; 1989: 19–32; Cambi 1968: 131–140; 1991: 472–473; 2005: 102–105), and Pula (Girardi Jurkić 1972: 37–47; 1976: 209–223; 1978: 175–188; 2005: 57–70).

There are also reasonable doubts concerning the nature of the relief itself. The block bearing the relief would certainly have been reworked in the 16th century, when it was incorporated into the Ottoman bridge. The area around the relief, which could have helped to identify it, must have been removed. Figures of Attis tristis[8] could have been part of a sarcophagus (Turković 2006: 7), a funerary altar (Dautova-Ruševljan 1983: 72–73) or monument, a stela, a sacrificial altar, or the architecture or fittings of a temple (Miletić *et al*. 2014: 135). It is our hypothesis that our Attis relief was part of a funerary monument, only part of which has survived.

Conclusion

In Roman times the area of present-day Ilidža Municipality centred on the urban settlement or colony of Aqua S... (Kellner 1895: 161–198; Sergejevski 1936: 1–3; Pašalić 1959: 113–136), a significant administrative, economic and cultural centre in this part of the interior of the Roman province of Dalmatia (Pašalić 1960: 35–51). Excavations uncovered a spa and residential quarters, defined as a hospicium,

7 On Mithraism, see Kosorić 1965: 49–56; Miletić 1996; Medini 1985: 61–72; Selem 1986: 173–204; 2008: 467–471; Gabričević 1987: 161–215; Rendić-Miočević 2015: 403–427 and others.

8 Other forms of Attis could have been as sculptures. See Nikoloska & Burmaz 2007/2008: 212.

suggesting that a large number of settlers lived and worked here, bringing with them a variety of cults[9] and customs.

Evidence of this was found with the discovery of an altar dedicated to Apollo (Imamović 1977; 429, no. 198), suggesting that several different cults coexisted here. The relief of Attis discussed here falls within this category.

A number of iconographic characteristics may be presented, based on an analysis of the relief. Iconographic features typical of Attis are garments consisting of a tunic, narrow trousers, shoes and a pointed Phrygian cap, together with the pedum or shepherd's crook which Attis holds or leans on as he stands with legs crossed. The figure on the Ilidža relief has no clothes, and it is unclear whether he is wearing a Phrygian cap. He is standing, with legs crossed, leaning on his staff, so if he does have a Phrygian cap on his head, it is likely the figure is of Attis. It is not unusual for Attis figures to have a prominent naked belly and wings, and to be accompanied by a cornucopia or a syrinx, which also reinforces the hypothesis that the figure on this relief is Attis. The figure of Attis tristis found in nearby Ilijaš, like our figure from the bridge in Blažuj, Ilidža Municipality, suggests that this cult was well-established and important to the local population and, very likely, to foreign settlers. Mystical (Sfameni Gasparro 1985: 26–43), soteriological-eschatological (Sfameni Gasparro 1985: 107–119), chthonic properties are attributed to Attis figures of this kind, and in this light Attis also features as the guardian of a grave and of the deceased (Paškvalin 1994: 35). Similar processes in the organization of Metroac cultic communities have been recorded in other provinces (Karković-Takalić 2012: 87–105), and it is realistic to assume that such may also have existed in this part of the world.

Abbreviations

CCCA	M. J. Vermaseren (ed.), *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque* I – VI, Leiden, 1977 – 1989.
LIMC	*Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* III, Zürich – München, 1986.

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[9] For Roman religion see Rose 1960: 161–172.

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The Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site

David J BREEZE & Rebecca H JONES, Edinburgh

This paper outlines the history of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site and the challenges of management of this international site and the protection of individual sites as well as the whole. The integration of portable objects (inscriptions and artefacts) is discussed, given that these are exempt from the World Heritage classification. Finally, a vision for the future of the World Heritage Site is presented.

Key words: *Roman, Frontiers, World Heritage, Management, UNESCO*

Introduction

The concept behind World Heritage was to encourage the 'identification, protection and preservation of our global heritage'; this was adopted in the UNESCO 'Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage' in 1972. It came into force in 1975 with the first inscriptions made on the list in 1978. Three sites in what is now Croatia were inscribed in 1979: Split and the Palace of Diocletian; Dubrovnik; and the Plitvice Lakes National Park.

The first Roman frontier to be inscribed was Hadrian's Wall in 1987, cited because of its exceptional nature, comprising a continuous linear barrier cutting across northern England from the mouth of the Solway Estuary in the west to the River Tyne in the east. Outstanding features of the monument included its ambitious and coherent system of defensive constructions (including the use of dressed stone), and the way it crosses some spectacular upland terrain (Fig. 1).

Hadrian's Wall remained the only Roman frontier on the list for well over a decade. In 1996 it was proposed that the Upper German-Raetian *Limes* should be nominated as a WHS and from 1999 to 2001, Professor Zsolt Visy, then President of the Hungarian National World Heritage Committee, consulted the delegates of other countries on the concept of a multi-national World Heritage Site (Breeze & Jilek 2008: 25). A discussion at the European Archaeological Association's Annual Conference at Esslingen in 2001 led to a proposal to create a single WHS encompassing the frontiers of the Roman Empire.

The following year, a round table deliberation at the European Association of Archaeology's Annual Conference in Thessaloniki sought to refine the proposal and determine the way forward. The particular focus of discussion was the creation of a research strategy for the European frontiers of the Roman Empire. To that end, it was agreed that an international data-base was required, with gaps in our information defined and public access to information improved, other potential elements of the WHS identified, and basic standards of site management promulgated. It was agreed that the European Union provided the most

Fig. 1. Hadrian's Wall at Mons Fabricius (photograph: D J Breeze).

obvious sources of finance for such a project. A first application to the European Science Foundation failed, as did a bid to the Culture 2000 Project, but the following year, 2005, a revised application was approved.

The Culture 2000 Frontiers of the Roman Empire (FRE) project (2005-8) not only provided the umbrella under which that project was pursued, but also discussions about how the FRE World Heritage Site (WHS) might develop. Perhaps, most importantly, it brought together archaeologists and site managers from nine European countries, many of whom had previously known each other through the Congresses of Roman Frontier Studies (*Limes* Congresses) and encouraged them to work towards the achievement of two rather different goals, the successful completion of the Culture 2000 FRE project and the creation of a new type of World Heritage Site.

The creation of a new type of World Heritage Site

The submission of the nomination of the Upper German-Raetian *Limes* to the World Heritage Centre in 2002 was supported by two letters from other countries. As a result, the World Heritage Centre in Paris summoned Andreas Thiel and Rheinhard Dietrich to discuss this and other aspects of the nomination. Out of this meeting came the proposal to create a World Heritage Site for Roman frontiers and for it to develop on an incremental basis. In order to achieve this, the form of listing of World Heritage Sites had to be changed to acknowledge the fact that there would be more than two elements to the Site, and the terminology changed from 'transboundary' to 'transnational'. In addition, at the request of the World Heritage Centre, a Summary Nomination Statement was produced which offered an overview of what might be included in the new WHS together with consideration of the management issues and how they might be approached (Breeze & Young 2008).

In order to achieve this aim, the States Party responsible for the original inscription – United Kingdom (UK) for Hadrian's Wall – needed to agree to its Site becoming part of a larger whole. Agreement was reached with the UK government meaning that the international partners could proceed. The Site was renamed the *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* (FRE) in 2005 with the inscription of the Upper German-Raetian *Limes*. The Antonine Wall joined the Site in 2008.

The complexities of other serial nominations resulted in UNESCO proposing a revision in 2010 to the way in which such a Site could be put forward (UNESCO 2010). This meant the partners leading on the Frontiers of the Roman Empire nominations needed to reconsider our approach to the creation of the World Heritage Site. A new approach – thematic study and nomination strategy – was proposed and subsequently agreed by the UNESCO World Heritage Committee in 2017 (Ployer *et al.* 2017). This is now being put into practice.

Fig. 2. The members of the Bratislava Group at UNESCO in Paris in 2006, Professor Sanader is third from left (photograph: D J Breeze).

The definition of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site

Following the European Archaeological Association's Annual Conference in Thessaloniki in 2002, a small group of Roman frontier archaeologists met in Bratislava to consider the way forward. Each of those present was a representative of their country's Minister of Culture, or its equivalent, and their initial aim was to decide how to obtain the finance to forward the ideas promulgated in Thessaloniki. The group rapidly widened its remit to consider other aspects of the FRE WHS and in 2005, now named the Bratislava Group, it was recognised by the World Heritage Committee as the appropriate body to provide advice on the development of the Site (Fig. 2). As such, the members were normally the nominated archaeological representatives of their countries, and usually the coordinator of the existing or proposed element of the FRE WHS.

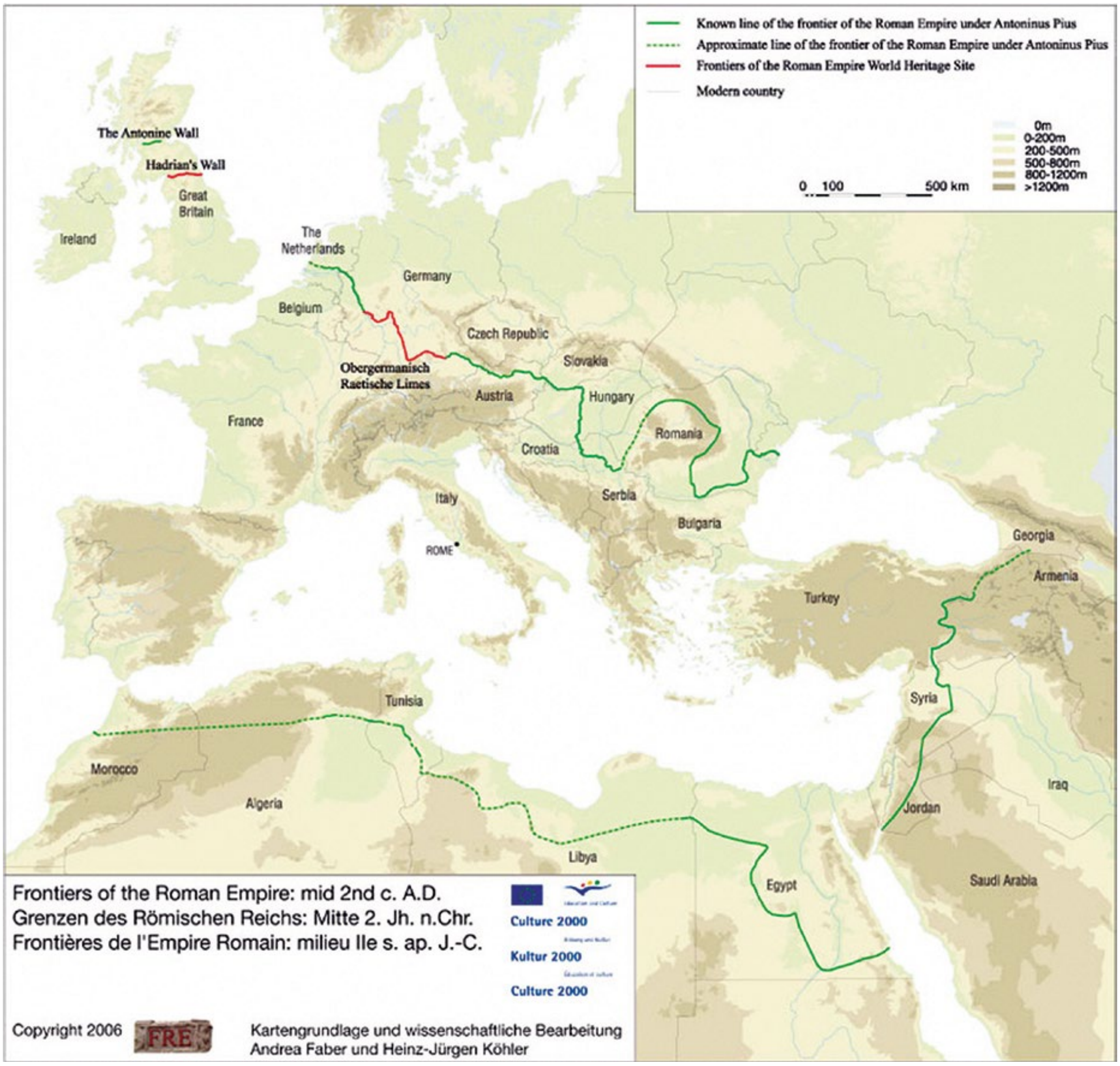
One of the earliest tasks of the Bratislava Group was to define the proposed WHS. This led to the Koblenz Declaration:

> The Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site should consist of the line(s) of the frontier at the height of the empire from Trajan to Septimius Severus (about 100-200), and military installations of different periods which are on that line. The installations include fortresses, forts and towers, the *limes* road, artificial barriers and immediately associated civil structures.

Subsequently, the Vienna Declaration clarified the wish to bring all appropriate elements of the frontiers into the WHS. These declarations were formulated at workshops sponsored by the Bratislava Group across Europe in the years from 2002 and 2005.

Management of World Heritage

In order to be inscribed, World Heritage Sites must meet one of ten criteria. A series of Operational Guidelines exists which must be followed both by sites seeking nomination and those inscribed on the list (UNESCO 2017). These outline expectations for management systems, reporting obligations, integrity and authenticity, and protection.



Map 1. Map of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire in the mid second century AD (Courtesy: D J Breeze).

The potential full extent of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site, as articulated in the thematic study (Ployer *et al.* 2017) and Koblenz declaration, covers a very broad range of management issues and physical landscape surroundings. These run from the deserts of north Africa to the mountains in Romania, and from the large rivers of the Danube and Rhine to the construction of artificial barriers in Britain, Germany and north Africa (Breeze 2011) (Map 1). All of these require different management approaches under a common framework.

As part of the FRE inscription, a tripartite management regime was established: the Inter-Governmental Committee (IGC) to oversee and coordinate management at an international level, comprising representatives from the UK and Germany with invited participation from other future potential FRE partners; the Bratislava Group discussed above; and a Management Group (known as the Hexham group after where it first met) involving those leading the day-to-day management of the Ssites, which focuses on sharing best practice and also invites participation from future partners.

Artefacts and Museums

The legacy left by the Roman empire on and beyond its borders goes beyond the physical structural remains that can be visited in situ the length and breadth of the frontiers. A key component is the

Fig. 3. Reconstruction of the Bridgeness Stone in Bo'ness (Copyright: Historic Environment Scotland)

material culture remains – artefacts – as well as environmental evidence – ecofacts – illuminating the stories of frontier communities. Many such remains are now conserved and presented in museums, whether on site (such as at Aquincum in Hungary) or in other local, regional and national museums.

On the Antonine Wall in Scotland, there is a collection of distance stones, which provide a unique record of the building of the frontier by three legions, together with sculptural scenes which include telling the story of the ritual sacrifice at the beginning of the campaign, the fighting, and the (inevitable) Roman victory. These serve as monumental items of propaganda for the soldiers based on the frontier (Breeze & Ferris 2016). Nineteen survive – most are on display in the Hunterian Museum at the University of Glasgow, with the Bridgeness stone in the National Museum in Edinburgh (Fig. 3). Recent research using portable X-ray fluorescence and Raman Spectrometry has demonstrated that, far from being merely the sandstones that survive today, these were painted in bright colours. Red, for blood, has been detected around the neck of the decapitated captive on the Bridgeness stone (Campbell 2018).

Fig. 4. Leather boxing gloves from Vindolanda on display in their museum (Copyright: The Vindolanda Trust).

At Vindolanda on Hadrian's Wall, the waterlogged nature of the site has resulted in the remarkable survival of artefacts: from wooden toilet seats through to leather boxing gloves (Fig. 4). And, of course, the famous writing tablets for which the site is well known and enrichen our understanding of daily life on this northern frontier.

The most visible signs of Roman military activities in Croatia are the many inscriptions and items of sculpture, especially those on display in the Museum Osijek and at the church at Lug (Jilek 2009: 84–

6). These provide valuable evidence which is otherwise not well represented by extant remains in the countryside.

Inscriptions, items of sculpture, pottery and artefacts all provide vital information which help us to understand not only when, how, why and by whom the frontiers were constructed, but also how they operated and the nature of the lives of the soldiers who defended them together with their families and dependents. Whilst World Heritage status recognises monuments and sites, the associated artefacts are not covered by the World Heritage Convention. In 2015, however, UNESCO adopted a recommendation regarding the protection and promotion of museum collections (UNESCO 2015). This is an important step in helping to bring together the remnants of the Roman empire now treated, protected, and presented in different ways. A recent Creative Europe project (2016-19) known as Advanced Limes Apps (ALApp) has brought together specialists from Germany, Austria and Scotland to create a mobile app platform to disseminate new digital content for our Roman frontiers. The use of three-dimensional reconstructions and augmented reality helps to bring the sites and artefacts to life (Flügel 2018) and the platform is being made freely available to other Roman frontiers. Through collaboration and digital technology, we can enhance the visitor experience both out on sites and in our museums (Breeze 2018).

The Future for the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site

The Thematic Study and Nomination Strategy (Ployer *et al.* 2017) was agreed by UNESCO at their World Heritage Committee meeting in Warsaw in 2017. It was recognised that the current FRE proposals concentrated on Europe and so the partners are progressing with the European nominations whilst also seeking to forge new relationships with relevant potential future partners in the Near East and North Africa.

Given that the creation of a single World Heritage Site was no longer an option, the agreed way forward was to keep the existing FRE property comprising the two Walls in Britain and the Upper German-Raetian Limes in Germany and create a further three FRE sites in Europe. First, the Danube *Limes*, perhaps the most complex given that eight countries are involved. All eight have their sections on their national Tentative Lists (a pre-requisite of nomination) and the proposal is for inscription in two phases. Part one comprises Germany (Bavaria), Austria, Hungary and Slovakia and is currently with UNESCO for consideration (2020). Part two will see the addition of Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria and Romania, extending the Site all the way to the Black Sea. The second FRE WHS will be the Lower German *Limes*, comprising sites on the River Rhine in the Netherlands and Germany (2021). The final FRE for Europe should see the inscription of various *Limes* in Dacia, reflecting the complexity of the remains in Romania. This is a long-term strategy and requires agreement at all levels, from the archaeologists working on the ground through to the upper echelons of government agreeing strategies for joint nomination and management. And even if we are successful in realising the vision of four European FRE World Heritage Sites across ten countries, the next challenge will be working with new partners in the Near East and North Africa to help them realise the vision of joining this partnership. Since we collectively embarked on this journey, the rules governing the way in which we take our ambition forward have changed, due, to some degree, to the success of transnational World Heritage Sites. But perhaps the rules can change again in the future, and the opportunity may arise to unite the various FRE World Heritage Sites into a single Site, particularly after demonstrating the success of the currently proposed management cluster. Or the approach may work so effectively that we do not see the need to unite but maintain our international collaboration and shared goals; one way to achieve that might be through the creation of a research strategy for Roman frontiers. The Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site has the potential to truly meet some of the ideals of UNESCO, collaborating internationally on education, scientific research and culture.

To help achieve that end, the project is supported by the publication of a series of multi-language booklets on the frontiers of the Roman Empire. To date, booklets have been published on the Antonine Wall, Hadrian's Wall, the Lower German *Limes*, Bavaria (only available online), the Danube *Limes*, Austria, Hungary, Slovakia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Muntenia in Romania and North Africa, which has a version in Arabic as well as a second in English, French and German (for these and other publications see: www.limes-oesterreich.at). In addition, a DVD, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire*, has been produced by Boundary Productions, now edufilm (https://www.edufilm.at/).

Acknowledgement

We are grateful for the opportunity to present this short paper to Mirjana Sanader, who has represented Croatia on the Bratislava Group since its earliest days. It is thanks to her enthusiastic engagement in this international project that we have progressed this far and are now on the cusp of realising a wider ambition first articulated almost twenty years ago.

Abbreviations

FRE	Frontiers of the Roman Empire
WHS	World Heritage Site

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On the Monumental Minerva from Salona*

Zrinka BULJEVIĆ, Split

A monumental marble statue was found in Salona in 1886 near the theatre. It is held in the Archaeological Museum in Split (inv. no. AMS-B-69). Given the preserved fragment of a shield on its chest, it has been attributed to Minerva, the goddess of wisdom and the patron of the arts, crafts and commerce. This Italic goddess was over time assimilated with the Greek goddess Athena. The deity's head wearing a helmet, built into the wall of a house in Kaštel Lukšić, and the Salonitan monumental statue are the only marble sculptures reliably attributed to Minerva in Salona and the entire province of Dalmatia. Her cult in Dalmatia has been confirmed on the basis of inscriptions, reliefs, ceramic and bronze statuettes, oil-lamps and gems. The monumental Minerva was probably a Roman modification of the Hellenistic model of Athena Promachos. Such a Minerva was first depicted on Hellenistic and then Roman coins. She was shown in a war-like pose, resting on her left leg in forward stance while her right leg is in motion, with, it is believed, a shield raised on her left arm and holding a spear in her right hand. Based on the find site of the marble statue and its dimensions, it is assumed that it had been installed in a shrine to the goddess in the city's old section, probably in the first decades of the 1st century AD.

Key words: *Dalmatia, Salona, Minerva, Athena Promachos, statue, statuette, inscription, gem, relief, oil-lamp*

The monumental marble statue found near the Salona theatre (Klement 1890: 5; Jelić *et al*. 1894: 187) in 1886, on land belonging to Martin Bulić, in cadastral plot 3593[1] in the Grudine location, thus east of the theatre and forum (Fig. 1),[2] was purchased that same year by the Archaeological Museum in Split (inv. no. AMS-B-96), where it underwent conservation procedures in 2017.[3] The upper parts of the bust, head and arm, the lower parts of the legs, and attributes are missing. It has been preserved to a

* I happily dedicate this work to Professor Mirjana Sanader for this anniversary.

[1] Data entered by hand accompanying the text in: Klement 1890, and in the Inventory Log.

[2] I would like to thank Arsen Duplančić, the head of the library in the Archaeological Museum in Split, for assisting me in locating this land from the list of plots in the Cadastre from 1831; cf. Ivanišević & Ivanišević 2011: sheet 17, and for setting aside the part of the cadastre with plot 3593 from ca. 1907, after finding the theatre, and which I am publishing herein (Fig. 1).

[3] The head of the conservation and restoration task was Duje Ordulj, the restorer of the Archaeological Museum in Split, and it was performed by the staff of RestArs, a sole proprietorship registered for restoring stone sculpture owned by Iva Paduan, a conservation and restoration specialist. See *Izvješće o izvedenom konzervatorsko-restauratorskom zahvatu čišćenja arheoloških predmeta iz lapidarija Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu*, Hvar, 13 Oct. 2017, no.: 1706-3. In a conversation conducted on 17 January, Duje Ordulj told me that during the laser cleaning metallic deposits were observed, probably from a clasp, and it has been assumed that it was lead, because iron or bronze would have left a recognizable trace.

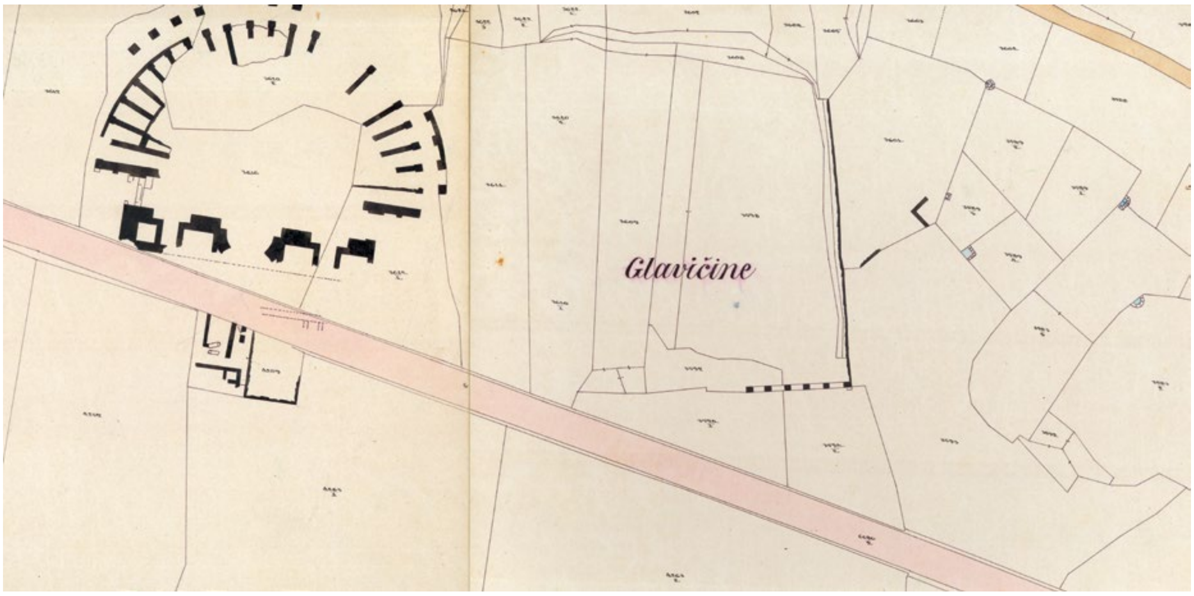

Fig. 1. Illustration of the find site of the Minerva statue on plot 3593, in the cadastre from ca. 1907, Archives of the Archaeological Museum in Split.

height of 171 cm, a maximum width of 73 cm below the knees and 53.5 cm at the level of the breast; its thickness is 41 cm. The statue is made of white, most likely Proconnesian marble.[4] Despite these missing parts, but with regard to the shield at its breast, already upon its discovery it was easy to attribute; this is Minerva in a larger than natural size (Fig. 2). Minerva, earlier Menerva, was an indigenous Italic goddess who was assimilated with Greek Athena over time (Canciani 1984: 1074–1075; Colonna 1984: 1050–1051). She wears a chiton belted under her breasts; a regular oval depression is in the middle of the belt, into which an ornament, possibly a serpent's head made of different material, may have been inserted. On the left[5] and middle section of the breast is a partially preserved shield with traces of circular serpent bodies along the edge and the face of a serpent-haired Gorgon on the lower left edge; the shield is more polished then the remaining preserved elements. Minerva's stance is dynamic: she is stepping forward with the left leg, on which she stands firmly, while the right leg is more bent at the knee and turned slightly rightward, in motion, accented by the folds on the chiton. Namely, on the frontal side, the thickly carved vertical folds of the chiton at the breast and down the middle of the statue thin out and are oriented toward the thighs and calves, and also ankles, following the bodily motion. The central core of the circular cross-section in the lower part of the sculpture is a static element formerly covered by the chiton, as a result of which it is even today stable. An irregular depression is visible from the front. On the rear side (Fig. 3), the only sketched folds of the chiton, more thickly arranged, are longer and deeper on the right side, thereby also emphasizing the motion which lifts and orients the chiton to the right. The belt is only visible on the right side of the back, and the entire upper section of the back has diagonally carved folds which indicate another item of apparel: a cloak that probably fell over the shoulder. The buttocks are indicated by the basic carving of the marble block, also emphasized by less frequent and shallow vertical folds, which is particularly notable on the right lateral side of the sculpture. The folds on the right side (Fig. 4) are vertically carved beneath the belt and there are none until the point below the knee, whence they are directed in line with the motion at the calf and ankle, evoked by the diagonal and semi-circular folds. There is a partially preserved depression in the upper section of the thighs, possibly to fasten or insert an element made of the same or a different material; a rectangular depression is positioned diagonally in relation to the fold behind the right calf. The vertical folds on the left side (Fig. 5) are deeply carved, and then shallower and diagonally in line with the motion from the knees and calves. It would appear that the chiton was connected on the left side, which is suggested by the deep vertical folds of the pleat, on which tiny horizontal incisions can be seen slightly above the knee level. Folds of clothing, the chiton and cloak, are on the preserved parts of

[4] According to the report of 27 Feb. 2019, for which I thank Ivo Donellli, a full professor at the Academy of Art in Split (UMAS); a sample from the sculpture was analyzed under an Andonstar ADSM302 digital mobile microscope at 50x magnification, and compared with a reference sample from the UMAS data-base.

Fig. 2. Minerva, Archaeological Museum in Split, inv. no. AMS-B-69 (photograph: T. Seser, 2019).

Fig. 3. Minerva, Archaeological Museum in Split, inv. no. AMS-B-69 (photograph: T. Seser, 2019).

Fig. 4. Minerva, Archaeological Museum in Split, inv. no. AMS-B-69 (photograph: T. Seser, 2019).

Fig. 5. Minerva, Archaeological Museum in Split, inv. no. AMS-B-69 (photograph: T. Seser, 2019).

the arm and shoulder. Given the posture, I maintain that the deity's helmeted head faced left and that she held the shield in her left hand, and a spear in her right.

The fabric does not flutter but it adheres to the motion of the goddess, which is dynamic in the sense of an energetic pose; I thus maintain that it does not belong to the running Minerva type, although the Roman statue of this type from the Augustan era held in the Capitoline Museums is similar to it; the running Minerva on pottery and on coins from the 1st-3rd centuries holds a shield and spear in her left hand, and, in some cases, an olive branch in her right.[6]

Given the find-site and dimensions of the marble statue, it has been assumed that it had been installed in the old section of the city, in a building, probably a shrine near the forum.[7] Duje Rendić-Miočević therefore maintained that the oldest temple in Salona, the one next to the theatre,[8] was dedicated to Minerva (Rendić Miočević 1952: 149, n. 1.). Generally this temple has been associated with Dionysus, or Liber.[9] It was thus found in the oldest section of Salona, in which structures dated to the first decades of the 1st century AD had been found (Cambi 1991: 17, n. 63). With regard to this context, the find of the monumental statue can also be dated to the 1st century AD, probably in its first decades. The statue of Apollo or Dionysus, which belongs to the rather few copies, or derivatives, of famed Greek originals found in Salona, found next to the theatre has been dated to the same period (Cambi 2005: 22–23, Fig. 19; Duplančić 2015: 189, Fig. 10, 11).

A ceramic statuette of Minerva from the end of the 2nd century AD was found in the eastern section of Salona, at the Grudine location in an improvised shrine, in 1951 (Rendić Miočević 1952; Nardelli 2000: 80–81, cat. no. 89). Both, albeit without direct analogies, were formed according to the same iconographic model: Athena Promachos. The epithet Promachos denotes the goddess as the warrior or defender on the front line. Here I shall stress that this is not an identification with Phidias' Athena Promachos (generally believed to have been erected between 460–450 BC to memorialize the Greek victory over the Persians at Marathon in 490 BC) as his colossal bronze Athena in the Athenian Agora was later (in the 5th century AD) called (Lundgreen 1997: 190, n. 4, 5, 191, n. 9–11, 195). Phidias' Athena Promachos has not been preserved, but by examining various sources, of which only Attic coins from the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD are reliable because they contain depictions of the entire Acropolis, it has been reconstructed as standing goddess wearing girdled attire, probably a peplos, and a helmet on her head, holding a winged attribute in her extended arm, with a spear resting on the shoulder of the other arm and a shield against the leg on the same side (Lundgreen 1997: 192–195, 192, 197, n. 81, P. 1a). The marble statue from Salona depicts Minerva striding or in a warlike stance, with her left leg stepping forward, and a shield raised on one arm and holding a spear in the other hand, so it has been associated with the Archaic Promachos type, typical of the 6th century BC (Lundgreen 1997: 195, n. 65); it has already been noted that the torso of the monumental statue reflects the Greek tradition (Klement 1890: 5; Jelić *et al*. 1894: 187; Rendić Miočević 1952: 149). It is not easy to distinguish between the primitive Promachos type brandishing a spear from the types derived from it in the 5th century, nor the Roman from the Hellenistic Promachoi, which were reformulated classical types.[10] The Salonitan imported (Cambi 2005: 10; Cambi 2011: 99, n. 2; Cambi 2014: 159, 163) Minerva had a shawl over the left shoulder, like the statue from Herculaneum, which is a possible derivative of the fragmented Hellenistic Athena from the Agora.[11] Minerva Promachos

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5 The terms *right* and *left* pertain to the actual sides of the sculpture, and not those perceived by the eyes of the observer.

6 Canciani 1984: LIMC II. 1: 1089–1090, no. 200–207, no. 204: Musei Capitolini; LIMC II. 2: 802, no. 204; cf. Villing 2009: LIMC Supplementum 1: 121, add.22; LIMC Supplementum 2: 49, add.22.

7 Cf. Dyggve 1933: 57, n. 3; Dyggve 1991: 251, n. 34; temples earlier than the theatre, and south of the theatre, are preserved in the foundations: Rendić-Miočević 1991: 258–259, 264–265, n. 7, 8, 9, 17; Cambi 2002: 62, n. 255, Fig. 66; Mardešić 2008; Jeličić Radonić 2014: 86, n. 11.

8 The theatre has been dated to the 1st c., possibly to its first decades: Cambi 2002: 73, n. 321; Dyggve (Dyggve 1989: 147) dated it to the mid-1st c., and Suić (Suić 1976: 170) to the Trajanic era.

9 Cambi 2002: 73; Jeličić Radonić 2014: 86; Duplančić 2015: 189, Fig. 10, 11; Jeličić-Radonić 2015: 23, Fig. 1, 2.

10 Demargne 1984: LIMC II. 1, 1044–1041, so there are Archaic bronzes of Athena (no. 173) which may be placed in the Roman era (Canciani 1984: LIMC II. 1: no. 224): LIMC II. 2: 723, no. 173; Canciani 1984: LIMC II. 1: 1090–1091, F, no. 214–226, LIMC II. 2: 802–803; cf. Colonna 1984: LIMC II. 1: 1055–1057, 1073, C, no. 50–93, LIMC II. 2: 772–775.

11 Demargne 1984: LIMC II. 1: 1041, no. 171; Canciani 1984, LIMC II. 1: no. 222: LIMC II. 2: 723, no. 171.

was depicted on Hellenistic,[12] and then Roman coins from the 1st to 3rd centuries AD;[13] examples are, to be sure, known from Dalmatia.[14]

The head of Athena or Minerva wearing a Corinthian helmet, built into an external wall of a house in Kaštel Lukšić, is probably part of a cult statue, possibly Salonitan, imported from the eastern Mediterranean, probably from Aphrodisias in Asia Minor in the latter half of the 2nd century (Cambi 2011: 97, 104–105, Fig. 1–5; Cambi 2014: 161). The stylistic and technical characteristics of its rendering associate it with the head of the so-called Minerva from Aequum (Čitluk near Sinj) wearing a high diadem over her forehead (Cambi 2005: 123, Fig. 180, 181; 2011: 103–104, Fig. 6; 2014: 161), the monumental head of the Maenad from Salona (Cambi 2005: 123, Fig. 182, 183; 2011: 104, n. 22; 2014: 161), and the statue of Diana Lucifera from Aequum (Cambi 2005: 156–158, Fig. 232; 2011: 104; 2014: 161).

Minerva holding a shield in her left hand and a spear in the right, with both attributes resting on the ground, is notable among the deities on the Split relief bearing a depiction of the Roman pantheon from the mid-2nd century AD (Sanader 2008: 367–370, Fig. 1). All twelve deities were probably depicted in this relief, just as this was possibly the case on two other Dalmatian monuments: the Salonitan altar and the Naronitan sarcophagus; however, the depictions of Athena, or Minerva, were not preserved on them (Sanader 2008: 372–374, n. 18 and 19, Fig. 5 and 6). In Šipovo, near Jajce (*Baloie*), on the Salona-Servitium road, a locally made pre-tetrarchic or tetrarchic relief was found with a preserved depiction of Minerva and Jupiter, and a partially preserved image of the *genius loci* (Cambi 2005: 201, n. 736, Fig. 304), as well as a votive inscription to Minerva (ILJug 3: 1624; Mesihović 2011: 324–325, no. 17).

Minerva, among other gods, is mentioned on an inscription from Splitska on the island of Brač dedicated to Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus, and at least one other person from the imperial family, dated to 211 AD (CIL 3: 10109; Matijević & Kurilić 2011: 144). The sculpture (*simulacrum*) of Minerva in the Salonitan temple to the Capitoline Triad, in which Jupiter was worshipped together with Juno and Minerva (Canciani 1984: LIMC II. 1: 1075), has not been preserved – which is the case in all other supposed temples to the Capitoline Triad in Dalmatia.[15] The temple was raised in Salona on the northern side of the forum in the 1st century, during the period of most intensive Romanization, as were other, similar temples and forums in Dalmatian cities (Cambi 2002: 66). Besides the remains of possible temples to the Capitoline Triad in

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12 RIC I: 119, n. 3; Demargne 1984: LIMC II. 2: 722–723, no. 159, 160 and 162, 163–165, 166 and 170, 169, LIMC II. 1: 973, no. 158–170.

13 Due to the lack of illustration in RIC, OCRE was used: coins of Claudius: RIC I: 100, 116; coins of Vespasian: RIC 2/1: 920, 1482, 1493, 1517; coins of Titus: RIC II/1: 268, 294–297, 311, 312, 330, 331, 343, 344, 483–490, 495; coins of Domitian: RIC 2/1: 56–59, 76, 77, 87, 88, 97, 98, 110–112, 158, 161–165, 171–173, 176–183, 255–260, 318–320, 327, 328, 332–334, 342, 343, 391, 392, 424–427, 435–437, 444–446, 450, 451, 453, 454–456, 503–507, 517, 518, 552, 553, 556, 557, 562–565, 567, 570–577, 591, 592, 652, 653, 656–658, 663, 664, 667, 672, 674, 675, 685, 686, 689, 690, 695, 696, 719, 720, 724, 725, 728, 729–731, 735, 736, 739, 740, 743, 744, 761, 762, 766, 767, 770, 771, 775, 776, 787, 788, 818, 829, 830; coins of Hadrian: RIC II, 331, 664, 827a, 827d; coins of Antoninus Pius: RIC III: 47ab, 47b, 465a–d, 563a, 563b, 666, 686, 779, 826, 831, 1243a, 1243b, 1244, 1263, 1285; coins of Marcus Aurelius: RIC III: 198, 211, 230, 991; coins of Commodus: RIC III: 56, 72, 82, 368a, 368ba, 368bd, 400a, 400d, 410a, 410d, 419, 421a, 421b; possible coin of Septimius Severus: RIC IV/1: 363 (7); I took into account coins on which, on the reverse, Minerva is depicted facing right at the moment when she brandishes her spear in her right hand, and holds a shield in her left, moving or standing freely, on a prow or rostral column, or a procession litter (*ferculum*): on this cf. Hazelton 2017. J. Hazelton maintained that Domitian's coin (RIC II/1: 552–554) bears a depiction of Minerva's cult statue from the temple on Aventine Hill, while similar depictions with an owl next to her leg (RIC II/1: 575–577) show the ceremonial statue that was carried on a litter during military triumphs or, more often, in circus parades (*pompa circensis*); her oldest shrine, from the 3rd c. BC, is the one on the Aventine Hill: Canciani 1984: LIMC II. 1: 1075.

14 Since depictions on coins do not testify to Minerva's cult in Dalmatia, I shall cite only a few examples: Tilurium: Šeparović 2003a: coins of Claudius: 191, cat. no. 18 and 19; Šeparović 2014: coins of Claudius: cat. no. 36, 37, 41; Burnum: Šeparović 2003b: coin of Claudius: cat. no. 145; Zaninović 2014: coins of Claudius: 214, cat. no. 70–73; coin of Antoninus Pius: 216, cat. no. 83; unknown sites: Šeparović 2003b: coin of Claudius: cat. no. 518; Bonačić Mandinić 2007: coins of Claudius: cat. no. 56 and 57; coins of Domitian: cat. no. 116, 117, 121; coin of Hadrian: cat. no. 167.

15 Evidence of reverence for the Capitoline Triad in Dalmatia is rare: cf. Sanader 2008: 175.

Dalmatian cities: Iader (Zadar),[16] Aenona (Nin),[17] Nedinum (Nadin),[18] Burnum (Ivoševci),[19] Salona (Solin),[20] Narona (Vid),[21] Epidaurum (Cavtat),[22] Risinium (Risan)[23] and Docleia (Duklja),[24] the existence of the cult of the Triad is also indicated by an inscription from the late Principate from Burnum,[25] and possibly one from a Salonitan altar, but on which the names of other gods may have been mentioned in the continuation of the text.[26] The cult of the Triad is mentioned in the inscription from Bajina Bašta in western Serbia,[27] and on the inscriptions from Liješće, Skelani, Srebrenica (*municipium Malvesatium*) in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in the inscription from the Vrutci location in the western Sarajevo suburb of Ilidža (*Aquae S[]*).[28] That soldiers in particular revered Minerva is clear from the aforementioned inscriptions from Bajina Bašta, Liješće and Burnum, and the inscription from the votive altar in *Tilurium* (Gardun) dedicated to Minerva Augusta (Bulić 1903: 129, no. 3315; ILJug 3: 1947; Matijević 2009: 49–50, Fig. 2). Besides the Salonitan example, in Dalmatia, another statue, and temple, of Minerva are also known from the architectural-votive inscription from the vicinity of Knin, possibly from the Burnum area, restored during the late Principate (ILJug 3: 2801; Sanader 2008: 175; Zović & Kurilić 2015: 410, 412, VII). One other – it is believed – Liburnian inscription testifies to works, construction, dedicated to the goddess (CIL 5: 721; CIL 3: 8805; ILJug 3: 2964; IGLFriuli: 53–55, no. 15). An inscription from Iader dating to the early Principate mentions Minerva's altar (Zović & Kurilić 2015: 406, cat. no. 59). An inscription from *Aposorus* (Osor) mentions Minerva as the patron of the city's artisans.[29] This form of the cult was brought to Liburnia rather early by Italic merchants and artisans (Medini 1976: 190). In Liburnian Flanona, Minerva was worshipped with the epithet Flanatica, which may indicate an *interpretatio romana* of an indigenous cult.[30]

Dalmatian gems with depictions of Athena or Minerva, mostly variants of the Promachos type (the Parthenos and other types are present in smaller numbers), dated to the 1st-3rd centuries are from Burnum,[31] Gardun (*Tilurium*),[32] Salona,[33] Resnik (*Siculi*),[34] Split (*Spalatum*),[35] Gornji Muć (*Andetrium*),[36] Stari Grad (*Pharos*),[37] Makarska (*Muccurum*),[38] Narona,[39] *Epidaurus*,[40] and from an unidentified site.[41]

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16 Sinobad 2008: 232, 233, 235; cf. Zović & Kurilić 2015: 409, n. 59, 411.

17 Sinobad 2008: 248, 249.

18 Sanader 2008: 175.

19 Sinobad 2008: 253.

20 Sinobad 2008: 243–245.

21 Sinobad 2008: 252–253.

22 Sinobad 2008: 252–253.

23 Dyczek 2013: 59.

24 Baković 2011.

25 ILJug 2: 832; Sinobad 2008: 253; Zović & Kurilić 2015: 408, cat. no. 125; Glavaš 2016: 18–19, n. 76.

26 Inv. no. AMS-A-3842; it was found in 1907 on cadastral plot 3600; Bulić 1908: 28; ILJug 3: 2049; Sanader 2008: 175; Sinobad 2008: 245.

27 CIL 3: 14218; ILJug 3: 1529; Mesihović 2011: 259, no. 32; Glavaš 2016: 33–34, n. 221, Fig. 28.

28 Liješće: CIL 3: 14218; ILJug 3: 1529; Mesihović 2011: 219–220, no. 13; Glavaš 2016: 33, n. 218, 214, 219; CIL 3: 14219,15; Mesihović 2011: 218–219, no. 13; Glavaš 2016: 32–33, 34–35, n. 214, 227, Fig. 33; Vrutci: Mesihović 2011: 139–140, no. 3.

29 Sanader 2008: 175; Zović & Kurilić 2015: cat. no. 41; cf. Canciani 1984: LIMC II. 1: 1075.

30 Medini 1976: 190; Girardi Jurkić 2005: 46, 53, n. 340; Sanader 2008: 175; Zović 2013: 66–69.

31 Nedved 1981: cat. no. 129, 130, 134.

32 Nardelli 2011: cat. no. 82–86; Kaić 2013: cat. no. 130, P. XXXIII.

33 AGWien II: no. 1428, P. 137; Nardelli 2002: 207–208, cat. no. 7; Hoey Middleton 1991: cf. cat. no. 255; inv. no. AMS-I-998 (Bulić 1889) and inv. no. AMS-I-1218 (Bulić 1893); Kaić 2013: cat. no. 126, P. XXXII; cat. no. 134, P. XXXIV; cat. no. 138, P. XXXV.

34 Maixner 1881: 80–81, cat. no. 25; Kaić 2013: cat. no. 136, P. XXXIV.

35 Hoey Middleton 1991: cat. no. 35–38; Nardelli 2007: cat. no. 11.

36 Maixner 1881: 80, no. 24; Kaić 2013: cat. no. 127, P. XXXII; cat. no. 353, P. LXXXIX.

37 Kirigin 1976: cat. no. 5a.

38 Bulić 1888: no. 700; Božek & Kunac 1998: cat. no. 229.

39 Nardelli 2003: 171, Fig. 13.

40 Hoey Middleton 1991: cat. no. 256.

41 Hoey Middleton 1991: cat. no. 39, 255; Kaić 2013: cat. no. 124, P. XXXI; cat. no. 125, P. XXXII; cat. no. 135, P. XXXIV; cat. no. 352, P. LXXXVIII.

There are also bronze Minervas from Dalmatia: a bust[42] and statuette from an unknown Dalmatian site,[43] and statuettes from Biskupija,[44] *Burnum*,[45] Zaostrog,[46] and Konavle.[47]

As we can see, considerable traces of Minerva's cult in Dalmatia have been preserved, to which preserved statues, reliefs, inscriptions, gems and oil-lamps testify.[48] The Salonitan monumental Minerva integrates and evokes the stance of Athena Promachos in the spirit of Roman art during the imperial period by copying a Greek or Greek models via types reformulated in the Hellenistic era. Her depictions on coins also testify to this. It was found in the old section of Salona and it was probably installed in a shrine to the goddess in the first decades of the 1st century AD.

Abbreviations

AGWien II	E. Zwierlein – Diehl, *Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien II, Die Glassgemmen. Die Glaskameen. Nachträge zu Band I. Die Gemmen der späteren Kaiserzeit,* 1, München, 1979.
BASD	*Bullettino di archeologia e storia Dalmata*, Split.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin.
HAD	*Hrvatsko arheološko društvo*
IGLFriuli	F. Mainardis, "Aliena saxa. Le iscrizioni greche e latine conservate nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia ma non pertinenti ai centri antichi della regione", *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Anno CDI – 2004, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Memorie*, Serie IX – Volume XVIII – Fasciolo 1, Memoria di Fulvia Mainardis, Roma, 2004, 1–223.
ILJug 2	A. Šašel & J. Šašel, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt* (Situla 19), Ljubljana, 1978.
ILJug 3	A. Šašel & J. Šašel, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt* (Situla 25), Ljubljana, 1986.
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zürich, München, 1984.
LIMC Supplementum 1	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Supplementum 1, Düsseldorf, 2009.
OCRE	Online Coins of the Roman Empire http://numismatics.org/ocre/ (accessed: 28 Jan. 2019)
RIC	*Roman Imperial Coinage*, London.
RIC I	C.H.V. Sutherland, *RIC, Vol. I, Revised Edition, From 31 BC to AD 69*, London, 1984.
RIC II	H. Mattingly & E.A. Sydenham, *RIC II, Vol. I, Vespasian to Hadrian*, London, 1926.
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42 Medini 1968: 151–152, cat. no. 7, P. II: 7

43 Busuladžić 2015: 115–116, 120, cat. no. 11, P. V: 2.

44 Šeparović & Uroda 2009: cat. no. 1.

45 Medini 1968: 147–149, cat. no. 3, P. II: 3.

46 Špikić 2008: 56, n. 48, 62, n. 80.

47 Gavela 1964; the statuette based on classical models is from the latter half of the 5th c.: cf. Canciani 1984: LIMC II. 1: 1088, no. 188; LIMC II. 2: 800, no. 188.

48 Inv. no. AMS-Fc-69940: The head of Athena with a helmet and shield is shown on the discus of an oil-lamp from an unidentified Dalmatian site; it is made of beige ceramic, with an oval body and short nozzle, a pierced fluted handle, and pouring holes on each sided of the image; the discus is divided from the shoulder by a rib up to the air hole, where it continues toward the nozzle, and in a shallower variant it borders the shoulder from the external side as well; the nozzle is separated by a rib shaped like swallowtail, with two pseudo-handles on opposite sides, and a flat bottom encircled by an incision; cf. Perlzweig 1961: Corinthian oil-lamp, early 2nd c., P. 7: 223, P. 8: 250 (shape, treatment of shoulder); Attic oil-lamp, mid-3rd c., P. 12, 15: 653 (image on discus).

RIC III	H. Mattingly & E.A. Sydenham, *RIC, Vol. III, Antoninus Pius to Commodus*, London, 1930.
RIC IV/1	H. Mattingly & E.A. Sydenham, *RIC, Vol. IV, Part 1, Pertinax to Geta*, London, 1936.
UMAS	Umjetnička akademija u Splitu
VAHD	*Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, Split
VAPD	*Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku*, Split

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Notes on water cisterns in Antiquity on the Eastern Adriatic coast

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Albeit an important factor in all civil and military complexes, the topic of water supply in Antiquity is largely overlooked in Croatia. One of the integral parts in systems governing water supply are water tanks i.e. water cisterns. This paper gives a general overview on water cisterns in Croatia. It includes a list of those known to the author and some general information relevant to each.

Key words: *water supply, water cistern, Antiquity, Istria, Dalmatia*

*Introduction**

As for human life in general, so for every settlement, village, city and military camp, access to a reliable water supply is of vital importance (DNP 12/2 406). The care taken in regard to water supply is especially visible in the Mediterranean, a part of which is the Eastern Adriatic. Naturally, there is a stronger need for water storage in this geographical context. The most common solution to the challenge is the construction of water tanks i.e. water cisterns. The same was true in Antiquity.

I want to emphasize how extremely grateful I am for having been given the opportunity to present this paper in a collection of works honoring the 65th birthday of our professor Mirjana Sanader. During her research in Gardun, Professor Sanader has uncovered, documented and presented a large water cistern found in the context of the Roman legionary camp *Tilurium*. The main goal of this short paper is to determine how much and in what way water cisterns of Antiquity are overall presented in Croatian archaeology. Even though scholars in Croatia have been publishing papers on the subject since the end of the 19th c. (Bulić 1898; Gnirs 1924; Matijašić 1998: 284–291), the topic of water supply in Antiquity and the role cisterns had in it was never systematically observed. The greatest number of these water cisterns in Croatia can be found in Istria, which is where this list begins.

Water cisterns on the Eastern Adriatic coast

On the territory of Umag, three such tanks are mentioned. One of them is located on the site sv. Ivan Kornetski (Katunarić 2009: 374), the second one on the site Katoro-Tiola (Bolšec Ferri & Čučković 2008: 261) and the third one on the site of Dajla (dimensions: 9 x 3 meters) (Gnirs 1924: 150; Matijašić 1998:

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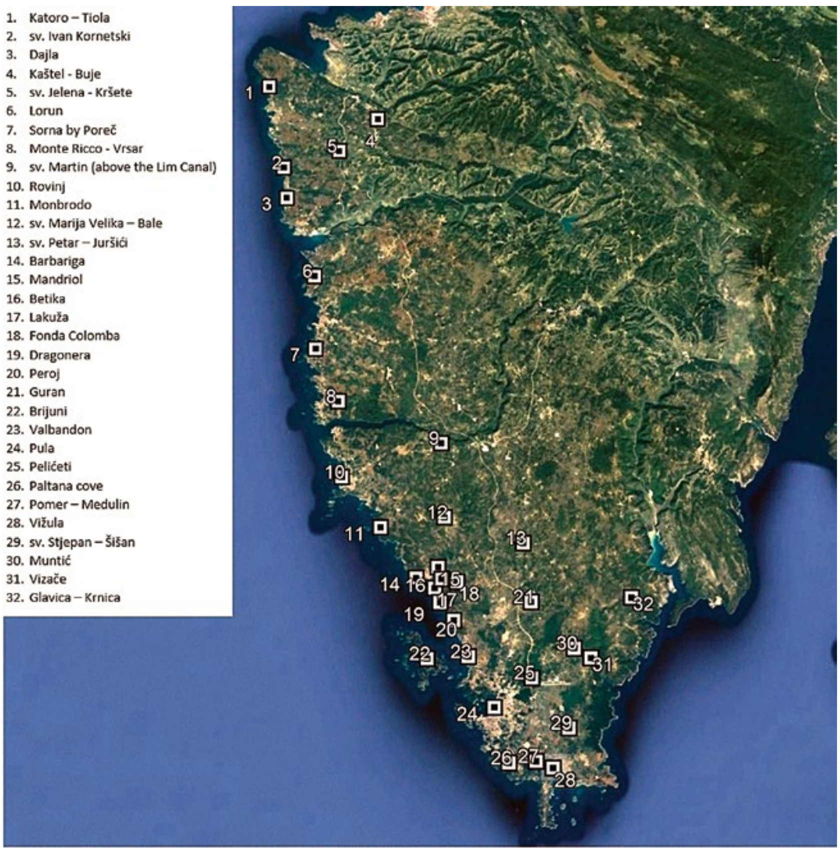
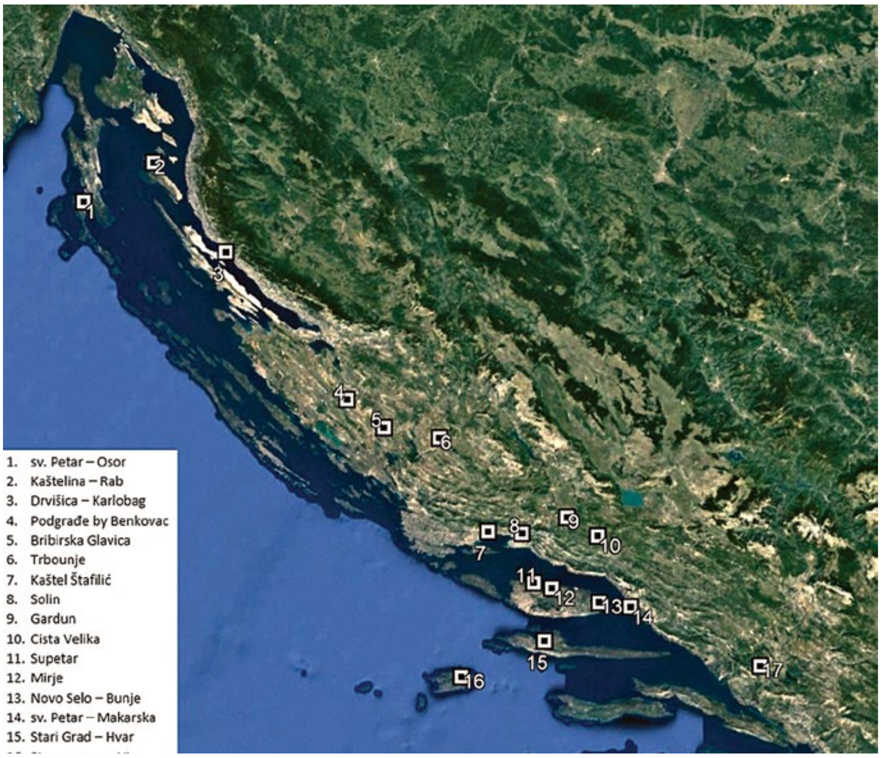
* This work has been fully supported by Croatian Science Foundation under the project IP-2018-01-4934 „Understanding Roman Borders: the Case of the Eastern Adriatic" (AdriaRom).

288, tab. 3). Close by, one example from the site Kaštel, dated back to Late Antiquity, was documented on the territory of the town of Buje (dimensions: 6.5 x 4 meters) (Milošević 2013: 439). On the site Kršete - sv. Jelena, there are known to be two cisterns. The floor of the larger one is constructed in *opus spicatum*, and it seems to be 8 meters long and 4 meters wide. The smaller one is 3 meters long and wide (Ujčić 2010: 352). In the corners inside of the tank on the site of Lorun (dimensions: 12 x 12 meters, with a maximum preserved height of 2.20 meters) slots, which might have been used for vaulting, are still visible (Kovačić 2005: 142). A water cistern is mentioned to exist in Sorna, near Poreč, and it is documented to be 13 meters long and 7.5 meters wide (Matijašić 1998: 287, tab. 3). On the site of Monte Ricco, near Vrsar, a cistern 7.10 meters long and 16.50 meters wide has been uncovered. In addition, it is 2 meters high, with a small part of the vaulted ceiling being preserved (Buršić-Matijašić & Matijašić 2016: 21). Construction of a cistern from the site of Sv. Martin (above the Lim canal) dates back to the 1st century and the first half of 2nd century (dimensions: 9.8 x 3.8 meters, with a maximum preserved height of 1.8 meters). Its floor is constructed with *opus spicatum* (Percan 2011: 418–420). In the town of Rovinj, on the location of Val Faborso, the existence of a water cistern (dimensions: 10.7 x 3.8 meters, with a maximum preserved height of 3.5 meters) was documented by A. Gnirs (Gnirs 1924: 149; Matijašić 1998: 288, tab. 3). The same author first documented a cistern on the site of Monbrodo (dimensions: 16.2 x 5.7 meters, with a maximum preserved height of 2 meters) (Gnirs 1924: 149; Matijašić 1998: 288, tab. 3). Another water tank was identified during research done on the benedictine church and monastery on the site of sv. Marija Velika in the municipality of Bale (Jurković & Marić 2006b: 240). R. Matijašić mentions the existence of a cistern on the location of sv. Petar in Juršići (Matijašić 1998: 288, tab. 3). There are known to be two cisterns located in Barbariga. One of them is quite larger than the other (dimensions: 25 x 12.55 meters, with a maximum preserved height of 3 meters) and has an *opus spicatum* floor with visible bases where once stood columns that supported the vault, which divided the three-aisled cistern (Matijašić 1998: 287, tab. 3; Višnjić 2010: 323–327). The other (dimensions: 5 x 4.5 meters) is, supposedly, located in the sea (Gnirs 1924: 150; Matijašić 1998: 287, tab. 3; Višnjić 2010: 326). The existence of three other water cisterns in close proximity to Barbariga is mentioned by scholars. One (dimensions: 30 x 3.5 meters, with a maximum preserved height of 1.8 meters) is located in Mandriol (Matijašić 1998: 287, tab. 3), the second one (dimensions: 24 x 3 meters, with a maximum preserved height of 1.3 meters) on the site of Betika (Gnirs 1924: 149; Matijašić 1998: 288, tab. 3), and the third (dimensions: 18 x 6 meters, with a maximum preserved height of 3 meters) in the Marić cove - Lakuža (Matijašić 1998: 287, tab. 3). The site of Fonda Colomba is mentioned to contain one water cistern (dimensions: 15 x 3 m) (Matijašić 1998: 287, tab. 3). According to its researchers, a cistern from Dragonera can be dated to the time of Emperor Titus (Starac 2006a: 197). In the area of Peroj, there are known to be two cisterns. The larger one (dimensions: 12.4 x 3.2 meters, with a maximum preserved height of 3 meters) can be found on a location called Val Murazzi (Gnirs 1924: 149; Matijašić 1998: 288, tab. 3) and the smaller one (dimensions: 5 x 8 meters) on the location of Velika Šaraja (Matijašić 1998: 287, tab. 3). One water cistern was identified by researchers during work on the St. Cecilia Church on the Guran site in the municipality of Vodnjan (Jurković & Marić 2006a: 206; Jurković *et al.* 2009: 332). At the Verige cove, on the eastern side of the island of Veli Brijun exist three fairly large water tanks and also a smaller one. The largest tank is 37.6 meters long and 3.2 meters wide, whereby its highest preserved point is 3 meters high (Matijašić 1998: 287, tab. 3). The second-largest cistern at the Verige cove is 14.3 meters long, 10.7 meters wide and its highest preserved point is 1.5 meters high (Gnirs 1924: 143; Matijašić 1998: 287, tab. 3) while the third one is 31 meters long and 3.1 meters wide with its highest preserved point being 3 meters high (Matijašić 1998: 287, tab. 3). The smaller cistern is 6 meters long and 5.7 meters wide. Its highest preserved point is 2 meters high (Gnirs 1924: 144; Matijašić 1998: 287, tab. 3). On the same island, at the location called Gradina, there is another, smaller water cistern. It is 14.8 meters long and 2.5 meters wide, while its highest preserved point is 2.5 meters high (Gnirs 1924: 139; Matijašić 1998: 287, tab. 3).). Another water cistern is mentioned to exist on the western side of the island, in the Dobrika cove, and is 7.35 meters long and 3.2 meters wide. Its highest preserved point is 3 meters high (Matijašić 1998: 287, tab. 3). The neighboring island of Mali Brijun is mentioned to have one known cistern on a position referred to as sv. Nikola. The object is relatively small. It is 4.2 meters long and 3 meters wide (Gnirs 1924: 150; Matijašić 1998: 287, tab. 3). One water cistern is known to exist in Valbandon. It's 8.7 meters long and 4.6 meters wide (Gnirs 1924: 150; Matijašić 1998: 288, tab. 3). In the area of Pula, two cisterns, which are considered public cisterns by scholars, have been documented. The slightly larger one is 14.5 meters long and 11.5 meters wide. The other is 15 meters long and 9 meters wide, whereby its highest preserved point is 1.75 meters high. R. Matijašić mentions other cisterns in the area of

Pula: Monumenti (dimensions: 3.4 x 5.4 m), two cisterns from the position „casa Petinelli" (dimensions: 1) 3 x 3.8 meters, with maximum preserved height of 1.85 meters, and 2) 3 x 2.4 meters, with maximum preserved height of 2.8 meters), „viale Carrara" (dimensions: 3.8 x 3.1 meters, with a maximum preserved height of 1.5 meters), „via Stancovich" (dimensions: 8.3 x 1.95 meters, with a maximum preserved height of 2 meters). One cistern is known from the sv. Andrija island (dimensions: 5.2 x 3 meters, with a maximum preserved height of 2.5 meters) in Pula (Gnirs 1924: 133–138; Matijašić 1998: 288–289, tab. 3). Furthermore, a larger number of water cisterns were found during recent reconstruction work in the st. Theodor district in Pula. Researchers believe they were part of a wider system (Starac 2006b: 237). Three cisterns have been identified on the site of Pelićeti. The largest one (dimensions: 11.58 x 4.13 meters, with a maximum preserved height of 3.10 meters) has a settling tank and 5 limestone monolithic column bases that supported the vault. Several monolithic elements of the cistern were found inside the object, such as the flat roof stone with an opening for grabbing water and a stone pipe for water input. The floor is made in *opus spicatum*. The second cistern in Pelićeti (dimensions: 2.98 x 2.04 meters, with a maximum preserved height of 1.15 meters) had a floor in *opus spicatum* and was connected to two small settling pools. The most recent cistern on the site, dated by the small finds, was 4.85 meters long and 3.88 meters wide. The maximum preserved height of the walls was 1.80 meters (Džin 2007: 256–259). A cistern from the Paltana cove is 7.2 meters long and 4 meters wide (Gnirs 1924: 150; Matijašić 1998: 288, tab. 3). In Pomer, near Medulin, there is a cistern with an interesting ground plan in the shape of an irregular L (internal dimensions: 7.60 x 7.06 x 4.72 x 4.57 x 2.65 x 2.48 meters). The tank has two monolithic stone settling tanks whose dimensions are 90 x 90 cm and 85 x 90 cm, respectively. On the floor of the cistern, made in *opus spicatum*, five bases measuring 0.74 x 0.74 meters can be seen. The bases themselves are 1.08 and 1.28 meters apart (Džin 2008: 280–281). Two cisterns seem to be documented in Vižula also in Medulin. The larger one (dimensions: 8.60 x 4.60 meters, with a maximum preserved height of 3.10 meters) was, according to its researchers, probably barrel-vaulted, with the floor done in *opus spicatum*. A stone settling tank was also identified. A monolithic flat roof stone with a circular opening, probably used as an opening for water access, was found as well (Girardi Jurkić & Džin 2007: 281). The smaller cistern (dimensions: 6.50 x 3.20 meters) also has an *opus spicatum* floor and is today partly in the sea (Miholjek 2012a: 432; 2012b: 525–531). Another cistern is present at Šišan (Matijašić 1998: 288, tab. 3). A three-part water tank in Muntić



Map 1: General locations of known water cisterns in Antiquity in Istria and Brijuni (by: D. Bužanić according to Google Earth, 2019).



Map 2: General locations of known water cisterns in Antiquity in Dalmatia and the islands of the Eastern Adriatic (by: D. Bužanić according to Google Earth, 2019).

(dimensions: 5.4 x 6.15 meters + 2 x 1 meter, with a maximum preserved height of 2.25 meters) was documented by R. Matijašić (Matijašić 1998: 286–287, tab. 3). The same author gives measurements for two cisterns from Vizače (dimensions: A\ 2.53 x 2.93 meters, with a maximum preserved height of 2 meters, and B\ 5 x 1.75 meters, with a maximum preserved height of 1.5 meters) (Matijašić 1998: 288, tab. 3). On the location of Glavica near Krnice, there is a 30-meters long cistern, with a maximum preserved height of 1.5 meters (Matijašić 1998: 288, tab. 3).

Another cistern was documented during research on a benedictine monastery and St. Peter church in Osor, on the island of Cres. (Marić *et al.* 2008: 352; 2009: 437). On the Kaštelina site, on the island of Rab, a large water cistern was documented with its rainwater drainage system (Jurković & Marić 2009: 417). A water cistern is mentioned to exist also in Drvišica in the municipality of Karlobag (Glavaš 2014: 440). In Podgrađe (Benkovac), a relatively deep cistern was found in an urban context. It is 3.5 meters long and 3 meters wide, but its walls are 8 meters high. Like a good portion of water cisterns, it was dug into the soil. Originally, the *opus spicatum* floor was completely visible, but at a later time an improvised column was added in the center of the tank in order to hold the stone roof. A flat stone block with a circular opening for grabbing water was found inside it (Perović 2009: 149–160). At Bribirska Glavica, at the location called *nymphaeum*, four Roman cisterns were found, an additional one at the location behind the larger medieval house and an older one, for which scholars believe to be Liburnian, but renovated during the Roman times. In addition to this, one more cistern (dimensions 6.25 x 4.60 m, with maximum preserved height of 2.30 m) was dated to the 1st century and has a mosaic floor made of small white stone cubes (*tesserae*) (Pedišić 2005: 205; 2006: 325; 2007: 363–364). The location Crkvine on the Trbounje site on the territory of Drniš contained a water cistern that was found next to the narthex of a church (Zaninović 2008: 435–437). One possible Roman cistern was found built against a wall of a *villa rustica* in Kaštel Štafilić (Maljković & Nodilo 2010: 598), and another one, at the site Kaštel Štafilić-Resnik, was partially destroyed (Kamenjarin & Šuta 2008: 461). Researchers on the Rižinice site in Solin claim that a water cistern from the site contains a mosaic floor (Gudelj 2014: 574). Another cistern (dimensions: 11 x 7.5 meters, with maximum preserved height of 1 meter) was documented on the territory of the town of Solin by F. Bulić (Bulić 1898: 35–39). At Gardun, a very large cistern was dug into the soil on top of a hill. It had a quadrangular plan, but the southern (19.30 meters) and western (27.95 meters) walls are around 3 meters longer than their opposite northern (16.60

meters) and eastern (24.89 meters) walls. There were rectangular columns inside the cistern, most probably in order to support a roof that has not been preserved to this day (Sanader 2003: 41–54). Excavations in Cista Velika unearthed two cisterns of different sizes. The smaller one was overlayed by the floor of an early Christian church (Maršić *et al.* 2000: 115–128). A surviving water tank can be seen in Supetar on the island of Brač, among the remains of a Roman production complex (Galiot 2011: 729). On the same island, the existence of a larger number of cisterns is mentioned on a Late Antique site Mirje (Kovačić 2006: 372; 2010: 29–32). It seems that two cistern exist as a part of a *villa rustica* on the site Novo Selo – Bunje, on the island of Brač (Jelinčić 2005: 124–126). Another example was documented on the site sv. Petar in Makarska (Tomasović 2012: 621; 2013: 723). One water cistern dated to the Late Antiquity was found during research done on a location called Remetin vrt in Stari Grad on the island of Hvar (Jeličić Radonić & Katić 2014: 614). In the Stonca cove on the island of Vis two water tanks are covered by the sea (Zubčić 2005: 231). A roof of the cistern in Vid by Metković (dimensions: 2.75 x 1.10 meters, with a maximum preserved height of 1.40 meters) was covered with four large stone panels, one of which had a circular opening to allow access to the water supply (Čargo & Piteša 2006: 432). On the site Koludrt in Lumbarda on the island of Korčula, D. Rendić-Miočević confirmed the existence of a large water cistern without a roof and filled with stone debris. The first finds from the cistern were Roman ceramics, but the cistern itself was assumed to be Hellenistic. (Rendić-Miočević 1970: 31–34). New research on the site, conducted under the guidance of H. Potrebica, and publications which are to follow will surely shed new light on it.

Conclusion

In summary, it can be concluded that at least 81 water cisterns dating back to Antiquity are known from the Croatian part of the Eastern Adriatic. They stretch from northern Istria to southern Dalmatia and the islands. When going through the literature available to me, it was evident that the amount of information about the cisterns varies from paper to paper. Furthermore, there are locations with a larger number of cisterns and the existence of these structures on a couple of sites is sometimes only mentioned. Some papers give the main measurements and state of preservation, while a smaller number provides full information on the structure.

Abbreviations

DNP	*Der neue Pauly*
HAG	*Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak*

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Dvije stele iz Tilurija iz doba nakon odlaska VII. legije

Nenad CAMBI, Split

Tilurij (Tilurium), vojni tabor lociran na mjestu današnjeg sela Gardun poviše Trilja, dao je obilje različitog arheološkog materijala, osobito kamenih spomenika s podatcima o vojnicima i jedinicama (glavnim i pomoćnim). Arheološki materijal nakon odlaska VII. legije je znatno smanjen, ali ipak prisutan. Dvije stele s portretima u klipejima potvrda su da naselje još živi intenzivnim životom. Ove dvije stele nisu izradile radionice koje su klesale za potrebe vojnika, jer potonje imaju svoje jasno prepoznatljive karakteristike. Očito je da su stari klesari otišli zajedno s vojnicima, a došli novi i formirali svoje oblike i ikonografiju. Dvije stele o kojima je riječ su iz ranog II. st. i visoke su zanatske kvalitete. Jedna stela je već davno poznata i pripada dječaku Gaju Laberiju Valensu, a druga je znatnije oštećena i osim gornjeg dijela spomenika ima još samo nekoliko slova natpisa. Ovakvih stela ima u Italiji, ali ne i u Dalmaciji.

Ključne riječi: *Stele s portretima, Gardun, Tilurij, VII. legija*

Tilurij je rimski vojni tabor na Cetini, gdje je najduže taborovala VII. legija uz još neke augzilijarne jedinice koje su zajedno tvorile vojni obrambeni sustav na dijelu rimske provincije Dalmacije u bliskom zaleđu Salone. Lokacija je dala iznimno mnogo različitog arheološkog materijala koji je uglavnom završavao u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu, Arheološkoj zbirci Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju te Muzeju Cetinske krajine u Sinju.[1] Unatoč tome, slika terena nije dovoljno poznata. Međutim, naporima ekipe kolegice Mirjane Sanader tijekom više od dvadesetogodišnjeg terenskog rada poznavanje tilurijskih lokacija, topografije i arheoloških ostataka znatno je uznapredovalo. Činilo mi se da bi za ovu svečanost najprikladnije bilo izabrati neku temu u vezi s Tilurijem, iako sam se osobno minimalno bavio nekom od tilurijskih tema, osim tzv. Gardunskim tropejem, najvažnijim povijesnim i iznimnim umjetničkim djelom vojne spomeničke baštine u širim okvirima Rimskog Carstva. Repertoar vojničkih nadgrobnih spomenika, koji karakterizira specifično vojničke tematike, obradili su M. Sanader (Sanader 2003) i njen učenik D. Tončinić (Tončinić 2011). Takve se stele javljaju u Tiluriju i drugdje gdje su boravili vojnici stacionirani približno do odlaska legije. Poslije je tip stele koji je prevladavao u Tiluriju zasvjedočen i u Burnumu. To se može protumačiti pretpostavkom kako majstori nisu slijedili tu jedinicu na Dunavski limes nego su posla potražili među još preostalom vojskom u Dalmaciji prenijevši oblike, ikonografiju među vojnike XI. legije, a potom i IV. Flavije Feliks u Burnumu koji su u Dalmaciji boravili nešto duže od onih VII. legije. Ekonomska logika za takav razvoj događaja svakako postoji. Međutim, nakon što je vojska otišla iz Burnuma godine 85. takvih stela ili njihovih derivacija ni tamo više nema. Očito je da su tada otišli i kamenoklesari, ali gdje za sada nije moguće utvrditi. Burnum je u doba Hadrijana postao municipij, što je samo viši stupanj razvitka civilno-vojnog naselja nakon odlaska legija (Zaninović 1968). Što se događalo s Tilurijem poslije odlaska vojske, zasada nije jasno, ali prežitci govore da je život kontinuirao na jednoj novoj matrici.

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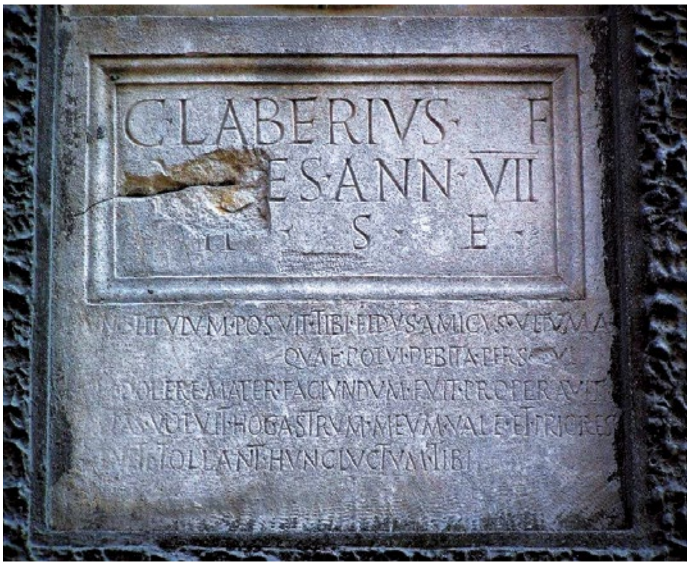
[1] Osim toga, nažalost i u privatnim zbirkama.

Slika 1. Stela Gaja Laberija uzidana u kuću u Vrličkoj ulici br. 19. u Sinju (snimio: N. Cambi).



Slika 2. Natpis stele Gaja Laberija (snimio: N. Cambi).

Ovaj rad ima za cilj samo malo bolje osvijetliti razdoblje od nekoliko desetljeća nakon odlaska legije. Naime, iz Tilurija potječu dvije stele sličnog oblika i ikonografije. Iako su obje objavljene neke čak i iskorištavane za bizarne svrhe, one su široj znanstvenoj javnosti ipak slabo poznate. Nisu međusobno povezane pa je propuštena mogućnost utvrđivanja nekih važnih zaključaka i u vezi života u Tiluriju u poslije legijskom razdoblju.

Prva stela je uzidana u kuću Romana Perkovića, tada u Ulici Oslobođenja 19, u centru Sinja, sada Vrličkoj ulici, gdje je i danas izložena pogledu prolaznika (sl. 1).[2] Stela je dimenzija: 1,13 m visoka, a široka je 0, 46 metara. Debljina u zidu je nemjerljiva. Po dimenzijama spomenik spada među veće primjerke. Stela ima svojstven oblik koji nema apsolutno nikakve veze s čitavom serijom vojničkih nadgrobnih spomenika (ni formalno ni ikonografski) podrijetlom iz Cetinske krajine. Ona je strukturalno pseudo arhitektonskog tipa (trokutni zabat, akroteriji i greda s frizom). Ispod je četvrtasto polje s klipejom okruženim jonskom kimom, a u kutovima su plastične rozete. Ovo polje nema izravno nikakve veze s arhitekturom. To je skulpturalni okvir osobito pogodan da prihvati portret.[3] Uokvireno pravokutno natpisno polje je standardno profiliranog oblika koje nosi samo nekoliko elemenata nadgrobnog natpisa, a glatki ali neuokvireni donji dio nosi zanimljivi natpis (sl. 2) koji glasi:

C(aius) Laberivs .....f(ilius) (nedostaje ime oca)
V[al]e(n)s ann(orum) VII
H(ic) S(itus) E(st)
hvnc titvlvm posvit fidvs amicvs vltvma
qvae potvi debita persolvi
noli dolere mater facivndvm fvit properavit

2 Medini 1984. Autor kao mjesto nalaza navodi Trilj (*Tilurium*) ili Čitluk (*Aequum*). Međutim u CIL III 2722 jasno stoji da spomenik potječe iz Garduna. U korekciji natpisa, u CIL III 9729 više se ne spominje mjesto nalaza i vlasništvo kuće. Vjerojatno se vlasnik već tada promijenio. Naime, u prvom CIL-ovom svesku kao vlasnik navodi se Johannis Buglian (Ivan Buljan), a kuća je obilježena karastarskim brojem 245. O liku u zabatu usp. Cambi 2003; Milošević 1989: 170, sl. 278 navodi mogućnost da je stela iz Garduna ili Čitluka. Isto Milošević 2017: 64, sl. 81. Daljnja razmišljanja pokazat će da je stela otkrivena u Gardunu. O steli je prigodno pisala i Mirjana Sanader 2008a; 2008b.

3 O *imago clipeata* usp. bilj. 15.

Aetas volvit hoc astrvm mevm vale et priores
[an ili aeta]te tollant hvnc lvctvm tibi

Predloženo čitanje na lijevom dijelu natpisa gotovo izlizanog teksta je veoma teško i donekle upućuje na ono što je rekao pokojni akademik Branimir Glavičić.[4] Tekstopisac miješa prvo i treće lice, što znači da u jednom trenutku govori on sam, a u drugom Majci se obraća sam pokojnik. Osnovno se ipak razabire. Riječ je o dječaku od 7 godina kojemu je vjerni prijatelj sročio dirljivi natpis.[5] Slobodni prijevod donjeg dijela teksta bio bi, ako sam ispravno pročitao teško čitljive riječi na početku dva posljednja retka ispod tabule: „Ovaj ti natpis postavi prijatelj vjerni. To je posljednji dug koji ti mogoh uzvratiti. Nemoj tugovati, majko: tako se moralo učiniti. Život mi hitro prođe, to je htjela zvijezda mojeg usuda. Zdrava budi, a rođeni prije mene neka ti uklone ovu tugu".[6] D. Rendić-Miočević daje također svoj prijevod.[7] Najbliže paralele ovakvom izričaju su natpisi iz rimskog svijeta.[8] Geza Alföldi je smatrao da je *Gaius Laberius Valens* vojnik, ali to je očiti epigrafski i ikonografski previd.[9]

U središnjem polju uz unutrašnji rub sa svake strane javljaju se dva identična štapa s vrhom od borova češera. Ovi predmeti nisu dosada bili zapaženi, vjerojatno zbog toga što se smatralo da je to dio okvira. Međutim, kad se dobro pogleda, jasno je da su po srijedi tirsosi, štapovi obično pokriveni listovima vinove loze ili bršljana te s borovim češerom na vrhu (što se jasno vidi). Posebno je jasan desni tirsos. U oba slučaja na Laberijevoj steli zapaža se da su štapovi od dna do vrha ovijeni vrpcom, što je također često kad se prikazuje ovaj atribut. Tirsos je široko rasprostranjeni predmet u Dionisovom (Bakhovom) kultu. Nose ga ili sam bog, Menade (Bahantice) i drugi sudionici tih obreda. Zaključak je da je dječak *Laberius* bio nositelj tirsosa u Dionisovim povorkama, prije nego što je bio primljen među mistese, ali do toga trenutka ostalo mu je više godina (do puberteta) što nije dočekao.

U gornjem dijelu stele u središtu zabata lik je dječaka koji nosi orijentalnu kapu s roščićem i zaštitom obraza (sl. 3). Obično, slijedeći J. Medinija, lik se tumači kao glava Atisa i sukladno tomu da je pokojnik bio pripadnik metroačke religije. U svakom slučaju takva kapa određuje lik kao pripadnika nekog orijentalnog naroda ili pak neku orijentalnu mitsku figuru, možda čak i samog Atisa. Na vrhu trokuta uzdiže se baza na kojoj je stajao neki ukras ili figura, a na akroterijima na bazi trokuta s lijeve i desne strane očuvale su se kandže, po svoj prilici orlovske kakve se u enface ili profilu nalaze na akroterijima nadgrobnih spomenika. Međutim, s obzirom na dionizijske atribute (tirsose) uz portret vjerojatnije se radi o Ganimedu nego Atisu. Prelijepog trojanskog mladića Ganimeda ugrabio je Jupiterov orao i priveo da služi bogovima kao peharnik. Tome u prilog, osim tirsosa, govorili bi orlovi na aktroterijma kao aluzija na otmicu. Također valja naglasiti da je lik u zabatu dječak, što jest bio Ganimed, ali ne i Atis. Identifikacija pokojnika s Ganimedom nije rijetka (Wrede 1981: 50–51 i passim).

U frizu osnovu prikaza tvore tri posude s malim ručkama između kojih su okomito položena dva dupina (s glavama dolje) međusobno povezani repovima. O povezu visi sitna po svoj prilici teatarska obrazina. Dvije su takve skupine dupina. Ovaj ikonografski repertoar nije rijedak na gredama arhitektonskog okvira nadgrobnih spomenika.[10]

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4 Usp. Medini 1984: bilj. 9 (B. Glavičić je rekao da je tekst bez smisla); Rendić-Miočević 1987: 267–268, br. LXXXVIII. Nije jasno zašto je autor naveo da je natpis posvećen Gaju Laberiju Vitalisu, Gajevu sinu, kad jasno stoji da je *cognomen Valens*, a da *praenomen* oca nije uopće uklesan, iako je za kraticu ostavljen dovoljan prostor.

5 Teško bi bilo povjerovati da je prijatelj, sličnih godina, bio donor skupog spomenika od izvrsnog vapnenca. Stoga valja pretpostaviti da je on samo autor teksta.

6 Autor prijevoda je Bratislav Lučin na kojem mu lijepo zahvaljujem.

7 „Ovaj natpis tebi drug tvoj postavi vjerni: time riješih svoj dug – sve što uzmogoh još. Ne plači majko, suđeno bilo mi to. Prebrzo ocva mi dob, zvjezde mi poželi sjaj. Zdravo, a od mene koji su rođeni prije, neka ti uklone tugu.

8 AE 2005, 00498; Inscriptiones Latinae Galliae Narbonensis 00437; Bolletino di Istituto di Centro di Restauro Roma, 1951, 11. Dostupna internet adresa je : http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi.php?s_sprache=de

9 Grešku je počinio Alföldy 1969: 91, s.v. *Laberius*. Naime, u natpisu jasno stoji da je riječ o dječaku od 7 godina, dok se jedinica (*VII. legio*) nigdje ne spominje. Autor je stelu iz Garduna očito brzopleto povezao s tamo prisutnom vojskom. Zavarao ga je možda i rimski broj VII, ali on se odnosi na godine. D. Rendić-Miočević drži da je natpis iz civilnog naselja koje je egzistiralo uz vojni tabor.

10 Takav motiv samo s više segmenata vidi na steli Gaja Utija iz Salone. Usp. Cambi 2013: 22, sl. 26.

Slika 3. Zabat stele s likom Ganimeda(?) u sredini (snimio: N. Cambi).

Slika 4. Portretno polje s likom Gaja Laberija (snimio: N. Cambi).

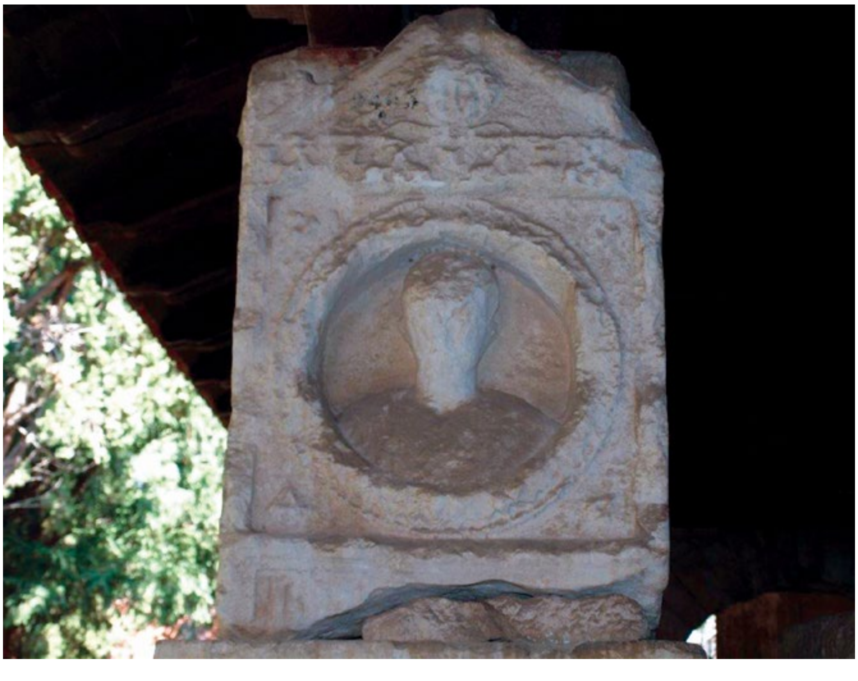
U glavnom polju smješten je *clipeus* s portretom dječaka u tunici preko koje je prebačen ogrtač (sl. 4). Oko vrata zapaža se vrpca o kojoj je visila *bulla*, u ovom slučaju po svoj prilici od zlata s obzirom na kvalitetu spomenika koja je označavala dječački status s posvetom zaštitničkim bogovima do oblačenja muževne toge (*toga virilis*).[11] Lice izgleda kao u odraslog muškarca, ali to je neuspješni pokušaj klesareve

[11] Usp. Rüpke 2011, poglavlje "Religious Aspects in Daily Life" (Nicole Belayche), 278–280. Brončane ili druge jeftinije bulle nosili su siromašni dječaci. O promjenama u dječačkoj dobi, a sukladno tome i bulli usp. Edmondson & Keith 2009: 47–70, poglavlje 2: "*Togam virilem summere*: Coming of Age in the Roman World" (F. Dolansky).

interpretacije suvremenog portretnog izraza. Karakteristike su mu ravne, tek neznatno zalučene obrve, uske izdužene oči s malo odebljanim donjim kapkom. Unutar bjeloočnice nisu naznačene šarenice i zjenice, iako se čini kao da je pogled usmjeren. Kosa je jasno raspoređena. Pramenovi koji dolaze od straga naprijed na sredini čela se razdvajaju i vode sa strana prema uškama. Izraz lica i kosa nedvojbeno pripadaju I. tipu Trajanova portreta, a to znači da na temelju takvog predloška spomenik treba datirati u početak II. st.[12] Prvi tip Trajanova portreta definirao je još davno W.H. Gross.[13] Međutim, ne sliči samo frizura spomenutom Trajanovom tipu portreta nego i crte lica nedvojbeno oponašaju carev izgled i izraz.

Posebno pitanje nudi predmet u desnoj ruci dječaka. Loptasti predmet godinama je bio fiksacija pokojnog Josipa Britvića, amatera arheologa i strastvenog ljubitelja nogometa. Britvić je sebi utuvio u glavu da je riječ nogometnoj lopti i uporno čistio kalcifikat koji se nataložio na predmetu. Konačno su se pojavili osmerokutni sastavni dijelovi lopte. Nije, dakle, riječ ni o jabuci ni o globusu nego o lopti, ali, dakako, nikako nogometnoj, pa unatoč popularnim, ali neutemeljenim mišljenjima otpada ikakva mogućnost da se nogomet u okolici Sinja igrao još u rimsko doba. Rimljani su se, doduše, igrali loptom (*pila*) momčadski i pojedinačno, žonglirali loptom i sl.[14] A nogomet, pa ni primordijalni oblik pak ne. Nogomet je tipično engleski izum XIX. st. i to treba poštovati. Postojala su i igrališta (*campi*) za takve igre u rimskim naseljima. Laberijeva lopta je bila očito lijepo i pravilno izrađena od osmerokutnih komada kože ili još vjerojatnije od tkanine, a iznutra je bila ispunjena konjskom dlakom (Thuillier 1999: 92). Očevidno je da su dječaku Laberiju bile omiljene takve igre koje je igrao s vršnjacima pred različitom publikom (vjerojatno i s prijateljem koji postavlja spomenik).

Dakle vrsna Laberijeva stela nije svjedočanstvo vojnih nego civilnih žitelja nakon što je legija napustila tabor. Jedan ovakav spomenik je važno svjedočanstvo nastavka života na toj lokaciji. O odnosima vojnog i civilnog naselja još je teško govoriti, ali čini se da se neke pojedinosti ipak naziru. Razlog postojanja civilnog naselja (*canabae*) nedvojbeno je smanjen, ali nije nestao. Vjerojatno se središte preselilo uz most na Cetini (*Pons Tiluri*).



Slika 5. Stela iz Tilurija u Arheološkom muzeju Split (snimio: N. Cambi).

Još jedna stela potkrjepljuje nastavak civilnog i civiliziranog života u Tiluriju nakon odlaska VII. legije CPF. Naime, u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu (inv. broj A 2463) čuva se fragment stele sličnog oblika,

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[12] Na njegov upit tako sam doista kazao pokojnom J. Mediniju, što je on prihvatio i uredno citirao u bilj. 10 navedenog rada. Identično mišljenje dijelim i danas, nakon proteklih 40 godina. Dataciju sam i obrazložio u knjizi Cambi 2000: 53, tab. 95, br. 71.

[13] Gross 1940. O tome tipu usp. i Fittschen & Zanker 1985: 38. O Trajanovim portretima u Dalmaciji usp. Cambi 2000: 51–54.

[14] O igrama loptom u rimsko doba usp. Thuillier 1999: 89–94.

rasporeda polja i ikonografskih osobina poput Laberijeve (sl. 5; Bulić, 1900: 8; CIL III 14944 b; Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 111, br. 39, tab. XI, 4). Fragment je razmjerno velik (vis. 0,95 m, šir. 0,60 m, a deblj. 0,05 m). Očito je da je čitav spomenik bio veći i od Laberijeva, ako se uračuna nedostajući dio, a na to upućuje i veća širina. Šteta je što je spomenik dosta izlizan pa je otežana interpretacija. Već davno sam uočio sličnosti tih stela i činjenicu, koja je možda i važnija, da obje potječu iz Garduna (*Tilurium*). Sačuvao se gotovo čitavi gornji dio koji se sastoji od trokutastog zabata s dva jasno uočljiva akroterija na kojima više nema ostataka figura, ali su ove sigurno postojale. Na vrhu trokuta stajao je po svoj prilici i središnji akroterij, ali je odlomljen. U centru trokutastog polja prikazana je glava Meduze raskuštrane kose, a ispod brade jasan je Heraklov čvor (mornarski pašnjak) od zmija čije glave teže prema kutovima. To je dobro prepoznatljiva figura, unatoč oštećenjima, poznata na bezbrojnim primjerima na središtima zabata stela, bočnim stranama sarkofaga, pa čak i zabatima nadgrobnih hramova i naiskosa. Taj lik je svojom apotropejskom simbolikom primjeren nadgrobnim spomenicima. Ispod zabata je greda ukrašena s tri vrča među kojima su obješeni dupini vezani za repove. O vezici visi sitna okrugla obrazina. Nažalost figure su izlizane, ali ipak jasno raspoznatljive. Ispod friza je pravokutno polje s 4 rozete u kutovima, dok je u sredini ubačen klipej omeđen astragalom i ukrasom koji se teško razabire. Unutar klipeja je portret odraslog muškarca što se dade zaključiti, iako je površina veoma korodirana. Nešto bolje je očuvana haljina koja se sastojala od tunike i ogrtača. Niže od četvrtastog polja praktički je sve nestalo osim tri ili četiri slova natpisa, unutar profiliranog natpisnog polja. Iz natpisa se ne može ništa izvući, osim što mu je *praenomen* počinjao slovom T. Donji dio stele odlomljen je i nestao.

Kad se usporede ova dva gardunska spomenika, tada se smije konstatirati, unatoč oštećenosti potonje, da je njihov oblik, raspodjela prostora i ikonografija gotovo identična. U ikonografskom pogledu razlikuje ih samo glava u središtu zabata: u prvom je glava mladog orijentalca (Ganimeda ?), a u drugom Meduza. Prema tome, to je oblik koji je nakon odlaska vojnika bio serijski rađen, zasada potvrđen s dva primjerka. Za drugi se ne može zasigurno kazati je li pripadao vojniku, ali za prvi je to pouzdano. S obzirom na razlike u odnosu na formalne i ikonografske karakteristike brojnih ranijih (vojničkih) stela, nameće se zaključak da su majstore koji su otišli zamijenili neki drugi, brzo nakon odlaska vojnika. Tijekom II. st. i njihove izrađevine nestaju.

Govori se, dakako, o lokalnoj radionici koju karakteriziraju oblici, raspored i figure, jer je ovaj tip zasvjedočen samo u Tiluriju i nigdje drugdje u Dalmaciji. Doduše stele ovakvog tipa, izrađivale su se u Italiji i po svoj je prilici od tamo stigao uzorak, a možda i majstori.[15] Tip stele sa središnjim klipejem nije pogodan za vojnike jer u njemu osim biste jedva što drugo staje, a vojnici su se voljeli predstaviti sa svojom opremom i atributima.[16]

Kratice

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CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin.

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[15] Scarpellini 1987. O klipejima kao obliku za prikazivanje portreta usp. Winkes 1969.

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Anthropomorphic pendants of the Middle La Tène bronze belts: Women who knew what they wore?

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A bronze pendant decorated with red enamel was found at Gradina in Privlaka, a fortified settlement of the Scordisci in eastern Slavonia. The pendant probably hung on an anthropomorphic ending of a bronze belt consisting of lyre and rectangular segments. This has been confirmed by the direct comparison with the anthropomorphic pendant ending with two identical clepsydra pendants which was found at the Scordisci cemetery in Novi Banovci. Bronze belts including lyre segments are a characteristic item of the Middle La Tène female costume, especially in the southeastern Carpathian Basin or the area inhabited by the Scordisci. Considering the exceptional creativity and skills required to make anthropomorphic pendants, it can be assumed that bronze belts of that shape, richly decorated with multicoloured enamel, were worn by women who had a prominent status in the community. Also, the bronze pendant from Privlaka, along with other finds from the trial excavations, indicates that Gradina in Privlaka was already inhabited in the Middle La Tène, with the current data indicating that the greatest settlement intensity was recorded in the Late La Tène.

Key words: *anthropomorphic pendants, bronze belts, female costume, Privlaka, fortified settlement, eastern Slavonia, Scordisci, identity, status*

The fortified settlement of Privlaka–Gradina, located on the River Bosut near Vinkovci in eastern Slavonia, is one of the rare multilayer prehistoric settlements along the Bosut river that have been the subject of trial or rescue excavations. The trial excavations, undertaken some forty years ago, collected important data on the intensity of settling Gradina in the Late Iron Age and its complex fortification system.[1] Since Gradina was on the front line during the Croatian War of Independence, there have been several site surveys in the last few years to establish the damage to the site.[2] On those occasions, many surface finds of pottery and metal were collected. They include a bronze pendant decorated with red enamel, which was found in 2017.

The pendant is rectangular, with slightly convex long sides, in the shape of a clepsydra (Fig. 1: 1). Each of the two short sides has a single hoop measuring 1.2 cm in diameter. In the middle of the pendant there is a depression that has a round protrusion along each shorter side. The red enamel has been partly preserved in the depression. The back of the pendant is smooth. The pendant is 4.2 cm in length, 1.3 cm in width, and 0.2 cm in thickness.

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1 Majnarić-Pandžić 1979; 1984; 1996: 260; Dalić 1998. The excavations at Gradina identified layers of the Sopot culture and the Bronze Age groups Belegiš I and II, followed by the layers of the Scordisci settlement.

2 The site surveys included both hills and the area around Gradina, where many surface finds of the La Tène culture were also collected. We would like to thank our colleagues Hrvoje Vulić and Boris Kratofil from the Municipal Museum in Vinkovci for the finds collected at the Privlaka–Gradina settlement.

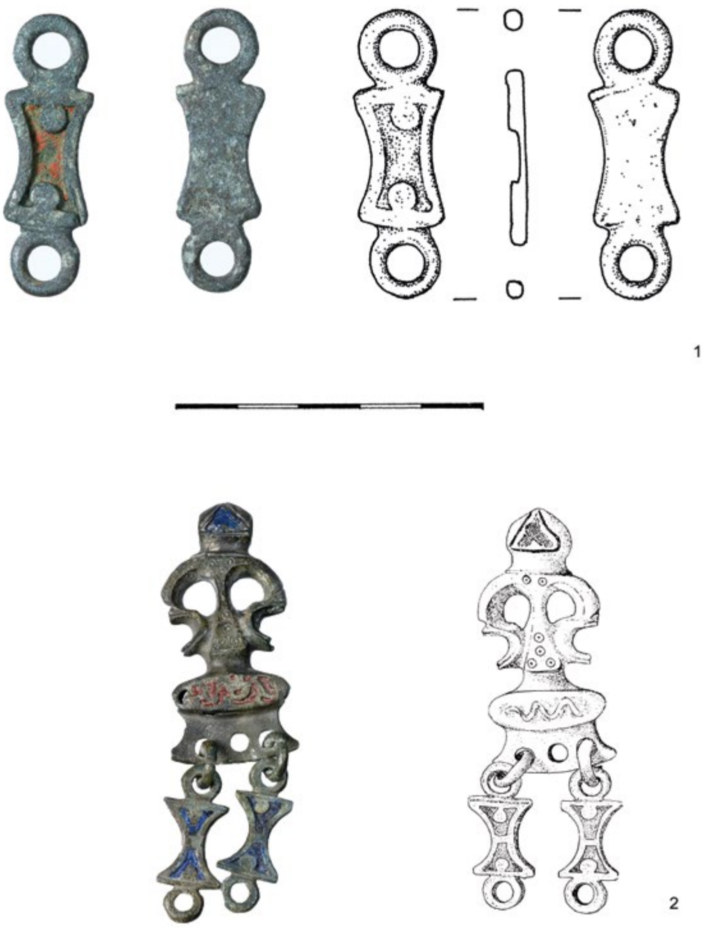

Fig. 1. 1: Gradina in Privlaka; 2: Novi Banovci (photo: I. Krajcar, fototeka AMZ; drawing after: Todorović 1974).

The pendant probably hung on an anthropomorphic pendant of the kind recorded at the ends of bronze belts made of lyre and rectangular segments. This is confirmed by direct comparison with the anthropomorphic pendant 13 cm long, discovered in Novi Banovci, which ends with two identical clepsydra pendants (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970: 37, 89, Pl. XXVI: 4). The only differences are the more pronouncedly convex long sides and a rib in the middle resulting in two smaller depressions (Fig. 1: 2).[3] Considering the shape of the upper part, it can be assumed that the pendant from Novi Banovci hung at the end of a belt that included lyre segments, as confirmed by the finds of such segments, one of them decorated with blue enamel on the loop.[4]

Considering the overall shape of the pendant from Novi Banovci, it is assumed that it represents a stylised female figure. The upper part of the pendant is shaped like a lyre segment. The head is represented by the perforated loop for the hoop. The loop includes an arrow-shaped depression filled with blue enamel that has a groove on each side. It is followed by the lyre-shaped body which is decorated along the middle, in the triangular upper part, with two ring-and-dot motifs, while the raised triangular lower part has four motifs of the same kind. The curled sides, which represent the arms, make contact with the middle of the body and end with a small protrusion on each side ending with a groove. The lower part has an elongated transversal oval widening which is decorated on the front side with a wave relief pattern and surrounded by depressions filled with red enamel. The lower part has three semicircular protrusions, also done in relief. The lyre-shaped part of the pendant, as well as the oval widening at the bottom, are hollow. The lower part of the pendant, under the oval widening, looks like a fan-shaped plaque with three small holes at

3 The anthropomorphic pendant originates from a cemetery with several weapon items, costume and jewellery items, and ceramic vessels, which have been dated from the Early to the Late La Tène (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970: 36–38, Pls. XXVI–XXVIII: 1–6, 8; Pl. XXIX: 6).

4 We thank Dr. I. Drnić from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb for the photo of the pendant from Novi Banovci.

the bottom. In both outermost holes there are hoops with clepsydra pendants hanging from them. These pendants have a smaller hoop on each narrow side, like the pendant from Gradina in Privlaka. The middle part has a depression with a round protrusion on each short side and a rib in the middle dividing the depression into two smaller parts. The depressions in these pendants are filled with blue enamel. The pendant has alternating depressions with blue enamel at the ends, while the middle contains red enamel. The back side of the pendant is flat (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970: 37, 89, Pl. XXVI: 4; Todorović 1974: 102, Fig. 80; Jovanović B. 1983: 45, Fig. 2; 1987: 838, Pl. LXXXIII: 1; Majnarić-Pandžić 1998: 332–333, n. 156; Popović 2002: 351, Pl. II: 5; Bujna 2011: 118, Fig. 49: 9). The anthropomorphic pendant from Novi Banovci is considered to be one of the most beautiful examples of the lively colour effects created by belts made of lyre and rectangular segments. Considering the lyre segments found at Novi Banovci, it can be assumed that the anthropomorphic pendant was at the end of such a segmented bronze belt.

The current findings indicate that such complex belt endings usually appear on belts comprising various combinations of lyre and rectangular segments, as testified by the upper part of these pendants, which is shaped similarly to the lyre segments. This points to conceptual similarities in the forms of segments and pendants. However, anthropomorphic pendants were occasionally found at the ends of belts consisting of rectangular segments only. Still, it should be pointed out that most finds include only the pendant without other parts of the belt, or just a final portion of the belt with a few segments and the pendant, making it impossible to reconstruct the composition of the entire belt. Very few finds include entire belts ending in a pendant where the entire composition is known.

Anthropomorphic pendants of the Middle La Tène bronze belts

Currently, the anthropomorphic pendant from Novi Banovci is a unique composition, with the closest parallel in the clepsydra pendant from Gradina in Privlaka. As we pointed out, considering the lyre-shaped upper part and other preserved segments, it is the ending of a belt containing lyre segments and probably rectangular segments.

The geographically closest parallel is the chance find of a part of a belt with lyre and rectangular segments and an anthropomorphic pendant from Bačko Gradište (Fig. 2: 1). The complex pendant is topped by a loop for the hoop with a small wart-like protrusion (*Endpuffer*). In the upper part there is a rectangular field decorated with two parallel S-depressions linked with the middle part, shaped as a lyre, which may consist of stylised opposing bird heads. In the lower part of the pendant there is another rectangular field with two S-depressions with another perforated round protrusion on each side. The lower part has a rectangular plaque with three holes for small hoops, which hold three pendants ending with stylised animal heads (Hunyady 1942: Pl. XXXIV: 1; Pl. XXXV: 13–14; Todorović 1968: Pl. L: 1; Stanczik & Vaday 1971: 17; Jovanović M. 1991: 30–31, Figs. 1–2; Popović 2002: 351, Pl. II: 4).[5]

Several anthropomorphic pendants from belt ends have been found at Hungarian sites along the Danube and the Tisza, sharing the same characteristic shapes: the upper part has the shape of a lyre and spherical thickenings linking it with the rectangular plaque on the lower part of the pendant. Also, there are smaller spherical thickenings linking the upper sphere with the lyre portion of the pendant on each side. The plaque is richly decorated with various relief motifs surrounded by depressions filled with red enamel. The smaller pendants hanging from the bottom of the plaque also have different shapes. The pendants have a flat and smooth back. In spite of their different shapes, the pendants have conceptually similar compositions, with each pendant displaying some peculiar details of decorative motifs and shapes of terminal pendants.

The Bölcske–Madocsahegy site included a part of a bronze belt consisting of lyre and rectangular segments, ending with a richly enamelled pendant (Fig. 2: 2). The upper part of the pendant is shaped like a lyre segment, with an upper triangular depression and a lower droplet depression above the spherical

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5 Most finds from Bačko Gradište, originating from destroyed graves, can be dated to LT C2, which is also the probable date of the remains of the belt with the pendant.

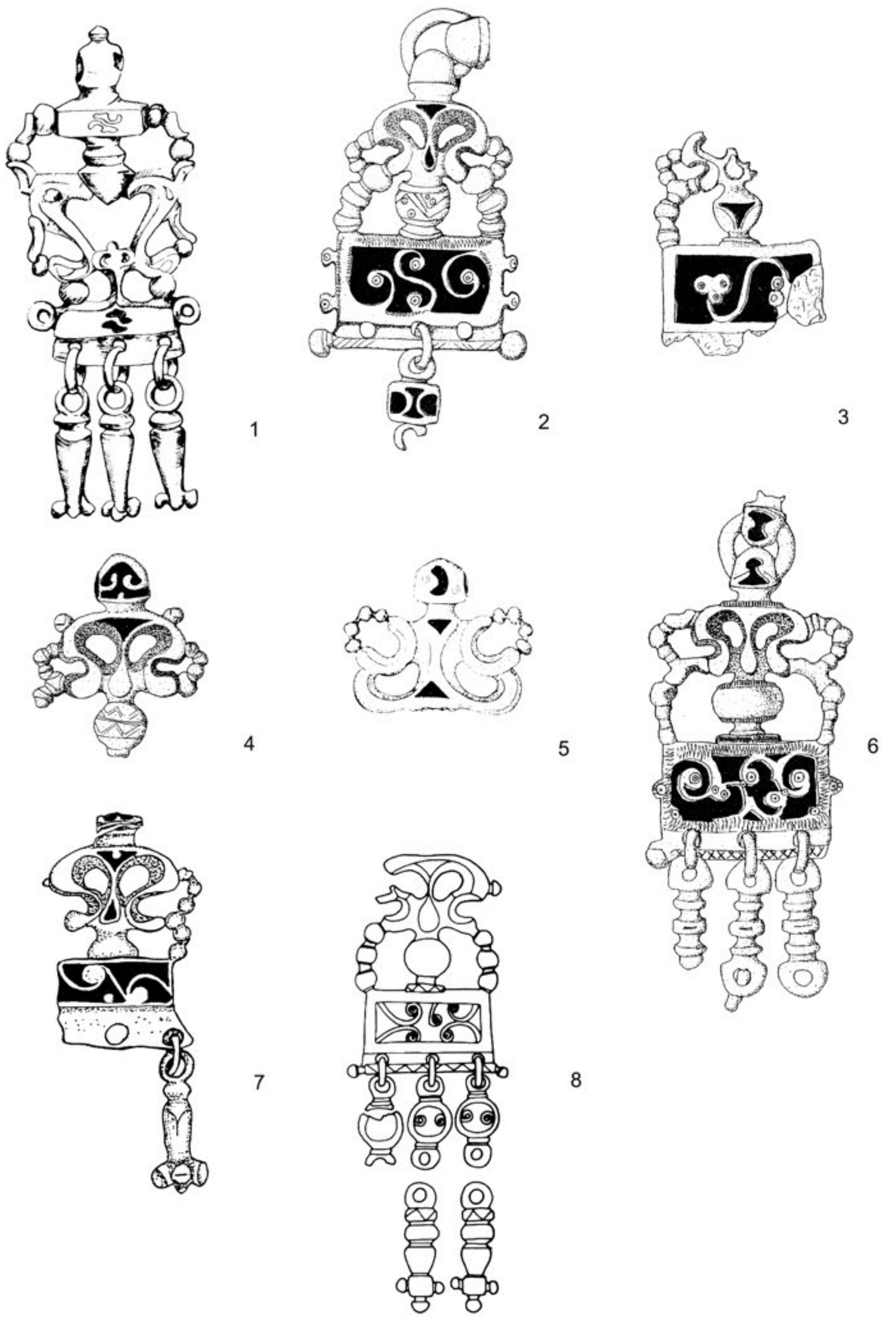

Fig. 2. 1: Bačko Gradište (after: Skordisci 1992); 2: Bölcske–Madocsahegy (after: Challet 1992); 3: Cece–Hardpuszta (after: Challet 1992); 4: Unknown site in Tolna (after: Challet 1992); 5: Sárosd (after: Stanczik & Vaday 1971); 6: Szentes (after: Challet 1992); 7: Hejőkeresztúr (after: Hellebrandt 2006); 8: Teleşti (after: Rustoiu 2008a).

middle, which is decorated with zig-zag lines alternating with ring-and-dot motifs. The lyre element on both sides has three spherical thickenings linking it with the upper corners of the rectangular plaque containing relief motifs of tendrils and spirals surrounded by depressions. The tendrils and spirals end with spherical terminals decorated with a ring-and-dot motif. Along the edges of the plaque there is a zig-zag line decoration, while both sides have two small oval protrusions which are also decorated with a ring-and-dot motif. At the bottom of the plaque there are three holes above a horizontal bar decorated with diagonal incisions and ending with a hemispherical knob on each side. The middle hole has a preserved hoop with a hanging pendant that consists of a rectangular plaque with a smaller hoop on each side. The plaque has two hemispherical depressions and a clepsydra depression between them. All the depressions are filled with red enamel (Tischler 1890: Pl. B2; Hunyady 1942: 104; Stanczik & Vaday 1971: 17, Fig. 5: 9; Eluère 1973: 318, Fig. 2: 5; Szabó 1989: 29, Pl. V: 6; 1992: 154; Challet 1992: 102, Fig. 60; Rustoiu 2008a: 131, Fig. 63: 8; Bujna 2011: 118, Fig. 49: 1).

A similar, only partly preserved pendant hung at the end of a belt that probably came from the cremation grave at the Cece–Hardpuszta site, as testified by the traces of burning on the segments (Fig. 2: 3). This belt also consists of lyre and hollow rectangular segments, which have edges with a groove or linked crescent-shaped depressions with ring-and-dot motifs between them. The ring loops of the lyre segments have triangular depressions with a groove on each side. There is a preserved part of a pendant with a lyre element in the upper part and a spherical thickening in the middle, which also has a triangular depression with slightly convex sides and a groove on each side. The lower part of the pendant has a rectangular plaque with a spiral motif; each end of the plaque has a trefoil motif consisting of three circles decorated with ring-and-dot motifs. The relief spiral and trefoils are surrounded by depressions filled with red enamel (Sellye 1939: 47, Pl. I: 1–14; Stanczik & Vaday 1971: 17; Challet 1992: 102, Fig. 61; Horváth & Keszi 2004: 45, Fig. 346).[6]

This group should probably include the fragment of the upper part of the pendant originating from an unknown site from Tolna County, with a missing lower rectangular plaque (Fig. 2: 4). The loop, which used to have a hoop, has a depression of a complex conception, while the top of the upper part of the lyre shape has a wide triangular depression with a smaller circular protrusion. There is also a preserved central spherical thickening which is decorated with two double zig-zag lines separated by a horizontal strip with notches (Stancziky & Vaday, 1971: 21, Fig. 5: 1a–b; Challet 1992: 103–104, Fig. 63; Rustoiu 2008a: 131, Fig. 63: 3; Bujna 2011: 118, Fig. 49: 6). Considering the described pendants that were preserved together with belt segments, it can probably be assumed that this pendant also hung at the end of a belt consisting of lyre and rectangular segments. Another similar find is the fragment of the upper part of a pendant, originating from the Sárosd site, which hung on a belt consisting of lyre and rectangular segments (Fig. 2: 5). The preserved upper part of the pendant has a crescent-shaped depression on the loop and a ring-and-dot motif decoration on each side. The upper part of the lyre shape has two opposing triangular depressions. The lower part of the pendant has not been preserved. The belt probably included the rectangular segment with a groove along each edge and the segment shaped like a double lyre. Also, one segment has traces of burning, so the belt probably originated from a cremation grave (Tompa 1937: 112, Pl. 53: 4–5, 8; Hunyady 1942: Pl. XXXV: 2–3; Stanczik & Vaday 1971: 19, Fig. 5: 5a–b; Rustoiu 2008a: 131, Fig. 63: 4; Bujna 2011: 118, Fig. 49: 2).

Aside from the sites in southeastern Transdanubia, similar pendants have been found at sites along the Tisza river. The finds from Szentes include a belt pendant and a loop from a segment, which was probably lyre-shaped, where a spherical and a triangular depression are linked (Fig. 2: 6). The upper part of the pendant is lyre-shaped, turning into a massive spherical thickening above the lower part, where the corners of a rectangular plaque are connected with the lyre part. The plaque is decorated with relief motifs of linked tendrils ending with small spherical terminals that have the ring-and-dot motif. The tendrils are surrounded by depressions, while the edge of the plaque is decorated with a series of zig-zag incisions and a single ring-and-dot motif in each lower corner, while each narrower side of the plaque has a small hemispherical protrusion, again with a ring-and-dot motif. At the bottom of the plaque there are three holes above a decoration in the form of several X motifs between a single line on each side. A hemispherical protrusion has been preserved in one lower corner of the plaque. Each of the three holes has a hoop holding pendants with perforated hemispherical ends and with three narrow thickenings between each of them, the middle one being the largest (Tischler 1890: Pl. B4; Hunyady 1942: Pl. XXXIV: 2; Stanczik & Vaday 1971: 20, Fig. 5: 6; Eluère 1973: 318, Fig. 2: 3; Challet 1992: 103, Fig. 62; *Schätze aus der Keltenzeit in Ungarn* 1998: 84, cat. no. 177; Rustoiu 2008a: 131, Fig. 63: 7; Bujna 2011: 118, Fig. 49: 3). The Szenetes finds also included a fragment of a lyre segment and hollow rectangular segments decorated with a groove along the edges or with enamel. One rectangular segment has two triangular depressions separated by a narrow diagonal rib (Tischler 1890: Pl. B5; Stanczik & Vaday 1971: 21; Challet 1992: 103, Fig. 62). The other segment has a zoomorphic buckle on the side, while the body of the segment has a rectangular depression with enamel. Also, a preserved loop has a connected circular and triangular depression like the one on the loop of the pendant (Tischler 1890: Pl. B6; Stanczik & Vaday 1971: 21; Challet 1992: 103, Fig. 62). The first publications believed that these rectangular segments originated from an unknown site, but they were later linked with the Szentes pendant.

6 The grave also contained an iron knife with a bent blade and ribbed handle ending with a ring.

A similar pendant was found at the Hejőkeresztúr cemetery (Fig. 2: 7). Its preserved part includes only the lower portion of the hoop loop, which was decorated with a depression filled with red enamel. The lyre-shaped upper part of the pendant has an upper triangular depression and a lower droplet depression, while the middle has an oval thickness. The lyre part of the pendant has spherical ribs linking it with the upper corners of the rectangular plaque that is decorated with a spiral with spherically widened ends and relief tendrils surrounded by depressions. The ending has a trapezoidal terminal that probably had three holes. The final one has a hoop holding a zoomorphic pendant similar to the ones from Bačko Gradište (Hellebrandt 2006: 208–209, Fig. 3: 11; Fig. 9).

This variant should probably include the pendant of a belt from the Kunszentmárton–Bokonya site along the Tisza, which was also probably hung on the end of the belt consisting of a combination of hollow rectangular and lyre segments.[7] The mostly preserved anthropomorphic pendant has a loop with a triangular depression with red enamel, but the pendants hung from the lower rectangular plaque are missing. The upper part of the pendant is lyre-shaped, turning into a massive spherical thickening above the lower part, where three spherical thickenings connect the corners of a rectangular plaque with the lyre part. The plaque is decorated with a relief motif of a lying spiral with a single tendril on each side, surrounded by depressions. There were probably three holes at the bottom of the plaque. The remains of the belt have been dated to the 3rd century BC (Kovács 2017: 15, 21, 83, cat. no. 203).

The described pendants have a parallel in the one from the cremation grave of a woman from the Teleşti site in Oltenia. The belt consisted of lyre and rectangular segments which had a groove along the edges and were hollow on the lower side. At the end of the belt, there was a pendant with a lyre-shaped upper part (Fig. 2: 8), while the middle part has a spherical thickening above a narrow oval thickening, decorated with a zig-zag line, towards the rectangular plaque. The plaque is decorated with relief motifs of tendrils with curling ends, surrounded by depressions. At the bottom of the plaque there are three holes and a bar decorated with a zig-zag line, ending with a hemisphere on each end. The holes have hoops holding pendants with a round middle having two relief ring-and-dot motifs. At the end there were profiled zoomorphic pendants. The grave has been dated to LT C1, and it is believed to prove the mobility of the women who brought such belts to the territory beyond the area of their production (Rustoiu 2004–2005: 54–55, Fig. 1: 6–13; 2008a: 128, Fig. 62: 6–13; 2008b: 38, Fig. 5: 6–13; 2011: 167, Fig. 5: 6–13).[8] There is another end pendant similar to the one on the belt from Kiskunfélegyháza, originating from an unknown site. The preserved round part of the pendant has two depressions with a spiral rib between them. The lower portion of the pendant has a rectangular part with a protruding sphere in the middle, while each side has one round protrusion. It ends with a round terminal (Stanczik & Vaday 1971: 21, Fig. 5: 7a–b). Considering the oval thickening in the middle and the rectangular plaque in the lower part, this group might include the fragment of the pendant from the Včelince site in eastern Slovakia. The central oval thickening is decorated, like some pendants from the Hungarian sites, with a zig-zag line. The rectangular plaque is decorated with an exceptionally complex composition, and the pendant ends with four holes above a horizontal bar with a hemisphere on each end (Bujna 2011: 116, Fig. 49: 4).

In spite of bigger formal differences, this pendant variant could include the uniquely shaped pendant at the end of the belt from Kiskunfélegyháza along the Tisza river. The belt consists of rectangular segments, some of which are decorated with enamel. The pendant has a loop with depressions, crossed by a hoop, under which there is a lyre element with lower curled ends finishing with realistically shaped opposing bird heads. The lyre body has relief ring-and-dot motifs surrounded by depressions. The curled sides in the lower part are linked with a bar that has three narrow discoid thickenings, the middle one being the largest. On the lower part there is a trapezoid plaque with a round protrusion on each side bearing a reverse ring-and-dot motif surrounded by a depression. The plaque is decorated with two fields, each of them with a relief

7 Along with rectangular segments, there is a preserved zoomorphic buckle with a rectangular lower part decorated with two relief tendrils surrounded by depressions. Interestingly, the preserved lyre segment decorated with red enamel can be ascribed to variant C, which is characterised by a spherical lengthening of sides after contact with the middle body (Kovács 2017: 15, 21, 82–83, cat. no. 199–204).

8 The grave from Teleşti also contained glass beads and two bronze fibulae, one of which was destroyed by burning, and the other having a preserved semicircular bow with a spiral consisting of two large coils and a high-set external chord. The foot is caught in the bow closer to the spiral, as testified by the remains of the clasp.

spiral surrounded by a depression. At the bottom of the plaque there are three holes, with one of the side holes preserving a pendant with a round middle part that also has a relief ring-and-dot motif (Sellye 1939: Pl. II: 14–20; Stanczik & Vaday 1971: 18). This pendant, therefore, has a different shape than the others, primarily by its lyre-shaped middle part ending with realistically shaped bird heads and depressions.

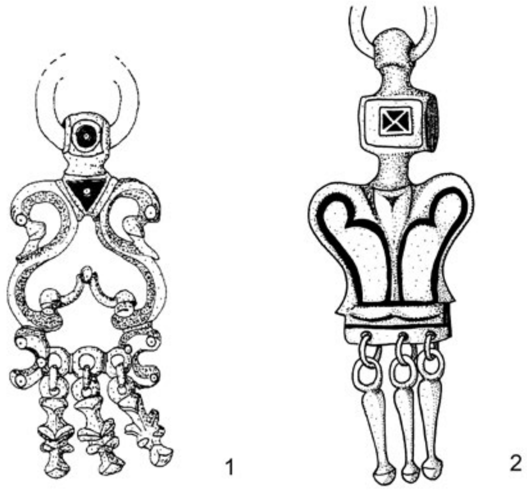

Fig. 3. 1: Jászberény–Öregerdő (after: Challet 1992); 2: Farmos, grave 6 (after: Hellebrandt 1999).

A belt from another site along the Tisza river also ends with a uniquely shaped lyre pendant (Fig. 3: 1). It is the belt from the Jászberény–Öregerdő site, on which some segments show traces of burning, which indicates a probable find from a cremation grave.[9] The lyre-shaped pendant has a hoop going through a loop which has concentric circles, one of them containing red enamel. The loop and the lyre element are connected by a triangular thickening that has depressions of the same shape with a small round protrusion with a point in the middle. The S-shaped sides are linked in the lower part, giving the pendant its lyre shape. On the lower side there are crescent-shaped thickenings linked by a bar with three holes holding smaller profiled pendants (Hild 1898; Stanczik & Vaday 1971: 17, Fig. 2; Fig. 6: 1–2; Fig. 7: 1; Eluère 1973: 318, Fig. 2: 4; Challet 1992: 96, Fig. 50; Kovács 2016: 192, Fig. 2; 2017: 21, 69, cat. no. 165). A pendant with a lyre shape has also been found at the end of a belt in cremation grave 6 at the Farmos cemetery (Fig. 3: 2). Even though a part of the segments was damaged by burning, it can be seen that the belt was mostly made of hollow rectangular segments with a groove along the edges, while the middle part of a smaller number of segments has a diagonally divided rectangular field with four triangular depressions. One of these decorated segments has a zoomorphic buckle on the side. The belt buckle is shaped as a stylised horse head with a leaf-like upper part, while the lower part has a rectangular section decorated with triangular depressions like the mentioned segments. The same decoration can be seen in the upper part of the pendant, which has a lyre-shaped lower portion with a groove along the edges. At the end there are three holes with hoops holding three pendants ending with a hemisphere (Hellebrandt 1999: 27, Pl. IX: 6a–f; Pl. X: 1a–b, 2a–b, 3).

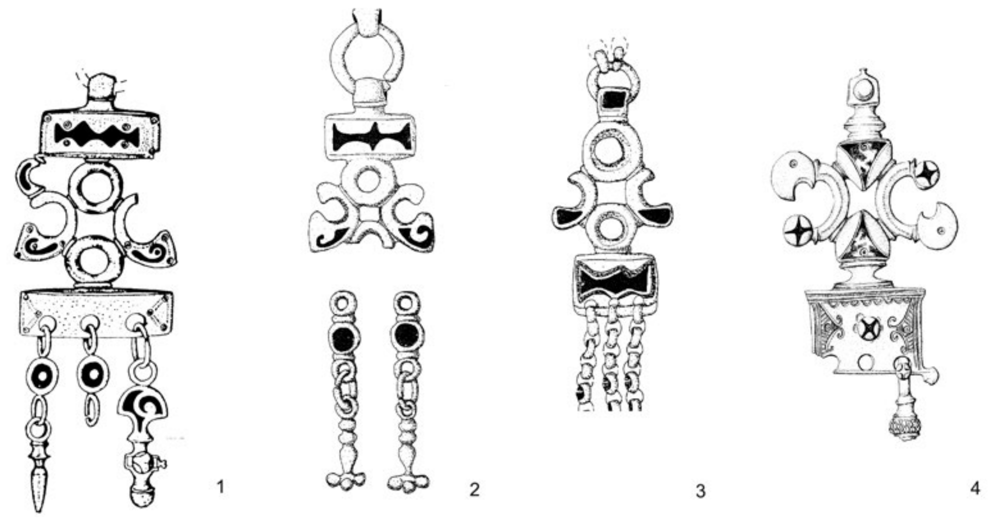

Fig. 4. 1: Vezseny–Kisdebrecen (after: Stanczik & Vaday 1971); 2: Unknown site (after: Challet 1992); 3: Udvari (after: Challet 1992); 4: Obišovce (after: Pieta 2010).

[9] The belt has a zoomorphic buckle decorated with enamel in the lower part, consisting of hollow rectangular segments, most of them decorated only with a groove along the edges, while some segments have variously shaped depressions filled with enamel.

A particular variant of pendants at the end of belts is the pendant with a middle part shaped like two parted rings which are linked by a relief crescent-shaped protrusion on each side, partly giving a lyre shape to the pendant. A common characteristic of these pendants is that the upper and lower parts, above and below the ring, each have a rectangular plaque decorated with variously shaped depressions. Additionally, the lower plaque has holes where pendants are hung.

This variant should probably include the pendant at the end of the belt found in the inhumation grave at the Vezseny–Kisdebrecen site along the Tisza (Fig. 4: 1). The belt was located in the woman's stomach area, making it possible to reconstruct the way it was carried and buckled.[10] At the end of the belt there is a pendant of complex composition; at its top, under the loop, there is a rectangular field decorated with a depression consisting of a single triangle on the edges and two rhombs in the middle which are connected. On each side of the depression there are two ring-and-dot motifs, while each corner of the plaque has one more ring-and-dot motif linked to the shorter edges by a series of tiny notches. Below, there is the middle part of the pendant with two smaller parted rings in the middle, which are linked on each side by a relief crescent-shaped protrusion, with one side having a preserved extension linking this thickening with the lower corner of the upper plaque. The side protrusions were S-shaped and had narrow depressions and ring-and-dot motifs connected by a series of tiny notches. On the bottom of the pendant there is another rectangular plaque, longer than the upper one, which is decorated by three ring-and-dot motifs along each shorter edge; these motifs are also connected by a double series of tiny notches. The lower longer side has three holes with hanging hoops with different pendants that also have round or complex depressions. The grave has been dated to LT C1 (Stanczik & Vaday 1971: 8–12, Fig. 1: 1; Fig. 6: 4–5; Fig. 7: 2; Eluère 1973: 318, Fig. 2: 2; Challet 1992: 96, Fig. 51; Kovács 2017: 15, 21, 74, cat. no. 175).[11]

A parallel for the pendant from the grave in Vezseny has been found at another unknown site in Hungary: a part of a belt with lyre segments that have two triangular depressions on the body (Fig. 4: 2). The pendant, which probably hung at the end of the belt, has the upper part with a rectangular field and a depression, shaped as a composition consisting of one triangle on each end connected with a rhomb in the middle. Under the plaque there are two parted rings, with the lower being preserved only in the upper half, which are linked on each side by a relief crescent-shaped protrusion that has a widened lower part and a depression. The lower rectangular plaque has not been preserved, but there are two known pendants that probably hung from it. The pendants are complex: the upper part consists of a round thickening with a depression, while the upper and lower parts each have a smaller hoop. The lower part of this pendant is connected with narrow profiled pendants (Challet 1992: 104, Fig. 64; Bujna 2011: 118, Fig. 49: 12) of the kind found on the pendants from Bačko Gradište and Hejőkeresztúr.

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[10] The belt consists of rectangular segments with a rib along the longer edges, which are mostly undecorated, while a smaller number of segments, located in the part closer to the belt end, is decorated with the motifs found on the zoomorphic buckle and pendant, filled with red enamel. The buckle has the shape of a stylised horse head with prominent eyes and muzzle, while the body has two ring-and-dot motifs. The lower rectangular part of the buckle has a spiral-shaped depression filled with red enamel and a ring-and-dot motif in the middle of each spiral end. Each corner has another ring-and-dot motif. Three segments have a depression shaped as a composition consisting of one triangle on each edge and a rhomb in the middle, with another two ring-and-dot motifs on each side. Each corner has one more ring-and-dot motif, connected by a series of tiny notches along the shorter edges. One of the segments has two opposing crescent-shaped depressions and three ring-and-dot motifs on each side, linked by a double series of tiny notches. This segment has a zoomorphic buckle on the side, also shaped like a stylised horse head, which used to connect with the hoop on which the pendant hung.

[11] Aside from the belt, the grave contained a bronze bracelet, a bronze ring, a ceramic spindle-whorl, and a ceramic vessel shaped like a graphitized situla pot decorated with a vertical comb decoration.

[12] The Udvar belt, which is sometimes described only as originating from a site in Tolna County, belongs to the Gk-E belt group according to the classification of J. Bujna. This group is characterised by double chains made of small-diameter bronze rings connecting larger bronze hoops. The belts, which are entirely made of bronze, i.e. have bronze chains linked with larger bronze hoops, are distinct as the Gk-E2B group, with five variants based on buckle shape (Bujna 2011: 92–94, Fig. 38). Belts made of double iron chains connected with bronze hoops of a round or strap cross-section belong to the Gk-E2F group, also with variants based on buckle shape (Bujna 2011: 89–91, Fig. 37: 2–7). J. Bujna differentiates the Udvar belt (Bujna 2011: 94, Fig. 38: 4) from the Tolna County belt (Bujna 2011: 94, Fig. 38: 6), which he associates with different variants.

Interestingly, a part of a similarly conceived pendant was included in the belt from Udvar, which belongs to a completely different type of bronze belts.[12] Therefore, the Udvar belt belongs to the Gk-E2B-B group according to the classification of J. Bujna and has a zoomorphic buckle with a triangular depression filled with red enamel. The lower part of the buckle has a hoop, while the loop has a rectangular depression. At the end of the belt there is a pendant (Fig. 4: 3) which, as pointed out, looks like the one from the Vezseny belt and from the unknown site. The top of the pendant has a loop with a rectangular depression, crossed by a hoop that is linked with the rest of the belt by a double chain. Under the loop there are two parted rings which are connected on each side to a crescent-shaped protrusion with a depression on its wider lower side. The lower ring is linked with a rectangular plaque with a depression shaped as a composition consisting of a single triangle on each end connected with a rhomb in the middle. There is a groove along the edges of the middle motif. At the bottom of the plaque there are three holes holding three long chains that are connected at the ends in the loop of a profiled pendant with a hemispheric thickening at the end (Tischler 1890: Fig. on p. 226; Hunyady 1942: Pl. XXXIV: 8; Eluère 1973: 318, Fig. 2: 1; *Schätze aus der Keltenzeit in Ungarn* 1998: 84, cat. no. 171; Challet 1992: 93, Fig. 45; Bujna 2011: 94, Fig. 38: 4, 6). Even though the Udvar pendant is missing the upper rectangular plaque when compared with the above examples, it is certainly interesting to see this pendant on a completely different type of belt. It might be a secondary use of an exceptionally decorative pendant on the form of a belt which, considering its composition, has few possibilities for enamel decoration.

Considering some shape characteristics, this variant of the pendant might include the pendant from the Obišovce site, even though its larger rectangular plaque at the end brings it close to the Bölcske variant (Fig. 4: 4). At the top there is the hoop loop with a small wart-like protrusion (*Endpuffer*) under which, after a biconical thickening, there are two parted triangular widenings, each with a single large triangular depression with convex sides and a ring-and-dot motif near the bottom. There is a groove along the edges of the triangular depressions. Each of these triangular widenings is connected on the side with a crescent-shaped protrusion where one side ends with a round plaque with a cross-shaped depression, while the other side has a larger crescent-shaped plaque with a ring-and-dot motif. Interestingly, one side has the larger crescent-shaped widening on the upper side, and the other on the lower side, and vice versa. In the lower part of the pendant there is a rectangular plaque with parallel grooves on the edges, while the middle part has a hemisphere with an X-shaped depression. The upper edge of the plaque, under the grooves, is decorated with a series of garlands; along each shorter side, there are two connected tendrils defining a hatched space that contains a ring-and-dot motif. There are three holes at the bottom of the plaque, with a profiled pendant hanging from a side hole (Pieta 2010: Fig. 8: 16; Bujna 2011: 116, Fig. 49: 5).

At the end it should be mentioned that there are other known shapes of pendants at the end of bronze belts, which are also quite varied. Still, it can be noticed that the belts made of rectangular and enamel-decorated segments have equally richly decorated pendants, as testified by the belt from an unknown site in Tolna County (Hunyady 1942: Pl. XXXIV: 3–3a; Stanczik & Vaday 1971: 20; Challet 1992: 96–97, Fig. 52; *Schätze aus der Keltenzeit in Ungarn* 1998: 84, cat. no. 172).

Middle La Tène bronze belts with lyre segments

As already pointed out, anthropomorphic pendants appear most often at the ends of belts made of various combinations of lyre and rectangular segments. It is a characteristic shape of the Middle La Tène female costume that is most numerous at the Middle Danube sites, especially those associated with the Scordisci (Todorović 1968; 1971; 1974; Majnarić-Pandžić 1970; Jovanović B. 1982–1983; 1983; Guštin 1984: 340; Popović 2002). Aside from their segments, the belts consists of zoomorphic buckles, hoops connecting the segments, and possibly pendants at belt ends, with different shapes, the most frequent being those believed to have an anthropomorphic shape. The segments, buckles, and pendants, often have variously shaped depressions filled with multicoloured enamel, showing all the richness of their shapes and colours. Belts with lyre and rectangular segments are considered to be among the most decorative examples of the level of technical knowledge and skills in the Late Iron Age.

In earlier research, bronze belts containing lyre segments were most often analysed within the group of belts with rectangular segments of the “Hungarian type”, which were found in the greatest number at the sites in the eastern Carpathian Basin (Reitinger 1966; Stanczik & Vaday 1971; Eluère 1973; Rustoiu 2004–2005; 2008a; 2011). The large number of belts with lyre segments found on the territory inhabited by the Scordisci, which also has belts consisting of other types of segments, made it possible to define them as a particular "Scordisci type" (Challet 1992: 76).[13] Also, large numbers of belts with lyre segments have been found in the neighbouring area of southeastern Transdanubia, especially at the sites in the Fejér and Tolna counties, but they are also known from the Tisza valley sites (Stanczik & Vaday 1971: 25). The most recent finds indicate that belts with the described composition also appear at the Drava valley sites (Dizdar 2011: 110, Fig. 3: 1) and as far as Lower Carniola (Križ 2009: 322, cat. no. 46).

Unfortunately, no single bronze belt has been found so far in any of the discovered grave assemblages on the territory inhabited by the Scordisci, meaning that there is a lack of data on the circumstances and contexts of the finds, making it impossible to make a more precise chronological evaluation of their production, use, and laying into graves. It is the reason why the bronze belts with lyre and rectangular segments from the territory inhabited by the Scordisci, which are assumed to originate from richly furnished graves of women, are dated to the period from the end of the 3rd to the beginning of the 1st century BC (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970: 15, 21, 37; Jovanović 1982–1983: 31–32; 1983: 52–54; Guštin 1984: 340, App. 1: 49; Jovanović 1987: 838, 840–841; Popović 2002: 350–351). Segments are often damaged by burning, which means that the dead were burned in their clothes with particular costume items, including the belts. Also, the finds of lone segments or buckles at some sites can provide no data on the composition of the belts.

On the basis of the belt found at Hrtkovci it has been assumed that belts could have consisted of two symmetrical halves (Jovanović B. 1982–1983: 27, 31; 1983: 49–50), but this cannot be established with certainty since no belt has been preserved in its entirety. Considering the belt compositions, i.e. the structure and distribution of the segments, B. Jovanović classifies belts into four variants: - belts consisting of lyre segments only; - belts consisting of alternating lyre and rectangular segments; - lyre segments on the final part of the belt ending with the pendant; - lyre segments on the part of the belt with the buckle (Jovanović 1982–1983: 31; 1983: 51).[14] V. Challet distinguishes two types that correspond to the previous classification. The first type comprises belts combining lyre and rectangular segments, while the second type comprises belts consisting of lyre segments only (Challet 1992: 101–104). Belts combining lyre and rectangular segments are singled out by J. Bujna as belts of the Gk-S group, which he divides into four types, with Gk-S-D being the "Scordisci type", characterised by stylised lyre segments (Bujna 2011: 116–118, Fig. 49). Still, considering the finds up to now, it is still impossible to single out the belts consisting of lyre segments only (Bujna 2011: 118). The closest find to that type is still the burning-damaged belt with lyre segments from Pecka Bara, where no segments of other shapes have been found (Jovanović B. 1983: 51, Fig. 8; Fig. 10; Popović 1990: 169; Popović & Sladić 1997: 103, Fig. 4: 2; Popović 2002: 350–351).

Considering the body shape of the lyre segments,[15] it is currently possible to distinguish three variants (Dizdar 2015: 191, Fig. 3; Dizdar 2018: 18): variant A, represented by segments with curled sides which, after the contact with the middle of the body, end with a small protrusion (e.g. the belt from Hrtkovci: Jovanović 1982–1983: 27–29, Figs. 1–2; 1983: 47, 49, Fig. 7; Fig. 9; *Skordisci* 1992: 123, cat. no. 45, Pl. XIII; Popović 2002: 350, Pl. II: 1; the belt from Bački Monoštor: Jovanović 1982–1983: 29–30, Fig. 3; 1983: 47, Fig. 6 etc.); variant B, in which the mentioned protrusions, after the contact with the middle of the body, do not exist or are barely visible (e.g. Osijek: Todorović 1974: Fig. 114; Jovanović 1983: 47, Fig. 5; Popović 2002: 351, Pl. II: 2; Surčin: Majnarić-Pandžić 1970: 47, Pl. XLI: 5–7; Jovanović 1983: 46, Fig. 4; Beljarica: Todorović 1971: 158, Pl. LXXI: 6; 1974: Fig. 59; Jovanović 1983: 46, Fig. 3); variant C, characterised by the

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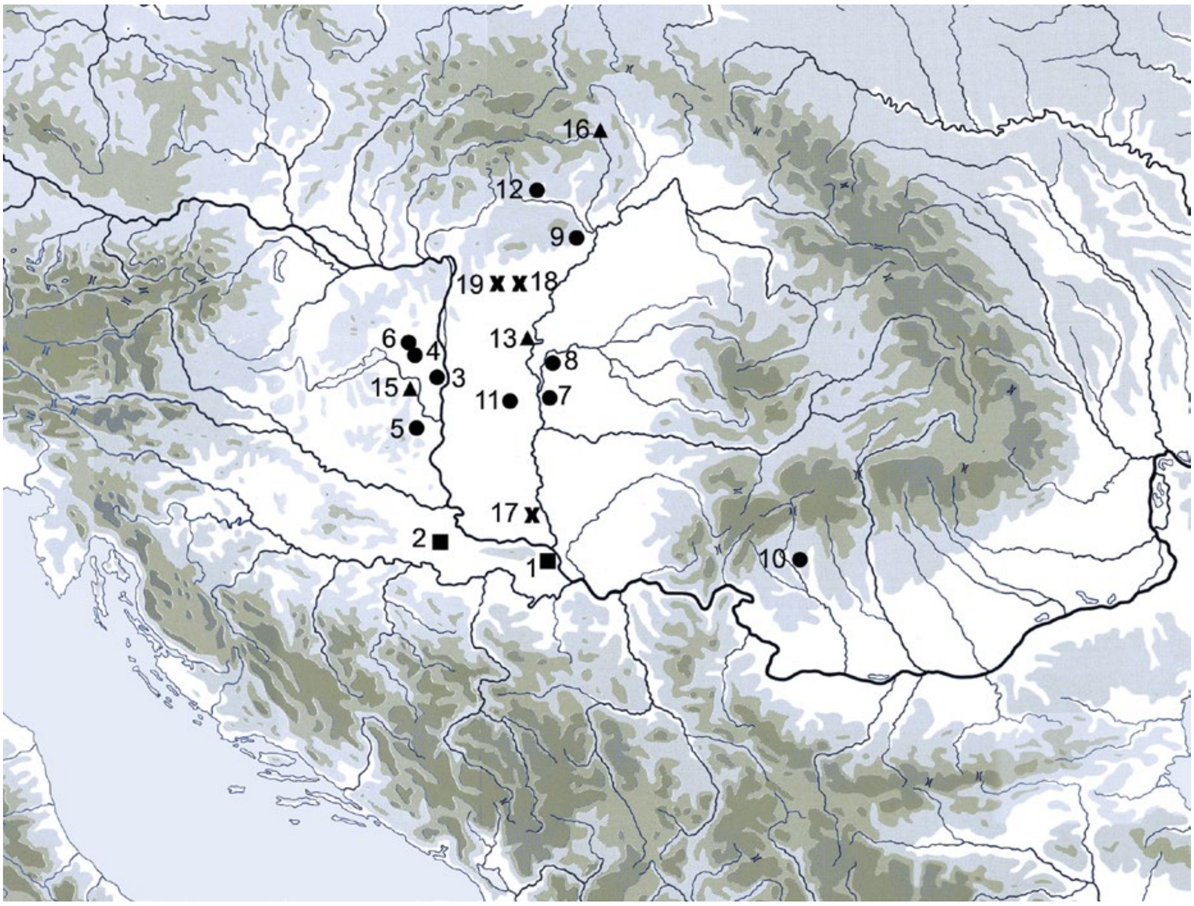
[13] Considering the shapes of the segments, V. Challet proposed a classification of bronze belts into seven types (Challet 1992: 73–76, tab. 12).

[14] The differences in shape between the lyre segments probably point to the existence of several workshops for their production; it is believed that the segments of simpler shape were produced in the workshops of the Scordisci (Jovanović 1982–1983: 31–32; 1983: 56–57; Popović 2002: 35; Bujna 2011: 116–118).

[15] The parts of such belts include rectangular segments which are usually hollow, with a groove along the edges, and which are sometimes accompanied by enamel-decorated segments. Belts with lyre segments are only exceptionally combined with rectangular segments decorated with enamel and having a low rib along the two longer edges.

lengthening of the sides after the contact with the middle of the body and their closing in the middle, with 8-shaped side protrusions and hemispherical ribs on the lower part (e.g. Zvonimirovo, grave LT 29: Dizdar 2011: 110, Fig. 3: 1; Novo Mesto–Kapiteljska Njiva, grave 390: Križ 2009: 322, cat. no. 46). The sides of most anthropomorphic pendants are shaped similarly to variant C.

On the basis of rare discoveries in funerary complexes, it can be assumed that bronze belts consisting of lyre and rectangular segments appeared at the end of LT C1 (Stanczik & Vaday 1971: 25–26; Bujna 1982: 337; Hellebrandt 1999: 86–88; Rustoiu 2002: 30; 2004–2005: 54–55; 2011: 167–168), with the open issue of the lower extent of their wearing, which is set to the beginning of the 1st century BC for the Scordisci. However, since their presence in the Late La Tène graves has not been recorded yet, it would mean they can be dated up to the first half of the 2nd century BC, i.e. to LT C2 (Challet 1992: 106–107; Bujna 2011: 116–118, 143), as shown by the finds from the Zvonimirovo cemetery (Dizdar 2011: 110) and the enamel-decorated fibulae, especially those of the Boljevci variant (Dizdar 2014).



*Map 1. The distribution of anthropomorphic pendants with variants: ■ Novi Banovci variant: 1. Novi Banovci; 2. Privlaka. ● Bölcske variant: 3. Bölcske–Madocsahegy; 4. Cece–Hardpuszta; 5. Unknown site from Tolna County; 6. Sárosd; 7. Szentes; 8. Kunszentmárton–Bokonya; 9. Hejőkeresztúr; 10. Teleşti; 11. Kiskunfélegyháza; 12. Včelince. ▲ Vezseny variant: 13. Vezseny–Kisdebrecen; 14. Unknown site in Hungary; 15. Udvari; 16. Obišovce. **X** other finds: 17. Bačko Gradište; 18. Jászberény–Öregerdő; 19. Farmos, grave 6.*

Conclusion

The bronze pendant with red enamel from Gradina in Privlaka is important not only for the discussion of the Middle La Tène female costume of the Scordisci, but also for another reason: its dating. The pendant can probably be dated to LT C2, confirming that Gradina was already inhabited in the Middle La Tène, even though the highest settling intensity was recorded in the Late La Tène. In any case, this is not a solitary

Middle La Tène find from Gradina, since the excavations in the dike of the rampart of the "lower hillfort" found a kantharos with a tall conical neck and a biconical body set on a taller bell-profiled foot (Majnarić-Pandžić 1984: 25, Pl. 3: 2; Dizdar 2013: 295–296, Fig. 114: 1). On the basis of these characteristics, the kantharos is also associated with the Middle La Tène. The finds of the pendant and kantharos testify that Gradina was certainly inhabited in the Middle La Tène already, but there remains the open issue of whether the settlement was fortified since it was first settled or if the rampart was erected in the Late La Tène. A similar chronological sequence of settling can be seen in other researched fortified settlements of the Scordisci in the areas of eastern Slavonia and western Syrmia (Dizdar 2001: 99–100, 108), just like the best-known Scordisci settlement of this kind – the one at Gomolava.

The pendant found at Gradina, considering its direct parallels with the anthropomorphic pendant from Novi Banovci, prompted the analysis of such complex and richly decorated objects at the ends of bronze belts consisting of lyre and rectangular segments. In fact, each of the found bronze belts, with different combinations of segments and buckles and pendants, actually represents a unique shape, even though some similarities in shape characteristics can be noticed. Since variously shaped segments are included within belts in an uneven rhythm, it is very hard to make a precise typological classification of belts, especially when only their fragments have been preserved, which is the most frequent case, as most of the known finds are not accompanied by data on the context of their discovery. Still, the insights up to now lead to the conclusion that the belts combining lyre and rectangular segments, often with anthropomorphic pendants on their ends, were a product of Middle Danube workshops, including those active on the territory of the Scordisci.

However, the analysis of the pendants, which are most often located on the ends of the belts that include lyre segments in their composition, showed narrower distribution areas of particular selected variants. It can probably be assumed that the pendant from Gradina in Privlaka was at the end of an anthropomorphic pendant like the one found in Novi Banovci, which is certainly one of the most beautiful specimens because of its shape and the colour effect created by using blue and red enamel. There is another known anthropomorphic pendant found on the territory of the Scordisci, but the pendant from Bačko Gradište currently represents a unique shape. The greatest number of pendants found until now belongs to the Bölcske variant, which is characterised by the lyre-shaped upper part which is connected by a spherical thickening, usually decorated with zig-zag lines, to the rectangular plaque on the lower part of the pendant. The lyre-shaped part of the pendant usually has triangular and drop-like depressions, while both sides of the lyre element are connected with the upper corners of the rectangular plaque. The plaque is richly decorated with various relief motifs surrounded by depressions filled with red enamel. At the bottom of the plaque there are three round holes; under them, there is often a horizontal bar with a hemisphere on each end, and there are smaller pendants of different shapes hanging from the holes. Even though the pendants of the Bölcske variant have different shapes, they still have conceptually similar compositions, with each pendant displaying some peculiar details of decorative motifs and shapes of terminal pendants. Along with the pendant from the eponymous site, this variant can also include the pendants from the sites in southeastern Transdanubia along the Danube (Cece–Hardpuszta, an unknown site from the Tolna County, Sárosd) and those along the Tisza river (Szentes, Kunszentmárton–Bokonya, Hejőkeresztúr), some of which certainly originate from cremation graves (Map 1). This variant can also be associated with the pendant from a grave found at the Teleşti site in Oltenia and perhaps the pendant from the Včelince site in eastern Slovakia. The pendant from Kiskunfélegyháza along the Tisza river shows bigger formal differences; interestingly, it was on a belt consisting of rectangular segments only. In fact, the pendant has a lyre-shaped middle part with realistically sculpted bird heads. Some can be considered as separate forms: the lyre-shaped pendant that was probably in a cremation grave at the Jászberény–Öregerdő site and also consisted of rectangular segments only, just like the belt from cremation grave 6 at the Farmos cemetery, which also ended with a unique lyre-shaped pendant.

A special variant – Vezseny – consists of pendants with a middle part shaped like two parted rings which are linked by a relief crescent-shaped protrusion on each side, partly giving a lyre shape to the pendant. A common characteristic of these pendants is that the upper and lower parts, above and below the ring, each have a rectangular plaque decorated with variously shaped depressions. Additionally, the lower plaque has holes where pendants are hung. Aside from the inhumation grave at Vezseny, a similar pendant was found at an unknown site in Hungary at the end of a belt consisting of lyre segments. There is a particularly interesting belt from Udvar, of a completely different shape, which included a similarly shaped final segment with hanging chains. Considering some shape characteristics, this variant (with very remote similarities) might include the pendant from the Obišovce site, even though its larger rectangular plaque at the end brings it close to the Bölcske variant too.

The anthropomorphic pendants of the Novi Banovci variant are currently known from only two sites associated with the Scordisci (Map 1). On the other hand, the pendants of the Bölcske and Vezseny variants are more to the north along the Danube and the Tisza, with their distributions clearly overlapping. The distribution of the separate variants of anthropomorphic pendants matches the distribution of bronze belts combining lyre and rectangular segments identified in the largest number on the same territories, i.e. with the Scordisci and in the southeastern Transdanubia between Lake Balaton, the Danube, and the Drava, while a smaller number of finds has been recorded along the Tisza river. This is no surprise, since anthropomorphic pendants are found most often on belts that include lyre segments in their composition.

Also, the distribution of particular forms of belts and pendants points to the probable locations of the workshops producing them, and it can be noticed that the areas of distribution of different forms sometimes overlap. This might indicate the possibility that particular workshops could have produced belts and pendants of different types, which would be indicated by the composition of particular belts made of different segments. On the other hand, particular belts or segments found outside of the basic area of distribution, such as the belt with a pendant in the grave from Teleşti, could point to the mobility of the women who wore them or the master craftsmen who made them. Also, there could have been exchange and trade of such exceptionally complex objects; there could have been cultural transfers and exchanges of ideas and knowledge necessary for their production. But such finds are certainly proof of established contacts, often between distant areas. Conceptual and formal similarities of belts and segments testify about intense contacts taking place on the territory of the Middle Danube area in the Middle La Tène. Belts made of rod-shaped segments and belts with rectangular segments, without those lyre shapes, also end with different pendants that most frequently follow the forms of the segments themselves, which also applies to the anthropomorphic pendants that include a lyre element in their composition.

Even though pendants of different variants follow some common formal characteristics and display conceptually similar compositions, each pendant still represents a unique and original craft product with recognized particularities in decorative motifs and shapes of terminal pendants. In fact, each pendant might be described as individualized, which could indicate that they were produced according to the orders of the women who owned and wore them (Rustoiu 2004–2005: 54). Also, belt segments and pendants have differently shaped depressions which were filled with multicoloured enamel, creating an exceptional colour effect on the costume of the women who wore such belts. On the other hand, the form of the anthropomorphic pendant itself probably hides a symbolic meaning too, especially for the women who wore such belts and sent signals to other members of the community. Such an exclusive and exceptionally valuable costume item might have been owned only by women who had a special status within the community; belts with anthropomorphic pendants could have belonged to women from a particular social group which was defined by the different knowledge and skills they had, for example. In any case, bronze belts consisting of lyre and rectangular segments with anthropomorphic pendants represented an important part of the visual identity of women, who were aware of what they wore, and for that reason the pendants were burned and buried together with them in the Middle La Tène.[16]

Since bronze belts with anthropomorphic pendants were probably worn by women who had a prominent status in the community for a reason (knowledge, skills etc.), we dedicate this paper to respectable professor Mirjana Sanader, who always taught us to have an industrious, persistent and inventive approach to the study of even the most complex archaeological challenges before us.

[16] This article was funded by the Croatian Science Foundation with the project (IP-06-2016-1749): Iron Age Female Identities in the Southern Carpathian Basin (FEMINE).

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Urban Greek or Illyrian? Cognitive dissonance or archaeological issue?[1]

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One of the important issues discussed in relation to Illyria is the problem of the origins of the Illyrian cities. The prevailing view is that their beginnings should be sought in fortified settlements dating back to the beginning of the Iron Age. In fact, from the 4th century BC onwards, the first urban structures were created, a good example of which is the antique Rhizon – one of the capitals of Illyria, which is today located in Montenegro. Urban and architectural analysis shows that it was created under the clear influence of Greek urban planning and architecture. In Rhizon itself, archaeologists from the University of Warsaw unveiled buildings lying on an acropolis, fragments of six insulae and probably a palace complex.

Key word: *Illyrian towns, origins, Rhizon*

One of the most important issues in Illyrian archaeology is the origin of Illyrian urban sites and it has been addressed by many researchers, Albanians and not only. N. Ceka (Ceka 1986: 48–84), F. Fistani, G. Hoxha (Hoxha 1987: 71–81; 2004: 25–250), S. Islami, Gj. Karajskaj, F. Prendi, B. Lahi, (Lahi 1988: 69–92; 1993: 201–218), S. Shpuza, K. Zhegu (Zhegu 1977–1978: 113–123) also A. Dumond, (Dumond 1872: 1–3), P. Cabanes, W. Pająkowski and J. Wilkes (Wilkes 1992) and others. Archaeological sites from modern Albania and Montenegro have been analyzed, the consensus being that practically all the relevant architectural structures were constructed on hilltops. This suggests their defensive character, although the picture derived from archaeological investigations, coupled with an analysis of written sources, is far from conclusive.

One should note Diodorus's use of the term *ethnè* (XVI, 4, 7) for describing the organization of Illyrian settlement apparently as small tribal centers. He also probably used the term *polismata*, small fortified town, as a synonym (Cabanes 1988: 214). Other ancient authors, like Frontinus (Stratagèms III, 6, 3), juggle the following terms: *polis*, *civitas* and *urbs*, evidently unsure as to the precise terms that should be used in reference to Illyrian settlement. Seemingly none of the existing terms reflected the actual urban and social/political specificity of Illyrian centers, hence the alternative leaning of the authors to either the urban or the social contexts. (Suić 2003: 44–50).The one certain thing is that fortified settlements were at the core of Illyrian tribal communities in rural territories. The question that arises is whether a tribal community could build a city that by definition consisted of a seat of governance and a place for trade and artisan craftsmanship? (Suić 2003: 26–28). It is expected that the local populace would have resided in villages lying in the fertile plains at the foot of the mountains.

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1 The project has been financed with resources provided by the National Science Center, Poland, allotted by the decision DEC-2014/14/M/HS3/00741.

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The emergence of these proto-urban sites is dated to the end of the 5th and the early 4th century BC (Rendić-Miočević 1989: 441–447). The second stage in this process occurred in the second half of the 4th and early 3rd century BC (Cabanes 1988: 217–219). There are two elements distinguishing the two stages. In the older stage, city walls encircled smaller territories and were executed in a technique known from Gajtani. These walls would run along the edges of the highest parts of the hills. In the second stage, the fortified area was enlarged (retaining the old fortifications) and the new walls demonstrated different variants of a polygonal bond. Klos is a good example with two settlements being constructed on the hills there (Papajani 1976: 411–419). A study of the stratigraphy and of wall bonding allows the different stages of development to be distinguished. The rule was to develop old settlements, hence the highly characteristic plans: territories or urban districts distinctly separated from one another by the defenses, from two (e.g. Amantia) to four (e.g. Lissos, Zgërdhesh) (Shpuza 2014: 118–199; Islami 1972: tab. 3; Prendi & Zhegu 1972: 223) Apollonia.

Urban and architectural observations do not resolve the issue of function of these structures (cf. Korkuti *et al.* 2008: 47–59). A refugial function has been suggested, noting the absence of permanent features, like streets, houses, squares etc., within the areas surrounded by these fortifications. Researchers have also considered these walled enclosures as symbols of prestige of an emergent local power system for a resident population. The fortifications demanded substantial effort and technical know-how, not to mention the economic resources or rather surpluses of resources necessary for raising jointly such extensive defensive structures. A third theory is that these were centers of craftsmanship as suggested by the results from Gajtani, where remains of artisan production have been dated to the 8th–7th century BC.

The issue, however, appears to be even more complex. It is held currently that there were three tribal groups living in Illyria in the 5th century BC: the Illyrians, the Phrygians and a Hellenized group. From a social standpoint, these tribes represented nomads and farmers on one hand and Greek settlers on the other. The former emerged as chiefdoms based on blood ties, positioned intermediately between a tribe and a state (Czekalski *et al*. 2009: 24). Such structures are attested in the sources in reference to the Enchelai and Taulanti in the 5th century BC. It is not to be excluded that similar processes were taking place on a lesser scale in the territory of "*Illyrii proprie dicti*".

A second important issue to be considered is the impact of Greek urban thought and building techniques on the shaping of Illyrian cities. The answer seems simple enough: the impact is evident. Mutual influences and transfer of ideas are often observed in the archaeological record, but for that to happen there must be a cultural "core" around which such ideas can coalesce. So what is truly "Illyrian" in the Illyrian urban tradition?

Looking at plans of Illyrian urban centers starting from the 4th century BC we see copies of Greek colonies and cities. Comparing them with evidently local structures from the Early Bronze Age, we do not see any local transformation, no traceable evolutionary process. Is it then an illusion that we labor under and the issue of Illyrian is merely a cognitive dissonance with the Illyrian cities having nothing to do with the earlier proto-tribal defensive features and being instead a more or less precise copy of the Greek urban model?

There is no clear answer to this question, yet the following remarks can be considered as a contribution to the discussion, based on the results of archaeological excavations carried out by the Research Centre for the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe of the University of Warsaw, for the past 16 years in Risan, ancient Rhizon, the capital of King Ballaios and Queen Teuta and for the past 5 years in Scoder, the capital of King Genthios. The first of these two sites in particular has yielded many interesting archaeological data relevant to the issue at hand.

The first thing that comes to mind is the actual timeframe of the emergence of Illyrian towns. It does not seem to be accidental. Neither is it without importance that these structures comprising strong fortifications were built on hilltops. To my mind, these two elements indicate that we are dealing with a material reflection on the social situation of the times. The 5th century BC was to all appearances a very important period for the territory of the later Illyria. The wanderings of different tribes were at an end with the tribes settling in their later territories, presumably generating changes in the power structure and organization. At the same time the Greek colonization was introducing new pressures on the population

(Ceka 2008: 66–67) – agricultural hinterland and raw resources for the cities, communication routes etc., as well as cultural models, which comprised organizational models, building techniques, transfer of ideas etc. The general ambience of purely physical as well as cultural menace must have pervaded the life of the different communities (similarly as observed today). Imagining all kinds of tribal conflicts, which could have taken place in this situation, it is possible to envisage a number of small villages coming together to build a defensive system, an undertaking of a size that would have demanded a joint effort. These defenses are generally small, suggesting that these communities were small as well, cf. Marshej, Kratul (Shpuza 2014: 108, 113; Karajskaj 1977: 264; Fistani 1983: 109–117). Initially, they would have served most likely as refuges and only later, in the second stage, they would have been adapted to other, "urban", purposes. Archaeological excavations have yielded evidence of a process of this kind. The original "settlements" were small and did not comprise any permanent structures. Later settlements were bigger and more like cities although without a clear urban structure. In the third stage, once the structures of the kingdom had taken shape, the proportions changed. The villages, which had once been central to the settlement and economic pattern, started to serve an auxiliary function to the cities, which were seats of authority and economic and crafts centers. Thus, it was a situation of menace that originally led to the building of the defenses and to the social changes that changed these places into urban centers.

This process of joining and mutual influences can be traced also in the macroscale. Researchers have proposed an architectural Illyrian–Epirian *koinè* existing already from the 6th century BC. But the question cannot be easily resolved at the present stage of research as it is difficult to discern between the cause and the effect. Too little is known still of society in this period and the intercultural relations. However, it is possible to trace similar features and architectural solutions emerging at the same time over a rather large territory (Ceka 2008: 123–133).

There was apparently an awareness in antiquity of the distinctness of Greek and Illyrian towns, which disappeared over time as the Illyrian power system borrowed from the Hellenistic model. In effect, cities of Illyrian origin increasingly resembled the urban structure of their Greek counterparts. The picture is not clear because of the spotty sources, coming from different chronological periods and describing different parts of Illyria; the archaeological sources are no better owing to the state of research.

The oldest written source, which is the work of Pseudo-Skylax, dated most probably to the mid-4th century BC (Gołębiowski 1977: 15–36), distinguishes clearly enough between cities that were evidently Greek and two centers, Rhizon (Fig. 1) and Amantia, which are referred to as Illyrian. Moreover, especially with regard to Amantia, it suggests a link between the city and a tribal structure, the Bylliones in this case. The same was probably true of Rhizon. According to Pseudo-Skylax there was an *emporion* here and this automatically suggests security ensured by a strong power structure which drew material benefits from the trade exchange.

Fig. 1. Ortophoto and plan of ancient Rhizon (P. Dyczek, K. Rzeźnik).

Rhizon is an interesting case. Ancient sources speaking of this town and the tribal territory of the Enchelai connected the spot with Kadmos and Harmonia (Pająkowski 1981: 19–20; Šašel Kos 1993: 113–136; 2004: 500–501) calling them the founders and thus *de facto* the originators of the Illyrian kingdoms. The myth is interesting in the context of the apparent archaeological and historical fact that the Enchelai formed the first Illyrian proto-state (cf. Pająkowski 1981: 16–17; 87–90; Proeva 1995: 195–199). Models from the sphere of Greek culture, Mycenaean culture to be more precise, seem to have supplied a direct impulse and not surprisingly considering that these models had spread over a very large territory (Hoxha 1987: 71–81). More importantly, however, there had to be a "core" of a developed local culture ready to accept new models.

In the 4th century BC, the proto-state of the Enchelai dissolved, replaced apparently by a new entity, a kingdom. Memory of Rhizon's beginnings endured, finding reflection in a late source issuing from the army camp of the III Augusta legion in Lambaesis in North Africa. An inscription from the mid-2nd century AD, found at the camp, mentions a local Illyrian divinity, Medaurus, and describes the defense walls as "*moenia Aecia*", (Garašanin 1966: 27–37; Dyczek 2008: 155–163; Dyczek *et al*. 2010: 79–133; Dyczek *et al*. 2014: 73–84) referring by the same to the Trojan tradition and simultaneously to Mycenaean/Greek roots. This example is entirely unique with regard to the territory of Illyria.

Rhizon's exceptionality was reinforced by archaeological discoveries. Starting from the 4th century BC Illyria's make-up seems clear enough: the Illyrian kingdoms were established on Hellenistic models, meaning that they had compact and defined territories, power structure, settlement patterns and economical foundations.

Excavations have yielded a unique group of finds: coins of King Ballaios, first found in Rhizon by Arthur Evans in the late 19th century. Evans (Evans 1883: 47 ff) came to think that this king, unnamed in the historical record, reigned after 168 BC, but current excavations have brought a considerable series of coins of this ruler coming from earlier archaeological contexts. In 2010, a hoard counting 4656 pieces was discovered hidden in a large vase under a house floor (Ciołek 2010: 7–12; Dyczek 2010: 55–50) (Fig. 2). An archaeological and numismatic study of this hoard and another smaller hoard of 120 coins discovered a year later leave no doubt that Ballaios ruled in the mid-3rd century BC (Dyczek 2015: 107–11), a hundred years earlier than Evans had assumed (Ciołek 2011: 1–30).

This new dating has numerous historical and chronological repercussions for all of Illyria. History has recorded a king Agron ruling Illyria in the mid-3rd century BC, but he did not strike coins of his own. He was followed by Queen Teuta who is connected with the events of the First Illyrian War with Rome. There is no room in the chronology for Ballaios and yet the distribution of his coins demonstrates a coincidence of the territory over which he ruled with that known to have been Agron's kingdom. Historical facts quite

Fig. 2. So-called Great Hoard of coins of the king Ballaos (J. Recław).

obviously do not fit archaeological data, raising many questions, including ones concerning the real nature of the Illyrian kingdoms, especially as Ballaios is identified on his coins by the Greek term "basileus" and he is depicted in the Hellenistic manner. Working theories are being developed to resolve this issue and, if proved, they will change current views on the history of Illyria. In any case, the historical and mythological coincidence turns Rhizon into a missing link that will help to explain the development of Illyrian cities.

How much "Illyrian" and how much "Greek" can be observed in Rhizon (Dyczek 2017: 375–392)? The data available to date, to my mind, confirms in full the theory on the origin of Illyrian cities and the sequence of their stages of development. Rhizon appears to go back to the 7th century BC, when it seems to have been made up of three elements, similarly as Lissos (and also apparently Scoder): a fortified acropolis, a lower city and a harbor. A small ellipsoid structure on a hilltop may come from the end of the Bronze Age or the early Iron Age (Fig. 3). Its extent may have been bigger, but was damaged by later structures; regardless of how extensive the damage was, it did not exceed just a little over 0.1 ha. It may have been connected with the site of Lipci near Risan (Dyczek 2008a: 189–197), where some interesting rock paintings have been preserved, dated by the team to the 10th or early 9th century BC. It cannot be excluded that a natural harbor may have existed in Risan at this time—the topographic conditions are entirely suitable for that. The location of a port (Dyczek 2016: 79–88) in a secure bay next to a small plateau and river, and on the crossing of two

Fig. 3. Ortophoto acropolis of ancient Rhizon (M. Lemke).

Fig. 4. So-called cyclopic wall of Rhizon (P. Dyczek).

important trails, one leading along the Adriatic coast and the other branching off inland, would have rapidly turned ancient Risan into an important trade post, important enough to be called an emporium by Pseudo-Skylax in the mid-4th century BC. Artifacts from the early Iron Age indicate potential trading activity in the 6th century BC and perhaps even earlier, in the 7th century BC. From the 6th century we have a small hilltop fortified area and an apparent harbor with paved square at its foot (Mijović & Kovačević 1977: 40 ff). The geological situation today with the waterlogging of layers from this period does not permit determination of the presence of any related architecture.

A significant change occurred in the 6th and early 5th century BC. Fortifications erected in a bond recognizable as Illyrian were raised around a much larger area on the acropolis (Fig. 4) (cf. Zhegu 1980: 131–160). In the lower town, an area of about 3 ha was surrounded by these new walls (Fig. 11). It also seems that at least some of the main city roads were traced at this time, including one leading across the river (over a bridge) to the *suburbium* and another winding its way to the top of the acropolis. (Drobnjaković 2001: 41–44; Faber 1992: 25–40; 1995: 101–115).

Another rebuilding of the city took place in the end of the 5th or at the beginning of the 4th century BC. A more detailed dating of the polygonal walls that were constructed in this stage still demands further study. A platform was built on the hilltop—the foundation of a temple of Medaurus perhaps?—while in the lower town the fortified area was extended to more than 6 ha. The defenses ran along the river edge, the seacoast and a small stream at the foot of the hills. There were at least four gates with inside towers and one secret postern. A Hippodamian street network was traced at this stage, forming insulae of different orientation and size. A large square (agora), serving as a forum in the Roman period, was also traced near the sea. The road connecting the lower and upper towns was renovated, being actually turned into a ceremonial street.

In the mid-3rd century BC, the city was thoroughly rebuilt most probably after a destructive event of some kind. New houses were constructed, partly of stone and partly of brick, and roofed with tiles. The walls were executed of thick limestone slabs bonded in an earth mortar, dressed on the outer face which gives the impression of rectangular limestone blocks.

Six urban insulae have been excavated at least in part (Dyczek 2014: 91–109). They were all different in character and function. Those which lay close to the sea were economic in character, comprising storehouses of amphorae, economic units and shops. One of the complexes contained a bathroom with a ceramic bathtub and a mosaic floor. Moving away from the sea, the insulae changed in character: houses became bigger and were furnished with paved courtyards surrounded by a series of rooms. Passages inside the complexes were narrow and there was an elaborate sewage system in place. Large quantities of Hellenistic tableware and imported wine amphorae were found in these houses, which seem to have belonged to rich craftsmen, including cabinetmakers. The House of Aglaon (Kowal & Łajtar 2014: 93) is a good example, the designation coming from a name scratched as a graffito on the bottom of one of the

Fig. 5. Gold ring with representation of Artemis (J. Recław).

vessels. The house had a bathroom and a room with a pebble mosaic floor. A fine golden ring with a gemma depicting Artemis was found here (Fig. 5). The image is in all likelihood the sole surviving copy of *Artemis Brauronia*, a sculptured work by the Greek sculptor Praxiteles. A figure of Sylenus/Dionysus was found in another complex in this part of the city. And a plaque with a depiction of a Maenad, a copy of a work by Kallimachos, came from a house which also yielded a coin hoard; the same house was a source of a glass gemma with a depiction of Theseus and the Minotaur (Dyczek 2014: 99–110, Fig.. 20).

In 2015, excavations (Dyczek 2018: 259–265) revealed what may have been a *basileion* (Nielsen 1999: 11). It was an official structure with walls made of large limestone blocks, applying *anathyrosis* as a building technique. A large wooden door led to this structure, the wings each furnished with a knocker in the shape of a Satyr's head. Coming from this structure and one opposite it is a small altar, a gemma depicting Zeus, a unique *aes grave*, vessels of bronze. Was this perhaps a ruler's residence? It lay on the main street, in the highest-lying part of the city, close to a small postern gate.

These still fragmentary results of excavations in Risan permit a preliminary reconstruction of the evolution of the Illyrian city, determining the key characteristics that differentiated it from the Greek city.

Proto-urban fortifications on hilltops seem to have been the first stage in this process. They may have served initially as places of refuge, later taking on also economic functions, for instance, places for storing in wooden structures the harvest or grain surpluses. They could also have been used for religious and social gatherings. In the end, they became official seats of authority and religious cult places. However, the "acropolis" was always separated from the settlement at the bottom of the hill—as at Risan.

Another rule was the division into three parts: the hilltop fort, the settlement and the port and trade post (Risan, Scoder). There is a regularity in the size of the areas surrounded by fortifications being increased to encompass not only the hilltop, but also the other two parts of the system, that is, the lower town and the harbor with market place. An effort to manage the inner architecture, by introducing a street network for instance, invariably follows the restriction of space by defense walls. It has been noted in several cases from the Bronze and seems to be a creation independent of Greek models. Had it not been so, then one would have to assume that the Illyrians applied this urban model almost simultaneously with its invention by the Hellenes. Imperfections of the system division into three component parts can also be observed at Risan with defense walls buttressed with architecture on the inside and inner towers at the terminations of streets. In my opinion, these are independent Illyrian inventions.

Building technique is also important. The manner of construction in Risan, and apparently also in Scoder, was local and traditional. “Illyrian” building experience stood behind the way buildings were constructed, the wall bondwork, materials, technical designs, like the system of channels. The achievements of Greek builders do not seem to have been used as models here.

There are features, like the *acropolis* and the *agora*, that might be assigned a Greek origin but were not in my opinion. Fortified hilltops are fully characteristic of the proto-urban structures. These are not seats of the Bronze Age rulers. The form is similar, but the origins and function are different. The same can be said of the market place: its form is due to needs, not imitation. A market and place for assemblies would have been prerequisite in a tribal society with economic needs. There is nothing to suggest that the agora in Risan also served any kind of cultic or administrative purposes.

The Greek influence that is to be discerned in the Illyrian cities is the building of polygonal fortifications and a distinct separation of the official quarter, which was built along Greek lines.

Regarding the issue at hand, current research on Illyrian sites indicates that Illyrian cities were independent urban forms that drew on Greek models only in the case of a few better and more effective designs. Hence their separateness is not the result of a cognitive dissonance, but an archaeological fact in need of further examination. The Illyrians should be allowed to preserve their identity!

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Rimska drvena kutijica iz korita rijeke Kupe u Sisku

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Na rijeci Kupi u Sisku 1985. provedena su zaštitna arheološka istraživanja na lokalitetu zvanom Kovnica gdje su između mnogobrojnih drugih predmeta pronađeni vrlo dobro očuvani ostaci drvene kutijice s dijelovima izrađenim od mjedi. Očuvane su djelomično tri strane drvene kutijice: prednja, stražnja te lijeva bočna strana. Drvene stranice bile su zupčasto spojene. Vrlo karakteristično oblikovana okrugla metalna pločica s T-utorom za ključ, kao i drugi metalni dijelovi mehanizma za zaključavanje, možda bi govorili u prilog određenom tipu. Kako su slični komadi najčešće nađeni izvan konteksta te se često ne mogu precizno datirati, ona je mogla biti u upotrebi od 1. do 4. st.

Ključne riječi: *Kupa, Sisak, drvena kutijica, antika*

U vrijeme niskog vodostaja na rijeci Kupi u Sisku 1985. provedena su zaštitna arheološka istraživanja na lokalitetu zvanom Kovnica. Lokalitet se nalazi na desnoj, zapadnoj, strani korita rijeke Kupe (Lolić 2003: 131–152, sl. 14). Arheološka istraživanja je vodila ispred Arheološkog zavoda Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu Marija Šmalcelj. Prilikom istraživanja pronađeni su ostaci više od dvije stotine obrađenih drvenih hrastovih pilota zabijenih u dno desne strane korita rijeke, a između njih pronađeno je mnoštvo opeke, obrađenog kamena te keramike, stakla i metalnih predmeta. Prvi je izvještaj o istraživanjima 1986. donio Ivan Šarić u *Obavijestima HAD-a* (Šarić 1986: 28–29), a ulomke keramičkih posuda je 2001. objavio Zoran Wiewegh, prvo u sklopu svojega diplomskog rada, pa onda u radu objavljenom u *Opvscvla archaeologica* (Wiewegh 2001: 89–149). U navedenom radu on je najdetaljnije opisao okolnosti istraživanja te dao osnovne podatke o mjestu zvanom Kovnica, o njenoj vjerojatnoj namjeni te o mogućnosti da je taj dio funkcionirao kao mjesto gdje je zaista, kako se držalo do tada, kovan rimski novac. Analizirajući keramiku, zaključio je da se najveća količina keramike datira od druge polovice 1. st., te osobito u 2. st., a zastupljeni su gotovo svi oblici standardni za rimsku keramiku toga razdoblja (Wiewegh 2001: 103). Tijekom 3. i 4. st. se smanjuje broj ulomaka, kao i repertoar oblika, te je vjerojatno u drugoj polovici 4. st., ili početkom 5. st., prestala svaka aktivnost na lokalitetu (Wiewegh 2001: 104.). Potopljeni brod s lokaliteta također je bio predmet studiozne obrade (Gaspari *et al.* 2003: 284–289). Keramika i dio arheološke građe su nakon obrade i objave vraćeni u Gradski muzej u Sisku. O ostalim, prije svega metalnim nalazima, nije se do sada pisalo te za sada nije poznato više o njima, osim o nekoliko rimskih kovanica pohranjenih u Zavodu. U prostorijama Arheološkog zavoda Filozofskog fakulteta nađena je drvena kutijica s metalnim dijelovima. Ona je bila zametnuta među predmetima s drugih arheoloških lokaliteta istraživanih od djelatnika Arheološkog zavoda od kraj pedesetih godina 20. st. Ona je nesumnjivo iz Siska jer ju je Marija Šmalcelj znala spomenuti u razgovoru, ali je već krajem devedesetih godina 20. st. bila zametnuta i nije se znalo gdje je pohranjena. Gdje je točno ona pronađena prilikom arheoloških istraživanja 1985,. nije poznato, jer se u Zavodu ne čuva dokumentacija s tih zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja. Poznato je samo da je pronađena vjerojatno iste te 1985. kad su vršena arheološka istraživanja u Sisku u vrijeme vrlo niskog vodostaja u koritu rijeke Kupe. Nije poznato je li nađena na spomenutom lokalitetu Kovnica, što je najizglednije, ili prilikom obilaska korita rijeke na nekom drugom mjestu. Nakon više od trideset godina, odlučili smo ju objaviti i čini nam se da je ovo zgodna prigoda.

O sličnim rimskim kutijicama iz Panonija, te općenito iz rimskog svijeta, postoji vrlo opširna literatura.[1] Zanimljivo je napomenuti da je godinu dana nakon ovog sisačkog nalaza 1986. objavljena velika studija Dorottye Gáspár pod naslovom *Römische Kästchen aus Pannonien* u dva toma časopisa *Antaeus* Arheološkog instituta Mađarske akademije iz Budimpešte. Veliki broj metalnih dijelova najrazličitijih kutijica tada je po prvi puta objavljen (Gáspár 1986: 324–344, Nr. 2064–2078). Jedan dio objavljenog materijala potječe iz rijeke Kupe kod Siska, te iz otkupa s područja grada Siska. Ti predmeti čuvaju se u Arheološkome muzeju u Zagrebu. U navedenoj objavi vidljivi su tipološki slične ključanice i okovi. Pregledom te, i ostale vrlo opširne literature, razvidno je da je vrlo veliki problem preciznije datirati slične rimske kutijice, unatoč tomu što se analogije pojedinim metalnim dijelovima, kao i oblicima kutijica, mogu naći na različitim mjestima. Vrlo karakteristično oblikovana okrugla metalna pločica s ključanicom u obliku obrnutog slova T kao i drugi metalni dijelovi možda bi ukazivali u prilog određenom tipu. Ali slični predmeti najčešće su nađeni izvan arheološkog konteksta te se često ne mogu precizno datirati, već se samo navodi da pripadaju rimskom dobu, 1. – 4. st. Takva datacija u svakom slučaju ne zadovoljava. Ova kutijica, lišena karakterističnih, tipološko osjetljivijih figuralnih ukrasa ili nekih drugih obrtničkih elemenata i motiva, nema uporišne točke za precizniju dataciju. Možda bi jedino ukras u vidu izvedenih perforacija uz rub metalnih oplata išao u prilog kasnijoj dataciji. U različitoj, vrlo obilnoj literaturi, slične se pojavljuju u arheološkom kontekstu, često na grobljima u antičkim grobovima.[2] Možda bi kod datiranja pomogle radiokarbonske analize. No čini nam se, budući da je ona već prošla konzervaciju i da je njena površina impregnirana različitim kemijskim sredstvima, a da je materijal više desetljeća čuvan s drugim arheološkim materijalom, da bi možda dobiveni datum bio također neupotrebljiv. Voljeli bismo da je ona vezana uz spomenutu rimsku kovnicu i da je možda služila za to da se u nju pohrane kovanice ili neki drugi predmeti vezani uz nju, ali to nije realno očekivati. Čini se da je od najveće koristi u ovome trenutku objaviti kutijicu sa svim dijelovima. Ona će svakako upotpuni poznati repertoar nalaza.

Vrlo rijetko sačuvani drveni dijelovi najveća su vrijednost ovog predmeta i stoga, uz metalne predmete koji su također vrlo lijepo obrađeni, svakako zaslužuje da konačno bude objavljena.

U koritu rijeke Kupe djelomično su očuvane tri strane drvene kutijice načinjene od ariša. Nađena su prednja, stražnja te bočna strana. Gornja, donja i desna bočna strana nedostaju, jer je vjerojatno ona prije bacanja bila oštećena te su nedostajali pojedini njezini dijelovi. Drvene stranice bile su zupčasto spojene. Donja stranica, koja nije očuvana, bila je usađena tako da se usadila u za to pripremljena udubljenja na donjem dijelu bočnih strana kutijice. Onako kako se još danas, kod klasičnog namještaja, usađuje donji dio ploče ladice. Željezni čavli nisu korišteni, već samo mjedeni da bi se limeni dijelovi mogli pripasati drvenim. Svi metalni dijelovi izrađeni su od mjedi.

Dimenzije očuvane lijeve bočne stranice su: dužina (d.) 10,5 cm bez zubaca, a sa zupcima 12,5 cm, visina (v.) 8 cm (Sl. 1 – Sl. 2). Ona nije ravna već je malo savinuta prema van. U donjem dijelu s unutrašnje strane nalazi se udubljeni kanalić cijelom dužinom, ali je potpuno očuvan samo u središnjem dijelu (d. kanalića 10,5 cm; š. 0,4 cm; dub. 0,5–0,55 cm). U gornjem dijelu s unutrašnje strane ima više udubljenih kanalića i to horizontalni kanalić u gornjem dijelu (d. 4,6 cm, š. 0,4 cm, dub. 0,4 cm) te još jedan horizontalni kanalić (d. 2,5 cm; š. 0,4–0,5 cm, dub. 0,2 cm) pozicioniran 1,6 cm niže, koji je s gornjim povezan vertikalnim udubljenim kanalom (d. 1,6–2,0 cm) (Sl. 2). Možda su ti udubljeni kanalići ostatak nekog izgubljenog mehanizma povezanog s malom ladicom na izvlačenje. Slična ladica na izvlačenje prikazana je na rekonstrukciji drvene kutijice iz Sontheim-Brenza, Kreis Heidenheim.[3] Širina prednje i stražnje stranice kutijice bez zubaca iznosi 7,7 cm (očuvana v. prednje pločice je 5,0 cm, a stražnje 2,7 cm). Zupci nisu očuvani na objema stranama tako da širina očuvanog dijela sa zupcima iznosi kod prednje pločice 8,7 cm, a kod stražnje 9,0 cm. Debljina svih stranica je 0,9–1,0 cm. Uz navedene postoje još drugi drveni dijelovi i otpali zupci.

[1] Gáspár 1986; Riha 2001; Schmauder & Willer 2004. Posebno vidi popis literature na kraju knjiga.

[2] Gáspár 1986, passim; Riha 2001: 23–34; Schmauder & Willer 2004: 174–219.

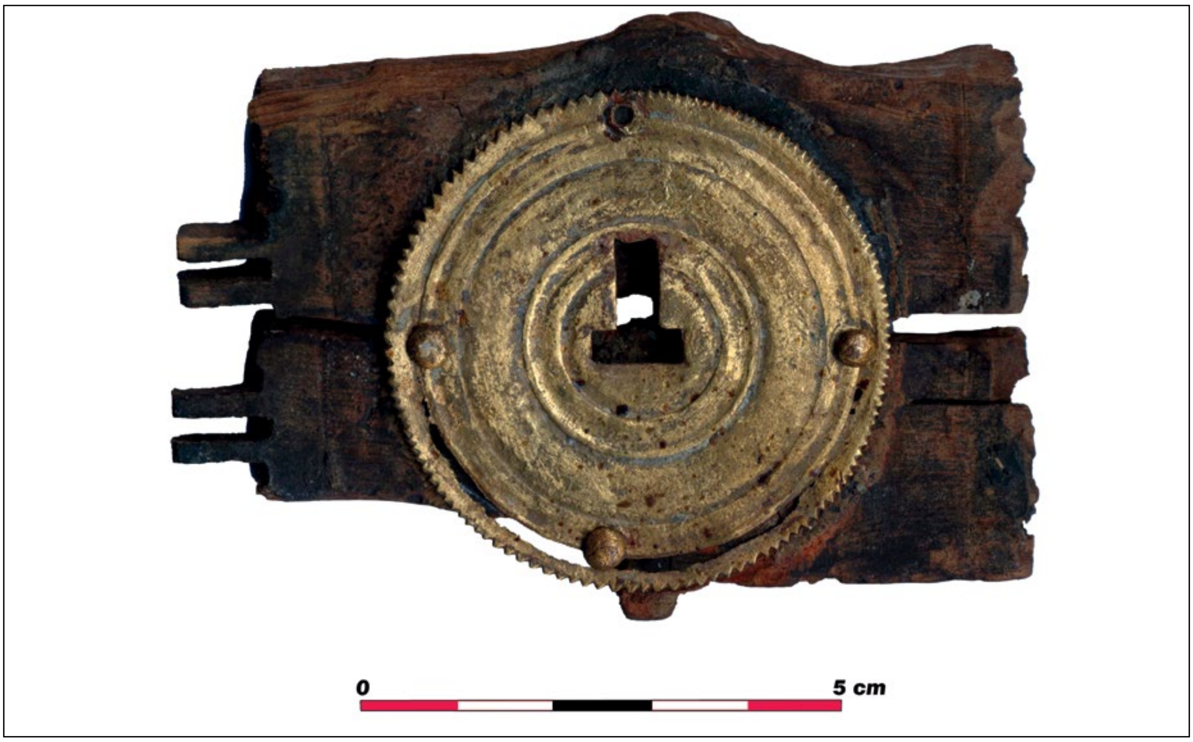
[3] Riha 2001: 71, sl. 40: Sontheim-Brenz, Kreis Heidenheim, rekonstrukcija.

Slika 1. Sačuvane stranice drvene kutijice s mjedenim dijelovima (snimio K. Filipec, 2019.).

Slika 2. Drvena kutijica, dijelovi – prednja strana s vidljivim očuvanim željeznim mehanizmom za zaključavanje (snimio K. Filipec, 2019.).

Kako se zupčasto spojeni vez na kutevima stranica ne bi vidio, bio je prekriven tankim limom, na njemu se vide rupice. One odgovaraju širini čavlića kojim su bili pričvršćeni na podlogu. Vanjski dio lima bio je ukrašen nizom rupica (0,5–0,2 cm). Dimenzije prvog lima: š. stranica 1,5–1,5 cm; d. očuvanog dijela 6,7 cm. Dimenzije drugog lima: š. stranica 1,5–1,7 cm; d. očuvanog dijela 8,7 cm. Dimenzije trećeg lima: š. stranica 1,5–1,7 cm; d. očuvanog dijela 7,6 cm. Na svima su vidljive rupice od čavala (0,2–0,25 cm). Očuvano je pet čavlića (d. 1,5 cm; š. trna 0,1 cm; š. kape 0,3 cm).

S prednje strane nalazio se okrugli lim (pr. 5,2 cm) u sredini kojeg se nalazi otvor u obliku obrnutog slova T (š. 0,4–1,0 cm; v. 1,3 cm). Okrugli lim ukrašen je koncentričnim krugovima, a rubovi su nazubljeni. Stražnja strana je glatka. Na limu se nalaze četiri rupice za čavle, one odgovaraju rupicama na drvetu, te se cijeli lim može postaviti na prednju ploču te usaditi u opisane rupice (Sl. 3). Na drvenoj prednjoj ploči nalaze



Slika 3. Prednja strana kutijice – metalni okrugli dio s T-ključanicom na drvenoj podlozi (snimio K. Filipec, 2019.).

se ostaci željeza s gornje strane udubljenja ključanice, te ostaci ključa i mehanizma za zaključavanje s vidljivim željeznim klinom s donje strane. Željezo je vrlo korodiralo te se spojilo s drvenom podlogom. Ako se lim s čavlićima usadi i postavi tako da je slovo T obrnuto, tada je željezni klin okrenut prema dolje. Slični mehanizmi poznati su s drugih drvenih kutijica (Gáspár 1986; Riha 2001; Schmauder & Willer 2004).

Riječ je o vrlo lijepo obrađenoj i ukrašenoj drvenoj kutijici s metalnim elementima. Ona se ne može preciznije datirati jer se na njoj ne nalaze karakteristični i tipološko osjetljivi figuralni ukrasi ili neki drugi obrtnički elementi i motivi karakteristični za uže vrijeme.

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Palmyrene Funerary Sculptures from Singidunum[1]

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Although many epigraphical and archaeological monuments of Syrian origin in the territory of Central Balkans' Roman provinces from the period of Roman reign have been discovered in the past, monuments from Palmyra are rare. Therefore, the three monuments of Palmyrene origin from National Museum in Belgrade, are even more important, because they represent valuable examples of Palmyrene funerary art from the Roman period. On two monuments, the very elite of Palmyrene society is represented – two Palmyrene priests dressed in their characteristic clothes with modius on their heads, while the third monument represents a funerary loculus stela of a young girl holding a bird (probably a dove) and grapes. The analysis of the iconography and stylistic traits of the monuments showed that they can be dated to the period of the 2nd-3rd century, during which (particularly during the reign of the Severan dynasty) the imigrants of Oriental origin came in several migration waves to Central Balkans' Roman provinces and inhabited bigger centres, including Singidunum, where they had their enclave.

Key words: *Palmyra, funerary monuments, loculus relief, priest, Singidunum*

Among different archaeological monuments from Roman period situated in National museum in Belgrade, three monuments belonging to the Palmyrene funerary sculpture attracted our attention. Although they have been published before, the elaborate analysis of their iconography, stylistic characteristics and their context within Palmyrene funerary sculpture with more precise dating, haven't been the focus of previous scholars (Вулић 1931: 231, n. 615, 235, n. 625, 626; Гарашанин 1954: 64, fig. 37; Grbić 1958: 101, T. LXX; *IMS* 1976: 85, n. 72; Cambi *et al.* 1987: 197, n. 145; Popović 1993: 71–76, Fig. 1–3; Tomović 1993: n. 6, Fig. 2.1–2, Fig. 4.4). All three monuments represent typical and well modelled examples of Palmyrene funerary sculpture, particularly since each monument belongs to the different type of the funerary sculpture of Palmyrene art.

The context of how the two of the three Palmyrene monuments – the head of a priest and the *loculus* relief of a priest, came to the National museum in Belgrade has been already debated by I. Popović (Popović 1993: 71–76).[2] As I. Popović showed, contrary to the presumptions made by certain authors that two

[1] The article results from the project: *Romanization, urbanization and transformation of urban centres of civilian and military character in the Roman provinces in the territory of Serbia* (no. 177007), financed by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

[2] In previous literature about the two Palmyrene funerary sculptures with the representations of priests from the National Museum in Belgrade, it has been debated whether the sculptures of two priests were found in the area of the Belgrade fortress or its vicinity, as it was written in inventory book of museum, by one of the previous directors of National Museum, V. Petković. That opinion was accepted by two scholars, N. Vulić and M. Grbić, who in their works mentioned the monuments presenting Palmyrene priests (Вулић 1931: 235, n. 625, 626; Grbić 1958: 101). However,

Fig. 1. The head of a priest from National Museum in Belgrade (Photo: Documentation of National Museum in Belgrade).

monuments were gifts or were bought off by National Museum, both monuments with priestly presentations were found in the area of the Belgrade fortress (Ibid: 75). Two monuments with priests' representations were mentioned in the H. Ingholt publication "Studier over palmyrensk Skulptur" from 1928 and from that period on, they were described in other publications in the catalogue form (Mirković & Dušanić 1976: n. 72, 85–86). As for the third Palmyrene monument, funerary stela with the representation of a girl holding a bird and grapes in her hands, it was only published in I. Popović' article in which the context of finding of Palmyrene monuments from National Museum in Belgrade, is discussed.[3]

As it is previously mentioned, of three Palmyrene funerary sculptural monuments from National Museum in Belgrade, two monuments represent priests, while the third monument depicts a deceased girl with a bird and grapes. First Palmyrene funerary monument is actually a portrait bust of a priest which was, judging by the way of the head's size, way of modelling (full sculpture) and the way that the head was damaged, presented a part of a sculpture of a priest reclining in a banquet, most probably from a sarcophagus lid or a sarcophagus box.[4] The head of a priest represents a head of a young man carved in limestone, of 30 cm total height, height of the face 14 cm and width of the face 15 cm, slightly under life size (inv. number 09_3001, Fig. 1).[5] It has been broken off at the neck height and the hat on the priest's head is slightly damaged on its frontal side. A young man is presented with a typical cylindrical headgear of Palmyrene priest – a *modius*.[6] Around the *modius*, there is a laurel wreath with a medallion in the centre with a bust of a young beardless man. The priest is presented hairless and

K. Parlasca in his article published in 1989–1990, expressed his doubts about the original place of monuments' finding and wrote that they probably came to the National Museum' collection as a gift or were bought by National Museum. In her paper, I. Popović argued with previously mentioned presumptions and proved that two Palmyrene monuments were excavated in the area of Belgrade fortress and afterwards, in 1925., were situated in National Museum's *lapidarium*. The first mention of two Palmyrene monuments in the Museum's inventory books dates after 1927 (Popović 1993: 72–75).

3 The Palmyrene *loculus* stela with the representation of a girl with a bird and grapes was found in the National Museum by dr I. Popović, who was the first to publish the monument (Popović 1993). On this occassion I would like to express my sincere gratitude to dr I. Popović for all the informations about the Palmyrene monuments from the National Museum in Belgrade, she was kind to share with me.

4 There is little posibility that the head of a priest from the National museum in Belgrade represented part of a freestanding sculpture, because of their rareness. Funerary priestly representations from Palmyra can be divided into several groups by the type of the sculpture to which they belong: portraits on *loculus* reliefs, portraits on sarcophagi-lids and sarcophagi boxes, portraits on banqueting reliefs, portraits on freestanding sculpture in the round, portraits on stelae-shaped loculus reliefs and portraits in ceiling decoration (Raja 2016: 130).

5 I would like to express my sincere gratitude to colleagues from National Museum in Belgrade, Deana Ratković and Jelena Marković, for their kindness of allowing me to use the photographs of three Palmyrene funerary monuments from the documentation of the Ancient History collection, National Museum Belgrade.

6 *Modius* is the term used for describing a cylindrical hat with a flat top, different from the characteristic hat in the form of a complete cone with an apex which is usually worn by the priests in the Roman Near East (Dirven 2011: 205; Blömer 2015: 185–189). As H. Ingholt noticed, there were several variations of a basic modius represented in Palmyrene art: plain modius, modius with wreath with a rosette in the centre or with a medallion with a small bust in the centre (Ingholt 1934: 34–35). Although in any Palmyrene representation of a man with a modius there is no confirmation that he is a priest, Palmyrene funerary inscriptions testify about the proffesions of the represented deceased and therefore indirectly confirm that the modius was worn by Palmyrene priests (Raja 2015: 340). Additionaly, Palmyrene funerary representations of men with modius represented beside them (on a pedestal next to them or held by a person presenting it to them) have been interpreted as the representations of former priests, whose status marker is *modius* (Kaizer 2002: 236; Raja 2017a: 426).

beardless. His face is oval with a forehead completely concealed by a high headdress. His eyes are large and oval, with incised irises and pupils, with heavily defined long curved eyebrows. The nose is straight and well modelled as the lips (lower lip is fuller), on which a slight smile is implied which gives a composed facial expression to a young man's face. The chin is quite prominent and ears are slightly sticking out. Stylistically, the facial traits of the head are simplified, with well modelled details (like the laurel wreath, the ears) combined with somewhat stiffen facial features, which deprave the face of its natural look. There are no traces of the paint in the priest's head, but judging by other known analogies, it can be presumed that it was painted.[7] There are visible cracks and punctuations on the face (in the area of the cheeks and the chin), but all the main portrait details are well preserved, which allows us to analyse the sculpted head more thoroughly. As it is already mentioned, there is a particular kind of hat, known as *modius* on a young man's head, which suggests that he was a priest. That is to say, it has been generally accepted that the *modius* is the symbol of a Palmyrene priesthood (Ingholt 1934: 33–35) although, as different authors remark, there haven't been any inscription so far next to the image of the person wearing a *modius,* that would confirm his identity as a priest (Raja 2015: 340; Heyn 2008: 184). However, inscriptions which accompany similar images of men with shaven heads and faces, with *modii* on their heads are known from so-called banqueting *tesserae* (small terracotta squares probably used as admission tickets to sacred funeral banquets) and identify them as priests, as also funerary sculptures and reliefs from Palmyrene tombs and sanctuaries, which show men with *modii* on their heads performing ritual sacrifices.[8] Palmyrene priests are depicted wearing a *modii* on their heads outside Palmyra as well (for example, on two Palmyrene reliefs from temple of the Gadde in Dura-Europos, Dirven 2011: 205, fig. 12.2), thus distinguishing themselves among other Syrian priests. Some *modii* were unadorned, while some like the one on the priest's head from the National museum in Belgrade, had laurel wreath encircling the *modius*.[9] As M. A. Colledge reminds, the image of wreath is presented very frequently in Palmyrene *tesserae* and in early Palmyrene sculpture it is shown in hands of a guardian goddess or priests. However, a wreath encircling *modius* in Palmyrene sculptures of priests is not known until AD 130–140 (Colledge 1976: 140). The wreaths presented on *modius* could have been of laurel, olive and oak foliage, probably made of gold, which is suggested by the traces of gilding found on one wreath (Stucky 1973: 173). Many questions and hypothesis about the use and significance of wreath on the *modii* of Palmyrene priests have been posed in the past and some authors think that wreath is the sign of apotheosis of dead priest, while the other scholars suggest that the wreath is a sign of priestly dignity.[10] In the centre of the wreath on the *modius* of the priest's head from the National Museum in Belgrade, a miniature bust of a young, beardless man wearing a tunic and a cloak, is presented.[11] This type of *modius*, encircled with a wreath adorned with a miniature portrait bust in the centre, represents the most elaborate type of modius (Heyn 2008: 189). Various authors differently interpret the symbolism of the miniature busts in the centre of the *modius*' wreaths, which can be beardless or with a beard – thus, H. Ingholt regards them as "badges of civic distinction given either by the city or by the religious authorities" (in his opinion bearded bust implies that the priest was appointed by the city, while beardless bust indicates that the priest was appointed by the clergy, Ingholt 1934: 36). Some authors interpreted them as a symbol of a certain rank in priestly hierarchy,

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[7] Colledge 1976: 119. As D. Wielgosz-Rondolino showed, the paint was used on Palmyrene sculptures even in the earliest period of their modelling, in the 1st century, consisting of most frequently used red paint (probably red ochre), combined with range of colours (white, yellow, black), which can be best observed in one of the most famous Palmyrene funerary reliefs, known as the „Beauty of Palmyra" from the tomb of Qasr Abjad (Wielgosz-Rondolino 2016: 178; Raja & Højen Sørensen 2015: 447–450).

[8] Stucky 1973: 163–180; Pictorial evidence in Palmyrene public and funerary portraiture and banqueting *tesserae* is abundant, contrary to the literary evidence for Palmyrene priests. However, the public and funerary sculptures offer more than enough evidence that hairless and beardless men wearing *modii* on their heads were priests – a very interesting example of even three generations of priests can be seen on a relief from the temple of Nebu (Raja 2016: 129–130). For more about so-called funeral banquet *tesserae* see Raja 2016a: 340–371.

[9] R. Stucky implies that the *modius* could have been made of felt (Stucky 1973: 172).

[10] R. du Mesnil du Buisson and M. Gawlikowski thought that the wreath is a sing of apotheosis of a dead priest, while M. Ingholt and H. Seyring were of opinion that the wreath encircling the *modius* is a sign of a priestly dignity (Stucky 1973: 177).

[11] It is presumed that from Hadrianic period to the 3rd century, *modius* was encircled with a wreath which had a central medallion with either male beardless bust or a a bust of a priest with a *modius* in his head (Raja 2015: 341).

while others like M. Gawlikowski, suggest that the busts presented in the centre of the wreath on *modius* symbolize connection to some ancestral cult (in the context of ancestor first becoming a hero and then the object of an ancestor cult, Heyn 2008: 189; Raja 2015: 342). The presentations of Palmyrene priests carrying a *modius* with a wreath are quite rare – a search in the database within the Palmyra Portrait Project showed that in an example of 700 portraits, only 68 portraits were presented with a *modius*, out of which only 25 had a wreath tied around it (Ibid: 341–343). In our attempt to find out more about the Palmyrene priest's head from National Museum in Belgrade, we should also pose the question about the symbolism of the wreath presented on the *modius*. R. Stucky believed that different kinds of foliage used for the wreaths on *modii* indicated priests of different gods – thus, wreath of olive leaves implied the priest of god Baalshamin, while wreath of laurel indicated the priest of god Bel.[12] If previously mentioned hypothesis about the symbolism of busts on central medallion on *modius*' wreath and meaning of different wreath leaves indicating different gods are to be taken into account concerning the interpretation of a priest's head from National Museum in Belgrade, then the head of a priest could represent a Palmyrene priest of god Bel, who acquired his position by being appointed by the clergy. Judging by the stylistic characteristics – large eyes with incised pupils, large ears, straight nose and softly modelled lips, the head of a priest belongs to the first group of Palmyrene portraits according to H. Ingholt's classification (Ingholt 1928: 90–93) and is analogous to several known priestly busts, like the sculpture of a priest from the private collection in Beirut[13] or the head of a priest from the *loculus* relief situated in the British Museum, dated between AD 50–150 (inv. number BM 125033) (Raja 2016: 133, fig. 1) (Fig. 4). The very similar facial traits and expression can be seen on the face of a sculpture of a husband presented on a funeral banquet relief dated between AD 100–130 or a priest from a hypogeum of Artaban (Sadurska 1994: 16–17, fig. 6, fig. 8). As we already mentioned, the head of a priest from the National Museum in Belgrade was probably originally attached to a sculpture decorating a sarcophagus lid, similar for example to the sculptures represented on a sarcophagus lid from the Hypogeum of Yarhai, west exedra, central *triclinium*, Valley of the Tombs (sculptural group consisting of seated woman, two reclining priests and two standing individuals, a priest and a man, Raja 2017a: 439, fig. 6) or the sculptural group of a priest Barateh with family members in the courtyard of the Palmyra Museum (Heyn 2008: 172–173, fig. 6–2). The head of a Palmyrene priest from the National Museum in Belgrade can be more precisely dated between 130/40–150.

Fig. 2. The loculus relief of a priest Ammôn from National Museum in Belgrade (Photo: Documentation of National Museum in Belgrade).

The second Palmyrene funerary sculpture from the National Museum in Belgrade represents a sculpture of a priest on so-called *loculus* relief. It is carved in white limestone, with dimensions 51 x 43 x 24 cm (inv. number

[12] R. Stucky thinks that a wreath of olive leaves indicates the priest of Baalshamin, because the priests with olive branches were represented in the relief of Baalshamin temple. The wreath of laurel, in author's opinion, implies the priest of god Bel, because on the *tesserae* of Bel's thiasos, laurel branches are often depicted (although R. Stucky admits that laurel leaves appear too on the *tesserae* with images of other deities).

[13] The sculpture of a priest from a private collection in Beirut bears striking similarity to the head of a priest from the National Museum in Belgrade. The sculpture represents a young priest with a wreathed *modius* and a central medallion with a beardless bust of a young man on it, holding a laurel branch in his left hand. Based on small dimensions of the sculpture (0.92 m) and untreated back side of the sculpture, R. Stucky presumes that the sculpture of a priest from Beirut perhaps stood on a console of a street colonnade or in a sanctuary of the god to whose cult the priest belonged to (Stucky 1973: 166, fig. 3).

09_2985, Fig. 2). *Loculi* reliefs represent one of the types of the Palmyrene funerary sculpture, made on more or less rectangular slabs mostly of local limestone, depicting a bust or a half-figure of deceased, shown alone or with members of the family. Beside the representation of the deceased, there is often a Palmyrene Aramaic inscription with the name of deceased (and if other persons are presented beside deceased, with their names too).[14] *Loculi* reliefs served for sealing of the compartment where the deceased was buried (whether in above-ground so-called tower tombs or subterranean large tombs *hypogea*) (Henning 2013: 159–176). It is presumed that they were probably copied from the freedman reliefs produced in Rome, by the indigenous population in Syria or in Palmyra in the 1st century (Kropp & Raja 2014: 395). The *loculus* relief from the National Museum in Belgrade depicts a half-figure of a Palmyrene priest, identified by the wreathed *modius* with an elongated empty medallion on its centre. The sculpture is presented in high-relief, frontally, approximately up to the waist. The face of a young hairless and beardless man is oval, with elongated eyes lacking pupils, almost schematically carved with heavy eyebrows emphasized with incision marks. The nose is relatively long with wider nostrils. The young man's mouth is small and well-shaped, as the chin. Ears are large and lop. The priest is dressed in a tunic depicted as a series of V-shaped folds, over which is a himation which is also folded. Priest's right hand with all fingers stretched is depicted in a sling of the himation and with it, he is holding the folds of the himation thrown over his left shoulder. His left arm is bent in the elbow pressed on his body and in his left hand, which index finger is extended, the priest is holding a *schedula*.[15] Both hands of the priest are quite big. Above his left shoulder, a text in Palmyrene Aramaic is inscribed in four rows: " 'MWN BR | NŠ' 'G'| ŠLM' | HBL" (translation:" 'Ammôn son of Nesha (son of) 'Ogga (son of) Shalma, Alas!" (Mirković & Dušanić 1976: 85–86, n. 72). Therefore, on the *loculus* relief from the National Museum in Belgrade, the priest Ammôn is presented in the way as the most of the males featured in the bust form in Palmyrene funerary sculpture are presented – wearing "Graeco-Roman" dress (tunic with a draped cloak) in the arm-sling arrangement (right arm presented in a sling of the folds of the cloak), which is typical for Roman funerary reliefs dated to the Late Republican period and early Empire (Heyn 2008: 170). Although the young man from *loculus* relief from the National Museum in Belgrade isn't holding any attributes associated with sacerdotal activities, like a jug, a bowl for incense, a balsamarium, olive branch etc., it can be presumed that he is a priest judging by the wreathed *modius* on his head. Although the wreath is carved quite schematically (as the whole presentation of priest Ammôn), the wreath encircling the *modius* is made of laurel foliage and has an oval empty medallion in the centre which could have been made of gold.[16] As it was previously mentioned, from the 1st century B. C. in Roman funerary reliefs it became popular to present men with their right arms in the sling of the toga, with fingers of the right hand usually extended. The same position of the right arm in the cloak's sling and right hand with extended fingers over the fold of the cloak can be observed in the majority of the Palmyrene loculus reliefs (251 of the 323 Palmyrene male portraits are represented in described way, Heyn 2010: 634) and in that context, the representation of priest Ammôn from National Museum in Belgrade represents no exception. However, on the left hand of priest Ammôn only index finger is extended, while other fingers are clenched. As M. Heyn discusses, on Palmyrene funerary male portraits, contrary to the right hand, the left hand displays more gesture variations – after most frequent gesture of all fingers being extended or clenched, the second most often represented gesture of the left hand in male relief busts is the gesture where only index finger is extended, while other fingers are clenched (Heyn 2010: 634, T. 2). In the funerary representations of priests and men holding sacerdotal objects, the extension of the index finger of the left hand was very popular. The reason for the popularity of this gesture among priests and participants in religious representations isn't known. As it is already mentioned, in the left hand of priest Ammôn, there is a writing attribute presented: a book roll known as *schedula*. H. Ingholt was the first author to introduce the term for this writing attribute, which resembles a narrow tablet, but has trapezoidal and not rectangular shape (Sokolowski 2014: 380–

[14] Within the group of so-called *loculus* reliefs, there is a sub-group of *loculus* banqueting reliefs, presenting a reclining deceased on a kline, accompanied by a wife or by family members (Raja 2016: 127).

[15] A *schedula* is the writing attribute that priest Ammôn holds, which was previously wrongly identified as a scroll (Cambi *et al.* 1987: 211, n. 175). The *schedula* represents one of the items belonging to the group of writing attributes, with which the images of deceased on Palmyrene funerary portraiture were presented: tablet (*tabula*), *stylus,* wax tablet, roll (*volumen*), diptych, *codexes* and double *schedula* (Sokolowski 2014: 378).

[16] R. Stucky describes that some of the *modii* were adorned with a rosette or round / oval empty medallion in the centre. Some medallions were made of gold, judging by the traces of gilding visible on the medallion of some heads of the Palmyrene priests (Stucky 1973: 174).

381). The representations of *schedula* in Palmyrene funerary sculpture (mostly held in left hand by men in relief portraits) increase in number from the 2nd century, replacing from that time images of tablets (Colledge 1976: 69, 247–253). The *schedula* represented on the funerary *loculus* relief with the image of priest Ammôn, belongs to the second type of *schedulae*, which have a curved end and sometimes engraved name of the deceased on them.[17] Interpreting the representations of priests with *schedula* in their left hand, H. Ingholt thought that depicted writing attribute perhaps had a certain role in the funeral rites, had some religious significance or represented the deed of the tomb (documents that prove legal title to burial place, Ingholt 1934: 33). Whatever the symbolism of *schedula* was, in this particular case, presented in the hand of the priest, it emphasized even more the high social status of the deceased in the context of his erudition and knowledge. Ichnographically, *loculus* relief of priest Ammôn is analogous to the presentation of priest Yarhibôlâ, which was originally in one of the tower tombs or *hypogea* of Palmyra (afterwards added to the collection of the Museum of Archaeology in Beirut, Ibid: 32). Stylistically, the *loculus* relief of priest Ammôn is carved only with a chisel and represents quite rigid and schematic work, with some details well depicted (mouth, chin). It bears certain similarity in the facial traits of the head and stylistic features of the *modius* to the fragmented funerary relief of the priestly bust from the Vatican Museums (inv. number 56599) dated to the second half of the 2nd century (Novello & Tiussi 2017: 101, cat. 7) and is very similar in the details of dress modelling and hands gesture to the depiction of a man from the *loculus* relief from Archaeological Museum in Istanbul (inv. number 1041), dated between AD 230–250 (Raja 2017: 118, fig. 3), while the facial traits are stylistically close to the priest's head from the *loculus* relief situated in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (inv. number 1034) dated to the 3rd century (Raja 2018: 15) (Fig. 5).

Fig. 3. The funerary stela of a Palmyrene girl from National Museum in Belgrade (Photo: Documentation of National Museum in Belgrade).

Fig. 4. Loculus relief depicting a priest and a child, British museum (inv. n. BM 125033) (photo: Raja 2016: fig. 1).

17 The shape of the first type of *schedulae* is straight, while the shape of the second type of *schedulae* is curved. First tipe of *schedula* is almost twice more often presented on the Palmyrene funerary portraiture, than the second one, (Sokolowski 2014: 379, T. 1). On the *schedulae* of the second type, a name of deceasede can be ingraved, like in the case of Bennuri whose name was engraved in Aramaic. A. Sadurska thinks that the second type of *schedulae* actually represent a stylized depictions of keys (because of their curved end), but L. Sokolowski remarks that in Palmyrene funerary sculpture keys are always represented as L-shaped, not in trapezoidal shape (Ibid: 381).

As it was already mentioned, *loculus* reliefs present most common type of Palmyrene funerary sculpture, where the deceased is depicted in frontal pose with an inscription in Palmyrene Aramaic above his/hers shoulder which contains the name and genealogy of the deceased, with the earliest dated funerary portrait from AD 65/6 (Heyn 2010: 631–632). The largest group of priestly presentations actually comes from *loculus* reliefs – around 90 priestly portraits (Raja 2016: 132). After the analysis of numerous examples of priestly representations on *loculus* reliefs, R. Raja concludes that they are almost always depicted alone, without family members.[18] Therefore, the inscriptions in Palmyrene Aramaic which accompany the priestly representations on *loculus* reliefs, attest to the genealogy of the family, but don't point out to other family relations, which is the case in other representations of deceased (Raja 2016: 132–133). Stylistic characteristics of the *loculus* relief of priest Ammôn from National Museum in Belgrade imply the period between AD 230 and 250, as the time-span for its modelling.

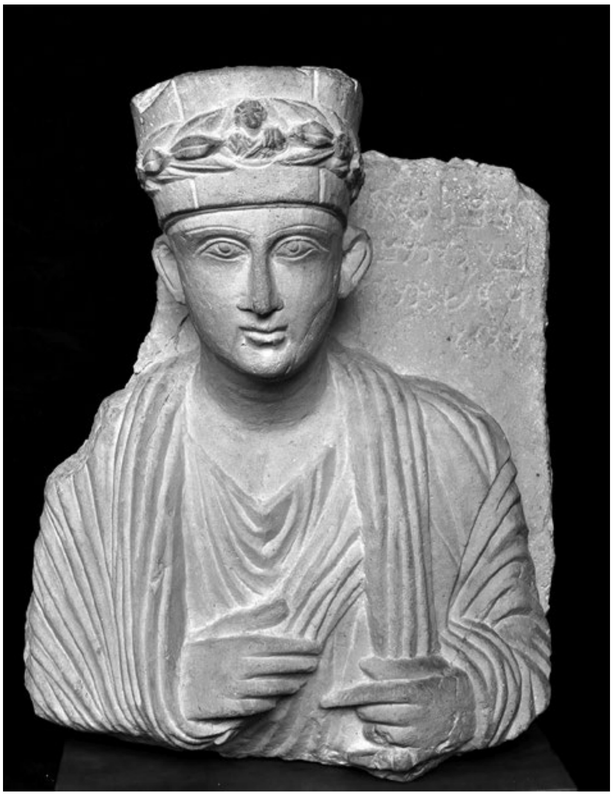

Fig. 5. Loculus relief depicting a priest, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (inv. n. 1034) (Photo: Raja 2018: 15).

The third Palmyrene funerary sculpture from the National Museum in Belgrade represents another funerary sculpture type from Palmyra – a high-relief funerary *stela* made from limestone, dim. 55.5 x 28.5 cm (inv. number 09_2939, Fig. 3). On the *stela*, a young girl is frontally represented standing with right arm held alongside the body and left hand bent in elbow, set across the chest. Unfortunately, the representation of a girl is damaged in the area of her face, but it can be distinguished that on her oval face, eyes were well depicted as a bit elongated with incised pupils and with slightly curved eyebrows. Girl's hair is styled in wavy strands brushed forward, with the length to the middle of her neck. Her forehead is well modelled and ears are quite large. The girl is dressed in a long chiton, with emphasized folds on the arms and series of V-shaped plaits on the upper part of the girl's body. In her right hand, the girl holds a bunch of grapes, while in her left hand she holds a bird, probably a dove or a pigeon. Above her left shoulder, there is an inscription in Palmyrene Aramaic.

The largest group of the Palmyrene funerary sculpture is represented by *loculus* reliefs, within which is a sub-group consisted of smaller size *stelae* with representations of full-length figure (approx. 50 cm high). This type of Palmyrene funerary sculpture was presumably adapted by Palmyrene artists from earlier funerary free-standing *stelae*, for their use inside the tombs and in time became of rectangular shape, as *loculus* reliefs (Colledge 1976: 239; Krag & Raja 2016: 136). During the 1st century, these *stelae* were used for closing burial chambers *loculi,* where deceased was buried, but never achieved the popularity of *loculus* reliefs, they ceased to be used during the later second half of the 2nd century. Most frequent representations on this sub-type of Palmyrene funerary sculpture are depictions of women with children, but from the end of the 1st century through the 2nd century, their popularity decreases in favour of group portraits (Krag & Raja 2016: 155). The children alone are not frequently depicted in Palmyrene funerary sculpture – usually they are represented with their parents (most often their mothers), thus in opinion of R. Raja underlying the status that motherhood had in Palmyrene society (Raja 2017a: 428–429). Beside *loculus stelae*, children were also depicted in banquet reliefs, sarcophagi and wall paintings, always easily recognised by their attributes, smaller size and clothing. As M. A. R. Colledge observes, children were shown differently, according to their sex and with various attributes – girls were distinguishable from boys

[18] R. Raja writes that out of 87 examples of *loculus* reliefs representations of priests, only in four cases they are depicted with other family members (Raja 2017: 123).

by hairstyles and dress: they were depicted wearing a long folded chiton, while boys were dressed in short tunic with trousers (Colledge 1976: 67). In many Palmyrene *loculi stelae*, like in antecedent Greek funerary reliefs, children were presented with two characteristic attributes which symbolised a childhood: the bird and the bunch of grapes (Colledge 1976: 156; for the examples, see Sadurska & Bounni 1994: 67–68, n. 92, fig. 18, 68–69, n. 94, fig. 12, 97, n. 131, fig. 6, 97–98, n. 132, fig. 7 etc.). In the *loculus* reliefs, 36.4 percent of monuments represent the images of girls, while 63.6 percent represent the depictions of boys, thus making the representations of boys more numerous than the girls (Krag & Raja 2016: 143). Although the bird which a child holds is usually of unknown kind, it can be presumed that the girl from *loculus stela* from National Museum in Belgrade holds perhaps a sacred dove of Syrian goddess Atargatis (in Roman period Dea Syria) or the girl's pet pigeon (Colledge 1976: 158). Ichnographically, the representation of the girl from *loculus stela* from National Museum in Belgrade is very similar to the depiction of a girl from the funerary stele from Colket collection (Albertson 2000: 160–162, fig. 1) and by the treatment of the dress and the attributes of a bird and grapes is analogous to the depiction of a girl from the *stela* from hypogeum of Sassan (Sadurska & Bounni 1994: 82, fig. 17). By the stylistic and technical features concerning the treatment of the girl's face and modelling of the folds of the dress, the representation from the funerary *stela* from Belgrade is close to the presentation of the boy Masheku from a *loculus* limestone *stela* dated to the 2nd century[19] and the *stela* representation of a boy holding a bird and bunch of grapes from Paris (Raja 2016a: 143, fig. 9). Stylistic features of the presentation from Palmyrene funerary monument from National Museum in Belgrade, imply the middle or the second half of the 2nd century, as possible period of stela's carving – there is no *dorsalium* presented on the stela, the girl's dress is not so richly folded but with wide folds and girl's right arm is held to the side and not completely outstretched like in the children' representations from *stelae* dated in the later 2nd century (Albertson 2000: 162). Therefore, the proposed time span for the funerary stela with a representation of a girl with a bird and grapes from the National Museum in Belgrade would be between AD 140–170.

Palmyra, situated in the Syrian Desert between the Mediterranearn and the Euphrates, was included in the Roman Empire from the Augustan period, when its growth started and lasted during the next three centuries, due to its position, richness of the land and pleasant nature (Pliny XXV.1). Because of its favourable geographic position, it represented a crossroad between Roman and Parthian Empire and an important commercial, political and cultural centre. As Palmyra developed into a polis, its aristocracy who was attracted to Roman customs, adopted in time certain architectural and sculptural traits of the Roman culture (Smith 2013: 56). Although a centre inhabited with diverse population, Palmyra was in the Roman period also an important religious centre where indigenous tradition intertwined with Hellenistic and Roman one. Thus, a unique culture was formed, which incorporated strong eastern customs and local traditions with Greek influences and certain Roman values. Previously said can be clearly observed in Palmyrene art, which comprises public and funerary portraiture, mostly preserved in the so-called *loculus* reliefs and chronologically later form in the shape of sarcophagi (Raja 2017: 120; Kropp & Raja 2014: 393–394). From more than 3000 portraits that corpus of Palmyrene funerary sculpture encompasses in Palmyra Portrait Project, up to 25 percent of all male representations show priests and about 10 percent of all Palmyrene funerary representations (more than 300 funerary portraits, Raja 2018: 14) are priests (Raja 2017: 115–122), while on around 7 percent of the monuments, children are depicted. Priests represented elite of Palmyrene society and a highly desired service. Judging from numerous inscriptions from Palmyra, priestly function was hereditary – it was transferred from father to a son. However, in some cases, like in the case of certain Haddudan, priestly function could be paid for.[20] Beside representing the social elite, priests also belonged to wealthy families and therefore had prominent position and influence in Palmyrene society.

The three Palmyrene funerary sculptures from the National Museum in Belgrade represent three different sculptural types of the funerary portraiture from Palmyra during the period of Roman reign. The first funerary portrait represents the head of a young priest, which was originally probably attached to a figure reclining in a funerary banquet on the lid of a sarcophagus. Although the rest of the priest's body

[19] https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/a-palmyrene-limestone-relief-for-masheku-circa-5509060-details.aspx, accessed on 15. 02. 2019.

[20] Certain Haddudan is mentioned in inscription as a person who paid the expenses for his nephew to become a priest (Piersimoni 1995: 554).

is missing, analogous to other known similar sculptures (for example already mentioned sculptural group from sarcophagus lid from Hypogeum of Yarhai or the sculptural group of priest Barateh in the courtyard of Palmyra Museum), it can be presumed that the priest was probably dressed in a Parthian dress – long-sleeved tunic belted at the waist, worn over loose trousers decorated with bands of embroidery, with a cloak over them (Heyn 2008: 170, fig. 6–2). He was probably presented with family members, with inscription next to him, giving his name and a perhaps a date. The head of a priest from National Museum in Belgrad represents an exquisite example of Palmyrene funerary portraiture, quite rare because of the detail of the *modius* encircled with the laurel wreath with central ornament in the shape of a miniature bust of a beardless young man in himation and cloak. The significant position and wealth of this particular Palmyrene priest who is presented and his family, are additionally implied by his possible burial in sarcophagus on which' lid, the presentation of deceased was presented. The second Palmyrene monument represents a priest Ammôn on so-called *loculus* relief, the most common funerary type of Palmyrene sculpture. The priest Ammôn is depicted alone, as it is most often the case with priestly representations on *loculus* reliefs and R. Raja suggests that the reason for representing priests almost exclusively alone in *loculi* reliefs (contrary to the sarcophagi representations where they are presented with family members), isn't a religious one but that it was done because a *loculus* relief marked a single grave within a context of a larger family tomb, while the sarcophagi lids with family scenes often presented a few generations of priests on one lid (Raja 2016: 141). Due to the fact that priestly depictions on *loculi* reliefs emphasized the status of the priest himself contrary to the sarcophagus representations where the emphasis was on the family scene, R. Raja concludes that *loculi* reliefs in some way presented condensed family scenes *per se* (Ibid: 143).

The third funerary monument from Palmyra now situated in National Museum in Belgrade is a *loculus stela* with a representation of a young girl holding a bird and a bunch of grapes, typical symbols of childhood interrupted by early death. Although stylistic and technical features of the monument imply a solid, but not highly skilfully modelled high relief, the representations of children in full-length figure on *loculi stelae* are not so frequent and cease to appear in the second half of the 2nd century, which is approximately *terminus ante quem* for the stela from National Museum in Belgrade.

Of all three Palmyrene funerary monuments from National Museum in Belgrade, the most exquisite one, which testifies about the wealth and the highest degree of Hellenisation of the deceased, is the head of unknown priest. It is well known that the richest inhabitants of Palmyra which belonged to the elite of the city, weren't buried in *loculi,* but in the *sarcophagi* as it is the case with the head of a priest from National Museum and since the funerary portrait represents a priest whose *modius* is adorned in a most elaborated way, with a wreath centrally decorated with a miniature bust of a young beardless man, it can be presumed that deceased priest represented the very elite of the Palmyrene society, from the first half of the second century. The second funerary monument, *loculus* relief of the priest Ammôn, also testifies about a member of the priestly elite, who was serving in a temple of one of the deities of Palmyrene *pantheon,* around the middle of the third century. The third funerary monument from Palmyra, *loculus stela* with a representation of a girl holding a bird and grapes, represents equally interesting testimony, where the represented child is depicted alone, in full-length figure, without a mother or father, which isn't such a frequent occurrence in so-far known funerary monuments from Palmyra. At the moment, more detailed informations about precise location where the monuments could have been found are lacking, but hopefully future archaeological excavations on the territory of Belgrade fortress, could result in new discoveries of other parts of the three Palmyrene funerary sculptures of even new finds from once powerful and prosperous Syrian city of Palmyra.

Abbreviations

IMS — *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*, I, II, III/2, IV, V, VI, Beograd, 1976–1995.

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Von der Selbstständigkeit der römischen Handwerker

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Die Wissenschaftler neigen dazu, dass sie im Fall der meisten römischen Handwerke die griechischen Vorbilder suchen, und sie bezweifeln, dass die römischen Handwerker ausser der Übernahme und das Kopieren für mehr fähig waren. Mit mehreren Beispielen möchte ich das Gegenteil beweisen. Wir haben es also keineswegs mit sklavischer Nachahmung zu tun, sondern mit selbstständigen, souveränen Meisterpersönlichkeiten, welche die sich oft wiederholenden Themen mit individuellen Zügen ausstatteten.

Schlüsselwörter: *römische Handwerker, Kopieren und Umgestaltung, Phaedra, Medea, Aeneas in den römischen bildenden Künsten, Musterbücher*

Die Wissenschaftler neigen dazu, dass sie im Fall der meisten römischen Handwerke die griechischen Vorbilder suchen, und sie bezweifeln, dass die römischen Handwerker ausser der Übernahme und das Kopieren für mehr fähig waren. Mit mehreren Beispielen möchte ich das Gegenteil beweisen.

Die Rekonstruktion klassischer griechischer Plastik wäre ohne die Kenntnis römischer Kopien unmöglich. Die bronzenen Originale sind bis auf wenige Ausnahmen verloren gegangen, doch Ende der Republik, Anfang der Kaiserzeit entstanden derart viele Kopien, dass genügend von ihnen für die Nachwelt erhalten geblieben sind. Es ist verständlich, dass diese Kopien die Forscher dazu verleiteten, mit ihrer Hilfe die Arbeiten jener Bildhauer zu rekonstruieren, die von den kunsthistorischen Beschreibungen der antiken Autoren, in erster Linie Plinius des Älteren, bekannt waren. Dieses Bestreben charakterisierte die Forscher vom Ende des 19. bis zum Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts, unter denen Furtwängler hervorzuheben ist (Furtwängler 1893). Diese so genannte Kopienkritik war bestrebt, unter den nicht immer genauen Kopien die authentischste zu bestimmen. Diese Auffassung betrachtete das Kopieren als mechanische Tätigkeit und jede Abweichung vom Original als Täuschung und Irrtum, Varianten hielt sie für freie Kopien (Gazda 2002: 5).

Von dieser Auffassung wich als erster Lippold (Lippold 1923) ab, der die Untersuchung der freien Kopie als Werk eigenen Rechts anerkannte. Indem er Kategorien wie Umstilisierung und Umwandlung verwendete, signalisierte er, dass die römischen Arbeiten als Produkte klassizistischer Kunst zu betrachten sind. Freilich vertrat er weiterhin die Ansicht, dass die griechischen Statuen einen höheren ästhetischen Wert hätten als ihre römischen Kopien. In den 1970er Jahren führten deutsche Forscher schließlich den Begriff Idealplastik ein, um darauf hinzuweisen, dass es sich nicht um genaue Kopien eines griechischen Modells handelt, sondern um Werke im klassizistischen Stil, die von griechischen Mustern inspiriert wurden (Zanker 1974). In literarischen Analysen entstandene Begriffe wurden auf die Einstufung von Statuenkopien übertragen (Wünsche 1972: 64 f.). Die *interpretatio*, die in der Literatur Übersetzung bedeutet, bedeutete in der bildenden Kunst genaue Kopie. Den antiken Meistern standen dafür so genannte Punktiergeräte zur Verfügung, was freilich nicht verhinderte, dass der Zeitstil seine Spuren auf dem Werk hinterließ. Die *imitatio* möchte das Original nicht *ad verbum exprimere*, sondern nur seinen Geist übernehmen. In der bildenden Kunst entspricht dem die freie Kopie oder Umbildung, die Variante. Es gibt entweder inhaltliche Veränderungen (Hinzufügen eines Attributs) oder eine der Details (Haartracht, Kleidung), eventuell spielt auch ein anderes Muster eine Rolle. Die *aemulatio* ist die freieste Umgestaltung. Es gibt kein bestimmtes griechisches Muster, der Künstler betrachtet sich als *primus*, *princeps*, es entsteht eine Neubildung.

All diese Verfahren deuten darauf hin, dass die für die Römer arbeitenden Bildhauer bei der Herstellung ihrer Statuen über eine große Selbstständigkeit verfügten. Diese Selbstständigkeit konnte sich fallweise in unterschiedlichem Maß äußern, gehörte aber immer zu ihrer Tätigkeit. Dies gilt nicht nur für die Herstellung klassizistischer Skulpturen, sondern auch für das Schaffen von neuen Kompositionen. Ein gutes Beispiel dafür ist die sich Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts herausbildende Sarkophagherstellung. Sie befriedigte einen neu entstandenen Bedarf. In den römischen Ateliers entstanden ohne Vorgeschichte Sarkophage mit mythologischen Szenen in riesiger Auswahl, Kompositionen mit vielen Figuren und Szenen. Darunter entstanden auch Serien, d.h. gleichaltrige Dubletten, welche oft Varianten voneinander waren (Strocka 1979: 158 ff.). Die Ateliers verfügten offenbar über ein entsprechendes Angebot, die Auftraggeber konnten zwischen Musterstücken wählen, von denen mehr oder weniger genaue Kopien hergestellt wurden.

Aber wie haben wir uns die Arbeit der an verschiedenen Stellen des Reiches tätigen Meister vorzustellen? Wo es Steinmetzateliers gab, dort gab es natürlich auch Muster. Darüber hinaus können wir auch von der Existenz von Musterbüchern ausgehen, was ein größeres Angebot bedeutet als das der fertigen Muster. Die Erfahrung lehrt aber, dass diese Muster nicht sklavisch kopiert wurden. Selbst die Meister in den auf bescheidenem Niveau arbeitenden provinziellen Ateliers stellten freie Kopien her, was bedeutete, dass die Komposition in kleinerem oder größerem Maß vom originalen Muster abwich. Ein gutes Beispiel dafür sind die in Pannonien beliebten Darstellungen der Szene der Medea mit ihren Kindern, welche jeweils einen anderen Aspekt der tragischen Geschichte abbilden (Gesztelyi 2017: 116).

Aus Pannonien sind drei Statuengruppen mit der monologisierenden Medea bekannt und drei Reliefs mit der vor dem Mord stehenden oder diesen ausführenden Medea. Obwohl in allen Fällen von ein und demselben Ereignis der Geschichte die Rede ist, weichen die Darstellungen in kleinerem oder größerem Maß voneinander ab, so dass wir den Verlauf der tragischen Ereignisse auf ihnen verfolgen können. Ikonographisch gehören die Statuengruppen aus Aquincum (*Lupa* Nr. 2931; Ertel 2010: Nr. 120; Schmidt 1992: Nr. 21), Poetovio (*Lupa* Nr. 1729; Schmidt 1992: Nr. 22.) und Feldkirchen (Noricum) zu einer Gruppe, letztere ist allerdings auf Grund ihrer Abnützung nur schwer studierbar. Auf diesen stehen beim rechten Fuß einer schmerzhaft in sich gekehrten Medea in Umarmung die beiden von der nahenden Gefahr nichts ahnenden Kinder. Medea hält das in seiner Scheide befindliche Schwert in ihren verschränkten Händen im Schoß. Auf der Statuengruppe von Adony (*Lupa* Nr. 3872; Schmidt 1992: Nr. 20) sind die Hände nicht mehr verschränkt, sondern die rechte Hand greift den Griff des Schwerts. Die Kinder sind nicht mehr in Umarmung, sondern stehen zu beiden Seiten von Medeas Fuß und heben, als ahnten sie bereits die nahende Gefahr, ihre Hände flehend zur Mutter. Den nächsten Moment sehen wir auf einer Statuengruppe aus Arles: Medea zieht das Schwert mit einer entschlossenen Bewegung aus der Scheide, die Kinder versuchen sich zu verteidigen: das eine hält die Hand über sich, dass andere versucht sich unter dem Kleid der Mutter zu verstecken (Abb. 1.). Auf dem Relief von Intercisa (*Lupa* Nr. 3992; Schmidt 1992: Nr. 24) steht Medea zum Mord bereit mit gezogenem Schwert. Rechts ist noch der ausgestreckte Arm des einen Kindes zu sehen, vom anderen ist leider nichts geblieben, da der untere Teil des Reliefs fehlt. Den Verlauf des Mordes zeigt uns ein in Székesfehérvár gefundenes Relief (*Lupa* Nr. 1592; Schmidt 1992: Nr. 33): das eine Kind liegt vielleicht schon tot am Boden, Medea setzt ihm den Fuß auf den Hals und hält das gezogene Schwert über ihm. Auf der anderen Seite steht das andere Kind mit flehend erhobenen Armen. Die letzte Szene zeigt ein Relief aus Neudörfl (Burgenland) (*Lupa* Nr. 6172): Medea ist im Begriff sich mit dem toten Kind am einen Arm und mit dem Schwert in der anderen Hand zu entfernen. Hier ist das andere Kind nicht Teil der Darstellung. Wenn die Steinmetze nach Musterbüchern arbeiteten, wie konnten dann die Darstellungen ein und derselben Geschichte so unterschiedlich ausfallen? Enthielten die Musterbücher derart viele Varianten oder gab es so viele verschiedene Musterbücher? Vielleicht ist es doch am wahrscheinlichsten, dass die Steinmetze über große Selbstständigkeit verfügten und nicht mechanisch immer die gleichen Szenen wiederholten, sondern sie oder gegebenenfalls auch die Auftraggeber die Szenen aus der gegebenen Geschichte auswählten.

Diese Meister waren nicht nur in der Lage, eine ganze Reihe von Varianten herzustellen, sondern auch dazu, völlig neue Kompositionen hervorzubringen. Ein Beispiel dafür ist das Relief aus Noricum, welches eine Abschiedsszene zeigt, die ohne Parallele ist (Abb. 2; Gesztelyi 2000: 123–131; Gesztelyi & Harl 2001: 139–170). Die Trennung – so scheint es – ist eine zweifache. Die Mutter verabschiedet sich auf der linken Hälfte des Bildes vom Leben und ihren Lieben, der Vater ist im Begriff mit dem Kind die Heimat, die Geburtsstadt zu verlassen. Der am rechten Rand der Szene erscheinende Torbogen und das Schiff sind kaum anders interpretierbar. Wenn aber hiervon die Rede ist, dann denken wir unweigerlich an den mit seinem Kind aufbrechenden Helden Aeneas. Bei dem Kind handelt es sich dann um Ascanius–Iulus, bei der zurückbleibenden Mutter und Gemahlin um Creusa, beim Schauplatz um Troja. Obwohl die Geschichte aus der Aeneis (II 768–794) wohl bekannt war, wurde die Darstellung dieser Szene nicht populär.

Auch auf den Wandmalereien von Pompeji finden wir ein Bild, das offensichtlich nach der Aeneis entstanden ist. Auf der Darstellung in der Casa di Sirio ist der am Schenkel verletzte Kämpfer niemand anderes als Aeneas, das neben ihm stehende Kind Ascanius (Abb. 3; Bragantini & Sampaolo 2009: 346 f., Nr. 159). Der die Wunde behandelnde Arzt ist Iapyx, die im Hintergrund schwebende weibliche Gestalt, die Heilpflanzen in der Hand hält, ist niemand anderes als Venus. Die Geschichte findet sich im XII. Gesang. Die zwei feindlichen Anführer Turnus und Aeneas beschließen, gegeneinander zu

Abb. 1. Medea mit den Kindern vor dem Mord, Museum in Arles (www.flickr.com/photos/carolemage/16008387407/in/photostream/).

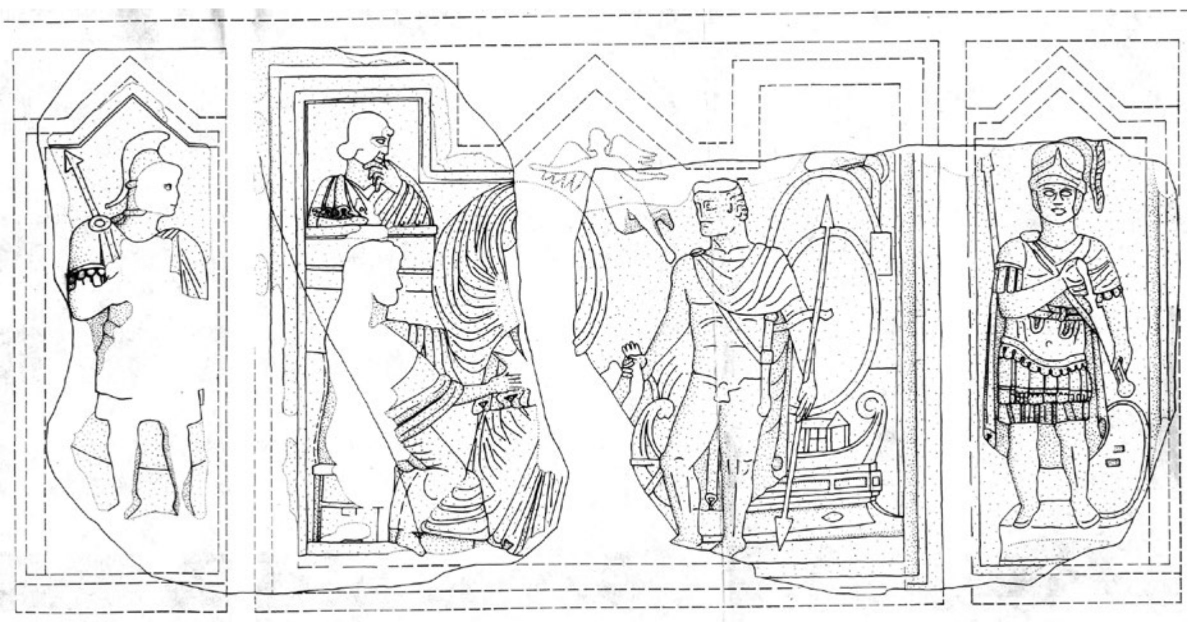

Abb. 2. Abschied von Aeneas und Creusa, Schloß Seggau, Rekonstruktionszeichnung (Gesztelyi & Harl 2001: 167, Abb. 3).

Abb. 3. Aeneas verwundet, Pompeji, Casa di Sirio (hu.pinterest.com/pin/14566398764625323/?autologin=true).

kämpfen. Nach dem Schwur bricht der Kampf erneut aus, Aeneas wird verwundet. Das kleine Fresko zeigt die Momente der Heilung und stützt sich dabei genau auf die Beschreibung in der Aeneis (XII. 398–404, 411–413, 416–417).

Neuere Forschungen haben ergeben, dass auf den Wandmalereien in Pompeji viel häufiger Szenen aus der Geschichte von Aeneas vorkommen als bisher angenommen. Strocka hat insgesamt 21 solcher Bilder gefunden (Strocka 2006: 269–315). Die Szene an der Südwand des Tricliniums der Casa di Fabio Rufo wurde früher als die Begegnung von Alexandros und Roxane interpretiert. Die weibliche Figur hält aber ein Zepter in der Hand, es muss sich daher um eine Königin handeln. Hinter der männlichen Figur wiederum erscheint ein Bewaffneter in östlicher Kleidung. Nach Strocka handelt es sich um die Begegnung von Aeneas und Dido (Strocka 2006: 269–272). Aeneas erscheint als Heros nackt mit einem Umhang am Rücken, seine Waffen, sein Schild und sein Helm liegen am Boden, der hinter ihm stehende Begleiter ist Achates. Es ist dies der Augenblick, in dem Dido Aeneas' göttliche Schönheit bewundert, welche der Held seiner Mutter Venus zu verdanken hat (Aen. I. 588).

Dass wir in Pompeji sicher mit der Kenntnis und Darstellung der Geschichte von Dido und Aeneas rechnen können, das beweist eine Wandmalerei, auf der auch ihre Namen aufgeschrieben stehen. Das fragmentarische Bild lässt nur erahnen, dass die beiden als Liebespaar nach links gerichtet nebeneinandersitzen, während rechts eine dritte Figur ruht. Auf Grund der erschließbaren Komposition ist die Szene identisch mit der auf dem Wandbild auf dem Oecus der Casa del Citarista, auf dem Dido und Aeneas als Liebespaar nebeneinander im Eingang einer Höhle sitzen, wie es im IV. Gesang der Aeneis geschieht (Strocka 2006: 274–276). Der rechts sitzende, ruhende Jüngling kann nur Ascanius–Iulus sein. Im Vordergrund liegt ein Jagdhund auf der Erde. Mit kleineren und größeren Veränderungen findet sich diese Szene auch auf dem Cubiculum der Casa delle Vestali (Abb. 4; Strocka 2006: 275–277). Ähnlich wie auf obigem Bild umarmt Dido verliebt Aeneas, beide sitzen auf einem Felsen, Ascanius allerdings fehlt, dafür aber erscheint über dem Liebespaar ein schwebender Amor. Der Jagdhund ist im Vordergrund stehend dargestellt. Eine weitere Variante stellt die auf dem Triclinium des Hauses VI 15, 6 in Pompeji zu findende Szene dar (Strocka 2006: 277–278). Das Liebespaar sitzt auch hier auf einem Felsen vor dem Eingang einer Höhle, aber in diesem Fall wird es von zwei Amorfiguren, jedoch nicht von einem Jagdhund begleitet. Neben Aeneas liegt eine Lanze, auf Didos Rücken ist ein Köcher sichtbar.

Die Beispiele der Darstellungen von Szenen aus der Geschichte des Aeneas beweisen nicht nur, dass die routinierten Steinmetze und die geschulten Maler in der Lage waren, neue Kompositionen zu schaffen, sondern auch, dass die zeitgenössische Literatur die bildende Kunst beeinflusst haben dürfte. Wie sehr dies der Fall gewesen sein dürfte, das wird auch durch die Untersuchung römischer Darstellungen der Geschichte von Hippolytos und Phaidra gestützt (Gesztelyi 2015/2: 41–48). Bis zum Beginn der Kaiserzeit finden sich keine Spuren der Darstellung dieser Geschichte. Dann aber erscheint sie häufig auf den Wandbildern in Pompeji und Rom.

Das älteste unter diesen Gemälden in Pompeji ist das im Cubiculum im Haus des Jason (IX 5, 18), das in den 10er oder 20er Jahren n. Chr. entstanden sein dürfte (Abb. 5; Bergmann 1996: 200, 211; Bragantini & Sampaolo 2009: 240 f. Nr. 94). In seinem Mittelpunkt sitzt Phaedra sich zur Seite wendend auf einem Sessel und spricht gestikulierend mit der hinter ihr stehenden Amme. Die Amme hält eine Schreibtafel in der Hand, offensichtlich den Brief, den ihre Herrin an Hippolytus geschrieben hat und dessen Zustellung an den Adressaten ihre Aufgabe ist. Am rechten Rand des Bildes ist noch eine kleine Dienerin zu sehen, im Hintergrund die Architektur des Palastes. Die Frage des Ursprungs der Schreibtafel hat eine Debatte unter den Forschern ausgelöst. Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts nahm A. Kalkmann die Existenz einer verloren gegangenen alexandrinischen Tragödie an, in der die Stiefmutter dem Geliebten ihre Liebe in einem Brief erklärt habe (Tschiedel 1969: 46). C. Robert hielt die Briefdarstellung für eine freie künstlerische Erfindung, die dazu gedient habe, die mündliche Botschaft der Amme – wie es bei Euripides geschieht – anschaulich

Abb. 4. Aeneas und Dido, Pompeji, Casa delle Vestali (Strocka 2006, 277, Abb. 6).

Abb. 5. Phaedra mit dem Brief an Hippolytus, Pompeji, Casa di Giasone (hu.pinterest.com/pin/300474606363032101/?lp =true).

zu machen.[1] Einen Einfluss Ovids schließt er völlig aus, hält es aber für möglich, dass ein hellenistischer Vorläufer das Muster für diese Darstellungen gewesen sei. F. Leo vermutet die Quelle des Briefmotivs in Euripides' erstem Hippolytos–Drama (Jacobson 1974: 146, Anm. 11.). H. Jacobson formuliert ein wenig spitzfindig: *„The fact that Roman art sometimes represents the nurse bringing such a letter to Hippolytus … makes it difficult to disbelieve in the existence of such a Greek literary treatment."*(Jacobson 1974: 146, Anm. 11). Als erster spielt P. Ghiron–Bistagne mit der Möglichkeit, dass die Briefdarstellung vom 4. Stück der *Heroides* des Ovid inspiriert sein könnte, da sie vor Ovid nicht in der Ikonographie vorkäme (Ghiron-Bistagne 1982: 38.). Auch J.-M. Croisille sieht eine Rolle der Elegie von Ovid bei der Entstehung des Briefmotivs, führt seinen Ursprung aber auf die alexandrinische Zeit zurück (Croisille 1982: 87). P. Linant de Bellefonds schwankt zwischen einem alexandrinischen Ursprung und einer eventuellen direkten Wirkung Ovids (Linant de Bellefonds 1990: 460, 462 f.).

Wir denken, dass es überflüssig ist, ein nicht nachweisbares alexandrinisches Werk als Muster für ein Motiv anzunehmen, für das wir einen unmittelbaren römischen Vorläufer finden. Damit würden wir sowohl die Wirkung der römischen Literatur auf die bildende Kunst als auch die Selbstständigkeit der in Italien arbeitenden Maler unterschätzen.[2] K. Schefold führt in seiner Analyse der Bilder im Cubiculum des Hauses des Jason aus, dass deren sorgfältige Komposition das Werk eines römischen Meisters sein müsse (Schefold 1952: 99). Die Bilder seien nicht Kopien griechischer Gemälde, sondern entweder das Werk eines römischen Meisters oder eines römische Meister nachahmenden pompejanischen Künstlers. Ganz im römischen Kontext analysiert die Bilder auch B. Bergmann (Bergmann 1996: 209 f.). Uns auf diese Meinungen stützend denken wir, dass der literarische Vorläufer der Komposition im 4. Brief von Ovids *Heroides* zu suchen ist, dessen Protagonistin so wie auch auf den Wandgemälden Phaedra ist. Die Zustellung des Briefes vertraut Phaedra der Amme an, die auch schon bei Euripides eine vermittelnde Rolle spielt. Während aber dort die Amme gegen das Verbot ihrer Herrin handelt, wird sie hier ausdrücklich dazu aufgefordert.

Zusammenfassend kann Folgendes festgestellt werden. Die Wichtigkeit des Einflusses der griechischen Kunst auf die römische steht außer Zweifel. Die Römer bauten auf den Elementen der griechischen auf und entwickelten daraus ihre eigene Kunst. Es ist auch anzuerkennen, dass die hellenistische Kunst für die römischen Künstler und insbesondere die Maler eine unermessliche Schatzkammer darstellte. Das Ausmaß ist auf Grund der Vernichtung der hellenistischen Malerei nicht zu bemessen. All dies ist freilich kein Grund, die Selbstständigkeit und Erfindungsgabe der römischen Meister völlig in Zweifel zu ziehen. Der Reichtum an Varianten der Darstellung mancher Themen verweist darauf, dass die Ausführung die Handschrift des römischen Meisters trägt, auch wenn griechische Werke den Ausgangspunkt darstellten. Wir haben es also keineswegs mit sklavischer Nachahmung zu tun, sondern mit selbstständigen, souveränen Meisterpersönlichkeiten, welche die sich oft wiederholenden Themen mit individuellen Zügen ausstatteten. Zugleich waren sie auch in der Lage, völlig neue Kompositionen zu schaffen, die ohne Beispiel in der griechischen Kunst sind.

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[1] Robert 1904: 169. Eine ähnliche Meinung hat Mucznik 1999: 84 f., obwohl hält sie möglich auch den Ovids Einfluß (Mucznik 1999: 117).

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Ein Grabgedicht aus Tilurium (Dalmatia): Neulesung, Interpretation und Kontextualisierung eines Denkmals militärischer Memorialkultur

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Im Archäologischen Museum von Split wird eine Grabstele aufbewahrt, die 1908 in Tilurium gefunden und im selben Jahr veröffentlicht wurde. Das Grabgedicht in jambischen Senaren bietet freilich wegen der schlechten Lesbarkeit einiger Textpartien eine Reihe von Unklarheiten, die seit der Erstpublikation nicht weiter hinterfragt wurden. Eine detaillierte philologische Interpretation sowie der Vergleich mit literarischen Vorbildern und inhaltlich verwandten Gedichten aus Tilurium und Beneventum in Italien führen zu einer neuen und befriedigenden Lesung. Weiters wird das Phänomen paralleler sprachlicher Formulierungen in entfernten Regionen diskutiert. In Tilurium kann das Wirken eines einzigen Dichters im Umfeld des römischen Heeres wahrscheinlich gemacht werden, dessen Kunstfertigkeit über den regionalen Raum Dalmatiens hinaus ausstrahlte.

Schlüsselwörter: *Neulesung eines Grabgedichtes aus Tilurium, literarische Vorbilder und Parallelen, Ausstrahlung des Dichters von Tilurium*

Die im Jahr 1908 in Vojnić bei Trilj, dem antiken Tilurium, gefundene Inschriftstele aus Kalkstein in den Maßen von 124cm Höhe, 62cm Breite und 23cm Tiefe wurde sehr rasch von Frane Bulić in das Archäologische Museum Split (Inv. A 3959) gebracht und veröffentlicht. Die Lesung der Grabinschrift in Prosa bot keine Schwierigkeiten, das Gedicht in jambischen Senaren, schon bei der Auffindung „di pessima conservazione“, konnte mit Hilfe des Wiener Althistorikers und Epigraphikers Wilhelm Kubitschek entschlüsselt werden. Die Erstpublikation des kroatischen Gelehrten soll hier erneut abgedruckt werden (Abb. 1; Bulić 1908: 79).

Die hier gewonnene Lesung wurde von den nachfolgenden Editoren und Bearbeitern mit kleinen Varianten übernommen.[1] Die Schwierigkeiten der Lesung und einige bislang unverstandene Textpartien (z.B. in Zeile 10) lassen es gerechtfertigt erscheinen, sich dieses Denkmals erneut anzunehmen (Abb. 2).

Gaius Iulius, Soldat der in Tilurium stationierten 7. Legion, stammt aus Ninica, der augusteischen Veteranenkolonie *colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Ninica*, dem späteren *Ninica Claudiopolis,* im südlichen Kleinasien an der Stelle der heutigen Stadt Mut (an der Straße von Konya nach Silifke). Die Veteranensiedlung (Kubitschek 1902) wurde in das Territorium der einheimischen Gemeinde Ninica platziert und bildete fortan eine sogenannte Doppelgemeinde (Mitchell 1979), ein im römischen Kleinasien bekanntes Phänomen. Dem im Alter von 39 Jahren verstorbenen Soldaten hat sein Freigelassener Faustus im 2. Jahrzehnt des 1. Jh. n. Chr. in der Regierungszeit des Kaisers Tiberius dieses Denkmal errichten lassen, was durch epigraphische (Fehlen des späteren Legionsbeinamens), onomastische (Fehlen des Cognomens) und

[1] CLE 1876; Engström 1912: Nr. 23; ILJUG 1950; Rendić-Miočević 1987: Nr. 80; Fadić 1997: Nr. 10; Tončinić 2011: Nr. 20; Sanader *et al*. 2013: Nr. 3; Lupa 21448; EDCS 10100892; EDH 034294.

Abb. 1. Grabstele des C. Iulius aus Tilurium (Bulić 1908, 79).

Abb. 2. Grabstele des C. Iulius aus Tilurium, Archäologisches Museum Split, Inv. A 3959 (Lupa 21448, Fotograf: A. Verzotti).

paläographische Indizien nahegelegt wird. Ob die äußere Form des Grabdenkmals eine Reminiszenz an kleinasiatische Türsteine (und damit den Geburtsort des Verstorbenen) aufgreift oder einer auch in Dalmatien seit hellenistischer Zeit nachgewiesenen Tradition folgt, ist in der Forschung umstritten (Rinaldo Tufi 1971; Sanader 2003, 501–510).

Da die Verspartien der Grabinschrift im Zentrum der Betrachtung stehen, soll die philologische Schreibweise in der Version der CLE 1876 mit ihrer Verszählung hier abgedruckt werden:

Hospes resis[te et] tumulum | contempla meum.
lege et | morarus, iam scies, quae | debeas.
uixi qua potui; ca|rus sum Opiorum.
hic su|m sepultus, hic ossua re|quiescum mea.
5 uale et | benefacito uitae, dum fa|tum uenit.

Abb. 3. Grabinschrift des C. Iulius aus Tilurium (CLE 1876).

Vers 1 wurde sicher richtig ergänzt. Es ist schon lange vermerkt worden, dass die Einleitung in völlig identer (CLE 82 aus Burnum, CLE 76 aus Beneventum) oder leicht veränderter Version (CLE 77 aus Tilurium, CLE 83 bei Beneventum) in weiteren Gedichten begegnet (Rendić-Miočević 1987: 268; Sanader *et al.* 2013: Nr. 3; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2015: 53.). Die Texte aus Burnum und Benevent und seiner Umgebung stammen freilich erst aus einer späteren Zeit.[2]

In Vers 2 bietet die bisherige Lesung *morarus*, das als Nebenform von *moraris* gedeutet wurde (Engström 1912: Nr. 23) und von manchen Herausgebern auch so in den Lesetext übernommen wurde (Tončinić 2011: Nr. 20; Sanader *et al.* 2013: Nr. 3). Eine Überprüfung am Stein hat allerdings ergeben, dass der Buchstabe u deutlich zu lesen ist, das vorhergehende r aber zu t verbessert werden muss. Dies führt zur Lesung *moratus*, die auch inhaltlich einen Sinn ergibt, wobei der Aufforderung zur Lektüre ein längeres Innehalten vorangehen soll (stilistisch ein hýsteron próteron). Dass in einem anderen Gedicht in Tilurium (CLE 77) oder Benevent (CLE 76) die Formulierung *lege et moraris* ... gewählt wurde, bedeutet keineswegs, dass der vorliegende Text verändert werden muss, da er grammatikalisch korrekt ist und sprachliche Varianten in allen *carmina epigraphica Latina* vorliegen.

Vers 3 bereitet in seiner ersten Hälfte keine Schwierigkeiten; *qua* ist Adverb („inwieweit, soweit, wie"). Das Grabgedicht aus Benevent (CLE 76) formuliert den Gedanken ganz ident. Die zweite Vershälfte ist allerdings völlig unverständlich, was auch bisherige Bearbeiter festgehalten haben.[3] Die Erklärungen zur Deutung des edierten Textes sind völlig unbefriedigend: *Opiorum*, als Genetiv Plural eines Gentilnamens verstanden (ILJug 1950), ist nicht möglich, da *carus sum* einen Dativ verlangt, *Opii* in Dalmatien nicht bezeugt sind[4] und in keinem Grabgedicht persönliche Bindungen zu namentlich genannten anderen Familien aufscheinen. Gewöhnlich sind es eigene Familienangehörige, Freunde, Ehegatten, die Eltern, Brüder, der Herr, der Kaiser bis hin zu allen Menschen, die in der Formulierung *carus* + Dativ genannt werden. In Texten der lateinischen Literatur sind es Bezeichnungen oder Namen von Göttern, die in dieser Formulierung begegnen: Cic. Flacc. 69: *gens . . .cara dis immortalibus*; Cic. fin. 3,66: *dis immortalibus cari*. Auch Dichter verwenden diese formelhafte Wendung sehr gerne: Hor. carm. 1,31,13: *dis carus ipsis*; Ov. met. 7,61: *dis cara*; Stat. silv. 2,1,77: *penatibus . . . carus*; Nemesian. ecl. 1,10: *carus deis*; Commodian. apol. 728; Hilarius Matth. 5,11: *deo carus*; CIL XIII 11963: *carus Christo*. Der lateinische Ausdruck entspricht griechischem *theophilés.* Gleichbedeutend mit *carus* sind auch *gratus* (Cic. rep. 3,9; Hor. ep. 9,3; Hor. carm. 1,10,20; Ov. fast. 1,595), *dilectus* oder *iucundus* (so in CLE 77 in Tilurium) verwendet worden. Diese Umstände zwingen nach einer erneuten Überprüfung des Steines. Da der Text in *scriptio continua* vorliegt, sind sowohl Worttrennung wie auch einzelne Buchstaben zu untersuchen. Dabei kann folgende Lesung gewonnen werden; . . . *carus sumo deorum*. Die Schreibung *sumo* mit einfachen m statt mm ist in Inschriften in Rom (CIL VI 10210: *sumo venatori*; 8122: *ab imo ad sumum*; 10449: *ab imo ordine sumo*), ebenso provinzialen Texten (CIL XI 4485,2) oder in Graffiti (Guillier & Thauré 2003: 33) bezeugt. Es ist auch denkbar, dass die Verdoppelung des Konsonanten m durch einen *sicilicus*[5] (Strich über dem Buchstaben) markiert wurde, eine Eigenheit besonders in augusteischer Zeit. Diese neue Lesung bereitet inhaltlich keine Schwierigkeiten und fügt sich bestens in den Kontext des Grabgedichtes ein. Seit der frühen Dichtersprache Roms ist der *summus deorum* präsent. Beim Komiker Caecilius (fr. 259, zitiert von Cic. Tusc. 4,32,68) nimmt diese Rolle der Gott Amor ein, Vergil (Än. 11,785) lässt Apollo als *summe deum (=deorum)* anrufen.[6] Doch in der Regel ist es Iuppiter, dem diese Funktion zusteht, so schon bei Naevius im Epos auf den Punischen Krieg (10,2 = fr. 9 Blänsdorf: *summi deum regis*; 10,18 = fr. 16 Blänsdorf: *summe deum regnator*). So sieht es auch Ovid (met. 13,599), der Iuppiter als *summe deum rector* tituliert. Bei Plautus ist *summe* das gängige Epitheton Iuppiters (Amph. 111; 780; 933; 1121; 1146; Asin. 414; Cap. 863; Ci. 516; Men. 811; Mo. 241; Ps. 265; Ru. 783). Auch Ennius spricht den Gott mit diesen Worten an (in der Hecuba, fr. 176 Jocelyn = 176 Ribbeck = 209 Vahlen): *Iuppiter tibi summe tandem male re gesta gratulor*. Bei den Stoikern ist es eher eine abstrakte Gottesvorstellung, die sich derart ausdrückt (Cic. ac. 2,126; vgl. rep. 6,17). Selbst der christliche Kaiser Licinius hat sein Gebet vor der Schlacht von Adrianopel an den *summe sancte deus* gerichtet (Lact. mort. pers. 46). In dieser Sakralsprache vermengt sich ein traditionelles paganes Formular mit dem neuen theologischen Konzept des Monotheismus. Wenn also der verstorbene Soldat aus Tilurium als Liebling der Götter bzw. Iuppiters gesehen wird, weist dies darauf hin, dass kein Grund bestand, den Göttern ob eines Schicksalschlages oder frühzeitigen Todes gram zu sein.

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2 Für das Grabgedicht CLE 83 nimmt Broekaert 2013: Nr. 275 eine Datierung zwischen 50 – 150 n. Chr. an.

3 So schon Bulić 1908; verzweifelte Lösungsversuche bei Engström 1912: Nr. 23.

4 Alföldy 1969 (es fehlt ein Hinweis auf CIL III 2716).

5 Dazu Oliver 1966: 129; 144–148.

6 Dazu bemerkt Servius im Kommentar zur Stelle: *ex affectu colentis dicitur, nam Iuppiter summus est.*

In Vers 4 fällt zunächst die Wortform *ossua* (statt klassisch *ossa*) auf; doch gerade in Dalmatien ist dieser Plural auch sonst bezeugt (CIL III 8585; CIL III 13015 (Salona); CIL III 10026 (Dalmatia)), in Gedichten ist er in Pannonia inferior, Dacia und selbst in Italien und Rom anzutreffen.[7] Das in der *editio princeps* von 1908 als *requiescum* gelesene Verbum ist am Stein korrekt mit der Endung –nt (in Ligatur) vorhanden, daher sind die vorgebrachten linguistischen oder graphischen Erklärungen gegenstandslos.

Der Vers 5 liegt in gleicher Diktion im Grabgedicht CLE 77 in Tilurium vor, in leichter Variante (*valete et bene facite . . .*) in Benevent (CLE 76). Da *benefacere* mit nachfolgendem Dativ nur bei Personen oder der *res publica* bekannt ist,[8] kann eine inhaltliche Verbindung *benefacito vitae* ausgeschlossen werden. Dagegen kennt die lateinische Dichtung die Verbindung *vitae fatum* (Lucan. 8,317: *vitae fata meae*). Daher sollte die Interpunktion nach *benefacito* gesetzt werden, was übrigens auch durch die Verszäsur geboten wird. Der Dichter hat in allen fünf Versen regelmäßig nach der dritten Senkung des jambischen Senars eine Zäsur eingelegt (Penthemimeres), die jeweils eine neue Aussage und auch grammatische Einheit gliedert. Auch der Inhalt verschiebt sich dadurch: schimmert beim traditionellen Verständnis eher eine epikureische Lebensphilosophie durch, fordert die korrekte gedankliche Gliederung die Nachwelt zum Euergetismus auf.

Es wurde schon wiederholt darauf hingewiesen, dass sich auffallende Übereinstimmungen mit anderen Grabgedichten in Tilurium sowie im Raum von Benevent in Italien feststellen lassen. Daher hat die Annahme viel für sich, dass ein oder mehrere Dichter im Umfeld des römischen Heeres in Tilurium präsent waren (Sanader *et al*. 2013) und bei Bedarf ihre poetische Begabung aufblitzen ließen. Doch wie lassen sich solche Ähnlichkeiten zu einem ganz engen Raum Italiens erklären? Die ältere Forschung rechnete mit der Verbreitung sogenannter Musterbücher (dazu Pikhaus 1987: 174–179). Diese Theorie wurde nach dem Vorbild archäologischer Diffusionsmodelle und der philologischen Arbeitstechnik zur Erstellung eines „Urtextes“ entwickelt. Doch zu dieser Theorie bleiben viele Fragen offen: Wie soll diese Sammlung von Mustergedichten ausgesehen haben? Wie umfangreich muss eine solche Sammlung gewesen sein, wie kann man sich die Zirkulation vorstellen, wieso finden sich Doppelungen an ganz entfernten Orten und zu ganz verschiedenen Zeiten? Neuere Forschungen zu den *carmina epigraphica Latina* stehen den „Musterbüchern“ sehr skeptisch gegenüber. Unstrittig ist dagegen die ständige Prägung durch die römische Dichtung, die Bedeutung der literarischen Bildung an einzelnen Orten, das fortwährende Suchen nach sprachlichen Varianten. Das antike Dalmatien macht da keine Ausnahme.[9] Nicht mehr ein „Mustertext“ und seine „Abweichungen“ stehen im Zentrum der Betrachtung, alle epigraphisch überlieferten Gedichte können Originalität beanspruchen. Bei der Konstitution eines Textes muss vom Einzeldenkmal ausgegangen werden, ein sprachlich verständlicher Text darf nicht verändert werden. Die Markierung sprachlicher Identitäten und Varianten ist natürlich unabdingbar, doch alle Varianten sind *per se* gleichwertig und belegen ein lebendiges Umgehen mit formelhaften Gedanken. Grundsätzlich anders verhält es sich bei Texten von Literaten; hier steht die Gewinnung eines Archetypus, gewonnen meist aus handschriftlicher Überlieferungsvielfalt, im Zentrum, da von einem einzelnen meist namentlich bekannten Textverfasser auszugehen ist.

Kann man nun im Fall von Tilurium mit einem oder mehreren Poeten rechnen? Die Grabgedichte mit engen sprachlichen Querverbindungen sprechen wegen des engen zeitlichen und räumlichen Rahmens eher für einen Dichter, der natürlich auch leichte Varianten im Ausdruck zuließ. Nimmt man hier mehrere Dichter an, hieße dies, dass zur selben Zeit und am selben Ort ein Kopist oder Plagiator am Werk war. Spätere Einflüsse (etwa in Burnum in Dalmatien oder im Raum von Benevent) können, sollten sie keine zufällig entstandenen Primärparallelen sein, durch persönliche Kontakte oder Migration, vielfältige Phänomene im römischen Reich, erklärt werden. Zum Abschluss sei das neugewonnene Grabgedicht aus Tilurium mit metrischer Notation und eigener Übersetzung im antiken Versmaß vorgelegt:

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[7] CLE 540; CLE 1780=2073; CLE 1043 (Verona); CLE 185; CLE 550; CLE 973; CLE 1217 (Rom).

[8] ThLL s.v. *benefacere*.

[9] Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2015: 158 haben für die Gedichte aus Dalmatien u.a. folgende Vorbilder ausgemacht: Catull, Horaz, Vergil, Ovid.

Hospés resíste et túmulum cóntemplá meúm.
Lege ét morátus iám sciés quae débeás.
Vixí qua pótui cárus súmo déorúm.
Hic súm sepúltus, híc ossua réquiscúnt meá.
Vale ét benefácito, vítae dúm fatúm venít.

Halt ein, o Gast, und schau dir doch mein Grabmal an.
Verweil und lies, in Kürze weißt du, was du musst.
Ich lebte, wie ich konnt‘, geliebt vom Götterfürst.
Bin hier bestattet, hier ruht mein Gebein.
Leb wohl, tu Gutes, bis das Lebensschicksal kommt

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MISSICIUS – ein singuläres Cognomen?

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Eine Überprüfung der norischen Personennamen hat ergeben, dass "Missicus" (sic) aus den vorhandenen Namenlexika gestrichen werden sollte. Neu aufzunehmen ist hingegen der Gentilname "Missicius", welche Namenform auch als Cognomen belegt ist.

Schlüsselwörter: *Lateinische Onomastik, missicius, Noricum, veteranus*

Was die epigraphischen Quellen als solche auszeichnet, ist ihre Vielfalt an Abbreviaturen. Zudem erweisen sie sich als eine Fundgrube für Lexeme aus den antiken Sprachen und Dialekten, desgleichen als eine Schatztruhe für Anthroponyme aller Kategorien. Was die lateinischen Personennamen angeht, steht dem Historiker mit dem *O(nomasticon) P(rovinciarum) E(uropae) L(atinarum)* ein umfangreiches und höchst probates Nachschlagewerk zur Verfügung. Für keineswegs obsolet gilt auch das von Solin und Salomies 1988 heraus gegebene *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum*. Hinzu kommen neuerdings die von Kakoschke akribisch aufbereiteten Onomastica für einzelne römische Provinzen, darunter Noricum (Kakosche 2012). Dass solche auf die Erfassung aller Gentilicia und Cognomina Latina angelegte Namenverzeichnisse nie fehlerlos bleiben, leuchtet ebenso ein wie die Notwendigkeit, sie in bestimmten Abständen durch Addenda auf den neuesten Stand zu bringen. Denn der permanente Zuwachs an Inschriften aus dem Imperium Romanum sowie dem angrenzenden Barbaricum verlangt einerseits nach einer Revision des bereits veröffentlichten Wortmaterials wie andererseits nach einer Ergänzung desselben, sei es anhand ajourierter Belegzahlen oder durch neue, in den älteren Publikationen noch nicht aufscheinende Wortformen. Ein solches Addendum und zugleich Corrigendum halte ich nun bei *Missicius* respektive *Missicus* für erforderlich.

I. Die norischen Testimonien

Im Zuge meiner Recherchen bezüglich Solvenser *municipes* außerhalb ihrer Heimatprovinz stieß ich auf einen Angehörigen der stadtrömischen Prätorianergarde mit folgendem Namenformular (*EDCS* 18400008):

L(ucius) Bogionius L(uci) f(ilius) Fla(via) ***Missicius*** *Solva*

Nicht nur, dass es sich hier um einen durch Tria-nomina, Filiation und Origo – *Fla(via) Solva* – ausgewiesenen norisch-stämmigen Bürger handelt. Sein dem militärischen Fachjargon entlehntes Cognomen kann hier schon aufgrund der Wortstellung keinen entlassenen Prätorianersoldaten bezeichnen (irrig Pochmarski 2007: 274). Allerdings sucht man in *OPEL* vergeblich nach einem Lemma MISSICIVS. Wohl aber trifft man dort auf ein Cognomen MISSICVS (*OPEL* III: 83), mit Verweis auf folgende aus Noricum (St. Christoph am Hum) stammende Inschrift (*ILLPRON* 0393):

> *D(is) M(anibus)* | *[Se]cunda* | ***Missici*** *(*scil. *filia) v(iva) f(ecit)* | *[L]ottio Cam|ulio filio* | *defuncto ann(orum) XXIII*

Kakoschke wiederum führt in seinem Namenbuch beide Cognomina, *Missicius* als CN 1082 und *Missicus* als CN 1083, und verweist dabei auf die beiden oben genannten epigraphischen Belege aus Rom und Noricum. Das scheint auf den ersten Blick korrekt. Behält man jedoch den besonderen Umstand im Auge, dass lateinische Inschriften bei Wörtern der o-Deklination im Genetiv den zweiten Vokal unterdrücken – es steht dort die Kasusendung <-*i*> für <-*ii*> –, so drängt sich die Frage auf, ob denn nicht auch dem Patronymikon im Peregrinenformular der Secunda ein Idionym *Missicius* zugrunde liegt. Deshalb hielte ich es für ratsam, in Hinkunft die Lemmatisierung dergestalt vorzunehmen, dass man dem Leser im Falle einer Mehrdeutigkeit der überlieferten Namenform durch Einschub der Konjunktion <*vel*> beziehungsweise durch Nennung beider Namenformen die jeweiligen Interpretationsmöglichkeiten vor Augen führt:

MISSICIUS (vel) MISSICUS

TRAUSUS/ TRAUSIUS (zu diesem Namen siehe unten § III.1).

Nun stellt sich freilich heraus, dass gerade für unsere zur Diskussion gestellte Namenform eine solche Vorgangsweise gar nicht nötig ist, weil mir folgende Indizien klar gegen ein Patronymikon *Missicus* zu sprechen scheinen:

a) *Missicius* ist als Anthroponym, wie wir eingangs festgestellt haben, bereits für einen Noriker attestiert und kennt

b) darüber hinaus auch eine Parallele im Casus rectus (siehe unten § II). Des Weiteren ist

c) auch das Nomen *missicius* in der norischen Fundprovinz durch eine Inschrift bezeugt. Am stärksten gegen die Existenz eines Idionyms *Missicus* spricht letztlich aber

d) das Fehlen eines *missicus*, *-i* im lateinischen Lexikon (cf. *THLL* VII 1956 – 1970: 1137–1138).

So gesehen braucht es also – zumindest nach der aktuellen Befundlage – sowohl für *OPEL* als auch für Kakoschke innerhalb der Cognomina nur das Lemma MISSICIVS; MISSICVS hingegen wäre aus beiden Onomastika zu streichen.

II. Missicius *als Gentilname*

Die Durchsicht der aus *EDCS* entnommenen Namenbelege hat nun überraschender Weise auch einen Gentilnamen *Missicius* ans Licht gebracht, der weder in *OPEL* noch im Repertorium Aufnahme gefunden hat. Beim Namenträger handelt es sich um einen jener Soldaten, *[qui] pro re p(ublica) morte occubu[erunt bello Dacico]* (*EDCS* 67400497). Sein Name steht in der Gefallenenliste des Siegesmonuments von Adamklissi, erscheint dort in abgekürzter Form – MISSICI – und wird von einem nur unvollständig erhaltenen Cognomen begleitet:

Missici(us) Musa[---]

Da mit Sicherheit keine Verwechslung mit dem übereinstimmenden Fachbegriff vorliegt, wäre auch dieser Gentilname in *OPEL* nachzutragen.

III. Missicius *als Terminus technicus*

Die E(pigraphische) D(atenbank) C(lauss) S(laby) enthält 58 *missicii* aus 21 Provinzen und 7 Regionen Italiens. Die Bezeichnung fand sowohl für entlassene Militärs der Hilfstruppen, Legionen, Flotten als auch für Prätorianer Verwendung.

	[missi]cii *ex coh(orte) I [pr(aetoria)]*	8
	m[issicio *(?)] c(o)hort(is) [---]*	2
militi	***mis(s)icio*** *co(ho)rtis II*	12
coh(ortis) Lig(urum)	***missicius***	1
c(o)hor(tis) sagi(ttariorum)	***mis(s)icius***	4
equ(es) [c(o)]ho(rtis) I Alpi(norum)	***mi[ssi]cius***	7
	missicius *coh(ortis) I Cilicum*	5
	missicius *coh(ortis) I Nor(icorum)*	6
	missicius *c(o)h(o)r(tis) VI pr(a)et(oriae)*	9
	mis(s)icius *ex c(o)hor(te) Aq(uitanorum) III*	13
	missicius *ex coh(orte) II pr(aetoria)*	10
	missicius *ex coh(orte) Silauciensiu(m)*	3
	missic(ius) *ex pr(aetorio)*	11

*Tabelle 1: Konkordanz der Wortbelege für **missicii** aus den in Tabelle 2 genannten Truppen*

Die Forschung sieht in dem Begriff mehrheitlich ein Synonym für den allseits bekannten *veteranus*. So zeigen sich denn bei Gegenüberstellung beider Begriffe auch vielerlei Gemeinsamkeiten. Sowohl *missicius* wie auch *veteranus* erscheinen dabei mit präpositionalem Attribut, z.B. *missicius/ veteranus ex cohorte/ legione*, oder auch nur mit einem Genetivattribut. Wie aus unserer Konkordanz (siehe oben Tabelle 1) ersichtlich, kann die Position des Nomens den Distinktiva vorangehen oder nachfolgen.

In Tabelle 2 haben wir nur jene 13 Personen namentlich aufgelistet, die aus den Kohorten – Auxiliartruppen wie Prätorianer – entlassen wurden. Darunter befindet sich auch unser Vertreter aus Noricum. In genau zwei Fällen wird eine genauere Angabe zur Charge des betreffenden 'Veteranen' vermerkt: einmal als *miles*, und dann wieder als *eques*. Da es sich durchwegs um Grabinschriften handelt, verwundert es nicht, dass auch Angaben (7x) zum Lebensalter erfolgten. Demgegenüber bilden Hinweise auf die Dauer des Militärdienstes eher die Ausnahme (4x).

Name	COHORS (● *missicius*)	stip.	ann.	Kat-Nr.
Ti. Iu[lius C. f. An(iensi)] Pro[bus] (?) *[Foro] Iuli*	● *c(o)hort(is) [---]*		[-]	2
[F]l(avius) Montanus [Vo]l(tinia) *Vocontius*	*coh(ortis) Lig(urum)* ●			1
P. Lappius C. f. Ani(ensi) Tiro	● *ex pr(aetorio)*			11
C. Iulius Hastaius	*c(o)hor(tis) sagi(ttariorum)* ●			4
[Ti]. Claudius [Ma]giatus	*equ(es) [c(o)]ho(rtis) I Alpi(norum)* ●	37	75	7
[---]	● *coh(ortis) I Cilicum*	[-]	65	5
Ti. Claudius Trausi fil. Attucius	● *coh(ortis) I Nor(icorum)*	28	50	6
[---]	● *ex coh(orte) I [pr(aetoria)]*	26	46	8
M. Geminius Priscus	*miles* ● *co(ho)rtis II*			12
C. Matho C. f. Ter(etina) Clemens	● *ex coh(orte) II pr(aetoria)*			10
Aurelius Mucianus	● *c(o)h(o)r(tis) VI pr(a)et(oriae)*		39	9
Ti. Iulius Fab(ia) Capito	● *ex c(o)hor(te) Aq(uitanorum) III*		65	13
TI. Iul(ius) Caretis f. Sdebdas *domo Turo*	● *ex coh(orte) Silauciensiu(m)*			3

*Tabelle 2: Epigraphische Belege für **missicii** (scil. **veterani**)*

Die hier erfassten Zeugnisse entstammen insgesamt sieben Provinzen, von denen nur die Germania inferior zwei Evidenzen aufweist. Die restlichen entfallen auf Rom (vier Evidenzen) sowie die Regio IV (Samnium); letztere mit nur einem Testimonium.

III.1 Zum norischen *missicius* sive *veteranus*

Die in St. Veit an der Glan gefundene (norische) Grabinschrift (zu den Referenzen siehe im Anhang die Nr. 06) des Tiberius Claudius Attucius zählt zu den frühesten Zeugnissen für *missicii* und ist in mehrfacher Hinsicht von Interesse.

Ti(berius) Claudius Trausi fil(ius) | Attucius ***missicius coh(ortis) I*** *|* ***Nor(icorum)*** *ann(orum) L stip(endiorum) XXVIII t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) sibi et | Primo Fusco Prisco lib(ertis) isdem | liberti et heredes fecer(unt)*

So etwa ist das Namenformular des norischen Veteranen typisch für Neubürger der ersten Generation, bei der die Filiation über das väterliche Idionym – hier *Trausus* vel *Trausius* (cf. Kakoschke 2012: CN 1659) – erfolgt. Nach dem Empfang des römischen Bürgerrechts durch Kaiser Claudius und dem damit verbundenen Wechsel des Namenformulars hin zum Tria-nomina-Formular übernahm der Individualname des Neubürgers die Rolle des Cognomens. *Attucius* kennt übrigens in Noricum noch drei weitere Namenbelege (ILLPRON 0465, 0471, 0647), nicht jedoch als Pseudogentiliz innerhalb von Tria- oder Duo-nomina-Formularen, sondern nur als einheimisches Idionym pergeriner Reichsbewohner. Seiner Form nach spiegelt der Personenname in diesen Fällen deutlich den Romanisierungsprozess, der nach der Landnahme gerade auch die keltischen Personennamen erfasste: aus *Attu* (Kakoschke 2012: CN 206) wurde *Attucius*. Der Beinamen der Auxiliartruppe – *Noricorum* – verweist auf die norische Herkunft unseres Neubürgers, der bislang als einziger *missicius* dieses Heeresverbandes belegt ist (cf. Spaul 2000: 275, 294–295).

IV. Fazit

Der vorerst nur für Noricum nachweisbare Personenname *Missicius* verdankt seinen Ursprung evidenter Maßen der Bezeichnung von Soldaten, die nach dem Militärdienst wieder in das zivile Leben entlassenen wurden. Die nochmalige Überprüfung der Inschriftzeugnisse hat ergeben, dass es zum einen für dieses Idionym nicht nur, wie bisher angenommen, einen singulären Namenträger gibt, sondern gleich zwei Personen unterschiedlichen Rechtsstatus – *peregrinus* hier und *civis Romanus* dort. Darüber hinaus belegen die Inschriften für dasselbe Lexem auch den Gebrauch als Nomen gentile.

Anhang

Verzeichnis der Inschriften für ***missicii*** aus diversen Kohortenverbänden.

▼01 = *CIL* 05, 07822 = *IANice* 00051b = *CAG*-06, p 580 = *EDCS*-05401072

• Herkunft: Gallia Narbonensis, • Fundort: Roquebrune-Cap-Martin / Monoecus, • Datierung: 1 bis 50 n. Chr.

: [F]l(avius) Montanus | [Vo]l(tinia) Vocontius | coh(ortis) Lig(urum) missicius | v(ivus) f(ecit) :

▼02 = *AE* 2001, 01515 = *EDCS*-24200294

• Herkunft: Germania inferior, • Fundort: Houten

: Ti(berio) Iu[lio C(ai) f(ilio) An(iensi)] | Pro[bo(?) Foro] | Iuli m[issicio(?)] | c(o)hort(is) [---] | an(norum) [---] | Iulia Ti(beri) [f(ilia?) ---] | Mater[nus(?) h(eredes) ex t(estamento) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt?)] :

▼03 = *CIL* 13, 08593 = *D* 02567 = *CSIR*-D-03-01, 00047 = *Lehner* 00668 = *EDCS*-11100687

• Herkunft: Germania inferior, • Fundort: Asberg / Moers-Asberg / Asciburgium

: ERPIRODI || Tib(erius) Iul(ius) Car|etis f(ilius) Sdeb|das domo | Turo missi|cius ex coh(orte) | Silauciens|iu(m) h(ic) s(itus) e(st) Tib(erius) Iul(ius) | Antus f(aciendum) c(uravit) | et Primigenia | lib(erta) eius anno(rum) | III h(ic) s(ita) e(st) :

▼04 = *CIL* 13, 07515 = *CSIR*-D-02-14, 00028 = *EDCS*-11001627

•Herkunft: Germania superior, •Fundort: Bingen / Bingium
: C(aius) Iulius H|astaius | c(o)hor(tis) sagi(ttariorum) | mis(s)icius | Amoena l(iberta) h(ic) s(iti) s(unt) :

▼05 = *Conrad* 00372 = *Iatrus* 00016 = *AE* 2004, 01252 = *EDCS*-34100047
•Herkunft: Moesia inferior, •Fundort: Krivina / Iatrus
: ------ | f(ilius?) missici|us coh(ortis) I Cili|cum vixit ann(is) LXV | mi[l(itiavit) a]nnis | [-----] | ------ :

▼06 = *CSIR*-Oe-02-05, 00635 = *ILLPRON* 00517 = *AEA* 1985/92, 00373 = *AEA* 1999/00, +00017 = *AEA* 2001/02, +00039 = *AEA* 2005, +00068 = *AEA* 2010, +00017 = *AEA* 2011/12, +00027 = *AE* 1974, 00475 = *EDCS*-14400194
•Herkunft: Noricum, •Fundort: Sankt Veit an der Glan / Virunum, •Datierung: 1-50 n. Chr.
: Ti(berius) Claudius Trausi fil(ius) | Attucius missicius coh(ortis) I | Nor(icorum) ann(orum) L stip(endiorum) XXVIII t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) sibi et | Primo Fusco Prisco lib(ertis) isdem | liberti et heredes fecer(unt) :

▼07 = *RHP* 00219 = *RIU-S*, 00201 = *SEP*-09, p 81 = *AMNap*-2017-169 = *EDCS*-72300002
•Herkunft: Pannonia inferior, •Fundort: Dunaszekcso / Lugio, •Datierung: 51 bis 54 n. Chr.
: [Ti(berius)] Claudius | [Ma]giatus equ(es) | [c(o)]ho(rtis) I Alpi(norum) mi|[ssi]cius an(norum) LXXV d(efunctus) | [st]i(pendiorum) XXXVII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) | [Cl]a(udius) Secund|[us] lib(ertus) et her|[es] pos(uit) p(atrono) p(ientissimo) m(emoriam) :

▼08 = *CIL* 06, 02428 (p 3835) = *EDCS*-18500072
•Herkunft: Roma, •Fundort: Roma, •Datierung: 101 bis 300 n. Chr.
: ------ | [--- mis]|[si]cii ex coh(orte) I [pr(aetoria)] | militavit annis | XXVI vixit ann|is XLVI Cassius | Longinus fra|[tri ---] :

▼09 = *CIL* 06, 02604 (p 3369, 3835) = *Mander* 00139 = *EDCS*-18900100
•Herkunft: Roma, •Fundort: Roma, •Datierung: 201 bis 300 n. Chr.
: D(is) M(anibus) | Aurelius Mucianus missici|us c(o)h(o)r(tis) VI pr(a)et(oriae) qui vixit ann(os) | XXXVIIII me(n)s(es) VII dies VIIII (h)ora VIIII | fecit Aelia Lucia co(n)iugi virginio | suo bene merenti fecit :

▼10 = *CIL* 06, 32670a = *D* 09062 = *EDCS*-22400010
•Herkunft: Roma, •Fundort: Roma, •Datierung: 1 bis 100 n. Chr.
: C(aius) Matho C(ai) f(ilius) | Ter(etina) Clemens | missicius ex coh(orte) II pr(aetoria) :

▼11 = *RAC*-1993-137 = *AE* 1993, 00268 = *EDCS*-02700427
•Herkunft: Roma, •Fundort: Roma, •Datierung: 1 bis 50 n. Chr.
: P(ublius) Lappius C(ai) f(ilius) | Ani(ensi) Tiro | missic(ius) ex pr(aetorio) :

▼12 = *EE*-08-01, 00820 = *EDCS*-34100458
•Herkunft: Samnium / Regio IV, •Fundort: Bucchianico / Teate Marrucinorum, •Datierung: 1 bis 100 n. Chr.
: Dusmia L(uci) l(iberta) | Antusa | viva sibi et | M(anio) Geminio | Prisco | militi mis(s)icio | co(ho)rtis II co(n)iug(i) :

▼13 = *SRD* 00865 = *Porra* 00708 = *AE* 1980, 00532 = *AE* 1982, 00438 = *AE* 1988, 00652 = *EDCS*-08600300
•Herkunft: Sardinia, •Fundort: Oschiri, •Datierung: 14 bis 54 n. Chr.
: Ti(berius) Iulius Fab(ia) | Capito mis(s)ic|ius ex c(o)hor(te) | Aq(uitanorum) III an(n)or(um) | LXV hic sit(us) | est :

Abkürzungen

AEA	*Annona Epigraphica Austriaca*, 1979–
AMNap	*Acta Musei Napocensis*
CAG 06	*Carte archéologique de la Gaule: Les Alpes-Maritimes*, Paris, 2010.
Conrad	S. Conrad, *Die Grabstelen aus Moesia inferior*, Leipzig, 2004.
CSIR-D	*Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani*. Deutschland (D): Germania inferior (03-1): G. Bauchhenß, Bonn und Umgebung. Militärische Grabdenkmäler, Bonn, 1978.
D	H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 3 Bände, Berlin, 1892–1916.
EDCS	Epigraphische Datenbank Clauss Slaby (http://www.manfredclauss.de/)
EE	*Ephemeris Epigraphica*
IANice	G. Laguerre, *Inscriptions antiques de Nice-Cimiez (Cemenelum, Ager Cemenelensis)*, Paris, 1975.
Iatrus	*Iatrus-Krivina VI. Spätantike Befestigung und frühmittelalterliche Siedlung an der unteren Donau. Ergebnisse 1992 – 2000*, Mainz, 2007.
ILLPRON	M. Hainzmann et P. Schubert, *Inscriptionum Lapidarium Latinarum Provinciae Norici usque ad annum MCMLXXXIV repertarum indices*, Berlin, 1986.
Lehner	H. Lehner, *Die antiken Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums in Bonn*, Bonn, 1918.
Mander	J. Mander, *Portraits of children on Roman funerary monuments*, Cambridge, 2013.
OPEL	*Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, Budapest, 1994 – 2005.
Porra	F. Porrà, *Catalogo P.E.T.R.A.E. delle iscrizioni latine della Sardegna. Versione preliminare*, Cagliari, 2002.
RAC	*Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*
RHP	B. Lörincz, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit. I: Die Inschriften*, Wien, 2001.
RIU-S	*Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns*, Budapest, 1972 – (Supplementa)
SEP	*Studia Epigraphica Pannonica*
SRD	A.M. Corda, *Concordanze delle iscrizioni latine della Sardegna. Edizioni dei testi ed indice dei vocaboli*, Ortacesus, 2014.
THLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*

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Kakoschke 2012	A. Kakoschke, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Noricum*, Hildesheim u.a., 2012.
Pochmarski 2007	E. Pochmarski, “Solvenser Soldaten”, *Schild von Steier* 20, Graz, 2007, 269–291.
Spaul 2000	J. Spaul, *Cohors[2]. The evidence for and a short history of the auxiliary infantry units of the Imperial Army*, Oxford, 2000.

Einheimisch gekleidet – und dennoch Sklavin

Ortolf HARL, Wien

Die Studie beruht auf einer gezielten Abfrage in lupa.at*, der einzigen archäologischen Datenbank im Internet, in der man Bildmotiv und Inschrifttext gemeinsam abfragen kann: Verknüpft man im Feld „Inschrifttext, Typ“ den Wortstamm* serv *(um alle Genus- und Kasusformen von* servus/serva *zu erhalten) mit Einheimische Frau im Feld „Titel, Objekt, Ikonographie“, so erhält man sechs Sklavinnen in einheimischer Tracht. Damit erweist sich die verbreitete Vorstellung, dass freie Frauen und Sklavinnen an ihrer Kleidung zu unterscheiden wären, als fragwürdig. Dabei zeigt sich, dass wir durch Jahrzehnte hindurch soziale Trennlinien, die im Nationalsozialismus bzw. unter dem Einfluss kommunistischer Ideologie entstanden sind, in die Antike zurückprojiziert haben, ohne es zu bemerken.*

Betrachtet man die Familiengrabbezirke als Einheit, so bieten die darin aufgestellten Denkmäler ein anderes Bild der provinzialrömischen Gesellschaft: Um den Inhaber des Grabbezirks, der als patronus *das Primärmonument errichtete/erhielt, scharten sich die gezeugten und adoptierten, sowie die als Freigelassene und Sklaven lebenden Mitglieder seiner* familia*, die Sekundärgrabmäler errichteten/erhielten. Neben der Selbstdarstellung stand bei diesen das Bedürfnis im Vordergrund, ihre Zugehörigkeit zur* familia *auszudrücken. Da ein Grabmal der individuellen Selbstverewigung diente, blieb es den Mitgliedern der* familia *überlassen, ob sie ihren rechtlichen Status angeben wollten oder nicht. Offensichtlich war ihnen dieser weniger wichtig als einer modernen Forschung, die allzusehr auf das Formale blickt.*

Schlüsselwörter: *ubi erat lupa, Datenbank, Sklave/Sklavin, einheimische Tracht, Grabbezirk, Grabmal, Grabaltar, Stele, Familienstruktur*

Jedesmal, wenn sich meine Wege mit denen der Jubilarin kreuzten, hat sie sich lobend, ja enthusiastisch über *lupa.at* geäußert. Aus Dankbarkeit für diese im Wissenschaftsbereich eher ungewohnte Art der Anerkennung komme ich gerne der Einladung nach, zu ihren Ehren einen Beitrag zu verfassen. Daher macht es mir besondere Freude, der Jubilarin ein Thema darzubringen, das eines der vordringlichsten Ziele von *lupa.at* verfolgt, nämlich eine Brücke zu schlagen zwischen der auseinanderdriftenden Bild- und Inschriftforschung. Grundlage ist die funktionelle Beschlagwortung der Datenbank mit ihren 31.000 Datensätzen, die von meiner Frau Friederike so intensiv gepflegt werden, dass man die Informationen aus den Bilddarstellungen mit jenen aus den Inschriften verknüpfen kann und, wie nun gezeigt werden soll, zu einem mitunter verblüffenden Ergebnis gelangt.

Sklavinnen in einheimischer Tracht

Zurückkehrend zu einem Thema, das mich seit mehr als einem Vierteljahrhundert immer wieder in seinen Bann zieht,[1] wollte ich wissen, ob sogenannte einheimische Frauen Sklaven besessen haben. Hier

[1] Harl 1993: 7–37. Angeregt zu dieser „Nachschau“ wurde ich von dem brillanten Vortrag, den Andrea Binsfeld (Université Luxembourg) am 21. Jänner 2019 in Wien über “Lebenswirklichkeiten von Sklaven in der antiken Welt” gehalten hat.

spielt die gesamtheitliche Betrachtungsweise von *lupa.at*, wie wir es nennen (Harl 2016), insoferne ihre vollen Vorzüge aus, als sie im Internet die einzige Datenbank ist, in der man nach einem Inschrifttext *und* einem Bildmotiv gekoppelt suchen kann. Ich gab daher im Feld „Inschrifttext, Typ" den Wortstamm *serv* ein, um alle Genus- und Kasusformen von *servus/serva* zu erhalten, und im Feld „Titel, Objekt, Ikonographie" *Einheimische Frau*. Das Ergebnis war das genaue Gegenteil von dem, was ich gesucht hatte: Ich erhielt nicht eine einzige einheimische Frau, die sich einen Sklaven leisten konnte, sondern musste zur Kenntnis nehmen, was einheimisch gekleidete Frauen *auch* sein konnten – nämlich Sklavinnen.[2] Meine Überraschung war deshalb so groß, weil ich als Opfer eines ideologischen Konstrukts eine falsche Vorstellung vom Sozialstatus derer hatte, die uns auf vielen Reliefs und in einigen Statuen als „einheimische Frauen" entgegentreten. Mehr dazu im Exkurs am Ende dieser Studie.

Die Ergebnisse der Abfrage finden sich in der folgenden Tabelle:

Lupa ID + Abb.	Fundort	Monumente (nach Typ gereiht)	Beschreibung	Inschrift
425 Abb. 1 + 2	Wiener Neustadt	Grabstele für den Sklaven Cassus und seine freigelassene Gattin Strubilo, errichtet von den Kindern Anlass: Tod der Mutter im Alter von 60 Jahren. Der 100jährige, zuvor verstorbene Vater wurde dazu geschrieben.	Einheimische Frau mit Haube. Bartloser Mann.	*Cassus Musa(e)* ***ser(vus)*** *annor(um) C Strubilo Scalleo(nis)* ***lib(erta) uxor*** *ann(orum) LX h(ic) s(ita) e(st) fili(i) pos<u=l>erunt*
4140	Radece / SLO	Grabstele für den Sklaven Acutus, eine Verecunda und seine Kinder Superus und Domestica	Einheimische Frau mit Haube und Fibeln. Bärtiger Mann	*Acutus C(..) S(..)* ***s(ervus)*** *v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et Verecundae ann(orum) [---] f(ilio) Super(o) an(norum) IX et Domestica f(ilia)*
8816 Abb. 3 und 4	Donji Cehi / HR	Grabstele für das Sklavenehepaar Valens und Melania und ihre Kinder Anlass: Tod der Tochter Valentina im Alter von 20 und des Donicus im Alter von 2 Jahren.	Links einheimisch gekleidete Mutter mit Haube, Untergewand, Umhang, Arm- und Halsreif, an der rechten Schulter Fibel. In der Mitte einheimisch gekleidete Tochter mit Halsreif, Lunula und Scheibenfibel, die unter der Brust den Umhang zusammenhält. Bärtiger Mann mit Ärmeltunika und Mantel mit Scheibenfibel, in den Händen eine Peitsche. Knabe.	*D(is) M(anibus).* *Valens et Melania Caeserni Aviti* ***servi*** *sibi et Valentinae an(norum) XX et Donico an(norum) II filiis karissimi[s]*
29941	Kolovrat / SRB	Grabstele für den Sklaven Narens, errichtet von seiner Lebensgefährtin Amaca (?)	Frau mit Schleier, in der Rechten Krater. Mann.	*D(is) M(anibus).* *Narens v(ixit) a(nnos) XXXVIII Amac(a)e Ael(iae) Pantoni(s)* ***ser(va)*** *v(iva) s(ibi) aet(!)* ***conp(ari)*** *p(osuit)*
15967	Pontebba / I	Grabaltar des Sklavenehepaares Onesimus, eines Kanzleibeamten der illyrischen Finanzverwaltung und seiner Frau Severilla Anlass: Tod der Gattin *(uxor !)* im Alter von 30 Jahren	Auf der linken Nebenseite Dienerin mit Mappa auf der linken Schulter und Spiegel in der linken Hand. Auf der rechten Nebenseite Librarius in kurzer Tunika mit offener Rolle.	*D(is) M(anibus).* *Onesimus* ***ser(vus)*** *vil(icus) vectigal(is) Illyr(ici) Severillae* ***uxori*** *pientissim(a)e ann(orum) XXX et sibi vi{i}vus fec(it)*
1229 Abb. 5	Seit dem 16. Jh. in Graz belegt, wahrscheinlich aus Flavia Solva	Grabplatte für das Sklavenehepaar Candidus und Surilla Anlass: Ehefrau Surilla im Alter zwischen 21 und 30 Jahren	Einheimische Frau mit Haube und Umhang, in der Rechten ein Apfel. Bärtiger Mann mit Ärmeltunika, Mantel und Halstuch. In der Linken Rolle, die Rechte im sog. Schwurgestus.	*Candidus Q(uinti) Morsi Potentis Titiani* ***ser(vus)*** *sibi et Suri[ll]ae* ***con(iugi)*** *opt(imae) an(norum) XX[-] def(unctae)*

[2] Folgende Suchvarianten erbrachten folgende Ergebnisse: *serv+sagum* = 1, *serv+Haube* = 4, *serv+volumen* = 3, die sich gegenseitig überschneiden bzw. ergänzen. Insgesamt wurde auf sieben Datensätze zugegriffen, da sich aber zwei Abfragen überschneiden, bleiben sechs Steindenkmäler übrig.

Die aufgelisteten Beispiele belegen, dass einheimische Frauentracht auch von Sklavinnen getragen werden konnte: Einheimische Frauentracht, und hier vor allem die Existenz einer Haube, ist also kein Kriterium für den sozialen Status seiner Trägerin. Das ist, soweit ich sehe, ein bisher unbeachtet gebliebener Aspekt, auf den selbst Ursula Rothe in ihrer grundlegenden Studie nicht eingegangen ist.[3] Dabei stellt sich die Frage schon auf den Seitenwangen der Grabaltäre bzw. den Sockelbildchen von Grabstelen, wo Dienerinnen die charakteristischen Langgewänder mit unten vorschauendem Unterkleid und beschlagenen Gürteln tragen. Meist sind sie barhäuptig und geben sich damit als unverheiratet zu erkennen.[4] Wenn ihre männlichen Pendants Tätigkeiten ausüben, die für Diener = Sklaven charakteristisch sind, so liegt es nahe, auch die Mädchen als Sklavinnen zu betrachten. „Einheimische Tracht“ meint also unrömische Frauenkleidung, die von Frauen aller sozialer Schichten, von Sklavinnen, Peregrinen, Freigelassenen und Ehefrauen römischer Bürger getragen werden konnte. Bei den Frauen gab es eben nicht so strenge Regeln wie bei den Männern: Ein Sklave in Toga ? Undenkbar !

Was bedeutet servus/serva ?

Aus der Antike ist kein direkter oder indirekter Hinweis überkommen, wie sich die Verstorbenen auf ihren Grabdenkmälern darzustellen haben. Das ist auch verständlich, gab es doch kaum etwas Privateres als die individuelle Selbstverewigung auf dem Grabmal. Was neben der Selbstdarstellung am Grab zum Ausdruck gebracht werden sollte, sind neben Lebensalter und Funktionen vor allem familieninterne Beziehungen und Bezeichnungen. Wie vielfältig die Möglichkeiten dazu gewesen sind, können wir 2000 Jahre danach kaum nachvollziehen, weil von dem einst Vorhandenen nur ein Bruchteil erhalten blieb, der zudem noch seinen Kontext eingebüßt hat. Klar aber ist, dass ein Grabmal kein offizielles Monument war, mit dem ein Verstorbener seinen sozialen Status zu beurkunden hatte, sondern Bestandteil eines Grabbezirks, der sowohl in seiner Gesamtheit als auch mit seinen Einzelmonumenten für den vorbeikommenden Betrachter konzipiert war. Ganz offensichtlich hing es von der innerfamiliären Situation ab, ob und wieweit die einzelnen Mitglieder der *familia* ihre Stellung kundtaten. Vor allem bei Friedhöfen, die abseits der Durchzugsrouten lagen, kannte Jeder Jeden und dort konnte also manches wegbleiben, was im Zentralort eines Munizipiums oder gar in der Provinzhauptstadt eine nicht informierte Öffentlichkeit erreichen sollte. Das könnte hinter der Beobachtung von Geza Alföldi stehen, dass *servi* und *liberti* mit griechischen Namen vorwiegend in den norischen Städten begegnen (Alföldi 1974: 129), eben weil es ihnen als Fremden nötiger schien, die Beziehung zur *familia* anzugeben. Alles in allem ist also anzunehmen, dass sich in unserem Gesamtbestand an Inschriften und Reliefs eine ungewisse Zahl an Sklaven verbirgt, die es nicht für nötig hielten, ihren Status zu verkünden.

Wir tun also gut daran, uns bei der Analyse von Begriffen wie *servus/serva* etc. von modernen sozialbürokratischen Vorstellungen zu befreien und jene ausschließlich negative Konnotation zu hinterfragen, die sich durch die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Marxismus-Leninismus in unserem Denken eingenistet hat.[5] Gerade aus den hier besprochenen Beispielen lese ich einen Stolz auf die Zugehörigkeit zur *familia* eines *patronus* heraus und nicht die Bitterkeit eines unterdrückten und ausgebeuteten Individuums. Wenn man sieht, dass der 100jährige Cassus ein Sklave und seine 60jährige *uxor* (!) Strubilo

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[3] Rothe 2012: 137–231. *The very complexity of especially the native women's dress shows that there was no such thing as a ›Norican-Pannonian national costume‹, only a myriad of local styles*, ebda. 222.

[4] Als seltenes Gegenbeispiel sei die auf der Innenseite eines Grabbaus aus Bölcske / HU dargestellte „Dienerin“ erwähnt, lupa.at/818. In einheimischem Gewand, mit Haube und riesigen Fibeln serviert sie auf einer verzierten Schüssel einen Schweinskopf. Lässt man transzendente, d.h. nicht nachprüfbare Vorstellungen beiseite und sucht man einen Realitätsbezug, dann trägt sie dem verstorbenen *patronus* ein Festessen auf, das durch eine auf der Außenseite dargestellte Tänzerin verschönt wird. Ich habe kein Problem damit, diese “Dienerin” als Sklavin zu bezeichnen, die für das Festessen ihr Festkleid angezogen hat.

[5] Wenn es im zivilen Bereich jedem Einzelnen überlassen war, ob er auf dem Grabstein seinen Sozialstatus angab oder nicht, dann wird es im militärischen kaum anders gewesen sein. So vermute ich schon seit längerem, dass in Noricum viele der auf Grabreliefs dargestellten Sagumträger, die sich in den Inschriften als Zivilisten ausgeben, aus dem Militärdienst in Ehren entlassene Soldaten waren. Sie hatten kein Bedürfnis oder keinen Anlass, ihren Militärberuf zu erwähnen, entweder weil sie nach ihrer Entlassung in der limesfernen Zivilgesellschaft eine angesehene Position errungen haben oder weil nach ihrem Tod der Grabstein von Hinterbliebenen gesetzt worden ist. Dazu Harl 2003.

Abb. 1. Grabstele für den Sklaven Cassus und seine freigelassene Gattin Strubilo. FO Wiener Neustadt / A. (lupa.at/425).

Abb 2. Ausschnitt aus Abb. 1. Porträt des 100jährigen Sklaven Cassus mit doppelter Stirnfalte (links) und Porträt seiner 60jährigen Ehefrau, der Freigelassenen Strubilo mit einfacher Stirnfalte (rechts).

eine Freigelassene waren (Abb. 1 und 2),[6] dann stimmt man Geza Alföldi in der Ansicht gerne zu, dass ... *the social barriers between free and unfree were loose ... and slavery had a family character*.[7]

Von servi/servae *verwendete Grabmaltypen*

Die kleine Gruppe besteht aus fünf Grabstelen (Abb. 1–4), einem Grabaltar und einer Grabplatte (Abb. 5). Der Begriff Grabplatte ist eine Verlegenheitsbezeichnung, weil nicht klar ist, wie derlei relativ dünne, annähernd quadratische Platten mit einem Reliefbild oben und einem Inschriftfeld unten verwendet waren. In Bezug auf die Gestaltung und das Fehlen von Klammer- und Dübellöchern ist ihr die Grabplatte des Nammonius Mussa aus Kalsdorf südlich von Graz nah verwandt. Weil jede Art von Befestigungsspuren fehlt, denke ich, dass beide in eine Mauer eingesetzt gewesen waren (Harl 2016: 56f).

In der Studie zum Nammonius Mussa habe ich die Grabmäler nach ihrer sozialen Wertigkeit gegliedert, nämlich in Primär- und Sekundärgrabmäler. Was damit gemeint ist, sieht man sehr gut in Aquileia, und zwar in dem an der (modernen) via Annia liegenden Friedhof, dem *sepolcreto*, der seit kurzem in renoviertem Glanz erstrahlt.[8] Leider ist Grabbezirk 5 nur halb ausgegraben und dazu ungünstig zu photographieren.

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6 Zu den germanischen Namen von Cassus und Strubilo Nedoma 1998: 119–122. Den Hinweis verdanke ich Ingrid Weber-Hiden.

7 Absolut lesenswert sind Alföldis Äußerungen über die Sklaverei in Noricum: Alföldi 1974: 128–132. Es muss aber klar sein, dass es sich um jene gehobene Schicht von Sklaven handelt, die sich eine monumentale Verewigung leisten konnte, und nicht zu den Heeren der wirklich Ausgebeuteten gehörten, die in Bergwerken und Steinbrüchen, auf Schiffen und Latifundien etc. ein qualvolles Schicksal zu erdulden hatten. Daher die lapidare Feststellung: ...*in the municipia ... (about) the plebs oppidana ... we lack information* Alföldi 1974: 127.

8 Im August 2018 genoss ich den Vorzug, mit Maurizio Buora die wissenschaftliche und restauratorische Problematik des *sepolcreto* diskutieren zu dürfen. Im Schwung des Augustusjahres nach 1938 ausgegraben und restauriert, aber kaum dokumentiert, wurde er nach einer Nachgrabung durch die Fondazione Aquileia unter ihrem jungen Direktor Cristiano Tiussi und einem *restauro del restauro* vor kurzem als zeitgemäßes Freilichtmuseum der Öffentlichkeit übergeben. Wichtige Erkenntnis war u.a., dass das Bestattungsniveau während der ganzen Antike praktisch unverändert geblieben war.

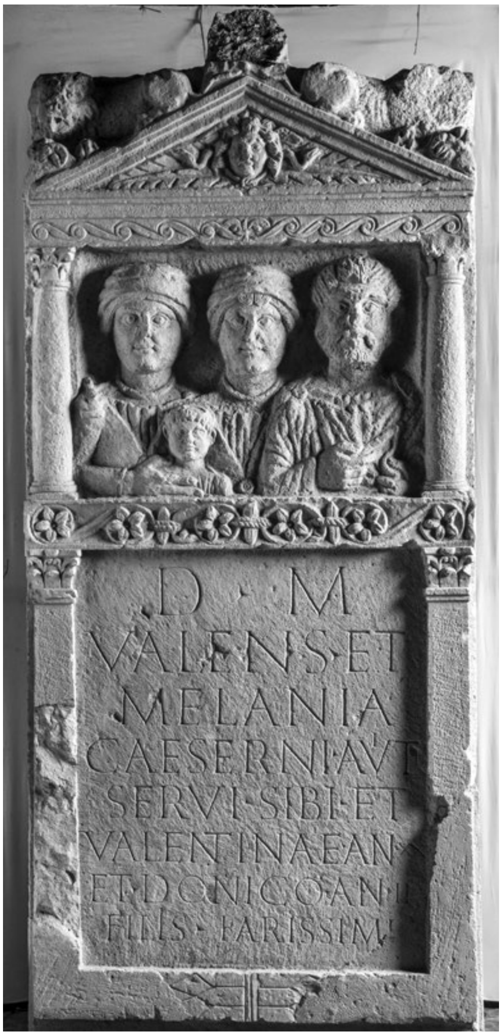

Abb. 3. Sklavenfamilie mit zwei Kindern. Beide Frauen tragen einheimische Tracht und reichen Schmuck, der Mann eine Peitsche. FO Donji Cehi / HR (lupa.at/8816).

Abb. 4. Ausschnitt aus Abb. 3. Ohne Kenntnis der Inschrift würde man die dargestellten Personen nicht für Sklaven, sondern für peregrine Einheimische halten.

Abb. 5. Grabplatte des Sklavenehepaars Candidus und Surilla. Einheimisch gekleidete Frau mit Apfel Ehemann mit Schriftrolle, die Rechte im sog. Schwurgestus. FO wohl Flavia Solva (lupa.at/1229).

Aber immerhin erkennt man auf Abb. 6, dass in der Mitte knapp hinter der Frontmauer des Grabbezirks ein monolither Sockel liegt,[9] auf dem sich, wohl *in situ*, ein monumentales, wohl mit Marmor umkleidetes Grabmal, wahrscheinlich eine Ädikula, erhob. Flankiert wird es von zwei Grabaltären, die sich, auch ohne Inschrift deutlich sichtbar, der Grabädikula unterordnen. Dieser Familiengrabbezirk bildet also die soziale Struktur innerhalb der Familie ab, an deren Spitze der *pater familias* bzw. *patronus*[10]

[9] Monolithen Sockeln dieser Art und Größe begegnet man in Aquileia an einigen Stellen, mehrere von ihnen liegen in einem improvisierten Lapidarium südlich des Borgo Felice. Die sich über solchen Sockeln erhebenden Bauwerke sind aus Platten und (Eck-)blöcken zusammengefügt, deren Einzelteile durch Metallklammern zusammengehalten wurden. Metallraub, der bereits in der Spätantike einsetzt (wenn nicht von Fall zu Fall sogar schon früher), hat den schnellen Untergang gerade dieser qualität- und kunstvollen Bautypen herbeigeführt: Waren einmal die Verklammerungen herausgebrochen, zerfiel das Bauwerk relativ schnell und seine meist aus Marmor bestehenden Teile wurden leichte Beute der Kalkbrenner.

[10] *pat(e)r-on-us* ist semantisch nichts anderes als die Steigerung von *pater* mit der Bedeutung „großer Vater" und daher praktisch ein Synonym für *pater familias.*

Abb. 6. Aquileia, sepolcreto an der (modernen) via Annia, Grabbezirk 5. In der Mitte der monolithe Sockel des einst mit Platten verkleideten Primärgrabmals, auf beiden Seiten je ein Grabaltar als Sekundärgrabmal.

stand. Zu seiner Seite und als nächste unter ihm standen die Eigentümer der Grabaltäre, wohl Freigelassene.

Wie eine Familienstruktur aussah, lässt sich am Friedhof von Au am Leithaberge / BH Bruck an der Leitha, NÖ rekonstruieren, der zum Gutshof des T. Flavius Cobromarus gehört hat und mit seinen dreiundzwanzig, zum Teil leider nur in Fragmenten erhaltenen Grabmälern eine wichtige Informationsquelle darstellt.[11] Dort haben folgende Personen ihre Beziehung zum Oberhaupt der *familia* angegeben, und zwar auf jeweils einem eigenen Grabstein: T. Fl. Cobromarus als *filius* (lupa.at/1854), Uxavillus als *libertus* (lupa.at/34) und Flavis als *servus* (lupa.at/1852). Dass ein städtischer Familiengrabbezirk sogar weit dichter belegt sein konnte, wurde im schon erwähnten *sepolcreto* von Aquileia sichtbar: In seinen 4 ½ Grabbezirken (Abb. 7) wurden jüngst bei Nachgrabungen nicht weniger als 87 zum Teil noch vollständige Brand- und Körpergräber entdeckt. Diese sind zu 15 Gräbern hinzuzurechnen, die Luisa Bertacchi 1988 ausgegraben

Abb. 7. Aquileia, Blick über den sepolcreto an der (modernen) via Annia. Im Vordergrund Grabbezirk 1 mit Primärgrabmal und einigen, auf verschiedenen Höhen positionierten Sekundärgrabmälern, bei denen versucht wurde, die einstige Höhenlage möglichst originalgetreu wiederzugeben. Die Ausgrabungsbefunde lassen annehmen, dass sich in jedem Grabbezirk weit über 20 sekundäre Grabstellen befanden.

[11] In dem von O. Menghin und A. Seracsin zwischen 1912 und 1914 freigelegten Friedhof von Au am Leithaberge wurden aus spätantiken Steinkistengräbern nicht weniger als zwanzig mittelkaiserzeitliche Grabsteine bzw. deren Fragmente gehoben, Schober 1914: Bbl. Sp. 205 ff. Die Steindenkmäler sind unschwer in *lupa.at* aufzurufen, man braucht nur in „Inschrifttext, Typ" den Wortstamm *cobromar* und in „Fundort" *Au am Leithaberge* einzugeben.

hat, zu denen noch die unbekannte Zahl von Gräbern hinzukommt, die nach 1938 Giovanni Brusin freigelegt hatte.[12] Damit gelangt man zu einer Gesamtzahl an Bestatteten, die weit über einhundert gelegen haben muss, was für jeden Grabbezirk eine durchschnittliche Belegung von weit über 20 Grabstellen ergibt, von denen die meisten ein eigenes Grabmonument gehabt haben dürften.

Man kann sich also das Gewimmel von Sekundärgrabmälern nicht vielfältig genug vorstellen. Ein prägnantes Beispiel ist der Grabbezirk 1 des *sepolcreto* (Abb. 7 vorne). In seiner Mitte steht ein Grabaltar auf hohem Sockel, damit er die Umfassungsmauer überragt, und einige Monumente sind auf niedrigem Niveau über die Fläche verstreut, aber auch auf die Ecken der Umfassungsmauer gesetzt. Man liegt wohl richtig, wenn man sich zu diesen noch mindestens 20 Sekundärgrabmäler hinzudenkt, von denen einige auch aus Holz gewesen sein könnten. Errichtet wurden diese von den echten Familienmitgliedern, von Freigelassenen – Handwerkern, Schreibern, Verwaltern, Notaren usw. – bis zu Sklaven. Im gemeinsamen Grabbezirk fanden sie alle die letzte Ruhe, geschart um das Primärgrabmal des *pater familias,* dessen führende Stellung durch Inschrift und Bildprogramm verewigt war. Die Unterscheidung zwischen Primär- und Sekundärgrabmal ist also ein wichtiges Instrument, um die soziale Schichtung innerhalb von Grabbezirken zu erkennen.

Die Formen der Sekundärgrabmäler können von schlichten Tituli bis zu kunstvollen Grabstelen und wuchtigen Grabaltären reichen. In unserem Fall sind es fünf Grabstelen in unterschiedlicher Gestaltung und handwerklicher Ausführung (Abb. 1–4) und dazu die Grabplatte aus Graz (Abb. 5) und der Grabaltar aus Pontebba (lupa.at/15967). Für den Grabaltar möchte ich auf den Grabbezirk 5 des *sepolcreto* verweisen (Abb. 6), den ich als Beispiel für die Scheidung nach Primär- und Sekundärgrabmal verwendet habe. Unbekannt ist leider der Status derer, die die beiden neben der Grabädikula stehenden Grabaltäre errichtet haben, doch zeigt das Monument von Pontebba, dass ein Grabaltar nicht nur von einem Sklavenehepaar errichtet werden konnte, sondern dass dieses auch Dienstpersonal besaß, der Ehemann einen Schreiber mit *volumen* und seine Frau eine Dienerin mit *mappa* und Spiegel. Durch ihn verstehen wir auch andere Grabaltäre besser, wie z.B. jenen des Sklaven Placidus aus Feldkirchen, Lkr. Berchtesgaden / D (lupa.at/1120), mit einem Gorgoneion auf dem bekrönenden Pyramidenstumpf und dem Schwan auf beiden Nebenseiten.

Auch die Grabplatte aus Graz (Abb. 5) ist als Sekundärgrabmal einzustufen und dürfte in einem Mauerverband eingelassen gewesen sein. Die beiden Eheleute waren zwar Sklaven, standen aber in der *familia* des unbekannten *patronus* wohl nicht auf der untersten Sozialstufe, weil sie sich mit ihren Brustbildern verewigen durften. Das Denkmal ist bemerkenswert, weil es der Sklave Candidus für sich und seine vorzeitig gestorbene Frau sozusagen in Eigeninitiative *sibi* errichtete und weil Candidus in seiner Linken eine Rolle hält, auf die er den Zeigefinger seiner Rechten legt. Dieses Bildmotiv ist von vielen Grabmälern bekannt und wird gerne als Hinweis auf die Erlangung des Bürgerrechts gelesen. Auch wenn das zutreffen sollte, ist es auch hier nicht angebracht, zu enge Beurteilungskriterien anzulegen. Man denke nur an die vielen unverheiratet gestorbenen Töchter, die auf Grabsteinen *mit* Haube, d.h. als Ehefrau dargestellt sind, oder an die verstorbenen Knaben in militärischer Ausrüstung, dann wird klar, dass vielfach nicht der erreichte Status, sondern das angestrebte Lebensziel abgebildet ist.[13] Neben der Altersangabe soll auch damit ausgedrückt werden, dass der Tod vor der Zeit zugeschlagen hat. Maßgeschneidert passt hierher, dass Geza Alföldi in norischen Grabinschriften einen signifikanten Altersunterschied zwischen *servi* und *liberti* festgestellt hat, den er damit erklärt, dass Sklaven im Allgemeinen rund um ihr dreißigstes Lebensjahr freigelassen wurden (Alföldi 1974: 131), was nicht automatisch das Ausscheiden aus dem Familienverb and bedeutete. War also dem Sklaven Candidus die Freilassung gar schon in Aussicht gestellt? Das Bild würde nicht widersprechen.

Der Denkmaltypus „Grabplatte“, der hier durch das für Candidus und Surilla errichtete Monument aus Graz vertreten ist, begegnet innerhalb des Territoriums von Flavia Solva auch als Grabmonument für den Edelmetallschmied Nammonius Mussa (Kalsdorf bei Graz (Harl 2016)). Von der Gestaltung seiner Frontseite her ist er mit einem nicht definierbaren Typus verwandt, den G. Kremer „Schaftblock“ nennt und der z. B. für einen Soldaten der *legio II Italica* (Stallhofen, Stmk) Verwendung fand.[14] Offensichtlich konnte ein-und-

[12] Pressemitteilung vom 27. August 2016, deren Kenntnis ich Monika Verzár verdanke.

[13] Nimmt man die Bilder ernst, und das versuche ich, dann muss man mit Fällen rechnen, in denen Mädchen schon für die Ehe versprochen oder Knaben schon für eine Truppe registriert waren, aber vor der Zeit gestorben sind.

[14] lupa.at/1623. Nach E. Weber-Hiden ist statt der 10. die 2. Legion zu lesen (noch unpubliziert).

derselbe Denkmaltyp für einen Sklaven, einen Freigelassenen und einen Soldaten verwendet werden. Das zeigt, wie schwierig es ist, vom Denkmaltyp auf den sozialen Status eines Verstorbenen zu schließen.

Das gilt, wie man nun sieht, erst recht für die Grabstelen, wo die Unterscheidung zwischen Primär- und Sekundärgrabmal schwierig, bisweilen sogar unmöglich ist. Wichtigste Kriterien sind die Aussage der Inschrift und, die Größe des Monuments. Die Spannweite reicht vom sog. Pranger von Pettau, einer knapp 5 Meter hohen, monolithen Marmorstele, die für einen Dekurio von Poetovio mit dem Vornamen Marcus errichtet worden und natürlich ein Primärgrabmal war (lupa.at/3601), bis zu der für die Sklaven Cassus und Strubilo errichteten Sandsteinstele, die klarerweise ein Sekundärgrabmal war, das im Gebiet von Wiener Neustadt im Grabbezirk ihres *patronus* stand.

Fazit: Antike Denkmäler mögen immanente Regeln haben. Ihnen aber durch zu enges Typologisieren oder durch zu strengen Formalismus einen formularhaften Charakter zu unterstellen, wird ihrer Aussage nicht gerecht. Das nimmt man vor allem dann wahr, wenn man Bild und Inschrift gemeinsam betrachtet - oder besser gesagt: gemeinsam liest. Damit bin ich zur eingangs erwähnten ganzheitlichen Sichtweise von *lupa.at* zurückgekehrt.

Exkurs: *Die Begriffe* Einheimische Tracht *und* Bodenständige Tradition *aus zeitgeschichtlicher Perspektive*

Durch die Aufarbeitung der NS-Vergangenheit der damals in Österreich führenden Archäologen und Althistoriker kam das Ausmaß zutage, in dem die provinzialrömische Forschung von NS-Gedankengut geprägt war. Nach dem Urgeschichtler Oswald Menghin[15] war der einflussreichste von ihnen Arnold Schober.[16] Dieser stammte aus Windisch-Landsberg/Podčetrtek (ehem. Untersteiermark, heute Slowenien), wo sein Vater Gutsbesitzer war. Seine Mutter gehörte zu einer wohlhabenden Bürgerfamilie in Celje/Cilli. Unter seine wichtigsten Schriften zählte Schober den Aufsatz „Zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der provinzialrömischen Kunst“ (Schober 1930). Darin konstruiert er eine Entwicklungslinie, die in der Zeit des „norischen Reiches unter einheimischen Herrschern“ beginnt (Schober 1923: 2). Als die Römer eindrangen, verfügte die „bodenständige Bevölkerung über eine zwar primitive, aber ausgeprägte Behandlungsweise plastischer Formen“.[17] Unter der römischen Herrschaft konnte diese in den norischen Mädchen- und Frauenbildnissen sowie in einer von einheimischen Kräften getragenen, unklassischen Formgebung weiterleben, weil die “Autochthonen bis tief in die römische Zeit hinein an ihren alten Sitten und Gebräuchen festhielten”. Warum das möglich wurde, erklärt Schober damit, dass die “Kelten als Nordvolk ... ihr nordisches Kunstgut gegen die von Süden andringenden Kunstformen zu verteidigen” hatten.

Eine „wichtige Komponente dieses Prozesses ... ist die Frage nach den eigentlichen Trägern der spätantiken Kultur im rassischen Sinne“. Auf Schobers Antwort muss man nicht lange warten: Es ist „der vollständige Sieg des Germanentums“, der, so muss man hinzufügen, den „bodenständigen Kräften“ eine neue Zukunft eröffnete. Aufbauend auf der rassischen Kontinuität des “bodenständigen Elements” war damit ein Entwicklungsstrang gezimmert, der den Ansätzen des steirischen Volkskundlers Viktor Ritter von Geramb eine historische Tiefendimension verlieh und sie praktisch nahtlos bis in das Königreich Norikum zurück verlängerte. So entstand im Nationalitätenkampf der späten Habsburgermonarchie ein griffiges Konstrukt, das sich hervorragend für den Aufbau der NS-Ideologie eignete. Dass die derart verherrlichten Einheimischen vom Germanentum erst “vollständig” besiegt werden mussten, wurde geflissentlich übersehen.[18]

Geramb war der erste, der in Österreich Volkskunde wissenschaftlich betrieb und seit seiner Promotion an der Universität Graz im Jahre 1906 das deutschsprachige Element der Steiermark über die Tracht

[15] Menghin war Unterrichtsminister im sog. Anschlusskabinett von Seyß-Inquart und unterschrieb als solcher das Gesetz zum Anschluss Österreichs an Nazi-Deutschland, Urban 1996: 1–24.

[16] Zu den damals handelnden Personen Wlach 2014.

[17] Die folgenden Zitate beziehen sich auf Schober 1930: 25, 32, 33, 44–48, 51.

[18] Die Verbindung von Arnold Schober zu Viktor Geramb harrt noch der Untersuchung.

definierte.[19] Verkürzt würde Gerambs Argumentation etwa lauten: Wer Tracht trägt, ist einheimisch und damit deutschsprachig. 1931 erhielt Geramb an der Universität Graz die erste volkskundliche Professur im gesamten deutschsprachigen Raum. 1935 wurde dann Schober nach Graz berufen und trat dort im Mai 1938 in die NSDAP ein. Nachdem die Achsenmächte Hitler-Deutschland und Mussolini-Italien im April 1941 das Königreich Jugoslawien zerschlagen hatten, wurde die ehemalige Untersteiermark (slow. Štajerska) dem Reichsgau Steiermark unterstellt. Damit bot sich für den Gutsbesitzerssohn Schober als "bodenständig" denkenden Forscher die Gelegenheit, die Steindenkmäler seiner Heimat zu sammeln und bearbeiten. Die Arbeiten wurden in Pettau/Ptuj begonnen und endeten kriegsbedingt im Winter 1944/45. Von 1963 an wurde dieses von Schober und anderen Forschern mit NS-Schlagseite initiierte Projekt unter geänderten Bedingungen als CSIR-Österreich weitergeführt.[20]

"Einheimisch" und "Einheimische Tracht" sind also Begriffe, die im Nationalitätenkampf der späten Habsburgermonarchie auf deutschnationaler Seite geschaffen wurden, die NS-Welt überlebten und bis auf den heutigen Tag ihre Aufgabe erfüllen. Soll man sie deswegen ändern ? Ich meine: Nein. Denn sie haben sich als Termini bewährt und sind semantisch eindeutig. Verloren haben sie ihre lokalpolitische Konnotation und sind geographisch auf jedes Gebiet anwendbar. Da auch Geschehenes einmal zu Geschichte werden darf, würde es genügen, wenn man sich ihres nationalistischen Hintergrundes bewusst bliebe.

Über den Autor

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[19] V. Geramb, *Steirisches Trachtenbuch* (zwei Bände, Graz 1932 und 1939).

[20] Zu den Wurzeln des CSIR-Österreich siehe jetzt Harl 2020.

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Abbildungsnachweis

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Some remarks on the riding harness pendant from the Roman legionary fortress of Tilurium (Gardun)*

Sanja IVČEVIĆ, Split

The Cetina Regional Museum in Sinj has a small bronze plate with an ajouré frame found in Gardun, near Trilj, at the site of the former Roman legionary fortress Tilurium. The item has not been entirely preserved, rather only its central rectangular part with an ajouré border remains. Attribution of this – unique at that site – find is rather difficult not only because it is incomplete but also because it is a rare find within the framework of the Roman Empire, as only a few similar items have been found anywhere in its territory. It belongs to a small group of riding harness pendants with common features such as a full central plate and an ajouré frame. Although few in number, such items are widely distributed, so they have been found from Hispania and southern Gallia through northern Italy, Pannonia and Dalmatia, to northern Africa. The fragment from the Tilurium probably may be defined as a riding harness pendant on the basis of typological analysis and comparisons to similar items that can be found over a broad territory of the Roman Empire. The fact that they are the most numerous in Sisak, where four such pendants have been found, leads to presumption on production at this site, particularly if they are viewed as a variation of the pelta-shaped Bishop 3 pendant, which is also assumed to have been produced at this site. In this regard, we prefer the dating of the pendant from Tilurium to the latter half of the 1st and 2nd century.

Key words: *Tilurium, pendant, riding harness*

The Cetina Regional Museum in Sinj has a small bronze plate with an ajouré frame[1] found in Gardun, near Trilj, at the site of the former Roman legionary fortress (Sanader 2003; Sanader *et al.* 2014; Sanader *et al.* 2017; Sanader & Tončinić 2010; Sanader & Tončinić 2013). The item has not been entirely preserved, rather only its central rectangular part with an ajouré border remains. Traces of silver-plating are visible over the entire surface, and the central section contains a portrait depicted in right profile framed by an engraved zigzag line (Ivčević 2016: 92–94, P. 10. 100).[2] The image cannot be more precisely

* This article is dedicated to the professor dr. sc. Mirjana Sanader who initiated the archaeological research into the Roman legionary fortress of Tilurium in Gardun and who led it for many years, and with whom I had the pleasure of collaborating on that and other projects. This work has been fully supported by Croatian Science Foundation under the project IP-2018-01-4934 „Understanding Roman Borders: the Case of the Eastern Adriatic" (AdriaRom).

1 The bronze plate was provided to me by my colleague Anita Librenjak from the Cetina Regional Museum in Sinj for analysis as a part of my doctoral dissertation and for publication in this article, for which I would like to convey my sincerest gratitude. I would also like to thank the author of the drawings Z. Podrug, and the author of the photo T. Seser, both from Archaeological museum in Split.

2 Riding harness pendants are not unusual finds in Tilurium and account for almost 70% of the riding gear finds at the site. Thus far, approximately forty pendants have been published, and they belong to various types, from the earliest dating to the reign of Emperor Augustus to later types which endured into the 2nd c. Lunular pendants are present with two examples, three-part foliate pendants with three, while ovoid and bird-shaped pendants are present with one example each. Phalloid pendants with seven and tear-shaped pendants with eight examples are the most

identified since this is a simply engraved portrait without any specific iconographic attributes that would allow for a more detailed analysis. The item was procured for the Cetina Regional Museum by purchase and the only preserved information on the find circumstances is that it was discovered in Gardun (Tilurium).[3] Attribution of this – unique at that site – find is rather difficult not only because it is incomplete but also because it is a rare find within the framework of the Roman Empire, as only a few similar items have been found anywhere in its territory. It belongs to a small group of riding harness pendants with common features such as a full central plate and an ajouré frame, and they differ from one another in terms of the shape of that central component and the decoration motifs. On examples with preserved decoration in the central plate it is rendered by application of the small plate with the image in relief or, as on the example examined herein, by engraving. Although few in number, such items are widely distributed, so – as we shall see below – they have been found from Hispania and southern Gallia through northern Italy, Pannonia and Dalmatia, to northern Africa.

The pendant from Tilurium is most similar to the one found at the site of the Roman villa in Gaugac, roughly twenty kilometres west of Narbonne in France (Feugère & Abauzit 1995: 11–12, Fig. 1). It is characterized by a rectangular central plate with an engraved portrait, probably of a woman. This unusual riding harness pendant has been linked by scholars to the similar finds from Tangier (Tingis) in Morocco (Boube-Piccot 1980: 369–370, P. 129: 631) and Sisak in Croatia. The highest number, four, of such pendants were in fact discovered in Sisak, of which two have been entirely preserved, while two are fragmentary, so all that has been preserved are the hooks for hanging them and the upper parts of the border which were used to ascribe them to this type (Koščević 1991: 52, P. XV: 224, 225; Radman-Livaja 2004: 111–112, P. 66: 480–483). The two whole pendants from Sisak differ from one another primarily in the shape of the central plate, which is rectangular on one, and circular on the other. The frame on the first pendant has a more prominent lower section in the shape of a stylized pelta, while the lower part of the other pendant is smaller and simpler. The motifs of the frame, craftsmanship and decoration (applied circular plates in relief with figural images) exhibit considerable mutual similarity.

The described pendants show similarities to the pelta-shaped riding harness pendants (Bishop 3 type) which is particularly apparent in the typical pelta-shaped terminal extension with kidney-shaped perforations and applied central circular plate with decoration in relief (Bishop 1988: 96, 145, Fig. 44, P. 6). Pendants of this comparatively rare type have been dated from the mid-1st to the first several decades of the 2nd century (Bishop 1988: 96; Deschler-Erb 1999: 56; Radman-Livaja 2004: 110). The solid presence of the Bishop 3 type in Sisak, where several apparently unfinished examples were also found, has led to assumption that production was conducted in the area (Koščević 1997: 46; Radman-Livaja 2004: 110). The same may also be assumed of the specifically-shaped pendants covered herein, which, besides the typological links to Bishop 3 type, is also backed by the fact that they are the most numerous in Sisak and that it is thus far the only site at which both variants, with circular and rectangular central components, have been found.

Opinions on the dating of the Sisak examples differ, but given the similarities they exhibit with the Bishop 3 pendants, it is not unfounded to believe that they are perhaps a variant of this type. They may, at least generally, be roughly dated to the same period, i.e., the latter half of the 1st and the 2nd century (Radman-Livaja 2004: 112). There are several proposals for the dating of the pendant with a portrait based on interpretations of the image. One opinion is that the portrait corresponds to the emperors of the Severan dynasty, possibly Caracalla (Rendić-Miočević 1987: 216, cat. no. 184), but since the pendant has the features of earlier types dated to the 1st and early 2nd century, the possibility that it is a portrayal of Flavian dynasty emperor, perhaps Domitian, has also been proposed (Radman-Livaja 2004: 112). A later dating, not prior to the mid-2nd century, probably during the Severan era, was suggested by M. Boura for a pendant of this type from the Museum in Aquileia that is rather similar to the Sisak example with a circular central plate and portrait (Buora 1996: 165, P. II. 1).[4]

numerous, while foliate pendants are the most common in Tilurium, as thirteen were found (Šeparović 2003: cat. no. 47–51; Ivčević 2004: cat. no. 18–23; 2010: cat. no. 6–15; 2014: cat. no. 34, 35, 37; 2016: cat. no. 94, 103, 112–113, 121–123, 139, 141; 2017: cat. no. 239–242).

3 Held in the Cetina Regional Museum in Sinj under inventory number MCK-B-868, with the record that it had been purchased as part of the Tadinac collection.

4 Since they are few in number but present over a broad territory from Gallia, through Italy, Pannonia and Dalmatia to northern Africa (Morocco), he noted the possibility that they may have had symbolic meaning as phalerae, *dona militaria* or gifts of similar significance. The emperor's portrait in the central component would back this hypothesis (Buora 1996: 164).

The pendant found in excavations at the Roman villa in Višići (Bosnia-Herzegovina), roughly dated to the time when life proceeded at this site, from the end of the 1st to the end of the 4th centuries, belongs to the same type. Two concentric circlets are engraved onto the pendant's central component, and traces of gilding are visible on its surface (Čremošnik 1965: 196, P. X.1). The silver-plated example from Tangier (Tingis) in Morocco (Boube-Piccot 1980: 368–370, cat. no. 631) is particularly interesting, as it is basically a Bishop 3d pendant with the addition of a rectangular frame on the central component which exhibits considerable similarity to a pendant of precisely this variant of the Bishop 3 type from the same museum (Boube-Piccot 1980: 368–369, P. 129: 630). Here some attention should be accorded to the pendant (Šeparović & Uroda 2009: 46, cat. no. 70) found in the legionary fortress of Legio XI in Burnum (Cambi *et al.* 2007; Miletić 2010; Glavičić 2011; Borzić *et al.* 2014), which differs from the rest because the ajouré decoration is on the upper and lower sides of the pendant while the lateral sides have no borders. The pendant from Burnum exhibits features that correspond to Bishop 3d, but it has a rectangularly formed central component. It is similar to the pendant from Rabat in Morocco (Boube-Piccot 1980: 147–148, P. 47: 179).

Bishop 3d (Bishop 1988: 145, Fig. 44, 3d) pendants are a rare variant of an otherwise scarce type. In Dalmatia's territory, there is only a single Bishop 3d pendant[5] which was found at the Podgrađe site near Podstrana, in the wider Poljica area[6] (Ivčević 2016: 240, cat. no. 98, P. 10: 98). Pendants of this variant are well represented in Vindonissa (Unz 1975: 25, cat. no. 145, 150; P. 12. 145, 150; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997: 44, P. 57: 1605–1607) where the Bishop 3 type is otherwise well represented, and besides the already mentioned pendant from Tangier in Morocco (Boube-Piccot 1980: P. 129: 630) a Bishop 3d pendant was also found in Emona (Plesničar-Gec 1983: 143, cat. no. 11, P. 29:11).

A pendant similar to the group we are dealing with in this article was found in the Ampurias in Spain. It is particularly similar with the Sisak pendant with a portrait (Aurrecoechea-Fernández 2007: 332, Fig. 2.2). Also noteworthy here is the example form the Villasequilla de Yepes site in central Spain (Aurrecoechea-Fernández 1995–1996: 59, Fig. 6. 8) which exhibits similarity to the group of pendants with ajouré frames, and for which the examples from Morocco are cited as analogous pendants (idem: 79).[7] This pendant differs from the preceding examples by its standard circular shape and it shows similarity to the appliqué found in Slovenia during archaeological excavations into a Roman villa rustica at a site near the village of Mošnje in Upper Carniola in a layer that could not be dated any more precisely than the duration of life in the villa in the 1st and 2nd centuries, and up to the mid-3rd century at the outside. The appliqué has a standard circular shape with ajouré border and rectangular central plate with engraved circlets (Pflaum & Lux 2015: 300–301, Fig. 7, P. 1.5). In the publication, the author connects them to the Sisak pendants and also the group of appliqués well-represented in the territory of southern Gallia. Also classified into this group is the rectangular appliqué found at the Glanum site in St-Rémy de Provence (Abauzit 2000: 16–17, Fig. 1. 2) on which the ajouré border was formed by an alternating series of triangular and pelta motifs, while the central component probably has an image of an Erotes with a weapon, and then an appliqué found in Hyères (Olbia) (Abauzit 2000: 16–17, Fig. 1. 3); and one in Octon (Abauzit 2000: 16–17, Fig. 1. 1; Feugère 2002: 106, cat. no. 120, Fig. 16). Evidence of a possible common origin, besides the quality and manner of engraving of the images, is primarily the shape and rendering of the frame, which exhibit considerable mutual similarity. So four more fragments from this area may be classified into the same group.[8] Their similarity speaks in favour

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5 Besides the example from Podgrađe, I am also familiar with two more Bishop 3 pendants from Dalmatia. Both belong to the Bishop 3c variant. One was found in Bribir (Varvaria) (Šeparović & Uroda 2009: 47, cat. no. 71), and the other is from Nin (Nedved 1981: 181–182, cat. no. 327, Fig. 8. 327). Bishop 3c pendants are generally better represented than the Bishop 3d type, and can be found throughout the Empire's territory (Bishop 1988: 148, P. 6 (list of finds); Deschler-Erb 1999: 56) and the most common are pelta-shaped pendants (Unz 1972: 50, P. 6. 55–59; Oldenstein 1977: P. 54. 654; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997: P. 57. 1590, 1610; Deschler-Erb 1999: P. 29. 577–581; Golubović 2006: 96, P. 49. 26). They are particularly numerous in Sisak, where approximately ten examples were registered (Radman-Livaja 2004: 110, P. 65, 66).

6 This is a site at which archaeological excavations have not been conducted, and the few finds held in the Archaeological Museum in Split are chance finds which were procured for the Museum by purchase at the beginning of the 20th century (Ivčević 2016: 169).

7 The materials found at the site largely belong to the period from the end of the 2nd and 3rd century (Aurrecoechea-Fernández 1995–1996: 86).

8 They were found at the Margon (Abauzit 2000: 17, Fig. 2; Feugère 2002: 98, cat. no. 81, Fig. 13.81), St-Martin de Crau (Badan *et al.* 1995: 282, Fig. 17. 3) and Baron sites (Abauzit 2000: 17). The find from Bessan belongs to the same group (Feugère 2002: 88, cat. no. 27, Fig. 9).

of their common origin, and according to one opinion they were produced in the same workshop, probably somewhere in the territory of southern Gallia (Abauzit 2000: 17). They are associated with similar examples found in Yambol, in Bulgaria, during excavations into mounds with burials of carriages and horses, which is an important indicator on the purpose of these items. There they were dated to the end of the 3rd and early 4th centuries. They were published in the 1960s, and they were pointed out by D. Božić in an article in which he dealt with harness ornaments with ajouré borders.[9] It is assumed that they were made in the territory of Thrace in the same workshop as the pendants and appliqués from the archaeological excavations near the village of Mogilovo near Plovdiv, where parts of carriages with horses were found, and a part of the decorations consisted of appliqués and pendants with ajouré frames. They were dated to the same time as those from Yambol (Vassilev 1995: 447–448). These finds from Gallia and Thrace, although similar to the riding harness pendants being considered herein, nonetheless exhibit certain different features from those from Narbonne, Sisak, Višići, Burnum and Tangier, such as, for example, the manner of formation of the ajouré border, the motifs of the image in the central component, and even in the dimensions. The link, possibly developmental, between these two groups of items should therefore be studied in greater detail.

The fragment from Tilurium probably may be defined as a riding harness pendant on the basis of typological analysis and comparisons to similar items that, although few in number can be found over a broad territory of the Roman Empire. They are present at sites of differing character; in the area of villae rusticae, cities and at military camps. Examples which correspond to the one considered herein have been found from Hispania and southern Gallia, through northern Italy, Pannonia and Dalmatia to northern Africa, and the fact that they are the most numerous in Sisak, where four such pendants have been found, leads to presumption on production at this site, particularly if they are viewed as a variation of the pelta-shaped Bishop 3 pendant, which is also assumed to have been produced at this site. In this regard, we prefer the dating of the pendant from Tilurium to the latter half of the 1st and 2nd century.

1. Riding harness pendant, inv. no. MCK-B-868, Fig. 1.

Site: Tilurium (Gardun)

Materials: bronze, silver-plating

Dimensions: ht. 3.4 cm, wid. 3.1 cm

Description: the central rectangular component of the pendant with ajouré frame is preserved, traces of silver-plating on surface also preserved, portrait facing right in central component.

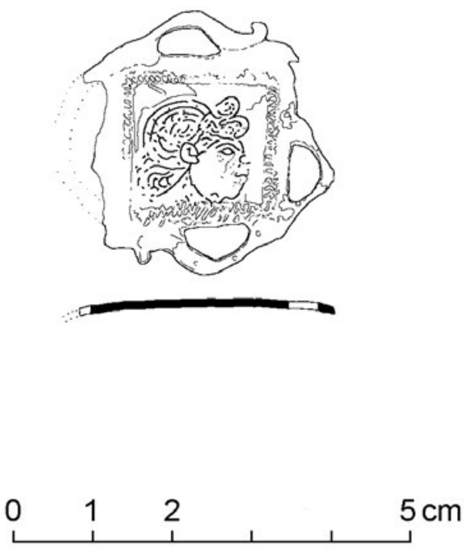
Dating: latter half of 1st c., 2nd c.

Procurement method: purchased, Tadinac collection

Current location: Cetina Regional Museum, Sinj

Unpublished.

References: Čremošnik 1965: 196, P. X: 1; Boube-Piccot 1980: 369–370, cat. no. 631, Fig. 631; Koščević 1991: 52, P. XV: 224, 225; Feugère & Abauzit 1995: 12, Fig. 1; Buora 1995: 165, P. II: 1; Radman-Livaja 2004: 138, cat. no. 480–481, P. 66: 480, 481.



2. Pelta-shaped riding harness pendant, inv. no. AMS H-3880, Fig. 2a-b

Site: Podgrađe near Podstrana in Poljica

Materials: bronze, silver-plating

Dimensions: ht. 5.6 cm, wid. 3 cm

Description: silver plating applied to central circular component of pendant, pelta-shaped extension on lower side, winding tendrils and loop for hanging on upper section.

Dating: latter half of 1st c., beginning of 2nd c.

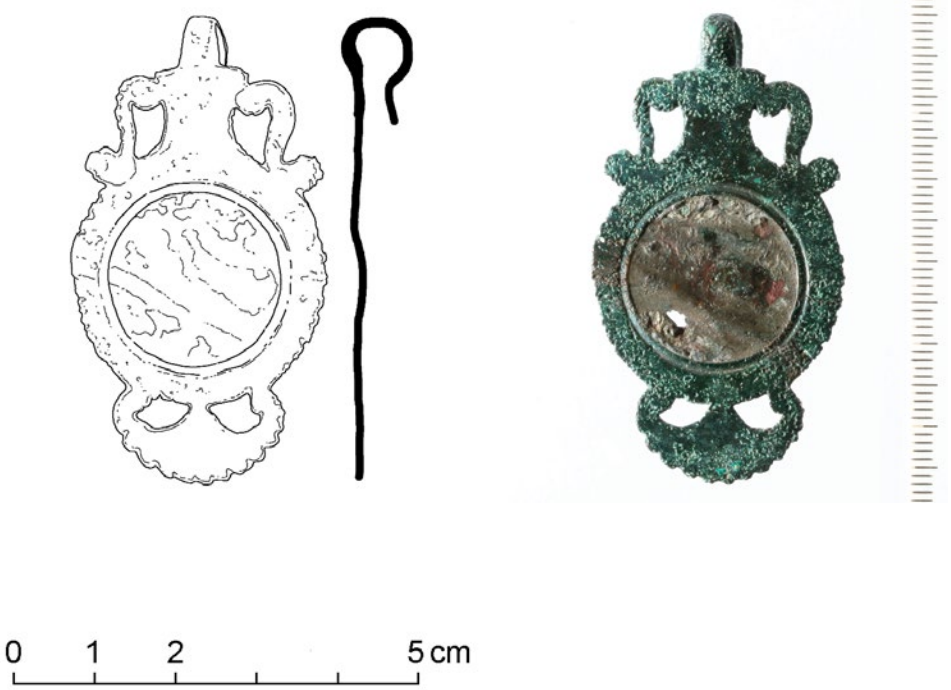
Procurement method: purchased, 1900

[9] For more details on the publication and dating of the finds from Yambol with commentary see: Božić 2001: 25.

Current location: Archaeological Museum in Split

Unpublished.

References: Unz 1975: 25, cat. no. 145, 150, P. 12: 145, 150; Boube-Piccot 1980: 368–369, cat. no. 630; Plesničar-Gec 1983: 143, cat. no. 11, P. 29: 11; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997: 44, P. 57: 1605–1607.



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A few notes on seven Greek lead weights in the Archaeological Museum in Split[*]

Jelena JOVANOVIĆ, Split

The Archaeological Museum in Split holds seven square-shaped Greek lead weights which, based on the uniformity of their style, their symbols, legends and weights, undoubtedly belong to the Attic metrological system. These weights bear relief images of a shield, an amphora, a tortoise, and a crescent and half-crescent moon – the standard array of symbols in the Athenian usual weight system from the Late Archaic to the Late Hellenistic periods. Besides these symbols, three weights have legends designating a third and quarter stater (tritemorion and tetartemorion), and two examples are particularly notable: one bearing the symbol of a shield, and the other with a legend referring to a state guarantee (demosion) – both published here for the first time.

Key words: *Greek lead weights, Archaeological Museum in Split, Attic metrological system, fractions of a stater*

Scale weights are as old as scales themselves, and finds of them and depictions on wall paintings, relief sculpture, and papyruses have been known in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt since the Bronze Age (Daremberg & Saglio <s. a.>: 548). In the poleis of ancient Greece and in the Roman Empire, scales (scales: *Σταθμός* or *ζυγός* / *libra* or *bilanx*), kantars (kantar: *καμπανός* / *stater*) and weights (weight: *σταθμόν* / *pondus*) were instruments from the public sphere (*instrumentum publicum*). Scale weights in Antiquity were generally made of bronze, stone and lead. Finds of bronze and stone weights are rather rare in the Greek city-states, possibly because they were more expensive to make due to the hardness of the material and their general durability. On the other hand, lead weights have survived in larger quantity, even though they were subject to wear, and were therefore less accurate. They were probably mould-made, although (judging by the way their edges are curved) they were presumably finished manually, and their weight was adjusted while they were still soft (Lang & Crosby 1964: 5). They are most often square-shaped or rectangular tiles, although triangular, discoid, rhomboid, hexagonal and octagonal examples are known. Sometimes they also have atypical shapes – such as three-pointed stars, truncated and stepped pyramids or astragaloi (Tekin 2016: 7). The front side of Greek lead weights normally bears symbols and inscriptions depicted in relief and tied to the units of weight and denominational labels, while the back side is plain. Some weights have on them an *episemon* (*ἐπίσημον*) or *parasemon* (*παράσημον*), i.e., a symbol or badge of a city-state, which is identical, in most cases, to that found on its coins.[1] In addition, some other inscriptions

[*] This article is dedicated with respect and affection to Prof. Mirjana Sanader, Ph.D., with sincere thanks for all of her useful suggestions and encouragement during the writing of my doctoral dissertation.

[1] Although the examples from Athens and Corinth impose a conclusion that every city-state could have arbitrarily selected its *parasemon* on its weights. Both cities had different *parasema* on their coins and on their weights: the owl may be interpreted as the *parasemon* of Athenian coins, and Pegasus of Corinthian coins, but both appeared on their weights only quite rarely (Tekin 2016: 10, 129).

can be seen on lead weights, which suggest an ethnic, or designation of the official state guarantee of their weight (*δεμόσιον*).

In general, Greek weights are rarely found in archaeological excavations, yet mostly in the context of excavations in public urban spaces, and it is noteworthy that most of the specimens on record come from excavations at Olympia and in the Athenian Agora. To be sure, they were used in marketplaces and bazaars in various commercial hubs of the Greek world across the Mediterranean, from the Archaic to the late Hellenistic periods. Under the Roman Empire they were integrated into, and adapted to the Roman weight system (*libra* = *λίτρα*; *uncia* = *ομγγία*). However, many decontextualized finds of Greek weights have been neglected, and many of them are in museums and private collections. Moreover, Late Antique and Early Byzantine weights currently predominate in comparison to those from the pre-Roman era in the scholarly literature.[2]

Scholarly interest in Greek weights emerged sporadically in the 18th century, and gained momentum in the 19th century when German scholar Erich Pernice published a body of over 900 examples of Greek and Byzantine weights in his monograph *Griechische Gewichte* (Pernice 1894).[3] A milestone for the study of the metrology of ancient Greece is certainly Mabel Lang's *Weights, Measures and Tokens*, in whose first chapter, dedicated to bronze and lead weights, a total of 153 examples of Greek weights were catalogued and analysed: 14 bronze, 111 lead and 28 stone (Lang & Crosby 1964: 25–33). But the most comprehensive work on Greek weights is *Die gewichte Griechischer zeit aus Olympia* (Hitzl 1996), which includes a total of 483 bronze and 1 silver weight from the systematic archaeological excavations conducted at Olympia for over a century. The textbook-style work *Balance weights in the Aegean World. Classical and Hellenistic Periods* (Tekin 2016) is a synthesis of Greek weights from 30 sites (city-states) throughout the Aegean world within the chronological framework of the Classical and Hellenistic eras. As to the lead weights from *Magna Graecia*, excavations on the acropolis of *Heraclea Lucaniae* yielded a square weight bearing graffiti that have been interpreted as the ethnic designation *├HPAKΛHIΩN*, which is identical to that seen on the coins of this Greek city (Lo Porto 1961: 139). Additionally, three rectangular weights with incised symbols shaped like a triple and single *X* and *E* come from the site of contrada Mella (ancient *Mamertion*?) near Oppido Mamertina, in south-western Calabria; these symbols may have numerical significance (Costamagna & Visonà 1999: 369).[4] A lead weight from Himera dated to the 4th century BC bears the designation of a hemilitra in relief (Campana & Santelli 2010: 3, 4).[5] In the relevant Croatian literature, the first mention of weights from Greek Antiquity can be found in the guides for the Archaeological Museum in Split (Jelić *et al.* 1894: 165; Cambi *et al.* 1973: 37), where six Greek lead weights were exhibited. They are the only examples of these weights datable from the 5th to 2nd centuries BC from the western Mediterranean published thus far (Kirigin 2008: 41, 48–53).

Today metrology (*μέτρον*, measure; *λόγος*, science) is an auxiliary science of history that deals with the study of different measures and measuring systems in the past (Anić *et al.* 2002: 735), while in Antiquity *μετρολογία* referred to the theory of ratios (Liddell & Scott 1996: 1123).[6] Moreover, besides weights and scales, ancient written documents are also an invaluable source of data on various weight systems, which are examined in comparison with other archaeological materials, primarily numismatic and epigraphic, as well as analyses of depictions, such as, for example, those seen on Greek vases, mosaics, etc. Nonetheless, when studying ancient metrology, one must be doubly cautious, particularly when making conversions to contemporary metrological systems which, to be sure, are far more complex and refined with their multiples and other increments than any ancient system of measurement. Moreover, it is also important to bear in mind the excess of theory over practice in the information provided by ancient writers. This (with a small

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2 For more on the trade-weights of Late Antiquity and the early Byzantine period in the territory of central Dalmatia held in the Archaeological Museum in Split, see Jovanović 2012 and the detailed bibliography therein.

3 For a thorough list of sources and research history on ancient Greek weights and metrology from the 18th to 20th centuries, see Tekin 2016: 2–5.

4 I would like to thank my dear colleague Paolo Visonà, Ph.D., for this information and for proof-reading this essay.

5 A bronze tetradrachm (?) weight bearing the designation △, dated to the 5th c. BC is known from Agrigento (De Waele & Amadasi Guzzo 1980: 442–443).

6 The word *μέτρον* had multiple meanings for a series of concepts: a rule, a measure of solid or liquid content, a weight for a single- or double-arm scale, etc. (Liddell & Scott 1996: 1123).

quantity of empirically obtained data on the precise measurements of specific items) inevitably leads to manipulated (approximate) figures when computing the convergences among standards (Lang & Crosby 1964: 1; Tekin 2016: 22). It was precisely the standard, the generally accepted, customary, and legally-guaranteed fixed value or unit that was one of the most important elements in the ancient Greek system of weights, the evaluation of which is a prerequisite for understanding and analysing ancient weights.

The foundation of the weight system in ancient Greece rested upon its correlation with the monetary system, and the ratio of 1 talent = 60 minae = 6000 drachms emerged from the Near East. When the minting of coins began, two weight systems functioned in Attica and neighbouring regions: the Aeginetic (at Aegina, in the Peloponnese, and in central Greece) and the Euboic (in Euboea, at Athens, and in Corinth). Athens had integrated the Aeginetic system from the time of King Pheidon (early 7th century BC), thereafter consolidating the Euboic system under Solon's reforms of the constitution and of the standard of weights and measures (594/93 BC). But these reforms were only thoroughly implemented under the rule of Pisistratus (561–527 BC). The Euboic-Attic (or simply Attic) system thus emerged, and it was accepted throughout Attica in the latter half of the 6th century BC (Tekin 2016: 35–36).

The Athenian system had two main standards (the stater and mina), which were expressed in two variants (the coin stater/mina and the trade stater/mina), depending on whether the weight of a coin, or precious metals, or the weight of goods was being measured. The stater was the basic unit of weight in Solon's time (Lang & Crosby 1964: 3, 4).[7] In the Classical and Hellenistic periods, however, the basic unit of weight was the mina – although its weight and the number of drachms into which it was divided varied from region to region, depending on the monetary system that was in use (Tekin 2016: 126). Yet, regardless of their regional variations, the fractions of staters and minae were fixed, just like the units on weights, and they were divided by 4, 8, 16 and 3, 6 and 12 (Tekin 2016: 37). Changes in the number of drachms in a mina and differing standards are indicated by ancient written and epigraphic sources. In the *Athenian Constitution* of the 4th century BC, Pseudo-Aristotle stated that Solon had increased the coin mina from a weight of 70 Aeginetic drachms to 100 Attic drachms, while the trade talent was increased by 3 minae in relation to the coin talent, proportionally dividing the difference into fractions (*Pseudo Aristotle* 2013: 13). Accordingly, the trade talent thus became 5% heavier than the coin talent, and the trade mina was increased from 73 Aeginetic drachms to 105 Attic drachms, which was the metrological beginning of the dual weight system in Athens.[8] That Solon's 105-system was not continually in use in Athens was suggested by Andocides in his subversive text *On the Mysteries*[9] (403 BC), which advocated that the decree of Teisamenus whereby Solon's laws for weights and measures had to be reactivated (Canevaro & Harris 2017: 36–37). Further, a fragment of a decree from the late 2nd century BC testifies to the introduction of a new mina consisting of 150 coin drachmae, which was based on the preceding mina of 138 coin drachmae (I. G., II 29, 1013. 2–37; Meritt 1938: 130). We may therefore conclude that the weight standard in Athens was amended, i.e., increased, on multiple occasions – at least four times in the period from ca. 500 to 100 BC. This conclusion is accepted by most scholars (Kroll 2013: 111). The reasons for the increased standards are potentially multiple: they range from economic and political crises to the adoption of simple weights for greater mercantile efficiency (Tekin 2016: 20).

After all, concrete evidence for the existence of different standards in Athens is provided by the finds of bronze and lead weights from the Agora, among which the variability and (dis)continuity among the symbols in comparison to their value marks has been noted (Lang & Crosby 1964: 18–20). The symbols on weights generally facilitated their identification and use (particularly for the illiterate) in the course of trade. Even though they changed over time, some symbols nonetheless suggest a certain denomination. Symbols of a wheel, astragalos, dolphin (half, quarter-) amphora, (half-) tortoise and half-crescent moon belonged to the Athenian regular weight system based on the 105/110-drachm standard (Lang & Crosby 1964: 6; Hitzl 1996: 108–109).

[7] According to Lang, the stater was the main unit of weight, because it probably expressed the ratio between bronze and silver in Solon's time (105:1), so that the bronze stater represented the quantity of bronze required to purchase one silver stater.

[8] For a consideration and philological interpretation of Chapter 10 of Aristotle's *Athenian Constitution*, see Chambers 1973.

[9] Regarding Andocides' credibility, see the recent articles by Hansen 2016 and Canevaro & Harris 2017.

Fig. 1. Square lead weights from the Greco-Hellenistic collection of the Archaeological Museum in Split (photograph: Tonći Seser).

Seven square lead weights (pl. 1) are preserved in the Greco-Hellenistic collection of the Archaeological Museum in Split. Even though five of them are already known (Fig. 1: 1–5), two additional weights were found during a reexamination of the collection and are published here for the first time (cat. no. 1 and 2, Fig. 2 and 3).[10] Based on the uniformity of the style, symbols, legends and weight standards, all of them undoubtedly belong to the Athenian metrological system. Unfortunately, they lack any data on the context of their discovery, and on the time and circumstances of their acquisition by the Museum. Therefore, whether the weights were found individually or as a group, remains unknown.[11] The earliest among them is certainly the weight bearing an image of an oval shield in relief (cat. no. 1, Fig. 2). This type of weight is exceptionally rare and it is linked typologically to an example in bronze from the earliest set of official weights held in the Tholos in the Athenian Agora, which has been dated to ca. 500 BC (Lang & Crosby 1964: 25, cat. no. 2, Pl. 1: 2). Yet, in contrast with the Athenian example, our specimen does not bear a designation for the state guarantee nor a denominational value, although it may be concluded (on account of its weight) that it is also a quarter-stater (*tetartemorion*). The shield symbol was originally ascribed to the 6th century BC, because it is associated with the symbols of the wheel, astragalos, boukranion, and amphora, that are found on the earliest Athenian weights, and which can also be seen on the *Wappenmünzen*, the earliest Athenian coinage (Tekin 2016: 45). Significantly, the shield was also the symbol of the island of Salamis, which the Athenians had annexed in the first half of the 6th century BC. Therefore, it is possible that its adoption on the earliest weights actually reflected the Athenians' desire to represent the different parts of their city-state (Lang & Crosby 1964: 12). Our weight, based on its preserved weight, belongs to the 105-drachm standard, with a deviation of approximately 6% from the assumed weight of Solon's standard stater (915.6 g). It is believed that, after the reactivation of Solon's system in 403 BC, the shield symbol was discarded and replaced with the symbol of a tortoise for the quarter-stater (Lang & Crosby 1964: 20).

[10] I would like to thank my museum colleagues: senior conservator Borko Vješnica for the conservation of the weights, senior photographer Tonći Seser for the photographs in this essay, and senior preparator Ika Prpa-Stojanac for her practical remarks on the production of lead weights.

[11] Even though in all publications of weights (including the most recent one by Kirigin 2008: 48–53), Salona has been referred to as their likely findspot, and although they are said to have been acquired possibly after the 1930s, this cannot be established with any certainty based on the museum's documentation and inventory logs. Therefore it seems safer to conclude that the provenance of all of the weights featured in this essay is unknown.

Depictions of (sea) turtles and tortoises can be seen on the earliest Athenian 1/6 stater weights, and they are tied to the Aeginetic (Pheidon's) weight system which Solon adapted and introduced into the Euboic-Attic system (Lang & Crosby 1964: 9). The sea turtle is the *parasemon* of the earliest coinage of Aegina, and its replacement on coins by the tortoise (probably *Testudo graeca*) occurred ca. 445 BC (Lewis & Llewellyn-Jones 2018: 651–685). Such a change prompted not only the parallel change of the tortoise symbol on Athenian weights, but also the change of fractions, so that the tortoise began to appear on 1/4 stater weights, which had until then carried the shield symbol (Lang & Crosby 1964: 8–10). Both our examples (Fig. 1: 2, 3)[12] bear relief designations of the quarter-stater (*tetartemorion*), which are harder to discern on the second weight, because the rounded edges have crossed over the letters in the corners. Identical analogies can be found on the weights from the Athenian Agora which belong to the 105-drachm standard, and they appear in dated contexts from the 4th century BC, the late 4th/early 3rd century BC, and the late Hellenistic period (Lang & Crosby 1964: Pl. 7, no. 34, 38, 40, 42). Although the preserved weight of both weights is less than the weight of the assumed stater of the 105-drachm system (variation of 12% for the first weight, and 4.3% for the second), it is unlikely that these weights are linked to some other standard. Instead, it is more likely that their weight decreased over time due to chemical processes, and it is possible that they were used rather extensively and became worn.

The 1/3 stater weight, bearing a depiction of an amphora with the legend *tritemorion* in relief (Fig. 1: 1), may be interpreted in a similar way. Weights with depictions of the early Panathenaic amphorae of types I–III appeared on examples from the Athenian Agora already in the 4th century BC, and most of them were found in a Hellenistic context. These images are followed by those of late Panathenaic amphorae, of which the earliest depictions appeared on New Style coins of the 2nd century BC (Thompson 1962: 301–333). The amphora shown on this weight may have belonged to type II, given that its handles are attached to the vessel below its lip, and not directly to the lip as was the case for the early Panathenaic type III amphorae. Weights with depictions of early Panathenaic amphorae of types I and II are based on the 105-drachm standard (Lang & Crosby 1964: 25), which is also the case in our example, with a preserved weight that varies 11.5% from the weight of the 105 system stater.

Weights bearing a depiction of a crescent moon and a half-crescent moon in relief are also held in Split's Museum. Although they have no legends indicating their weight, the weight with the crescent moon also bears a relief image of a stylized five-pointed star (Fig. 1: 4), while the weight with the half-crescent moon has a visible perforation, which suggests that its weight was adjusted during production, while the metal was still soft (Fig. 1: 5). It is believed that the crescent and half-crescent moon symbols on weights were derived from the Athenian obol, examples of which feature four crescent moons. This leads to the conclusion that the crescent moon symbolized a quarter, and the half-crescent moon an eighth of a given unit, probably a mina. Weights with depictions of the crescent moon have a broad weight range, so they have been divided into two groups: the first encompasses those which in terms of their weight correspond to the quarter mina of the 105-drachm standard, whereas the second group contains several examples with depictions of the crescent moon accompanied by the legend *ἑξημ(όριον)* meaning 1/6 of a mina (Lang & Crosby 1964: 12). Insofar as our weight (Fig. 1: 4) denoted a quarter mina of the 105-drachm standard, its preserved weight would suggest a stater of 655.82 g, which is a deviation over 28% of what would be expected. If so, the weight may have been invalid or potentially falsified even in Antiquity. On the other hand, if it denoted 1/6 of a mina, then the preserved weight would suggest a mina of the 138-drachm standard (491.94 g), with a somewhat smaller deviation of approximately 18%. Thus, weights with depictions of a half-crescent moon are linked to the eighth portion of a mina, and sometimes they also bear a legend *ογδο(ον)*. Since they are closely associated with weights which (besides the aforementioned legend) also bear the image of a cornucopia, it is difficult to tell them apart, particularly if they are heavily worn.[13] In terms of its heaviness, dimensions and type, our weight (Fig. 1: 5) bearing a depiction of a half-crescent moon, although weight-adjusted during its production process, corresponds to weights of the late 5th to 4th

[12] After examining the depictions of tortoises on the weights (Fig. 1: 2 and 3), the senior curator of the Natural History Museum in Split, Dalibor Vladović, M.S., believes that the first weight shows the image of a sea turtle and points out the animal's body structure: its head thrusts far forward in comparison to the legs, while the forelegs resemble fins (Jovanović & Vladović 2015: 55). He believes that the second weight depicts a Hermann's tortoise (*Testudo hermani*) which he explains by the appearance of the forelegs, the position of the head and shell, and the prominent plates on the shell. I am grateful to my colleague for his comments.

[13] This erroneous interpretation of our weight was made by Kirigin 2008: 52: 25.

centuries, which continued to be used into the Hellenistic period, naturally with the higher weight of the mina (Lang & Crosby 1964: 30, no. 54, 55, 57).

This essay is the first publication of the weight bearing the designation *ΔΕΜΟ(σιον)* in relief, but its surface is rather worn, so what is within the small circular stamp (9 mm) in the middle (cat. 2, Fig. 3) cannot be discerned. Based on its weight, it may have corresponded to 1/16 of a stater, just like an example from the Athenian Agora with a virtually identical weight which bears the designation *ἡμισυημιτετ(αρτον)* and has been dated to the late 5th and early 4th century BC (Lang & Crosby 1964: 30, no. 56). It should be emphasized that the stamps of diverse motifs (Dionysus seated on a throne, an owl, amphora, olive branch with kalathos, rosette, cornucopia, thyrsos, etc.) appear on different types of Athenian weights, and they have been associated with the *metronomoi,* the officials whose task was to certify the propriety of weights (Lang & Crosby 1964: 22). The agorae were simultaneously coordinated by the *agoranomoi*, the magistrates charged with maintaining the general order and the maintenance of structures in the marketplaces (Tekin 2016: 31, 32), and the *metronomoi*, who were responsible for the certification of scales and weights. This was in fact a council of ten men, selected by lot, of whom five were in Athens, and five in Piraeus (Vanderpool 1968: 73). Their responsibility was to maintain accurate measures and weights, which facilitated lawful and fair trade. Thus the *metronomoi* checked the weight used by merchants in advance and compared them to official weights on which the designation *δεμόσιον*, just like that on our weight, indicated the legality and state guarantee of their property.

In ending, we may conclude that the group of Greek lead weights from the Archaeological Museum in Split undoubtedly belong to the Attic metrological system, for which there are direct typological/stylistic and weight parallels in the examples from the Athenian Agora. Following an overview of the legends and symbols on the existing weights, a cautious attempt has been made to ascertain certain general criteria for a relative chronology which – based on known changes in weight standards and on a small number of finds from well-defined contexts – may point to an absolute dating. Given that these are decontextualized finds whose symbols are a standard component of the repertoire on Attic weights from the late Archaic period until the Hellenistic era, we may only speculate on how they even came to the Museum. If indeed they were found in the territory of present-day central Dalmatia, either together or separately, this would certainly underscore the Greeks' mercantile interest in the eastern Adriatic seaboard already since the late Archaic period. By this time, regular maritime trade between the northern Adriatic and Greece, which was largely conducted by the Ionian Greeks (Athenians, Aeginians and the Greeks of Asia Minor) had become the norm (Šešelj 2009: 438).

CAT. NO. / INV. NO.	SYMBOL IN RELIEF	LEGEND	WEIGHT OF WEIGHT IN INVENTORY LOG	WEIGHT OF WEIGHT Kirigin 2008	WEIGHT OF WEIGHT IN 2019	WEIGHT OF STATER/ MINA	DATING
Cat. no. 1, H-5667	Shield		216 g		215.46 g	861.84 g	End of 6th – end of 5th c. BC
Cat. no. 2, H-5668		*ΔΕΜΟ(σιον)*	56.37 g		55.94 g	895.04 g	Late 5th – beginning of 4th c. BC
Fig. 1: 1, H-5661	Amphora	*ΤΡΙΤΗ(μόριον)*	273.9 g	276 g	270.21 g	810.63 g	4th c. BC
Fig. 1: 2, H-5663	Tortoise	*ΤΕΤΑΡΤ(ημόριον)*	204.8 g	206 g	201.52 g	806.08 g	4th – beginning of 3rd c. BC
Fig. 1: 3, H-5664	Tortoise	*ΤΕΤΑ(ρτημόριον)*	222.4 g	222 g	219.13 g	876.52 g	4th – beginning of 3rd c. BC
Fig. 1: 4, H-5659	Crescent moon		93.06 g	84 g	81.99 g	/ 491.94 g	Hellenistic era
Fig. 1: 5 H-5662	Half-crescent moon		58.29 g	56 g	55.5 g	/ 444 g	Late 5th/early 4th c. BC

Table. 1. Greek lead weights from the Archaeological Museum in Split with designations of symbols, legends, weights and proposed dating

Catalogue

1. Square lead weight with rounded edges bearing the image of a shield in relief. Inv. no. H-5667 (Fig. 2).
   Length: 3.9 cm, width: 3.7 cm, thickness: 1.5 cm, weight: 215.46 g (equivalent to a stater of 861.84 g)
   Analogies: Lang & Crosby 1964: 25, cat. no. 2.
   Dating: end of the 6th c. – end of the 5th c. BC

Fig. 2. Square lead weight bearing the image of a shield in relief. Obverse & reverse (photograph: Tonći Seser).

2. Square lead weight with rounded edges on which each of the corners contains a Greek letter in relief forming the word *ΔΕΜΟ(σιον)* counter-clockwise. Inv. no. H-5668 (Fig. 3).
   Length: 2.8 cm, width: 2.8 cm, thickness: 0.8 cm, weight: 55.94 g (equivalent to a stater of 895.04 g)
   Analogy: Lang & Crosby 1964: 30, no. 56.
   Dating: late 5th – beginning of the 4th c. BC

Fig. 3. Square lead weight with the inscription ΔΕΜΟ(σιον). Obverse & reverse (photograph: Tonći Seser).

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Engraved gems from Tilurium in the Zagreb Archaeological Museum

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Within the glyptic collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb eight engraved gems and two glass gems from Tilurium are found. A rich but standard iconographic repertoire is attested on them, covering various subjects: Minerva, Eros, a centaur, a satyr, Three Graces, a warrior, a deer, an eagle, a group of symbols and an inscription. Although lacking archaeological context, based on their stylistic and technical characteristics, they can be dated in the period from the end of the 1st century BC to the 2nd century AD.

Key words: *Tilurium, legionary fortress, the Roman province of Dalmatia, engraved gems, glass gems, Roman period*

Introduction

This paper is dedicated to Professor Mirjana Sanader on the occasion of her 65th birthday, in recognition of her career-long scientific achievements and outstanding contributions to the research of *Tilurium* as well as gratitude for her continuous support and mentoring.

A group of eight intaglios and two glass gems from Trilj and Gardun (*Tilurium*), which are part of the glyptic collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, is examined here.[1] However, before analysing the engraved gems, a short introduction to the very site of Tilurium should be given. Tilurium was a Roman legionary fortress built on the location of the present-day village Gardun near Trilj in Croatia, positioned some 30 km in the Salona hinterland and occupying a plateau above the Cetina River (*Hippus*).[2] Despite still not being able to pinpoint the exact date of Roman occupation of the place and consequently their building of the fortress as well, we can certainly connect their military presence in that area with that of the local people of Delmatae (Zaninović 1996a: 282-284; Sanader & Tončinić 2010: 45; Kaić 2014: 70).[3]

1 The glyptic collection from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb numbers some 400 odd Roman engraved gems, which were only partially published. All the gems acquired until 1881, the 127 pieces, were published by F. Maixner (Maixner 1881a; Maixner 1881b). Since then, the gems were published mostly on occasion of being displayed in variously themed exhibitions (Rendić-Miočević 1987: nos. 37, 77, 128, 131, 158, 161; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1993: nos. 213, 214, 216-219, 226, 228, 229; Rendić-Miočević & Kirigin 1995: nos. 3-9; Kaić 2013b). The entire collection of Roman engraved gems was analyzed in the unpublished PhD thesis by the author of this paper (Kaić 2013a). For detailed account on the publications of engraved gems from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, see Kaić 2017: 479, n. 1.

2 In scientific literature during the 19th and early 20th-century different opinions on locating the legionary fortress of Tilurium could be found, but it was not until 1937 that S. Gunjača correctly placed it in the village Gardun near Trilj (Gunjača 1937: 39-46). For legionary fortress of Tilurium, see Zaninović 1996a.

3 For Delmatae see Zaninović 2007a.

Among the Roman military units that were stationed there, Tilurium is best known as the seat of the Seventh legion but again, with uncertain dates of the legion's arrival to the fortress as well as its departure. The Seventh legion was probably stationed in Tilurium at least from the beginning of the 1st century AD, while it left both the fortress and the Roman province of Dalmatia sometime around the middle of the 1st century AD, by then awarded the title of *Claudia Pia Fidelis* (Zaninović 1996a: 284, 287; Tončinić 2004: 148; Sanader & Tončinić 2010: 45-46, n. 54; Tončinić 2011: 11-15; Kaić 2018: 1046).[4] Different auxiliary units replaced the Seventh legion and remained in Tilurium until the middle of the 3rd century AD.[5] Since that period, little is known about the history of Tilurium.[6] The role of Tilurium in the Late Antiquity is least known, although it is worth mentioning that on-going archaeological excavations in the last several years have yielded important new insights in the Late Antiquity in the area once occupied by the legionary fortress of Tilurium.[7]

The undoubted importance of the site of Gardun finally lead to the systematic archaeological excavations of the site, conducted by Professor Mirjana Sanader continuously since 1997.[8]

However, even a long time before the excavations, the site attracted attention of scholars due to a great number of various Roman finds (Kaić 2018: 1046).[9] Among these finds engraved gems stood out, owing to their large number (Nardelli 2012: 130; Kaić 2014: 70). Apart from the engraved gems in the Zagreb Archaeological museum (Maixner 1881a; 1881b; Kaić 2013a), two engraved gems and two glass gems in the Cetina Region Museum (Kaić 2010) as well as four engraved gems from private archaeological collections in Croatia (Kaić 2014), the majority of Gardun gems, 238 pieces in total, are kept in the Archaeological Museum in Split[10] (Nardelli 2011). All the listed gems are stray finds collected mainly during the 19th and 20th centuries. However, two engraved gems were found in course of the archaeological excavations at the excavation area D, where military barracks were revealed (Kaić 2014: 74, n. 38, 40). Several engraved gems from Gardun are kept in the glyptic collections abroad as well.[11] Given data, as well as the current state of research, show that among the Roman military sites in Croatia, the largest number of engraved gems comes from the legionary fortress of Tilurium (Nardelli 2012: 130, n. 3).[12]

4 M. Zaninović (1996a: 284) argued that the first legion stationed in Tilurium was the legio IX Hispana, based on his reading of one inscription, which mentions the veteran Sextus Cornelius (CIL 3: 13977).

5 Given the inscription (CIL 3, 2706=9274), which confirmed that the last unit to leave the fortress in 245 AD was the Cohort VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum (Zaninović 2007b: 182). For list of auxiliary units stationed in Tilurium, see Tončinić 2004: 148.

6 A significant number of epigraphic monuments from Gardun mentioning the beneficiarii was found, thus pointing to the existence of the beneficiary station at the river Cetina (Hippus) crossing (Sanader 1998: 243-244; Zaninović 2007b: 183; Zaninović 2010: 504; Glavaš 2016: 23-24).

7 M. Zaninović suggests that Tilurium during the Late Antiquity could have retained its military role since no large civilian settlement was founded within its former territory (Zaninović 1996b, 270; 2007b, 183; 2011: 504). A civilian settlement named Pons Tiluri was situated around the Hippus river bridge at today's town of Trilj (Gunjača 1937: 42; Zaninović 2011: 501, 504).

8 For archaeological excavations of Tilurium, see Sanader 1998, 243-255; Sanader 2003; Sanader et al. 2004a; Sanader et al. 2004b-2011; Sanader 2014, 17-22.

9 In the Archaeological Museum Split most of the Gardun finds are kept. Another important collection is kept in the Archaeological collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj and the Cetina Region Museum, also in Sinj. The Trilj Regional Museum in Trilj, opened for public in 2006, is now the main institution where all the newly acquired archaeological material from Gardun is placed.

10 Monsignor Frane Bulić was the museum director, who showed constant interest in acquiring and publishing the engraved gems in the museum journal Bullettino di archeologia e storia Dalmata (1879-1929). He was first to publish the engraved gems from Gardun in the glyptic collection of the Split Archaeological Museum. In 2011, the entire Gardun engraved gems collection was published by Bruna Nardelli (Nardelli 2011).

11 In the collection of engraved gems from Dalmatia by Sir Arthur Evans, five are said to come from Tilurium (Hoey Middleton 1991: no. 68, 121,153, 209, 217). One carnelian from Gardun is found in the glyptic collection of Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, with the finding site incorrectly spelled as "Gordun" (AGWien I: 152, no. 491, pl. 81)

12 For glyptics in Croatia see Nardelli 2011: 1, n. 4 and Nardelli 2012: 133-134, n. 3.

The iconographic repertoire on the engraved gems from Gardun and Trilj

As mentioned above, within the glyptic collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb three intaglios come from Gardun (*Tilurium*). To that number, we can add five more intaglios, which were found it the area of Trilj. All were acquired for the Museum as stray finds. They cover a wide iconographic range, without any repetition of motifs, including Graeco-Roman divinities, mythological figures, animals, symbols and one inscription as well.

An amethyst[13] from Trilj (Fig. 1) is engraved with the figure of Eros in three-quarter profile to left, holding a torch turned downwards in his right hand and a butterfly in his left hand (Maixner 1881a: 78, no. 12; Kaić 2013a: 172, no. 66). The iconography of Eros burning a butterfly, belonging to the Eros-Psyche cycle, was frequently found on engraved gems during both Republican and Imperial periods (Magni 2009: 72). Besides being connected to the realms of love and sexuality, this imagery also referred to the funerary sphere with butterfly representing the soul of a deceased person (Schwartz 1999: 18; Platt 2007: 93, no. 5; Kaić 2018: 1047). The analogies for our motive can be found on the carnelian from Gadara (Henig & Whiting 1987: 20, no. 168), and garnet from Verona (Magni 2009: 75-76, no. 274, pl. 18), both showing Eros holding a torch beneath the butterfly. For the position of Eros' body, we can cite a glass gem from the Ashmolean Museum (Henig & MacGregor 2004: 51, no. 3.36) with Eros chasing a butterfly, but without holding a torch. According to the stylistic and technical characteristics, our amethyst can be dated to the 1st century AD.

Fig. 1. Eros burning a butterfly; an amethyst, Archaeological museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 219/18 (photo: I. Kaić).

A banded carnelian[14] from Gardun (Fig. 2) is engraved with a centaur in three-quarter profile to left, with front legs slightly raised and with both arms either outstretched forwards or lifted wide apart. Behind the centaur, there is a hardly recognizable object, perhaps a thyrsus. Though no exact iconographic analogy could be detected, we can mention a glass gem from Aquileia showing a centaur with raised front legs and with arms stretched wide apart, holding a branch (Sena Chiesa 1966: 195, no. 419, pl. 21). A glass gem from Göttingen (AGDS III Göttingen: 118, no. 293, pl. 54), moulded with a centaur playing the auloi and holding a thyrsus, can be cited for stylistic parallels, based on which our carnelian can be dated to the 1st and 2nd century AD.

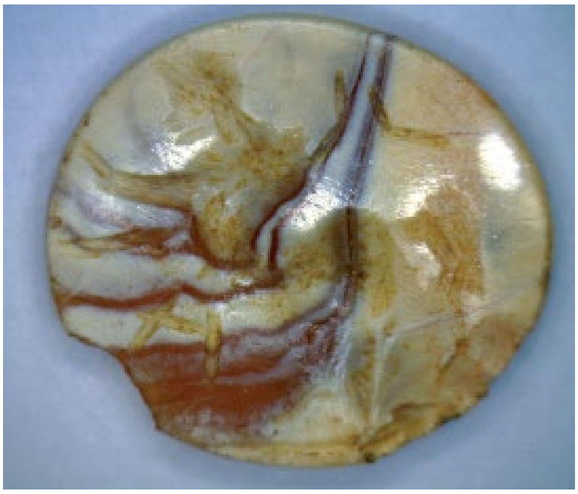

Fig. 2. A centaur; banded carnelian, Archaeological museum in Zagreb, inv. no. A-15954 (photo: I. Kaić).

13 Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, Inv. no. 219/18; shape 6; 9,07 x 7,2 x 3,87 mm (the shape of all intaglios is determined according to AGWien I: 15, Fig. c and Mandrioli Bizzari 1987: 30, pl. 2). Bought from Matija Latinac, from Trilj.

14 Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, Inv. no. A-15954; shape 8; 11,00 x 10,00 x 2,00 mm. Unpublished. Bought in 1910 from Mate Žuljević, from Trilj.

Fig. 3. A warrior; banded agate, Archaeological museum in Zagreb, inv. no. A-15935 (photo: I. Kaić).

Fig. 4. Minerva; a carnelian, Archaeological museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 217/34 (photo: I. Kaić).

A banded agate[15] (Fig. 3) from Trilj is engraved with figure of a kneeling warrior in three-quarter profile to left (Maixner 1881a: 79, no. 19; Kaić 2013a: 187, no. 103). A warrior is shown naked, holding in his left outstretched arm a rounded shield, placed left of him. A sword handle is hanging from his back. This particular motif of a warrior belongs to the so-called Capaneus type (Spier 1992: 78, no. 167). It was already well attested on the Etruscan scarabs and continued to be used on the Italic gems of the late-Republican period (Toso 2007: 111-112; Magni 2009, 122). Banded agates from the J. Paul Getty Museum (Spier 1992: 78, no. 167) and Fréjus (Guiraud 1988: 141, no. 469, pl. 32) as well as one sardonyx from the Nürnberg collection (AGNürnberg: 103, no. 231, pl. 32) provide the closest iconographic parallels for the Tilurium piece. In addition to these intaglios, one can mention a glass gem from the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (AGWien II: 55, no. 747, pl. 28). Stylistic and technical characteristics of our intaglio, reflected in the use of pellets for the nose, eyes and knees of the warrior, allow us to date it in the 1st century BC. It seems that the story of Theban hero was well-liked by the soldiers garrisoned in Tilurium, for one more engraved gems featuring Capaneus is known. A carnelian from the Archaeological Museum in Split, also dated in the 1st century BC, exhibits a rare motif of Capaneus mounting the ladder in an attempt to take over the city walls of Thebes (Nardelli 2010: 163-164).

Among female Graeco-Roman deities, only a goddess Minerva is represented in this small collection. On the carnelian[16] (Fig. 4) from Trilj (Maixner 1881b: 117, no. 89; Kaić 2013a: 198, no. 13), the goddess is standing frontally with head in profile to right, dressed in long chiton, holding a patera in her left hand and a spear in her right slightly raised arm, with a shield on the ground. The whole figure of the goddess is elongated, which corresponds with a somewhat larger size of the intaglio. A similar iconography of this variant of Athena Parthenos type (Magni 2009: 53) is shown on one sardonyx from the Sa'd collection (Henig & Whiting 1987: 18, no. 146), while stylistic and technical analogies can be traced on the carnelian in the Braunschweig collection (AGDS III Braunschweig: 22, no. 48, pl. 7). Accordingly, our carnelian can be dated to the 1st century AD.

[15] Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, Inv. no. A-15935; shape 8; 14,5 x 11,00 x 3,00 mm. Bought from Matija Latinac, from Trilj.

[16] Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, Inv. no. 217/34; shape 8; 14,91 x 10,51 x 4,02 mm. Bought from Matija Latinac, from Trilj.

A prasio[17] (Fig. 5) is engraved with figures of Three Graces dancing embraced. The left Grace is shown frontally with head in three-quarter to left, the central Grace is depicted from the back, with her head in profile to left and with both hands embracing the other two Graces around their shoulders. The right Grace is carved frontally with head in three-quarter to right, holding two ears of corn in her left hand. In the Roman view, a charming trio embodied not only the female beauty and grace but also fertility, marital unity and prosperity (Milleker 1988: 69; Francis 2002: 197). The same iconographic layout is found on the green and brown jasper from the Sa'd collection (Henig & Whiting 1987: 28, no. 272). For stylistic and technical characteristic one can mention the carnelian from the Hungarian National Museum, depicting the goddess Minerva (Gesztelyi 2000: 52, no. 84). A prasio from Tilurium belongs to the group of so-called "Kleine Praser", the green-colored translucent chalcedonies distinctive for their small dimensions, convex shape and classicizing motifs of Late Hellenistic and Augustan tradition (Platz-Horster 2010). This particular group of engraved gems is mostly dated throughout the 1st century AD, with some pieces belonging to the end of the 1st century BC or the early 2nd century AD (Sena Chiesa 1966: 54; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 196; Henig 2007³: 8, 10; Platz-Horster 2010: 191).

Fig. 5. Three Graces; green translucent chalcedony, Archaeological museum in Zagreb, inv. no. A-15942 (photo: I. Kaić).

Fig. 6. A resting deer; a chalcedony, Archaeological museum in Zagreb, inv. no. A-15948 (photo: I. Kaić).

A chalcedony[18] from Trilj (Fig. 6) is engraved with the figure of a seated deer or a goat in profile to the left with its head facing the opposite direction (Kaić 2013a: 240, no. 235). Behind the animal some sort of vegetation, a shrubbery or perhaps a little tree, is carved. There are several examples that can be cited for iconographic analogies, with intaglios depicting either a deer (Gesztelyi 2001, str. 66, 86, App. 14; Henig 2007³, str. 196, 238, App. 28, t. 24) or a goat (Sena Chiesa 1978: 118, no. 137, pl. 19; AGWien III: 97, no. 1880, pl. 43).[19] Stylistic and technical features, most notable in skilful yet delicate modelling of the animal, place our intaglio in the 1st century AD.

A chipped carnelian[20] from Gardun (Fig. 7) is engraved with the figure of an eagle in three-quarter profile to the left, perching on the boar head, which is shown in profile to the left (Maixner 1881a: 111, no. 51; Kaić 2013a: 245, no. 249). Closest iconographic and stylistic parallels come from the glass gems (Imhoof-Blumer & Keller 1889: 128, no. 47, pl. 20; Richter 1956: 111, no. 521, pl. 62; AGDS I, 3: 197, no. 3413, pl. 323). This particular motif, well known from the Roman bronze figurines in variants with an eagle

[17] Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, Inv. no. A-15942; shape 1; 10,73 x 9,03 x 3,96 mm. Bought from Matija Latinac in Trilj.

[18] Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, Inv. no. A-15948; shape 8; 12,00 x 10,00 x 1,50 mm. Unpublished. Bought in 1911 from Mate Žuljević, from Trilj.

[19] For resting deers on engraved gems see Henig 2007³: 167-168, 233, nos. 616-617, pl. 19.

[20] Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, Inv. no. 227/83; shape 8; 11,84 x 10,57 x 2,19 mm. Unpublished. The intaglio is chipped in the left upper part.

Fig. 7. An eagle perching on the boars' head; a carnelian, Archaeological museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 227/83 (photo: I. Kaić).

Fig. 8. A group of symbols; black mottled jasper, Archaeological museum in Zagreb, inv. no. A-15922 (photo: I. Kaić).

standing on the head of a dear, stag, bear or ram, is probably associated with Oriental cults (Richter 1956: 111, no. 521; Warden 1997: 56-57, no. 187). A carnelian from Tilurium can be dated to the 2nd half of the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD.

A black mottled jasper[21] from Gardun (Fig. 8) is engraved with modius containing an ear of corn and two cornucopiae, with a weighing scale on top of the basket (Kaić 2013a: 260, no. 290). A motif of modius with a pair of scales is well represented on the Roman engraved gems, with modius usually filled with ears of corns and poppy heads, often grouped together (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986: 38-39, no. 79; AGNürnberg: 154, no. 429, pl. 59; Dembski 2005: 155, nos. 1039-1040; Henig 2007³: 142, 258, no. 404, pl. 44). A jasper from Tilurium shows a small iconographic peculiarity, with cornucopiae added instead of the poppy heads. According to the stylistic and technical elements, our intaglio can be dated to the 1st century AD.

Glass gems from Gardun

The Zagreb Archaeological Museum collection also holds two glass gems from Gardun, stray finds again.

A glass gem[22] from Gardun (Fig. 9) is moulded with a figure of satyr standing in a three-quarter profile to the left. On his raised right leg, a young child with outstretched arms is lying, to whom a satire is playing the flute. In a small child, perhaps a baby Dionysus can be recognized (Platz-Horster 1987: 10-11, no. 17). It is important to note that direct iconographic and stylistic analogies are found on glass gem from Berg - Xanten, where the Roman legionary fortress of Vetera I was located (Platz-Horster 1987: 11, no. 18, pl. 3). The Xanten glass gem is dated to the end of the 1st century BC to the beginning of the 1st century AD, the same chronological frame in which a Tilurium piece should be placed.

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21 Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, Inv. no. A-15922; shape 8; 11,76 x 9,35 x 2,00 mm. Unpublished. Bought in 1911 from Mate Žuljević.

22 Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, Inv. no. 222; a glass gem as an imitation of nicolo, shape 8; 11,29 x 9,4 x 1,63 mm. Unpublished. Bought in 1910 from Mate Žuljević, from Trilj.

23 Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, Inv. no. A-15957; yellow transparent glass; shape 10; 6,5 x 8,3 x 1,3 mm. Bought in 1911 from Mate Žuljević, from Trilj.

24 For rebellion of Lucius Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus, governor of Dalmatia, see Parat 2016.

Fig. 9. A satyr; glass imitating a nicolo, Archaeological museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 222 (photo: I. Kaić).

Fig. 10. An inscription; glass gem, Archaeological museum in Zagreb, inv. no. A-15957 (photo: I. Kaić).

The second yellow glass gem[23] from Gardun (Fig. 10) is bearing a retrograde inscription HAVE (Kaić 2013a: 303, no. 399; Kaić 2017: 483). The closest analogy can be found on another yellow glass gem from Resnik (*Siculi*) in Croatia. This glass gem, with an inscription HAV, is set in a bronze ring (Kamenjarin 2011: 147, 149, no. 3818). It is worth mentioning that Claudius founded a veterans' colony of Siculi as a reward for soldiers of the *legio VII* and *legio XI*, who pledged their allegiance to the emperor during the Scribonianus' rebellion (Zaninović 1996: 215).[24] Similar greyish glass gem with the inscription HAVI comes from Vendeuil-Caply in France and is dated to the mid-first century CE, based on the context of the find (Guiraud 1988: 192, no. 928, pl. 61).

Conclusion

Although not many in number, the engraved gems from Tilurium in the Zagreb Archaeological Museum offer a wide, although standard iconographic repertoire. Among the eight engraved gems and two glass gems, each piece carries a separate motif: Minerva, Eros, a centaur, a satyr, Three Graces, a warrior, a deer, an eagle, a group of symbols and an inscription. Most of the motifs fit nicely with the military nature of the site. However, a gem engraved with Three Graces points more towards a woman as being its owner, than a soldier.

The gems in the collection bear evidence of various stylistic and technical characteristics, which allow them to be dated to the period from the end of the 1st century BC to the 2nd century AD. One engraved gem and one glass gem are dated to the late-Republican period (Fig. 3, 9). One carnelian (Fig. 7) belongs to the end of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD. Five engraved gems (Fig. 1, 4-6, 8) and the other glass gem (Fig. 10) can be dated to the 1st century AD. The remaining engraved gem (Fig. 2) belongs to the 1st - 2nd centuries AD.

We can conclude that this small but interesting collection of gems from Tilurium adds to our knowledge of rich glyptic corpus from that important Roman military site in Croatia.

Abbreviations

AGDS I, 3 — E. Brandt, W. Gercke, A. Krug, E. Schmidt, *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen. Band I: Staatliche Münzsammlung München, Teil 3: Gemmen und Glaspasten der römischen Kaiserzeit sowie Nachträge*, München, 1972.

AGDS III Braunschweig — V. Scherf, *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen. Band III. Die Gemmensammlung im Herzog-Anton-Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig*, Wiesbaden, 1970.

AGDS III Göttingen	P. Gercke, *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen. Band III. Die Gemmensammlung im Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen*, Wiesbaden, 1970.
AGNürnberg	C. Weiss, *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen. Band V. Die antiken Gemmen in Sammlung Friedrich Julius Rudolf Bergau im Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg,* Nürnberg,1996.
AGWien I	E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien. Band I: Die Gemmen von der minoischen Zeit bis zur frühen römischen Kaiserzeit*, München, 1973.
AGWien II	E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien. Band II: Die Glasgemmen. Die Glaskameen*, München, 1979.
AGWien III	E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien. Band III: Die Gemmen der späteren römischen Kaiserzeit, Teil 2: Masken, Masken - Kombinationen, Phantasie- und Märchentiere, Gemmen mit Inschriften, Christliche Gemme, Magische Gemmen, Sasanidische Siegel, Rundplastik aus Edelstein und verwandten Material, Kameen*, München, 1991.
CIL 3	*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum, vol. 3. Inscriptiones Asiae, provinciarum Graecarum, Illyrici*, Berlin, 1902.

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Ein spätantiker Sarkophag in Batumi/Georgien

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Im State Museum von Ajara, Batumi, wird ein Sarkophag aufbewahrt, der zwar eine handwerklich einfache Arbeit darstellt, aber in Georgien ein völliges Einzelstück ist und auch in Kleinasien keine Parallelen hat. Er ist vielleicht im 6. Jh. hergestellt worden, in einer Zeit, als unter Kaiser Justinian I. bei den Auseinandersetzungen mit den Sasaniden in Kolchis Städte und Festungen errichtet oder verstärkt worden sind. Fraglich ist, wie die Löcher im Kasten und die Zweiteilung des Deckels zu erklären sind. Die gemachten Vorschläge können richtig sein oder nicht; in jedem Fall ist der Sarkophag ein für Kolchis außergewöhnliches Zeit der Skulptur der Spätantike.

Schlüsselwörter: *Sarkophage, frühchristlich – Sarkophage, spätantik – Sarkophage, Georgien – Georgien, Sarkophage – Batumi, Museum, Sarkophag*

Im Khariton Akhvlediani Museum von Adscharien in Batumi (Georgien) wird ein Sarkophag aufbewahrt, der zwar eine recht grobe Arbeit zeigt, aber ein außergewöhnliches Beispiel seiner Gattung ist (Abb. 1–7).[1] Über die Fundumstände sowie seine ehemalige Aufstellung und Verwendung ist nichts bekannt.[2] Als Material ist ein grober Kalkstein mit großen Einschlüssen verwendet worden. Der Kasten ist grob behauen. An beiden Langseiten sind je zwei Löcher vorhanden, die sorgfältig gebohrt sind (Abb. 1). Ihr Zweck ist fraglich. Es wird sich kaum um Öffnungen handeln, die eingemeißelt worden sind, um den Kasten als Brunnen wiederverwenden zu können. Im Inneren des Kastens ist – bei der heutigen Aufstellung des Sarkophages im Museum – links ein flaches „Kopfkissen" vorhanden (Abb. 6). Bei kaiserzeitlichen Sarkophagen ist ein derartiges „Kissen" häufig zu finden, allerdings wohl immer rechts.[3] Der Deckel ist gewölbt. Ungewöhnlicher Weise ist – bei der derzeitigen Aufstellung – der linke Teil gesondert gearbeitet (Abb. 1. 6. 7). Wie er angesetzt war, bleibt offen. Denn Dübel-Löcher für eine Verklammerung sind nicht vorhanden. Es weist auch nichts darauf hin, dass der Teil neuzeitlich abgesägt worden ist.

Am Rande des Deckels läuft ein leicht erhabener Rahmen um (Abb. 2–5). Die Oberfläche des kleinen Teiles ist stark beschädigt; dort ist von der Rahmung nichts zu erkennen (Abb. 7). Die Fläche des Deckels

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Besonderer Dank gilt Frau Prof. Dr. Nino Lordkipanidze, die den Besuch des Museums in Batumi im Rahmen einer Rundreise ermöglicht sowie auch Kollegen/innen kontaktiert hat, um Desiderate zu klären. Dem Direktor des Museums, Dr. Otar Gogolischvili, sei für Photo- und Publikations-Genehmigung gedankt.

1 Inv. Nr. ADM N 42. – Kasten: Höhe 0,39, Länge 1,96, Tiefe 0,73 m; Deckel: Höhe 0,35, Länge 1,71, Tiefe 0,72 m; Deckel-Fragment: Höhe 0,34, Länge 0,36, Tiefe 0,70 m.

2 Der Sarkophag wurde im Jahre 1938 aus Alme, Bezirk Khulo, in das Museum gebracht. Wo er in dem Dorf gestanden hat, lässt sich nicht mehr feststellen.

3 Derartige „Kissen" sind häufig zu finden, werden vielfach beschrieben, sind allerdings selten dokumentiert: Walker 1990: Abb. 1 A. C; 2 A. C; 3 C; Taf. 2, 6d; Koch 1993: 26 f. Abb. 14.

wird durch ein Kreuz in vier Kompartimente geteilt, in denen jeweils ein Steinbock abgebildet ist. Die Arme des Kreuzes verbreitern sich an den Enden nicht. Es ist also die Frage, ob tatsächlich ein „Kreuz" gemeint ist oder ob es sich lediglich um einen Rahmen handelt. Der Sarkophag ist aber eindeutig spätantik, also in einer Zeit entstanden, als das Christentum vorherrschte. Weiterhin ist der ebenso eindeutig in einer lokalen Werkstatt hergestellt worden, weit entfernt von Konstantinopel. So wird man annehmen dürfen, dass der „Rahmen" durchaus als „Kreuz" verstanden worden ist.

Abb. 1–5. Batumi, Khariton Akhvlediani Museum von Adscharien: Spätantiker Sarkophag (Photo G. Koch).

Um die Besonderheiten des Sarkophages deutlich zu machen, muss etwas ausgeholt werden. In der römischen Kaiserzeit gab es drei Zentren der Herstellung von Sarkophagen, nämlich Rom, Athen und Dokimeion.[4] Ihre Produkte waren nicht nur auf die jeweilige Stadt und ihre Umgebung beschränkt, sondern wurden weithin exportiert, allerdings in unterschiedlicher Anzahl sowie in verschiedene Gegenden. Sowohl in Rom wie in Kleinasien sind mit Reliefs geschmückte Sarkophage bereits im 1. und frühen 2. Jh. n. Chr. angefertigt worden, wenn auch nur in geringer Anzahl.[5] Die „Hauptproduktion" setzte in Rom ca. 110/20

[4] Koch & Sichtermann 1982: 35–275 (Rom). 366–475 (Athen). 497–509 (Dokimeion); Koch 1993: 62–96 (Rom). 97–112 (Athen). 113–122 (Dokimeion); Koch 2010: 2–9, 38–46, 78–80.

[5] Rom: Brandenburg 1978; Koch & Sichtermann 1982: 36–41; Ambrogi *et al.* 2008: 182–184 Nr. 101–102; Palmentieri 2013; Gasparri 2013. – Kleinasien: Koch & Sichtermann 1982: 480–484; Koch 2010: 1. 37. 77 f.


Abb. 6–7. Batumi, Khariton Akhvlediani Museum von Adscharien: Spätantiker Sarkophag (Photo G. Koch).

und in Athen sowie Dokimeion ca. 120/30 n. Chr. ein. Die verheerenden Einfälle der Sasaniden seit 249 n. Chr. in die Provinzen Syria und Palaestina und dann in das südliche und mittlere Kleinasien sowie der Goten und anderer germanischer Stämme in das nordwestliche und westliche Kleinasien brachten es mit sich, dass sowohl in Athen wie in Dokimeion die Infrastruktur zusammenbrach (zuletzt Koch 2017). Denn die Werkstätten hingen vom Export ab. Für Dokimeion dürfte es im gesamten Kleinasien kaum noch Auftraggeber gegeben haben. Für Athen fielen die Provinzen Syria, Palaestina und Aegyptus sowie die Städte des östlichen Teiles der Südküste, bis hin nach Anemurion, und die nordwestlichen und nördlichen Teile Kleinasiens als Abnehmer aus.

Vor allem in Rom, aber auch in einigen Provinzen des Westens wurden weiterhin Sarkophage hergestellt. Seit ca. 270/80 n. Chr. setzten Exemplare mit biblischen Themen ein (Koch 2000: 226–249.). Unter Kaiser Konstantin ist 310/15 n. Chr. ein schneller und völliger Wandel festzustellen (Koch 2000: 249–281). Von sehr wenigen Ausnahmen abgesehen (Koch & Sichtermann 1982: 259; Koch 2000: 346–353.), tragen alle späteren Sarkophage biblische Themen. Wahrscheinlich im frühen 5. Jh. endete die Produktion in Rom.[6]

Obwohl sich die politische und wirtschaftliche Situation in den Provinzen im Osten des Reiches im späten 3. Jh. n. Chr. wieder besserte, gab es weder in Athen noch in Dokimeion Bildhauer, die Sarkophage herstellen konnten, und möglicherweise fehlte auch die Nachfrage. Denn offensichtlich hatten sich in den östlichen Teilen des Reiches die Sitten weitgehend geändert, in völligem Gegensatz zu Rom und dem Westen. Große Sarkophage aus Stein wurden nur noch sehr selten und aufwändige, mit figürlichen Reliefs versehene Stücke gar nicht mehr in Auftrag gegeben. Die Gründe für diesen Wechsel kennen wir nicht, er lässt sich aber eindeutig an den erhaltenen Monumenten ablesen (Deckers & Koch 2018: 109 f.). Für das private Grab wurden nur sehr selten größere Mittel ausgegeben. Stattdessen wurde Geld für den Bau von Kirchen und ihre Ausstattung zur Verfügung gestellt.[7]

Nur in Konstantinopel, der neuen Hauptstadt des Reiches seit 330 n. Chr., sind figürlich geschmückte Sarkophage aus Marmor und vor allem Kalkstein hergestellt worden, und zwar ab ca. 370/80 n. Chr (Koch 2000: 399–443; Deckers & Koch 2018: 1–18.). Zumindest seit um 400 n. Chr. wurde zunehmend auf figürliche Szenen verzichtet. Als Schmuck dienten Kreuze, dazu manchmal dekoratives Beiwerk und in wenigen Fällen Tiere, die ein Kreuz verehren oder auf ein Mittelmotiv ausgerichtet sind.[8] Sogar Sarkophage, die aufgrund des verwendeten Materials eindeutig für Angehörige der kaiserlichen Familie bestimmt waren, tragen lediglich Kreuze.[9] In den Provinzen auf dem Balkan, in Kleinasien sowie im Vorderen Orient sind ebenfalls nur Kreuze als Schmuck der Sarkophage verwendet worden. In Dalmatia ist eine Anzahl auf

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6 Koch 2000: 332–335. – Andere Vorschläge: Brandenburg 2002; Brandenburg 2004.

7 Siehe z.B.: Koch 2007: 206–319 (eine Auswahl an Kirchen und anderen spätantiken Bauten im Gebiet der heutigen Türkei; dazu kommen zahlreiche neue Funde); Haensch 2017. – Zur Situation im Westen des Reiches: Brown 2017; Brown 2018.

8 z. B. Koch 2000: 411–415 Taf. 99–101. 105. 106. 120. 121. 195. 197. 199–201; Deckers & Koch 2018: 9 f. 118 Nr. 176; 126 Nr. 241 Taf. 65, 2.

9 Koch 2000: 420–435; Deckers & Koch 2018: Taf. 36, 2; 37. 38, 2–3 und viele andere.

der Insel Brattia aus dem dort anstehenden Kalkstein hergestellt worden (Koch 2000: 550 f. Abb. 82 Taf. 204; Cambi 2002; Cambi 2004). Im heutigen Albanien stammt ein einziger Kasten in Dyrrhachium aus frühchristlicher Zeit, der ebenfalls aus lokalem Kalkstein besteht.[10] In Griechenland sind lokale Exemplare auf Ithaka und Rhodos, ein wiederverwendeter Kasten in Tegea[11] sowie Importe aus Konstantinopel in Nikopolis, auf Naxos sowie wahrscheinlich auf Rhodos zu nennen. [12]

Im gesamten Kleinasien ist ein einziges Fragment aus Marmor erhalten, das eine figürliche Szene mit christlicher Thematik zeigt. Es hat vorzügliche Qualität und dürfte aus Konstantinopel stammen, also zur hauptstädtischen Produktion gehören.[13] Drei Exemplare in Kilikien, die aus lokalem Kalkstein bestehen und im späten 4. Jh. n. Chr. hergestellt worden sein werden, sind zwar mit figürlichen Szenen versehen; sie haben aber keine christliche Thematik.[14] Alle übrigen Sarkophage in Kleinasien tragen lediglich Kreuze und manchmal zusätzlich dekoratives Beiwerk. In den Provinzen des Vorderen Orients sind sehr wenige Sarkophage erhalten; sie haben Kreuze als Schmuck.[15] Ein einziges Fragment, das aus Syria stammen dürfte, trägt eine figürliche Darstellung; es ist aber nicht sicher, ob es zu einem Sarkophag oder einer Schrankenplatte gehört (Privatbesitz, Deckers & Koch 2018: 141 f. Nr. 302 Taf. 83, 1.).

Für eine zeitliche Einordnung des Sarkophages in Batumi gibt es keinerlei Anhaltspunkte. Es können nur einige allgemeine Überlegungen angestellt werden. Aus dem Gebiet des heutigen Georgien und in georgischen Kirchen in der nordwestlichen Türkei ist eine größere Anzahl an Reliefs erhalten.[16] Jedoch finden sich für Darstellung und Stil des Sarkophages in Batumi keine Parallelen unter ihnen. Eine Datierung in das Mittelalter (11./12. Jh.), wie sie in der Beschriftung im Museum in Batumi vorgeschlagen wird, findet also keine Bestätigung. Die vor-konstantinische Zeit dürfte nicht in Frage kommen. In Kleinasien gibt es einige Grabreliefs, die speziell für Christen angefertigt worden sind und durch ihre Inschriften eindeutig in das 3. Jh. n.Chr. gehören.[17] Zwei Sarkophage in Konya sind ebenfalls im dritten Jh. von Christen verwendet worden, wie die Inschriften zeigen.[18] Ihre Darstellungen stehen aber völlig in der Tradition paganer Sarkophage. Aus der ersten Hälfte des 4. Jhs., vielleicht den Jahren 335/40 n. Chr., stammt der Sarkophag des Bischofs Eugenios von Laodikeia Katakekaumene.[19] Wie pagane Exemplare ist er mit einer Tabula mit Inschrift versehen.

In Konstantinopel setzten die mit Kreuzen geschmückten Sarkophage um 400 n. Chr. ein (Koch 2000: 411–415; Deckers & Koch 2018: 9 f). Frühere Exemplare sind auch in den Provinzen Kleinasiens nicht nachzuweisen. Die – insgesamt recht wenigen – Stücke in Kleinasien lassen sich nur ganz allgemein in das 5. –6. Jh. einordnen (Koch 2000: 559–571; Deckers & Koch 2018: 109–117). Zu den spätesten dürfte das einzige Exemplar gehören, das durch seine Inschrift datiert ist, und zwar in die Jahre 591/92 n. Chr.[20]

[10] Durres, Museum: Koch 1988: bes. 255 Nr. 31 Taf. 101, 2–4.

[11] Koch 2000: s. Register 646. 652. 659 Taf. 195; Deckers & Koch 2018: 94 f. Nr. 166 Taf. 57, 5.

[12] Nikopolis: Chalkia 2004; Deckers & Koch 2018: 94 Nr. 164 Taf. 57, 3. – Naxos: Lambertz 2007; Deckers & Koch 2018: 93 Nr. 163 Taf. 57, 2. – Rhodos: Deckers & Koch 2018: 94 Nr. 165 Taf. 57,4.

[13] Berlin, SMBK Inv. 3234: Koch 2000: s. Register 641; Deckers & Koch 2018: 86 f. Nr. 153 Taf. 53. – Ein Neufund ist ein Fragment aus Marmor, das ein Kreuz in einem Blattkranz trägt, aus der Nähe von Amastris – Amasra: unpubl. (Arkeoloji Haberleri 2018).

[14] Ehemals in Adrassos (Balabolu), jetzt zerstört: Deckers & Koch 2018: 114 f. Taf. 76 f.

[15] Koch 2000: 576–579 Abb. 86 Taf. 208; s. Register 645; Koch 2012; Deckers & Koch 2018: 137 f. Nr. 290 Taf. 96, 1–2.

[16] Zusammenstellung des Materials: Dadiani *et al.* 2017. – D. Mindorashvili. Archäologisches Zentrum, Georgisches Nationalmuseum, Mittelalter-Archäologe und Kenner der mittelalterlichen Skulptur Georgiens, schließt ebenfalls eine Datierung in das Mittelalter aus (mündl. Hinweis).

[17] z.B. Gibson 1978: 12–36 Nr. 3–5. 8–15; Sotheby's 1990: lot 425; Marek 2000; Drew-Bear *et al.* 2007: 312–329 (Inv. 9574. 8270. 6558. 9573. 10624. 12. 398. 51).

[18] Konya, Archäol. Museum, Inv. 1988.5.2, und Ethnogr. Museum, Inv. 1997. 23.1: McLean 2002: 59 f. Nr. 181 Abb. 211–212; Özgan 2003: 72 f. Kat. 28; 88 f. Inschrift 3 (E. Schwertheim), Taf. 56. 65, 3; 79 Kat. 35; 91 Inschrift 7 (E. Schwertheim), Taf. 62. 66, 5; Deckers & Koch 2018: 124 Nr. 224. 226 Taf. 79 (dabei wird allerdings vorausgesetzt, dass sich δώσι θεῷ λόγον und δώσει τῷ θεῷ λόγον in den Inschriften tatsächlich auf den Gott der Christen beziehen).

[19] Laodikeia: Koch 2000: 564 f. Abb. 84, 1; Deckers & Koch 2018: 127 f. Nr. 246 Abb. 24 Taf. 72, 1–2.

[20] Afyon, Archäologisches Museum, Inv. 1440 (aus Amorion): Koch 2000: s. Register 639 Taf. 197; Deckers & Koch 2008: 117 Nr. 175 Taf. 65, 3.

Das Gebiet von Kolchis, das westliche Georgien, war zwischen Byzantinern und Sasaniden umstritten. Zur Abwehr der Sasaniden wurden unter Kaiser Justinian um 540 n.Chr. mehrere Festungen ausgebaut und gewaltig verstärkt (Prok., ktism. III 7, 5–9; Prokop, Pers. II 29, 15–18). Das lässt sich beispielsweise in Petra, direkt an der Küste des Schwarzen Meeres auf einem hohen Felsen gelegen (Prok., ktism. III 7, 6; Plontke-Lüning 2007: 103, Katalog 253 Taf. 180), oder, besonders eindrucksvoll, in Archaiopolis – Nokalakevi sehen (Everill 2014).

Eine Möglichkeit wäre, dass in dieser Zeit der besonders engen Verbindungen von Kolchis mit dem Byzantinischen Reich eine hochgestellte Persönlichkeit, die vielleicht sogar in byzantinischen Diensten stand, den Sarkophag mit dem mit Relief geschmückten Deckel in Auftrag gegeben hat, der jetzt in Batumi steht. Diese Person könnte ein Exemplar dieser Gattung irgendwo, vielleicht in Kleinasien, möglicherweise auch in Konstantinopel, gesehen haben und dann für sein eigenes Grabmal ein Stück hat anfertigen lassen. Bildhauer, die Sarkophage kannten, standen nicht zur Verfügung, und auch der Auftraggeber hatte nur allgemeine Vorstellungen, wie ein Sarkophag geschmückt werden könnte. So ließ er auf dem im Verhältnis zum Kasten recht hohen Deckel die ihm vertrauten Steinböcke abbilden.

Auch wenn diese Überlegungen nicht richtig sind, dürfte man den Sarkophag in Batumi kaum anders als in das späte 5. oder – mit größerer Wahrscheinlichkeit – in das 6. Jh. n. Chr. datieren können.

Denkbar ist auch eine andere Möglichkeit. Beim Sarkophag in Batumi bieten zum einen die auf Vorder- und Rückseite sauber gebohrten Öffnungen, zum anderen die Teilung des Deckels, die ohne Parallelen sind, besondere Probleme. Könnte es sich um einen Sarkophag handeln, in dem eine für heilig angesehene Person bestattet war? Vielleicht wurde der kleine Teil des Deckels am Kopfende zu gewissen Anlässen abgenommen, um den Blick auf die Reliquien, die in Tücher eingewickelt gewesen sein werden, freizugeben. Möglicherweise konnten bei dieser Gelegenheit auch Kontakt-Reliquien hergestellt werden. Bei zahlreichen frühchristlichen Reliquiaren aus Stein sind am Deckel und Kasten Öffnungen vorhanden. So konnte durch den Deckel Öl in den Kasten gegossen werden. Es berührte die Knochen, die im Kasten lagen, und floss auf der Vorder- oder einer Nebenseite wieder heraus. Dort konnte es von Pilgern in kleinen Flaschen abgefüllt werden, die aus Ton, Glas oder Metall bestanden.[21] Für den Sarkophag des Heiligen Sergios in Resafa – Sergiupolis ist bei sorgfältigen Ausgrabungen diese Sitte nachgewiesen worden, auch wenn von ihm selbst nichts erhalten ist.[22] Es wäre also denkbar, dass der Sarkophag in Batumi Reliquien eines oder einer Heiligen enthalten hat; er könnte in einer Kirche, vielleicht in einem Annex, frei aufgestellt gewesen sein, so dass Pilger an beiden Langseiten an ihn heran kommen konnten, um Öl abzufüllen.

Im Gebiet des heutigen Georgien und im benachbarten Kleinasien ist das Exemplar singulär. Sarkophage, die in irgendeiner Weise mit einem Relief geschmückt sind, sind in Georgien äußerst selten. Von Beispielen in dem von Russland okkupierten Abchasien abgesehen, ist nur ein Exemplar in Dmanisi zu nennen, weit im Süd-Osten, in der Nähe von Bolnisi. Es trägt auf dem Deckel ein kleines Kreuz, das in seiner Form dem Kreuz an der Sioni-Kirche in Bolnisi (durch eine Inschrift wahrscheinlich 478 – 493 n.Chr. datiert) ähnelt.[23]

Liebe Mirjana, Verzeihung, es bleiben viele Fragen offen; vielleicht hast Du Vorschläge, die helfen, diesen in vieler Hinsicht außergewöhnlichen spätantiken Sarkophag besser zu verstehen.

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Maximinus, "*that terrible Pannonian*"

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The author in his paper deals with the career of the Pannonian Maximinus under Valentinian's rule. Based on Ammianus' account his story is well-documented and it exactly shows how Pannonians backed by their fellow-patriots, Valentinian and Valens raised to power under their reign and how fast they disappeared after 375. Examining the debate on the existence of the Pannonian 'party', the author came to the conclusion that (as an antique commentary remarks it too) it can be called 'factio" in a Roman sense too.

Key words: *Late Antique Rome, Pannonia, late antique magic, Valentinian*

Among the many events covered in detail in Ammianus' historical work, one which he considered to have been of outstanding importance is the series of sorcery trials held in Rome in the early 370s (369–371/374) during Valentinian's reign, whose main protagonist was a certain Flavius Maximinus of Pannonia (Amm. XXVIII.1–57).[1] Here, I shall discuss Ammianus' portrait of Maximinus, a native of Sopianae, whom Sir Ronald Syme, the other most influential scholar of Antiquity beside András Alföldi in the early 20th century, simply called "that terrible Pannonian".[2] I shall also briefly examine the individual Pannonians and Illyricans who rose to high rank in the imperial court(s) and in imperial bureaucracy as well as the evidence for their possible *factio*.

Everything we know about Maximinus practically comes from Ammianus' work since his name barely crops up in other sources and neither is he mentioned in any inscriptions. The information conveyed by Ammianus in his narrative and the date of issue of several imperial edicts addressed to Maximinus outline the career of one of the most prominent sons of Roman-period Sopianae, who undoubtedly rose to the highest official rank from this town:[3]

XXVIII.1.5. Maximinus was born in Sopianae. His father, who worked as a *tabularius* in the governor's office, was of Carpic stock, and thus his ancestors (his grandparents) had no doubt been *coloni*, while his father had attained this official rank (of which there were only two in the province) as a Roman citizen: *apud Sopianas Valeriae oppidum obscurissime natus est, patre tabulario praesidialis officii, orto a posteritate*

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1 Ammianus XXVIII, 1–116.

2 Syme 1968: 31. A. Alföldi and J. Matthews called him an "evil genius": Alföldi 1952: 135; Matthews 1989: 210; Cf. Demandt 1969: 615: "ein brutaler Hexenrichter"; Errington 1996: 446: "a much-hated man"; Raimondi 2001: 143: "esecratissimo".

3 PWRE Suppl. V (1931) 663–664; PLRE I, Maximinus 7, 577–578; Lengvári 1996; Chastagnol 1960: 430–432; 464–466; Szidat 1995: 481–486; Barnes 1998: 241–246, Appendix 9; Lizzi Testa 2004: 50–51, Appendice 1; Coşkun 2003a.

Carporum. His *gentilicium*, Flavius, quite certainly suggests a family that had risen to prominence but recently (CIL X 8026=AÉp 2009, 451).[4]

XXVIII.1.6. Following a modicum of education in rhetorics, Maximinus became a defensive lawyer (*advocatus*) in insignificant affairs: *post mediocre studium liberalium doctrinarum defensionemque causarum ignobilem.* This seems to be a strong understatement since more recent studies have pointed out that only by his versatile handling of these affairs could he have drawn the attention of Valentinian, the Pannonian ruler (Szidat 1995: 481–486.).

364/365 *Praeses Corsicae et Sardiniae*: before 366, cf. AÉp 1889: 32, Coll. Avell. 12.3.

366 *Corrector Tusciae*: cf. Cod. Theod. IX.1.8, November 17, 366.

368/370 *Praefectus annonae*: until March 370 by all calculations, cf. Cod. Theod. XIV.17.6, Hier. Chron. 246b Helm,[5] Ruf. H. E. 11.10,[6] Socr. H. E. IV.29.6.[7]

administratas Corsicam itidemque Sardiniam, rexit deinde Tusciam. unde morato in itinere diutius successore, progressus ad curandam urbis annonam, etiam provinciae moderamina retinebat ...

370/371 (?) *Vicarius*. Amm. XXVIII.1.5, 12. In the wake of the trials he had successfully conducted (XXVIII.1.9–10), Maximinus became *vicarius urbis*: *regens quondam Romae vicariam praefecturam; Romae agere disposito pro praefectis.* Following O. Seeck (Seeck 1919: 240, 242.), this is dated to 370–371 on the basis of two imperial decrees issued in summer 371 (Cod. Iust. VI.22.7, XI.48.7), which were addressed to Maximinus (which was probably corrected from Maximus to Maximinus), in which he is allegedly styled *praef. praet*. However, the rank of the addressee does not appear, and thus Maximinus may still have served as *vicarius* at the time (cf. Coll. Avell. 11–12=CSEL 35 (1895) 48–54).[8]

371?–376 XXVIII.1.41. Following his services in Rome, regarded as highly effective by Valentinian, Maximinus became *praefectus praetorio Galliarum: Post haec praegresso Leone acceptoque successore ad principis comitatum Maximinus accitus, auctusque praefectura praetoriana.*

XXIX.3.1–9. Maximinus' activities in Gaul and his bad influence on Valentinian, leading to a series of executions.

XXVIII.1.57. Shortly after Valentinian's death, Maximinus and his friends met their fate: Gratian had Maximinus beheaded: *namque ut postea tempestive dicetur, et idem Maximinus sub Gratiano intoleranter se efferens damnatorio iugulatus est ferro*. Although Ammianus promises that he would later take up this thread, he did not provide his readers with a detailed account of the events (only in two cases did he fail to live up to his promise). The reason for this omission was not only that he was reluctant to cover the events in detail owing to the far too recent death of the elder Theodosius – he also neglected a continuous account of the events in the west after 375.[9]

Maximinus' downfall can be dated to 376: in March, he was quite certainly still in office (Cod. Theod. IX.6.1–2),[10] although his demise cannot have been far, given that both decrees limited his powers as prosecutor by decreeing that the testimonies of slaves and *liberti* against their former master should no longer be taken into consideration.[11] It is hardly mere chance that another decree addressed to Maximinus issued at

4 Mócsy 1964: 258–261.

5 *Maximinus praefectus annonae maleficos ab imperatore investigare jussus, plurimos Romae nobilium occidit.*

6 *Quae res factione Maximini praefecti saevi hominis, ad invidiam boni et innocentis versa est sacerdotis, ita ut caussa ad clericorum usque tormenta duceretur. Sed assertor innocentiae Deus affuit, et in caput eorum qui intenderant dolum, poena conversa est.*

7 ... καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὺς λαικοὺς τε καὶ κληρικοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ τότε ἐπάρχου Μαξιμίνου τιμωρηθῆναι..

8 Barnes 1998: 241–242.

9 Matthews 1989: 211, 216, 382, 511. n. 14; Barnes 1998: 246. Even so, I believe that there is much to be learnt from E. A. Thompson's arguments on Ammianus' silence (Thompson 1947: 92–95), particularly in the light of the following passage on Maximinus: XXIX.3.1. *igitur dicta considerat, perpendat etiam cetera, quae tacentur, veniam daturus ut prudens, si non cuncta conplectimur, quae consiliorum pravitas crimina in maius exaggerando commisit.*

10 The date of April 16 for Cod. Theod. IX.19.4 is not the date of the decree's issue, but the date when it was proclaimed in Rome, meaning that it could have been written before March 15: cf. Barnes 1998: 246, n. 13.

11 Cod. Theod. IX.6.1. *Imppp. valens, gratianus et valentinianus aaa. ad maximum praefectum praetorio. cessent liberti capitalium criminum tumultu et nefariae delationis indiciis auctores libertatis incessere, ita ut tam nefandos conatus ferri aut ignium poena compescat. proposita id. mart. valente v et valentiniano aa. conss.* (376 mart. 15).

this time (Cod. Theod. IX.19.4) also deals with the matter of handling false charges.[12] His successor is first mentioned in May 376 (Cod. Theod. XIII.3.1: May 23, 376), meaning that Maximinus' death occurred at an earlier date.

Symmachus and his followers were no doubt delighted to hear of his death, but other sources also deemed it important enough to record the event (Vera 1981: 452–453.):

Symmachus' letter addressed to Gratian (Symm. Ep. 10.2.2–3): *ferox ille Maximinus ob res secundas, incubator iudiciorum, difficilis decidendis simultatibus, promptus ineundis, poena capitali exitia cunctorum lacrimasque expiavit.*

Symmachus' panegyric to Gratian (Pro patre; Or. IV.11–12): *Quid primum igitur admirer, quod circa divum munus pii filii an quod circa nos partes parentis egisti? alienorum simulatione criminum Maximinus fidem fecit suorum. vestra aestimatio sit, qualis fuerit in ceteros, quem ipsi rerum domini tyrannum paene estis experti. urgebat enim novo fastu patientiam regiam et praefecturae suae putabat esse dispendium, si quid licuisset imperio.*

Pannonia studies generally focus on three issues in relation to Ammianus' narrative on Maximinus:

(1) XXVIII.1.5 would suggest that Carpi were settled in eastern Pannonia during the Tetrarchy. Ammianus' claim is echoed by other sources too (Chron. Min. I. p. 234=Cons Const. ad ann. 295; Aur. Vict. 39.43; Eutr. IX.25). Possible traces of the Carpi in the archaeological record have been identified by E. Tóth, who found cremation burials dating from this period inside the late Roman fort at Alsóheténypuszta.[13]

(2) Based on the same passage, it is also generally accepted that the seat of the *praeses*, and of the civilian administration of the province of Valeria, was in Sopianae during the late Roman period because Maximinus was born in that town and his father was *tabularius praesidalis officii*, i.e. he served as a *tabularius* in the office of the *praeses*.[14]

Cod. Theod. IX.6.2 [=brev.9.3.1]. *Imppp. valens, grat. et valent. aaa. ad maximum pf. p. quum accusatores servi dominis intonent, nemo iudiciorum exspectet eventum, nihil quaeri, nihil discuti placet, sed cum ipsis delationum libellis, cum omni scripturarum et meditati criminis apparatu nefandarum accusationum crementur auctores, excepto tamen appetitae maiestatis crimine, in quo etiam servis honesta proditio est: nam et hoc facinus tendit in dominos. dat. id. mart. valente v. et valentin. aa. coss.*

interpretatio. servus dominum accusans non solum audiendus non est, verum etiam puniendus, nisi forte dominum de crimine maiestatis tractasse probaverit.

12 Cod. Theod. IX.19.4.1 [=brev.9.15.2.1]. *Quod si expetens vindictam falsi crimen intenderit, erit in arbitrio iudicantis, an eum sinat etiam sine inscriptione certare. iudicis enim potestati committi oportet, ut de eo, qui obiecta non probaverit, sumat propositum antiquo iure supplicium. rationi quoque huius modi plenissime suffragatur antiquitas, quae nequissimos homines et argui voluit et coerceri legibus variis, cornelia de veneficiis, sicariis, parricidiis, iulia de adulteris ambitusve criminibus, ceterisve ita promulgatis, ut possit etiam sine inscriptione cognosci, poena tamen accusatorem etiam sine solennibus occuparet. de qua re et divus antoninus rescripsisse docetur, id in iudicis potestate constituens, quod nosmet in legibus iusseramus. removebitur itaque istius lenitate rescripti praecepti superioris austeritas, ut, si quis deinceps tabulas testamenti, chirographa testationesque, nec non etiam rationes privatas vel publicas, pacta et epistolas vel ultimas voluntates, donationes, venditiones vel si quid prolatum aliud insimulare conabitur, habeat, praetermissis solennibus, accusandi facultatem, pro iudicis motu sententiam relaturus*.

Cod. Theod. IX.19.4.2 [=brev.9.15.2.2]. *Civiles autem inquisitiones inter utrasque confligentium partes aequali motu ingruit et recurrit humanitas, quum is, qui praeerit quaestioni, intentiones falsas aut conficta crimina ex legibus poenis competentibus possit ulcisci. pp. romae xvi. kal. mai., valente v. et valentin. aa. coss.*

interpretatio. de falso potest et criminaliter et civiliter agi. civiliter, quum aliquis quibuslibet scripturis non falsi crimen obiecerit, sed veritatem scripturae se velle quaerere dicit. nam si ad iudicem venerit accusator, et falsi crimen intenderit, iudex tribuat accusatori spatium, ut deliberet, utrum criminaliter agere an civiliter velit. qui si reversus ad iudicem in obiecto falsitatis crimine perseveraverit, in potestate iudicis erit, utrum inscriptionem celebrari velit, an obiectum crimen sine inscriptione discutere. quod quum iudex de obiectione falsitatis audierit, seu inscriptione habita seu omissa, aut in accusatum, si falsitas approbatur, aut in accusatorem, si falso obiecerit, proferatur, ex lege sententia.

13 Fülep 1984: 268, 274; Nagy 1987–1988: 240–241; Tóth 2005: 363–391; Kovács 2016: 1–6.

14 PWRE Suppl. IX (1962) 611; Mócsy 1974: 273; Fülep 1984: 268, 274; Nagy 1987–1988: 240–241; Fitz 1993–1995, 1180–1181; Tóth 2006: 49–102.

(3) The perhaps greatest crisis in Pannonia under Valentinian' reign can, even if only indirectly, be associated with Maximinus. In 373, Maximinus had his own son Marcellinus appointed the military commander of Valeria (PLRE, Marcellianus 2, 543–544; Fitz 1993–1995: 1272–1273, Nr. 911), who continued the construction of forts in Quadic lands as ordered by Valentinian (XXIX.6.2) and he also had Gabinius, the Quadic king, treacherously murdered after inviting him to a feast (XXIX.6.3–5, cf. Zos. IV.16.4). The enraged Quadi joined forces with the Sarmatians and led a devastating incursion into Pannonia the next year (XXIX.6.6–16, Zos. IV.16.4). It seems likely that the murder cannot be solely blamed on the young *dux* because Ammianus notes that the Quadi held the *equitus magister* responsible for the murder (XXIX.6.12). One of the semi-finished forts can perhaps be identified with the remains recently uncovered at Göd, where an apparently never completed large fort with oval ground plan has been brought to light (Mráv 2003; 2005). It is an eloquent mark of Maximinus' influence that his son went unpunished after the affair (XXX.5.3), while the punitive expedition against the Quadi was led by the emperor himself, who died in Brigetio in 375 (he suffered a stroke while receiving the Quadic envoys; XXIX.5–6).

Here, I shall explore another, similarly intriguing issue: to what extent can the rise of Maximinus and his followers be attributed to the rule of emperors of Pannonian stock (Valentinian, Valens and, from 368, Gratian), and whether we can speak of a Pannonian clan. In doing so, we must also briefly address the question of to what extent Ammianus' portrayal can be regarded as reliable.

The authors of Antiquity did not mince their words and spared no disparaging similes when speaking of Maximinus:

Ammianus Marcellinus:

XXVIII.1.5. *apud Sopianas Valeriae oppidum obscurissime natus est*

XXVIII.1.6. *post … defensionemque causarum ignobilem*

XXVIII.1.7. *subterraneus serpens*

XXVIII.1.10. *accepta igitur nocendi materia Maximinus effudit genuinam ferociam pectori crudo adfixam, ut saepe faciunt amphitheatrales ferae, diffractis tandem solutae posticis*

XXVIII.1.13. *ingenium ad laedendum*

ideoque pedes huc et illuc exultando contorquens, saltare, non incedere videbatur, dum studebat inter altaria celsius gradientes, ut quidam memorant, imitari Brachmanas

XXVIII.1.15. *praeter multa cruda et inmitia, quorum nec diversitas conprehendi nec numerus potest*

XXVIII.1.31. *anhelans flatu superbo Maximinus*

XXVIII.1.33. *velut serpens vulnere noti cuiusdam adtritus*

XXVIII.1.41. *nihilo lenior fuit etiam longius nocens ut basilisci serpentes*

XXVIII.1.51. *agensque ibi Maximinus infestus ob causam, quam supra docuimus, Aginatio male sanus incitator et potens*

XXVIII.1.57. *idem Maximinus sub Gratiano intoleranter se efferens*

XXVIII.3.4. *exitialis vicarius*

XXIX.2.23. *Maximinum optimo cuique exitialem*

XXIX.3.1. *potestate late diffusa scaevum imperatori accesserat incentivum*

XXIX.6.3. *Maximinus in omne avidus nefas et genuinos mitigare nequiens flatus, quibus praefecturae accesserat tumor*

Rufinus:

H. E. XI.10. *saevus homo*

Symmachus:

Ep. 10.2: *ferox ille Maximinus*
incubator iudiciorum

Or. IV.10. *mali iudices qui etiam tum nocendi artem colebant, cum iam noverant non licere.*

IV.13. *abrogata est externis moribus vis nocendi.*

V.12. *insidiator regni*

Why was Maximinus cast in such a bad light? It would appear that this low opinion of him was an outcome of his activities as *praefectus* and *vicarius* in Rome when, on the orders of Valentinian, he brought charges against countless high-ranking individuals as the deputy of the *vicarius urbi* (Amm. XXVIII.1.5–56) and he was responsible for the persecution and death of many women and men of senatorial rank.

Regarding the trials, it seems instructive to take a look at how many deaths, convictions and persecutions Ammianus attributes to Maximinus:[15]

Source	**death penalty / suicide**	**exile**	**persecution**
XXVIII.1.7	prophet from Sardinia		
Praefectus annonae			
			Sericus, Asbolius Campensis, *nobiles aliqui*
Hier. Chron. 246 b	*plurimi Romae nobilium*		
Mansi III 624, Ruf. H. E. XI.10, Socr. H. E. IV.29.6, Sozom. VI.23.2			Pope Damasus, *laici* and *clerici*
Vicarius			
XXVIII.1.14	advocate Marinus		
XXVIII.1.16	senator Cethegus, *aliique humiles*	Alypius	
XXVIII.1.17–23		Hymetius *procos*.	
XXVIII.1.21	Amantius *haruspex*	Frontinus *consiliarius*	
XXVIII.1.26	Lollianus		
XXVIII.1.27			the senators Tarracius Bassus, Camenius, Marcianus, Eusaphius
XXVIII.1.28	execution of women: Claritas and Flaviana		
XXVIII 1.29	senators Paphius and Cornelius, *procuratores monetae*, Sericus and Asbolius, *Campensis haruspex*		
XXIX.2.23	*optimus quisque*		
PPO Gall.			
XXVIII.1.30–34, 51–56	Aginatius		
XXVIII.1.54	Anepsia		
XXX.2.11–12	Remigius *mag. off.*		
Total	16 individuals and others	3 individuals	5 individuals

Ammianus accused him of indirect responsibility for the later trials in Rome:

XXVIII.1.43. *quae per iniquitatem curantium vicariam praefecturam* (sc. Urscinus és Simplicius) *in urbe contra quam oportuerat gesta sunt, quia ad nutum Maximini et voluntatem isdem ministris velut apparitoribus gerebantur*.

XXVIII.1.56. *haec agitante, cum adesset, perque emissarios cum procul ageret, Maximino funera urbs deploravit aeterna*.

Source	**death penalty / suicide / exile**	**persecution / conviction**
XXVIII.1.44		Esaias, *alii*, Rufina, Marcellus *agens in rebus*
XXVIII.1.47	Hesychia	
XXVIII.1.48–50		Fausiana, senators Eumenius, Abienus
Total	1 indivdual	6 individuals and others

[15] Blockley 1975: 189–190, Appendix E; Demandt 1969: 608.

Likewise, Ammianus indirectly blames Maximinus for the sufferings of those who had been convicted by Valentinian during his prefecture in Gaul:

XXIX.3.1–2. *multa et saeva Maximinum reperiens iam praefectum, qui potestate late diffusa scaevum imperatori accesserat incentivum, maiestati fortunae miscenti licentiam gravem … post eiusdem Maximini adventum, nec meliora monente ullo nec retentante …*

Source	**death penalty**	**exile**	**persecution**
XXIV.3.3	*paedagogiani*		
XXIV.3.4	*praepositus fabricae*, *presbyter* of Epirus		
XXVIII.3.5	Constantianus *strator*, Athanasius *auriga*		
XXVIII.3.6	Africanus		
XXVIII.3.7	Sallustius *tribunus*	Claudius *tribunus*	
XXVIII.3.8			unknown people owing to a lacuna in the text, praetorian guards
Total	6 individuals + *paedagogiani*	1 individual	several individuals

Modern scholarship has repeatedly discussed the trials held in Rome: one of the main issues is why Valentinian deemed it so important to lash out at the aristocracy of Rome – was it simply an assault against adultery and sorcery, or was there some sort of conspiracy behind the trials (as suggested by E. Thompson and others after him),[16] since it is fairly obvious that Maximinus acted on the emperor's orders and with his consent (cf. Valentinian's anger over Hymetius' mild sentence and the futile journey of the Senate's delegation to the emperor: Amm. XXVIII.1.23–25). Another issue giving rise to fierce debates is whether Maximinus' rise to power was an isolated case or whether there was a group, a *factio*, of Pannonians in the court of emperor who had been born in Cibalae, who were strongly opposed to the élite of the west (main of Gaul) and of Rome, whose fate was sealed after Valentinian's death and whose majority paid with their lives for their rise under Gratian.[17] The latter view was principally advocated by A. Alföldi and J. Matthews, while other scholars challenged the existence of a *factio* (an "Illyrian front") of this type. The different scholarly opinions have been most comprehensively reviewed by N. Lenski, according to whom it was only natural that many Pannonians and Illyricans attained prominent positions with the rise of Valentinian, but this was not a mass phenomenon, especially not in the east (Lenski 2002: 60–62).

(1) Let us first look at the conspiracy theory. Several points emerge from the above:

(a) The *quaestiones* affected all groups of Rome, even if Ammianus only recorded the prosecution of more prominent individuals (cf. XXVIII.1.15).

(b) The charges against Pope Damasus and his followers were brought after bouts of violence and after Isaac, a follower of Ursinus, was charged with murder (Mansi III 624, Ruf. H. E. XI.10, Socr. H. E. IV.29.6, Sozom. VI.23.2).[18]

(c) The trials were not conducted according to a pre-determined scenario.

(d) In most cases, the defendants were charged with sorcery and adultery. It is not mere chance that Ammianus mentions that Maximinus' father was well versed in these arts, and that according to the

16 Thompson 1947: 102–107, 138–140; PWRE VII (1948) 2191–2192; Alföldi 1952: 65–84; Chastagnol 1960: 430; Barb 1963: 100–125; Seyfarth 1965: 373–383; Funke 1967: 170–175; Demandt 1969: 607–613; Blockley 1975: 104–122; Matthews 1975: 64–69; Hamblenne 1980: 198–225; Matthews 1989: 209–218; Mariè 1992: 349–360; CAH 13: 82–83; Barnes 1998: 241–246; Curran 2000: 200–203; Lenski 2002: 218–233; Coşkun 2000; Ammianus XXVIII, 1–116.

17 PWRE VII (1948) 2191–2192; Alföldi 1952: 13–27; Schuurmans 1949: 25–38; Demandt 1969: 618–625; Tomlin 1973: 263–265; Matthews 1975: 32–55, esp. 43–49; Matthews 1989: 272; Barnes 1998: 108–109, 241–246; Raimondi 2001: 141–160; Lenski 2002: 56–67.

18 Alföldi 1952: 80–83, 137–139; Coşkun 2003b.

historian, Maximinus' first victim was a prophet from Corsica (XXVIII.1.7) – what Ammianus alleges is that the official conducting the trials was himself guilty of this particular offence. Only once is there reference to high treason, in the case of Marcellus *agens in rebus* (XXVIII.1.44). Hymetius' invective claiming that the emperor was greedy and ruthless, quoted by Ammianus, is an indication of the anti-Valentinian sentiments in Rome (XXVIII.1.20. *invectiva legebantur in principem ut avarum et truculentum*).

(e) The convicted included members of the most distinguished families such as the Anicii (Aginatius, Alypius) and the Caeionii (Lollianus, Tarracius Bassus, Camenius).[19]

(f) Ammianus admits that Maximinus did not act with ruthlessness in every case (XXVIII.1.40).

(g) The emperor remitted the case of Hymetius to the senate (XXVIII.1.22–23), suggesting that it was not (or not just) a showcase trial. Neither did Valentinian alter Hymetius' mild sentence.

(h) The delegation of the senate sent to Valentinian spoke out against the *supplicia grandiora* and the torture of the senators (XXVIII.1.24). The delegation was partially successful for the emperor put an end to the torture of senators (Amm. XXVIII.1.25), and the trials against senators in matters of sorcery were relegated to the *praefectus urbi* and the competence of the emperor himself in a decree dated December 371 (Cod. Theod. IX.16.10).[20]

(i) One of the longest chapters in Ammianus' work covers the events in Rome (XXVIII.1.1–57), although the narrative itself is deliberately out of chronological order. The events recounted by him took place between 366 and 375;[21] however, while Maximinus was responsible only as *praefectus annonae* and *vicarius*, Ammianus blamed him for the trials conducted by his successors too.

(j) The single trial motivated by personal hatred was conducted against Aginatius – an affair that can be seen as an open rivalry between two officials, and the enmity was begun by his opponent (XXVIII.1.32). The wrangle over Victorinus' inheritance (XXVIII.1.35) seems more like one of Ammianus' customary derogatory remarks.

(k) Elsewhere, Ammianus himself describes the corruption of the population as well as of the leaders of Rome (XXVIII.4.6–34). Given the general atmosphere as described by him, the trials cannot have come as a surprise, and the single cause for Ammianus' resentment could only have been the scale of the punishments.

Thus, I see no particular reason for assuming any kind of conspiracy based on the available sources, nor do I see any substantiation of the oft-voiced claim that the proceedings can be regarded as mass trials.

(2) Regarding the issue of whether there was a Pannonian *factio* in the imperial court, we should first examine the circle of persons who by their ancestry could have been members of this assumed group.

What seems quite certain is that there were Pannonians around Valentinian from the very beginning, who had been elevated to higher positions on account of their trustworthiness and had been assigned to deal with particularly sensitive matters. This is how Maximinus replaced Olybrius instead of Aginatus, even though the latter was higher in rank (XXVIII.1.32). Equitius, still a tribunus at the time (PLRE, Equitius 2, 282), had a hand in the election of Valentinian, as did Leo[22] (Amm. XXVI.1.6), who supported the candidate to the throne *ut Pannonii* (PWRE VII (1948) 2161; Raimondi 2001: 63–71). The former was also a candidate for the imperial throne, but was eventually rejected because he was far too *asper et subagrestis* (XXVI.1.4). Viventius of Siscia[23] appears as *quaestor sacri palatii* and was immediately given the highly sensitive task of looking into the circumstances of Valentinian and Valens' illness (XXVI.4.4). At the time of Procopius' revolt, the military defence of Illyricum was entrusted to Equitius, who had to ensure that the revolt would not spread to the west (XXVI.5.10–11). Equitius proved quite capable and thus retained this position (*magister militum per Illyricum*) until 375, dealing with the task he was entrusted with until 374 (Amm.

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[19] Cf. Matthews 1975: 57–58.

[20] Pergami 1993: 562, 564.

[21] Thompson 1947: 138–140, Appendix II; Demandt 1969: 610; Barnes 1998: 241–246; Ammianus XXVIII, 1–116.

[22] PLRE, Leo 1, 498.

[23] PLRE, Viventius, 972.

XXVI.7.11–12, 10.4, XXIX.6.3, 12; *consul* in 374: XXX.3.1).[24] Equitius was present at Valentinian's death in 375, and he had a hand in Valentinian II's elevation to the purple (Epit. de Caes. 45.10, Zos. IV.19.1, solely Merobaudes: Amm. XXX.6.2, Probus: Ruf. H. E. XI.12. Cf. Socr. H. E. IV.31, Sozom. H. E. VI.36, Philos. IX.16). Old Serenianus, who had earlier partaken in Gallus' murder, was called back to service and remained one of Valens' most trusted men until his death; according to the commander of the *schola domesticorum*, he also came from Pannonia (XXVI.5.3. *ut Pannonius sociatusque Valenti*; cf. XIV.7.7, XIV.11.23, XXVI.5.3, XXVI.10.1–2).[25] His re-activation and the trust accorded to him was essentially because of his origins: XXVI.10.2. *ob similitudinem morum et genitalis patriae vicinitatem acceptus.* Petronius, Valens' father-in-law, was another Pannonian, who as a patrician founded a *factio* of his followers, for whom he ensured the highest posts: XXVI.7.4. *confestim Nebridius in locum Sallusti praefectus praetor io factione Petronii recens promotes* (PLRE, Petronius 3, 690–691). It is hardly surprising, then, that Ammianus painted a negative picture of the emperor's relative who spared no effort to put the empire's messy finances in order and ruthlessly collected tax debts, which made him a hated figure in the eyes of the people (XXVI.6.17); Ammianus portrayed him as a much more sinister figure than Cleander and Plautianus, the ill-famed *praefecti* appointed by Commodus and Septimius Severus (XXVI.6.7–9).[26] The eastern *factio* was not particularly long-lived since Serenianus lost his life in 365, during Procopius' rebellion (XXVI.10.1–2), and the much-hated Petronius' role was reduced to nought[27] after the rebellion was crushed (Lenski 2002: 60–62).

Leo and Viventius as well as other Pannonians appear in the account of the events in Rome. In 355, Viventius, as *praefectus urbi*, had to deal with the riots accompanying the election of the pope (Amm. XXVII.3.11–13). Unusually for Ammianus, he described the *praefectus* as *integer et prudens Pannonius*. Although he was unable to deal with the situation, he was soon appointed *praefectus praetorio Gall*. (XXX.5.11).

Valentinian appointed Leo, who had attained the rank of notarius (XXVIII.1.12), to assist Maximinus in the investigations. Ammianus paints an even more negative picture of him than of Maximinus, who had risen to the rank of *magister officiorum* (Amm. XXX.2.10, 5.12), although had set his sight on becoming *praefectus*. As a *notarius*, Leo used his influence to secure Maximinus' appointment as *praefectus*. It seems likely that the more lenient Ursicinus, Maximinus' first successor, was also of Illyrian stock (XXVIII.1.44: *ad mitiora propensior, qui quoniam cautus esse voluit et civilis*).[28] He was followed by Simplicius, a man from Emona, and thus from Pannonia/Illyricum in the broader sense, who in Ammianus' eyes was a "worthy" successor of Maximinus (XXVIII.1.45, 49, 52).[29] Simplicius, a former *grammaticus*, had been Maximinus' *consiliarius*. Simplicius was succeeded by Doryphorianus, who came not from Pannonia, but from Gaul, and who according to Ammianus, had quite clearly won this post as one of Maximinus' confidantes (XXVIII.1.53–55). He was the one who eventually brought about the execution of Aginatius and Anepsia. A native of Tridentium, a town on the border between Italy and Raetia, Festus (who is sometimes identified with the historian by the same name (Baldwin 1984: 79–99)) maintained good relations with Maximinus (XXIX.2.22*. in nexum germanitatis a Maximino dilectus ut sodalis et contogatus*), and is described by Ammianus as playing the same role in the east (governor of Syria, *magister memoriae*, *proconsularis* of Africa for six long years!) as Maximinus in Rome (XXIX.2.22–28).[30] Festus, who spoke no Greek (Lib. Or. I.156), conducted a series of similar trials as Maximinus. Little wonder, then, that the aristocrats of the east had a rather low opinion of him (e.g. Lib. Or. I.156, Eunap. V. S. 7.6.9–12).[31]

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[24] Fitz 1993–1995: 1247–1249, Nr. 882.

[25] PLRE, Serenianus 2, 825.

[26] Cf. PWRE VII (1948) 2099–2100.

[27] Other Pannonians in Valens' court included another Equitius, Valens' relative (*propinquus*), who served as *tribunus* (and held the post of the *cura palatii*), and fell in the Battle of Hadrianapolis (Amm. XXXI.12.15, XXXI.13.18), and Procopius, also a relative of the emperor, the *praefectus urbi* of Constantinople in 377 (Zos. V.9.3–5): Lenski 2002: 60–61, n. 275, 282.

[28] Lenski 2002: 58, n. 264.

[29] PLRE, Simplicius 7, 844.

[30] PLRE, Festus 3, 334–335. His aide in Antiochia was a certain Fidelius, a compatriot of his: Lib. Or. I.163–165; Cf. Lenski 2002: 61, n. 287.

[31] Lenski 2002: 65–66, 233.

Mention must also be made of Valentinus, a native of Valeria, among the Pannonians who rose to a high rank and who can perhaps be identified with the *consularis* of Picenum (Cod. Theod. IX.1.8, November 17, 366). His downfall occurred while Valentinian was still alive: he was first exiled to Britain and was later executed for treason by the elder Theodosius (XXVIII.3.3–6, XXX.7.10, cf. Hier. Chron. 246c Helm, Zos. 4.12.2, Jord. Rom. 308),[32] although his exact crime remains unknown and the circumstance of his rebellion in Britain are rather curious. As Maximinus' brother-in-law (XXVIII.3.4. *Maximini ... coniugis frater*), he was quite certainly a member of the group discussed here.

It is quite obvious from Ammianus' account that being a member of this group was not a stake for the future and that Pannonians could fall from power just as easily. Suffice it here to mention the case of the councillors of the three towns who had Maxentius executed (XXVII.7.6), and the exile and eventual execution of Valentinus, Maxentius' brother-in-law (XXVIII.3.3–6, XXX.7.10). One good illustration of how family members were elevated to high positions is Marcellinus, Maxentius' son, who became *dux* of Valeria, and Faustinus, son of Viventius' sister, who served as a *notarius* and was convicted and executed for a stupid joke and for using a potion against loss of hair (XXX.5.11–12).[33] Being someone's relative or friend did not always count: following the death of Victorinus, his closest friends (XXVIII.1.27), Maxentius had his widow Anepsia executed because she had fallen into disrepute (XXVIII.1.49–50, 54–56), even though he made his son marry Victorinus' stepdaughter in the hope of the inheritance (XXVIII.1.43–44).

The Pannonians' good fortune waned following Valentinian's death on November 17, 375. Gratian, who had been raised by Ausonius, soon appointed his own followers, as was customary with the ascension of a new emperor. The first to disappear from our sources was Equitius (Cf. Errington 1996: 441, 445, n. 49), whose later fate remains unknown, and it is possible that he simply retired. His crime, if any, could only have been that he and his followers had orchestrated Valentinian II's election without the approval of Valens and Gratian, which had quite certainly displeased the emperors (Socr. H. E. IV.31, Sozom. H. E. VI.36.5).[34] Whatever happened to him, we know from Philostorgios that Gratian saw to it that some were punished for the election without his knowledge (cf. Philos. IX. Frag.16. Γρατιανὸς μέντοι γε τὴν ἀναγόρευσιν μαθών, ὅτι μὴ διὰ γνώμης αὐτοῦ γέγονεν, οὐκ ἐπήνεσεν· ἀλλὰ καί τινας τῶν αὐτοῦ νεωτερισάντων ἐκολάσατο. ὅμως ἔστερξε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔχειν βασιλεύοντα, καὶ πατρὸς αὐτῷ τάξιν ἀποπληροῦν). The positive gestures towards the senate and the events of the ensuing few months are recounted most vividly by Symmachus. The first sign of a more lenient policy was Gratian's *oratio* read in the senate (Symm. Ep. I.13, cf. Or. V), which was followed by an amnesty (Symmachus' father was also allowed to return: Ep. I.44, cf. also Amm. XXIX.3.7, Ambros. De obitu Theod. 52, Aus. Grat. Act. 15.71, Them. Or. 13.171c, 174b, 175a, 177a–c)[35] and imperial decrees mostly addressed to Maximinus that made the prosecution of senators more difficult (Cod. Theod. IX.6.1–2, IX.19.4).[36] Concessions made to the senatorial order continued until January 377, when a new decree forbade the torture of senators (Cod. Theod. IX.35.3=J 12.10: January 4, 377), their greatest grievance in relation to the trials (Lenski 2002: 232, n. 121). The emperor visited Rome in summer 376 (cf. Them. Or. XIII),[37] after which the men maltreated in the trials led by Maximinus could return and were appointed to high positions: for example, Tarracius Bassus became *praefectus urbi*, Kamenius was appointed *vicarius* of Africa and Hymetius returned from his exile in Dalmatia (cf. CIL VI 1736=ILS 1256).[38]

The most obscure event of the year 376 was the execution of the elder Theodosius and his followers (Hier.: *plurimi nobilium*; Hier. Chron. 248c Helm, Oros. 7.33.7, Jord. Rom. 312), who had successfully put down Firmus' revolt in Africa (Amm. XXIX. 5); as a matter of fact, Theodosius' son, the later emperor, had barely escaped being put to death himself (Ambr. De obitu Theod. 53, Theod. H. E. V.5.1).[39] The following

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32 PLRE, Valentinus 5, 935; Matthews 1975: 38, n. 6; but cf. Lenski 2002: 58, n. 266.

33 Clauss 1985: 97–98.

34 Szidat 1989: 175–188. Probus, the *praefectus praetorio* of Illyricum, who had similarly had a hand in the election, disappeared for some time after 375, and only held this post again after 383: Fitz 1993–1995: 1215–1219, Nr. 852, Kovács 2019: 199–208.

35 Alföldi 1952: 88, n. 5.

36 Alföldi 1952: 84–95; Matthews 1975: 64–68.

37 Seeck 1919: 248.

38 Matthews 1975: 65–66.

39 Egger 1929–1930: 9–32 = 1967: 126–143; Hoepffner 1936: 119–129; Thompson 1947: 87–107, esp. 93–94, 138–140; Alföldi 1952: 91–92; Demandt 1969; Matthews 1975: 64, 93–94; Errington 1996: 443–447.

remark appears in relation to the elder Theodosius' death in a gloss to Hieronymus' *Chronicon* (Codd. C and X) for the year 376 (248c Helm), which, even if not written by Hieronymus,[40] was undoubtedly the work of a barely later contemporary and can therefore be regarded as being reliable (Demandt 1969: 599, 617–618; Errington 1996: 446, n. 52): *Theodosius … factione eorum periit qui ipsi mox caesi sunt, id est Maximini ex praefecto et ceteri* (Chron. Min. I. p. 631), implying that the author of the gloss laid the blame for the *comes'* death on Maximinus and his group. If this was indeed the case, his execution could only have taken place while the latter were still alive, in early 376. It is hardly mere chance that Ammianus "forgot" to record the circumstances of Theodosius' death. Still, while the role played by Maximinus and his friends remains uncertain (Cf. Errington 1996: 442–447), we do know that there were no reprisals after the elder Theodosius' death when the younger Theodosius ascended to the throne, suggesting that the perpetrators were no longer alive.

Despite Ammianus' silence on this matter (XXVIII.1.57), Symmachus reveals a few details about the downfall of Maximinus and his followers. His oration held before the senate in 376 (Pro patre Or. IV) reveals that Gratian also took their counsel for some time: *at primo consilium tuum deliberatio distulit, dum experiris, an improbi atque externi mores exemplo saeculi vincerentur, vel quod optimo filio congruebat, dum palam facere studes, praeterita delicta potestatum fuisse non temporum*. *Quid primum igitur admirer, quod circa divum munus pii filii an quod circa nos partes parentis egisti? alienorum simulatione criminum Maximinus fidem fecit suorum* (Or. IV.10). Later, a delegation of the senate visited the new emperor to lay their complaints before him (IV.11. *etsi illud magis confirmare me convenit, nostram legationem nostras egisse querimonias, ut videreris tu quoque inter ceteros vindicari*), which had apparently met with success, for Maximinus, Simplicius and Doryphorianus soon met their fate (IV.10. *Gratulamur tibi, iuvenis Auguste, quod paterni successor factus imperii, tantum malos iudices quasi hereditatis onera repudiasti*. IV.11–12. *nam priusquam senatus causa iungeretur tuae, satisfactum tibi putabas, quod insidiator regni exemplo innocentium potestate decesserat; postquam ventum est ad communes querellas, adhibuisti severitatem, qualem reliqui principes maiestatis tantum negotiis exhibebant*. Ep. 10.2.2–3. *ferox ille Maximinus ob res secundas, incubator iudiciorum, difficilis decidendis simultatibus, promptus ineundis, poena capitali exitia cunctorum lacrimasque expiavit* cf. Amm. XXVIII.1.57): cf. Symm. Or. IV.10. *urgebat enim novo fastu patientiam regiam et praefecturae suae putabat esse dispendium, si quid licuisset imperio*. Ammianus only reveals so much about Maximinus' crime that *sub Gratiano intoleranter se efferens*. Debates on the final error made by Maximinus and his group will no doubt continue to be the subject of future debates. It cannot be mere coincidence that Maximinus' later successor (from 378) in the *praefectura* was Ausonius, who in the meantime had secured high positions for his relatives and friends (PLRE, Ausonius 7, 140–141, Matthews 1975: 69–70; Sivan 1993). No mention is made of Leo, who was most likely relieved of his office at this time, or perhaps earlier (he was one of the *ministri* in Symm. Or. IV.10: *non satis tibi idonea bona illa visa sunt cum ministris*).

Very few Pannonians survived the purge, and even the few who did were removed from their post. One of them was Viventius of Siscia, for whom Ammianus had a high regard; he remained in Rome with his family and had a family burial place (ICUR V 13155, 13355; 389 AD) made next to the burial of Simplicius (ICUR V 13109=ILCV 95; 375 AD) in the Platoma built next to the Basilica Apostolorum, to where the relics of St. Quirinus, the Siscian martyr were taken after having salvaged them from Savaria (P. Quirini, Appendix, Prud. Perist. VII, ILCV 1777).[41] The Pannonians gradually disappeared from the empire's leading positions during the ensuing decades. One notable exception is Valerius Dalmatius, who according to the bronze tablet found at Beremend-Idamajor had started his career as a lawyer and became the governor of Lugdunensis Tertia after the 380s (ILS 8987).[42]

Ammianus used similar adjectives for describing the people around Maximinus:

[40] Cf. Helm 1956: p. XVIII. All other dates, which follow O. Seeck (cf. Demandt 1969: 600, 602–605; Errington 1996: 444, n. 38), and lay the blame on Valentinian for the execution of the *magister militum*, were proposed in the period before the discovery of the codex of the *Chronicon Oxoniensis*, which clearly gives a date of 376.

[41] Nagy 1944–1946: 244–257; Roncaioli 1980–1981: 245–249; Bertolino 1997: 115–127.

[42] Mommsen 1902a: 836–840 = Mommsen 1905: 150–154 = 1902b: 279–283; Thomas 1964: 270–273; Nagy 1987–1988: 242–243.

Leo: XXVI.1.6. *exitialis postea magister officiorum*

XXVIII.1.12. *bustuarius quidam latro Pannonius, efflans ferino rictu crudelitatem, etiam ipse nihilo minus humani sanguinis avidissimus*

Simplicius: XXVIII.1.45. *post administratam nec erectus nec tumidus sed obliquo aspectu terribilis, qui conpositis ad modestiam verbis acerba meditabatur in multos*

XXVIII.1.46. *in cruento enim certamine cum Maximino velut antepilano suo contendens, superare eum in succidendis familiarum nobilium nervis studebat, Busirim veterem et Antaeum imitatus et Phalarim, ut taurus ei solus deesse videretur Agrigentinus*

Valentinus: XXVIII.3.4. *Valentinus quidam in Valeria Pannoniae superbi spiritus homo quietis inpatiens malefica bestia ad res perniciosas consurgebat et novas*

Doryphorianus: XXVIII.1.53. *quidam repertus est Gallus, audax ad usque insaniam*

XXVIII.1.55. *iudex, quin immo praedo nefandus*

XXIX.2.22. *Festinus quidam Tridentinus ultimi sanguinis et ignoti*

Similar adjectives appear in his portraits of Petronius and Serenianus, even though they had nothing to do with Maximinus, and the latter's rise cannot be linked to the new dynasty.

XXVI.5.7–8.7. *socer Petronius, ex praeposito Martensium militum promotus repentino saltu patricius, animo deformis et habitu, qui ad nudandos sine discretione cunctos inmaniter flagrans, nocentes pariter et insontes post exquisita tormenta quadrupli nexibus vinciebat, debita iam inde a temporibus principis Aureliani perscrutans et inpendio maerens, si quemquam absolvisset indemnem.*

8. *cuius morum intolerantiae haec quoque pernicies accedabat quod, cum ditaretur luctibus alienis, erat inexorabilis et crudelis et intrepido corde crudissimus, nec reddendae nec accipiendae rationis umquam capax, invisior Cleandro quem agentem sub imperatore Commodo praefecturam sublata vecordia diversas legimus vexasse fortunas, et onerosior Plautiano qui praefectus itidem sub Severo ultra mortale tumens cuncta confuderat, ni gladio perisset ultore.*

XXVI.10.1–2. *cuius mors saluti plurimis fuit. nam si victoriae superfuisset incultis moribus homo et nocendi acerbitate conflagrans, Valentique ob similitudinem morum et genitalis patriae vicinitatem acceptus, occultas voluntates principis introspiciens ad crudelitatem propensioris multas innocentium ediderat strages.*

What gave rise to the dislike against the Pannonians?

(1) Their rapid rise to power and their lowly origins (Maximinus' grandparents were Carpic coloni) were major grievances in every case. They can probably be identified with the *foedi homines*, to whom the author of the *Epit. De Caes.* alluded in relation to Valentinian (45.6. *foedis hominibus, quis sese quasi fidissimis prudentissimisque dederat*), in whom the emperor placed his trust (Alföldi 1952: 54, 134–135, n. 22). Ammianus voices a similar opinion: XXVIII.1.42. *in id tempus aut non multo prius scopae florere sunt visae, quibus nobilitatis curia mundabatur, idque portendebat extollendos quosdam despicatissimae sortis ad gradus postestatum excelsos*. Symmachus went even further in his despise of their ancestry, especially of Maximinus', according to whom the death of Maximinus and his group *abrogata est externis moribus vis nocendi* (Or. IV.13; cf. IV.10 *an improbi et externi mores exemplo saeculi vincerentur*).[43]

(2) Another source of the violent dislike was their appointment to prominent positions (which, obviously, prevented the old patricians from obtaining these posts) and their influence over the emperor as well as the fact that Maximinus and his group, although dreaded and feared (Amm. XXVIII.1.38) and regarded as upstarts, could pass judgement on the members of the old, prestigious families, which quite justifiably gave rise to bitter feelings among the leading circles of Rome.

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43 Alföldi 1952: 102, 121.

(3) Ammianus Marcellinus, who lived in Rome at the time and wrote his last books after 392, was able to freely pen his thoughts without any constraints after the fall of the Pannonians (following Valentinian II's death, he did not even have to mince his words about Valentinian, cf. his portrayal using similar adjectives as for his followers: XXX.8, *saevitia, avaritia, invidia et timor*) and he could faithfully record the sentiments of his noble and pagan friends (not only the feelings of Symmachus and his followers).[44]

(4) If Theodosius' fall had indeed been engineered by Maximinus and his group, which would seem logical after the Valentinus affair, the general disgust with the Pannonians is quite understandable.

In the light of the above we may conclude that even though we can hardly speak of a Pannonian *factio* in the strict sense, there did exist in Valentinian's court a group whose members were largely of Pannonian and Illyrian stock, resembling Petronius' in the east. This group, which was not organised exclusively along origins, had Illyrians and others among its members, who helped their relatives' and friends' advancement. In addition to the common ancestry, they often shared a similar background (*grammaticus*, like Simplicius; lawyers, like Maximinus and Valerius Dalmatius). After Valentinian's death, their star waned and most paid with their lives for their rapid rise (e.g. *promotus repentino saltu patricius*). It seems to me that the latter conforms to the classical concept of a factio. Given that Ammianus described Petronius' circle as a *factio* (XXVI.7.4), the same term can be rightly used for Maximinus' group too. In his Ecclesiastic History, Rufinus makes the following remark in his account of Damasus' trial: XI.10. Qu*ae res factione Maximini praefecti saevi hominis, ad invidiam boni et innocentis versa est sacerdotis*. A little later (Coşkun 2002: 186–192), Hieronymus' Chronicon contains the following remark for the year 376 regarding the elder Theodosius' death (codd. LMB): Chron. Min. I. p. 631. *Theodosius ... factione eorum periit qui ipsi mox caesi sunt, id est Maximini ex praefecto et ceteri*. In this sense, we can speak of an "Illyrian front", whose members were at all times *fidissimi* to Valentinian, whom the emperor could fully trust (cf. Viventius' assignment regarding Valentinian and Valens' illness).

In the light of the above, we may rightly conclude that Ammianus and his pagan friends, the *amici* of Rome (and the Christian *clerici* of Rome) did not have a particularly high opinion of the recent advancement of Pannonians into prominent positions, to say the least – and thus the picture painted of Maximinus and his group is rather tendentious. It must also be borne in mind that a pagan aristocrat in a higher office living in Rome during Maximinus' term of office can hardly have harboured positive hopes for the future.

Abbreviations

AE	*L'Année épigraphique*
CAH	A. Cameron & P. Garnsey (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History: The Late Empire, AD 337–425*, vol. 13, Cambridge, 1998.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vienna – Salzburg
ICUR	*Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*, Rome 1922–
ILCV	E. Diehl (ed.), *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, 4 vols., Berlin, 1925–1967.
ILS	H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1892–1916.
PLRE	A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale & J. Morris, *The prosopography of the later Roman empire I*, Cambridge, 1971.
PWRE	*Pauly-Wissowa Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart

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[44] Cameron 1964: 15–28; Selem 1971–1972: 1–50.

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Grave find of a clasp knife bone handle with a representation of Hercules from the position of Schicht's administrative building in the area of Mursa's eastern necropolis

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The paper deals with the issue of several skeletal graves found in 1937 during the construction of the Schicht-Lever chemical industry's administrative building in Osijek, present-day Saponia d. d., in Matije Gupca Street. Since the graves were not found during systematic archaeological excavations, and the finds in question are of an older date, archaeological documentation is completely missing and the only available data on some grave finds are registered in the first inventory book of the Museum, the so-called, Celestin's Book, in addition to the Meeting Minutes of Društvo prijatelja starina "Mursa" (Antiquity Afficionados' Society "Mursa") from October 1937 and a newspaper article in Hrvatski list (Croatian Times) from December 1937. The paper examines the Roman clasp knife bone handle with a representation of Hercules found in one of the abovementioned graves discovered in Mursa's eastern necropolis.

Keywords: *clasp knife bone handle, Hercules, skeletal grave, eastern necropolis, Mursa*

Introduction

In 1937, during the construction of the Schicht-Lever chemical industry's administrative building in Osijek, present-day Saponia d. d. in Matije Gupca Street, several Roman brick-built skeletal graves were discovered. The graves were found in Mursa's eastern necropolis 1.75 meters deep, while the size and orientation of the burial are not known (Buntak 1937: 14; Bulat 1989: 34; Göricke-Lukić 2000: 40–41, 60, 136–137; Göricke-Lukić 2011: 88, 90–91). In her monograph *Sjeveroistočna nekropola rimske Murse (Northeastern Necropolis of the Roman Mursa)*, H. Göricke-Lukić categorized these graves as Graves 38–40 (Göricke-Lukić 2000: 18–19). According to H. Göricke-Lukić, Grave 38 is a type of brick-built grave with a triangular cross section, a Type I grave, in other words. This type of grave has a square bottom paved with bricks where the body of the deceased was placed with grave goods and then covered with bricks mounted on a ridge. The bricks were then attached with plaster and imbrex (ridge caps). Grave 39 belongs to Type 1/a graves which are prismatic with a flat roof, with the bottom and sides of the rectangular pit layered with bricks and covered with one or two rows of bricks. The sides are plastered. Grave 40 belongs to the type of prismatic grave with a sloping roof – Type 1/b. The bottom and sides of the rectangular pit are bricked up and plastered, while the bricks placed on the ridge make the roof of the tomb (Göricke-Lukić 2000: 18–19, 40–41, 136–137; Göricke-Lukić 2011: 27).

The issue of the so-called Graves 38–40

According to the records from *Celestin's Book* and *Inventarna knjiga I.* and *II.* (*Inventory Book I* and *II)*, it is evident that a systematic archaeological excavation was not carried out on the position of Schicht's administrative building, resulting in the lack of any documentation for the graves in question. Only sporadic data have been recorded on certain grave finds (type of find, location of find, dimensions), without details of grave units in the Museum inventory books, and with some information provided in the Meeting Minutes of the *Društvo prijatelja starina "Mursa" (Antiquity Afficionados' Society "Mursa")* from October 1937 and in a newspaper article in *Hrvatski list (Croatian Times)*[1] from December 1937.

The reason for not carrying out archaeological excavation or at least supervision is lack of resources and professional staff at the Osijek City Museum at the time. More precisely, the Museum had only one expert employed full-time – Franjo Buntak[2]. He assumed the role of head curator from prof. Vjekoslav Celestin[3] on January 1, 1937 and performed all activities related to the work of the Museum, such as, museum management, acquisition and inventory of materials, permanent exhibition work, collection of materials on the field, writing professional papers, etc. (Kovač 2017b: 26–28).

According to the Meeting Minutes IV of the regular monthly meeting of *Društvo prijatelja starina "Mursa"*, which took place on October 5, 1937, its member, curator Franjo Buntak reported under item X the finds discovered while digging the foundations of Jugošiht Palace[4] near a Lower Town square[5]. What needs to be taken into account are the conditions in which Buntak collected the findings for the Museum as is evident from the Minutes: "Sadly, despite the utmost care and even though Jugošiht's director Švank promised the workers would receive 10 dinars for each find, they / mostly people from Lika and Dalmatia / use any means necessary to hide and sell around town anything they find, convinced it is highly valuable, so a lot of different objects are sold around town." (Grubišić 2005: 113). Curator Buntak did whatever he could under such circumstances to collect and document on site.

One of the reasons why data on these grave finds are very scarce is that, at the time, there was no Museum *Entry Book (Knjiga ulaska),*[6] listing all the items that entered the Museum and the relevant information. There was only the inventory book – the so-called *Celestin's Book*, introduced by prof. Vjekoslav Celestin and passed on to Buntak after his predecessor died. This inventory book has records of some objects found at Schicht's administrative building in 1937, and the same items were later copied to the independent inventory books of the Archaeology Department.[7] The lack of archaeological documentation creates a major problem in classifying the grave goods into a single grave unit. Because there was no entry book at the time, we do not have a unique list of all the items that entered the Museum in 1937, which

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1 Franjo Buntak, "Rimski grobovi u Osijeku. Nešto o nalazima prigodom kopanja temelja za nove zgrade tvornice Schicht-Lever" ("Roman Graves in Osijek. A few words on the finds discovered while laying the foundations of the new Schicht-Lever factory building").

2 Franjo Buntak (1910–1985) was an art historian and archaeologist who replaced professor Vjekoslav Celestin in 1937 as the curator of the Osijek Museum. He advocated a new permanent exhibition, an increase in the number of items, archaeological excavations and supervisions. He played a significant role for the development of museology in Croatia and is the author of the *Osječki Gradski muzej* (*Osijek City Museum*, 1940), one of the pioneering museum documents in Croatia. He held his position until June 1941 when he returned to Zagreb.

3 Vjekoslav Celestin (1862–1936) was a professor of classical philology at the Osijek Classical Gymnasium. He was the head of the Osijek Museum and curator from 1893, holding that office for the next 46 years. In addition to the enormous efforts he invested in providing a permanent space for the Museum and the increase of the Museum's depot, his role in the inventory of archeological and numismatic objects and the establishment of the Museum Hemeroteque and the *Essekiana* Collection is particularly relevant.

4 A common name used for the Schicht-Lever factory at the time.

5 Present-day Bana Josipa Jelačića Square in the Lower Town.

6 *Knjiga ulaska (Entry Book)* were instated at the Museum of Slavonia only in 1949.

7 *Inventarna knjiga I. (Inventory Book I)* of the Archaeology Department was established in 1953. The first entry was made on January 30, 1953. It is important to note that *Celestin's Book* was, up until then, the only comprehensive book with all the items which were brought to the Museum, with items ranging from archaeological, historical, natural history, arts and crafts and other objects. After it was decided that inventory books should be kept separatly for each department, all the archaeological data were copied to the new inventory books of the Archaeology Department.

would be extremely helpful in this case. The items were probably accompanied by some notes, otherwise, even these few pieces of information would not exist in the inventory books.

In the above mentioned Minutes of the *Društvo prijatelja starina "Mursa"*, Franjo Buntak states that during the digging of the Jugošiht building's foundations, relatively few objects were found. Additionally, he points out Mithras' altar, Mithras' relief and little bone Hercules as relevant finds. He also says that "Everything else that was found are sundries" (Grubišić 2005: 113). Therefore, Buntak did not bring a complete list nor a detailed description of the grave finds. In *Hrvatski list* he wrote: "Same as with other objects, there were also relatively few coins. Among those, we have Probus, Gordian III, Tacit, Numerian, and Carinus coins... Apart from coins, two fragments of necklace were found, a fragment of an object which must have been used as an ornamental pendant for a dress and a bottom of an Aretine ware. It is extremely important to mention a very lovely Hercules figurine made of bone...". This is where Buntak also mentions two stone monuments found 3 meters deep – the altar and relief of Mithra (Buntak 1937:14). He does not mention other finds, neither in the Minutes from October 5, nor in the article from December 4, 1937, but some of them are known from the Museum inventory books.

H. Göricke-Lukić in her two monographs on Mursa necropolises presented the values (type and number of finds) for different types of graves in tables, along with a disclaimer that this is not a complete and actual picture because the graves were found totally or partially devastated. She also shows that items for which the exact number could not be identified and which were registered, and can not be reliably identified today, are shown in the table with the label + (Göricke-Lukić 2000: 40–41; Göricke-Lukić 2011: 91). This refers to the finds from the so-called Graves 38–40. The author offers a list of finds for Graves 38–40 as follows: 3rd century coins,[8] a clay pot,[9] a terra sigillata cup,[10] four iron nails,[11] an iron chisel,[12] necklace fragments,[13] and the most interesting find in our case, mirror bone handle in the shape of Hercules[14] (Göricke-Lukić 2000: 136–137; Göricke-Lukić 2011: 91, 118–119, 125, 140, 205).

Caution should be advised because there is no archaeological documentation, so in interpreting the grave unit, we rely solely on the information that was included in the inventory books a few decades ago, as well as the daily press releases and brief notes from the Minutes of the *Društvo prijatelja starina "Mursa"*. While writing this paper, we noticed several illogical and ambiguous pieces of information in recent releases that are not in line with the information presented by Franjo Buntak on two occasions or those from the inventory books related to the grave units found during the construction of Schicht's administrative building in 1937.

Buntak wrote about the abovementioned graves in *Hrvatski list*, where he did not mention the exact number of graves, only stated that "a few Roman graves were found 1.75 m deep while digging. It's a pity that there are so few graves.". He also mentions that "all of the graves are brick-built, triangular, square or in the shape of an upsidedown trapeze" (Buntak 1937: 14). H. Göricke-Lukić reports that three graves were found and named them Grave 38, Grave 39 and Grave 40, and mentions Buntak's article from *Hrvatski*

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[8] Due to missing documentation, coins cannot be clearly identified neither in terms of number, nor location of their find. According to Franjo Buntak's reports, these are imperial coins as follows: Gordian III (238–244), Tacitus (275–276), Probus (276–282), Numerian (283–284) and Carinus (283–285). H. Göricke-Lukić states that it is impossible to identify these coins today at the depot of the Museum of Slavonia's Numismatic Department (Buntak 1937: 14; H. Göricke-Lukić 2000: 136; Göricke-Lukić 2011: 205).

[9] Published under inventory number: MSO-AA-1338 (H. Göricke-Lukić 2000: 136; Göricke-Lukić 2011: 205), presently inventory number AMO-AA-1338. Change in nomenclature of all inventory numbers occurred in 2018 when the Archaeological Museum Osijek was established and all the Collections from the Archaeology Department of the Museum of Slavonia became part of the Archaeological Museum Osijek.

[10] Inventory number: AMO-AA-5928. Published in 2000 and 2011 (Göricke-Lukić 2000: 136; Göricke-Lukić 2011: 205) where it was mistakenly cited as inventory number MSO-AA-5937. This cup bottom (Drag. 33) has a stamp: MELAVSSVS (Bulat 1958: 81).

[11] Inventory number: AMO-AA-6883/1–AMO-AA-6883/4 (Göricke-Lukić 2000: 136; Göricke-Lukić 2011: 205).

[12] Inventory number: AMO-AA-6884 (Göricke-Lukić 2000: 136; Göricke-Lukić 2011: 205).

[13] Not included in the inventory and impossible to identify physically.

[14] Inventory number: AMO-AA-5694. The typology was mistakenly set as a mirror knife handle in Bulat 1989, Göricke-Lukić 2000 and 2011. The item is actually a clasp knife bone handle with a representation of Hercules (Kovač 2017a: 99–101, 299–300, T.5: 16).

list as a source, but Buntak did not mention the exact number of graves found in the "Schicht Palace". H. Göricke-Lukić probably concluded there were three graves because Buntak mentioned their shape and listed three different types of graves. In fact, today we can not state for sure how many graves were found at the position of the new Schicht-Lever factory administrative building site in 1937, since the exact data was never written, published or simply preserved in the documentation of the Museum of Slavonia.[15]

Similarly, *Inventarna knjiga I.* states that the clay pot (AMO-AA-1338) was found in the position of "the soap factory in 1939 when the foundation was laid at a depth of 3 m" and that it was introduced into the Museum as a gift from Jovan Gojković in 1947 (*Inventarna knjiga I.*, inv. no. 1338). The two pieces of data do not match in this case – the year 1939 and the depth of the find itself, because Buntak reported on finding the graves in 1937 at 1.75 m. It could be that Gojković mistakenly wrote the wrong year of the find when the donation was made, but given that he also mentioned the depth of 3 m there may have been a record of the circumstances of the find from the very beginning, but we can not know that with certainty. It is possible that this find does not belong to one of the graves found in 1937 or it was actually found in that position, but two years later at another excavation in the factory area. Moreover, when we checked the documentation on the construction of the Schicht-Lever factory's administrative building in the Osijek State Archives[16] we found that the Request for a Building Inspection was received on July 26, 1938 (*Uporabna dozvola 1938*). This certainly points to the fact that the building was already built in the summer of 1938.

The situation with the four nails finds (AMO-AA-6883/1–AMO-AA-6883/4) and the iron chisel (AMO-AA-6884) is also unclear. In *Inventarna knjiga II.* the year 1937 is not mentioned as the year of the find, only "193?..." with a description of the findings as: "Osk, d. g.,[17] the left SW cornerstone at Saponia (Šiht) with human bones, 2 m deep" (*Inventarna knjiga II.*, inv. no. 6883/1–6883/4; 6884). It is possible that this was in 1937, not only because the location and description place the finds at the SW cornerstone of Saponia, but human bones found 2 m deep are also mentioned, which is very similar to Buntak's record of 1.75 m.

Clasp knife bone handle with a representation of Hercules

Clasp knife handles are not a Roman invention and have been known since the Iron Age. The oldest clasp blades with a bone handle date from the Hallstatt culture period (Ha D), found in graves at the Hallstatt site in Austria. In the later period, they appear on other sites across Europe, such as grave 10 at Ménfőcsanak in Transdanubia from the late Iron Age (LT B / LT C) (Horvath *et al.* 1987: 38, 40, Pl. X: 5a–5c; Kromer 1959a: 72, 76; 1959b: Taf. 31: Fig. 8, Taf. 32: Fig. 21). However, it was only with the process of romanization that figurative representations were introduced on such items and are now considered to be one of the most abundant iconographic representations of the Roman era (Anderes 2009: 202; Kovač 2017a: 99).

Clasp knife handles could be made of wood and metal, while one of the favorite raw materials is certainly bone raw material (bone, horn, antler and ivory) (Jackson & Friendship-Taylor, 2002: 24; Kovač 2017a: 98). Bone raw material has an advantage over other raw materials in the manufacture process due to strength and elasticity, since the handles, due to their specific purposes, had to withstand significant stress while being used (Kovač 2017a: 98).

What separates clasp knife handles from other handles is that the metal blade could move without the help of a spring. It moved only with the help of a kind of pivot pin inserted into a perforation on one side of the handle, so the blade could be folded into the handle, allowing safe carrying.

Clasp knife handles are commonly found at Roman sites, and some specimens, especially figural handles, often fall into the category of top quality artisanship (Anderes 2009: 202). Favorite motifs

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15 I would like to thank my colleague Ante Grubišić of Museum of Slavonia's History Department for helping me examine the Documentary Collection of the said Department. Unfortunately, no lists related to archaeological items have been preserved from the 1930s, Buntak's period at the Museum, nor lists of grave inventories for the Schicht-Lever factory area.

16 I would like to thank my colleague Danijel Jelaš, Phd for helping me examine the documentation at the Osijek State Archive regarding the Schicht-Lever factory.

17 OSK, d. g. = Osijek, Donji grad (Lower Town).

on figuratively shaped handles are gladiators, mythical heroes such as Hercules,[18] various deities[19] or animals[20] often depicted in hunting scenes (Biró 1997: 180; Giovanni 2004: 10; Fries 2008: 32). Along with the exceptionally popular representations of a gladiator or two fighting gladiators, Hercules was a particularly common motif, most often depicted on Roman objects with his two main attributes – club and Nemean lion skin.[21] Hercules' attributes are only displayed as the hero holds them or across his shoulder / back (Maršić 2007: 11).

In Roman mythology, Hercules is the equivalent to the Greek god Heracles. This most famous hero of Antiquity is the son of the supreme god Zeus (Jupiter) and the mortal Alcmene. Zeus's wife, Hera (Juno), knowing her husband was unfaithful, tried to kill his unlawful son by any means necessary and made his life miserable. That is why, although he was born as Alcides, his mother changed his name to Heracles, which means "Glory of Hera" in order to appease Hera. But Hera was relentless and persecuted him for years, even when he was a grown man with wife and children. Hera turned him mad and made him kill his family. In order to atone for his sins, he was placed in the service of the king of Mycenae and Tiryns, King Eurystheus, who gave him the famous Twelve Labours.[22] As a hero, he is known for his superhuman strength and the courage he showed in executing these twelve dangerous labours (Sanader 1994: 88; Kovačec 2002: 527; Mark 2014). He is known as the patron of merchants, profit and success, athletics, youth, palestras, gymnasiums, baths, healing springs, roads, passengers and liberators, but also as an inspiration for theatrical plays and literary works. His cult is well represented in the Roman provinces, as well as in the Republic of Croatia where a large number of Roman finds have been discovered with the representation of this hero (Pinterović 1967: 48–49; Sanader 1994: 90–93, 96–114; Busuladžić 2017: 164–166).

From our point of interest, the most relevant find from the position of the new Schicht-Lever administrative building is certainly the clasp knife bone handle with a representation of the hero and demi-god Hercules (Fig. 1). In some previous publications, this item's typology was erroneously defined as a

Fig. 1. Clasp knife bone handle with representation of Hercules, Archaeological Museum Osijek, AMO-AA-5694 (photograph: D. Jelaš, 2019).

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18 Example can be found in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier (Fries, 2008: 33), in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles (Moreno 1982: 477, 518), in Landesmuseum Bonn (Hale 2018; LVR / AB 2018) etc.

19 Examples can be found in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier: Pan (Fries, 2008: 32), Amor (Fries, 2008: 34) and Aphrodite (Fries, 2008: 35–36); from the Porolissum site in Romania: Amor riding a dolphin (Vass 2011: 297); from Avenches in Switzerland: gladiator and Amor (Schenk 2008: 192, 269) etc.

20 Examples can be found in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier: dog (Fries, 2008: 27), lion (Fries, 2008: 28), dolphin (Fries, 2008: 29) and pig's hoof (Fries, 2008: 30); from the Porolissum site in Romania: Amor riding a dolphin (Vass 2011: 297); from Lemonum in France: dolphin (Bertrand 2008: Fig. 22/1) etc.

21 Other common attributes include a bow and arrow, apples of the Hesperides and a goblet (Maršić 2007: 122).

22 The Twelve Labours of Hercules: kill the Nemean Lion; kill the Hydra of Lerna; capture the Cerynitian Hind; capture the Erymanthian Boar; clean the Stables of Augeius; drive away the Stymphalian Birds; bring back the Cretan Bull; bring back the Mares of Diomedes; bring back Hippolyte's Girdle; bring back the cattle of Geryon; bring back the Golden Apples of Hesperides; and bring back Cerberus from the underworld.

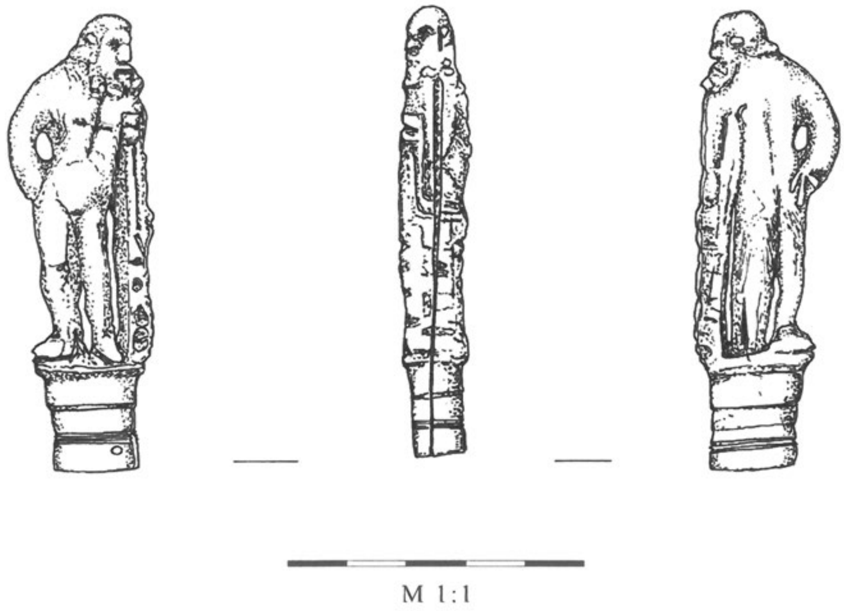

Fig. 2. Drawing of a clasp knife bone handle with representation of Hercules, Archaeological Museum Osijek, AMO-AA-5694 (drawing by: D. Radman, 2016).

mirror bone handle (Bulat 1989: 45; Göricke-Lukić 2000: 43, 60, 63, 136; Göricke-Lukić 2011: 205) or mirror bronze handle (Göricke-Lukić 2011: 118–119). It is, in fact, a clasp knife bone handle with traces of green patina that was most likely caused by corrosion of the bronze blade set in the lower part of the handle, a pedestal on which the hero stands. The item's typology was indeed correctly defined in 1962 by Danica Pinterović as a clasp knife handle in her article "O rimskoj bronci s terena Osijeka i okolice"[23] and later in her monograph from 1978 (Pinterović 1962: 102; Pinterović 1978: T. LXV, 1).

Our clasp knife handle (AMO-AA-5694)[24] was made of compact long bone tissue of a large mammal, most likely cattle, and shaped like a standing figure of Hercules, who is leaning on the left on his deadly club (Fig. 2). The hero is nude, standing in contrapposto on an oval pedestal which is also part of the folding mechanism of the handle, showing a perforation for inserting the pivot pin which secured the blade. The pedestal has simple ornaments in the form of two groups of ringed notches, with two horizontal notches in the one group, and one horizontal notch in the other. The incision for the blade is located at the side of the club, at Hercules' left hand. The robustness of the club is rendered in irregular notches along the entire club. Hercules is depicted as a manly and muscular man, which is the usual way of representing this superhuman hero, resting on his club. His face is well formed and treated with much more detail than the muscular body with stylized muscles on his chest, abdomen and back. His head is dominated by a strong nose and a lush beard. On the part of the handle with the perforation for the folding mechanism there are traces of green patina, most likely from the blade which has not been preserved (Kovač 2017a: 299–300, cat. no. 16, T. 17: 16). As previously mentioned, our handle, according to grave goods found in the abovementioned graves, can be dated to the 3rd century, more precisely, in the period between 238–285 (Bulat, 1989: 45, 58, cat. no. 141; Göricke-Lukić, 2000: 41, 60–61, TXVI: 1; Göricke-Lukić, 2011: 119).

An almost identical handle to this one is kept at the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Trier (Fries, 2008: 33), differing from ours in several ways. Hercules from Trier (Fig. 3) is holding his club over his left shoulder with his left arm while our Hercules is resting with his left hand on the club. The Trier Hercules is also standing in contrapposto on an oval pedestal, but unlike ours, the Trier specimen has other attributes of the hero – the skin of the Nemean lion, as well the apple of the Hesperides in his right hand pressed against his chest. The incision for the blade is in the same place as on our specimen, on the left side of the club. Both items are of equal quality.

[23] "About the Roman bronze from Osijek and surrounding sites".

[24] Dimensions: height: 7.55 cm; width: 2.3 cm; thickness: 1.1 cm.

Fig. 3. Clasp knife bone handle with representation of Hercules, Rheinischen Landesmuseum Trier, Inv. 720 (according to: Fries 2008: 33).

A beautiful clasp knife with a bone handle representing Hercules was found in 2017 in the sarcophagus[25] of a young Roman woman[26] in Zülpich (Germany), the Roman *Tolbiacum* (Hale 2008; LVR / AB 2018). This excellent piece of work shows the manly, bearded Hercules as he is resting on the club under his left arm. The body is muscular and highly detailed. This handle is a much finer piece of work than both our and the Trier one, and what also distinguishes it from the latter two is the fact that the blade of this clasp knife has been preserved.

Conclusion

This paper attempts to clarify the issue of brick-built skeletal graves found in 1937 during the construction of the administrative building of the Lower Town Schicht-Lever chemical factory in Osijek, present-day Saponia d. d., located in what used to be Mursa's eastern necropolis. From the case outlined, it is apparent how important it is to have detailed data from an archaeological site and how important the documentation kept during systematic archeological excavation is. By reading the literature published on the skeletal graves found at the aforementioned location in the Lower Town and the records in the inventory books of the Museum, we noticed several inconsistencies and ambiguities.

In his article in *Hrvatski list*, Franjo Buntak did not mention the exact number of graves, only that these graves were very few. The three graves (Grave 38, Grave 39 and Grave 40) mentioned in H. Göricke-Lukić's publications are actually a misinterpretation of the information provided by Franjo Buntak in his article for *Hrvatski list*, where he does not mention the exact number of graves, only three different types of graves appearing on the site. The exact number of graves was never published by Franjo Buntak, neither in *Hrvatski list*, nor in the Minutes of the *Društvo prijatelja starina "Mursa"*. Furthermore, apart from the unestablished number of graves, it is also unclear which grave goods were found in which grave. In the *Inventarna knjiga I.*, for the ceramic pot the year 1939 is listed as the year of the discovery, which does not coincide with Buntak's data about the foundations being laid in 1937, nor with the data we found in the Osijek State Archives, where it is apparent that the Use Permit was issued in the summer of 1938, which

[25] Grave goods were dated to the 3rd century, consisting of: glass perfume bottles, a make-up pallette, bone hairpins (one with a golden head) and needles, gold and jet bracelets, decorative clasp knife bone handle depicting Hercules, necklace fragments and a silver hand mirror.

[26] She was 25 to 30 years old.

excludes the possibility that it was one of the grave finds found while digging the foundations in 1937. For four iron nails and an iron chisel in *Inventarna knjiga II.*, the year of the finds is not listed as 1937, there is only "193?...", but it is very likely that these findings are from 1937, given that there is data referring to the SW cornerstone of Saponia as the place of those finds, and a mention of human bones found 2 m deep, which is very similar to 1.75 m mentioned in Franjo Buntak's article from 1937. It is also known that 3rd century imperial coins were found in the graves: Gordian III (238–244), Tacitus (275–276), Probus (276–282), Numerian (283–284) and Carinus (283–285). It is unknown which coins were found in which grave and they can not be identified in the depot of the Museum of Slavonia's Numismatic Department, which is where these coins should be.

In our view, the most interesting of all the found grave goods is the clasp knife bone handle with a depiction of a resting hero and demi-god Hercules, made of compact long bone tissue of a large mammal. Our Hercules is shown in one of the most familiar poses, which appears in both small and monumental plastic art pieces, leaning on his most common attribute – his club. Stylistically speaking, a handle identical to ours can be found at the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Trier where Hercules has two other attributes – the apple of the Hesperides and the skin of the Nemean lion. Both of these handles show in the best light the beauty and the artisanship of Roman bone carving.

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Nekoliko detalja o gradnji Gomile u Jalžabetu

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U rujnu 2017. g., tijekom provedbe međunarodnog projekta „Monumentalni krajolici starijega željeznog doba Podunavlja“ u kojemu uz partnere iz pet srednjoeuropskih zemalja sudjeluje i Institut za arheologiju iz Zagreba[1], arheološka ekipa Instituta za arheologiju utvrdila je da je jedan od najpoznatijih prapovijesnih spomenika na tlu Republike Hrvatske i jedan od rijetkih gigantskih neistraženih prapovijesnih grobnih humaka Srednje Europe opljačkan i prilikom pljačke teško oštećen. Policijska istraga je u tijeku, za počiniteljima ovog teškog kulturocida se traga. Zbog opasnosti od daljnjeg oštećenja ovog vrijednog arheološkog spomenika, zahvaljujući interventnim sredstvima Ministarstva kulture Republike Hrvatske, Institut za arheologiju pokrenuo je početkom zime 2017. hitna zaštitna istraživanja, koja su se nastavila i tijekom 2018. Tijekom dvije kampanje, istražen je veliki dio tumula. Nastavak terenskih istraživanja planira se u 2019., a složen i dugotrajan proces konzervacije i restauracije nalaza tek je počeo. Stoga se ovdje donose prvi rezultati istraživanja i dio promišljanja o gradnji golemog tumula.

Ključne riječi: *Jalžabet, Gomila, središnja Hrvatska, starije željezno doba, halštatska kultura, nekropola, gigantski pogrebni humak, antika*

Položaj i povijest istraživanja lokaliteta u Jalžabetu

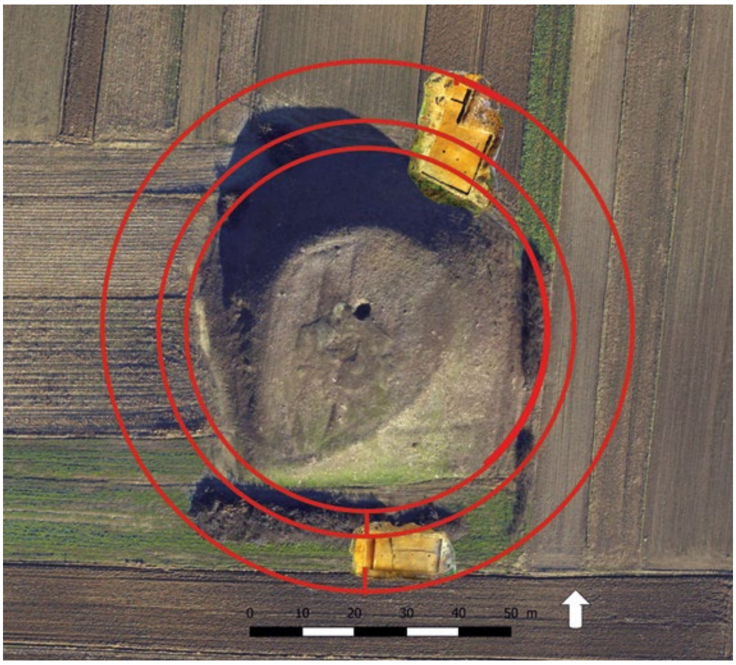
Lokalitet u Jalžabetu nalazi se oko 2 kilometra istočno od centra Jalžabeta, s lijeve strane ceste Jalžabet – Ludbreg, uz sam južni rub dravske ravnice (sl. 1). Nizinskim, blago valovitim područjem dominira veliki tumul Gomila zapadno od kojeg teče potok Bistričak. Naselje starijega željeznog doba nalazi se u blizini, preko potoka, na položaju označenom imenom Carev jarek. Tijekom 2017. g. otvorena je jedna sonda na području pretpostavljenog naselja halštatske kulture te su tom prilikom istražena dva kvadratna duboko ukopana podruma (*“kvadratische halbgrubenhäuser”*). Taj tip objekata susrećemo često u naseljima starijega željeznog doba u Podravini, ali i izvan nje (Kovačević 2008). U zapuni ovih objekata na Carevom jarku pronašli smo obilje pokretnog arheološkog materijala koji je nedvosmisleno potvrdio postojanje naselja starijega željeznog doba na tom položaju (Kovačević 2018).

Pretpostavljamo da je Gomila u Jalžabetu dio veće nekropole starijega željeznog doba na Bistričaku, fokalna točka arheološkog pogrebno-ritualnog krajolika. Ona je spomenik europskog i svjetskog značenja i

[1] Institut za arheologiju kao projektni partner 6 sudjeluje na projektu „Monumentalni krajolici starijeg željeznog doba na prostoru Podunavlja“–*“Monumentalized Early Iron Age Landscapes in the Danube river basin”*, akronima *“Iron-Age-Danube“*, (šifra projekta DTP1-1-248-2.2) koji se provodi u sklopu programa Europske unije, Interreg Program transnacionalne suradnje Dunav 2014. – 2020. Vrijeme provedbe projekta je od 01.01.2017. do 30.09.2019. g.

Slika 1. Geografski položaj Jalžabeta.

jedan je od najvećih grobnih humaka u srednjoj Europi, promjera oko 70 m, a sačuvane visine veće od 8 m. Prve sustavne preglede terena na prostoru sjeverozapadne Hrvatske s ciljem ubiciranja i kartiranja tumula starijega željeznog doba provela je 1956. godine ekipa Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu. Uslijedilo je probno sondiranje jalžabetskog tumula koje je 1963. godine proveo Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu. Otvorene su dvije sonde na padini humka. Sondiranjem se doprlo do sloja oblutaka nakon čega su sonde bile zatrpane, a istraživanja stala (Vinski-Gasparini 1978: fn. 49a, sl. 7). Nekoliko desetljeća kasnije, 1989. godine, tijekom terenskog pregleda šireg područja Bistričaka primijećeni su, uz jednu od oranica istočno od Gomile, izorani komadi pješčenjaka. Nakon probnog sondiranja koje je proveo Gradski muzej Varaždin, uslijedilo je zaštitno istraživanje humka nazvanog tumul 2 (Šimek 1998; 2001). Bogatstvo grobnih priloga, ostatci složene grobne arhitekture te tragovi kompliciranoga pogrebnog ritusa označili su tumul 2 kao posebno vrijednu grobnu cjelinu starijega željeznog doba kontinentalne Hrvatske i Srednje Europe. Nakon višedesetljetne pauze, Institut za arheologiju u rujnu 2017. provodio je probna arheološka istraživanja oko Gomile. Pri tome, u tri arheološke sonde, otkriveni su vrijedni nalazi koji nadopunjuju sasvim novim spoznaja arheološki profil lokaliteta Bistričak (Kovačević 2018a). Tako je utvrđeno da je prije podizanja tumula na Bistričaku i horizonta starijega željeznog doba na istom mjestu postojalo starije naselje, pretpostavljamo iz ranoga brončanog doba. Objekte koji pripadaju tom naselju – jame i peći – pronašli smo kako ispod same Gomile (2018.), tako i jugoistočno od Gomile prema šumi (sonda 3/2017). Unutar sonde 2/2017, koja se nalazila neposredno uz južni rub Gomile, pronađen je nekoliko desetaka centimetara debeo naseobinski sloj iz vremena Rimskog Carstva. U obje sonde uz gigantski tumul potvrđeno je postojanje velikog cirkularnog kanala koji je okruživao Gomilu (sl. 2). Prema proračunima, njegove dimenzije su bile oko 100 m promjera, oko 15 m širine i do 2 m dubine. Pretpostavljamo da je iz kanala uziman materijal kojim se nasipavao tumul. Uz rubove kanala i na njegovom dnu, kako u sondi 1, tako i sondi 2 iz 2017. godine, pronađeno je nekoliko



Slika 2. Položaj sondi 1-2/2017 (digitalna dokumentacija M. Mađerić).

rupa od stupova. Čini se da se radilo o samostojećim drvenim trupcima, no ne treba isključiti ideju o postojanju neke vrste mosta preko dubokog i širokog kanala u kojem je morala, barem povremeno, stajati voda.

Prilikom ponovnog pokretanja arheoloških istraživanja u Jalžabetu nismo planirali ni željeli istraživati veliki tumul. No, nakon otkrića teškog vandalizma i pljačke, prilikom koje je Gomila u Jalžabetu ozbiljno oštećena, a zahvaljujući interventnim sredstvima Ministarstva kulture RH, Institut za arheologiju izrazio je spremnost za provođenjem hitnih zaštitnih istraživanja jalžabetske Gomile. U startu smo znali da nas čeka vrlo ozbiljan, zahtjevan i težak projekt koji, uza sve, započinjemo na početku zime. Veliki problem predstavljalo nam je pitanje sigurnosti, jer nismo znali u kojoj mjeri se iza urušenja dijelova pljačkaških rovova protežu šupljine i neotkriveni pljačkaški rovovi. Prva faza istraživanja počela je u zimu 2017., neposredno nakon otkrića kulturocida, te je završila krajem 2018. Uz velike napore uspjeli smo istražiti veliki dio tumula, uključujući i većinu unutrašnjosti grobne komore. Nastavak aheoloških istraživanja Gomile očekuje se tijekom 2019., a složeni i skupi postupci restauracije brojnih pokretnih nalaza te obrada digitalne terenske dokumentacije tek su počeli.

Istraživanja Gomile u Jalžabetu tijekom 2017. i 2018.

Zaštitna arheološka istraživanja 2017.–2018. obuhvatila su sondu širine oko 30, duljine oko 40 m, najveće dubine 8m, površine oko 1000 m^2 s oko 8000 m^3 zemlje. Nakon uklanjanja, zbog prorahljenosti materijala, količina zemlje je bila i za oko 30% veća. Arheološka sonda, orijentirana sjeveroistok-jugozapad obuhvatila je pretpostavljeno područje centralnog dijela tumula te pljačkaških sondi i nije probijala Gomilu u cijeloj širini u smjeru sjever-jug (sl. 3). Jedan od razloga za takav pristup je konfiguracija tumula danas; jugozapadna četvrtina Gomile je danas najniža jer su ljudi tu davno razvukli tumul i formirali rampu, što je i nama olakšalo pristup sondi. Odlučili smo da sjeverna strana tumula prema cesti – najsačuvanija i visoka oko 8 m – ostane netaknuta. Za to postoje dva dobra razloga; tako smo sačuvali njegovu prepoznatljivu vizuru, a istovremeno, veliki dio tumula je sačuvan kao arheološka rezerva. Uz to, količinu zemlje koju smo u ovim hitnim istraživanjima morali ukloniti smanjili smo barem za trećinu i tako ubrzali napredovanje radova[2].

Arheološku sondu smo postepeno stepenasto spuštali, kako bismo mogli dokumentirati arheološke profile i slojeve nasipavanja tumula. Četiri stepenice-nivelete su bile visoke i široke 2 m. Prva niveleta započinje na razini 180,6 m, a završava na 178,6 m n/m. Druga niveleta zauzima prostor od 178,6 m do 176,6 m itd. Takvu metodologiju arheološkog istraživanja preuzeli smo od rudarske struke (sl. 3).

2 Izračunali smo da se u nasipu tumula nalazilo okvirno 11 000 metara kubnih ili 17 600 tona zemlje. Prema proračunima, ta količina se okvirno podudara s količinom zemlje iskopane iz pretpostavljenog cirkularnog jarka oko Gomile. U arheološkoj stručnoj literaturi se susrećemo s pokušajima analize arhitektonske energetike na primjerima pojedinih arheoloških spomenika. Tako se pokušava odrediti broj radnih sati i broj ljudi potrebnih da se određeni graditeljski pothvat privede kraju. Za takav detaljan izračun potreban je niz konkretnih podataka (npr. što preciznije ubiciranje izvora pojedinih građevinskih materijala ili analiza utjecaja kompleksnosti i izvedbe ritualnih radnji na tempo građenja) pa ga na primjeru Gomile još nismo izradili. No, prema dostupnim analogijama, možemo vrlo okvirno pretpostaviti da je ovaj veliki graditeljski zahvat stotinjak ljudi moglo privesti kraju u desetak dana (Soós 2017, T. 1, fig. 4, s citiranom literaturom).

Slika 3. Pogled na Gomilu tijekom istraživanja (zračna fotografija Krešimir Šobat).

Prije početka istraživanja, konzultirali smo nekoliko stručnjaka za statiku, kao i za izgradnju i sanaciju tunela jer nas je zabrinjavala stabilnost arheoloških slojeva, posebice iznad i oko pljačkaških rovova u centralnom dijelu tumula. Iako se nakon otkrića devastacije u pljačkaške rovove spustila alpinistička ekipa HGSS kako bi što preciznije procijenili stanje spomenika i opseg pljačke, veliki problem nam je predstavljalo urušenje dijela pljačkaških kanala, jer nismo znali u kojoj mjeri se šupljine protežu iza urušenja te u kojoj je mjeri zapravo Gomila oštećena[3].

Među najvrjednijim nalazima pronađenih za arheoloških istraživanja izdvaja se velika količina pokretnih nalaza, spaljenih kostiju i raznovrsnih uzoraka koje smo sakupili za analizu i koji će se sigurno pokazati kao iznimno vrijedan izvor informacija o ljudskim i životinjskim ostacima koji su bili u grobnoj komori. Pronađena je velika količina vatrom deformiranih ostataka brončanih i željeznih predmeta, no i onih koji su u dovoljnoj mjeri sačuvani te će se moći tipološki i kronološki odrediti. Preliminarno, Gomilu u Jalžabetu možemo kronološki staviti okvirno u prvu polovicu do sredine 6. st. pr. Kr. Nalazi, koji su kronološki i kulturno srodni onima iz tumula 2 u Jalžabetu istraživanog 1989., progovaraju o iznimno zanimljivom i nedovoljno poznatom razdoblju zadnjeg razvojnog stupnja grupe Martijanec-Kaptol, prema kronološkoj shemi K. Vinski-Gasparini ili stupnja Štajerska IIIb prema B. Teržan (Vinski-Gasparini 1987; Teržan 1990). Već sada možemo reći da su nalazi eklektični te ukazuju na lokalne, „klasične“ halštatske elemente, ali i one koji progovaraju o kontaktima sa susjednim područjima i udaljenim regijama. No, o svemu tome moći ćemo znatno više reći nakon restauracije i interpretacije, kako pokretnih, tako i nepokretnih arheoloških nalaza.

Nakon naglog udara zime s jakim snijegom u proljeće 2018., tijekom mjeseca travnja nastavili smo hitna zaštitna arheološka istraživanja Gomile u Jalžabetu. Usporedo s arheološkim istraživanjima tijekom

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[3] Na ovom mjestu, na iznimno korisnim savjetima, višestrukim dolascima u Jalžabet i brizi želio bih se zahvaliti gospodi dipl. ing. građ. Tomislavu Ženku, dugogodišnjem ekspertu za gradnju tunela pri IGH, kao i prof. emeritusu Ivanu Vrkljanu sa Sveučilišta u Rijeci. Bez njihove pomoći sigurno istraživanje Gomile bilo bi praktički nemoguće. Isto tako, zahvalu na ustrajnoj pomoći tijekom provedbe projekta Jalžabet upućujem gospodinu Dubravku Šinceku te ekipi iz HGSS.

proljeća i ljeta 2018. nastavili smo i s temeljitim prosijavanjem i flotiranjem zemlje koju su pljačkaši izbacili iz pljačkaških rovova. To se pokazalo iznimno sporim i dugotrajnim procesom, ali i vrlo plodonosnim, jer smo uspjeli pronaći velike količine sitnijih arheoloških nalaza, posebice jantarnih perli, brojne ulomke bogato ukrašenih predmeta od kosti, nešto predmeta od metala i keramike te velike količine spaljenih kostiju.

Tijekom istraživanja shvatili smo da je u izvornom obliku Gomila imala sasvim drugačiji izgled te je njeno stanje pred početak istraživanja zapravo izravna posljedica antropogenog djelovanja i prirodnih procesa tijekom 2600 godina. Naime, sada je jasno da plato na vrhu tumula i njegov izgled krnjeg stožca nije izvorni oblik tumula nakon završetka gradnje u razdoblju starijega željeznog doba, negdje tijekom Ha C2-D1 kronološkog stupnja. Tom vremenu pripadaju neki od najpoznatijih kneževskih tumula istočnoga halštatskog kruga, poput tumula Kröllkogela u Kleinkleinu, kneževskih tumula u Strettwegu i Kaptolu i sl.

Tijekom skidanja #3 nivelete, u središnjem dijelu tumula, naišli smo na područje bogato nalazima, ugljenom i spaljenim kostima, koje smo označili kao Grob 1. Prema predmetima, koji su pronađeni tijekom istraživanja i kasnijim prosijavanjem, možemo preliminarno zaključiti da se ovdje radi o ukopu istaknute pripadnice ili pripadnika zajednice iz vremena starijega željeznog doba, koji je tijekom gradnje tumula ili preminuo ili žrtvovan te su njegovi spaljeni ostaci zajedno s vrlo bogatim nalazima „ugrađeni" u nasip Gomile, iznad grobne komore. Čini se da pozicioniranje ovog sekundarnog ukopa upravo iznad južnog zida komore, uz koji se nalazila grupirana najveća količina spaljenih kostiju, nije slučajnost. Daljne analize tek nam moraju razotkriti detalje ovog važnog i vrijednog nalaza. Istaknimo, sličnih nalaza, koje bismo mogli odrediti kao sekundarne ili naknade ukope u nasipu Gomile, nije bilo.

Pogrebni ritual i način gradnje Gomile

Obilje pokretnih nalaza od jantara, stakla, bronce, keramike, kosti i željeza tek čeka zahtjevni, dugotrajni i skupi postupak konzervacije, analize i interpretacije, no već sada možemo naslutiti da je odličnik sahranjen u Gomili u Jalžabetu pripadao samom vrhu tadašnjeg društva te da je njegov utjecaj mogao prelaziti granice varaždinske regije. U zagrobni je život taj halštatski knez ili kralj, uz predmete od bronce i željeza, poslan s ogromnom količinom dragocjenih predmeta, među kojima se posebno ističu bogato rezbareni i obojeni predmeti od kosti, u kojima, vjerujem, trebamo vidjeti manje predmete, ali vjerojatno i oplate i intarzije na luksuznom drvenom namještaju koji je bio tek dio opreme preminulog. Drugi iznimno vrijedan skup nalaza pripada ostacima ljudi, životinja i biljaka iz vremena od prije 2600 godina, koji će nam uz pomoć najsuvremenijih interdisciplinarnih analiza dati izniman uvid u složene aspekte života i smrti u zadnjem tisućljeći prije Kristovog rođenja. Jalžabetski kralj nedvojbeno je bio istaknuta, moćna i bogata osoba, netko na vrhu halštatskog društva. Vrijedi ovdje postaviti pitanje koliko je luksuznih predmeta koji su predani vatri zajedno s tijelom preminulog odličnika stvarno bilo u posjedu vladara ili njegove obitelji te koji su predmeti izrađeni isključivo za potrebe ceremonijalne sahrane? Isto tako, među žrtvovanim životinjama, a preliminarno su prepoznati konj, govedo i ovca ili koza, koliko je životinja koje su bile osobno vlasništvo preminulog, a koliko prilozi zajednice koja preminulog pokapa? Možemo li pretpostaviti da se njegova ekonomska moć barem dijelom temeljila upravo na brojnim konjima i/ili stadima stoke? Vjerujem da ćemo odgovore barem na dio ovih pitanja saznati nakon budućih analiza.

Tijekom istraživanja, uočili smo da je grobna komora veličine okvirno 12x12 m, bila vrlo kompleksno građena. S istočne strane na komoru se nadovezuje monumentalni dromos. Osnovni građevinski materijal činilo je nekoliko vrsta kamena: obluci, vjerojatno doneseni iz Drave, pješčenjak, te u znatno manjoj mjeri, vapnenac. Od ostalih materijala obilno je korišteno drvo te glina i velike količine ugljena. Komora se nalazila na krepidi, podestu od lomljenog kamena i oblutaka promjera okvirno 30 m, koji je jasno ograničen pažljivo izrađenim suhozidnim vijencem od probranih, poslaganih velikih kamenih ploča. Obluci i siva glina te velike količine ugljena, pokrivale su kompozitno građene zidove komore s vanjske strane. Pod komore s unutrašnje strane bio je u cijelosti pokriven fino kalanim i pažljivo posloženim pločicama pješčenjaka. Sve kompleksne elemente grobne komore s dromosom tek će nam otkriti istraživanja koja slijede te intenzivna analiza pronađenog.

Uz južni zid grobne komore, pronašli smo debeo sloj probranih spaljenih kostiju, koje su vjerojatni ljudski i životinjski ostaci. Po trenutnoj interpretaciji one zapravo predstavljaju centralni grob – posmrtne ostatke osobe za koju je cijela monumentalna konstrukcija izgrađena. Tijekom istraživanja grobne komore, zaključeno je da su pljačkaši prilikom svog vandalskog pohoda, rovovima dosegli i probili pod grobne komore, te se na toj dubini usmjerili lateralnim rovovima u dva smjera. Velika bojazan da je postojalo još proširenja ili dodatnih lateralnih kanala, pokazala se, srećom, neutemeljenom. Sama grobna komora s dromosom Gomile u Jalžabetu, s vrlo složenom i pomno isplaniranom graditeljskom i ritualnom sekvencom koju tek trebamo do kraja razumijeti, jest i najvredniji nalaz arheoloških istraživanja Gomile. Radi se, bez ikakve sumnje, o jednoj od najljepših i najbolje sačuvanih prapovijesnih građevina na tlu Europe iz tog vremena.

Svi spomenuti nalazi, konstruktivni materijal za izgradnju grobne komore i grobnog humka, kao i predmeti, životinje, a vjerojatno i ljudi deponirani uz osobu visokog statusa pokopanu u Gomili, ukazuje na prestižni položaj preminulog vladara, ali i na raspolaganje znatnim resursima. Ti resursi nisu morali biti u neposrednoj blizini halštatskog naselja u Jalžabetu. Zanimljivom se pokazala preliminarna analiza drvenog ugljena kojim su pokriveni zidovi grobne komore s vanjske strane i plato na kojem se sama kvadratna grobna komora nalazila. U analizi koju je izveo dr. E. Goršić sa Šumarskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu na dijelu uzoraka sakupljenih na više mjesta uz zidove grobne komore, više puta su prepoznati ostaci odraslih debala hrasta te je on, zasad, dominantna biljna vrsta[4]. Zanimljivo je da je, prema analizi drva, riječ o stablima koja su provela vijek u staništu s rubnim uvjetima života. To znači da je stara hrastova šuma posječena negdje u poplavnom ili vrlo sušnom području. S obzirom da se Jalžabet nalazi na rubu podravske ravnice, postavlja se pitanje možemo li pretpostaviti da su graditelji grobnice morali zalaziti duboko u plavnu ravnicu u potrazi za solidnim hrastovim trupcima, jer su resursi, proporcionalno s trajanjem naselja, postajali sve rjeđi i rjeđi? Takva ideja se čini uvjerljivijom ako znamo da su među ostacima ugljena prepoznati ostaci hrasta infestirani kukcem potkornjakom (lat. *Scolytus intricatus*), što znači da je riječ o bolesnom ili mrtvom drveću koje je napao nametnik. U istom smjeru upućuju nas prepoznati ostaci hrastovih trupaca koji nisu do kraja izgorjeli, zato jer su bili vlažni i truli.

Drugi zanimljivi momenat pri istraživanjima područja komore uočili smo na krepidi-podestu u centru kojega se nalazi sama grobna komora s dromosom. Završni sloj kojim je prije nasipavanja zemljom obložen plato u čijem se centru nalazila sama grobnica činili su poslagani, pažljivo probrani, lijepi i veliki obluci. Neposredno ispod tog plašta od oblutaka nalazilo se drobljeno sitnije kamenje, čak i pijesak, u kojima vjerojatno možemo prepoznati građevinski otpad. Iz ovog, ali i nekih drugih primjera, jasno da je graditeljima prilikom gradnje kraljevskog doma za vječnost bilo stalo da grobnica bude izgrađena po točno određenom predlošku, kanonu, te da izgleda uredno i lijepo, iako će biti zauvijek sakrivena od pogleda pod brdom zemlje. S druge strane, u situacijama kada to nije nužno, pragmatično će koristiti sve što im dođe pod ruku; kako otpad nastao prilikom eksploatacije i obrade kamenja, tako čak i trulo i kukcima zaraženo drvo.

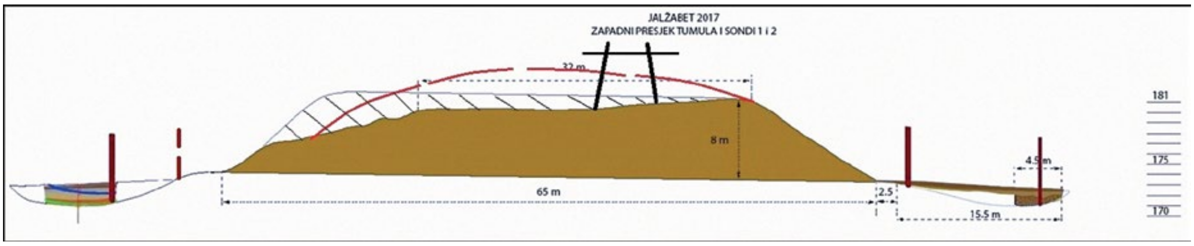
Ove preliminarne informacije o nekim elementima vezanim uz podizanje grobnice jalžabetskog kralja govore nam mnogo o iznimnom poznavanju prirodnog krajolika, o intenzivnoj potrazi za materijalima i velikoj potrebi za resursima, ali i o sposobnostima i vještinama drevnih graditelja. S druge strane, cijelo vrijeme ne treba smetnuti s uma da se ovdje ne radi samo o dobro planiranim graditeljskim zahvatima, već i o vrlo promišljenom, detaljnom i specifičnom slijedu ritualnih radnji kojima ćemo karakter i svrhu vrlo teško do zadnjih detalja dokučiti.

Arhitektura moći: faze u životu Gomile i njeno preoblikovanje

Tijekom istraživanja i uz pomoć preliminarnih rezultata obrade arheoloških nalaza, uspjeli smo izdvojiti nekoliko faza postojanja grobne Gomile u Jalžabetu (sl. 4).

Faza 1: vrijeme neposredno nakon izgradnje, okvirno u stupnju Ha C2-D1; Gomila ima oblik stošca zaobljenog vrha te je okružena velikim jarkom i nizovima samostalnih drvenih stupova,

[4] Zahvaljujem i gospodinu dr. Ernestu Goršiću, kao i svim stručnjacima različitih profila koji su bez oklijevanja pristali pomoći projektu hitnih zaštitnih istraživanja u Jalžabetu.



Slika 4. Faze u životu jalžabetske Gomile (skica M. Mađerić).

Faza 2: u razdoblju nakon gradnje, moguće tijekom mlađega željeznog doba, dolazi do urušavanja komore te barem djelomičnog zatrpavanja jarka oko Gomile; kao posljedica urušenja, na vrhu Gomile nastaje krater,

Faza 3: krater na vrhu Gomile je izniveliran, na vrhu tumula se podiže drveni objekt s duboko ukopanim stupovima,

Faza 4: posljednja faza traje od remodeliranja gornjeg dijela tumula do danas; poljoprivredna obrada zemlje na vrhu tumula nastavlja se sve do kraja 20. stoljeća.

U ovom radu najviše prostora bismo željeli posvetiti fazi 3 u kojoj je, prema svim indicijama, Gomila znatno remodelirana. Pretpostavljamo da se tada dogodila masivna intervencija u korpus Gomile, i njeno najveće preoblikovanje od vremena gradnje. S obzirom da sav pokretni materijal nije obrađen i restauriran, a zaštitna istraživanja nisu završena, ovu kratku analizu valja uzeti kao privremeni okvir i podlogu za daljnja razmišljanja i analize.

Tijekom zaštitnih istraživanja u gornje dvije nivelete zbunjivala nas je mjestimična pojava teško odredivih ulomaka sive grublje keramike rađene na kolu. Iako smo u prvi mah mislili da bi se moglo raditi o skitskoj keramici, nakon komparacije materijala i detaljnije analize, utvrđeno je da se radi o naseobinskoj rimskoj keramici koja se nalazila unutar tamnosivih i smeđih slojeva u centralnom dijelu tumula. Posljedično, shvatili smo da ti slojevi predstavljaju naknadno donešenu zemlju kojom je zapunjen krater nastao urušenjem grobne komore.

Postoji nekoliko mogućnosti o tome što se i kada dogodilo s gornjim dijelom tijela tumula. Izvjesno je da se intervencija koja se sastojala od nanošenja velikih količina materijala i zatrpavanja kratera te izgradnjom nekog drvenog objekta na zaravnatom platou na vrhu Gomile nije desila prije razdoblja 2.–3. st. n. e., o čemu govore pokretni nalazi iz središnjeg dijela tumula, pa i siva keramika rađena na kolu.

Jedna mogućnost je da je već u vrijeme Rimljana, s područja u neposrednoj okolini tumula, u blizini još nedefiniranog suvremenog naselja/objekta, uzimana zemlja u kojoj se nalazio i karakteristični arheološki pokretni materijal, poput ulomaka rimskog keramičkog suđa. To bi značilo da se intervencija događala u vrijeme prevlasti Rimskog Carstva, okvirno tijekom 2.–3. st. n. e.

Druga, u ovom trenutku manje vjerojatna opcija, je da se intervencija u gornjem dijelu tumula dogodila znatno kasnije, tijekom srednjega ili čak novog vijeka. Moguće je da se tada vrh Gomile, koji je nakon urušenja komore morao stajati neravan stoljećima, zapunio zemljom koja je sadržavala i nalaze znatno starijeg, rimskodobnog horizonta u blizini tumula te da se na njemu podigao drveni objekt, možda osmatračnica. S obzirom da upadi Turaka nisu bili neuobičajena pojava ni u ovim krajevima (pa jedno obližnje mjesto i danas nosi znakovito ime Turčin, a uz samu Gomilu se veže legenda o Turcima), možda su upravo ta nemirna vremena potaknula takav zahvat[5]. Znakovita bi mogla biti činjenica da su na još jednom mjestu zabilježeni tragovi prisutnosti više stoljeća nakon izgradnje prapovijesne grobnice, vjerojatno baš u razdoblju srednjega vijeka; na južnoj padini Gomile su u nasipu tumula pronađene ukopane jednostavne kupolaste peći uz koje je pronađeno nekoliko ulomaka grube keramike. Nakon analize, moći ćemo utvrditi

[5] Iz povijesnih izvora znamo da su za vladavine Sulejmana Veličanstvenog, sredinom 16. st., Turci u prodoru iz istočne Slavonije prema Kranjskoj i Koruškoj upali u varaždinsko polje te poharali i zapalili sela u okolici Varaždina. Ban Nikola Šubić Zrinski sukobio se s Turcima u Maruševcu, jugozapadno od Varaždina te ih porazio. Već nekoliko godina poslije toga, Turci opet prodiru na zapad te ovaj puta i pobjeđuju nespremnu carsku vojsku na čelu sa Zrinskim i Wildensteinom kod Konjščine (Klaić 1980: 211–212; Horvat 1993; Horvat & Filipec: 2001).

da li postoji aktivnost ljudi oko Gomile i u tom vremenu. No, ono što za sada znatno oslabljuje teoriju o srednjovjekovnoj ili čak kasnijoj intervenciji u tijelo tumula jest nedostatak mlađih nalaza u području naknadnog modeliranja Gomile, u njenoj sredini, u području kratera, iznad grobne komore. Možda će se situacija promijeniti nakon detaljne restauracije, interdisciplinarnih analiza te temeljite evaluacije svih pokretnih nalaza. Nije sasvim jasno niti kada je jugozapadni dio Gomile razvučen i pretvoren u rampu. Moguće da je gradnja rampe vezana uz intervenciju u gornji dio tumula, uz zatrpavanje kratera i gradnju drvenog objekta na vrhu. No moguće je, iako je ta vjerojatnost manja, da se taj zahvat dogodio kasnije, u nekom još nedefiniranom vremenu, kako bi se omogućio lakši pristup platou na vrhu tumula[6].

U plodnom nizinskom kraju uz rijeku Dravu sve donedavna svaki komadić obradive zemlje, posebice u neposrednoj blizi kuća, bio je dragocjen i obrađivan. Vrh Gomile se do kraja 20. stoljeća poljoprivredno obrađivao.

Znakovit nalaz u kontekstu pretpostavljene rimske intervencije u Gomilu jest ulomak ruba i ručke vrča (sl. 5). Radi se o posudi rađenoj na kolu, od dobro pečene pročišćene gline s malo primjesa koja je mogla služiti kao stolno posuđe ili za čuvanje namirnica. Slične nalazimo u 2.–3. st. n. e. na panonskom tlu, primjerice u Vinkovcima. I. Ožanić Roguljić u svojoj tipologiji takve vrčeve širokog vrata pronađene na položajima Muzej, Varteks i Komercijalna banka u Vinkovcima određuje kao tip V (Ožanić Roguljić 2016: 59, sl. 6.23).

Slika 5. Fotografija ručke vrča širokog vrata PN 190 iz sloja SJ 026 neposredno nakon pronalaska (snimio K. Šobat).

Slika 6. Fotografija ulomka reljefno ukrašene zdjele Dragendorff 37, PN 193 iz sloja SJ 030, iz Gomile u Jalžabetu (snimio Krešimir Šobat).

Za dataciju pretpostavljene rimskodobne intervencije u Gomilu zasad najznačajniji nalaz je ulomak reljefne tere sigilate, Dragendorff 37 (sl. 6). Radi se o proizvodnji radionice Rheinzabern iz druge polovice 2. stoljeće, i to iz radionica kruga majstora B.F. Attoni, Belsus II, Respectus ili Pupus[7]. U analizi vinkovačkog materijala, ponovo s položaja Muzej, Varteks i Komercijalna banka, javlja se i ovaj nalaz, pa tako saznajemo da se radilo o poluloptastoj zdjeli na prstenastoj nozi s prstenastim zadebljanjem na rubu (Ožanić Roguljić 2016: 30, sl. 4.5). Slične ulomke pronalazimo i dalje, na lokalitetima Sremska Mitrovica, Sotin, i Novi Banovci (Brukner 1981: T. 32). T. Leleković i O. Brukner u svojim sintezama ističu da je upravo radionica Rheinzabern, između Wörmsa i Strassburga, jedan od najproduktivnijih centara proizvodnje tere sigilate, s tržištem od Britanije do Crnog mora. Radionica počinje proizvodnju negdje sredinom drugog stoljeća,

6 Naime, kako još danas dobro pokazuju sačuvani dijelovi Gomile, tumul je izvorno imao iznimno strme padine. To je u velikoj mjeri otežavalo pristup njegovom vrhu, kako graditeljima drvenog objekta na zaravnatom platou, tako i seljacima koji su donedavno obrađivali vrh Gomile.

7 Zahvaljujem se kolegici Ivani Ožanić Roguljić te kolegama Tinu Lelekoviću i Domagoju Tončiniću na literaturi i pomoći s determinacijom i datacijom nalaza iz rimskog horizonta u Jalžabetu.

a završava razaranjem radionice za upada Alemana 233. g. n. e., što bi davalo mogući kronološki okvir rimskodobnom zahvatu u jalžabetsku Gomilu (Leleković 2007: 50; Brukner 1981: 21). Na području Donje Panonije koje je analizirala, O. Brukner ističe upravo oblik reljefno ukrašene zdjele Drag. 37 kao jedan od najpopularnijih proizvoda spomenute radionice, dok, općenito uzevši, snažnu zastupljenost keramike iz Rheinzaberna promatra u svjetlu jačanja trgovačkih veza s rajnskim provincijama nakon završetka markomanskih ratova (Brukner 1981: 22). No, T. Leleković smatra da je – prema analizama materijala iz Vinkovaca – uvoz rheinzabernske sigilate tekao normalno i u vrijeme opasnosti, tijekom markomanskih ratova (Leleković 2007: 63). Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu predvođen B. Vikić-Belančić 1960-ih otvorio je nekoliko arheoloških sondi sjeverozapadno od Gomile, neposredno uz rijeku Plitvicu, uz ranije pronađene ostatke rimskog mosta. Tom prilikom pronađeni su ostaci utvrđene vile rustike. Zidovi građevine s masivnim zidovima ukopani su u sloj - tzv. srednji horizont - koji je pomoću keramike (među ostalim, upravo tipom Dragendorff 37) datiran u isto razdoblje kada se događa naša pretpostavljena intervencija u gornji dio Gomile (Vikić-Belančić 1968: 87). Iznad ovog sloja nalazi se sloj paljevine te je u njega ukopan mlađi, utvrđeni objekt datiran okvirno u 3. st. n. Kr. Isječak iz stratigrafije ovih arheoloških istraživanja dobro korespondira s našom situacijom na Gomili i još jednom ilustrira kako su opasna bila vremena u jalžabetskom kraju u drugoj polovici 2. i u 3. st. n. Kr.

Prema preliminarnoj analizi pokretnih arheoloških nalaza iz Jalžabeta, nekako u vrijeme markomanskih ratova, okvirno u drugu polovicu 2. st. n. e., smjestili bismo moguće rimsko remodeliranje jalžabetske Gomile. U to vrijeme bi bio preoblikovan vrh Gomile, donesene su velike količine zemlje kojom je zapunjeno udubljenje/krater na vrhu te je formiran plato. Gomila tako dobiva karakterističan oblik krnjeg stožca koji će se zadržati sve do modernog vremena. Na platou je podignuta drvena konstrukcija s vrlo duboko ukopanim drvenim nosačima (sl. 7). Najbolje sačuvana je rupa od stupa SJ 22 koju smo istraživali tijekom zime 2017. Radi se o rupi od stupa koja se znatno sužuje prema dnu, dubine 86 cm, gornjeg promjera 75 cm. Uz navedene rupe od stupova, našli smo i neobične slojeve s oblucima kojima još uvijek ne znamo izvornu namjenu. Oni bi mogli biti vezani uz drvenu konstrukciju, no isto tako moguće je da se radi o izmještenim oblucima koji su sastavni dio masivne, nekoliko metara debele zapune područja iznad halštatskog dromosa. No, s obzirom da u slojevima oko rupa od stupova zasad nismo detektirali materijal iz kasnijeg vremena, radna pretpostavka je da i drvena konstrucija pripada istom vremenu kao i doneseni materijal. Promatračnica na vrhu jalžabetske Gomile imala bi smisla, kako u vrijeme markomanskih ratova u drugom, tako i tijekom nemirnog trećeg stoljeća nakon Krista, jer je sjeverno od nje, paralelno s Dravom, prolazila važna komunikacija Poetovio – Mursa.

Pitanje je da li se u vrijeme Rimljana na Bistričaku nalazila samo jednostavna promatračnica na vrhu (toranj ili promatračnica lat. *turres*) ili možda nešto drugačije ili jače uporište, što u nesigurnim vremenima druge polovice 2. st. n. e. ne bi bilo iznenađenje. Još uvijek ne znamo značenje rimskih slojeva s južne strane Gomile, kao ni u kojoj mjeri je Bistričak naseljen u rimsko doba. No, znamo da Markomani upravo u drugoj polovici 2. st. upadaju na područje Carstva oslabljenog velikom epidemijom – tzv. antoninskom kugom – te pobjeđuju carsku vojsku kod Karnunta, prodiru u Panoniju, Norik i dalje na jug te opsjedaju Akvileju. U drugoj polovici 2. st. n. e. panonski su krajevi teško pogođeni epidemijom i ratom, a populacija desetkovana (Leleković 2007: 10, 63). Istovremeno, u Panoniji se znatno povećava koncentracija rimskih vojnika te znamo da su ovdje stacionirane tri legije: *legio*

Slika 7. Rupa od stupa SJ 22 (snimio S. Kovačević).

Slika 8. Prikaz stražarskih tornjeva na Trajanovom stupu u Rimu (izvor: www.trajans-collumn.org).

II Italica, *legio V Macedonica* i *legio III Augusta* (Sanader 2003: 465). Na nemirnim područjima Rimljani podižu različite tipove vojnih uporišta: *castra*, *castellum*, *burges*, *praesidia* i *turres* (Sanader 2003: 465, n. 10–13). Dok su veća rimska vojna uporišta upravo radi dimenzija danas lakše prepoznatljiva (zračna fotografija, geofizika, klasična arheološka istraživanja), postojala je i cijela mreža manjih uporišta, pa tako i tornjeva ili promatračnica koje je znatno teže otkriti. Ako se na tren vratimo do prvih desetljeća 2. st. n. e., realistični prikaz promatračnica i signalnih tornjeva na dunavskim obalama naći ćemo na početku prve spirale Trajanovog stupa u Rimu, među prizorima koji slave pobjedu Rima nad Dačanima (sl. 8). Da li se na vrhu jalžabetske Gomile nalazila slična konstrukcija i kako je ona uopće izgledala, nadamo se da će pokazati nastavak arheoloških istraživanja, obrada nalaza i temeljita analiza terenske dokumentacije.

Zaključak

Prema sadašnjem stanju istraživanja, najizglednije je da se za prevlasti Rimskog Carstva, u razdoblju druge polovice 2. st. n. e. krater na vrhu Gomile zapunjuje zemljom iz njene neposredne okoline u kojoj u kojoj se nalaze karakteristični rimskodobni naseobinski nalazi. Nivelira se plato na vrhu Gomile pa tumul dobija izgled krnjeg stošca po kojemu je i bio prepoznatljiv. Čini se da se na izniveliranom vrhu podiže drvena struktura (možda toranj ili promatračnica), kojoj su pripadale masivne, duboko ukopane rupe od stupova dokumentirane tijekom istraživanja. Moguće je da se već u vrijeme Rimljana jugozapadni ugao Gomile razvlači i pretvara u rampu s pristupnim putem, što bi olakšalo poslove oko nivelacije gornjeg dijela tumula, ali i gradnju drvenog objekta na vrhu.

Nalazi iz sonde 2/2017 na Bistričaku potvrdili su tragove Rimljana ne samo u gornjem dijelu Gomile, već i s južne strane jalžabetske Gomile. Zasad ostaje nejasno da li se radi o dugotrajnijoj prisutnosti, čemu u prilog bi govorila debljina kulturnog sloja s rimskim nalazima u sondi 2, ili možda o kampu graditelja koji su modelirali gornji dio tumula. Ako se radilo o naselju, za sada nam nije poznato kojem tipu je pripadalo i koje je bilo veličine. Kako smo s istraživanjima na području Jalžabeta i Martijanca zapravo tek na početku, nadamo se da će ekstenzivna geofizička istraživanja, analiza LiDARA te nastavak arheoloških istraživanja rasvijetliti i niz otvorenih pitanja, pa tako i onih vezanih uz novo definirano razdoblje prevlasti Rimskog Carstva na Bistričaku.

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Die verlorene Goldkette. Ein außergewöhnlicher Fund aus den *canabae legionis* von Lauriacum/Enns

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Bei der Schaugrabung im Zuge der Oberösterreichischen Landesausstellung 2018 wurde eine vollständig erhaltene goldene Fuchsschwanzkette mit lunula-Anhänger ausgegraben, die im Bereich einer wichtigen (Geschäfts-)Straße in den canabae legionis *von Lauriacum/Enns verloren worden war. Neben vergleichbaren Fundstücken sind auch derartige Ketten und Anhänger auf Mumienporträts und Grabdenkmälern überliefert, was den repräsentativen Charakter dieses Schmuckstücks unterstreicht.*

Schlüsselwörter: *Provinz Noricum, Schmuck, Fuchsschwanzkette, lunula-Anhänger, Verlustfund*

Einführung

Die geplante Erweiterung der Produktions- und Lagerflächen des Unternehmens Büsscher & Hoffmann führte im Jahr 2015 zu einer Großgrabung in den *canabae legionis* von Lauriacum/Enns. Das untersuchte Areal umfasst eine Gesamtfläche von über 9300 m², und seine Südgrenze liegt in einem Abstand von etwa 150 m zur nordwestlichen Mauer des Legionslagers. Eine Stichstraße aus der *porta principalis sinistra* mündet in die hier parallel zum Lager laufende Hauptverkehrsachse der nördlichen Siedlungsbereiche von Lauriacum. Durch diese Grabungen und die Untersuchungen 2003–2006 im Bereich der nordöstlich angrenzenden Parzelle ist die Siedlungsstruktur in diesem Bereich von Lauriacum gut bekannt (Igl & Thaler 2015; Freitag 2018: 249–251 Fpl. 105 & 107). Entlang der als „erste Nordumfahrung von Enns" bezeichneten Straße (Traxler 2015; Traxler & Lang 2018) liegen zahlreiche tabernae und etliche andere Strukturen. Als stratigraphisch besonders interessant erwies sich „Haus 3", bei dem bereits 2015 mehrere Phasen nachgewiesen werden konnten (Igl & Thaler 2015: 307 & D4917–D4921). Der für Ennser Verhältnisse gute Erhaltungszustand und der für die Vermittlung hervorragend geeignete Grundriss einer unmittelbar an einer der wichtigsten Straßen von Lauriacum gelegenen taberna mit vorgeblendeter porticus führte 2015 zu dem Entschluss, die Ausgrabungen nicht sofort abzuschließen, sondern während der Oberösterreichischen Landesausstellung 2018 „Die Rückkehr der Legion. Römisches Erbe in Oberösterreich" als Schaugrabung fortzuführen. Mehr als 4500 Personen besuchten die von einem Team der Universität Salzburg und des OÖ. Landesmuseums im September und Oktober 2018 durchgeführte Ausgrabung. Ein Vorbericht zur Grabung ist in Druck (Humer *et al.* 2018). Durch die vom Land Oberösterreich für die Nachbearbeitung zur Verfügung gestellten Mittel ist zu hoffen, dass die neuen Erkenntnisse zu Haus 3 in absehbarer Zeit auch umfassend publiziert werden können.

Wie bereits 2015 wurde zahlreiches Fundmaterial geborgen, wobei allerdings ein Fund alle anderen überstrahlt. Es ist uns eine Freude, diese kleine Publikation zur „verlorenen Goldkette" aus dem

Legionsstützpunkt Lauriacum der Jubilarin zu widmen, die sich unter anderem um einen weiteren bedeutenden Legionsstützpunkt des Imperium Romanum - Tilurium/Gardun - besondere Verdienste erworben hat.

Fundumstände (Abb. 1 & 2)

Die Kette wurde im Übergangsbereich der Straße vor Gebäude 3 und dem Rand einer offensichtlich später angelegten großen Grube, die diese Straße stört, gefunden. Als Straßenbelag wurde Schotter verwendet, der lokal ansteht bzw. durch Enns und Donau abgelagert wurde. Es konnten drei Phasen in Form von bis zu 20 cm starken Schotterlagen beobachtet werden, zwischen denen lehmiges, braunes Erdmaterial aufplaniert bzw. eingeschwemmt worden war. Die Goldkette fand sich in der Erdschicht über der dritten, also frühesten Schotterlage. Es handelt sich offenbar um einen Verlustfund. Möglicherweise ging sie dadurch verloren, dass sich die Kette vom Verschlusshaken gelöst hat (s.u.). Warum das wertvolle Stück nicht mehr geborgen wurde, muss offen bleiben.

Abb. 1. Lauriacum/Enns, „Nordumfahrung", Haus 3, Ausgrabung 2018, Blickrichtung nach Südwesten. Der Fundpunkt der Goldkette ist mit Pfeil markiert (Foto: OÖ. Landesmuseum).

Abb. 2. Goldkette in Fundlage (Foto: OÖ. Landesmuseum).

Die Kette (Abb. 3 & 4)

Es handelt sich um eine sog. Fuchsschwanzkette. Dabei werden kleine Drahtringe zusammengedrückt, ineinander verhakt und zusammengeschweißt (Higgins 1961: 15–16, fig. 4; Böhme 1974: 11–12, Abb. 12; Riha 1990: 76; Brepohl 1995: 255–256, Abb. 5.86–87).

Die Kette selbst ist ca. 34 cm lang, die beiden Verschlussteile messen 2 (Haken) und 1 cm (Öse), sodass sich abzüglich der Überlappungen von Kette und Verschlussteilen eine ursprüngliche Gesamtlänge von ca. 36 cm rekonstruieren lässt. Der Kettenquerschnitt beträgt 2,5 mm. Das Gesamtgewicht aller Teile beläuft sich auf ca. 19 Gramm. Der getrennt vom Rest der Goldkette aufgefundene Verschlusshaken zeigt, dass die Hülse mittels Nietstift mit dem Drahtgeflecht verbunden gewesen ist. Gleiches darf für die Öse angenommen werden. Der Haken war in die gelochte Kopfplatte der profilierten Hülse eingelötet. Die Öse war auf die Kopfplatte der ebenfalls profilierten Hülse aufgelötet.

Der etwas deformierte lunula-Anhänger misst von der Schlaufe bis einschließlich der Perle 15 mm und hat eine maximale Breite von 13 mm. Die Anhängerschlaufe war angelötet, auf den Anhänger waren durch Granulation (vgl. Higgins 1961: 19–20; Deppert-Lippitz 1985: 6–7) auf beiden Seiten je fünf kleine Goldkügelchen aufgesetzt. Die Perle aus blauer Glaspaste hat einen Durchmesser von 3 mm.

Abb. 3. Goldkette nach Reinigung (Foto: OÖ. Landesmuseum).

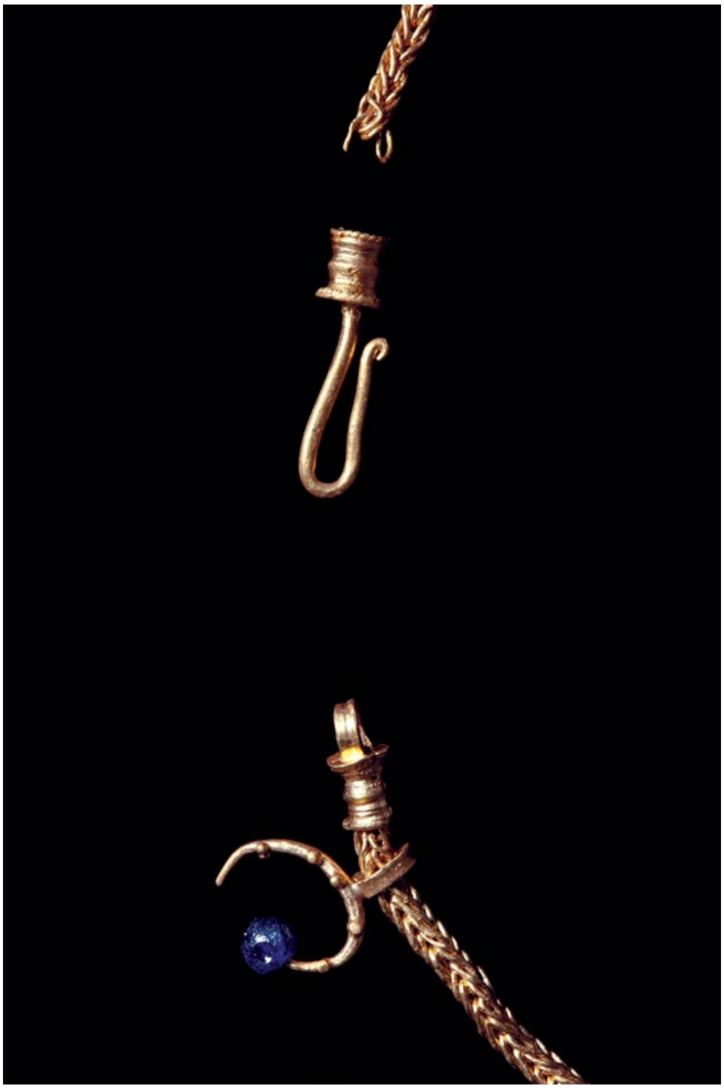

Abb. 4. Verschluss und Anhänger (Foto: OÖ. Landesmuseum).

Vergleiche

Fuchsschwanzketten waren bereits in klassisch-griechischer und hellenistischer Zeit bekannt. In der römischen Kaiserzeit sind sie auch in den nordwestlichen Provinzen ab dem 1. Jahrhundert bis in die Spätantike belegt, wobei sie sich offenbar ab dem 3. Jahrhundert besonderer Beliebtheit erfreuten (Böhme 1974: 11–15; Greifenhagen 1975: 31–32, Taf. 25,2–Taf. 28; Deppert-Lippitz 1985: 11, Nr. 2, Taf. 2; Riha 1990: 76).

Derartige kurze Halsketten, häufig mit einem Anhänger in Form einer lunula, sind oft bei Darstellungen von Frauen oder Mädchen auf Grabsteinen zu beobachten. Gerade bei Grabreliefs in Noricum und Pannonia kommt dies häufig vor (Garbsch 1965; Böhme 1974: 11; Rothe 2012: 217). Auch aus Lauriacum/Enns sind mehrere Beispiele bekannt (Traxler 2009: 204–205). Auf der wahrscheinlich aus der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts stammenden Grabstele des Privatius Silvester für sich und seine Tochter Privatia Silvina trägt das zwölfjährig verstorbene Mädchen eine eng anliegende Kette mit einem großen lunula-Anhänger (Abb. 5) (Traxler 2009: 105–107).

Vergleichbare lunula-Anhänger aus Gold mit auf beiden Seiten angelöteten Kügelchen und breiter Anhängerschlaufe wurden im näheren Umfeld von Lauriacum/Enns in Cetium/St. Pölten (Jilek *et al.* 2005: 34, Nr. 95) und in Grab 12 aus dem Gräberfeld Ost von Ovilava/Wels (Miglbauer 2012a: 74–75, Abb. 27–28; Miglbauer 2012b: 8–9) gefunden.

Dies beschränkt sich aber nicht auf die Provinzen an der Mittleren Donau. Auch in anderen Teilen des Imperium Romanum wurden (Fuchsschwanz-)Ketten mit lunula-Anhänger getragen (Riha 1990: 73 mit weiteren Beispielen). Ebenso sind auf Mumienporträts häufig Goldketten mit lunula-Anhängern dargestellt, wobei dies nur bei Frauen und Mädchen der Fall ist. Grundsätzlich wurden lunula-Amulette jedoch von Personen beiderlei Geschlechts getragen (Borg 1996: 168–169).

Die lunula war in römischer Zeit als Amulett weit verbreitet und diente dazu, Unheil von Mensch und Tier abzuwehren. Sie dürfte besonders mit weiblichen Personen verbunden gewesen sein. Römische Mädchen trugen die lunula an einer Halskette vergleichbar zur bulla der Knaben. Im Gegensatz zur bulla dürfte sie jedoch nicht nach dem Erwachsenwerden abgelegt worden sein, wie die zahlreichen Frauendarstellungen nahelegen (Deppert-Lippitz 1985: 11, Nr. 4, Taf. 3; Riha 1990: 73; Scheibelreiter 2011).

Die Qualität der Goldkette aus Lauriacum und die Darstellungen von entsprechenden Objekten auf Mumienporträts und Grabdenkmälern verdeutlichen, dass es sich um ein repräsentatives Schmuckstück gehandelt hat, dessen Verlust die einstige Trägerin wohl zutiefst bedauert hat.

Abb. 5. Porträtfeld der Grabstele des Privatius Silvester und seiner Tochter Privatia Silvina, die eine Kette mit lunula-Anhänger trägt; Fundort: sog. Plochbergergut in Lauriacum/Enns; Verwahrort: Museum Lauriacum (Foto: O. Harl, lupa.at/471).

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Rekonstrukcija krčke portretne stele L. Julija Volsona

Dražen MARŠIĆ, Zadar

U radu se najprije iznova interpretira fragment portretne stele s imenom L. Julija Volsona (Sl. 1), otkriven u suterenu bara Volsonis (!) na Veloj Placi u Krku – posebice odjeća dvoje prikazanih pokojnika i njihova spolna diferencijacija – te se konstatira da je u izgubljenom dijelu natpisa moralo stajati žensko ime, tj. ime Volsonove supruge. Zatim se temeljem formativnih, ikonografskih i tehnoloških pojedinosti taj fragment povezuje s onim uzidanim u kasnogotičku kulu grada Krka (Sl. 2) i prepoznaje njihovo zajedničko podrijetlo, tj. pripadnost istoj steli. Dva se fragmenta ne sljubljuju na žalost po crti loma, nego između njih nedostaje manji dio nekadašnjeg portretnog polja (Sl. 3). Zbog izostanka karakterističnog profila uokolo natpisa, iznosi se pretpostavka da su pilastri dekorirani biljnim uzorkom uokvirivali natpis krčke stele u cijeloj visini portretnog i natpisnog polja, tj. da su se spuštali sve do postolja. Kao usporedni primjer stele arhitektonskog tipa s takvim ustrojstvom, donosi se spomenik L. Vibija Poliona i Florije Hilare iz Trsta (Tergeste) (Sl. 4). Dvije stele dijelile su, po autorovu mišljenju, ne samo strukturalne srodnosti, nego i modne pojedinosti u izradi portreta, što potvrđuje da su iz istog doba od oko 20. do oko 50. god. po Kr.

Ključne riječi: *Krk, stela, portreti,* togatus, palliata, Wellenfrisur

Poslije Cresa i Raba, Krk je od svih sjevernojadranskih otoka bez sumnje ostavio najbogatiju rimsku spomeničku baštinu sepulkralnog karaktera. Posebice se brojnošću i važnošću izdvajaju lokalni primjerci tzv. „liburnskih cipusa" i sporadični, ali zanimljivi fragmenti nekoliko portretnih stela. Njihov broj nedavno je uvećan s najmanje četiri nova spomenika, otkrivena tijekom građevinskih i istražnih radova koji su se od 2000. do 2003. godine odvijali unutar prostora danas popularnog bara Volsonis na Veloj Placi u središtu grada Krka. Riječ je o dva cipusa i dvije portretne stele recikliranima za izgradnju kasnoantičkoga fortifikacijskog zida (otkrivenoga u suterenu), iz kojega su tijekom restauratorskih zahvata izvađeni i izloženi u sklopu lapidarija bara. Pred koju godinu objelodanio ih je Simone Don sa Sveučilišta u Veroni, no učinio je to na krajnje sumaran način koji ostavlja prostora za brojne dopune, posebice kada je riječ o spomenicima s figuralnom dekoracijom (Don 2017: 13 i d., sl. 1–5, 8). Ovaj prilog, koji posvećujem prof. M. Sanader, bit će fokusiran isključivo na nalaz najinteresantnijeg komada portretne stele – onoga po kome je mjesto nalaza (bar) i dobio ime – kojega ću pokušati iznova protumačiti i dati mu novo značenje.

Novootkriveni fragment portretne stele pripada spojnom dijelu vrha natpisnog polja i donje polovice slikovnog polja s dva akefalna lika sačuvana do vrata (Sl. 1). Sačuvana mu je širina 0,74 m, visina 0,52 m, a debljina iznosi 0,36 m. Odlomljen je sa svih strana i razbijen u dva dijela, koji se sljubljuju po crti loma. Materijal od kojeg je izrađen je vapnenac. Karakteristični detalj u izradi natpisnog polja jest taj da nema profila koji uokviruje natpis (obično *cyma reversa*), barem ne u sačuvanom gornjem dijelu. Slikovno je polje sniženo u odnosu na natpisno polje i započinje niskom ravnom gredicom iznad koje izranjaju portreti

Sl. 1. Novootkriveni fragment portretne stele L. Julija Volsona (foto M. Makarun)

pokojnika izrađeni u visini ponešto reduciranih polufigura. Imajući u vidu sačuvanu širinu (duljinu), sadržaj preživjelog dijela natpisa i njegov odnos prema supraponiranim portretima, lako se dade zaključiti da su prva dva retka gotovo u cijelosti očuvana ili makar razumljiva, te da je natpis bio naglašene aksijalne koncepcije. Transkripcija sačuvanog dijela natpisa, uključivši i interpunkcije, glasi:

L · IVLIO · T · F
VOLSON [.]
DE [—]

Natpis je pisan monumentalnom i mjestimice kvadratnom kapitalom, duktus slova je pravilan i dubok, a u prvom se retku pojavljuju i trokutne interpunkcije (Sl. 1). Prva dva retka ispunjalo je ime jednoga od prikazanih pokojnika – L. Julija Volsona – donijeto u dativnom obliku i troimenoj formuli s filijacijom, i za druge sadržaje jednostavno više nije bilo prostora. Prvi redak je cjelovit, a drugome nedostaje samo slovo I. Treći redak započinjao je slovima DE, koje je S. Don doveo u vezu s riječju *decurioni* (stavivši iz opreza znak upitnika), ne navodeći i konkretne razloge za takvo tumačenje (Don 2017: 20, 23). Vjerojatno ga je na to ponukao kut loma kamena na mjestu trećeg slova, no meni se čini kako se on nalazi iznad visine gornje vodoravne haste prethodnoga slova E, a nije nemoguće ni da se s njegove lijeve strane krije mali trag vodoravnog serifa. To bi značilo da u obzir dolazi i slovo F, tada očito unutar riječi *defuncto* (vjerojatno skraćene DEF), iza koje gotovo po pravilu ide kratica ANN i navod broja godina. S obzirom na aksijalnu koncepciju natpisa, za kraticu ANN je bilo mjesta u istom retku, dok se broj godina morao nalaziti u sljedećem. Ako je trećem retku ipak stajala riječ *decurioni*, bilo je dovoljno prostora samo za slova DECVR. Stoga bih osobno ponudio sljedeću restituciju početka natpisa:

L(ucio) Iulio T(iti) f(ilio) / Volson[i] / de[f(uncto) ann(orum) ... vel decur(ioni)] / [....]

S. Don se nije izjasnio o tome koliko natpisa nedostaje i što je u njemu stajalo. Odgovor na to pitanje sugerira nam drugi prikazani lik u gornjem polju. Očito je da je ta „druga“ osoba nalogodavac koji je dao podići spomenik, inače bi Volsonovo ime, kao prvospomenuto, stajalo u nominativu! U nastavku rada pokušat ću dokazati da je riječ o ženi, gotovo sigurno Volsonovoj supruzi, iako elementi nošnje ne pružaju puno osnove za razlikovanje spola. Ako je tome tako, u četvrtom i petom retku moralo je stajati njezino ime, najvjerojatnije u nominativu, a u nastavku petog retka ili još jednom retku mogle su biti objašnjene okolnosti nastanka spomenika (npr. formulama *marito suo, viva fecit, et sibi* i sl.). Prema tako iznijetom prijedlogu, natpis je ukupno imao pet ili šest redaka i bio je kvadratne ili blago izdužene pravokutne forme.

Portreti su odlomljeni od vrata naviše, ali su odlično sačuvane i prepoznatljive nošnje (Sl. 1), o čemu je u prigodi prvoobjave bilo malo riječi (Don 2017: 19). Oboje pokojnika nosi ogrtače koji su s leđa prebačeni preko desnog ramena i naprijed, te preko grudiju barem jednim dijelom podignuti na lijevo rame (opis figura u ovom radu donosi se iz njihove perspektive, a opis strukturalnih sastavnica spomenika uključivši čitave figure iz perspektive gledatelja!). Lijeva im ruka nije vidljiva jer je očito zamišljena u spuštenom položaju, koji je u stvarnosti omogućavao pridržavanje dijela draperije ogrtača. Desna se ruka vidi od zapešća, proviruje ispod ogrtača i izložena je vodoravno (kao da počiva na gredici), s ispruženim prstima i malo podignutim palčevima. Smisao je opisanog držanja da ruka pridržava podignuti dio draperije, istovremeno se odmarajući na njoj. Ispod ogrtača pokojnici imaju tunike koje proviruju u vidljivom isječku torza i imaju karakteristične trokutaste nabore (o tunici usp. Goldman 2001: 221 i d., sl. 13.9 i d.). Nabori su inače oblikovani dosta plošno i širokim potezima, a ruke djeluju ukočeno i s predimenzioniranim prstima. Iza ramena pokojnika vidljivi su na oba kraja tragovi pozadine niše i s onoga većega na lijevoj strani (gledano prema fragmentu) vidljivo je da je niša imala blago zaobljene rubove.

Čini se kako je više prostora dano desnom liku iako je pravu razdjelnicu između njih teško definirati. Ipak se pažljivim promatranjem može uočiti da široki i gotovo plosnati skup nabora lijevo od šake desnog lika pripada njezinom vlasniku, jer on na vrhu poprima zaobljeni oblik i prelazi u rame (Sl. 1). Prema dolje se pak širi i spušta sve do gredice, sugerirajući da je očito zamišljen kako se spušta i niže od izložene ruke, te formira duboki *sinus* (o njemu Goette 1990: 3 i d., sl. 2–3; Schönauer 2001: 398, sl. 13 i 15). Isto mjesto kod lijevoga lika oblikovano je na ponešto drugačiji način. Vanjski skup nabora polukružno svija prema izloženoj šaci i stvara dojam „ruke u zavoju“, što je element ikonografije poznat i kod muškaraca i kod žena. Od muških figura se tako npr. prikazuju *togati* u togi *pallium* ili *bracchio cohibito* tipa (Goette 1990: 24 i d., T. 2–3; 27 i d., T. 4: 1–3), odnosno *palliati* (muškarci) ogrnuti u *palium* (pregledno: Bieber 1959: 394 i d., sl. 34 i d.), a kod žena uglavnom starije žene ogrnute preko stole palom (*palliatae*), ženskom inačicom palija (Bieber 1959: 385 i d., sl. 11 i d.). Da je u našem slučaju riječ o ženi, naslućuje se tek po tome što je dio grudnog koša iznad ruke snažno zaobljen, što je očita namjera da se prikažu ženske grudi. Kod desnoga je lika taj dio posve plošno oblikovan (Sl. 1), pa u takvu interpretaciju ne treba nimalo sumnjati. Zaključno se može podastrijeti sljedeće: samo na temelju preživjele ikonografije desni lik mora biti prepoznat kao *togatus,* a lijevi kao *palliata*! Kao što je već spomenuto, ovakvo „čitanje“ figuralne dekoracije ima implikacije na rekonstrukciju izvornog sadržaja i duljine (tj. visine) natpisa.

Simone Don je zaključio da se između ovog novootkrivenog (Volsonova) fragmenta portretne stele i onoga otprije poznatog i uzidanog u kasnogotičku kulu može uspostaviti tipološka veza, ali da su stilski različiti, čime je očito ciljao na različito datiranje i pripadnost (Don 2017: 22–23). No s takvom se ocjenom ne bih nikako složio. Po mome sudu, oni ne samo da su stilski srodni, nego je veoma vjerojatno riječ o dijelovima istoga spomenika! Tu ću hipotezu potkrijepiti s nekoliko argumenata, ali ću prije toga kratko podsjetiti na izgled fragmenta uzidanog u kulu (Sl. 2).

On zbog nepristupačnosti nije nikada bio točno izmjeren, nego su mu dimenzije vidljivih stranica samo pretpostavljene: visina na 0,8 m, širina na oko 0,75 m, a mjesto uzida na visini od oko 5,5 m (Kolega 1989: 45). Mjerenje *in situ* učinjeno za ovaj rad donijelo je, međutim, ponešto drukčije gabarite: visinu od 0,81 m, širinu od čak 0,88 m i mjesto uzida na visini od 3,5 m iznad postojećeg pločnika.[1] Fragment pripada vrhu portretne stele arhitektonskog tipa – tzv. stele u obliku edikule – što je razvidno po prisutnosti trokutnog zabata i ravne trabeacije koji počivaju na pilastrima prednjica ukrašenih vegetativnim uzorkom (o tom tipu stele pregledno: Pflug 1989: 39 i d. (I d); Maršić 2018: 197 i d.). Tako formirana edikula u sačuvanom dijelu ima funkciju reprezentativnog slikovnog, tj. portretnog polja. Iznad zabata uočava se postolje središnjega akroterija, dok one na donjim uglovima nije moguće nazrijeti, ali njihovo postojanje ne treba isključiti. Katete zabata obrubljene su poluoblim profilom (*torus*) i žlijebom s uvučenim gornjim i izdignutim donjim dijelom (*cyma recta*). Ispod žlijeba pojavljuje se i uska traka (*fascia*), ali je ona očito rezultat naknadnog snižavanja i grubog poravnavanja unutrašnjosti zabata, kojom prilikom je izrađen

[1] Mjerenje su izvršili kolege Damir Sabalić iz Konzervatorskog ureda u Rijeci i Matija Makarun iz tvrtke „Arheo Kvarner“, na čemu im najsrdačnije zahvaljujem.

Sl. 2. Fragment portretne stele s glavama supružnika u kasnogotičkoj kuli grada Krka (foto D. Maršić)

štitoliki grb sa šesterokrakom zvijezdom. Horizontalna stranica zabata sastojala se od istih profila, ali su u oni u najvećem dijelu zaravnjeni, osim na samome desnom kraju gdje su još uvijek vidljivi. Taj je zahvat izveden očito 1407. god. i istovremen je izradi novoga natpisa na trabeaciji ispod zabata, kojim je komemoriran trenutak završetka gradnje kule u vrijeme Nikole Frankopana. Kapiteli pilastara neznatno su izbačeni ispred trabeacije, što nije nužno povezano s preradom gornjega dijela. Korintskoga su tipa s jednim redom akantovih listova, a od prednjice pilastara odvajaju ih prstenasti profili. Od dekora prednjih stranica pilastara uočavaju se jedino završetci, koji jednako mogu pripadati snažnim povijušama s listovima bršljana ili pak akantovim povijušama koje su putem formirale medaljone. Nema sumnje da su se biljke penjale od baza koje nisu sačuvane, moguće iz nekakvih posuda.

Pilastri u sačuvanom dijelu uokviruju slikovno polje, od kojega je preostao samo gornji dio s glavama pokojnika. Ne ulazeći u ovom trenutku u modne i stilske pojedinosti portreta, jer će o njima biti riječi kasnije, valja naglasiti da glave ne gledaju frontalno, nego su blago okrenute jedna drugoj, što se dobro vidi iz svakog kuta promatranja. Taj detalj do sada nije uočen niti spomenut! Lijevo je glava sredovječne žene visoka 0,25 m, a desno glava muškarca približno iste dobi samo 1 cm niža, što znači da su obje izrađene točno u prirodnoj veličini. Riječ je nesumnjivo o supružnicima, posebice zbog zakretanja portreta kojom se željela dodatno naglasiti povezanost. Rez je odmah ispod njihovih podbradaka i manje-više je pravilan, dok se prema pilastrima koso penje. Glave su razmjerno blizu jedna drugoj, što govori da su se i tijela morala značajno preklapati, a ne samo dodirivati ramenima. Širini spomenika ispod kapitela od 0,82 m (gdje je 6 cm manja u odnosu na zabat) treba, naime, oduzeti širinu pilastara koja iznosi 10 cm (x 2), pa slikovno polje i nije ostavljalo puno slobode majstoru jer je u prostor od 0,62 m morao smjestiti obje polufigure. Iznad glava pokojnika ostao je dosta visoki slobodan prostor u kojemu se pozadina niše najprije polukružno svija prema naprijed, a onda ispod arhitrava formira uvučenu gredicu ravne prednjice. S obzirom na to da se taj dio niše nalazi ispod visine (vrhova) kapitela te da nije mogao biti obuhvaćen preradom, smatram ga izvornim detaljem izrade jer ne nalazim razloga zašto bi se u njegovu dijelu dogodila bilo kakva intervencija. S bočnih strana glava rubovi niše dobili su naglašeni zaobljeni oblik, što je bilo moguće postići zbog dosta slobodnog prostora.

Tezu o tome da gornji dio stele iz kule i onaj novootkriveni potječu od iste portretne stele, mada ne na način da se mogu spojiti po crti loma, jer to tada ne bi niti bilo upitno, gradim na cijelom nizu elemenata formativnog, sadržajnog i tehnološko-stilskog karaktera. Mnoštvo je podudarnih detalja koji po mome sudu ne mogu biti prisutni u tolikoj mjeri, osim ako dva ulomka nisu iste pripadnosti, što držim da i jest slučaj.

Kao prvo, i golim se okom lako primjećuje da su ukupna širina fragmenta s imenom L. Julija Volsona i uzidanog vrha stele s glavama približno iste širine, što samo za sebe još uvijek nije neki pouzdani trag. Širina novoga fragmenta iznosi 0,74 m, s time da je na lijevoj strani odlomljen nekoliko centimetara prije završetka ramena lijeve figure i k tome mu nedostaje cijeli lijevi okvir slikovnog polja, a na desnoj je pak sačuvan u punoj širini, iako odlomljenog okvira polja (širine 14 cm). Imajući takvo stanje sačuvanosti na umu, lijevoj strani nedostaje do 15-ak cm kamena, što bi izvornu širinu dovelo na maksimalno 0,90 m ili koji centimetar manje, a to je praktički širina komada u kuli u visini glava likova (0,88 m). Odgovarajuća je i udaljenost glava na oba komada. Na Volsonovu fragmentu udaljenost od pretpostavljene osi lijevoga do osi desnoga vrata iznosi otprilike 0,28 m, a na fragmentu s glavama od nosa jedne do nosa druge glave ima oko 0,26 m. Kalibriramo li pak odstupanje od par centimetara zbog zakretanja glava, dobivamo identičan rezultat.

Sadržajna podudarnost dvaju ulomaka ogleda se u činjenici da je na Volsonovoj steli desni lik *togatus*, tj. portret njega samoga, a lijevi je lik žene (supruge mu), dok je identičan raspored i na ulomku iz kule. Nadalje, čini se da se i na Volsonovu fragmentu iz ptičje perspektive može zamijetiti blago okretanje likova. Ono se prepoznaje i po tome što su ramena uz rubove niše bliže prednjice odvajajuće gredice, a između ramena kojima se likovi dodiruju ostalo je više „slobodnog“ prostora.

Od tehnoloških detalja najvažniji je svakako način oblikovanja rubova niše. Uz rame ženskoga lika na Volsonovoj steli rub niše nije oblikovan pod pravim kutom (tj. četvrtastog presjeka) nego je blago zaobljen, a zaobljeni su i rubovi niše sa strana glava, kao i iznad njih. Istina jest da je kod fragmenta u kuli zaobljenje naglašenije, ali to dolazi odatle što ga je u gornjem dijelu (iznad ramena) bilo lakše postići jer kod izrade nisu smetali pilastri! Ako se dva ulomka snime pod sličnim kutom i provizorno spoje (Sl. 3) i pojava niske gredice u vrhu niše dobiva na neki način smisao, premda je sa strukturalne točke gledišta potpuno nepotrebna. Ona tada načinom izrade i visinom postaje koherentna gornjoj gredici natpisnog polja, tj. traci koja to polje odvaja od onoga s portretima. Spajanje donosi i jedan očit problem, a taj je da bi pilastri – ukoliko ih zamislimo bazama oslonjene na natpisno polje – djelovali izrazito preniski. Rješenje se zacijelo krije u tome da ih se produlji sve do podnožja stele, na način da flankiraju s bokova natpis cijelom njegovom visinom. Tada bi bilo i razumljivo zašto natpis nije imao standardni profilirani okvir – jer isti nije niti bio potreban, budući su njegovu ulogu preuzeli pilastri.

Kao izvanredna i geografski najbliža usporedba u tom smislu može nam poslužiti tršćanska stela L. Vibija Poliona i Florije Hilare (Sl. 4), spomenik visine 1,70 m, širine 0,92 m i debljine 0,25 m (pregledno:

Sl. 3. Fotokolaž s prijedlogom provizornog spoja dvaju fragmenata (izrada R. Sekso)

*Sl. 4. Portretna stela L. Vibija Poliona i Florije Hilare (*Tergeste*) (prema H. Pflug 1989: T. 19: 1)*

Pflug 1989: 188–189, kat. br. 81, T. 19: 1). Ona inače iskazuje identična rješenja (!) dvaju važnih elemenata unutrašnjeg ustrojstva: ima jednostavnu (jednodijelnu) strukturu trabeacije te bogatu dekoraciju pilastara, izvedenu stabljikama bršljana. Pilastri stoje na snažnim atičkim bazama, a završavaju korintskim glavama. Hilara je prikazana lijevo (gledano prema spomeniku), u statuarnom obrascu Eumachia–Fundilia (o njemu pregledno: Maršić 2017: 164 i d., sl. 5–6), a Polion desno u obrascu togata s tek malim dijelom lacinije prebačenim preko balteusa u funkciji umba (za taj tip drapiranja toge usp. Goette 1990: 29, bilj. 122, T. 5: 1–3), oboje u visini polufigura. Zanimljivo je nadalje da i Polion i Hilara imaju gotovo navlas identične frizure kao i pokojnici s fragmenta iz kule. Hilarina je kosa podijeljena sredinom tjemena i u valovnicama iščešljana prema potiljku, gdje je skupljena u čvor ili pletenicu oblika omče. Valovnice su formirane od relativno ravnih pramenova, pokrivaju uši i nad njima stvaraju karakteristična zadebljanja. Iz čvora se niz vrat i iza ušiju spuštaju po dva kraća, ali snažna uvojka. Iako ih se u literaturi prepoznaje kao vijugaste (usp. Pflug 1989: 189), prije bih rekao da su lagano zavijeni, tj. spiralno oblikovani. Riječ je o načinu češljanja koji se u njemačkoj literaturi katkad smatra verzijom *Mittelscheitelfrisur*, ali uglavnom naziva *Wellenfrisur* – frizura s valovnicama – koja se pojavljuje u brojnim varijantama (za našu usp. Polaschek 1972: 162 i d., sl. 8). Kod žene s Krka valovnice su čak i naglašenije, a niz vrat se također spuštaju spiralno oblikovani uvojci, tj. uvojci u formi vadičepa (usp. Polaschek 1972: sl. 8, br. 7), iako su od strane M. Kolege njihovi početci svojevremeno protumačeni kao dvodijelne naušnice (Kolega 1989: 46; Kolega 2014: 93). Kod reljefnih prikaza takvih elemenata uvijek je teško prosuditi jesu li formirani od kose, ili je riječ o umetku u formi vezice postavljenoj poprijeko na tjemenu (usp. glavu Antonije Mlađe s lok. Luni: Künzl 1997: 462 i d., sl. 5, T. 55, 4–5). Krčki je portret kvalitetniji, što se primjećuje bez većih poteškoća usprkos činjenici da je većina fizionomijskih detalja izlizana ili plitko odlomljena, osobito središnje partije lica. Osim eventualno u debljini i duljini uvojaka, manja razlika je i u dubini spuštanja kose (razdjeljka) na čelo, odnosno u visini čela, koje je kod Hilare dosta niže. Kod muških je portreta kvalitativni odnos naoko obrnut, ali iscrpniju analizu ponovno priječi lošija očuvanost krčkog fragmenta. Ipak se lako uočava da oba muškarca nose isti tip frizure s lagano pahuljasto oblikovanim i kratko podrezanim pramenovima, koji iznad nosa formiraju središnji razdjeljak. Kod našega je muškarca (Volsona?) kosa više prilegla uz lubanju, a kod Poliona su čeone franzete (šiške) plastičnije rezane i odvojenih vrhova. Stječe se dojam da su kod prvoga vizualizirane osobne crta lica (s gojaznim obrazima i golemim ušima), a da je Polionov portret dosta uopćenih crta, tj. znatno naglašenije klasicističke koncepcije. Stil češljanja prisutan na glavama dviju žena osobito je popularizirala Antonija Mlađa, supruga Tiberijeva brata Druza Starijeg, pojavljuje se najkasnije od ranoga Tiberijeva, ako ne i kasnijega Augustova doba, ali je opstao i u kasnijim desetljećima zbog obnove uspomene na nju u doba principata unuka joj Kaligule i sina Klaudija (pregledno o frizurama Antonije Minor.: Boschung 1993: 51 i d., skica 21–22 (dva tipa); Künzl 1997: 441 i d., sl. 2–5, T. 47 i d. (tri tipa)). S vremenom je postajao sve raskošniji, uvodeći lokne i duže padajuće uvojke u paru (transformirajući se u druge tipove i varijante češljanja; pregledno: Maršić 2004: 141–142), što na dvije opisane stele nije slučaj. Frizure muškaraca odgovaraju istom vremenu i iako ih nije tako lako dovesti u vezu s određenim carskim prototipom (uzorom), na višefiguralnim se spomenicima najčešće pojavljuju u kombinaciji s navedenom frizurom s valovnicama (Pflug 1989: 19, M4, sl. 2). Modne karakteristike tako pružaju pouzdan oslonac za datiranje dvaju spomenika u približno isto razdoblje – od oko 20. do oko 50. god. 1. st. po Kr., s time da prisutnost spiralnih uvojaka govori u prilog kraja toga razdoblja. Takvo je datiranje u suglasju s prvotno predloženim u 40-e god. 1. st. (Kolega 1989: 46; Kolega 2014: 93), a otpalo bi ono predloženo u kontekstu otkrića natpisnog fragmenta (Sl. 1), u posljednja desetljeća 1. st. pr. Kr. ili sam početak 1. st. po Kr. (Don 2017: 24).

Osim tršćanske stele, razmjerno dobru analogiju predstavlja i stela Kvinta Labiena Moliona i Akvilije Tercije iz Gologorice kod Pazina (Pflug 1989: 186, kat. br. 75, T. 18: 1; Cambi 2000: 41–42, kat. br. 42, T. 49; Starac 2006: 55, kat. br. 6 sa sl.,229), što i ne čudi s obzirom na pripadnost istoj regiji – Histriji. Jedina značajnija razlika je da su na toj steli pilastri i kapiteli bez dekoracije, no raspored likova je isti – Tercija je lijevo, Molion desno. Dijelom su usporedive i frizure, samo što je Tercijina frizura s valovnicama jednostavnijeg izgleda, bez padajućih uvojaka, dok je Molionova frizura čini se inspirirana češljanjem Druza Mlađeg (Cambi 2000: 42).

Već je M. Kolega istakla da fragment uzidan u kuli grada Krka izradom odražava istorodnu sjevernoitalsku produkciju, no pri tome je očito ciljala na njegovu općenitu arhitektonsku karakterizaciju jer se pitanjem moguće rekonstrukcije stele nije niti mogla baviti. No prethodnim ocrtavanjem pretpostavljenog izgleda Volsonove stele došli bismo do sasvim konkretne sheme (uzorka) u kojemu je bila izrađena. Ta shema u svim sačuvanim i pretpostavljenim sastavnicama nije zastupljena među spomenicima (stelama) istočnog Jadrana i podrijetlo joj treba tražiti izvan provincije, očigledno u sjevernoj Italiji. Postavlja se logično pitanje je li veza s tršćanskom i drugim sličnim stelama toga prostora rezultat kolanja kartona sa istim ili sličnim shemama ili je i radionički uvjetovana? Kolikogod ne bi bilo teško zamisliti da se Volson bavio nekom profesijom vezanom uz pomorstvo i trgovinu, te da je stelu tijekom nekog od putovanja nabavio u nekom od sjevernoitalskih centara, mislim da to ipak nije slučaj. Vrsta kamena i stilske pojedinosti u izradi portreta s naglašenom tendencijom prikazivanja individualnih fizionomijskih značajki dvoje pokojnika upućuju na lokalnu radionicu. Na postojanje radionice koja je djelovala na otoku Krku uostalom ukazuje od ranije poznati fragment dvokatne portretne stele iz Jurandvora (Kolega 1989: 46 i d., sl. 2; Don 2017: 21, sl. 6) i novi, samo usputno spomenuti nalaz vrha arhitektonske stele iz suterena bara Volsonis (Don 2017: 22, sl. 8). S prvim primjerkom Volsonova stela dijeli i neka slična rješenja – u prvom redu smještaj polja za portrete unutar istoga para pilastara, ali bez dekoracije prednjih im ploha, a također i izostanak profila uokolo donjega polja s natpisom! Nažalost, gornji dio te stele nedostaje, pa tu svaka mogućnost daljnje komparacije prestaje. Ovdje predložena rekonstrukcija Volsonove stele utoliko i jest značajnija, što uvodi izgled jedine u cijelosti poznate stele s portretima iz ranoga razdoblja Carstva, čime postaje iznimno dragocjena i za kulturno-umjetnička i za sociološka istraživanja rimske epohe na otoku Krku.

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Četiri rajske rijeke

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Jedan vrlo vrijedan predmet ranokršćanske umjetnosti iz Hrvatske poslužio je kao poticaj za istraživanje ovog zanimljivog motiva. Prilogom koji je proizašao iz tog istraživanja želimo, u ovoj svečanoj prigodi obilježavanja 65. rođendana, izrazi iskrenu zahvalnost prof. dr. sc. M. Sanader zbog njenog neumornog ohrabrivanja u znanstvenom radu. Riječ je o luneti iz Gata, reljefnoj mramornoj ploči polukružnog oblika, koja obiluje ranokršćanskim motivima. Našu je pažnju privukao prikaz u središtu lunete – brežuljak niz čije padine teku rajske rijeke. Opis i smještaj tih rijeka zabilježen je u Bibliji (Post 2: 10–14), a zbog snažne i višestruke simbolike koju dobivaju u okviru ranokršćanske umjetnosti, susrećemo ih kao motiv uklopljen u mnoge prikaze od 4. do 7. st. Međutim, jasno je da se prikazivanje ovakvog motiva dijelom nastavlja na ranije teme iz vremena klasične antičke umjetnosti. U ovom radu predstavit ćemo ga kroz nekoliko odabranih primjera različitih arheoloških spomenika kako bismo usporedili načine na koje je uključen u velike teme ranokršćanske umjetnosti te popratili njegov razvoj.

Ključne riječi: *četiri rajske rijeke, rano kršćanstvo, ikonografija, luneta iz Gata*

Luneta iz Gata (slika 1), reljefna mramorna ploča polukružnog oblika (dim. 50 x 25,5 x 1,7 cm), pronađena je tijekom arheoloških istraživanja ranokršćanskog sakralnog sklopa na mjesnom groblju u Gatima, a čuva se u Gradskome muzeju Omiš. Dekorirana u plitkom reljefu tehnikom *champlevé*,[1] luneta je obrubljena nizom srcolikih listića i obiluje ranokršćanskim motivima među kojima se veličinom ističu dvije sučeljene golubice. Pod repovima golubica nalaze se ljiljani, a u središtu prikaza, raspoređeni od vrha prema dnu, prikazani su križ u krugu, romb i dva tipa antičkih ključeva te brežuljak niz čije padine teku rajske rijeke. Njihovo ishodište nalazi se na vrhu brežuljka, podno okrugle stijene, odakle dvije teku lijevom stranom brežuljka, a dvije desnom. Kompleksan sadržaj, smisao i simbolika ovog vrijednog predmeta već su proučeni (Jeličić 1985; Jeličić-Radonić 1994: 72–78 i 100, kat. br. 1), ali i dalje potiču na razmatranje (Cambi 1989: 2431). U tom je smislu za nas vrlo zanimljiv bio dio prikaza koji se odnosi na četiri rajske rijeke. Ovaj motiv se vrlo često javlja na različitim ranokršćanskim likovnim prikazima od 4. do 7. st., a osobito je popularan tijekom 6. st. U to je vrijeme datirana i mramorna luneta iz Gata.

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[1] Iako je izvorno riječ o zlatarskoj tehnici kod koje se emajl ulijeva u udubine izrađene u podlozi (Emajl, *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje*, Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2019, pristupljeno 19.09.2019. <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=17791>), u kasnoj antici na istoku Carstva primjenjuje se kao vrsta inkrustacije. To znači da je izdubljena i grubo obrađena pozadina plitkog kamenog reljefa ispunjena različito obojanim materijalima (Jeličić-Radonić 1994: 72). Inkrustacija na luneti iz Gata nije sačuvana, ali nalaz svjedoči o širenju tehnike s istoka na zapad Carstva.

Slika 1. Luneta iz Gata, mramor, 6. st., Gradski muzej Omiš (Jeličić-Radonić 1994: 71).

Slika 2. Lijevi panel bjelokosnog diptiha iz Rima, kraj 4./poč. 5. st., Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Firenza (Weitzmann 1979: 506, kat. br. 454).

Prikazi rajskih rijeka u ranokršćanskoj umjetnosti nesumnjivo su bili nadahnuti drugim poglavljem Knjige Postanka u kojem čitamo o tome kako je Bog zasadio vrt na istoku u Edenu, a u stihovima 10–14 biblijski pisac nas izvještava: *Rijeka je izvirala iz Edena da bi natapala vrt; odatle se granala u četiri kraka. Prvom je ime Pišon, a optječe svom zemljom havilskom, u kojoj ima zlata. Zlato je te zemlje dobro, a ima ondje i bdelija i oniksa. Drugoj je rijeci ime Gihon, a optječe svu zemlju Kuš. Treća je rijeka Tigris, a teče na istok od Ašura; četvrta je Eufrat.*[2] Izgled tog vrta možemo si dočarati ako se prisjetimo prizora Adama u raju izvedenog na lijevoj strani bjelokosnog diptiha iz Rima (dim. 29,6 x 12,7 cm) s kraja 4./početka 5. stoljeća (slika 2). Na njemu je Adam prikazan u opuštenoj pozi, oslonjen o drvo te okružen raznovrsnom vegetacijom i životinjama. S obzirom da je vrt zelena oaza, u njemu se nalaze i četiri rijeke, prikazane na dnu bjelokosnog panela (Weitzmann 1979: 505–507, kat. br. 454). One su potvrda da se radi o raju. Na ovome, i sličnim primjerima, rijeke su poslužile kao jednostavan ukrasni element kojemu je svrha stvoriti vjernu sliku rajskog prizora (Février 1956: 179–180).

Uz analize ovakvih umjetničkih prikaza, u znanosti se neumorno radilo i na analizi biblijskog teksta i to u pokušaju da se utvrdi je li opis „vrta u Edenu“ temeljen na stvarnome mjestu.[3] Premda su u središtu našeg zanimanja pojava i razvoj motiva četiriju rajskih rijeka na različitim arheološkim spomenicima, a ne bavljenje filološkim, povijesnim, arheološkim i zemljopisnim podatcima, istaknut ćemo da je svaki pokušaj lociranja zemaljskog raja polazio upravo od identificiranja rijeka koje *Biblija* naziva Pišon, Gihon, Tigris i Eufrat. Posljednje dvije i danas su nam poznate. U biblijsko vrijeme obje su se odvojeno ulijevale u Perzijski zaljev. Na njihovim obalama razvile su se stare civilizacije (sumerska, babilonska, asirska, kaldejska). Na

[2] *Jeruzalemska Biblija* 1996.

[3] O predodžbi zemaljskog raja od kasne antike do 15. st. te o povijesti kartografije raja v. Scafi 2006 sa pripadajućom bibliografijom.

zapadnoj obali Tigrisa ležao je drevni asirski grad Ašur, dok je grad Niniva, sa čuvenom Asurbanipalovom knjižnicom, bio smješten na njegovoj istočnoj obali. Od gradova koji su nekoć ležali na obali Eufrata, spomenut ćemo samo Babilon čiji se velebni ostaci od 2019. godine nalaze na UNESCO-ovu popisu svjetske kulturne baštine u Aziji.[4] Iako ne postoji dovoljno arheoloških dokaza, vjeruje se kako su se na njegovu području nalazili veličanstveni vrtovi legendarne asirske kraljice Semiramide zalijevani vodom iz Eufrata.

Prava nepoznanica su zapravo rijeke Pišon i Gihon, odnosno odgovori na pitanja gdje se one nalaze i na koje se rijeke ta imena odnose. Pišon se spominje još samo u Knjizi Sirahovoj (24: 25–27) i to uz Tigris, Eufrat, Jordan, Nil i Gihon pa nam za njeno lociranje ne preostaje ništa drugo, nego da potražimo zemlju Havila kojom teče. I zbilja, u Post 25: 18 možemo naći izvještaj o Jišmaelovim[5] sinovima koji su prebivali od Havile do Šura, koji leži istočno od Egipta u smjeru prema Ašuru. Ovako sročeno, čini se da se zemlja Havila nalazila u Arapskoj pustinji, što nije isključivo, ako znamo da pojam „edenski vrt“ zapravo označava pustinjsku oazu.[6] Ime druge rijeke je Gihon. Ona se još spominje u Prvoj knjizi o Kraljevima (1: 33, 38, 54) te u Drugoj knjizi ljetopisa (32: 30). Tu se opisuje kao izvor vode na kojem je Salomon pomazan za kralja i iz kojeg je kralj Ezekija opskrbio Jeruzalem vodom. Gihon je protjecao kroz cijelu zemlju Kuš, što je staroegipatski naziv za Nubiju, povijesnu regiju u sjeveroistočnoj Africi, na jugu Egipta i sjeveroistočnome dijelu Sudana pa se ponekad identificira s Nilom.[7] Na koncu, u 2 Ljet 29: 12 Eden se koristi kao osobno ime, a u 2 Kr 19: 12 govori se o „Edencima“ pri čemu se misli na stanovništvo kraja u sjevernoj Mezopotamiji.[8] Zbog ovakvih neodređenosti te zbog različite upotrebe riječi, čini se da je Eden geografski naziv za područje kojemu se ne može odrediti položaj, a četiri rajske rijeke ipak, više od svega, imaju simboličko značenje četiri evanđelja koja proistječu od Krista.[9] I premda su čest motiv, ako je suditi prema brojnosti i raznolikosti primjera koji se datiraju od 4. do 7. st., pa i kasnije tijekom srednjovjekovnog perioda, treba naglasiti da se ne radi o samostalnom likovnom prikazu.

Prikaz četiri rajske rijeke u pravilu je dio cjeline te ga kao takvog nalazimo na mozaicima u ranokršćanskim crkvama i krstionicama, na freskama u rimskim katakombama, na reljefima sarkofaga, ali i na staklenim, keramičkim i srebrenim predmetima te, kako smo ranije mogli vidjeti, na mramornim oplatama i kasnoantičkim bjelokosnim reljefima. Međutim, nipošto ga ne možemo smatrati motivom koji se po prvi put javio u okviru ranokršćanske umjetnosti. Naprotiv, motiv vode, rijeke ili mora, kao što je slučaj i s mnogim drugim ranokršćanskim motivima, nastavlja se iz ranije klasične antičke umjetnosti (Milinović 2016: 7–8). Rano kršćanstvo posudilo je poznate prizore iz grčko-rimskog svijeta, gdje su riječna božanstva često prikazivana u mozaiku i skulpturi,[10] pa čak i na predmetima od srebra, kao što je pladanj iz ostave u Mildenhallu iz sredine 4. st. u čijem je središtu prikazan Okean, a oko njega Nerejide i različita morska čudovišta (Milinović 2016: 340–341, sl. 146). Uglavnom se radi o personifikacijama voda koje nisu prestale

4 https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/278/ (pristupljeno: 02.09.2019.)

5 Jišmael je bio sin Abrahama i Sarine sluškinje, egipatske ropkinje Hagare. Sara je, po rođenju sina Izaka, protjerala Jišmaela i njegovu majku u pustinju, ali ih je Bog spasio. Po islamskoj predaji, Ismail je sin Ibrahimov i Agarin, pa se štuje kao praotac Arapa nastanjenih na Arapskom poluotoku (Jišmael, *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje*, Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2019, pristupljeno 31.08.2019. <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=29189>).

6 *Biblijski leksikon* 1996: 271, s. v. *Raj zemaljski*.

7 *Biblijski leksikon* 1996: 167, s. v. *Kuš*; (Nubija, *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje*, Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2019, pristupljeno 31.08.2019. http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=44355).

8 *Praktični biblijski leksikon* 1997: 74, s. v. *Eden*.

9 Razjašnjavajući retke iz *Biblije* (Post 2: 10–14), crkveni oci rajskim rijekama uglavnom pripisuju duhovni smisao. Tako u svom apologetskom djelu Sveti Augustin daje interpretaciju rijeke koja je tekla iz raja i granala se u četiri kraka. Oni, po njemu, simboliziraju četiri evanđelja, ali i četiri kreposti (razboritost, jakost, umjerenost i pravednost) (*Civ. Dei* XIII, 21). O drugim interpretacijama u izvorima v. kod Février 1956: 194 i d. te Poeschke 2004: 382, s. v. *Paradiesflüsse*. Rajske rijeke u značenju 4 evanđelja spominje i Grgić 2006: 540, s. v. *Rijeka*.

10 Dapače, susrećemo ih i na crnofiguralnoj atičkoj vazi majstora Sofila iz ranog 6. st. pr. Kr. Tamo je prikazana povorka bogova u kojoj sudjeluje i bog vodā Okean s Tetijom, sestrom i ženom te majkom riječnih bogova i Okeanida (Williams 1983: 29, 31–32, sl. 19, 34). Njihovi prikazi, kao i oni boga mora Posejdona (rim. Neptun) i morske božice Talase, ostali su omiljeni i u rimsko carsko vrijeme, osobito na mozaičkim podovima bazena i kupališta gdje su prikazivani s raznim morskim životinjama (Voute 1972; Dunbabin 1999: 166). U konačnici, brojne skulpture riječnih božanstava prikazanih u poluležećem položaju, oslonjenih o lakat jedne ruke, dok u drugoj drže nagnutu posudu iz koje istječe voda, izložene su u Kapitolskim i Vatikanskim muzejima (http://www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/en/collezioni/musei/museo-pio-clementino/Cortile-Ottagono/divinita-fluviale--arno-.html, pristupljeno: 01.09.2019.).

Slika 3. Panel podnog mozaika s prikazom personifikacije rijeke Eufrat, 539. god., Qasr el Lebia, Libija (https://www.livius.org/pictures/libya/qasr-libya-theodorias/qasr-libya-mosaic-1.04.b-euphrates/, pristupljeno: 03.09.2019.).

s pojavom ranokršćanske umjetnosti. Dapače, ranokršćanska ih je umjetnost, kao i u mnogo drugih slučajeva, preuzela i dodijelila im novo značenje. O tome zorno svjedoče i mozaici iz arijanske, odnosno Neonijeve krstionice u Ravenni datirani u 6. st. Na njima je Jordan, rijeka Kristova krštenja, prikazana u obličju riječnog božanstva. Nisu to jedini primjeri personifikacije rijeka u ranokršćanskoj umjetnosti. Nerijetko su, osobito na istočnom Mediteranu, rajskim rijekama pridavana ljudska obličja uz imena ispisana na grčkom jeziku: Γηων, Φισων, Εὐφράτης, Τίγρης (Hachlili 2009: 180–183).[11] Tako su, među skupinom različitih prikaza na panelima podnoga mozaika bazilike u gradu Qasr el Lebia (ant. *Olbia*) na sjeverozapadu Libije, prikazane i četiri rajske rijeke utjelovljene u prikazima četvorice muškaraca (Grabar 1969: 274).[12] Likovi su prikazani u poluležećem položaju. Pored njih se nalaze vrčevi iz kojih se izlijeva voda, simbol riječnog božanstva (Poeschke 2004: 383, s. v. *Paradiesflüsse*). Okolni prostor ispunjen je stablima i vodenim biljkama, kao što je lotos prikazan pored Eufrata (slika 3). Personifikacije Gihona i Eufrata drže rogove obilja. Ipak, četiri rijeke, koje zajedno simboliziraju evanđelja, očito znače da je ovaj objekt kršćanski, a to je sigurno bilo jasno i gledatelju ovih prizora, unatoč pretkršćanskom porijeklu njihove ikonografije (Grabar 1969: 274–275).

Kada nisu izvedene u ljudskom obličju, četiri rajske rijeke najčešće su smještene u središte ranokršćanskog prikaza, a takav je slučaj i na luneti iz Gata. Ipak, ranije smo naglasili da, iako u centru kompozicije, ovaj motiv nije samostalan likovni prikaz, već čini dio veće teme. Uglavnom se radi o temi predaje zakona (*traditio legis*) Petru,[13] koju već sredinom 4. st. nalazimo na mozaiku u niši rotunde mauzoleja Sv. Konstance u Rimu (slika 4). Krist, u središtu mozaika, između apostola Petra i Pavla, stoji na brežuljku iz kojeg izviru rajske rijeke. Janjad s lijeve i desne strane brežuljka simbolizira vjernike, dok se palme, koje se nadvijaju nad apostolima, najčešće tumače kao simboli pobjede (Weitzmann 1979: 556, sl. 74; Jensen 2000: 108, sl. 37 i 38; Brandenburg 2005: 86, sl. 40). Motiv rajskih rijeka nalazi se i u Svetačkoj kripti ranokršćanskih katakombi sv. Marcelina i Petra (slika 5). Tamo su krajem 4. st. nastale freske na kojima je prikazana predaja zakona, ali i Jaganjac Božji s kristogramom te grčkim slovima alfa i omega u aureoli. Janje stoji na rajskom brežuljku iz kojeg izviru četiri rijeke. Na prikazu je prisutna i rijeka Jordan, simbol krštenja (Poeschke 2004: 382, s. v. *Paradiesflüsse*), ilustrirana tek slovima *IOR* lijevo od janjeta, odnosno *DAS* desno od janjeta. Prikazana su i dva sveca te Petar i Marcelin, svi podignutih ruku u gesti aklamacije (Deckers *et al.* 1987: 200–201, br. 3, T. 1) zbog čega se čini da je riječ o prizoru nebeskog raja gdje je Kristu i Jaganjcu iskazano vječno štovanja svetih (Février 1956: 182).

[11] Zahvaljujem kolegici dr. sc. A. Pavlović na pomoći kod latinskih i grčkih prijevoda.

[12] Natpis koji govori o izgradnji bazilike datira mozaik u 539. god., u vrijeme Justinijana, kada je grad preimenovan u *Polis Nea Theodorias*, u čast carice Teodore (Beckwith 1979: 74; Grabar 1969: 266).

[13] O postanku i razvoju ove teme pisala je Baraka 2008: 115–120.

Slika 4. Mozaik s motivom predaje zakona, sredina 4. st., mauzolej Sv. Konstance, Rim (Brandenburg 2005: 82).

Slika 5. Freska iz Svetačke kripte, kraj 4. st., katakombe sv. Marcelina i Petra, Rim (Deckers et al. 1987: br. 3, T. 1).

Ovi primjeri jasno ukazuju na to da se motiv četiriju rajskih rijeka u početku javlja u okviru monumentalne umjetnosti i to u grobnim kontekstima. Na tragu toga, često se nalazi i na ranokršćanskim sarkofazima, gdje je scena *traditio legis* također omiljena te je u pravilu smještena u središnjem polju prednje strane sarkofaga. Takav prikaz izveden je na jednom arhitektonskome sarkofagu iz Arlesa datiranom u kraj 4. stoljeća,[14] a sličnih sarkofaga ima i u Rimu, Ravenni, Veroni, Padovi, Marseilleu i na drugim lokalitetima

[14] Zanimljivo je napomenuti da je i kod preostale dvije scene prednje strane ovog sarkofaga prisutan motiv vode (Koch 2000: 483, kat. br. 147; *Repertorium* III, 39–40, kat. br. 53, T. 19: 1, 4).

Slika 6. Sarkofag s poklopcem iz Marseillea, poč. 5. st., Musée archéologique de Marseille, (Repertorium III, T. 77: 1).

Italije, Galije i Hispanije (*Repertorium* II; *Repertorium* III). Upravo iz Marseillea potječe sarkofag, datiran u početak 5. st., kojemu su sačuvani i sanduk i poklopac (slika 6). U središtu sanduka još je jednom prikazana scena predaje zakona gdje se Krist nalazi na brežuljku niz koji teku rajske rijeke. Na prvoj, lijevoj sceni poklopca (dim. 1,84 x 0,64 x 0,28 m) prikazani su brežuljak i janje na njemu,[15] a vodu rajskih rijeka, koje se slijevaju niz obronke brežuljka, piju dva jelena.[16] Rubove i pozadinu prikazane scene upotpunjuju stabla i palme predstavljajući rajski krajolik (*Repertorium* III, 150–151, kat. br. 300, T. 77: 1).

Na ravenatskim sarkofazima nalazimo slične prikaze. U mauzoleju Gale Placidije čuvaju se dva primjerka koji, prema tradiciji, pripadaju Konstanciju (Koch 2000: 390, kat. br. 104) i Honoriju (Koch 2000: 389, kat. br. 107). U središtu prednje strane Konstancijeva sarkofaga prikazano je janje na stijeni iz koje izviru rajske rijeke. Janje ima aureolu s kristogramom, okruženo je dvjema ovcama, po jednoj sa svake strane, i palmama. Na središnjem prikazu Honorijeva sarkofaga nalazi se janje na stijeni s četiri rajske rijeke, a u pozadini je i križ na čijim vodoravnim hastama stoji po jedna golubica sa svake strane.

Kada od kraja 4. st. raste popularnost predmeta od bjelokosti, osobito konzularnih diptiha, a onda i piksida te škrinjica, na njima se prikazuje vrlo širok spektar tema: osim portreta pojedinih konzula, zatim tema iz tradicionalne rimske religije i mitoloških motiva, javljaju se i ranokršćanske teme (Milinović 2016: 316–322). Najljepši primjeri ovih posljednjih sačuvani su na škrinjicama. Izbor motiva i njihovi profinjeni ukrasi u reljefu svrstavaju ih u važne predmete ranokršćanske umjetnosti. Jedna takva škrinjica potječe i s našeg prostora (slika 7). Riječ je o relikvijaru (dim. 20,5 cm x 16 cm x 18,5 cm) pronađenom u Samageru, nedaleko Pule, a izrađenom vjerojatno u Rimu u prvoj polovici 5. stoljeća (Guarducci 1978; Longhi 2006). Na njemu je u dva navrata prikazan naš motiv: na poklopcu u sklopu scene predaje zakona te na prednjoj strani relikvijara gdje se u središtu scene nalazi prazno prijestolje, a ispod njega janje na brežuljku s rajskim rijekama. Kod ovog primjera bismo mogli reći da je motiv četiri rajske rijeke uključen u temu koja ilustrira tekst iz Otkrivenja.[17]

[15] Na ovom mjestu vrijedno je prisjetiti se i poklopca jednog sarkofaga iz Salone. Na središnjem akroteriju prikazan je Jaganjac Božji kako stoji na brežuljku iz kojeg izviru četiri rijeke, a prema natpisu sa strana (*Ecce Agnus Dei qui tollit peccatum saeculi*, Iv 1: 29), jasno je da se tu radi o prikazu Otkupitelja. Na bočnim akroterijima prikazane su ovce koje predstavljaju apostole (Cambi 1968–69: 82, kat. br. 22, T. 16: 4).

[16] Prizor jelena koji se napajaju na rajskim rijekama često je prikazivan u ranokršćanskoj umjetnosti, osobito na mozaicima krstioničkih sklopova diljem Carstva, međutim u izvorima je objašnjenje veze između ovih životinja i rajskih rijeka vrlo slabo zastupljeno (Domagalski 1990: 144–145). Ipak, za pretpostaviti je da rajske rijeke u ovakvim prikazima imaju značenje izvora života (Ps 42: 2; Otk 21: 6), a jeleni simboliziraju vjernike (Buzov 1995: 75–76). Jedan zanimljiv prikaz jelena i košute nalazi se na mozaiku u sakralnoj građevini na lokalitetu Bir Ftouha u Kartagi. Tu su životinje prikazane lijevo i desno od brežuljka iz kojeg izviru četiri rijeke, dok se na brežuljku nalazi posuda bez ručki u obliku pehara. Nije sigurno je li građevina u kojoj je mozaik pronađen (dana se čuva u Muzeju Bardo) bila krstionički kompleks, ali svakako se, zbog pehara, može pretpostaviti da prikaz nosi određenu euharistijsku simboliku (Delattre 1930: 18–19).

[17] *I pokaza mi rijeku vode života, bistru kao prozirac: izvire iz prijestolja Božjeg i Jaganjčeva* (Otk 22: 1).

Slika 7. Prednja strana relikvijara iz Samagera, 1. pol. 5. st., Museo Archeologico di Venezia, Venecija (https://www.restituzioni.com/opere/capsella-di-samagher/, pristupljeno: 06.09.2019.).

Prikazi na pokretnim arheološkim nalazima od stakla, keramike, srebra i bjelokosti očigledno preuzimaju ranokršćanske teme koje susrećemo na mozaicima, freskama i grobnim spomenicima. Tako je na pozlaćenom staklenom dnu (maks. šir. 12,4 cm), datiranom u kraj 4./početak 5. st., unutar četvrtastog okvira prikazana scena predaje zakona (slika 8). Međutim, podno brežuljka na kojemu je prikazan Krist, za razliku od uobičajene četiri rajske rijeke, protječe jedna rijeka. Ona se ponekad tumači kao Jordan (Weitzmann 1979: 559–560, kat. br. 503). U tom bi se slučaju ovaj prikaz mogao povezati s uskrsnućem i ponovnim rođenjem u Kristu putem krštenja. Bogata vegetacija u pozadini prikaza sugerira rajsko okruženje.

Slika 8. Pozlaćeno stakleno dno iz Rima, kraj 4./poč. 5. st., The Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio (Weitzmann 1979: 560, kat. br. 503).

Okrugli keramički žig za kruh (pr. oko 9 cm) iz Palestine datiran je u 6. stoljeće (slika 9). Na njemu je prikazan križ koji se uzdiže nad brežuljkom, a niz njega se pružaju četiri valovite linije koje simboliziraju četiri rajske rijeke. Sv. Petar i Pavao prikazani su lijevo i desno od križa. Prostor između apostola i križa ispunjen je vegetacijom. Žig ima obrub u kojem se nalazi tekst s porukom na grčkom koja kaže da je križ izvor života (Weitzmann 1979: 628–629, kat. br. 566).

Križ se javlja i na srebrenoj plitici (pr. 18,6 cm), nastaloj u Konstantinopolu u kasnom 6. stoljeću (slika 10). Na njoj su, za razliku od prethodnog primjera, prikazani arkanđeli Gabrijel i Mihovil, svaki s

Slika 9. Okrugli keramički žig za kruh iz Palestine, 6. st., Kunsthistorisches Museum, Beč (Weitzmann 1979: 628, kat. br. 566).

Slika 10. Srebrena plitica iz Konstantinopola, kasno 6. st., State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad (Weitzmann 1979: 538, kat. br. 482).

jedne strane križa optočenog dragim kamenjem (tzv. *crux gemmata*) i oslonjenog na globus. Desne ruke arkanđela, u položaju adoracije, usmjerene su prema križu, dok pod njihovim nogama teku četiri potočića simbolizirajući četiri rajske rijeke (Weitzmann 1979: 537–538, kat. br. 482).

Kasnoantički ovalni srebreni relikvijar (dim. 13 x 6,5 x 6,7 cm), koji po svoj prilici potječe iz Palestine i datiran je u rano 7. st., donosi cijeli niz već spomenutih prikaza, sada objedinjenih na jednom predmetu (Noga-Banai & Safran 2011: sl. 1–5). Tako se na desnoj dužoj stranici relikvijara nalaze poprsja Sv. Petra i Pavla između kojih je prikaz križa. Uokolo apostola prikazana je vegetacija i paunovi, a iznad glava urezana su njihova imena na grčkom alfabetu. Na lijevoj dužoj stranici relikvijara nalaze se isti motivi, ali ovog puta s poprsjima arkanđela Mihovila i Gabrijela. Sv. Petar, Pavao i arkanđeli prikazani su u sceni adoracije. Na obje kraće stranice relikvijara smjestila su se po dva janjeta između kojih je križ. Veliki križ, koji se proteže gotovo cijelom dužinom poklopca (slika 11), omeđen je visokim stablima i stoji na brežuljku iz kojeg izviru četiri rijeke. Podno križa prikazana je mala školjka, a iznad njega golubica raširenih krila (Noga-Banai & Safran 2011). Golubica se javlja u izvještaju o Kristovu krštenju (Iv 1: 32) pa na ovom prikazu može nositi takvu simboliku, a četiri rijeke, paunovi i vegetacija prikazani na poklopcu i tijelu relikvijara predstavljaju rajski vrt u središtu kojeg je križ kao izvor života, što nam je sugerirao i natpis na keramičkom žigu za kruh. Opetovano prikazivanje križa okruženog svecima, arkanđelima i janjadi, koja također može predstavljati svece ili mučenike, znak je adoracije (Noga-Banai & Safran 2011: 23–26). Na mnoštvu kasnoantičkih relikvijara različitih oblika i materijala mogu se naći gotovo istovjetne kombinacije motiva i kompozicije.[18]

Jasno da je vrlo nezahvalno nagađati bilo što o eventualnim funkcijama ovih predmeta ili o tome u kojim su prilikama korišteni, ali svakako su mogli imati liturgijsku ulogu. Tako je srebrena plitica mogla služiti za pričest, keramičkim žigom mogao se izrađivati euharistijski kruh, a škrinjica iz Samagere, kao i relikvijar iz Toronta, očito su poslužili za pohranu relikvija. S obzirom na sakralni kompleks u kojem je pronađena, liturgijsku funkciju potvrđuje i vrijedna mramorna luneta iz Gata za koju se predlaže da je bila element ranokršćanskog oltara tipa *cippus* s otvorom (tzv. *fenestella confessionis*) (Jeličić-Radonić 1991: 17).

Odabrani spomenici i predmeti zorno pokazuju da je za interpretaciju prikaza četiriju rajskih rijeka, ovaj zanimljiv motiv potrebno promatrati s obzirom na kontekst u kojem se nalazi. Motiv je bio vrlo popularan u

[18] U riznici katedrale Sv. Eufemije u Gradu, primjerice, pohranjen je vrlo sličan ovalni srebreni relikvijar (dim. 11,4 x 8,9 x 6,8 cm) načinjen po svoj prilici u Akvileji oko 500. god. Na njegovu poklopcu nalazi se prikaz velikog križa s dragim kamenjem koji je flankiran s dva janjeta na brežuljku niz koji teku četiri rajske rijeke (Buschhausen 1971: T. 22).

Slika 11. Poklopac ovalnog srebrenog relikvijara iz Palestine (?), rano 7. st., Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (Noga-Banai & Safran 2011: 6, sl. 3).

ranokršćanskoj umjetnosti od sredine 4. stoljeća. Njegova popularnost gotovo da nije slabila sve do početka 7. st. Kroz svo to vrijeme nalazimo ga na različitim predmetima te se razvija u nekoliko različitih varijanti. U sklopu prizora sa životinjama okruženima bujnom vegetacijom, četiri rajske rijeke jednostavno upućuju na raj, baš poput prikaza na bjelokosnom panelu diptiha iz Rima s Adamom u rajskom vrtu. Rijeke su ipak najčešće smještene u središte kompozicije, odnosno uklopljene su u glavni prikaz. One izviru iz brežuljka na čijem vrhu dominira Kristov lik, Jaganjac Božji ili križ. U nekim slučajevima s lijeve i desne strane brežuljka prikazani su apostoli, svetci, arkanđeli ili ovce, a u drugima jeleni ili košute koji se dolaze napojiti na tokovima tih rijeka. Potonja varijanta ima i nešto drugačije značenje (Poeschke 2004: 382, s. v. *Paradiesflüsse*). Vegetacija koja se nalazi u pozadini ovakvih prikaza također je pokazatelj rajske sredine, a palme mogu biti i simboli pobjede.

Kompozicija koja uključuje Krista na brežuljku okruženog Petrom i Pavlom pripada jednoj od najstarijih tema ranokršćanske umjetnosti, *traditio legis*. S njenom pojavom zapravo se po prvi put javlja i naš motiv, ali on nastavlja svoj život i nakon prestanka njenog prikazivanja početkom 5. st.[19] te se u konačnici osamostaljuje (kroz personifikacije rijeka). Ova tema se svojom kompozicijom vrlo dobro uklapa u sakralne i grobne prostore te nadgrobne spomenike, kao što su mauzoleji, katakombe ili sarkofazi pa na svim tim mjestima susrećemo i motiv četiriju rajskih rijeka. Osim figuralnog, u 2. pol. 4. st. raširen je i alegorijski prikaz glavne teme (Milinović 2016: 298) gdje je u središtu prikaza Jaganjac Božji, a ovce koje ga okružuju predstavljaju, ovisno o prilici, apostole Petra i Pavla, druge apostole ili svece te vjernike (Cambi 1968–69: 81–84). Od sredine 5. st. Krista na brežuljku sve više zamjenjuje križ, a prikaz se javlja i na liturgijskim predmetima.

U 6. st. u nekim crkvenim građevinama na istoku Carstva susrećemo i personifikacije četiriju rajskih rijeka. Kao što je to bio slučaj s mnogo drugih motiva ranokršćanske umjetnosti, njihovi utjelovljeni prikazi potječu iz klasične umjetnosti Grčke i Rima. Tako ikonografija, kakvu susrećemo na podnome mozaiku bazilike u libijskom gradu Qasr el Lebia, produžuje, prilagođavajući se idejama novog doba, ikonografske tradicije poganstva (Grabar 1969: 274). Personifikacija je ranije primijenjena i na rijeci Jordan u mnogim prikazima Kristova krštenja.

Za kraj, napomenimo da postoje i spomenici na kojima se četiri rijeke raja pojavljuju poimence u natpisu. Jedan takav je natpis iz 5. st. zabilježen na jednom arhitravu bazilike u Ostiji (Marrou 1978). Njegov prvi redak glasi: *In Chr(isto) Geon Fison Tigris Eufrata*. Dodamo li ovom tekstu glagol *sunt*, koji se zapravo podrazumijeva, njegov smisao je vrlo jasan te bi u slobodnom prijevodu značio: *Iz Krista izviru četiri rajske rijeke*.

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[19] Tema predaje zakona osobito je prisutna u umjetnosti od kraja 4. do početka 5. st. zbog politike koju je Crkva u to vrijeme vodila (Baraka 2008: 125).

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The tombstone of Cassius Sextus from the village of Kusonje (*Pannonia superior*)

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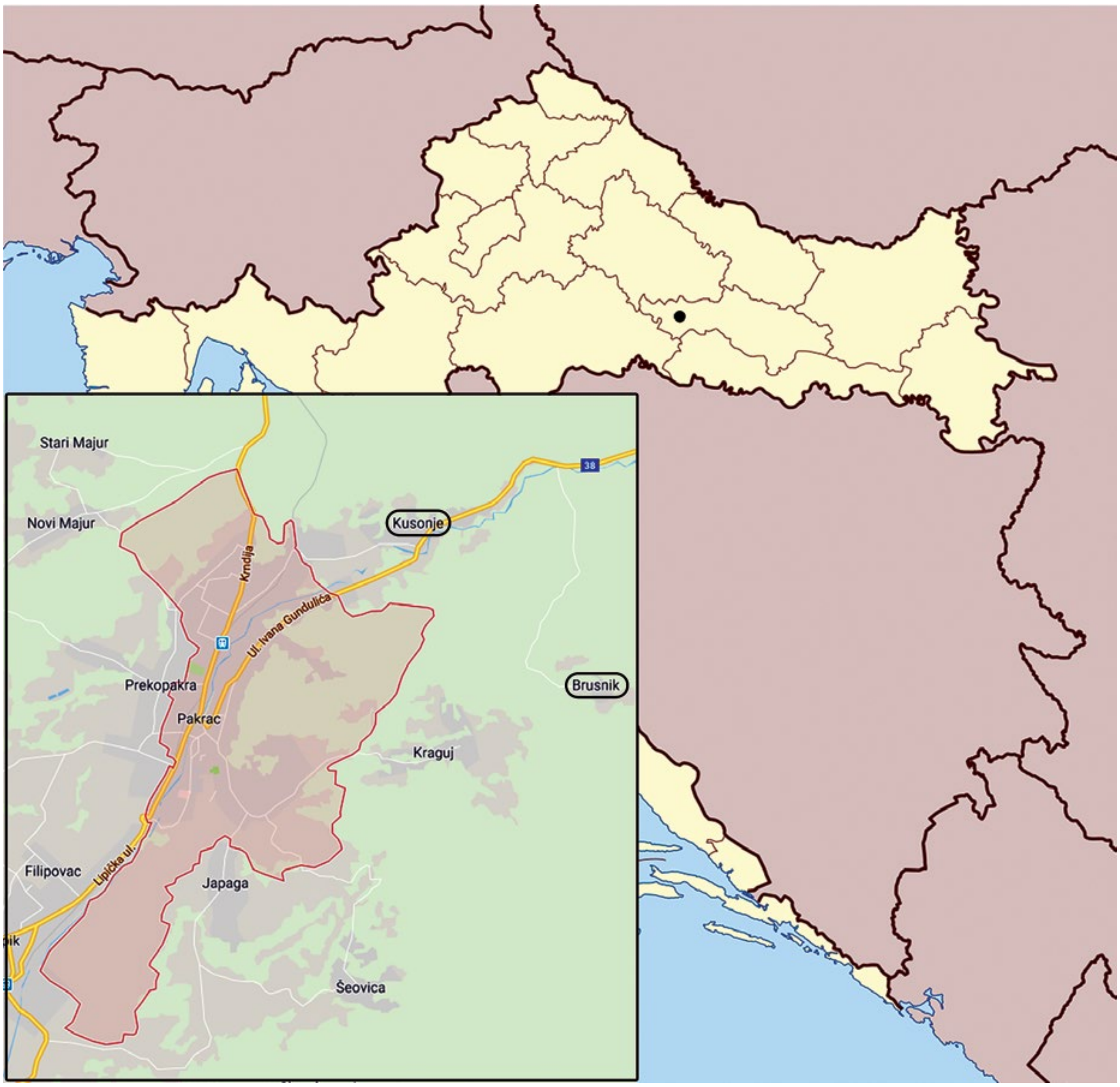
The tombstone discussed here was recovered in 1990 in an amateur archaeological excavation in the village of Kusonje, in the close vicinity of the city of Pakrac (central-north Croatia). While the stress in the previous discussions of this monument was on political-historical circumstances of the find and its implications for the Roman history of the wider Pakrac region, a lot of unanswered questions have remained concerning the appearance of the monument in terms of its classification as a tombstone kind, as well the social context of its epitaph. This contribution aims at getting a better insight into these aspects of the monument, as well as at correcting some previously adduced inexact information and misleading assumptions. Although the analysis of the formal-structural and iconographical traits of the piece has revealed its eclectic nature, it has also established its affiliation with stelae rather than funerary altars. The dating to the early 3rd century is based on the combination of formal-structural, iconographic, epigraphic and historical arguments.

Key words: *tombstone, stelae, funerary altars, Pannonia, Kusonje, Pakrac, Menneianae, cohors Maurorum.*

The archaeological context and introduction

The funerary monument discussed here was recovered in 1990 in an amateur archaeological excavation in the village of Kusonje, in the close vicinity of the town of Pakrac (central-north Croatia) (Map 1). The excavation was conducted by Siniša Njegovan Stárek, a local artist and amateur historian and archaeologist. The immediate findspot of the monument, now kept in the Pakrac Museum (inv. no. MGP-320), was on the hillside of a hill of 234 m altitude, close to its peak. Apart from short mentions in the newspapers and literature, the piece was published preliminary by Mirko Bulat and more extensively by the excavator, and also recently in the wider context of funerary monuments of south-western Pannonia (Sokač-Štimac 1993; Bulat 2001; Herman Kaurić 2004: 28–30; Njegovan Stárek 2009; Lőrincz 2010b: 189, fn. 34; Migotti & Šašel Kos 2018: 114–116; *Lupa* 10057). While the stress in the discussions of Bulat and Njegovan Stárek was on political-historical circumstances of the find and its implications for the Roman history of the wider Pakrac region, a lot of unanswered questions have remained concerning the appearance of the monument in terms of its classification as a tombstone kind, as well as the social context of its epitaph. Therefore, the aim of this paper, dedicated to the deserved honouree Mirjana Sanader, is to get a better insight into these aspects of the monument, as well as to correct some previously adduced inexact information and misleading assumptions about it.



Map 1. Plan of the city of Pakrac in its geographical setting (after Google Maps, modified by A. Jambrović).

The description and determination of the monument

The monument (Fig. 1) is composed of two separately carved pieces, the first one being a parallelepiped shaft (height 117 cm, width 65 cm, thickness 39 cm) with tenons on the upper (length 36 cm, height 20 cm, thickness 8 cm) and bottom (length 37 cm, height 23 cm, thickness 11 cm) surfaces, the total height of the piece amounting to 160 cm. The other part is the irregularly shaped and very roughly worked pedestal (length 84 cm, width 75cm, thickness 46 cm) with a central hole (42 x 26 x 12 cm) for taking the shaft. The upper tenon suggests that originally an upper part of the monument existed, whose shape remains unknown. The shaft is much damaged and weathered at various places, including the whole of the front. The inscription field is smoothed except for its peripheral surfaces that are roughly chiselled, as are the background of the relief on the base and the sides of the shaft.

The majority of the front is taken by the inscription panel, moulded and additionally framed with a geometricized band of stylized acanthus leaves, which has no close parallel but seems to be a simplified variant of the motif of the so-called leaf candelabrum (*Blattkandelaber*), such as can be found on the funerary monuments from the area of Celeia (cf. Kremer 2001: 73, no. 12; *Lupa* 13266). The decorative band runs continuously along three sides (except the lower one), which is reminiscent of the iconographic conception typical of funerary altars. Such decoration is customarily found on the altars of the city of Rome,

*Fig. 1. Tombstone of Cassius Sextus with the pedestal (*Lupa *10057, O. Harl).*

north Italy and the Norico-Pannonian region, although it should be noticed that generally all four sides of altars take a decorative frame (Boschung 1987: 111–112, nos 904–930; Dexheimer 1998: nos 22, 39, 108, 109, 110, 144, 242; *Lupa* 1308, 1309, 235, 4334, 5171, 8172, 14526, 14527, 19629). When applied on the inscription fields of stelae (cf. *Lupa* 247, 2919, 2999; Paškvalin 2012: 218, no. 25, 236, no. 74), such decorative scheme can be straightforwardly interpreted as an influence from the altar iconography. The free space above the inscription of the monument from Kusonje holds an apparently indistinct motif (Fig. 2), which was previously hypothetically interpreted as a bird, while in reality it features an elongated stemmed triangle flanked by a simplified and stylized sea-griffins (cf. Walde 2005: 1809, Abb. 339 = *Lupa* 13256). Given that the monsters' heads are turned outwards while their tails rest on the sides of the triangle, the scene should be interpreted as a stylization of a very low pediment of a stela with a flat upper part, featuring a dolphin or a monster in each of the spandrels (cf. *Lupa* 574, 675, 1270, 1649, 1997, 2774, 3722, 4290, 4304, etc.). However, the fact that in the present example the pediment is placed in a structurally impossible position within the inscription field, resulted in a distortion far removed from its original design.

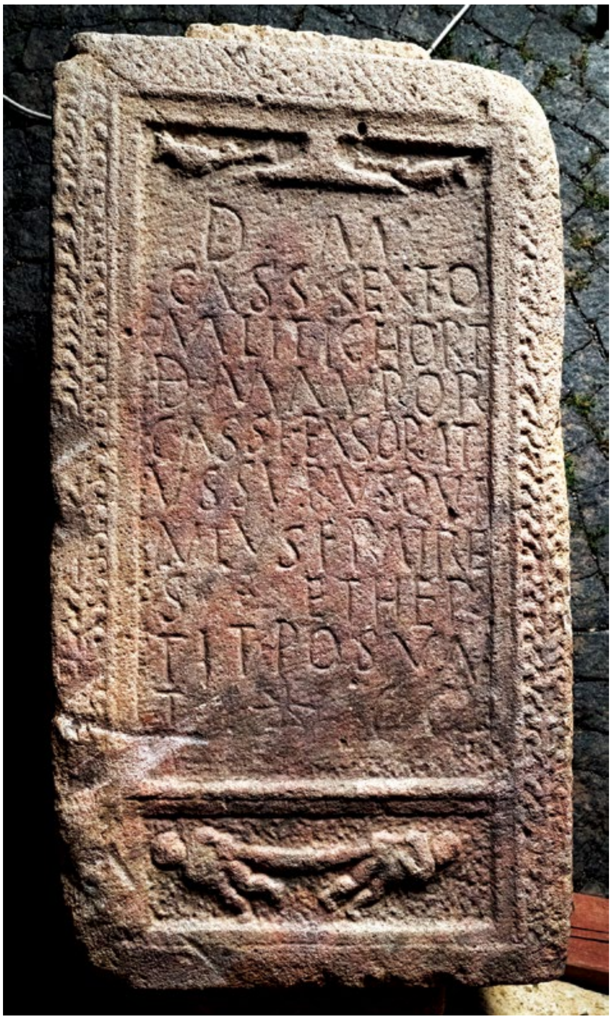


*Fig. 2. Front side of the tombstone of Cassius Sextus (*Lupa *10057, O. Harl).*

The base, framed in the same manner as the inscription field, holds two short-haired wingless Erotes half striding and half floating in opposite sides; both are standing on one leg with the other slightly lifted from the floor, and are supporting a smooth garland. They are executed inaccurately, with rude and stiff wingless[1] bodies and leaving the impression of falling down rather than either floating or striding; the lack of the wings here suggests the artist's incapability rather than an artistic conception. As a parallel for the scene in question the depiction of Erotes on a stela

[1] Despite the fact that the wings are not indispensable in their iconography, Erotes on north-Italian and Norico-Pannonian funerary monuments are mostly depicted with at least one wing (Koch & Sichtermann 1982: 206–207; Pochmarski 1984: 237, 256).

from Osijek was adduced (Bulat 2001: 61; *Lupa* 5262). This, however, is not an accurate comparison, as the two scenes are similar but not identical in their conception. The one from Kusonje features floating Erotes, while on the piece from Osijek striding Erotes are depicted. The latter scene can be found on some Norico-Pannonian stelae as early as the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries (Pochmarski 1984: 271; *Lupa* 706, 3105, 3331), that is, earlier than on north-Italian and Norico-Pannonian funerary buildings and sarcophagi (Gabelmann 1973: 54, Taf. 8: 1; 130, Taf. 31: 1; 33: 1; 39: 1; Pochmarski 1984; Pochmarski 1986). On the other hand, floating Erotes appear only sporadically in Norico-Pannonian funerary art; only one example is known to me, originating from Roman Aguntum (Lienz, AU) (*Lupa* 615; Pochmarski 1986: 243–249, Taf. 26; Kremer 2001: 114–116, no. I/52c.). The origin of this motif in Norico-Pannonian art is not straightforward, as possible (though partial) influences can be found in all three main production centres of Roman sarcophagi: Athens, Rome and Near Asia (Gabelmann 1969: 228; Koch & Sichtermann 1982: 63–64, 206–230, 424–429, 500, nos 282–286, 448–472, 483). What makes the issue of the origin of this motif in the northern provinces debatable is the fact that both Erote-scenes (floating and supporting a garland) appear on a Flavian votive altar from Brescia, that is, earlier than on sarcophagi (Gabelmann 1969: 228–229). On the other hand, if we bear in mind that the motif of floating Erotes entered Norico-Pannonian funerary art probably at the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries (Pochmarski 1984: 271; Pochmarski 1986: 247–249), its model should be looked for in sarcophagi rather than in a 1st-century altar from Brescia.

Previously, authors escaped naming precisely the tombstone from Kusonje in regard of its kind, employing instead the term *monument*. When I included it among stelae (Migotti 2018: 152; Migotti, in: Migotti & Šašel Kos 2018: 114–116), it was for a practical reason of cataloguing a wider body of funerary monuments, and with an appropriate explanation. Such explanation was necessary because this monument comprises structural, formal and iconographic characteristics of stelae and funerary altars, as is otherwise customary for funerary structures (cf. Pflug 1989: 47–50, *passim*; Starac 2002: 62; Scholz 2012: 3; Migotti 2018: 152; Migotti, in: Migotti & Šašel Kos 2018: 77, fig. 149). The stela is basically an upright, relatively thin parallelepiped meant prevalently for frontal viewing, whose height surpasses its width and whose width surpasses its thickness (Schober 1923: 155–177; Pflug 1989: 1, *passim*; Starac 2002: 62). The altar, on the other hand, is a rectangular block whose height surpasses both its width and its thickness, but not so conspicuously as in the stela. More important for the altar is the relation between its width and thickness, which are sometimes about equal, but mostly the width is one third or even the double that of the thickness. The inscription is always cut on the front, while the sides customarily take reliefs, proving that the altar was meant for both frontal and side viewing (Boschung 1987: 12–13, 37– 41; Dexheimer 1998: 3–15; Pochmarski & Weber-Hiden 2016: 18–20). The most important similarity between the stela and funerary altar is recognizable in very thick stelae, as well as in those whose sides, irrespective of their thickness, hold relief decoration. The thickness of the sides of stelae vary between some 10 and 40 cm; despite taking in some (rare) examples even the half of the stela's width, the basic ratios between the sizes of the three dimensions is never disturbed. On balance, the ratio between the height and width of the monument under discussion (117:65 cm) points to a stela, the more so if the now missing top is taken into account, while the ratio between the width and thickness (65:39 cm) is closer to the structure of a funerary altar.

It would possibly be easier to decide to what kind of monument the tombstone from Kusonje belong if we knew the appearance of its missing top. It was not found during the excavations, but we cannot exclude the possibility that it had been stumbled upon by the previous owners of the land and destroyed, which is more probable than to presume that it never existed, as the presence of the upper tenon contradicts such possibility. M. Bulat (2001: 61) presumed that the monument was crowned by a lion top, a horizontal parallelepiped with two lions lying back to back by the sides of a central element, such as in the stela from the nearby village of Brusnik (*Lupa* 3812, Map 1). A serious obstacle to resolving this issue is inadequate knowledge of the technique of fitting the shafts and tops in stelae generally. This is because the latter are mostly found as dismembered pieces and are displayed as such in museums, with their bottom surfaces mostly hidden from sight. Luckily, in rare but precious examples technical details of lion tops are described in the literature, revealing metal clamps as bonding devices (Ubl 1979: 52–53: 49; Pochmarski & Weber-Hiden 2016: 78–79, no. 22). Still, some pieces were certainly fixed together by the sheer weight of stone, as is exemplified by the abovementioned stela from Brusnik (*Lupa* 3812). Since the tombstone from Kusonje incorporates elements of both stelae and altars, it should be noted that in rare cases even altars were crowned by lion tops.[2] On the other hand, a hybrid structure of the monument from Kusonje gives grounds for the presumption that its top was of a different shape, perhaps more in tune with a funerary altar. Such reasoning is grounded in the fact that some altars contained the ashes, which could have been placed in an appropriate receptacle in the base, shaft, or the top piece; the latter was shaped as a rectangular, pyramidal or arched block that could have been carved separately or in the same piece with the shaft. Also, the ashes could have been contained in a variously shaped vessel, serving as an urn (*urna cineraria*) fixed onto the upper surface of the altar shaft (Schober 1923: 177–179; Boschung 1987: 12–13, 37–41, *passim*; Dexheimer 1998: 3–6; Kremer 2001: 342–352; Ertel 2010: 151–163; Pochmarski & Weber-Hiden 2016: 18–20).

The main obstacle to juxtaposing the monument from Kusonje with those from Rome or north Italy is the fact that in the latter examples the tops were fixed onto the shafts by iron clamps or the mere weight of the stone (Boschung 1987: 38; Dexheimer 1998: 4–5); none of the examples known to me were equipped with a tenon as a fixing device. Nevertheless, the possibility cannot be excluded that such technique was used in a provincial piece. If such eventuality is considered, the missing top of the tombstone from Kusonje could have been shaped as a block or even a larger vessel holding the ashes, which would make it resemble more closely an altar than a stela. Furthermore, such restoration would account for the fact that no remains of the deceased were found during the excavations, which, although amateur, were very carefully executed, establishing that the detached pedestal of the tombstone rested in a closed archaeological whole (Njegovan Stárek 2009: 125). On the other hand, it should be observed that the shaft of the tombstone was fitted into the pedestal by means of a tenon, which is a technical device typical of stelae but not evidenced in altars.

Let us now recapitulate the main points of the argument about the kind of monument discussed here in terms of its affiliation with stelae and/or funerary altars. This tombstone can be perceived as resembling an altar only on account of the decorative conception of its inscription panel, while the further two arguments remain tentative. The first one is a considerable thickness of its shaft, and the second is (unprovable) possibility that its top contained the ashes. The remainder of its formal-structural and iconographic features speak for a stela: the ratio between its height and width, the depiction above the inscription and possibly that on the base,[3] as well as the tenon for fixing into the pedestal. Therefore, it is more appropriate to consider the tombstone from Kusonje as a stela than a funerary altar, with its prototype remaining unclear. Nevertheless, the safest term to use is a neutral one: a *tombstone*. Whoever conceived the shape and iconography of the tombstone from Kusonje, the owners or the workshop artist, must have had various funerary monuments in front of their eyes, either in person or in a pattern book (cf. Pochmarski 1986: 259; Koch & Sichtermann 1982: 250–252; Migotti 2018: 197, fn. 467). Still, it remains unanswered why the result came as an eclectic piece unparalleled in Norico-Pannonian funerary art.

The interpretation of the epitaph in its military and social context

Despite a fairly incompetent cutting and rustic letters of various heights, arranged in ten uneven lines, the inscription is well preserved and phrased in a manner which renders easy its reading, restoration and basic interpretation, except in the last line. The only specific feature is a horizontal stroke across the vertical *hasta* across the latter *D*, standing for the numeral 500. In the last line of the inscription a six-pointed star is crudely carved between the letter *T* and two *C*s, which were in earlier publications interpreted as a (one!) moon. Although the symbols following the star are not cut regularly enough to represent two letters *C* beyond doubt, an astral symbolism is not convincing either, not least because a star and two moons on its one side are difficult to interpret in such key.

2 In the only example known to me (Lambach, AU, *Lupa* 570), the top was fixed onto the altar shaft by means of iron clamps (Kremer 2001: 146, no. 128).

3 The motif of striding or floating Erotes are missing from Norico-Pannonian funerary altars, while those striding appear on stelae and funerary buildings (Pochmarski 1984: 226–230).

The inscription goes: *D(is) M(anibus) / Cass(io) Sexto / militi c(o)hort(is) / D Mauror(um) /5 Cassi(i) Exsorat/us (!), Surus, Qui/ntus, fratre/s et her(edes) / tit(ulum) posu(eru)n/t.*

Translation: Sextus, soldier of the Cohort of the 500 Mauri. Cassii Exsoratus, Surus, and Quintus, brothers and heirs, had the tombstone erected (Šašel Kos, in: Migotti & Šašel Kos 2018: 115).

Despite the ethnic name of the Cohort of the 500 Mauri, during its stay in Pannonia it recruited local men according to a customary policy of the Roman Army concerning ethnic units (Wagner 1938: 219–220, *passim*; Kovács 2009: 261; Gilliver 2011: 193). In the epitaph from Kusonje such policy is proved by the personal names (*cognomina*) of the four brothers Cassii, which were ubiquitous in Pannonia while lacking any clues as to a possible African origin. Moreover, the incorrect rendering of the name Exoratus as Exsoratus points to a Celtic origin, which possibly holds true also for the name Surus. The brothers' family name Cassius stems from the ancient Roman plebeian family, to have spread everywhere in the period of the Empire (Šašel Kos, in: Migotti & Šašel Kos 2018: 115–116; Šašel Kos 2018: 227). The question arises whether the Casii brothers were Roman citizens at the time of the tombstone's erection, as suggested by their name formula but at the same time contradicted by the auxiliary service of at least one (the deceased Sextus) of them. However, it has often been overlooked that awarding citizenship to auxiliary soldiers only upon an honourable discharge was a policy prevailing in the beginning of provincial recruiting. In reality, quite a lot of Roman citizens were recruited in the auxiliary units as early as the beginning of the 2nd century, apart from *cohortes civium Romanorum* (Kraft 1951: 72–73; Speidel 1975; Haynes 1999: 165–166; Radman-Livaja 2018: 233). Nevertheless, the commentators do not agree on whether a family name combined with a cognomen, if the former is non-imperial, is a sufficient proof of citizenship (Kraft 1951: 69–78; Lőrincz 2010b: 186–188; Lőrincz 2010c: 261–266; Lőrincz 2011: 418). Challenging an outdated claim of Theodor Mommsen, that only a proper name formula in combination with the city and tribe origin constituted indispensable prerogatives of citizenship as adduced in inscriptions, Konrad Kraft persuasively argued that the majority of the auxiliary soldiers with Roman name formula, irrespective of whether their family name was imperial or other, were Roman citizens (Kraft 1951: 70–71; see also Saddington 1982: 190–192, and Haynes 1999: 165–166). Therefore, the same presumption is quite probably valid for the brothers Cassii, especially in light of the date of their monument (see below). When discussing the tombstone from Kusonje, S. Njegovan Stárek (2009: 131) posited undoubtedly that the Cassii had not been only biological brothers, but also "brothers in arms". While the author did not care to substantiate his thesis by any historical or archaeological arguments, he seems to have been in the right. This can be inferred from the fact that the phrase *fratres et heredes* was unusual for civilian funerary contexts, and was indeed more familiar in military surroundings. This can be brought in relation with the fact that biological brothers often served in the same units, while at the same time military comrades were commonly named as heirs entrusted with the burial and with keeping the memory of their deceased fellow-soldiers (cf. Migotti 2017: 95, fns 44 and 45).

Despite the clumsy execution of the signs figuring in the last line of the epitaph, the one that was by all the authors so far interpreted as a star can be tentatively explained as the symbol for the word *denarius*, containing a capital letter X crossed by a horizontal stroke across its middle.[4] If this is so, then the two Cs, interpreted earlier as a moon, should be explained as numerals standing for the number 200, referring to the price of the tombstone and providing it with an "added (archaeological) value". The syntagm used relates to the fact that the tombstone prices are not adduced in epitaphs as often as required for a better insight into the material worth of funerary stones. The suggested meaning would be even more persuasive if the three signs were accompanied by a customary verb describing the action of paying, such as *curavit, legavit, donavit* and the like (cf. *CIL* III 633, 4779, 143493; *CIL* VII 180; *CIL* XII 324, 1357; *CIL* XIII 5056, 5072, 5416, 5417, 5233, 8591). On the other hand, such omission is tolerable in a somewhat careless inscription lacking some other common information, such as the age of the deceased and especially the number of the years served in the army. Presumably, the price of a tombstone in Pannonia in the 2nd and 3rd centuries ranged between 800 and 50.000 sesterces (Graßl 1991: 6–7). After a conversion into denarii, it turns out that the Cassii brothers paid exactly 800 sesterces. For a meaningful juxtaposition of this sum with their financial means if all of the brothers were soldiers or with Sextus' earnings if only he was in the

4 The possibility of such interpretation was kindly communicated to me by Dino Demicheli.

army, the number of the years served at the moment of death should be known. Unfortunately, this is not stated in the epitaph. Therefore, it remains to compare the sum of 200 denarii (800 sesterces) with the presumed pay of cohort soldiers in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, which has been calculated at between 2.000 sesterces during the Severan rulers and 6.000 sesterces in Maximinus Thrax's time (Speidel 1992: 101, Table 4). There is a certain, though possibly accidental, concordance between the facts that the cohort soldier was at the bottom of the military pay scale, while the price of 800 sesterces is the lowest recorded on a funerary monument in Pannonia at the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Otherwise, the presumed low price of the tombstone under discussion corresponds with the main parameters of the cost of stone monuments in the Roman Empire. Although the stonemason's work was its most important component, the total cost increased with the use of imported stone that was generally expensive in itself, and even more so because of the transportation expenses (Migotti 2018: 176, with literature in fn. 308). On balance, if indeed the price of the tombstone from Kusonje was 200 denarii, such low cost was based on both the local stone and the employment of a local workshop of modest expertise.

On account of formal-structural, iconographic, epigraphic and historical arguments, the tombstone from Kusonje can be dated to the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Despite the fact that the name formula lacking the first name (*praenomen*) and a low quality of the carving allow its dating in the entire 3rd century, such date must necessarily be narrowed down on account of historical reasons concerning the deceased's military service. Cassius Sextus could have been recruited immediately before AD 180, the year of the departure of his cohort from Pannonia Superior, where the recruitment took place. Even if this was so, he could not have died later than the early 3rd century because at the time of death he was still an active soldier and the duration of military service in the Imperial period was set at 25 years (Derks & Rojmans 2006: 121; Gilliver 2011: 186). On balance, the early 3rd century is the most plausible date for his tombstone.

Concluding remarks

The relevance of the tombstone from Kusonje surpasses its immediate south-Pannonian surroundings, because the Cohort of the 500 Mauri has left only two or three additional inscriptions. The first one is the epitaph of a stela found in Györköny in the mid-south Hungary (*CIL* III 3324 = *EDCS*-26600620; Lőrincz 2010b: 183–188), while the second one is a milestone from an unknown site in Pannonia Inferior, inscribed with an honorary inscription for (presumably) Marcus Aurelius (*CIL* XVII /4, 813; Lőrincz 2010b: 189). The third inscription, also honorary, was found in the African province of Byzacena, but its affiliation with the Cohort of the 500 Mauri is debatable (*CIL* VIII 12066 = EDCS-24400196; Lőrincz 2010b: 188). This cohort was either created from African and Moorish horsemen (*equites Afrorum et Maurorum*) in Pannonia Superior during the Marcomannic Wars, or it came to Pannonia as already established cohort to fight in those wars. When the wars ended in AD 180, the cohort was transferred to Pannonia Inferior and settled in the fort of Alta Ripa (modern-day Tolna, HU) on the Danube *limes* (Cichorius 1900; Wagner 1938: 167–168, 268; Lőrincz 2001: 39, 272, nos 391–393; Kovács 2009: 261; Lőrincz 2010b).

The movements of the Cohort of the 500 Mauri, which can be used only as a broad indicator for the chronology of the tombstone from Kusonje, can be also used in a tentative reconstruction of the cohort's activities that resulted in the erection of that monument. Cassius Sextus could have been killed during the Marcomannic Wars somewhere in Pannonia Superior, but sooner in the battle area on the *limes* than at the place of his burial, as the mid-southern Pannonia was mostly spared war activities (Migotti 2012: 11–12). On the other hand, Sextus could have been a victim of any casualty or he could have died in any possible way when his cohort was already settled in Alta Ripa; this could have happened in any place within the province of Pannonia. For instance, he could have died in his camp in Alta Ripa, to be transferred by his brothers to his native place. Also, Sextus could have died or perished in an accident while on duty in Pannonia Superior after the Marcomannic Wars, presuming that a vexillation of his cohort was sent to the area of Aquae Balissae on a special errand, for instance to supervise and protect road transportation of army supplies or any other commercial activity related to the military. This was rightly suggested by M. Bulat (2001: 62–63), and engagingly discussed by S. Njegovan Stárek (2009: 130). Indeed, there was no obstacle for a military unit to be sent on a civilian duty from one province to another, in this case from

Pannonia Inferior to Pannonia Superior (cf. Wagner 1938: 234–235; Saxer 1967: 3, *passim*; Țentea 2012: 99; Glavaš 2016: 257). Of the three possibilities adduced, more realistic seem to be those that suggest Sextus' death in the period after the Marcomannic wars, although all of them still remain hypothetical.

The presumption was put forward that the Roman settlement of Menneianae, situated on the diagonal secondary road connecting Siscia (*Pannonia Superior*) and Mursa (*Pannonia Inferior*), should be looked for on the current site of Pakrac or its immediate surroundings (Bulat 2001: 62; Schejbal 2003: 102–103; Njegovan Stárek 2009: 129–130; Gračanin 2010: 33, 35, 52). As this area has yielded only very modest Roman finds, some of the commentators discussed the tombstone from Kusonje as an additional argument for the presumed location of Menneianae in Pakrac (Bulat 2001: 62–63; Njegovan Stárek 2009: 129–131). One or two[5] graves cannot clarify the nature of the Roman settlement at their find-spot, neither can they prove the presumed location of Menneianae. On the other hand, Cassius Sextus' tombstone can be considered as a further contribution towards the insufficiently researched issue of the military presence in the wider surroundings of Aquae Balissae (cf. Migotti 2017: 110–111, *passim*; Radman-Livaja 2018: 234–238).

Acknowledgements

My sincere thanks go to Mr. Siniša Njegovan Stárek and the colleagues Dino Demicheli, Ljubica Perinić and Ivan Radman-Livaja, for useful information and enlightening opinions that have certainly improved this paper.

Abbreviations

BAR	*British Archaeological Reports*, International Series, Oxford
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin
CSIR	*Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani*
EDCS	*Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby*
Lupa	*http://lupa.at (Friederike und Ortolf Harl, Bilddatenbank zu antiken Steindenkmälern).*

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[5] According to a personal communication by S. Negovan Stárek, a similar tombstone is reported to have been found in the vicinity, but was destroyed without being documented in any way.

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Fina stolna keramika augustovskog i ranotiberijevskog razdoblja Siscije

Ivana MILETIĆ ČAKŠIRAN, Sisak

Rad donosi pregled keramičkih tipova koji su vezani uz augustovsko i ranotiberijevsko razdoblje Siscije. Prezentirana je fina stolna keramika: keramika s crnim premazom, tera sigilata, čaše tipa Aco, šalice tipa Sarius, keramika tankih stijenki, te reprezentativni primjeri stolne keramike. Provedena je analiza nalaza s novijih istraživanja te onih koji su pohranjeni u Gradskom muzeju Sisak i Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu. Datacija pokretnog materijala odgovara fazi rimskih logora Dangstteten-Oberaden te Haltern. Interpretacija samih struktura do sada je izostala, a razlog tome su vrlo male istražene površine zbog karaktera samog nalazišta Siscije, arheološkog nalazišta s kontinuitetom života na istoj poziciji od stariježeljeznog doba do danas.

Ključne riječi: *Sisak, Siscia, fina keramika, augustovsko razdoblje*

Uvod

Rezultati arheoloških istraživanja u zadnjih deset godina u Sisku potvrdila su kako se protopovijesna Segestika od 2. st. pr. Kr. do Oktavijanovog osvajanja formirala i na lijevoj obali Kupe. Razlog tome je zaštita ključne pozicije prema Savi zbog upada rimske vojske od 2. st. pr. Kr. na područje Panonije, ali i zbog intenzivnije trgovine i korištenja rijeke Save kao glavnog plovnog puta (Drnić & Miletić Čakširan 2014: 90–198). Na tom je strateški značajnom prostoru zabilježen i horizont augustovskog i ranotiberijevskog razdoblja. Najraniji rimski slojevi nastali na mlađeželjeznodobnoj drvenoj arhitekturi, zabilježeni su na položaju Povijesni arhiv (Drnić & Miletić Čakširan 2014: 159–161), Željeznički kolodvor (Kristović & Jerončić 2015), Frankopanska bb (Tomaš Barišić 2012), Dunavski Lloyd (Škrgulja 2010), S. i A. Radića 38 (Leleković 2013) (Karta 1.). Kako su svi položaji istraživani u sklopu zaštitnih arheoloških radova na malim površinama unutar urbane cjeline grada, interpretacija vezanih struktura vrlo je otežana. Međutim, pokretni arheološki nalazi jasno datiraju najranije augustovske slojeve, a od finog keramičkog materijala to je: keramika s crnim premazom, tera sigilata, čaše tipa Aco i šalice tipa Sarius, keramika tankih stijenki, reljefna keramika istočnojadranskog tipa te reljefna egipatska glazirana keramika.

Karta 1. Ranorimski položaji unutar Siska (I. Miletić Čakširan prema geoportal.dgu.hr).

Keramika s crnim premazom (T. 1: 1)

U augustovskom horizontu položaja Željeznički kolodvor u Sisku nađena su dva ulomka keramike s crnim premazom (Miletić Čakširan 2018a: Sl. 15:1). Ulomak ruba pripada tanjuru s ravnim prema van zakrivljenim rubom, s crno-smeđim sjajnim slabo očuvanim premazom. Oblik je analogan nalazu tanjura keramike s crnim premazom koji se pojavljuje u Fazi 3 na Magdalensbergu (Schindler Kaudelka 2012: 327, T. 3: 22). Pripada obliku Lamboglia 5/7 koji je karakterističan za srednje augustovsko vrijeme. Nalazi keramike s crnim premazom zabilježeni su na alpskom i jadranskom području (Horvat & Bavdek 2009: 118–119; Vičič 1993: 44, T. 3: 8–9; 1994: 29, T. 1: 13, 14, 15, T. 24: 21, 22), a nalazi iz Siska prvi su na prostoru provincije Panonije.

Terra sigilata

U Sisku su nađeni oblici reljefne i glatke tere sigilate augustovskog i ranotiberijevskog razdoblja što ukazuje kako se u Sisciju uvozio najfiniji materijal prisutan i na drugim važnim vojnim uporištima rimskog carstva augustovskog i ranotiberijevskog razdoblja.

Reljefna tera sigilata (T. 1: 2–4)

Na položaju Željeznički kolodvor nađeni su ulomci kupe reljefne sigilate Consp. R2 (Drag. 11) sjevernoitalskih i aretinskih radionica. Ulomak ruba, vrata i trbuha kupe s ukrasom niza parova listova te na trbuhu ukrasom trolista s dva izdanka s kružnim pupoljcima/plodovima[1] datira se u srednje do kasno augustovsko vrijeme (Ettlinger *et al*. 1990: 68). Između dva trolista vidljiv je dio okvira pravokutnog pečata (sl. 1, T. 1: 2). Motiv trolista s dva pupoljka pripisan majstoru Xanthusu nađen je u Halternu (Labrousse 1954: 317), a ukras koriste i sjevernoitalski majstori (Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1987: T 9/ 9b(26); Mantovani 2012: T. XLIV).

Slika 1. Ulomak reljefne tere sigilate (foto: Arheoplan d.o.o.).

Slika 2. Ulomak reljefne aretinske sigilate (foto: Arheoplan d.o.o.).

Ulomak vrata i dijela trbuha kupe s izuzetno kvalitetnim premazom i reljefnim ukrasom narebrene trake ispod kojih je niz ovula i na trbuhu ukrasom okomitih duguljastih ovula uokvirenih trakom (*sigittae)*[2] datiran je u srednje do kasno augustovsko vrijeme[3] (sl. 2, T. 1: 3). Presjek i premaz kao i ukras ovula i tipičan je za aretinsku radionicu (Porten Palange 2009: pl. 41, n. 44). Sličan motiv pojavljuje se na aretinskoj reljefnoj sigilati iz Bolsene pripisan majstoru Perenniusu (Goudineau 1968: 180, F. XI, 27). Na položaju

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[1] V. Mantovani motiv naziva "foglie di olivo" stoga je moguće kako se radi o prikazu listova masline s dva ploda. Motiv se nalazi na obliku kratera koji se pripisuje majstoru L. Sarius Surusu. (Mantovani 2012: 213, T. XLIV, 1).

[2] Ukras okomitih duguljastih ovala naziva se još *sagittae,* „stilizirani nautilus". Motiv se koristi na aretinskoj reljefnoj keramici, a preuzimaju ga i sjevernoitalski majstori.

[3] Porten Palange 2009 "Per a/2" or " Per a/4" (period 1 and 2 = Pretigraneo and Tigraneo).

Željeznički kolodvor nađen je i jedan ulomak kupe sjevernoitalske reljefne sigilate Consp. R2 (T. 1: 4). Ukras niza visećih troperastih listova nalazi se na prijelazu vrata u trbuh, a na trbuhu se nalazio reljefni ukras nepoznatog oblikovanja. Troperasti listovi pojavljuju se na kupi aretinske proizvodnje iz Halterna (Rudnick 1995: T. 36, sl. HaNr.156) te čaši tipa R12 pripisane radionici Rasiniusa, nađenoj u Bolseni (Maffioli 2010: 90, T. 16: 17a-c). Paralele u sjevernoitalskim proizvodima u dostupnoj literaturi nisu nađene. Datira se u augustovsko razdoblje. Na položaju Željeznički kolodvor, uz ulomke s ukrasom, nađeno je još 5 ulomaka različitih dijelova kupa.

Glatka tera sigilata (T. 1: 5–10)

U augustovskom i ranotiberijevskom horizontu Siscije u do sada obrađenom materijalu zastupljena je aretinska, sjevernoitalska (Padana B i C) i kampanska narančasta sigilata[4]. Od oblika zastupljeni su Consp. 2.1.2 (T. 1: 10), Consp. 12 (T. 1: 9), Consp. 13 (T. 1: 5), Consp. 10 (T. 1: 8), Consp. 14 (T. 1: 6, 7), Consp. 18, Consp. 22, Consp. 24, Haltern 9 (Miletić Čakširan 2019a). Svi evidentirani oblici javljaju se u vojnim logorima Oberadenu i Dangsttetenu, Nijmegenu, trgovištu Magdalensberg (Schindler & Scheffenegger 1977: T. 22/5, T. 24a/12), u slojevima predizgradnje Emone – lokalitetu NUK II (Gaspari 2010: 32, 107), ali i u naseobinskim slojevima na položajima Gornji trg 3, 15 i 30 IIIa – III faze Emone (Vičič 1993: 157, 160, T. 1: 2, 3; T. 2: 1, 18; Vičič 1994: 33, 34, T. 5; Vičič 2002: 195, T. 1: 5; T. 2: 8; T. 4: 3; T. 4: 2, 3, 6–10) te grobu 55 u Novom Mestu – Beletov Vrt (Knez 1992: gr. 55.). Svi evidentirani oblici mogu se datirati od srednje do kasnoaugustovskog razdoblja (Ettlinger *et al.* 1990: 54–76), a pojavljuju se i u ranotiberijevskom razdoblju.

Od pečata nađenih u Sisku augustovskog razdoblja, zabilježeni su aretinski radionički pečati P. Attivs, L. Gelius (Makjanić 1995); sjevernoitalski pravokutni pečati: Sarivs, M. Serius Hommulus, A. Avillivs Clarvs, Diophanes, Satvrninvs, L. Savfeivs Gavsa, Serivs, pečat sa zvijezdom i mjesecom, Mario (Miletić Čakširan 2019a), pečati Acastus, Dento, Evmenes, Hilarus, M. Vettivs, Solo, Solimarvs, Sipa, (L.) Sarivs, radnik Tritvs, (L.) Sarivs, radnik Gratvs, Philo, Lvccivs, Liccaevs (Makjanić 1995). U Sisku su nađeni i ulomci s pečatima Passivs Telamo, te M. Pontilius koji pripadaju produkciji Padana C koja do sada nije bila poznata na području Panonije. Od lyonskih lončara zabilježen je pečat Bassvs (Makjanić 1995: 52–56, Fig. 33, 6).

Pečat L.Petr.Sc/Aevae s položaja Željeznički kolodvor nije zabilježen u *Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum* (OCK). Mogao bi se, prema imenu i opisu strukture, vezati uz heterogenu grupu Petroniusa (OCK 1435), aktivnu od 40. – 10. g. pr. Kr. koja je do sada zabilježena samo u Porajnju (Mainz, Neuss, Wiesbaden) (Miletić Čakširan 2018a: 208, Sl. 6; 2019a).

Čaše tipa Aco (T. 2: 6–12)

Analizom svih objavljenih primjera čaša tipa Aco u Sisku je do sada nađen 31 primjer (Miletić Čakširan 2018; 2019a). Nađene su na položaju Dunavski Lloyd (Baćani *et al.* 2011: 128–130), Povijesni Arhiv (Miletić Čakširan 2018; 2019a), Sv. Kvirin (Miletić 2007: 36), Željeznički kolodvor (Miletić Čakširan 2019a) te nekoliko bez podatka o mjestu nalaza koje se čuvaju u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu (Makjanić 1995: 61, Pl. 205–210). Tipološki se može izdvojiti tip 2 (Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1987: 30–31; T. 2, odgovara tipu Magdalensberg Form 1 (Schindler Kaudelka 1980: 12; T. 1)) te tip 3b (Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1987: 30–33; T. 2, odgovora tipu Magdalensberg Form 4 (Schindler Kaudelka 1980: 12; T. 4)). U analiziranom su materijalu čaše tipa Aco bez sigilatnog premaza (Sl. 3, T. 2: 6–8) i sa sigilatnim premazom (Sl. 4, T. 2: 9–12). Čaše bez premaza počinju se proizvoditi oko sredine 1. stoljeća pr. Krista, dok se primjerci s premazom pojavljuju od kasnoaugustovskog – tiberijevskog razdoblja.

Sigilatni premaz na čašama tipa Aco iz Siska izuzetno je kvalitetan. Od ukrasa su zastupljeni reljefni trokuti *Kommaregen, v*egetabilni ukras, zoomorfni ukras, ukras traka/lančića od perlica, ukras

4 Kampansku narančastu sigilatu (*Campanian orange ware)* karakteriziraju narančastosmeđe stijenke i karakteristični polumat jednoliko nanesen narančasti do narančastocrveni premaz. U stijenci su karakteristične bijele i crne primjese i visok postotak srebrnih i zlatnih čestica. Prema nalazima iz Pompeja, datira se od sredine 1. stoljeća prije Kr. do kasnoaugustovsko-tiberijevskog razdoblja, sporadično do klaudijevskog razdoblja (Gassner 2012: 2, 6).

Slika 3. Ulomak čaše tipa Aco bez premaza (foto: Arheoplan d.o.o.).

Slika 4. Ulomak čaše tipa Aco s premazom (foto: Arheoplan d.o.o.).

arhitektonskih elemenata, ukras prepleta/pletene košare, apstraktni motivi te nedefinirani motivi. Od pečata su zabilježeni pečati majstora C. Aco C. L. Eros i Buccio Norbanus, dok se prema atribuciji ukrasa određenoj radionici mogu pretpostaviti radionice L. Norbanusa ili Stepanus Norbanusa; C. Aco ili C. Aco Diophanesa, radionice Optatus te L. Sarius Surusa. Analizom čaša tipa Aco iz Siscije utvrđeno je kako su se uvozili sjevernoitalski, ali i galski proizvodi.

Paralele u ukrasima nalazimo na nalazištima Magdalensberg (Schindler Kaudelka 2000: 51-67; 1998: 326, 327, br. 26), Adriji (Mantovani 2011a: 170, T. 3: 1; Mantovani 2012: T. XXVII: 1), Cremoni, antičkom Bedriacumu (Cassi 1996: 92, Figg. 13), Parabiagu (Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1987: T. 20: 1(3)), kao i na Miklavškom hribu kod Celja (Vičič 1977: 42, T. 2: 6, 5), Emoni (Mantovani 2011: 167, T. 1: 2), Veroni (Stuani 2012: 171) i nalazištu San Basilio di Ariano nel Polesine u Italiji (D'Abruzzo 1983: 101) datiranima u srednje do kasno augustovsko vrijeme.

Šalice tipa Sarius (T. 3)

Analizom svih objavljenih primjera, kao i nalaza s položaja Sv. Kvirin i Povijesni Arhiv (T. 88: 6), nađeno je 40 primjera šalica tipa Sarius. Do sada su u literaturi objavljene i šalice tipa Sarius s položaja Dunavski Lloyd[5] (Baćani *et al*. 2011: 128–130), Frankopanska bb[6] (Bilić *et al.* 2015: 135), Starčevićeva 37[7] (Vidošević 2003: T. 22: 11), Željeznički kolodvor (Miletić Čakširan 2017; 2019a), Sv. Kvirin (Miletić Čakširan 2019a) te nekoliko primjeraka bez podatka o mjestu nalaza koji se čuvaju u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu[8] (Makjanić 1995: 61, Pl. 205–210). Svi primjerci šalica tipa Sarius odgovaraju tipu Atlante 13D (Mazzeo Saracino 1985: 222–224), Magdalensberg Form 2 (Schindler Kaudelka 1980: 13–15) te Conspectus R 13 (Ettlinger *et al.* 1990: 182–183). Kao i na čašama tipa Aco, pojavljuje se velik broj ukrasa. Koncept je ujednačen dok se pojedini motivi različito kombiniraju. Od motiva zabilježeni su: vegetabilni, zoomorfni, geometrijski, figurativni i apstraktni. Motivi su po posudi raspoređeni u slobodnom stilu ili geometrijski, pravilno.

Zabilježene su sljedeće radionice: Clemens (Makjanić 1995: Sl. 66: 209), L. Sarius Surus (Miletić Čakširan 2017), Ivcundus (Miletić Čakširan 2017) te oznaka radionice N na donjoj strani noge.

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5 Na položaju Dunavski Lloyd zabilježeno je 9 primjeraka reljefne sigilate. Četiri se primjerka mogu pripisati obliku šalica tipa Sarius dok je 5 primjeraka čaša tipa Aco.

6 Na položaju Frankopanska b.b. objavljen je jedan primjer reljefne sigilate šalice tipa Sarius. Ukrašen je vegetabilnim motivima. Iz objave nije moguće utvrditi o kakvom je vegetabilnom ukrasu riječ.

7 U keramičkom materijalu s položaja Starčevićeva 37 autorica I. Vidošević u sklopu tere sigilate obradila je ulomak ukrašen stupovima i motivom sunca, vjerojatnije rozete, za koji ne nalazi paralele. Prema obliku, premazu i ukrasu ulomak se može pripisati šalici tipa Sarius.

8 U zbirci Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu obrađene su 3 potpuno sačuvane posude (jedna od njih nije predstavljena u crtežu) i 1 ulomak. Među obrađenim ulomcima su dvije čaše tipa Aco i dvije šalice tipa Sarius.

Keramika tankih stijenki (T. 2: 1–5)

U Sisku su nađene čaše i zdjelice keramike tankih stijenki koje se mogu datirati u augustovsko i ranotiberijevsko razdoblje. Razlikuju se prema pripremi same glinene smjese i obradi površine. Augustovskom razdoblju pripada cilindrična čaša tankih stijenki bez premaza, glatka, narančaste boje, nađena na položaju Željeznički kolodvor (Miletić Čakširan 2019a) i Dunavski Lloyd (Baćani *et al.* 2011, kat. br. 102) (T. 2: 1). Tip cilindrične čaše zabilježen je i u Oberadenu, Cosi (Marabini Moevs 1973: 95–96, T. 14, 16; Ricci 1985: 275, T. LXXXVIII/10.), Nijmegenu (Niemeijer 2014: Abb. 12:8.). Datira se u augustovsko vrijeme. Pojavljuje se i u naseobinskom sloju IIIa – III Gornji trg 30 u Ljubljani, datiran u srednje – kasno augustovski horizont (Vičič 1994: T. 9: 2.), a traje i u Tiberijevom IIIb horizontu (Vičič 1994: T. 11: 2, 3.). Čaša cilindričnog tijela blago sužena prema trokutasto profiliranom rubu ukrašena s iglicama u više redova također pripada augustovskom horizontu (T. 2: 2). Tip odgovara tipu 2 prema tipologiji keramike tankih stijenki iz Magdalensberga (Schindler Kaudelka 1975: n. 2).

Na položaju Željeznički kolodvor i Povijesni Arhiv nađeni su ulomci čaše s „kommaregen“ ukrasom u negativu grublje obrade površine, bez premaza. Ukras je izveden ubadanjem štabićem nejednakog trokutastog presjeka. Analogije nalazimo u materijalu Magdalensberga (Schindler Kaudelka 1975: T. 2: 5a) ali i vojnim logorima srednjeaugustovskog razdoblja (Niemeijer 2014: Abb. 10: 9, 10.).

Zdjelice glatke površine bez premaza pojavljuju se u ranim slojevima augustovskog vremena (T. 2: 3). Nađeni su primjeri zdjelica (T. 2: 4) ukrašeni kanelurom na trbuhu. Struktura pripada fabrikatu A, čaši tip 28 prema podjeli s lokaliteta Magdalensberg (Schindler Kaudelka 1975: T. 10: 5a; Schindler Kaudelka & Schneider 1998: 397). Keramika tankih stijenki s kanelurom nađena je i u fazi IIIa – III naseobinskog dijela Gornji trg 3, Gornji trg 30 te Gornji trg 15 u Ljubljani, (Vičič 2002: 195, T. 1: 8; Vičič 1994: 29–34; Vičič 1993: T. 2: 2.) datiranom od srednje do kasno augustovskog razdoblja.

U augustovsko razdoblje datiraju se i zdjelice grube površine dobro pečene, tvrde, oker-crvene boje, bez premaza. Odgovaraju fabrikatu B, tipu 50 prema podijeli na Magdalensbergu (Schindler Kaudelka 1975: T. 10; T. 11: 56; Schindler Kaudelka 1998: 398). Pojavljuje se od 25. g. pr. Kr. do 15. po. Kr.

Ovom horizontu pripadaju i zdjelice s pijeskom u glinenoj smjesi koji površinu čini hrapavom (T. 2: 5). Sive su boje, vrlo dobro pečene. Siva keramika tankih stijenki pjeskaste površine do sada je zabilježena na položaju Sv. Kvirin (Miletić Čakširan 2014: 121.) i na položaju Starčevićeva 37 u Sisku (Vidošević 2003: 24, T. 21: 1, 2.).

Zabilježene su zdjelice s pijeskastom površinom i površinom metalnog sjaja (sl. 5, Miletić Čakširan 2019a).

Slika 5. Ulomci keramike tankih stijenki s premazom metalnog sjaja (foto: Arheoplan d.o.o.)

Reljefna keramika istočnojadranskih radionica (sl. 6)

U kasnoaugustovskim i ranotiberijevskim slojevima Siscije nađeni su i ulomci reljefne keramike koja se proizvodila na istočnojadranskoj obali. Brusić za tu proizvodnju koristi naziv helenistička reljefna keramika jadranskog tipa (Brusić 1999). Veže je uz liburnski teritorij s najbrojnijim nalazima na nekropoli u V. Mrdakovici (Arausona), Nadinu, Osoru, Ninu i Zadru. Radionički kalupi nađeni su u Zadru, Resniku te na Visu. Nađena je na liburnskom teritoriju, Dalmaciji, i Italiji (Brusić 1999: 11–14). U Sisku je nađen ulomak ruba kupe tip A243 prema Brusiću (Brusić 1999: 11–17) te ulomak s ukrasom palminog lista i grančica s plodovima (Miletić Čakširan 2018a: 207, Sl. 5: 6) Nalazi svjedoče o trgovini s prostorom uz Jadransku obalu iz smjera Senije. Naime, nalaz većeg broja fine keramike ranorimskog razdoblja na položaju Žuta lokva, kao i nalaz jadranske reljefne keramike upućuje na ovu trgovačku trasu (Ožanić Roguljić 2016).

Slika 6. Ulomak reljefne keramike istočnojadranskih radionica (foto: Arheoplan d.o.o.)

Egipatska reljefna glazirana keramika (sl. 7, 7a)

Na položaju Željeznički kolodvor u Sisku u sloju paljevine s pokretnim materijalom augustovske faze nađen je ulomak cilindrične vaze s reljefnim ukrasom prekriven tirkiznom glazurom (Miletić Čakširan 2017; 2019a). Ispod trake nalazi se prikaz grifona, zatim listova bršljana/lopoča i grančice s viticama i tri ploda. Proizvodnja keramike sa zeleno-plavom glazurom i reljefnim ukrasom karakteristika je egipatskih keramičkih radionica. Središte trgovine, ali i proizvodnje ove vrste keramike bila je Aleksandrija. Primjeri egipatske keramike nađeni na prostoru Italije u Rimu i Pompejima datirani su od 1. st. pr. Kr. do poč. 1. st. po Kr. (Rossi 1994: 321). Motivi s ulomka iz Siska, kao i oblik, analogan je ulomku cilindrične vaze iz Rima

Slika 7 i 7a. Ulomak egipatske reljefne glazirane keramike (foto: Arheoplan d.o.o.)

s prikazom grifona i bršljanovog lista (Rossi 1994: 329, Fig. 5: 7, sl. 24) te motivu na vazama iz Pompeja (Rossi 1994: 335–336, 340; Fig. 8: 14, Fig 10: 14, Fig. 9: 13, Fig. 16). Takva vrsta ukrašavanja, miješanjem stilova, vezana je uz Augustovu političku propagandu (Zanker 1989: 326, 338, 288; Rossi 1994: 324, 347).

Zaključak

Segestiku, grad na vrlo važnom strateškom položaju, na lijevoj i desnoj obali rijeke Kupe, a uz Savu i Odru te u blizini rudonosne Zrinske gore, antički izvori spominju od 2. stoljeća pr. Kr. Potreba utvrđivanja na lijevoj obali Kupe te zaštita ključne pozicije prema Savi može se povezati s upadima rimske vojske od 2. st. pr. Kr. na područje Panonije, ali i intenzivnijom trgovinom i korištenjem rijeke Save kao glavnog plovnog puta. Te prve pokušaje osvajanja, istraživanja panonskog prostora, a i uz to vezanu razmjenu i trgovinu rimskom robom možemo za sada pratiti samo po nalazima rimskih metalnih predmeta i nalazima republikanskog novca od 2. st. pr. Kr. nađenim u slojevima mlađeželjeznodobne Segestike (Baćani *et al.* 2011: 89–96; Koprivnjak 2010: 30–31, kat. br. 2–4; Drnić & Miletić Čakširan 2014: 153) te onih bez podataka o mjestu nalaza koji se čuvaju u zbirkama Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu i Gradskog muzeja Sisak. Rimska se keramika na području današnjeg Siska pojavljuje u horizontu 3 mlađeželjeznodobne Segestike u 1. st. pr. Kr. (Drnić & Miletić Čakširan 2014: 188–190). Za sada su to vrlo sporadični nalazi rane padanske sigilate, ulomci vrčeva i amfora Dressel 6A. Razlog tome nedovoljna je istraženost najranijih slojeva uslijed prirode urbane arheologije i kontinuiteta života na istoj poziciji više od 2200 g. Ipak novija istraživanja, osobito položaja Povijesni Arhiv, Dunavski Lloyd te Željeznički kolodvor, daju iznimne podatke vezane uz augustovsko razdoblje.

Iako je Oktavijanovo osvajanje Segestike 35. g. pr. Kr. opisano u više antičkih djela, što govori o važnosti ovog događaja za Rimsko carstvo, keramičkih nalaza vezanih uz te godine je vrlo malo. Gotovo se svi keramički nalazi mogu datirati od srednjeaugustovskog razdoblja s analogijama horizonta Dangstteten-Oberaden. Kvantiteta i kvaliteta nađene keramike upućuje na zaključak kako je bila namijenjena vojsci u rimskom vojnom logoru koja si je mogla priuštiti luksuzno posuđe iz Italije, ali i drugih krajeva rimskog carstva iz kojih su se izvozili specifični traženi proizvodi. Organizirani uvoz pojedinih artikala namijenjenih potrebama rimske vojske i doseljenika slijevao se u Sisciju koristeći ustaljene u početku prapovijesne trase i riječne komunikacije. Zabilježeni su proizvodi italskih i galskih radionica, ali i proizvodi istočnojadranske obale koji su iz smjera Senije dolazili u Sisciju. Od nalaza augustovskog razdoblja prisutna je keramike s crnim premazom sjevernoitalske proizvodnje, te rana italska keramika tankih stijenki. S ukupnim zbrojem od 71 do sada nađenih ulomaka reljefne keramike šalica tipa Sarius i čaša tipa Aco, Siscija postaje najbogatije nalazište prostora Panonije. Od tere sigilate nađeni su oblici Consp. 2.1.2, Consp. 12, Consp. 13, Consp. 10, Consp. 14, Consp. 18, Consp. 22, Consp. 24 te Haltern 9. Zabilježen je i prvi nalaz kampanske narančaste sigilate u Sisku, kao i nalaz reljefne sigilate Consp. R2 oblika.

Analiza keramičkog materijala upućuje na tezu kako se na prostoru od meandra rijeke Kupe na lijevoj obali od srednjeaugustovskog razdoblja nalazio rimski logor, a tek će obrada svih pokretnih nalaza uz intereptaciju samih struktura moći tezu sa sigurnošću i potvrditi.

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T. 1-3, Crtež: Ivana Miletić Čakširan

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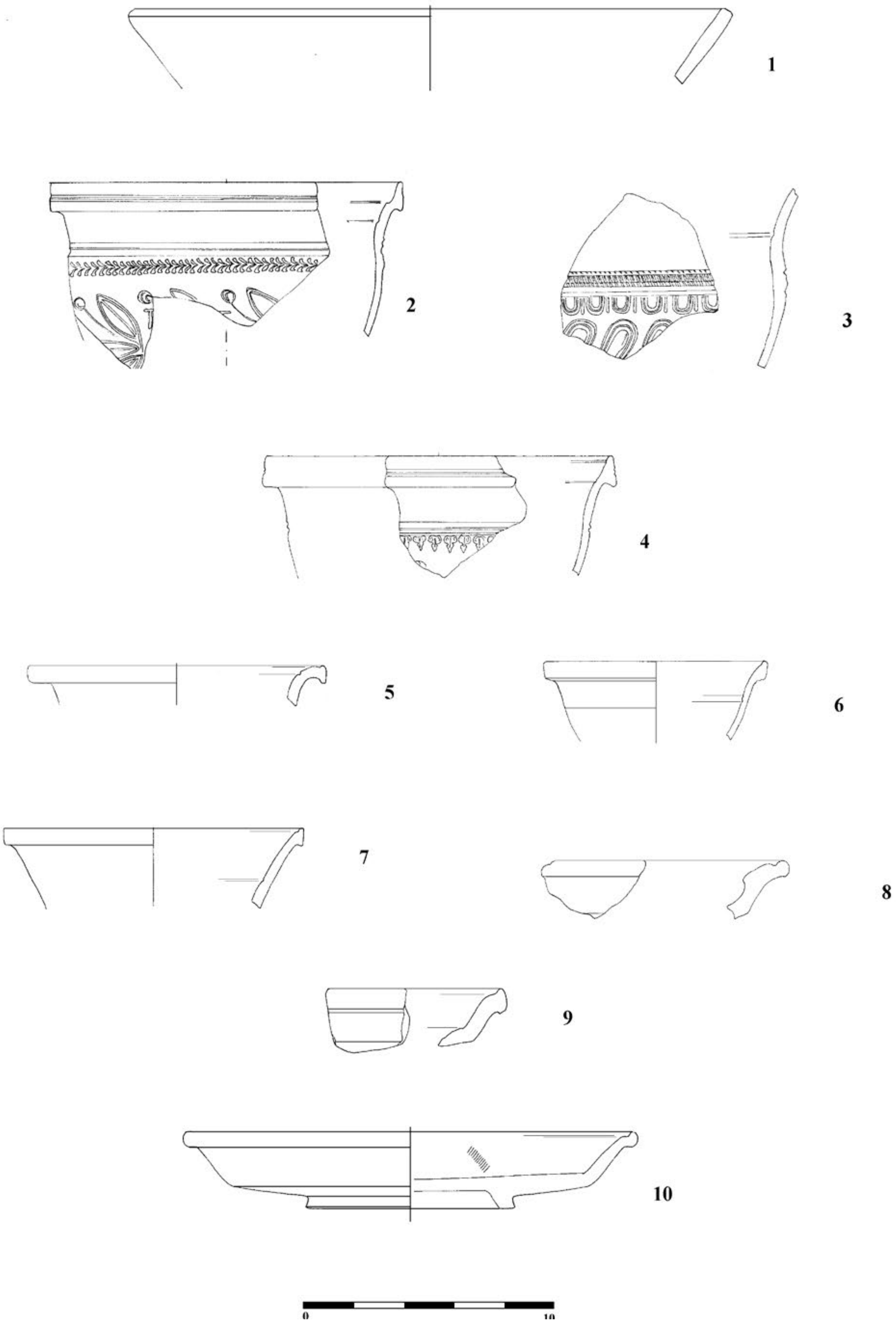

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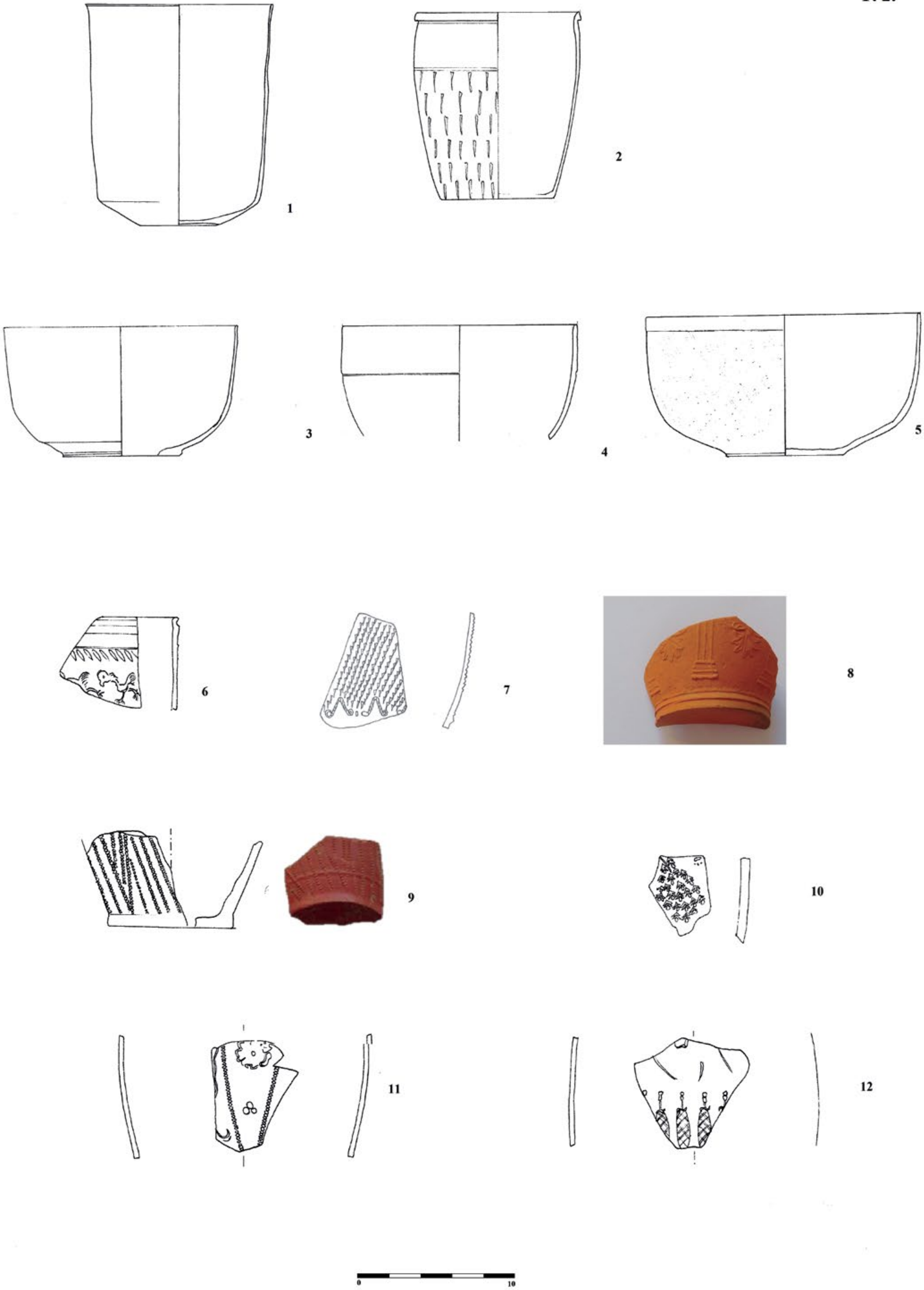

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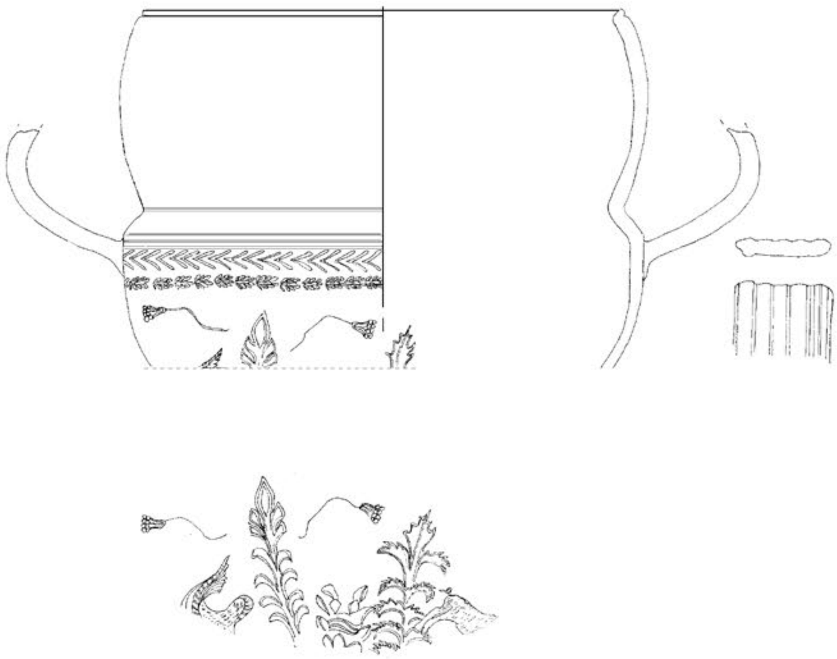

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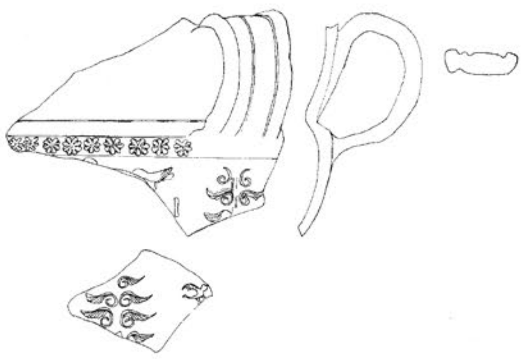

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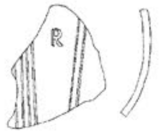

3

Čisto vino škodi
(*Appendix Vergiliana, Catalepton XI.*)

Marina MILIĆEVIĆ BRADAČ, Zagreb

Catalepton XI. iz zbirke poznate kao Appendix Vergiliana, satirični je epitaf Oktaviju koji je premlad umro od previše čaša čistog vina. Ovaj epigram nastavlja se na dugu tradiciju grčke, helenističke i rimske poezije o vinu, o dobrobitima vina, ali i pogubnom utjecaju čistog vina na tijelo i um. Grci, a i Rimljani smatrali su civiliziranim piti vino razrijeđeno vodom i stoga su u pjesmama, epigramima i epitafima navodili različite posljedice uživanja čistog vina.

Ključne riječi: *Appendix Vergiliana, Catalepton, čisto vino, epitafi*

Appendix Vergiliana (Catalepton XI.):

Qui deus, Octavi, te nobis abstulit? An quae
dicunt, a, nimio pocula dura mero?
„Vobiscum, si est culpa, bibi: sua quemque secuntur
fata: quid inmeriti crimen habent cyathi?“
Scripta quidem tua nos multum mirabimur: et te
raptum et Romanam flebimus historiam.
Sed tu nullus eris. Perversi, dicite, Manes,
hunc superesse patri quae fuit invidia?

(Koji te bog, Oktavije, oteo nama? Ili su (to bile), kao što kažu, jao, grozne čaše s odviše čistog vina? „S vama sam, ako je grijeh, pio: svatko slijedi svoju sudbinu: koju krivnju imaju nevini kijati?“ Pisanju tvojem mnogo smo se divili: i oplakivat ćemo tebe otetog (nam) i rimsku povijest. Ali tebe neće biti. Opaki, recite, Mani, kakva je bila (vaša) zavist da ovoga nadživi (njegov) otac?).[1]

Appendix Vergiliana je zbirka različitih autora, iako se prenosila pod Vergilijevim imenom. Nastajala je, izgleda, tijekom dužeg vremena, pa je teško uopće govoriti o datiranju antologije kao cjeline. Znamo pak da već u 9. st. imamo rukopise koji sadrže veći dio zbirke (Vardi 2000: 148; Luca Canali u Iodice 2002: VI–VII). Unutar ove antologije nalazi se zbirka od šesnaest pjesama zvana *Catalepton*. Ona je naknadno uključena u *Appendix Vergiliana*, ali poznato je da je pod Vergilijevim imenom postojala već

[1] Izdanja kojima smo se služili: *Appendix Vergiliana,* Prefazione di Luca Canali, a cura di Maria Grazia Iodice, Milano, Oscar Mondadori, 2002; *The Minor Poems of Virgil, Comprising the Culex, Dirae, Lydia, Moretum, Copa, Priapea, and Catalepton.* Metrically Translated into English by Joseph J. Mooney, Birmingham, Cornish Brothers Ltd., 1916; Virgile, *La fille d'auberge, suivi des autres poèmes attribués a Virgile*, traduction … par Maurice Rat, Paris, Librairie Garnier Frères, 1935.

u Kvintilijanovo vrijeme (*Inst. Orat.* 8. 3. 27–28) (Vardi 2000: 148–149; iako Holzberg 2004: 30–31, n. 7, misli da je zbirka nastala nakon Marcijalovih epigrama), ali autor nije Vergilije. Smatralo se čak da bi mogao biti Horacije ili Ovidije, budući da je izričaj vrlo „ovidijevski" (Fairclough 1922: 29–30; Radford 1923). To su ipak pseudoepigrafi – pjesnička djela, kad anonimni pjesnici svjesno svoje uratke predstavljaju kao da su djela slavnih pjesnika (Holzberg 2004: 30–31). I sadržajno su vrlo različiti: političke teme, invektive, erotski sadržaji, sve se to isprepleće u ovoj zbirci. Ono što se odmah uočava to je da se autor (ili autori) često poziva na grčke uzore, čak doslovno prevodi stihove (Reitzenstein 1930; Holzberg 2004: 32).

U tom svjetlu promatramo u početku citirani *Catalepton XI.* Osoba o kojoj je riječ, izvjesni je Oktavije (vjerojatno *Octavius Musa*, koji se spominje i u *Kataleptonu IV.*). Oktavije je umro, a pjesma je njegov epitaf[2], sastavljen po uzoru na brojne književne i epigrafske epitafe. Ipak, čini se da je riječ o satiričnoj pjesmi i lažnom epitafu, jer Musa je bio vrlo živ 35. g. pr. Kr. kad ga spominje Horacije (*Sat*. 1. 10. 32) (Iodice 2002: 376–377). Takvi lažni epitafi, koji upozoravaju prijatelja da će umrijeti od pijančevanja i bančenja, dobro su poznati u antičkoj književnosti. Možda su autor pjesmice i Oktavije zajedno uživali u takvom pijanstvu, a to je posve suprotno Vergilijevom karakteru za koga se govorilo da je bio trezvenjak (Iodice 2002: 377).

Prva četiri stiha izravno se oslanjaju na Kalimaha (*Anth. Pal*. 7. 725) i njegov epigram Menekratu iz Ena (Birt 1910: 125–126):

> „Menekrate iz Ena, ni ti nisi bio dugo na zemlji. Reci mi, najbolji od prijatelja, što je uzrokovalo tvoju smrt? Je li ono što je uzrokovalo Kentaurovu [čisto vino]?"
>
> „Predodređen san mi je došao, a krivac je nesretno vino." (ὁ δὲ τλήμων οἶνος ἔχει πρόφασιν).

Catalepton pita koji je bog oteo Oktavija. Odgovor bi morao biti jasan – Dionis. S druge strane Kalimah pita je li to ono isto što je ubilo Kentaura. Mi svi znamo da se to odnosi na kentaura Euritija (*Eurytion*) i povod rata između kentaura i Lapita, proizašao iz čistog vina. Ova dva epigrama spaja pak Vergilije (*Georg*. 2. 454–457) (Birt 1910: 129):

> *Jel' dar donio Bakhov što dostojno spomena takvog?*
> *I zločinstva od Bakha iziđoše; on je Kentavre*
> *Mahnite usmrtio, među njima Reta i Fola,*
> *Hileja, Lapitima što pr'ječaše velikim vrčem.*[3] (preveo Tomo Maretić)

U druga četiri stiha *Kataleptona* okrivljuju se *perversi Manes* i spominje se njihova *invidia*. Zavist bogova inače je česta na nadgrobnim natpisima (Birt 1910: 126 id.; Iodice 2002, 378).

Jedne i druge dokrajčio je *merum*, vino nerazrijeđeno vodom. A u našem epigramu (v. 2) uz *merum* nalazimo *pocula dura*, što smo preveli kao „grozne čaše", no pridjev *durum* koristi se i za vino (Birt 1910: 130; Iodice 2002: 377), na primjer kod Katona (*De agricultura* 156. 6), gdje nalazimo *dato vino atri duri*, tj. vino bez vode. Ovo nije samo upozorenje prijatelju, ovo je i opće mjesto antičke poezije: napitnica, epigrama, epitafa – čisto vino škodi!

U tom se pogledu *Catalepton XI.* naslanja na dugu tradiciju u grčkoj i latinskoj književnosti. Koliko je samo stranica napisano o grčkoj umjerenosti u piću! Sami su je Grci toliko naglašavali da se moramo zapitati koliko je te umjerenosti nedostajalo u stvarnosti, da mudri ljudi moraju tako nastojati na njoj. Kad zavirimo u književne izvore, naći ćemo mnogo svjedočanstava o neumjerenosti. Pokazuju nam da pijenje cijele noći nije bilo rijetkost, pa odatle u grčkom i riječi *pannykhízein* i *diapannykhízein* (= piti cijele noći) (Mau 1900: 615).

A što su pili cijele noći? Navodno, vino razrijeđeno vodom – čisto su vino smatrali barbarskim i opasnim po zdravlje.[4] Vino bez vode pili su barbari, Skiti i Tračani i od njega bi poludjeli, a bome, poludjeli bi i oni

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2 Epigram žali i za „Rimskom poviješću" koju je autor pisao i koja neće biti završena. A spominje i njegova prethodna djela koja su voljeli – Oktavije je bio pjesnik i povjesničar. Vidi Birt 1910: 131; Iodice 2002: 377–378.

3 *Quid memorandum aeque Baccheïa dona tulerunt!*
Bacchus et ad culpam causas dedit: ille furentes
Centauros leto domuit, Rhoetumque Pholumque,
Et magno Hylaeum Lapithis cratere mitantem.

4 Omjer miješnja vina i vode priča je za sebe i navode se vrlo različiti brojevi: 1:2, 2:3, 3:4, 1:1, 5:3, 2:1, 5:2, 3:1, 4:1. Oni su izvađeni iz Atenejeve rasprave o razvodnjavanju vina (10. 426b – 427c; 430; 431), obilato popraćeni citatima. Recimo samo da se za veliku pijanku preporučao omjer 5:2, a Aristofan (*Equit.* 1187) preporučuje 3:2. Mau 1900: 613; Younger 1966: 111; Miller 1979: 30.

koji su se s njima družili, kao Kleomen Spartanac (Herod. 6. 84 i Athen. 10. 427b), koji je od Skita pokupio naviku da pije čisto vino i tako je izgubio razum (Younger 1966: 109–110; Johnson 1994: 58, n. 29).[5]

Da Grci nipošto nisu bili nevini u tom pogledu, svjedoči i to da se u Pireju štovao heroj *Akratopotes* (= onaj koji pije čisto vino, Athen. 2.39c), a u Ateni je poznat *daimon Akratos* iz Dionisove pratnje (Paus. 1. 2. 5) (Miller 1979: 30).[6] U poeziji pak nalazimo polemiku između vina i vode – voda uglavnom gubi u tim stihovima. Aristofan nam u *Vitezovima* (87 id.) poručuje da nadahnuće i pamet dolaze od vina, a ne od vode (Younger 1966: 107–108). Epigram Antipatra iz Tesalonike (*Anth. Pal.* 11. 20) odličan je primjer:

> „Gubite se vi, koji pjevate o ogrtačima (*lokkoi*) ili bakljama (*lophnides*) ili ribama (*kamasenes*), raso pjesnika koji skupljate trnje; i vi koji, dok sastavljate ženskasto ukrašene stihove, pijete samo vodu iz svetog izvora. Danas točimo vino u čast Arhilohova rođendana i muževnog Homera. Naš krater ne prima nikakve vodopije (ὁ κρητὴρ οὐ δέχεθ᾽ ὑδροπότας)“ (Crowther 1979; Knox 1985).[7]

Vino i voda miješali su se u golemim posudama za miješanje, najčešće kraterima. Odatle se točilo u razne vrste vrčeva, čaša i pehara – *dépas, áleisa* i *kýpella* kod Homera, a nalazimo i jedan *skýphos* (*Od.* 14. 112) (Sherratt 2004: 307–308). Kod pjesnika Horacija, inače ljubitelja dobrog vina, nalazimo cijeli katalog naziva za posude za piće, većinom grčkog porijekla (sve ih je pedantno nabrojio Patch McKinlay 1946: 161–162). Te bi posude morale simbolizirati miješano vino za pristojnu pijanku, dok Dionisova družina pije iz ritona, koji postaje simbol čistog vina (Lissarague 1990: 202), ili loče izravno iz mješine, kao što je prikazano na prekrasnom psikteru slikara Durida.[8] Voda, koju pjesnici ne vole, donosila se u hidrijama, posudama s tri ručke. Oblik počinje vrlo rano, još u srednjogeometrijskom periodu, a najslavnije su velike kasnogeometrijske i protoatičke hidrije kasnog 8., ili ranog 7. st. pr. Kr. Ove su fine izrade i smatraju se ceremonijalnim, budući da su hidrije najčešće grube teksture, zato što su tako grube porozne i isparavanje održava vodu hladnom (Lissarague 1990: 203; Papadopoulos 1998: 113–114).

Već kod Homera nalazimo da je pristojno miješati vino s vodom, a čisto je vino jednostavno necivilizirano. Primjer je, naravno, divlji Polifem, koga je Odisej u 9. knjizi *Odiseje* opio izuzetno jakim Maronovim vinom – Polifem je pio nemiješano vino i zato je nastradao. Odiseja će nam također obratiti pažnju na drugog slavnog pijanca, kojeg je čisto vino odnijelo u propast – kentaura Euritija (*Od.* 21. 304) (Darcus Sullivan 1996: 47; Sherratt 2004: 323–325). Podsjetimo se da Kalimah u citiranom epitafu Menekrata spominje Kentaura (Euritija zapravo) kao primjer ponašanja koje je dokrajčilo i Menekrata. Isto je ponašanje, a da Euritij nije izrijekom spomenut, došlo glave Oktaviju. Istu odbojnost nalazimo i kod Heziода (Fr. 239.3 kod Darcus Sullivan 1996: 48).

Lirski pjesnici već su nešto drugo. Arhiloh otvoreno kaže da je vino pomoć kod sastavljanja poezije (Fr. 77B = Athen. 14. 628a) (Knox 1985: 109–110). Zločest, kakav je već bio, kaže jednom drugu u piću: „... pijući u obilju čisto vino, nisi platio svoj dio!“ (πολλὸν δὲ πίνων καὶ χαλίκρητον μέθυ, οὔτε τῖμον εἰσενείκας , Fr. 124b. *Methy* je standardan izraz za vino još od Homera, vidi Sherratt 2004: 322). S druge strane, moguće je da Alkej (Fr. 358) i Pindar (Fr. 124b. 11) žele reći da je utjecaj vina na nadahnuće i um bio loš (kod Darcus Sullivan 1996: 47).

Slavan je fragment Ksenofana (Xenophanes Fr. 1 = Athen. 11. 462c) u kojem se opisuje idealan simpozij na kojem je krater, znači posuda za miješanje vina s vodom, ispunjen radošću (*euphrosyne*) (Lissarague 1990: 206). „I vode ima, studena je, bistra i slatka“ (v. 8), kaže on, pa napominje: „Tu piti nije grijeh dok domu se vratiti možeš/sam, bez pomoći sluge, ako ti dopušta dob“ (v. 17–18). Na takvom

[5] Grci su do te mjere povezivali čisto vino sa Skitima, da Anakreont nemiješano vino zove „skitsko piće“ (ap. Athen. 10. 427a–b), a Herodot (6. 84) upotrebljava glagol *episkythízein* u značenju „piti čisto vino“. Platon u *Zakonima* (1. 637e, ap. Athen. 10. 432a) kaže da i barbarske žene piju čisto vino i smatraju to odličnim običajem (vidjet ćemo u epitafima da taj običaj nije bio stran ni grčkim ženama). Arheologija pokazuje da u skitskim grobovima ima mnogo vinskih amfora, ali su krateri izuzetno rijetki. Budući da su krateri služili za miješanje vina s vodom, Skiti nisu imali neke potrebe za njima. Miller 1979: 30; Milićević Bradač 2004: 299, n. 534.

[6] Možda je zato u Lokriju Epizefirijskom postojao zakon kojim se propisivala smrtna kazna za pijenje čistog vina (Athen. 10. 429a). Miller 1979: 30.

[7] Usporedi epigram Antigona iz Karista (*Anth. Pal.* 9. 406). Govori žaba koja je život provela u vodi i žali što se kasno okrenula vinu i jao onima koji piju vodu: oni su ludi, ali to je privremena ludost. Knox 1985: 108–109.

[8] Britanski muzej, E 768, inače iz Cerveterija, djelomično prikazan kod Boardman 1991: fig. 299. 1–2).

simpoziju razgovori su plemeniti: „Ne trebaju priče o borbi Titana, o Gigantima, ni o Kentaurima, prastare to su bajke“ (v. 20–21, preveo Jure Kaštelan). Ponovo, i kod Ksenofana, nalazimo da se spominju kentauri u kontekstu onoga što ne želi na idealnom simpoziju, a kentauri su gotovo sinonim za čisto vino. Drugi filozof, Empedoklo (fr. 35. 12–15, Diels) upotrijebio je odnos čistog i miješanog vina da objasni svoje stavove o prirodi: „Odmah bivaše smrtno što besmrtno bivati viklo/ čisto što bijaše, smjesa izmijeni svoje putanje.“ (v. 14–15, preveo Ratimir Mardešić, ζωρὰ τε τὰ πρὶν ἄκρητα διαλλάξαντα κελεύθοος). U ovom se zadnjem stihu pojavljuje pridjev *zōrós*. Njegovo značenje bilo je problem već Grcima, na primjer Plutarhu (Arundel 1962: 109). Pretpostavljali su da bi trebao označavati nemiješano vino ili vino s relativno malo vode, još vrlo jako (Arundel 1962: 110; idem. 111: tumačenje *zōrá* kao miješano ne može se opravdati). Atenej (10. 423c) cijelu je raspravu posvetio komparativu *zōróteros*. On ga shvaća kao mješavinu jaču od uobičajene, iako dodaje da neki misle da je to dobra, idealna mješavina.

Anakreonta su pak proslavile pjesme o vinu i ljubavi i uvijek je ostao voljeni pjesnik. I dok su kasniji govorili o Anakreontu da je umro od čistog vina, sam Anakreont kaže: „Hajde, dijete, donesi mi zdjelu iz koje pijem dugim gutljajima. Pomiješaj deset dijelova vode i pet dijelova vina, da ne pomutimo Dionisovu radost!“ (τὰ μὲν δέκ᾽ ἐγχέας/ὕδατος, τὰ πέντε δ᾽οἴνου).

Zato će Atenej u 10. knjizi *Sofista na gozbi* donijeti cijeli niz primjera onih koji su pili čisto vino, od pošalica i komedija do bizarnih slučajeva. Kaže da je Alkej, lirski pjesnik, pisao pjesme pijan, a isto i Aristofan, komički pjesnik (10. 429a). Ako bismo sudili po pjesmama, onda je Anakreont sve napisao pijan, ali ljudi ne znaju da je, dok je sastavljao poeziju, bio trijezan i pošten čovjek, koji se samo pretvarao da je pijan (10. 429b). Već citirani Kleomen Spartanac poludio je od čistog vina (10. 427b). Epitaf izvjesnog Arkadiona (10. 436d) kaže da je umro od čistog vina popijenog iz goleme čaše. Jedna od brojnih pretpostavki zašto je Aleksandar tako naglo umro, bila je da je prebrzo popio previše čistog vina (10. 434b). Najbizarnija je priča (10. 437a), preuzeta od Haresa Mitilenjanina, ona o natjecanju u pijenju čistog vina koje je priredio Aleksandar. Nagrada je trebala otići onome tko popije najviše. Rezultat: trideset i pet sudionika umrlo je tijekom natjecanja, još šest nakon toga, a pobjednik je živio još samo četiri dana nakon pijanke. Popio je oko 12 litara čistog vina (Miller 1979: 30).

Epitafi u *Palatinskoj antologiji* dosta puta spominju vino i „proklete čaše“. Jedan od epitafa Anakreonta tako glasi (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 33, Julijan, prefekt Egipta): „'Umro si od previše pića, Anakreonte.' 'Da, ali sam uživao, a ti koji ne piješ, isto ćeš doći u Had.'“ U istom tonu je drugi epitaf (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 349, Anonim): „Nakon malo jela i malo pića i mnogo bolesti, dugo sam potrajao, ali umrijeh. Prokleti bili svi zajedno!“ (ἔρρετε πάντες ὁμοῦ). Arkesilaj je umro od čistog vina (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 104, Diogen Laertije): „Arkesilaju, zašto si popio previše čistog vina, toliko neštedimice da si izašao izvan sebe? Nije mi toliko žao što si umro, nego što si povrijedio Muze služeći se neumjerenim čašama.“ (οὐ μετρίῃ χρησάμενος). Ne podsjeća li nas Arkesilaj doslovno na Oktavija? Izvjesni Mirtad (*Myrtas*, *Anth. Pal.* 7. 329, Anonim) mnogo je pio, odapeo je od pića i dao se sahraniti pokriven pitosom umjesto spomenika. Kalimah (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 454) optužuje čašu čistog vina, iskapljenu dva puta, da je dokrajčila Eraksisena vinopiju. Baš kao i, navodno, Oktavija (Miller 1979: 29; Iodice 2002: 377). Čaša kao krivac vidi se i kod smrti Maronide (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 353, Antipatar iz Sidona), pa je na njezinoj nadgrobnoj steli isklesana čaša (isto *Anth. Pal.* 7. 455, Leonida iz Tarenta). Dadilja Silenida sahranjena je blizu pitosa s vinom da joj bude ljepše na Onom svijetu (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 456, Dioskorid). Bizaran je slučaj stare Ampelide (simboličnog li imena!) koja je htjela iz pitosa napuniti čašu „kiklopske veličine“ (Κυκλωπείην κύλικα), ali je pala unutra i udavila se (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 457, Ariston).

Relativno nedavno objavljena je nadgrobna stela s Eubeje, nađena 1972. u Halkidi. Ima stihove u kojima stoji da je Asklepijad iz Efeza, mladić od dvadeset i dvije godine, popio veliku količinu čistog vina, iskašljao krv i umro (ἄκρατον πίνων, αἷμ᾽ ἀνάγων ἔθανων) (Miller 1979).

Najbolji zaključak priče o Grcima dao je, ne pjesnik, nego Brigov slikar (*Brygos*) na slavnom kiliku iz Würzburga (slika 1). U tondu na dnu unutrašnjosti kilika prikazan je mladić koji povraća, dok mu djevojka drži glavu.[9] Poruka ove čaše za piće silno je duhovita – kad je čaša puna crnog vina, dno se ne vidi i slika se ukaže tek kad si je iskapio do kraja, a slikar ti poručuje: „Popio si puno vina i sad te čeka ovo!“

[9] Würzburg, Sveučilišni muzej Martin von Wagner, 479, inače iz Vulcija. Prema Younger 1966: fig. str. 109; usp. Boardman 1991: fig. 254. Crtež: Marina Milićević Bradač.

Slika 1. Kilik iz Würzburga, Sveučilišni muzej Martin von Wagner, 479, inače iz Vulcija. Prema Younger 1966: fig. str. 109; usp. Boardman 1991: fig. 254. Crtež: Marina Milićević Bradač.

Rimljani su, načelno, imali isti odnos prema čistom vinu kao i Grci.[10] Načelno, jer mnogo češće nalazimo upravo suprotno ponašanje. *Merum* (= čisto vino, substantiv od pridjeva *merus,* 3; ekvivalent grčkog ἄκρατον, usporedi Klaudija Donata: *hoc est vino incorrupto*[11]) nalazi se posvuda kod pjesnika i prozaika. Svi su u njemu uživali: *plena pocula meri* kaže Ovidije (*Met.* 9. 238; „Ležiš nakićen v'jencem nad čašama punim vina“, preveo Tomo Maretić). A da ne govorimo o Horaciju, čije su pjesme poškropljene čistim vinom. Užitak mu je dvogodišnje čisto vino (*Carm.* 1.19.15: *Bini cum patera meri*), da uzmemo samo poneki primjer.

Sasvim je razumljivo da je tako bogat jezik kao latinski, s tako velikom književnošću i poezijom, razvio golem broj riječi za sve vrste pijanstva (koje je na jednom mjestu skupio Martin 2000). Tako imamo izvedenice od *merum*: *merobibus* (= pijanac), *meribibulus* (= mali pijanac), *merulentus* (= pijan), *merulator* (= onaj koji pije čisto vino) (Martin 2000: 20). O posljedicama takvog pijanstva govori nam Plinije Stariji (*NH* 14. 142 (50)): „U međuvremenu, čak i u najboljim okolnostima, pijani nikad ne vide izlazak sunca i tako si skraćuju život. To je razlog za njihova blijeda lica, opuštene čeljusti, bolne oči, trešnju ruku...“[12] To isto kaže i Lukrecije (*De rerum natura* 3. 476–481), samo stihovima: „Konačno, zašto li, kada u čovjeka učinak prodre/ Jakoga vina, te žar se vatren po žilama širi,/ Udova slijedi težina? Tetura se, klecaju noge,/ Jezik se zapleće tada, a pamet se zamagli, oči/ Plivaju, pomalo vika se razvija, udisaj, svađa,/ Sve ostalo od te

[10] Preporučivali su razrjeđivati i najbolja vina, a mješavinu jednog dijela vode na tri dijela vina smatrali su vrlo jakom i neprimjerenom. Younger 1966: 205; Cairns 1975: 25–26.

[11] Citiran u *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, 846–850, s.v. merus, -a, -um, col. 846.

[12] *interea, ut optime cedant, solem orientem non vident ac minus diu vivunt. Hinc pallor et genae pendulae, oculorum ulcera, tremulae manus...*Usp. Martin 2000: 21.

vrste, što nastaje tada.“ (preveo Marko Tepeš).[13] Ne treba puno da vidimo da su trezvenjaci kao Lukrecije i Plinije bili u manjini.[14] Poezija, naročito ljubavna, pliva u čistom vinu. Horacije je bio svjestan svega dobrog i lošeg što čisto vino nosi: ono može učiniti da se netko ludo zaljubi, ali i posvađa, da se ne smije piti na prazan želudac (*Sat.* 2.4.24–27), no isto tako priznaje da piće i poezija idu zajedno (Patch McKinlay 1946: 162–165). Ovdje se odmah sjetimo Ateneja koji nam je rekao da je Alkej pisao pijan, Aristofan također (10. 429a). Horacije će isto uzeti kentaure kao primjer onog lošeg što nosi čisto vino (*Carm.* 1.18.8–9) (Johnson 1994: 58, n. 29). Zanimljiva je satira u kojoj stoik Damasip predlaže (pretpostavlja se Horaciju) da bi mogao napisati nešto vrijedno kad se otrijeznio od Saturnalija (*Sat.* 2.3.5–6) (Patch McKinlay 1946: 163). Ovo nas izravno podsjeća na našeg Oktavija iz *Kataleptona XI*, koji bi napisao još vrijednih stvari da ga nije ubilo čisto vino. Ako je Horacije u pravu da vino otkriva duhovne tajne i umjetnost, onda je naš pjesnik Oktavije to dobro shvatio i crpio je umjetnost iz čistog vina, što je platio preranom smrću. Slično veli i Lucilije (1374): *<sepultus m>orte meroque*.[15]

Čisto vino ima još jednu neugodnu posljedicu (osim što skraćuje život): razvezuje jezik. Krajnje nezgodno. Propercije (2.34.22) kaže: „Tvoje su riječi zalutale od obilja čistog vina.“[16]

Izreka *in vino veritas* pripisuje se Alkeju, a Plinije (*NH* 14. 28(141)) veli: „Istina se pripisuje vinu.“ (*veritas attributa vino est*). Isto će reći i Tibul (1.9.26): „Sam bog je dopustio sluzi sviklom na šutnju, da izrekne slobodne riječi nakon što je popio mnogo čistog vina.“ (Diggle 2005; De Seta 2010: 436).[17] Najgore se proveo Ovidije, koji šalje molbe u Rim prijatelju da mu se omogući povratak iz Tomija (*Trist.* 3.5.47) i kaže da nije nikad, zbog previše čistog vina, izgovorio pokvarene riječi. Čini se da ovdje nagoviješta da ga je progonstva stajao i razvezan jezik (De Seta 2010: 436–437).[18]

Posebnu pažnju zaslužuje Katulova kratka simpotička pjesma (27), koja pripada vrsti *epistaltikon (mandata)* – to je pjesma koja se obraća vinotoči na gozbi, kad se traži mješavina određenog omjera ili čisto vino (Fordyce 1961: 157; Cairns 1975: 25). Katul je vrlo neumjeren: ne želi vodu ni blizu. On aludira da je voda opasna za zdravlje. U ovoj pjesmi *lymphae* stoje za vodu, a pridjev *Thyonianus* (tj. Dionis) za čisto vino.

At vos quo lubet hinc abite, lymphae,
vini pernicies, et ad severos
migrate. Hic merus est Thyonianus. (v. 5–7)

Severi (= strogi) su oni koji piju vodu (Cairns 1975: 26). Bolton (1967) je jedini uzeo da ovdje ne stoji *hīc* (= ovdje), nego *hĭc* (= ovaj) i da je *merus Thyonianus*, ne čisto vino, nego sam Katul, koji svoju odanost bogu vina potvrđuje tako što pije čisto vino (Bolton 1967: 12). Koliko god bilo privlačno, to tumačenje ostaje usamljeno. Svi prijevodi tretiraju stihove kao da je riječ o čistom vinu. Na primjer, Dubravko Škiljan:

„Momče, falernskim vinom što nas služiš,
vrč mi napuni jačim vinom –
to naređuje i ravnateljka stola,
pića punija nego grožđe soka.
A ti odlazi, vodo, kud te volja,
Vinu propast si; isposnike traži;
Ovdje pije samo čisti Bakho.“[19]

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[13] *Denique cor, hominem cum vini vis penetravit*
Arcis et in venas discessit diditus ardor,
Consequitur gravitas membrorum, praependitur
Crura vacillanti, tardescit lingua, madet mens,
Nant oculi, clamor singultus iurgia gliscunt,
Et iam cetera de genere hac quae cumque secuntur.

[14] Jeronim (*Epist.* 22. 13. 3) kaže isto: *si... se mero ingurgitaverint*. Citiran u *Thesaurus linguae Latinae,* 848.

[15] Citiran u *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, 848.

[16] *Errabant multo quod tua verba mero*, usp. De Seta 2010: 436.

[17] *Ipse deus tacito permisit lene ministro*
Ederet ut multo libera verba mero.

[18] *Non aliquid dixive, elatave lingua loquendo est,*
Lapsaque sunt nimio verba profana mero.

[19] Isto je preveo Michie: „With us/The wine is pure Thyonius“ (*The Poems of Catullus*, translated by James Michie, New York, Vintage Books, 1969) ili Lafaye: „ici reste pure la liqueur du fils de Thyoné“ (Catulle, *Poésies,* texte établi et traduit par Georgres Lafaye, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1932).

No postojale su i posebne prigode kad se slobodno pilo u obilju i čisto vino, kad se zapravo pilo do besvijesti – svetkovine bogova i mrtvih. Tibul nam je to izrijekom ostavio (2.1.29–30): „Vino slavi (današnji) dan. Ne treba crvenjeti kad se u jutro svetkovine tetura i loše hoda." (De Seta 2010: 437).[20] Čisto se vino koristilo za libacije, naročito Genijima (Horat. *Epist.* 21. 103–104)[21], Geniju cara, pa caru, kao što piše i Ovidije (*Fast.* 2. 637–638): „[i sada kad vlažna noć poziva na miran san, napunite do vrha čaše za molitvu i] recite: 'Uzdravlje vi, uzdravlje ti, Cezare, oče domovine!' i neka dobre riječi budu uz izliveno čisto vino." [22]

I običan je puk ostavio na grafitima iste životne stavove. Na vrču od svijetle gline, nađenom u Klagenfurtu, na brdu svete Helene, urezan je natpis (Dessau 8607) kojim se poziva drugove da piju dok ima svjetla: *vita brevis, spes fragi[lis, ven]ite, accensust, dum lucet, bibamus, sodales!* (CVArr, 15e, Klagenfurt III, 12013.3, str. 4).[23]

Na natpisima sličnim ovome, pozivaju se kao drugovi u piću ne samo živi nego i mrtvi. Roditelji i rodbina pozivaju pokojnika da pije i da nastavi piti ondje gdje se sad nalazi. Zaziva se čisto vino, a osim *merum*, nalazi se i termin *sincerum* za čisto vino (CIL IV.2776) (Ferri 1956: 286). Mrtvi vole dobro vino, ukusno, najviše nemiješano (ibid.).

Taj odnos prema mrtvima i vinu, vodi nas do jednog krasnog epitafa u stihovima, na vojničkoj steli iz Vojnića kraj Trilja, koju je otkrila prof. Mirjana Sanader i objavila 1999.g. (Sanader 1999; Tončinić 2011: 22–23; Sanader *et al*. 2013). U stihovima 8–9 brat žali što nije mogao radije živom bratu dati vina, popiti ga s njim, nego mu ga mrtvom izlijeva.[24] Nakon svega što je izrečeno, možemo samo pretpostaviti da je Kvint Anharen darovao bratu Luciju Anharenu na grobu čisto vino – *merum*.

Antički izvori

Anakreont — *Les petits poèmes grecs,* traduit par M. Ernest Falconnet, Paris, Société du Panthéon Littéraire Rue Lafitte, 1842. remacle.org/bloodwolf/poets/falc/anacreon/oeuvre.htm (9. 8. 2018.)

Ili Nikola Šop:

Lijevče moj strašnoga falernca,/ starijeg mi nalij u pehar./ Po zakonu Postumije, kraljice vinske,/ nek se zapjenuši opojnosti žar./ Ti dosadna vodo, bježi tamo./ Ti smrti vinska, isteci van./ Starce napajaj, a ovdje se samo/ toči čisti Tionian. (*Katul, Propercije, Tibul. Iz lirike starog Rima*, preveo Nikola Šop, Zagreb, Zora, 1950.)

Ili Katarina Antić-Rajčević:

Staroga falernca, vinotočo mladi,/ napuni mi pehare pune trpkog vina,/ po zakonu starešine stola Postumije,/ od pijanog zrna grozda pijanije./ A ti vodo, neprijatelju vina,/ udalji se, pređi kod ozbiljnih ljudi,/ ovde se samo čisto vino pije. (Katul, *Poezija,* prevela Katarina Antić-Rajčević, Beograd, Nolit, 1962.)

[20] *Vina diem celebrant. Non festa luce madere*
est rubor, errantes et male ferre pedes.

[21] Horacije (*Carm.* 4.5.29–36) kaže nešto slično: seljaci slave Augusta zajedno s *Lares Domestici*, uz obilje čistog vina (*te multa prece, te prosequitur mero/ defuso pateris*). De Seta 2010: 435, n. 15.

[22] *et, bene vos, bene te pater patriae, optime Caesar*
dicite: suffuso sint bona verba mero.

[23] Zahvaljujem dr. sc. Zrinki Šimić Kanaet za ovaj navod.

[24] *L(ucius) Ancharenus C(ai) f(ilius)*
Ser(gia) Laranda mil(es)
leg(ionis) VII ann(orum) XL stip(endiorum) XXI
h(ic) s(itus est)
Q(uintus) Ancharenus haec tanquam
posuit tibi dona, frater, quia
longe a patria te cecidisse dolet.
Optaram vivo potius dare vina
me tibi non obito, care, ferenda.
Tu, o si quicquam sentire potes
pro te(m)pore nostro damus. Haec
ostica sit tibi terra levis. Frater
fratri posuit.

Prema M. Sanader *et al*. 2013: 484.

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Jupiter and the other gods – duty and piety of the Roman soldiers in Dalmatia*

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A short overview of military religion is given, both the official and the unofficial cults, venerated in the Roman army in the province of Dalmatia and/or Illyricum, with special concern on the data that a certain investigated territory can provide us. Apart from the fact that Jupiter was the most prominent god, to a large extent the number of military votive inscriptions dedicated to the great Roman deities such as Minerva, Hercules, Mars, and Victoria, is very scarce, especially when compared with the number of inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter, either alone, or when he appeared together with other deities.

Key words: *Roman religion, Roman military religion, the official military cults, the unofficial military cults, Jupiter, Nemesis, Silvanus*

When researching military religion, there are, so far, three milestones. The first one occurred more than a century ago when Alfred Von Domaszewski wrote the first book entirely dedicated to the subject of Roman military religion: *Die Religion des römisches Heeres*, Trier, 1895. Today, it is still essential and indispensable. Knowledge of military religion expanded with the finding of the calendar from Dura Europos, and its subsequent analysis and publishing in 1940 by Robert O. Fink, Allan S. Hoey and Walter F. Snyder marked the second milestone (Fink, Hoey & Snyder 1940). The calendar, now known as *Feriale Duranum*, represented a list of feasts celebrated by the *cohors XX. Palmyrenorum*, and it dates to the time of Alexander Severus. Today there is no doubt that the aforementioned cohort was not unique in the Roman army in this regard, and that each unit of the Roman army had a similar calendar. The discovery of the calendar pointed out to some erroneous conclusions made by Domaszewski, e.g. the day of the renewal of the oath or *sacramentum*, moves on from 1st of January to the 3rd of January. *Feriale Duranum*, is by its shape the list of the feasts and celebrations, since it contains only *dies festi*. According to the calendar, the army celebrated military and public feasts, the old Roman gods, and they especially honoured the cult of the emperor and his family (Fink, Hoey & Snyder 1940: 24–29; Richmond 1962: 185–186). The publishing of the *Feriale Duranum* spurred new interest in the subject of military religion. Several articles were published and each brings a somewhat different view on a particular issue (Nock 1952; Gilliam 1956; Richmond 1962; Helgeland 1978: this article is a complete review of the calendar found in Dura, and a general overview of the Roman military religion, its official and unofficial cults).

The third milestone happened in 1978 when the first critical review of the Domaszewski's book emerged. It was the article by Eric Birley in which he indicates to certain erroneous conclusions by Domaszewski and underlines the need to create more recent study of the subject. However, even Birley emphasizes how

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* This paper emerged from the lecture held at the Lomonosov State University in Moscow, Russia, for the occasion of the 21st Sergeev's Readings, held in January 2019.

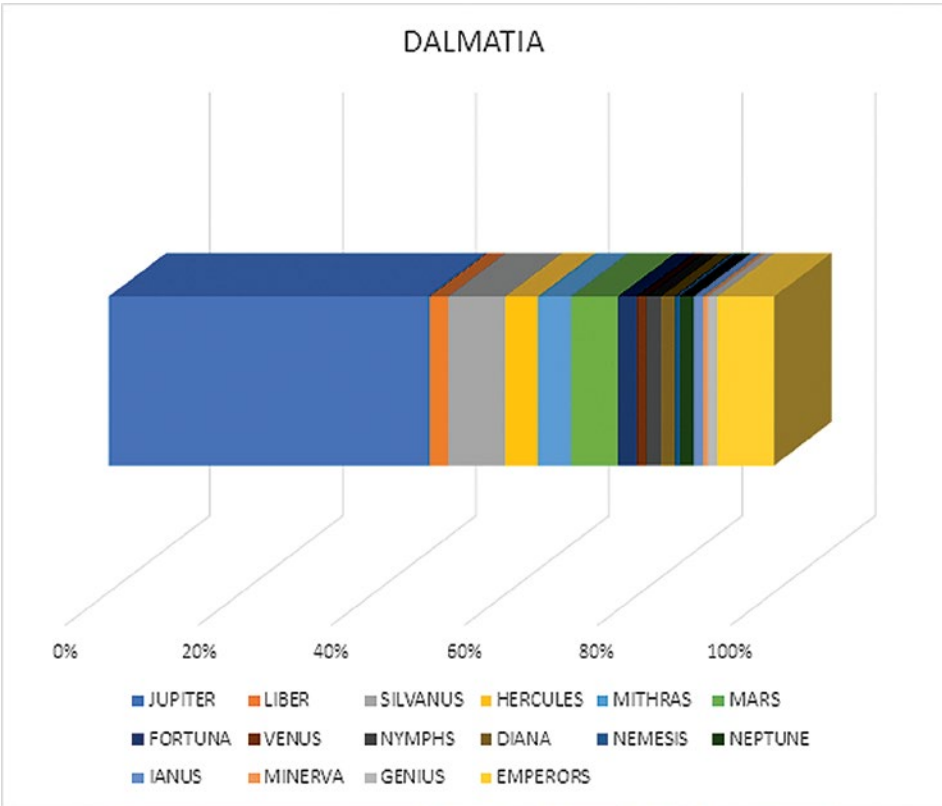
little of new there is to say after Domaszewski (Birley 1978: 1506–1541). As for the province of Dalmatia, archaeologists dealt either with the army (e.g. Wilkes 1969; Zaninović 1976: 169–184) or the cults (e.g. Medini 1976: 185–205; Sanader 1999). In discussions about the cults, the military aspect of a particular cult was debated if the dedicant was a soldier. Only recently the topic of military religion or cults has been engaged (e.g. Perinić Muratović 2005; Perinić, in print).

In the Roman Empire, the army was either the initiator of social change or a tool needed in the execution of said change. In that sense, the army reflected the social trends of the moment in history. The Roman army is a living organism with the same needs and tasks but its needs and tasks were realized in different settings, depending on the province and even micro locations where the soldiers were stationed. Such adjustments to the newly conquered areas could certainly be reflected in the pantheon of each soldier. Since the end of the 1st century AD, but especially later, the entire legions were sent to the military campaigns very rarely. Then, the soldiers had the possibility to approach the local population, not only as conquerors, but also as the disseminators of the Roman imperial culture in general. On the other hand, the Roman soldiers permanently stationed in one area learned about the local culture, religion, and cults, appropriating some of their elements and including them in their private worship. Unfortunately for us, the end of the first century was also the time when Dalmatia became *provincia inermis*, the province without permanent military garrison. That is also the reason why the military votive inscriptions from neighbouring areas of what was once Illyricum were taken into the consideration here. From the province of Dalmatia 141 military votive inscriptions were taken into consideration, and the widened territorial scope included the area that in 1st century constituted Illyricum. From that territory, another 165 inscriptions were taken into consideration, which means that, in total, 306 military votive inscriptions were taken into consideration.

It is now well known that Roman army, regardless of the size of the unit, carried with them a copy of religious calendar, that is, the list of observances and festivities celebrated. When discussing Roman military religion, it is important to differentiate between (I) the official religion of the Roman state, formal celebrations/observances of the state, (II) the cults approved within certain units, such as the worship of deities from the soldier's place of origin, or territories that were constantly recruited from, (III) the local cults in different military territories that were usually accepted, and, somewhere even officially approved of, and (IV) the deities or *Genii* of certain places that proved acceptable to the soldiers. Finally, the cults brought over from the east hold a special place, i.e. they represent a separate case, whether they were followed by easterners or people who had served in the East. For all these categories, apart from, to a certain extent, the first two, it is advisable to differentiate between the worshipers based on rank – senators, Roman knights, centurions, legionary or auxiliary soldiers. In many cases it is evident that the soldiers followed their superiors in worshiping deities not prescribed by the official religion, or deities indigenous to the area where the soldiers were stationed (Birley 1978: 1509).

As for official deities, Domaszewski noted, relying on Pliny (NH. X, 16) that during the Republic there were five military deities the legionaries used as signa: eagle (Juppiter), wolf (Mars), boar (Quirin), that constituted the triad, Minotaur (Juppiter Feretrius – god of the offensive), and horse (Juppiter Stator – god of the defensive) (Domaszewski 1895: 118). Apart from the deities that they honoured as signa, the legionaries worshiped the great gods, the, so called, *dei militares* or *bellorum dei*: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, either alone or together; as well as Victoria, Mars as Ultor, Mars Militaris, Mars Militiae Potens, and as Mars Campester (Domaszewski 1895: 52). *Campestris* was also the epithet ascribed to Nemesis, so the link between Mars and the training fields (*campus*) is clear and, in that way, attested.

Religion had multiple roles in the army. First, it was to identify the life of each soldier with the fate of Rome herself; Secondly, through it *l'esprit de corps* or "community spirit" was supposed to be held at a high level; and thirdly, it created social structure in the life of the soldiers and ensured discipline, loyalty, rewards for certain credits or penalties, as well as the explanations of traditions (Helgeland 1978: 1473). In all probability, the official religion had a role to make a soldier's life more bearable, if not more significant, and also to give it a purpose. It can be described as a system of worshiping gods prescribed for all military units, wherever they might be stationed. This system is different from the one that the soldiers brought with them and cherished for personal reasons, and that made up the unofficial system. Based on the votive inscriptions of soldiers we can determine whether the local community influenced the garrison in Dalmatia, and the adjacent territory, and if, and how much the circumstances the soldiers lived in on the said territory influenced their worship.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NEPTUNE
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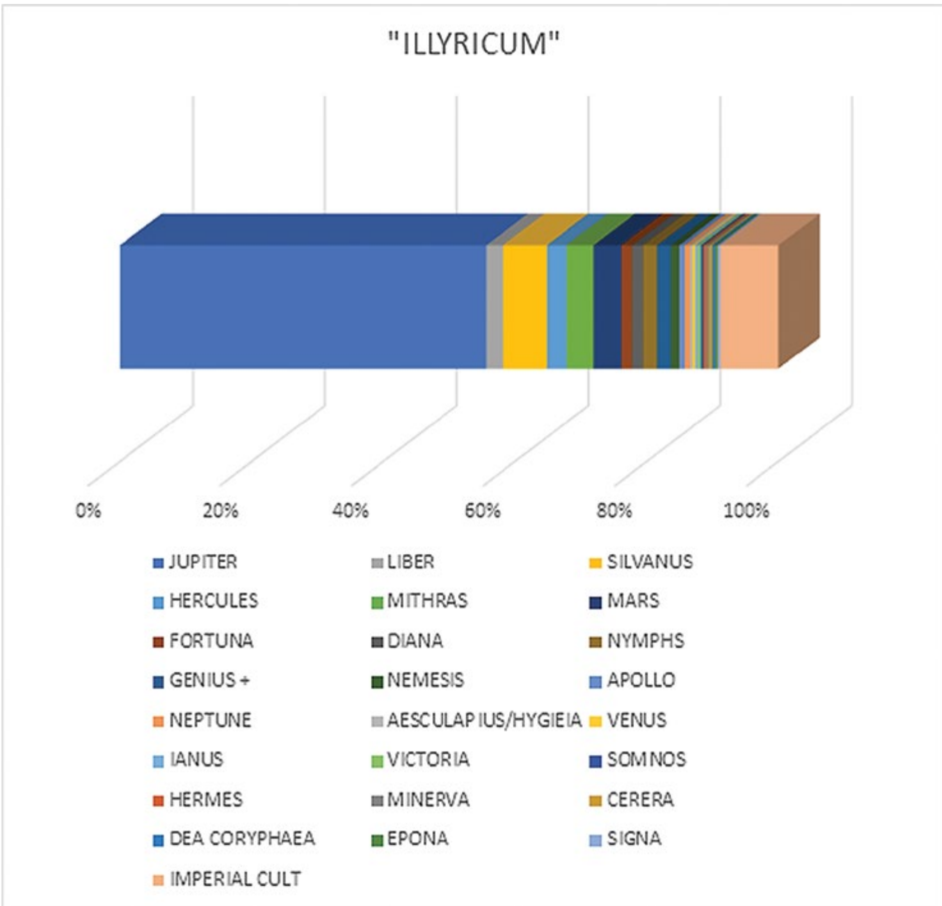
MINERVA
GENIUS
EMPERORS

Fig. 1.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NEPTUNE
AESCULAPIUS/HYGIEIA
VENUS
IANUS
VICTORIA
SOMNOS
HERMES
MINERVA
CERERA
DEA CORYPHAEA
EPONA
SIGNA
IMPERIAL CULT

Fig. 2.

On these two figures we see the distribution of various deities, both official and unofficial. What is most striking and visually obvious is the number of inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter, either alone, or conjoined with other deities. What is also visible is, when the spatial scope was widen outside of Dalmatia, there are some inscriptions dedicated to, not unexpected, but maybe, deities which were not usually worshipped among soldiers, like for example *dea Coryphaea, sive Caelestis*, (AIJ 240) possibly Phoenician goddess Tanit (Selem 1980: 262–264) but also a Greek goddess who inhabits the summit of the mountain, an epithet of Artemis, and also of Diana. Nevertheless, it is clear that the overall distribution of gods and goddesses did not change significantly.

We can also discern how important military deities, as was Mars, were to a soldier, especially after 1st century when situation in wider area of Dalmatia, or Illyricum, was quite peaceful. Because of such overall situation one would not expect many dedications to, e.g. Mars or *Disciplina Militaris*. And it truly is as expected (Perinić, in print).

Based on the collected inscriptions (10), it seems that Mars was equally praised among the high-ranking officers (consular beneficiaries) and among common soldiers. In the case of Mars, Domaszewski's conclusion that Mars became more popular in 3rd century (Domaszewski 1985: 33–36) remains unchanged. He is invoked as *Augustus* (e.g. CIL III, 8431 from Stolac, Diluntum), and is found conjoined with Victoria (CIL III, 15180; AIJ 239, from Sisak, Siscia). The Roman god of war, whose influence spread further to include agriculture and, thereby the protection of the Roman family, ranks right behind Jupiter based on the military importance. However, in comparison to Jupiter, significantly fewer inscriptions dedicated to him have been found (10). Overall, the number of military votive inscriptions dedicated to great Roman deities such as Minerva, Hercules, Mars, and Victoria, is rather scarce, especially when compared with the number of inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter, either alone, or when he appeared together with other deities. A single inscription dedicated to Victoria, the goddess who followed the successes of the Roman army was found in Ptuj, Poetovio (ILJug 340).

Although deities of the official military pantheon were, as concluded by Alföldy, often worshiped due to the feeling of duty, rather than a true religious impulse (Alföldy 1961: passim), the 3rd century reveals a more pronounced tendency in both officers and regular soldiers to seek divine help not only from other deities prescribed by the official calendar, but also from emperors and imperial houses (Fishwick 1969: passim). One of the deities that can serve as an example of the growing feeling of personal participation (responsibility) is the already mentioned Nemesis who was not mentioned by Domaszewski at all. On the studied area, Nemesis is *Regina* (Ščitarjevo, Andautonia, CIL III, 4008. (4013); AIJ 474), Augusta (Daruvar, Aquae Balissae, AIJ 585), and *Sancta* (Komini, Pljevlja, ILJug 602). On the inscription where she is mentioned as *sancta*, she appears together with the *genius* of a *municipium*, unfortunately the *genius* was not named. Based on only three discovered inscriptions, it seems that Nemesis was worshiped by both high-ranking officers and common soldiers. The inscriptions are too few to generalize, but it can be concluded that the cult of Nemesis was not particularly widespread in the military. The inscriptions are dated from 150 till the end of the 3rd century.

The largest number of inscriptions are dedicated to Jupiter, 133 of them, either as *Optimus Maximus,* or with other epithets, such as *Dolichenus*, *Heliopolitanus*, *Cohortalis*, *Conservator*, *Depulsor*, *Tonitratorius*, or to Jupiter *Optimus Maximus* conjoined with other deities (67 of them), including: Juno and Minerva, Juno *Regina* and Minerva, Juno, Mars, *Sol Invictus*, Ceres, Fortuna *Redux*, and *genii* such as: *Genius loci*, the *genius* of a specific *municipium,* and conjoined with all the deities, i.e. *diis deabusqe omnibus*. Jupiter is a Roman supreme deity included in the category of *dii militares* (alone or forming a triad with Juno and Minerva) that also included Victoria and Mars. Being the supreme deity of Rome, most of the military votive inscriptions from the studied area were dedicated to him.

As can be discerned from these votive inscriptions, the votaries of Jupiter were mostly high-ranking officers, most of them consular beneficiaries. The reason for this high a number of inscriptions is probably coming from the tradition or custom by which the senior officers raised the monuments dedicated to Jupiter when they were leaving current position to a new assignment (Speidel & Dimitrova-Milčeva 1978: 1553–1554; also Alföldy: 1961). This situation also reflects the official character not only of Jupiter, but of religion in the army as a whole. Jupiter accompanied with other deities is found on 67 inscriptions. Those deities are either from the category of *dei militares*, or *genii*, the attendant spirits of a place or of a person, so it can be safely said that Jupiter covered most of aspects of military life, if not all. Most inscriptions, 49, are dedicated to Jupiter conjoined with the *genii*. Here, just like in the case of the votive inscriptions dedicated solely to Jupiter, the dedicators are mostly high-ranking military officials, either centurions or consular beneficiaries. The *genii*, as gods with a narrow circle of protection, were frequently connected to the great gods with a wide circle of protection, such as the *dii militares*. The great gods, *dii militares*, also had their own 'specialised' geniuses which is confirmed with the inscription found in Novae (Lower Moesia) dedicated to Mars and Genio Armamentarii (Speidel & Dimitrova-Milčeva 1978: 1551). Their dedicators, from the territory taken into consideration here, were specialists (e.g. *speculator, signifer*) and high-ranking officers. Furthermore, there is a possibility that when *Genii loci* were joined with the great gods, that they actually represented local indigenous deities (Mócsy 1974: 252).

Given that the military life was everything but easy and safe, it is surprising that only three inscriptions were found that were dedicated to the gods capable of healing. One inscription dedicated to Aesculapius and his daughter Hygia, dedicated by consular beneficiary Caius Iulius Herculanus is found in Skelani, Srebrenica (ILJug 1522). The other two dedications to the gods of healing are to Aesculapius's father, Apollo, one from Šuica (Marijanović 1985/86: 109–112), dedicated by Aurelius Iullianus, centurion, and the other is from Varaždinske Toplice, Aquae Iasae (Kušan Špalj 2015: 75–76, 100), where Apollo was invoked with Diana and the Nymphs, by *speculator legionis* Lucius Aerius Florentinus. But perhaps, and possibly, what some did not find within Aesculapius, Hygia, and Apollo, the others were able to recognize in Silvanus (Kuntić-Makvić 2003: passim; Perinić 2016: 38). Military inscriptions dedicated to Silvanus are the most numerous after those of Jupiter, yet only 16 of them were found. Silvanus is mainly referred to as *Augustus*, *Domesticus*, *Silvestris* while being associated only with Silvanae (from Daruvar, Aquae Balissae, Rendić-Miočević 1980: 114–115, 123; T. 2, 1; sl. 3), and Nymphs (from Trilj, Tilurium, CIL III, 13187; ILJug 143; Rendić-Miočević 1955: 24; T. 1, 3; Perinić 2017: 345–357). Seven military votive inscriptions dedicated to Silvanus are from Topusko and due to this fact, it could be presumed that the baths in Topusko probably were specialized for the military. Silvanus' cult, like Mithra's, but unlike Jupiter's, was more popular among ordinary soldiers than among high-ranking officers. It is also conceivable that the soldiers built Silvanus' shrine in Topusko (Ad Fines) just as they built the temple of Sol Elagabalus in Brigetio (CIL III 4300, soldiers of *Legio II Adiutrix*), or like they helped restore the temple of Liber in Ljubuški, Bigeste (CIL III, 6362 (=1790); CIN I, nr. 11; Atanacković-Salčić 1981: 267, nr. 7; CIL III, 6363 (=1789); CIN I, nr. 14; Atanacković-Salčić 1981: 266–267, nr. 6).

These unofficial cults were mostly a matter of soldiers' personal choice and/or tradition, and as such they serve as a useful criterion in determination of the religious practices of the Roman army. They reveal the diversity of belief rather than some solid continuum. This is understandable when one takes into account how great a choice there was, considering the size of the Empire, and what various motifs soldiers had for choosing a particular deity/cult. It is important to note that soldiers, being either legionaries or auxiliary soldiers, had complete freedom and flexibility in the so-called *interpretatio Romana/ Celtica/ Germanica/ Dalmatica* and so on. Auxiliary troops were able and willing to worship ancestral and other deities from their own country of origin, as they were willing to worship official deities or local deities of the area they were stationed in; which for soldiers could one day be Dalmatia, and Syria the next. If we are to accept the opinion that most dedications to *dii militares*, and most of them concerning Jupiter, were made in large part out of a sense of duty and tradition or as a custom, we can also argue that most of the dedications that were made to other gods were out of pure piety. Furthermore, we can also argue that the custom of raising votive monuments to Jupiter when a soldier is being promoted or transferred somewhere else, arose from the genuine soldier's pledge to Jupiter for his successful future. It seems that the division according to provinces may show us if some god was favoured in that province, but the 'divine universe' of soldiers indicates that whenever systems depended solely on men (in terms that the worship was not prescribed through a calendar, or whatever other means of control), they are going to represent certain peculiarities. Be that as it may, those peculiarities were always in accord with the troops stationed within one camp and province. Judging by the epigraphic votive monuments, the said divine universe was exceptionally rich: accompanying military standards were many gods, more than a dozen geniuses, dozens of personifications. Equally diverse were persons dedicating the monuments, from senatorial officers, centurions, to ordinary soldiers.

Abbreviations

AIJ	Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslavien I
CIL	Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum
CIN	Corpus inscriptionum Naronitarum
ILJug	Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Yugoslavia repertae et editae sunt

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Antičke kamene urne kao spolije u crkvi sv. Jurja u Mateškom Selu

Domagoj PERKIĆ, Dubrovnik

Rad obrađuje brojne nalaze antičkih kamenih urni u svojoj sekundarnoj funkciji, kao spolije u zidu i temeljima srednjovjekovne crkve sv. Jurja u Mateškom Selu. U pravilu riječ je o pravokutnim sanducima i pripadajućim poklopcima u obliku krova na dvije vode, iskorištenim kao pogodan građevinski materijal, u raznim fazama crkve, crkvenog namještaja i pripadajućeg ogradog zida uokolo crkve. Najviše spolija nalazi se na prijelazu temelja u ziđe lađe crkve te na istočnim uglovima ziđa lađe. Gotovo sve urne su neukrašene, tek na jednoj nalazimo dijelove tabula ansate te dva nečitka natpisa u kružnom natpisnom polju. Upravo ovakva kružna natpisna polja predstavljaju lokalnu specifičnost i upućuju na moguće postojanje lokalne radionice u kontekstu antičkih kamenoloma na širem području međuriječja Korane i Mrežnice sa svojim slivom u Kupi. Uža ubikacija izvorne antičke nekropole s urnama nije poznata, no donosi se okolni arheološki kontekst u kojem je moguće tražiti takve odgovore.

Ključne riječi: *antika, spolije, kamena urna, sv. Juraj, kružno natpisno polje*

Crkva sv. Jurja

Crkva sv. Jurja nalazi se na blago uzvišenom brežuljku u samom središtu Mateškog Sela, oko 4 km jugoistočno od Generalskog Stola, u Karlovačkoj županiji (T 1:1)[1]. Najstarija je sačuvana crkva na području ove županije, jedina koja je prema predaji preživjela osmanlijske upade i okupaciju u kasnom srednjem i novom vijeku (Mužar 2005: 22).

U izvorima se spominje kao crkva «*sancti Georgii de Colechane*» već 1334. i 1501. (Rački 1872: 226). U stručnoj literaturi uzgredno je spominjana kao crkva nastala s prijelaza romanike u gotiku (Horvat A 1964: 29; 1986: 153; Kruhek 1993: 143–144; Stošić 1994: 120–121), a u kontekstu antičkih spolija u ranijim radovima autora ovog rada (Perkić 2000: 3–4; Perkić 2002: 118; Perkić 2017: 192, 196–197). No, ovdje se donose detaljniji podatci o samim spolijama te njihov kataloški opis s popratnom nacrtnom dokumentacijom (Perkić 2012: 176–178)[2], sve temeljeno na zaštitnim arheološkim istraživanjima u razdoblju od 1999. do 2001.[3], u sklopu obnove i prezentacije crkve[4].

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1 Koordinate položaja u Gauss-Krügerovu projekcijskom koordinatnom sustavu, u odnosu na Greenwich su: 50 20 321 N, 55 34 005 E, Z = 216 m NV, k.č. 1038/3, čest. zgr. 35, k.o. Mateško Selo.

2 Predmetni rad predstavlja manji segment doktorske disertacije obranjene na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu, u rujnu 2012. godine, gdje je mentorica bila dr. sc. Mirjana Sanader, red. prof. Kako je ovaj zbornik posvećen prof. Mirjani Sanader, koristim i ovu priliku zahvaliti joj se na pomoći tijekom dotorskog studija i pisanja disertacije. U međuvremenu ažurirana i prilagođena verzija doktorske disertacije je publicirana u izdanjima Književnog kruga Split (Perkić 2019).

3 Istraživanja je obavio Konzervatorski odjel u Karlovcu, voditelj istraživanja Domagoj Perkić.

4 Obnova i prezentacija crkve povjerena je Hrvatskom restauratorskom zavodu, voditeljica programa Vladanka Milošević.

Postojeća crkva sv. Jurja jednobrodna je građevina s izduženom pravokutnom lađom i užim pravokutnim svetištem s blagim otklonom prema sjeveru u odnosu na lađu, te preslicom na zapadnom pročelju. Ukupna vanjska dužina crkve je 13,95 m od čega lađe 9,55 m, a svetišta 4,30 m. Širina lađe je 5,60 m, a svetišta 4,5 m (Perkić 2017: 187). Istraživanjima od 1999. do 2001. utvrđeno je postojanje najmanje šest faza, od kojih se najranija datira u kraj 12. ili početak 13. st. (Perkić 2017: 190–195).

Antičke spolije

U okviru navedenih istraživanja od 1999. do 2001. utvrđeno je postojanje velikog broja antičkih urni, ugrađenih u temelje i ziđe crkve, oltarne menze, ogradnog zida uokolo crkve, a jedan sanduk urne je i danas u upotrebi kao krstionica unutar crkve. Kako su pojedine urne već ranije bile vidljive na prijelazu temelja u ziđe lađe, pojedini autori su ih ispravno atribuirali u rimsko razdoblje, međutim nisu ih prepoznali kao urne, pa su čak vidjeli i mogućnost drvenog nadgrađa lađe zbog udubina u spolijama s gornje strane (Stošić 1994: 120–121).

Sveukupno je nađeno 40 cjelovitih ili ulomaka sanduka i poklopaca urni, s tim da je taj broj zasigurno i nešto veći, jer dio spolija u ziđu crkve nije vidljiv zbog prekrivenosti žbukom. Uglavnom riječ je o urnama s pravokutnim sandukom (tzv. četverokutne urne) i poklopcima u obliku krova na dvije vode s ugaonim akroterijima. Iz njih se kasnije razvijaju sarkofazi identičnog oblika, gdje je razlika samo u gabaritima, odnosno sarkofazi su zbog skeletnog pokopavanja prije svega duži (Cambi 2003: 100, 105; 2010: 7). Rimske četverokutne kamene urne inače su poznate na šrem području provincija Norika, Gornje Panonije i Dalmacije tijekom 1. do sredine 3. st. (Jovanović 1984: 8–10, 88–97). U Hrvatskoj su npr. poznate iz Šćitarjeva (*Andautonija*) (Vikić-Belančić 1981: 132), ali i obližnjih lokaliteta u Točku kod Dudukovića (Perkić 2012: 205, 238–239) te Vujaškovićima kod Ponorca (Šarić 1991–92: 111–120). Vode porijeklo od italskih formi, posebno čestih u zapadnim provincijama carstva, pa se pretpostavlja kako su na naše prostore dospjeli s doseljenicima s tih prostora (Srejović 1965: 78–79). U Panoniji su znatno češće nego kamene urne cilindričnog oblika, za razliku od Dalmacije gdje prevladavaju cilindrične (Jovanović 1984: 42).

Pri gradnji crkve sv. Jurja antičke kamene urne iskorištene su kao pogodan, već obrađen građevinski materijal (T. 1: 3, 4; 2:1–18). Sanduci su ponekad ugrađeni u temelje crkve, no najviše ih se nalazi u oba istočna ugla lađe, iznad poklopaca, gdje se naizmjence pružaju do pod krovište. Slična je situacija i na zapadnom dijelu, s tim da nisu na uglovima današnje lađe, nego na uglu izvorne, kraće dužine lađe. Poklopci urni su uglavnom ugrađeni na prijelazu temelja u ziđe, gotovo duž cijele lađe crkve, okrenuti su naopako, odnosno vrh krova i akroteriji su okrenuti prema dole, a unutrašnji svod prema gore. Na taj način se dobila kompaktna i zaravnjena površina na koju se vrlo jednostavno moglo dalje zidati. Većina urni nalazi se u temeljima i ziđu iz vremena 2. faze crkve, okvirno datirane u vrijeme između početka 14. i početka 15. st. (Perkić 2017: 190–193).

Svi primjerci su jednostavne, ali fine obrade, zaglađenih stranica. Veličina im varira, za sanduke od 100x160 do 90x130 cm, a za poklopce od 93x156 do 80x114 cm. Uglavnom su neukrašeni. Na samo jednom primjerku, ugrađenom u dno istočnog pročelja temelja apside, nalazimo ulomak sanduka gdje je *tabula ansata* (natpis nije vidljiv) na prednjoj strani (T. 2: 17). Kamene urne kojima je *tabula ansata* na prednjoj strani obično su datirane u 2. i 3. st., mada nije isključen i kraj 1. st. posl. Kr. Pretpostavka je kako je prisutnost omeđenog polja na svim oblicima: stele, sarkofazi, kamene urne, posljedica istog uzora, možda italskih sepulkralnih spomenika: cilindričnih i kvadratičnih kamenih urni, kod kojih je natpisno polje također izdvojeno omeđenim poljem. Razlika između italskih primjera i lokalnih je u tome što je kod italskih *tabula ansata* reljefno izrađena, a kod naših linearno urezana (Jovanović 1984: 90).

Pored navedenog, na dva sanduka nalaze se tragovi kružnog polja s natpisom, nažalost oba nečitka (T. 1: 5; 2: 7; 4: 7). Međutim, na sanduku urne ugrađene u jugoistočni ugao lađe naziru se slova D M, odnosno invokacijska sintagma *Dis Manibus* (T. 1: 5; 2: 7), koja isključuje datiranje natpisa i urne prije 2. st. Posveta Manima, u podunavskim provincijama i Dalmaciji, nije se ustalila prije Hadrijanova razdoblja, premda se pojavila i prije (Petrović 1975: 82; Cambi 1990: 117; Starac 2000: 72–73; Paškvalin 2012: 28–29). Ovdje je potrebno nešto više reći o kružnom natpisnom polju. Naime, takav element predstavlja izvjesnu lokalnu specifičnost gdje se natpisi urezuju u kružna polja, što bi upućivalo na moguće postojanje lokalne klesarske radionice. Pored dviju urne iz sv. Jurja, kružno natpisno polje nalazimo i kod obližnjih primjeraka urni istog oblika s lokaliteta Mala Crkvina, Kneževo brdo i Vujaškovića te jednom primjerku stele iz Kneževa brda, sveukupno 6 nalaza (Perkić 2012: 185). Takvu mogućnost već ranije je uočio i obrazložio Ivan Šarić kojemu su bili poznati samo nalazi urne iz Vujaškovića i stele s Kneževa brda kod Točka (Šarić 1992: 111–117).

Prisutne su dvije inačice izrade kružnih polja. Kod primjeraka iz Kneževa brda i Vujaškovića natpisi su urezani u krug što ga oblikuje izdubljena kružnica, unutrašnji je rub kružnice zaobljen i u odnosu na površinu kruga neznatno reljefno ispupčen, čineći natpisnom polju jednostavnu profilaciju. Dok kod primjeraka iz Mateškog Sela i Male Crkvine nema takve profilacije, nego je riječ o jednostavno izdubljenoj kružnici unutar koje je urezani natpis. Pitanje je da li motiv kruga predstavlja samo ukrasni motiv ili je u njima skriveno neko dublje religijsko (solarno) značenje, no zasigurno je oznaka i specifičnost lokalnih radionica (Perkić 2012: 185).

Katalog antičkih spolija

Svi nalazi nacrtani su u mjerilu 1:20, osim urni koje su kao spolije ugrađene u temelje crkve Sv. Jurja u Mateškom Selu, a zbog prilagodbe formatu teksta[5]. U opisu nalaza navodi se:

— lokalitet, mjesto nalaza
— vrsta nalaza (spolija ili pojedinačni nalaz)
— element nalaza (sanduk ili poklopac)
— stupanj sačuvanosti (cjelovit, djelomično sačuvan, ulomak)
— dimenzije

Zbog određene ujednačenosti kod navođenja stupnja sačuvanosti nalaza odredili smo da je djelomično sačuvan kada je sačuvano više od 50 % , ulomak kada je manje od 50 %, a cjelovit ako je nalaz u potpunosti sačuvan.

1. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – u temelju zida cinkture 1 (T. 3: 1)
   — spolija
   — poklopac
   — cjelovit
   — dimenzije: 114x85x35
2. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – u temelju zida cinkture 2 (T. 3: 2)
   — spolija
   — poklopac
   — ulomak
   — dimenzije: “73” x “58” x 36
3. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – prostor cinkture 1a (T. 5: 1)
   — pojedinačni nalaz
   — poklopac
   — ulomak
   — dimenzije: “40” x 80 x 28
4. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – prostor cinkture 1b (T. 5: 7)
   — pojedinačni nalaz
   — poklopac
   — ulomak
   — dimenzije: “18” x “32” x “28”

[5] Sve nalaze nacrtala je Marta Perkić.

5. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – prostor cinkture 1c (T. 5: 3)
    - pojedinačni nalaz
    - poklopac
    - ulomak
    - dimenzije: “108” x “80” x 30
6. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – današnja krstionica (T. 4: 1)
    - spolija
    - sanduk
    - cjelovit
    - dimenzije: 97x62x46
7. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – u oltarnoj menzi 1 (T. 3: 3)
    - spolija
    - poklopac
    - cjelovit
    - dimenzije: 120x80x33
8. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – u oltarnoj menzi 2 (T. 4: 8)
    - spolija
    - poklopac
    - ulomak
    - dimenzije: “36”x “74“x24
9. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – u oltarnoj menzi 3 (T. 4: 4)
    - spolija
    - sanduk
    - djelomično sačuvan
    - dimenzije: 82x57x “32”
10. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – u oltarnoj menzi 4 (T. 4: 7)
    - spolija
    - sanduk
    - djelomično sačuvan
    - dimenzije: 86x56x “38”
    - epigrafski natpis u kružnom polju – nečitak
11. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – u oltarnoj menzi 5 a-e (T. 4: 2, 3, 5, 6, 9)
    - spolije
    - poklopac
    - 5 ulomaka
12. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – južni temelj lađe 1 (T. 2: 1)
    - spolija
    - poklopac
    - cjelovit
    - dimenzije: 120 x 83 x “30”
13. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – južni temelj lađe 2 (T. 2: 2)
    - spolija
    - poklopac
    - cjelovit
    - dimenzije: 130 x 88 x “35”

14. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – južni temelj lađe 3 (T. 2: 3)
    — spolija
    — poklopac
    — cjelovit
    — dimenzije: 116 x 83 x “33”
15. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – južni temelj lađe 4 (T. 2: 4)
    — spolija
    — poklopac
    — cjelovit
    — dimenzije: 117 x 90 x “32”
16. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – južni temelj lađe 5 (T. 2: 5)
    — spolija
    — poklopac
    — cjelovit
    — dimenzije: 116 x 93 x “28”
17. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – južni temelj lađe 6 (T. 2: 6)
    — spolija
    — poklopac
    — cjelovit
    — dimenzije: 156 x 93 x 40
18. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – južni temelj lađe 7 (T. 2: 7)
    — spolija
    — sanduk
    — cjelovit
    — dimenzije: “60” x 90 x 55
    — epigrafski natpis u kružnom polju
19. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – sjeverni temelj lađe 1 (T. 2: 8)
    — spolija
    — poklopac
    — cjelovit
    — dimenzije: 130 x 88 x “38”
20. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – sjeverni temelj lađe 2 (T. 2: 9)
    — spolija
    — sanduk
    — cjelovit
    — dimenzije: ??? x 93 x 65
21. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – sjeverni temelj lađe 3 (T. 2: 10)
    — spolija
    — poklopac
    — cjelovit
    — dimenzije: 107 x ??? x “32”
22. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – sjeverni temelj lađe 4 (T. 2: 11)
    — spolija
    — poklopac
    — cjelovit
    — dimenzije: 111 x ??? x “35”

23. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – sjeverni temelj lađe 5 (T. 2: 12)
    - spolija
    - poklopac
    - cjelovit
    - dimenzije: 99 x ??? x “42”
24. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – sjeverni temelj lađe 6 (T. 2: 13)
    - spolija
    - poklopac
    - cjelovit
    - dimenzije: 112 x ??? x “30”
25. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – sjeverni temelj lađe 7 (T. 2: 14)
    - spolija
    - poklopac
    - cjelovit
    - dimenzije: 122 x ??? x “34”
26. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – sjeverni temelj lađe 8 (T. 2: 15)
    - spolija
    - poklopac
    - cjelovit
    - dimenzije 136 x 99 x 37
27. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – sjeverni temelj lađe 9 (T. 2: 16)
    - spolija
    - sanduk
    - cjelovit
    - dimenzije ??? x 90 x 31
28. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – temelj apside 1 (T. 2: 17)
    - spolija
    - sanduk
    - djelomično sačuvan
    - dimenzije “80”x “66” x “35”
    - *tabula ansata* na pročelju, ali bez natpisa
29. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – temelj apside 2 (T. 2: 18)
    - spolija
    - poklopac
    - cjelovit
    - dimenzije 100 x “62” x “26”
30. Naselje Mateško Selo/sv. Juraj – ziđe današnje lađe
    - spolije
    - 7 poklopaca i sanduka urni koji se nalaze pod žbukom i mogu se samo nazrijeti te ne ulaze u katalog zbog nepotpunih parametara
31. Naselje Mateško Selo – u dvorištu iza kućnog broja 19 (T. 5: 6)
    - pojedinačni nalaz
    - sanduk
    - djelomično sačuvan
    - dimenzije: 85x70x ”43”

32. Naselje Mateško Selo – kod izvora Žutuljak (T. 5: 5)
    — pojedinačni nalaz
    — poklopac
    — djelomično sačuvan
    — dimenzije: “83” x 81 x 34
33. Naselje Mateško Selo – dvorište M. Mateše 1a (T. 5: 2)
    — pojedinačni nalaz
    — poklopac
    — ulomak
    — dimenzije: “56” x “64” x 28
34. Naselje Mateško Selo – dvorište M. Mateše 1b (T. 5: 4)
    — pojedinačni nalaz
    — poklopac
    — ulomak
    — dimenzije: “80” x “55” x 40
    — Okolni arheološki kontekst

Pored spolija u crkvi sv. Jurja, u ogradnom zidu te prostoru cinkture, u neposrednoj okolici, do pedesetak metara uokolo, nalazimo još 4 nalaza kamenih urni, kao spolije ili pojedinačni nalazi u sekundarnoj upotrebi. Tako na adresi Mateško Selo br. 19 nalazimo jedan sanduk urne, zatim dva poklopca urni u dvorištu Mata Mateše te jedan poklopac na izvoru Žutuljak (Perkić 2012: 175, 201). Istog su oblika, izrade i veličine kao i ove iz sv. Jurja, pa je za pretpostaviti da potječu s iste nekropole.

Arheološki kontekst u širem smislu, koji bi obuhvaćao međurječje Korane i Mrežnice sa svojim slivovima u Kupu u Karlovcu, predstavljen je antičkim nekropoloma u speleološkim objektima, antičkim kamenolomima gdje su se proizvodile urne i sarkofazi te antičkim naseobinskim lokalitetima (Perkić 2002: 103–131; 2008: 115–133; 2012: 1–364; 2015: 45–50). Dakle, položaji antičkih nekropola kao izvorni lokaliteti na kojima su bile predmetne kamene urne iz sv. Jurja i neposredne okolice nisu poznati. Možemo ih očekivati u blizini naseobinskih lokaliteta, uz komunikacijske pravce, a upravo je to prostor uokolo sv. Jurja. Naime, tu nalazimo tri naseobinska lokaliteta iz rimskog razdoblja: Bakić brdo/Oreščani (oko 1 km južno od crkve) i Zidine/Bosiljevac (oko 750 m jugoistočno od crkve) u Mateškom Selu te «Njiva Todora Čotre» u Svojiću (oko 3 km južno od crkve). Za prva dva lokaliteta može se pretpostaviti da je riječ o dvije manje villa rustice, dok lokalitet u Svojiću možda predstavlja izvjesno veće naselje (Perkić 2002: 119; 2012: 220–236).

Upravo između Zidina i Bakić brda prolazi cesta koja danas vodi od Generalskog Stola, preko rijeke Mrežnice, do Svojića i Perjasice. Može se pretpostaviti da je takav komunikacijski pravac korišten i u antičko vrijeme, no konkretni ostaci rimske ceste nisu nađeni. Također, titular Sv. Juraj jedan je od najomiljenijih srednjovjekovnih svetaca, a crkve njemu posvećene vrlo često nalazimo uz rimska naselja, odnosno uz rimske ceste (Žeravica & Kovačić 2002: 7, 13, 15, 17; Perkić *et al.* 2007: 32). Stoga je logično za očekivati izvornu nekropolu s kamenim urnama u prostornom kontekstu spomenutih naselja i komunikacije između njih.

Potrebno je spomenuti i položaj Mavrovac (Marlovac), oko 3 km jugoistočno od sv. Jurja, s kojeg je prema zapisima župnika Ignjata Peraka iz 1892. u spomenici župe Brest (Mrežnički), prema predaji, srušen neki stari objekt od čijeg je ziđa sagrađen sv. Juraj u Mateškom Selu (Mužar 2005). Pregledom terena tu nisu pronađeni tragovi bilo kakvog arheološkog lokaliteta, a detaljnije rekognosciranje šireg područja znatno je otežano zbog zaostalih minsko-eksplozivnih sredstava iz domovinskog rata.

Sljedeći bitan segment okolnog arheološkog konteksta predstavljaju brojni antički kamenolomi gdje su se proizvodili antički sarkofazi i urne, a vjerojatno i ostali utilitarni predmeti. Do sada je poznato 29 lokaliteta koji predstavljaju manje pojedinačne kamenolome. Oni se mogu grupirati u 11 većih cjelina, a svi zajedno čine jedinstveni proizvodni kompleks. U kamenolomima je pronađeno 38 sarkofaga i 4 urne, s tim da je uvijek riječ o nezavršenim ili u proizvodnji slomljenim primjercima. Dakle, za pretpostaviti je da urne u funkciji spolija iz sv. Jurja vjerojatno potječu iz ovih kamenoloma, ali su očigledno u međuvremenu bile i u svojoj primarnoj sepulkralnoj funkciji na izvjesnoj nekropoli.

Slijedom svega navedenog možemo zaključiti da je izvjesna antička nekropola s kamenim četvrtastim urnama iz 2. ili eventualno početka 3. st. devastirana u vremenu 2. faze crkve (između početka 14. i početka 15. st.). Poklopci i sanduci kamenih urni iskorišteni su kao pogodan i već obrađen građevinski materijal. Položaj izvorne nekropole, nažalost, do danas nije utvrđen. Pretpostavlja se da je bio negdje u blizini crkve, vjerojatno uz komunikaciju koja je vodila između manjih rimskih naselja na uzvisinama današnjeg Bakić brda i Zidina na Bosiljevcu, a prema centralnom naselju na području današnjeg Svojića. Unatoč brojnim antičkim kamenolomima u okolnom arheološkom kontekstu, ne možemo očekivati da urne potječu izravno iz kamenoloma, odnosno da nisu prije toga bile u svojoj primarnoj sepulkralnoj funkciji. Iz jednostavnog razloga što su sve urne – spolije u potpunosti završene (nema neobrađenih), jedna čak ima ostatke *tabula ansate*, a dva primjerka imaju natpise u kružnom polju. Za razliku od njih, svi proizvodi u kamenolomima, uglavnom sarkofazi, samo četiri urne, u pravilu su nezavršeni ili slomljeni u procesu vađenja i obrade.

U svakom slučaju, crkva sv. Jurja predstavlja izuzetno važno sakralno i kulturno dobro. Jedna je od najstarijih crkvi na karlovačkom području, jedina s tako velikim brojem ugrađenih antičkih spolija, odnosno poklopaca i sanduka kamenih urni. Stoga se i pristupilo zaštitnim arheološkim istraživanjima u okviru obnove i prezentacije crkve. Svi nalazi cjelovitih ili ulomaka urni koji nisu izravno ugrađeni u temelje ili ziđe crkve, a pronađeni su tijekom istraživanja, danas su izloženi uz crkvu. Njima je pridružen i dio ostalih pojedinačnih kamenih antičkih nalaza pronađenih u okolici, čime je dobiven manji lapidarij i dodatno je naglašena važnost ovog arheološkog lokaliteta.

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1. Položaj crkve sv. Jurja

2. Sv. Juraj s ostatcima ogradnog zida i antičkim spolijama

3. Južno pročelje

4. Sjeverno pročelje

5. Urna s kružnim natpisnim poljem

6. Segment južnog pročelja

7. Segment sjevernog pročelja

Tabla 1. Položaj lokaliteta i izbor fotodokumentacije crkve sv. Jurja (foto: D. Perkić).

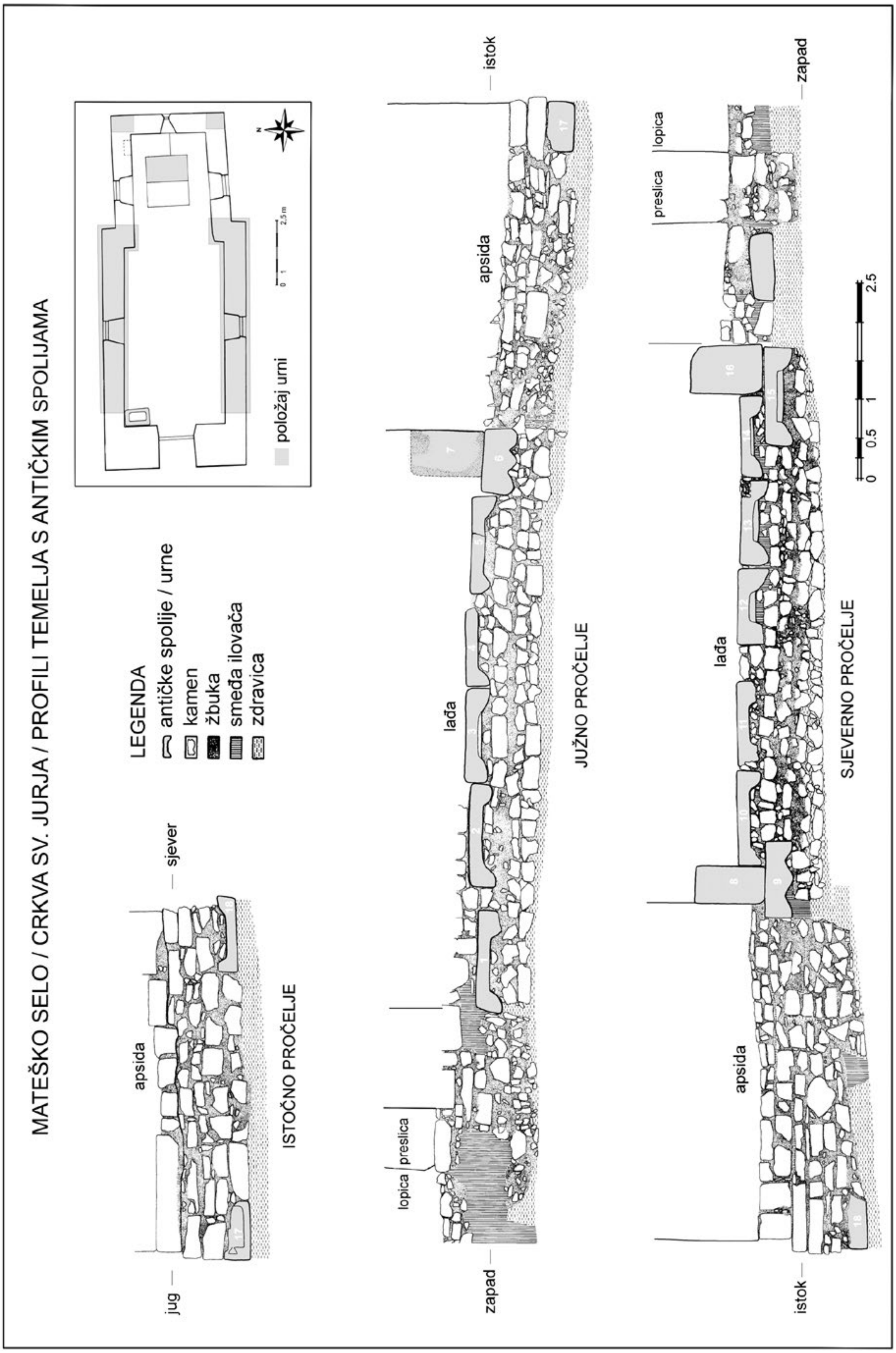

Tabla 2. Crkva sv. Jurja, Profili i tlocrt crkve s položajem antičkih spolija (crtež: M. Perkić, računalna obrada: D. Perkić).

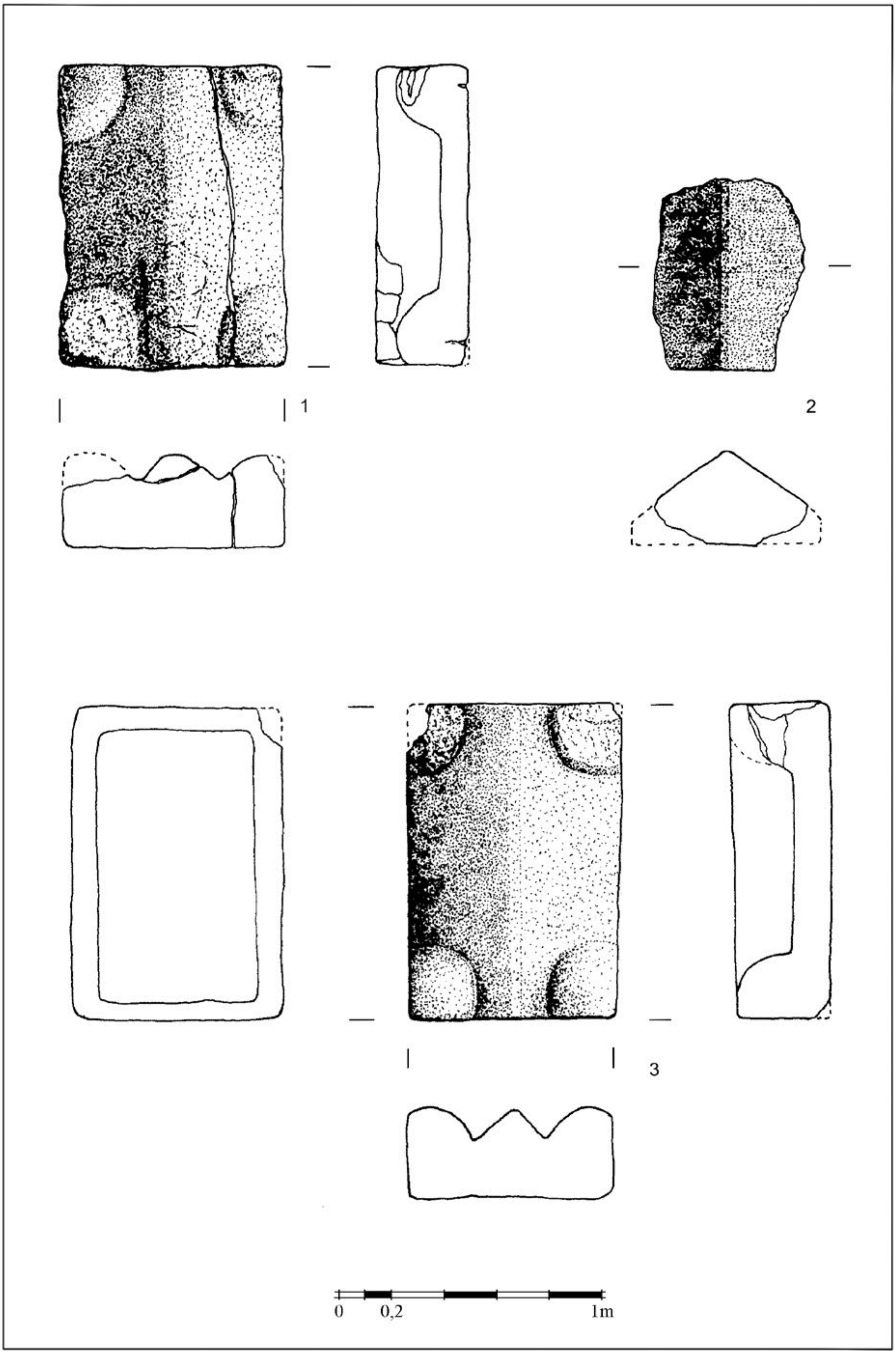

Tabla 3. Crteži antičkih kamenih urni (crtež: M. Perkić).

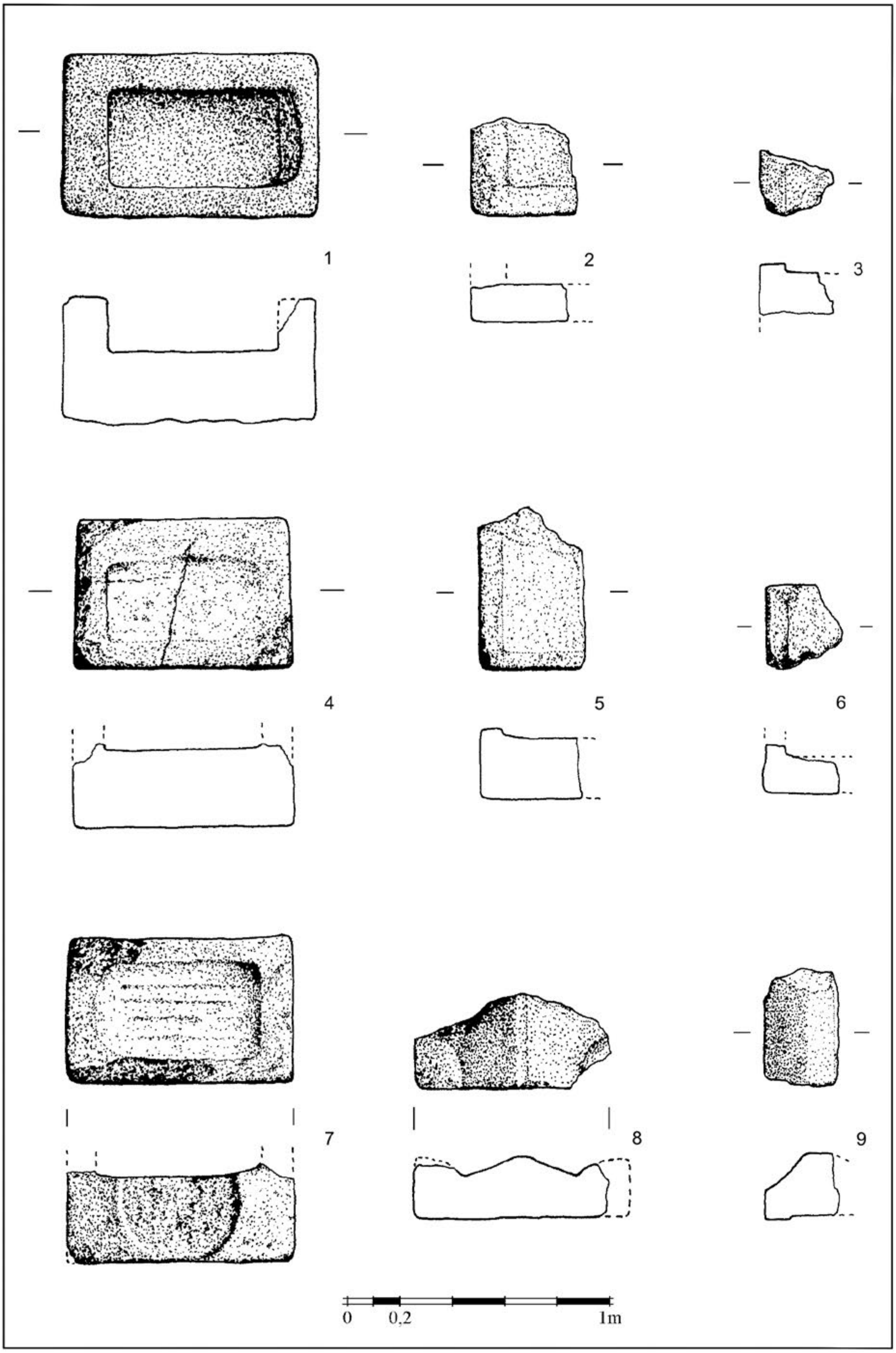

Tabla 4. Crteži antičkih kamenih urni (crtež: M. Perkić).

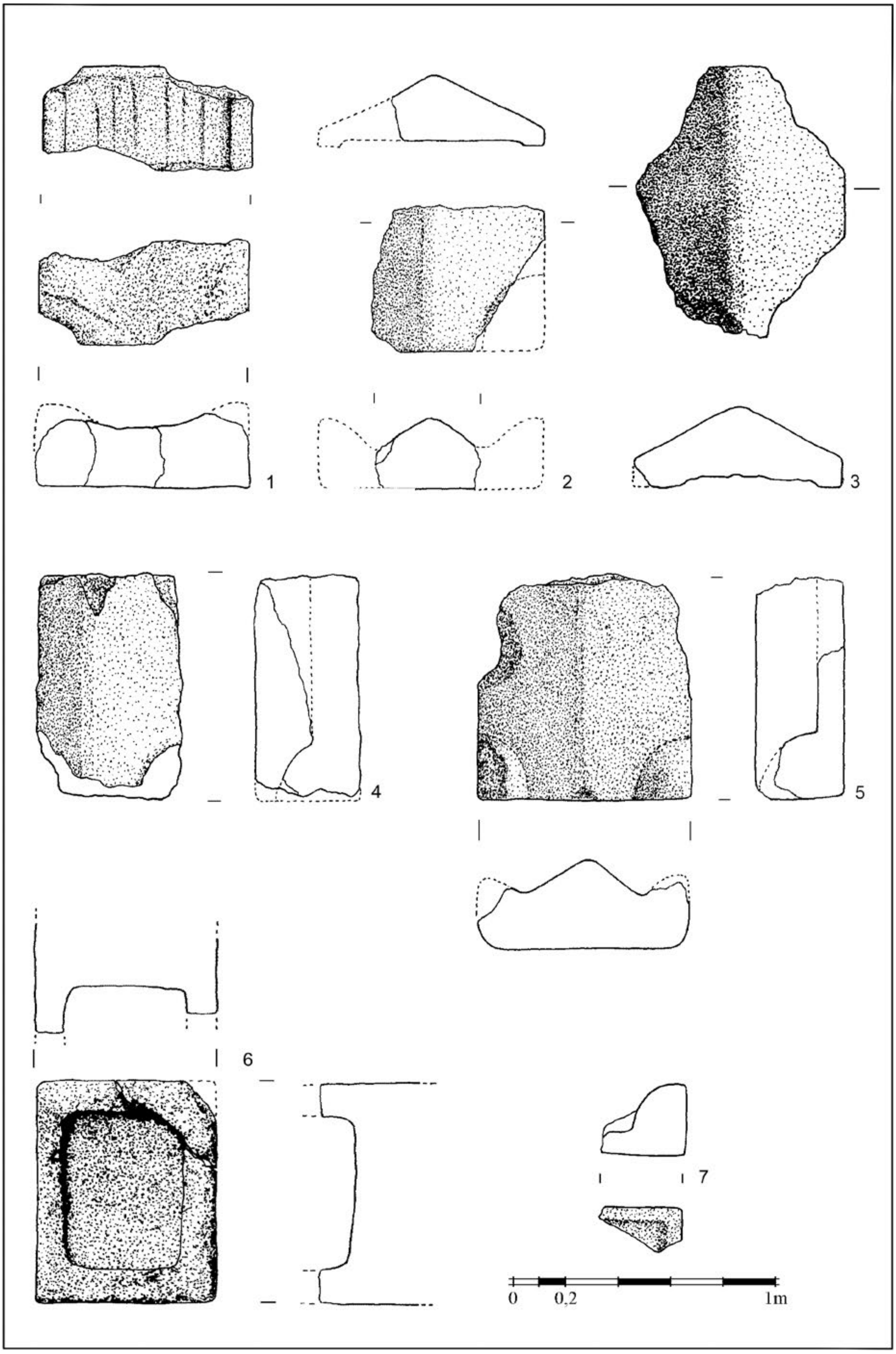

Tabla 5. Crteži antičkih kamenih urni (crtež: M. Perkić).

Neue Überlegungen zu einer Zwischengoldglasnuppe im Archäologischen Museum von Split

Renate Johanna PILLINGER, Wien

Die Verfasserin deutet die Darstellung auf der Zwischengoldglasnuppe mit Inv.-Nr. G1773 im Archäologischen Museum von Split als Tötung des Babylonischen Drachens durch Daniel.

Schlüsselwörter: *Split, Zwischengoldglasnuppe, Drachentötung durch Daniel*

Im Archäologischen Museum von Split sind zwei Zwischengoldglasnuppen ausgestellt[1].

Die eine mit Inv.-Nr. G1772 zeigt einen nackten liegenden Mann unter einer Laube, wohl den Propheten Jona wie etwa auch auf ähnlichen Vergleichsbeispielen u. a. im British Museum/London unter BM Reg. no. BEP OA 4310[2].

Die zweite Nuppe unter Inv.-Nr. G1773 (Abb. 1) stammt wahrscheinlich wie die erste aus Salona. Auf grünlichem Glas mit ca. 3 cm Durchmesser ist ein quadratischer Goldblattrahmen aufgebracht, in dessen Mitte ein langgekleideter Mann mit aufgerichtetem Stab zwischen einem schwer definierbarem Gebilde links und einer weiteren Struktur rechts steht.

N. Cambi[3] sieht in dieser Szene das Wasserwunder des Mose. Nach Vergleich mit dessen Darstellungen, z. B. auf einer Zwischengoldglasnuppe im Museo Sacro des Vatikan unter der Inv.-Nr. 60654 (Abb. 2)[4] kommen allerdings Zweifel an der Richtigkeit der Deutung auf. Vielmehr scheint es sich um die Tötung des Babylonischen Drachens durch Daniel zu handeln.

Abb. 1. Zwischengoldglasnuppe: Split, Archäologisches Museum, Inv.-Nr. G1773 (nach Marin 1994: 306, Nr. 20).

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1 Näheres zu ihnen in Marin 1994: 263, Nr. 18 und 19; sowie 306, Nr. 20.

2 Bei Howells 2015: 109, cat. no. 25 und Pl. 89.

3 Cambi 1974: 139–157, bes. 139–141, Kat. Nr. 1, 2 und Tab. 1, 2.

4 Bei Morey & Ferrari 1959: 31, Nr. 143.

Abb. 2. Zwischengoldglasnuppe: Museo Sacro des Vatikan, Inv.-Nr. 60654 (Foto: R. Pillinger).

Abb. 3. Zwischengoldglasnuppe: London, British Museum, BM Reg. no. BEP 1854, 0722.17 (nach Howells 2015: 107, Pl. 85).

Abb. 4. Zwischengoldglasnuppe: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Inv.-Nr. AN2007.18 (nach Howells 2015: 108, Pl. 87).

Sie ist kein kanonischer, sondern ein sog. apokrypher Paratext zum Buch Daniel. Dort heißt es im Kapitel 14 (in der Übersetzung nach der Septuaginta[5]): [23]*Und es gab eine Drachenschlange an demselben Ort, und die Babylonier verehrten sie.* [24]*Und der König sagte zu Daniel: Wirst du etwa auch von dieser sagen, dass sie aus Bronze ist? Siehe, sie lebt und isst und trinkt. Falle vor ihr nieder!* [25]*Und Daniel sagte: König, gib mir die Vollmacht, und ich werde die Drachenschlange ohne Eisen und Stock töten.* [26]*Und der König erlaubte es ihm und sagte: Sie ist dir gegeben.* [27]*Und Daniel nahm 30 Minen Pech und Fett und Haare, kochte (sie) zusammen, machte eine Matze und warf (sie) in das Maul der Drachenschlange. Und nachdem sie gegessen hatte, zerbarst sie.*

D. h. das undefinierbare Gebilde auf der Zwischengoldglasnuppe in Split stellt den Felsen dar, aus dem der Drache gerade herauskommt. Auf ihn ist auch die handelnde Person ausgerichtet. Üblicherweise reicht sie auf weiteren Vergleichsbeispielen etwa im British Museum/London unter BM Reg. no. BEP 1854, 0722.17 (Abb. 3)[6] und im Museo Sacro des Vatikan unter Inv.-Nr. 60672[7] einen kugelförmigen Gegenstand (aus Pech und Fett und Haaren, wie es in dem „apokryphen" Text[8] heißt).

Eine Nuppe im Ashmolean Museum/Oxford unter inv.-no. AN2007.18 (Abb. 4)[9] zeigt nur den Drachen.

Auch auf Sarkophagen, wird die Szene häufig dargestellt, so etwa im Museo Pio Cristiano unter Inv.-Nr. 31 473 (Abb. 5)[10], dort allerdings meist zusammen mit einem (oft umgestürzten) Altar, da das Bild

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5 Krause & Karrer 2009: 1464.

6 Bei Howells 2015: 106–107, cat. no. 22 und Pl. 85.

7 Morey & Ferrari 1959: 31–32, Nr. 150.

8 Dan. 14, 27: καὶ λαβὼν ὁ Δανιηλ πίσσης μνᾶς τριάκοντα καὶ στέαρ καὶ τρίχας ἥψησεν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐποίησε μάζαν καὶ ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὸ στόμα τοῦ δράκοντος, καὶ φαγὼν διερράγη.

9 Siehe Howells 2015: 108, Pl. 87.

10 Weitere Beispiele u. a. in Deichmann *et al.* 1967: Nr. 60, 146, 189, 555, 674, 694, 776, 804 und 954.

Abb. 5. Sarkophag im Museo Pio Cristiano des Vatikan, Inv.-Nr. 31473 (Detail) (Foto: R. Pillinger).

die Bekämpfung des Götzenkultes thematisiert. Stammen doch diese Sarkophage bereits alle aus der Friedenszeit. In der Katakombenmalerei gibt es die Tötung des Babylonischen Drachens durch Daniel nicht.

Häufig finden wir neben Daniel noch eine weitere Person, die wie auch bei anderen Szenen – z. B. der Erschaffung des Menschen oder der Arbeitszuweisung an Adam und Eva am sog. Dogmatischen Sarkophag im Museo Pio Cristiano des Vatikan[11] typologisch – als der Logos des zweiten (Neuen) Testaments interpretiert wird.

Die Goldglasnuppe in Split hat außerdem die Besonderheit, dass die handelnde Person auch einen Stab in der Rechten hält.

Abb. 6. Zwischengoldglasboden: London, British Museum, BM Reg. no. BEP 1863, 0727.1 (nach Spier 2007: 222, fig. 48).

Dazu gibt es ein passendes Vergleichsbeispiel im British Museum/London (Abb. 6)[12], wo auf einem Zwischengoldglasboden in einem doppelten quadratischen Rahmen aus kleinen Halbkreisen mit einem Dreieck an jeder Seitenmitte ein bartloser junger Mann mit kurzem Haar in kurzer gegürteter Ärmeltunika und Chlamys (Daniel) einem schlangenähnlichen Drachen, der rechts aus dem Felsen herauskommt, einen kugelförmigen Gegenstand entgegenhält. Links neben ihm steht noch eine weitere jugendliche Person in Tunika und Pallium mit Nimbus und aufgerichtetem Stab[13] in der Rechten.

Dabei handelt es sich wohl wie auf den oben besprochenen Sarkophagen um den Logos, womit die ganze Szene eine typologische Deutung erfährt und Daniel als Vorläufer Christi erscheint.

[11] Bei Engemann 1997: 63, Abb. 51.

[12] BM Reg. no. BEP 1863, 0727.1 bei Howells 2015: 107–108, cat. no. 23.

[13] Zu ihm siehe Tsamakda 2009: 25–46.

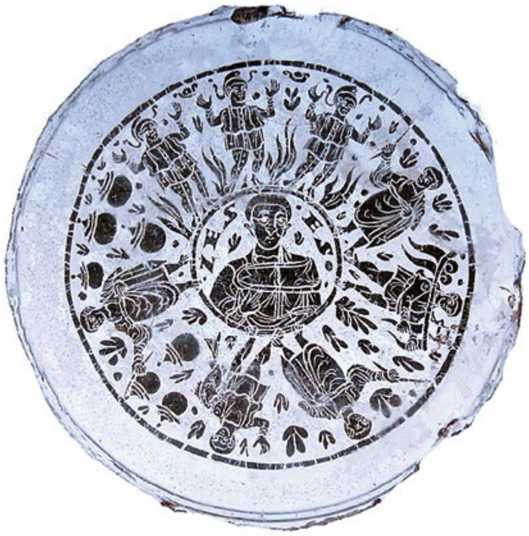

Abb. 7. Zwischengoldglasboden: New York, Metropolitan Museum, Inv.-Nr. 16.174.2 (Foto des Museums).

Abb. 8. Fragmente der St. Severinschale: London, British Museum, BM Reg. no. BEP 1881, 0624.1 (nach Howells 2015: 91, Pl. 57).

Auch auf Zwischengoldgläsern im Ashmolean Museum/Oxford[14] und im Metropolitan Museum/New York (Abb. 7)[15] steht Christus als Wundertätet mit Stab neben Szenen aus dem ersten (Alten) Testament wie Adam und Eva oder den drei Jünglingen im Feuerofen.

Verwendet wurden die kleinen Nuppen zur Dekoration größerer Gefäße, wie z. B. der St. Severinschale aus Köln heute im British Museum/London unter BM Reg. no. BEP 1881, 0624.1 (Abb. 8)[16]. Es handelt sich dabei um Nobelgeschirr, das sich nicht jedermann leisten konnte, obwohl die beiden Nuppen in Split vielleicht sogar aus lokaler Produktion stammen könnten, da die Qualität der römischen Vergleichsbeispiele nicht erreicht wird.

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[14] Unter AN2007.13 bei Howells 2015: 94, Pl. 64.

[15] Unter Inv.-Nr. 16.174.2 nach https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search etc. (Public Domain), eingesehen am 4. 9. 2018.

[16] Bei Howells 2015: 90–91, cat. 16–17 und Pl. 57.

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La *legio III Gallica* en Dacie*

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On s'occupe pour commencer d'une stèle fragmentaire en grès, originaire de Potaissa. Le défunt, un Iul(ius) Gell[ianus ?], est vétéran soit de la cohors III Gallorum de Dacie Inférieure, soit de la legio III Gallica stationnée en Syrie. La formule finale h(ic) s(itus) e(st) ne permet pas de dater la pièce très tard, de la fin du IIe ou du IIIe siècle. On a de la peine à trouver une explication pour la présence d'un vétéran de l'une de ces troupes à Potaissa au IIe siècle. Il est possible qu'il s'y soit établi pour une raison quelconque, après le licenciement, en Dacie, ou bien qu'il soit originaire de cette province et qu'il soit revenu ad Lares patrios.

De nombreuses tuiles de la legio III Gallica ont été trouvées dans les principia et aux portes du grand camp de Porolissum. En raison du contexte archéologique et du fait que les lettres sont imprimées, elles doivent être datées de la fin du IIe siècle ou du IIIe siècle. Ce qui est certain, c'est que la vexillation de la légion syriaque n'a pas été apportée à Porolissum spécialement pour fabriquer des tuiles. Elle aura tout simplement remplacé des troupes de Porolissum, qui allaient effectivement participer à la campagne contre Clodius Albinus de 196 – 197.

En fin de compte, on cherche des explications pour la présence d'unités de cette légion à Dimmidi en Maurétanie Césarienne et à Viminacium en Mésie Supérieure.

Mots-clé: *cohors III Gallorum, legio III Gallica, Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Clodius Albinus, Potaissa, Porolissum, Dimmidi, Viminacium.*

Une stèle fragmentaire de Potaissa

Dans le dépôt du musée de Turda se trouve depuis des décennies une stèle fragmentaire en grès, dont on ignore les conditions de découverte (fig. 1). Son origine de Potaissa est pourtant très probable. Il s'agit de trois fragments pas jointifs de la partie inférieure, se trouvant au-dessous du registre qui aura porté les figures des défunts. Deux fragments appartiennent à la partie gauche du registre inférieur, le troisième, plus petit, à la partie droite. Les deux premiers mesurent ensemble 167 x 64 x 20 cm, le troisième 62 x 26 x 20 cm. La surface semble avoir souffert à la suite d'un incendie. Le champ épigraphique est encadré de deux parts de pilastres avec de bords en relief et ornés de raisins, soutenus par des bases moulurées et terminés par de chapiteaux à peine esquissés. Le champ épigraphique était

* Le présent article a été réalisé grâce au projet CNCS – UEFISCDI, nº PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2016-0271 du Ministère Roumain de la Recherche et de l'Innovation.

Je remercie Mme Mariana Pîslaru, directrice de Musée d'Histoire de Turda, pour m'avoir permis de publier cette stèle.

Fig. 1 a-b. Stèle funéraire de Potaissa.

séparé du registre supérieur par un bord assez large. En bas, partiellement conservé est le pied de la stèle. Écriture d'assez bonne qualité; lettres: ligne 1: 10 cm; ligne 2–9: 6–8 cm; ligne 10: 12 cm; ligne 3: le T plus long; ligne 4: barre sur III; signes triangulaires de séparation. Sur le fragment de droite on distingue avec certitude un B et deux restes peu sûrs d'autres lettres.

La pièce peut être considérée une variante du type «Apulum»[1], avec les portraits des défunts au-dessus de la moulure, représentés dans un arc soutenu par les deux chapiteaux et pas dans un médaillon. En Dacie Porolissensis elle présente des traits communs avec la stèle «de Roemetalces» de Gherla[2], datée du IIe siècle. À la différence de toutes les stèles du type «Apulum», sur la nouvelle stèle de Potaissa les demi-colonnettes sont remplacées par des demi-pilastres.

Pour la lecture de l'inscription on est soutenu par les observations suivantes. À la ligne 2 le GE est suivi de deux hastes. La première appartient à un L et la seconde probablement à un second L, ce qui justifie la reconstitution du cognomen *Gell[ianus]*. Au début de la ligne 4 le numéral III est assuré par la barre mise au-dessus. Une division d'un numéral XIII en deux lignes, 3 et 4, et qui se rapporterait à la *legio XIII Gemina*, nous paraît peu probable. D'ailleurs, le G est suivi de la haste gauche d'un A, ce qui suggère la lecture *Ga[ll---]*. Une première possibilité serait *[coh(ortis)] | III Ga[llorum]* ou *Ga[ll(orum)]*, une seconde serait *[leg(ionis)] | Ga[llicae]* ou *Ga[llic(ae)]*, suivi par *[vixit]* ou *[vix(it)]*. La lacune entre *vet(eranus)* et *[coh(ortis)]* ou *[leg(ionis)]* pourrait être comblée par la charge que le militaire aura exercée dans cette unité, comme *[ex ....]*. Dans la ligne 5 se trouvait l'âge du défunt. La ligne 6 est irrécupérable, sauf, peut-être, pour la lettre finale, qui, si elle est un I, pourrait donner avec le début de la ligne 7 le mot *[f]i|lius*. Le nom grec le plus probable de la

1 Bianchi 1985: 59–66; voir encore Ciongradi 2007: 54–58, types VII et VIII.

2 Piso 2013: 45–46, nº 10, fig. 10 a–b = AE 2013, 1287.

ligne 8 est *Phil[ippus]*, porté, si nous avons bien lié les fragments, par le *[li]b(ertus)* du défunt. Les formules *b(ene) [m(erenti) p(osuerunt)]* dans la ligne 9 et *h(ic) [s(itus) e(st)]* dans la ligne 10 ne font pas de doute et, d'ailleurs, leurs succession est très fréquente. Voici le résultat de ces considérations (fig. 1b):

D(is) M(anibus)
Iul(ius) Geḷḷ[ianus ?]
vet(eranus) [ex .... coh(ortis) sive *leg(ionis)]*
III Ga[llorum] sive *[Gallicae vix(it)]*
an[nis ---]
IL(?) [--- f]ị-
lius(?) [---]
Phil[ippus li]b(ertus) ?
b(ene) [m(erenti) p(osuerunt)]
h(ic) [s(itus) e(st)].

Si nous avons bien vu, le vétéran porte le cognomen *Gellianus*[3], dérivé d'un nomen *Gellius*[4]. Le monument lui aura été érigé par des membres de sa famille et par un affranchi.

On commence par la constatation que les formules *h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*, *h(ic) s(ita) e(st)* et leur pluriel ne dépassent pas de beaucoup la moitié du IIe siècle[5].

La *cohors III Gallorum* était stationnée au IIe siècle en Dacie Inférieure, dans le camp de Hoghiz (Héviz)[6]. Aucun élément de cette unité ou des autres unités de Dacie inférieure n'a jamais été attesté dans la Dacie Supérieure ou dans la Dacie Porolissensis. Par conséquent la troupe de Potaissa n'est pas obligatoirement la *cohors III Gallorum*. Devrions nous supposer au cours du IIe siècle une action militaire qui aurait apporté une vexillation de la *legio III Gallica* de Syrie[7] dans la zone danubienne? On pourrait penser, par exemple, aux guerres marcomannes, mais notre cas ne semble avoir un rapport avec une pareille situation. Le défunt n'avait pas été de passage en Dacie, car le monument lui a été érigé avec grand soin par les membres de sa famille, ce qui suppose une situation stable et permanente. Surtout, il était vétéran et pas militaire actif. On connaît aussi en Italie et en Narbonnaise des inscriptions funéraires d'anciens militaires de la *legio III Gallica*, sans aucun rapport avec des actions guerrières[8]. Ces gens ont tout simplement décédé dans leurs communatés. Pour l'inscription de Potaissa la solution la plus simple est de considérer que Iulius Gellianus se soit établi pour une raison quelconque, après le licenciement de l'une des deux troupes en Dacie Porolissensis, ou bien qu'il soit originaire de cette province et qu'il soit revenu ad *Lares patrios*[9]. En tenant compte d'une part de la formule *h(ic) [s(itus) e(st)]*, d'autre part du fait que le *praenomen* manque, la stèle devrait être datée de la seconde moitié du IIe siècle, mais peut-être d'avant sa fin.

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3 Voir Schulze 1933: 424; Solin & Salomies 1988: 338; Lőrincz 1999: 162–163.

4 Voir Solin & Salomies 1988: 86; Lőrincz 1999: 162.

5 Voir aussi Bianchi 1985: 61: „tende a sparire dopo la prima metà del II secolo".

6 Voir pour cette troupe Strobel 1984: 130; Spaul 2000: 161–162; Petolescu 2002: 106–107; pour le camp de Hoghiz voir Marcu 2009: 203–207.

7 Voir pour cette légion en premier lieu Ritterling 1925: 1517–1532, et Dąbrowa 2000: 309–315.

8 AE 1945, 79 = EpRomCan I 33 (Canusium): *C(aio) Aemilio C(ai) f(ilio) | Trachalo veter(ano) | leg(ionis) III Gallicae et / Aemiliis Frontoni et /[5] Miccioni et Ca[---|---]lae fili(i)s et coniug[i] | Gaia Miccia fec(it)*; AE 1993, 536 (Luceria): *D(is) M(anibus) | C(aio) Pompeio | Mac[ro] | vet(erano) leg(ionis) III Gall(icae) | Caicilia | Marcia uxor | p(osuit)*; CIL XII 2230 = ILS 2313 = ILN 5/2, 369 (Grenoble): *D(is) M(anibus) | T(iti) Camul(ii) L(ucii) f(ilii) Laveni | emeriti leg(ionis) III Gallic(ae) | honesta missione do|nat(i) ab Imper(atore) Antonino | Aug(usto) Pio et ex voluntate | Imp(eratoris) Hadriani Aug(usti) tor|quibus et armillis aure|is suffragio legionis | honorati Camulia soror | eius et Par{t}egoria [p]ro[pt]e[r] | merita eius patrono op|timo et piissimo*.

9 À Apulum est connue une *Gellia Vita[lis ?]*, AE 1996, 1278 = IDR III/5, 534.

De nouveau sur les estampilles de la legio III Gallica *de Porolissum*

Les estampilles *L(egionis) III G(allicae)* (fig. 2)[10] sont un des plus controversés thèmes de l'histoire militaire de Dacie. On n'en connaît qu'un seul type, aux dimensions de 3 x 9,5 cm ; lettres imprimées de 2,7 cm. Tous les exemplaires que nous connaissons sont imprimés sur des tuiles[11]. Selon E. Tóth, elles auraient été trouvées pour la plupart dans la zone des *principia* du camp de Pomet[12], mais N. Gudea signale des exemplaires aussi aux portes du camp, trouvés avec des estampilles de la *legio VII Gemina*[14] et de la *cohors III*[13]. Ces trois troupes ont évidemment participé à des réparations importantes dans le camp, mais est-ce que des troupes légionnaires ont été apportées des extrémités de l'empire avec le seul but de servir comme main de travail sur la frontière nord de Dacie?

N. Gudea supposa qu'une vexillation de la *legio III Gallica* aurait été envoyée comme punition jusqu'à Porolissum pour avoir soutenu la cause de Pescennius Niger[15]. Cela ne convainc pas. En 194/195, lors de la campagne contre Pescennius Niger, on a divisé la Syrie en deux provinces: Syria Coele, province consulaire avec deux légions, et Syria Phoenice, province de rang prétorien avec une seule légion. Le premier gouverneur de cette seconde province a été Ti. Manilius Fuscus, celui qui avait participé à cette guerre à la tête de vexillations légionnaires daciques[16]. Or, il est déraisonnable de croire qu'à la constitution d'une province le gouverneur, qui était le commandant en chef des troupes, aurait été privé justement de la légion. S'imagine-t-on, d'autre part, qu'un seul détachement de la légion aurait été puni, celui envoyé à Porolissum? N'oublions pas que Septime Sévère avait l'intention de résoudre dans un prochain avenir le conflit avec les Parthes. Il ne pouvait donc pas se dispenser d'une légion, qui avait la mission d'assurer la défense d'un espace immense qui s'étendait jusqu'au moyen Euphrate. Et pourquoi le faire ? Pour que ces légionnaires fabriquent des tuiles à Porolissum ?

Selon tous les indices, la *legio III Gallica* resta non seulement dans son ancien territoire, mais aussi dans son ancien camp de Raphaneae[17]. Cependant, elle aura dû contribuer bientôt à l'effort de guerre contre Clodius Albinus. Une vexillation provenant d'une seule légion pouvait atteindre le chiffre de 2000

Fig. 2. Estampille de la legio III Gallica*.*

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[10] Daicoviciu 1953: 267; Tóth 1978: 45–46, 57, nº 76, p. 67; AE 1979, 501 a; Gudea 1978: 66, 69 III, nº 2, pl. IV, fig. 2; Gudea 1989: 975, nºs 1–3; Gudea 2002a: 48–51, 54, fig. 1/2; Gudea 1997a: nº 25/5–6; Gudea 1997b: 113, fig. 24; Gudea 2002b: 23, fig. 2/1, 3; Piso 2000: 206–208; ILD I, 732; IDR App. I, nºs I/1–20.

[11] IDR App. I, p. 11; cf. Tóth 1978: 67, selon lequel la plupart aurait été imprimée sur des briques; il a eu tort.

[12] Tóth 1978: 67.

[13] Pour les estampilles de la légion hispanique voir IDR App. I, nº VIII/1–66; IDR App. II, nº LX/1–4.

[14] Gudea 1978: 66; pour les estampilles de la *cohors III Campestris* voir IDR App. I, nºs XXX/1–219, XXXI/1–29, XXXII/1–292, XXXIII/17, XXXIV/116; IDR App. II, nºs CXXI/1–10, CXXII/1–5, CXXIII/1–2, CXXIV.

[15] Gudea 1989: 159.

[16] Voir Eck 1974: 273–274, nº 25; L. Petersen, PIR², M 137; Piso 1993: 246.

[17] Ritterling 1925: 1525–1526; Eadie 1996: 138.

militaires[18]. C'est à cette occasion qu'une vexillation de la *legio III Gallica* aura été envoyée à Porolissum, non pas spécialement pour fabriquer des tuiles, mais pour remplacer des troupes de Porolissum, qui allaient effectivement participer à la campagne contre Clodius Albinus[19]. La mesure était doublement avantageuse: d'une part on tenait loin du conflit civil une légion qui avait déjà soutenu un rival de Septime Sévère; d'autre part, aussi bien les troupes qui venaient d'Orient que celles qui partaient contre Clodius Albinus ne devaient parcourir que la mi-distance; c'est ce que les collègues britanniques appelaient à propos des troupes auxiliaires „knock-on effect"[20]. Comme il était indiqué de donner une occupation à ces légionnaires, peut-être pas très heureux à la suite des derniers événements, on les a mis à faire des tuiles et à reconstruire le camp.

En principe, les lettres imprimées indiquent une datation assez tardive des estampilles[21]. Pourquoi pas plus tardive que les règnes de Septime Sévère et Caracalla ? Parce que toutes les dates archéologiques et épigraphiques mènent à la conclusion que la majeure partie des réparations et transformations dans le camp de Pomet a eu lieu justement sous ces deux règnes, spécialement sous le second[22].

Appendix *: la* legio III Gallica *à Dimmidi et à Viminacium*

Une vexillation de la *legio III Gallica* exécutait en 198 des ouvrages dans le castellum Dimmidi en Maurétanie Césarienne, auprès d'une vexillation de la *legio III Augusta* de Numidie et de l'*ala I Pannoniorum*[23]. Responsable (*curante*) et par conséquent commandant des soldats des trois détachements était le *praefectus alae*. Dans ce cas les effectifs des deux vexillations légionnaires ne pouvaient pas être supérieurs à ceux d'une *ala quingenaria*, ce qui est un possible indice aussi pour la vexillation légionnaire de Porolissum. R. Saxer était d'avis que les soldats de la *legio III Gallica* étaient nécessaires à Dimmidi en tant que spécialistes dans la guerre du désert et dans l'organisation du limes dans les conditions de désert[24]. On reste un peu perplexe. La *legio III Augusta* ne se trouvait elle aussi au bord du désert ? Fallait-il apporter des légionnaires d'une distance de plusieurs milliers de kilomètres afin de leur enseigner comment se battre en désert et comment faire des fossés dans le sable ? Il est difficile à expliquer pourquoi on les y a envoyés. Peut-être ont-ils dû remplacer, tout comme en Dacie, des troupes parties contre Clodius Albinus et y sont restés jusqu'après la guerre parthique de 198 – 199[25].

Un dernier mot sera dit sur une inscription largement discutée de Viminacium[26] : *Valeriae Hilarae | M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Timon (centurio) | leg(ionis) III Gall(icae) S(everianae) A(lexandrianae) con|iugi piissim(a)e pos(uit)*. On y a voulu voir un centurion de la *legio III Gallica*, qui, après la fin de la guerre contre les Perses, se dirigeait avec son unité vers le front germanique, mais qui pendant ce voyage a perdu son épouse[27]. Il me semble peu vraisemblable que les épouses des militaires aient accompagné ceux-ci d'un bout de l'empire à l'autre pour atteindre le front. On a du mal à s'imaginer des troupes légionnaires se dirigeant en marche forcée de milliers de kilomètres vers le front, étant accompagnées par leurs femmes, par leurs enfants, par leurs serviteurs et par leurs hardes. Les choses pourraient s'être passées comme dans le cas de la vexillation envoyée à Porolissum. On aura remplacé à Viminacium des contingents de la *legio VII Claudia*, qui étaient partis avec des forces fraîches vers le Rhin, dans une expédition qui pouvait

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18 Voir Saxer 1967: 118–119, sur la base des sources littéraires; Piso 1977: 175. Deux inscriptions impériales de Potaissa ont parfaitement confirmé cette hypothèse: chez Piso 2015: 81–88 = AE 2015, 1206–1207. Exactement un tiers des effectifs de la *legio V Macedonica* de Potaissa a été envoyé dans l'expédition parthique de Caracalla.

19 Piso 2000: 207–208. Mon opinion fut violemment attaquée par Gudea 2002a: 48–51.

20 Voir la discussion chez Piso 1993: 87–88.

21 Voir IDR App. I, p. 8.

22 Marcu 2009: 89–92.

23 CIL VIII 8796 = 18021 = Picard 1947: nº 14 = AE 1948, 216; CIL VIII 8797 b = Picard 1947: nº 13 = AE 1948, 215; Picard 1947: nº 16 = AE 1948, 218; Picard 1947: nº 12 = AE 1948, 214; voir aussi Le Bohec 1989: 177, n. 223, p. 393, n. 229.

24 Saxer 1967: 106; cf. Birley 1999: 147–148.

25 Voir pour ces événements Birley 1999: 129–135.

26 AE 1905, 157 = IMS II 85 (Viminacium).

27 Ritterling 1925: 1527–1528; M. Mirković, ad IMS II 85; Dąbrowa 2000: 311–312.

durer des années. Ainsi on comprendrait mieux comment Valeria Hilara a pu accompagner son époux ou le rattraper à Viminacium[28].

Abréviations

AE	L'Année Épigraphique, Paris.
AMP	Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău.
EpRomCan I	M. Chelotti, R. Gaeta, V. Motizio & M. Silvestrini, Le epigrafi romane di Canosa I, Bari, 1985.
IDR	Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae, Bucureşti, Paris.
IDR, App. I	I. Piso & D. Deac, Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Appendix I. Inscriptiones laterum Musei Zilahensis, Cluj-Napoca, 2016.
IDR, App. II	I. Piso & F. Marcu, Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Appendix I. Inscriptiones laterum Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca, 2016.
ILD I	C. C. Petolescu, Inscripţii latine din Dacia, Bucureşti, 2005.
ILN	Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise, Paris.
ILS	H. Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae selectae Berlin, I 1892, II 1902, III 1916.
IMS	Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure, Beograd.
PIR^2	Prosopographia Imperii Romani. Saec. I, II, III^2 , Berlin.
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Zu den Porträtnischen in Noricum

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In dem vorliegenden Beitrag wird ein Überblick über die aus der Provinz Noricum erhaltenen Porträtnischen gegeben, deren Anbringung an antiken Grabbauten bis heute nicht ganz geklärt ist. Es wird versucht, Zusammenhänge zwischen der Zahl der dargestellten Personen und den Maßen der Porträtnischen herzustellen. Weiters werden die verschiedenen Kompositionen aus Einzelfiguren, Paaren, Dreifigurenreliefs, zwei Paaren sowie Porträtnischen mit vier und mehr Personen zusammengestellt. Die Behandlung der Inschriften zeigt, dass wir es meistens mit römischen Bürgern zu tun haben, aber nur in zwei Fällen mit Legionsveteranen und in keinem erhaltenen Fall mit Magistraten des betreffenden Municipiums. Schließlich erlaubt die Bekleidung der Männer mit der sog. Vorform der toga contabulata, der tunica manicata und dem sagum bzw. die Bewaffnung mit einem Schwert chronologische Rückschlüsse.

Schlüsselwörter: *Porträtnischen, Anbringung der Porträtnischen, Maße der Porträtnischen, Zahl der dargestellten Personen, Inschriften auf Porträtnischen, Kleidung der Männer auf Porträtnischen*

Die Porträtnischen gehören in der Provinz Noricum zu den am weitesten verbreiteten Steindenkmälern. Allerdings ist die Verteilung auf die Territorien der einzelnen *municipia* von Noricum recht unterschiedlich, was sich dank der Erfassung der entsprechenden Denkmäler in den Bänden des CSIR Österreich[1] und in der Bilddatenbank zu antiken Steindenkmälern von F. und O. Harl (www.ubi-erat-lupa.org) gut zeigen lässt. Dabei muss berücksichtigt werden, dass die Abgrenzung zwischen Porträtstelen und Porträtnischen nicht immer klar ist. So hat der Autor selbst in einem Beitrag zu den Porträtstelen in Noricum (Pochmarski 2006: 89–114) eine Reihe von Denkmälern als Porträtstelen angesehen, die er heute eher als Porträtnischen bezeichnen würde[2]. Das wirkt sich auch auf den Band des CSIR Österreich zu den Grabstelen und Grabaltären von Flavia Solva aus[3].

Nach dem derzeitigen Stand der Forschung sind uns aus der Provinz Noricum insgesamt 141 Porträtnischen erhalten, die sich folgendermaßen auf die Gebiete der einzelnen *municipia* verteilen: Virunum

1 CSIR II 2: 37–46; CSIR III 1: 36–38; CSIR III 2: 39–48; CSIR I 6: 31–47; CSIR III 3: 46–53; CSIR II 6: 35–44; CSIR IV 2: 59–119; CSIR IV 3: 61–82.

2 Virunum: Lupa 867. 868. 869. 875. 876. 886. – Flavia Solva: Lupa 1223. 1229. 1230. 1238. 1403. 1453. – Celeia: Lupa 3602. 3611. 3616. – Teurnia: – Iuvavum: – Lauriacum: Lupa 479. – Ovilava: Lupa 584. 586. – Aelium Cetium: Lupa 354.

3 CSIR IV 3: eher Porträtnischen: Lupa 1223. 1229. 1230. 1317. 4918. 1238. 1453. 8364.

20 Exemplare[4], Flavia Solva 78 Exemplare[5], Celeia 11 Exemplare[6], Teurnia zwei Exemplare[7], Aelium Cetium ein Exemplar[8], Lauriacum 19 Exemplare[9], Ovilava acht Exemplare[10] sowie Iuvavum zwei Exemplare[11]. An dieser Übersicht muss besonders die große Zahl von Porträtnischen aus dem Territorium von Flavia Solva auffallen, die mehr als die Hälfte (55,3 %) der insgesamt erhaltenen Porträtnischen ausmachen. Damit übertrifft die Zahl der Porträtnischen aus Noricum sogar etwas die Zahl der Porträtstelen, die 121 erhaltene Exemplare beträgt (Pochmarski 2006, 90–95).

Angesichts dieser großen Anzahl von Porträtnischen stellt sich natürlich sogleich die Frage nach ihrer Anbringung an Grabmonumenten. Leider ist die Beantwortung dieser Frage schwierig und bisher kaum angegangen worden. So ist in diesem Zusammenhang die Arbeit von G. Kremer zu den antiken Grabbauten in Noricum, von der man sich Aufschlüsse erwarten würde, nicht sehr hilfreich. Es finden sich bei ihr unter dem Titel „Aediculatypus (A), Aedicula unbestimmbar (A.5)“ immerhin fünfzehn Porträtreliefs[12], d.h. Porträtnischen. Nach ihrer Auffassung stammen die Porträtnischen am ehesten von einer Aedicula mit Relieffront. In vier Fällen spricht G. Kremer unter „Aedicula ‘distyl in antis’ bzw. mit Reliefnische (A.2)“ von der Rückwand einer Aedicula mit Reliefnische, allerdings mit Fragezeichen[13]. Darüber hinaus finden sich

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4 Virunum: Lupa 867 (CSIR II 2 Nr. 143). Lupa 868 (CSIR II 2 Nr. 144). Lupa 869 (CSIR II 2 Nr. 145). Lupa 872 (CSIR II 2 Nr. 148). Lupa 874 (CSIR II 2 Nr. 150). Lupa 875 (CSIR II Nr. 151). Lupa 876 (CSIR II 2 Nr. 152). Lupa 877 (CSIR II 2 Nr. 153). Lupa 878 (CSIR II 2 Nr. 154). Lupa 879 (CSIR II 2 Nr. 155). Lupa 880 (CSIR II 2 Nr. 156). Lupa 881 (CSIR II 2 Nr. 157). Lupa 882 (CSIR II 2 Nr. 158). Lupa 883 (CSIR II 2 Nr. 159).Lupa 884 (CSIR II 2 Nr. 160). Lupa 885 (CSIR II 2 Nr. 161). Lupa 886. (CSIR II 2 Nr. 162). Lupa 891 (CSIR II 2 Nr. 167). Lupa 1550 (CSIR II 5 Nr. 640). Lupa 2139 (CSIR II 5 Nr. 639). Lupa 2433 (CSIR II 5 Nr. 642).

5 Flavia Solva: Lupa 327 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 62). Lupa 1067 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 30). Lupa 1151 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 33). Lupa 1152 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 43). Lupa 1159 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 57). Lupa 1202 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 59). Lupa 1203 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 23). Lupa 1212 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 36). Lupa 1214 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 88). Lupa 1219 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 42). Lupa 1222 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 69). Lupa 1223 (CSIR IV 3 Nr. 5). Lupa 1229 (CSIR IV 3 Nr. 21). Lupa 1230 (CSIR IV 3 Nr. 17). Lupa 1238 (CSIR IV 3 Nr. 15). Lupa 1240 (CSIR II 2 Nr. 32). Lupa 1271 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 37). Lupa 1291 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 31). Lupa 1317 (CSIR IV 3 Nr. 20). Lupa 1318 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 99). Lupa 1319 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 38). Lupa 1320 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 40). Lupa 1328 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 28). Lupa 1332 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 39). Lupa 1333 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 49). Lupa 1335 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 29). Lupa 1336 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 34). Lupa 1337 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 35). Lupa 1338 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 78). Lupa 1339 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 100). Lupa 1340 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 50). Lupa 1341 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 22). Lupa 1355 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 83). Lupa 1394 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 96). Lupa 1402 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 76). Lupa 1403 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 66). Lupa 1414 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 84). Lupa 1415 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 67). Lupa 1421 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 92). Lupa 1424 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 73). Lupa 1425 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 45). Lupa 1440 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 79). Lupa 1452 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 60). Lupa 1453 (CSIR IV 3 Nr. 6). Lupa 1499 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 55). Lupa 1460 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 68). Lupa 1464 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 26). Lupa 1465 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 24). Lupa 1486 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 47). Lupa 1487 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 46). Lupa 1489 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 48). Lupa 1492 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 77). Lupa 1499 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 55). Lupa 1606 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 53). Lupa 1611 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 74). Lupa 1623 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 63). Lupa 1624 (CSIR IV 2 Nr.64). Lupa 1625 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 81). Lupa 1626 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 80). Lupa 1719 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 54). Lupa 1757 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 101). Lupa 4380 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 87). Lupa 4600 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 56). Lupa 4628 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 27). Lupa 4629 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 61). Lupa 4643 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 82). Lupa 4777 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 75). Lupa 4825 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 72). Lupa 4918 (CSIR IV 3 Nr. 19). Lupa 6649 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 85). Lupa 6650 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 86). Lupa 7261 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 65). Lupa 8364 (CSIR IV 3 Nr. 8). Lupa 8510 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 71). Lupa 8511 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 70). Lupa 8715 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 44). Lupa 8726 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 58). Lupa 9083 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 52).

6 Celeia: Lupa 3599. 3602. 3611. 3616. 3619. 4397. 4685. 5301. 6154. 13333. 13343.

7 Teurnia: Lupa 3627 (CSIR II 6 Nr. 13). Lupa 3628 (CSIR II 6 Nr. 14)

8 Aelium Cetium: Lupa 354 (CSIR I 6 Nr. 22).

9 Lauriacum: Lupa 479 (CSIR III 2 Nr. 98). Lupa 487 (CSIR III 2 Nr. 43). Lupa 488 (CSIR III 2 Nr. 44). Lupa 485 (CSIR III 2 Nr. 40). Lupa 489 (CSIR III 2 Nr. 45). Lupa 490 (CSIR III 2 Nr. 46). Lupa 491 (CSIR III 2 Nr. 47). Lupa 492 (CSIR III 2 Nr. 48). Lupa 493 (CSIR III 2 Nr. 49). Lupa 494 (CSIR III 2 Nr. 50). Lupa 495 (CSIR III 2 Nr. 51). Lupa 496 (CSIR III 2 Nr. 52). Lupa 497 (CSIR III 2 Nr. 53). Lupa 498 (CSIR III 2 Nr. 54). Lupa 499 (CSIR III 2 Nr. 59). Lupa 501 (CSIR III 2 Nr. 61). Lupa 534 (CSIR III 2 Nr. 97). Lupa 4613 (CSIR III 2 Nr. 99). Kronstorf (Pochmarski 2018a und 2018b).

10 Ovilava: Lupa 583 (CSIR III 3 Nr. 59). Lupa 584 (CSIR III 3 Nr. 60). Lupa 585 (CSIR III 3 Nr. 61). Lupa 586 (CSIR III 3 Nr. 62). Lupa 587 (CSIR III 3 Nr. 63). Lupa 588 (CSIR III 3 Nr. 64).Lupa 590 (CSIR III 3 Nr. 65). Lupa 591 (CSIR III 3 Nr. 66).

11 Iuvavum: Lupa 301 (CSIR III 1 Nr. 63). Lupa 302 (CSIR III 1 Nr. 64).

12 Kremer 2001: 123–126: Nr. I 78 (Lupa 879). I 79 (Lupa 1219). I 80a (Lupa 2139). I 81 (Lupa 1151). I 82 (Lupa 878). I 83 (Lupa 880). I 84 (Lupa 1271). I 85 (Lupa 6154). I 86 (Lupa 492). I 87 (Lupa 496). I 88 (Lupa 4613). I 89 (Lupa 489). I 90 (Lupa 491). I 91 (Lupa 1159). I 92 (Lupa 1202).

13 Kremer 2001: 81–83: I 24 (Lupa 495). I 25 (Lupa 490). I 26 (Lupa 877). I 27 (Lupa 485).

bei ihr unter dem Titel „Gemauerter Grabbau, Tumulus oder Umfassungsmauer (E.2)“ ganze zwei Stücke[14]. Es bleiben aber, selbst wenn man die 21 Zuweisungen von G. Kremer für gegeben erachtet, noch 120 Porträtnischen, für die keinerlei Vorschlag zur ursprünglichen Verwendung vorliegt.

Der Ausgangspunkt für die Überlegungen zur Anbringung von Porträtnischen an Grabbauten sind sicher zwei der von den Ausgräbern wieder errichteten vier Grabbauten in Šempeter (St. Peter im Sanntal), nämlich das Enniermonument und der Grabbau des Spectatius Prisci(a)nus (Vgl. Klemenc *et al*. 1972; Kremer 2001: 27–34; 48–52). Allerdings gelten bezüglich des Enniergrabmals nach wie vor die vom Autor geltend gemachten Einwände gegen die Zugehörigkeit der Aedicularückwand aus Gründen des Stils, der Konstruktion und der Architekturornamentik (Pochmarski 1997: 202–204; vgl. Kremer 2001: 31–32 Abb. 7). Besser sieht es mit der Zugehörigkeit der Porträtnische zum Grabbau des Spectatius Prisci(a)nus aus, bei dem es sich um eine Aedicula mit Relieffront handelt (Kremer 2001: 105–108; 330–332): hier waren an der Front des Grabmals untereinander eine dreifigurige Porträtnische und eine von Säulen gerahmte Inschriftplatte angebracht. Im Zusammenhang damit hat der Autor in letzter Zeit versucht, zwei in Kronstorf (Oberösterreich) im Territorium von Lauriacum gefundene, für ein spätantikes Grab wiederverwendete Reliefs auf eine Aedicula mit Relieffront nach dem Vorbild des Grabbaues des Spectatius Prisci(a)nus in Šempeter zu beziehen (Pochmarski 2018a: 321–334 Abb. 1–9; 2018b: 141–154 Abb. 1–9), wobei das Relief mit der ganzfigurigen Darstellung eines Soldaten versuchsweise an einer der Nebenseiten angenommen wurde.

In jüngster Zeit hat F. Harl von einem massenhaften Einsetzen der Grabaediculen in Noricum im späteren 2. Jh. n. Chr., d. h. nach den Markomannkriegen gesprochen (Harl 2016: 21–22). Eines der beiden von ihr zitierten Porträtreliefs, die nach dem Beispiel des Volumniergrabes in Padua (Lupa 14660–14667) an der Rückseite bzw. den Seitenwangen eines Grabaedicula angebracht gewesen wären, ist wohl eher eine Grabstele[15]; das zweite Porträtrelief ist zwar mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit eine Porträtnische, erlaubt aber keine weiteren Aussagen[16]. Ähnliches gilt auch für das Grabrelief der Optima, das von F. Harl in diesem Zusammenhang genannt wird, das aber aus der Pannonia superior stammt[17].

In diesem Zusammenhang erweist es sich als notwendig, einen Blick nach Rom auf die sog. Kastengrabreliefs, d.h. Reliefplatten mit den Halbfiguren von Männern und Frauen zu machen (Vgl. Zanker 1975: 267–315; Kockel 1993). Während sich V. Kockel in seiner Arbeit zu den Porträtreliefs stadtrömischer Grabbauten ganz auf Rom und die spätrepublikanische bis frühaugusteische Zeit beschränkte (Kockel 1993: 6), hat P. Zanker immerhin darauf hingewiesen, dass sich die Gattung im Rom der späten Republik entwickelte, sich aber von der Hauptstadt aus auch auf die *municipia* und *coloniae* Italiens und der westlichen Provinzen ausbreitete, wobei von ihm Reliefs aus den Städten Mittel- und Süditaliens lediglich zu Vergleichen herangezogen wurden (Zanker 1975: 269; vgl. Frenz 1977). Zeitlich gesehen lässt P. Zanker die Reihe der 125 Reliefs aus Rom – zahlenmäßig gut mit den Porträtnischen aus Noricum vergleichbar – mit dem 2. Viertel des 1. Jhs. v. Chr. beginnen. Nach einer Blüte zur Zeit des 2. Triumvirats und der ersten Hälfte der Regierungszeit des Augustus nehme die Zahl der Reliefs stark ab, es gebe jedoch eine Wiederaufleben dieser Reliefgattung in der spätflavisch-trajanischen und in der antoninischen Zeit (Zanker 1975: 270–271), was sich wieder gut mit den Porträtnischen aus Noricum vergleichen lässt. Ähnlich wie in Noricum werden die Eltern nicht nur mit ihren kleineren Kindern, sondern auch mit den erwachsenen Söhnen und Töchtern und deren Ehegatten oder anderen Verwandten zusammengestellt (Zanker 1975: 294). Ein besonderes Kennzeichen ist die korrekte Bürgerkleidung der Dargestellten (Zanker 1975: 300–301), wobei es sich in Rom ja um die Grabreliefs von Freigelassenen handelt, in Noricum aber großteils um die römischer Bürger. Lediglich Soldaten ließen sich nicht in der Toga darstellen (Zanker 1975: 303–304), sondern in Uniform, was auch wieder in Noricum eine Rolle spielt.

Leider besitzen wir auch für Rom kaum eine Vorstellung von der Anbringung der Reliefs, da nur drei Reliefs in situ gefunden wurden, die Reliefs von dem Doppelgrab an der Via Statilia in Rom und das im Museo

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[14] Kremer 2001: 160–161: Nr. I 182 (Lupa 1152) und Nr. I 183 (Lupa 872).

[15] Grabstele der Vettia Prima / Magdalensberg, Lap. Nr. 27: Lupa 889 (CSIR II 5 Nr. 634).

[16] Porträtnische des Sacretius Finitus / Hartberg, Stadtmuseum: Lupa 1464 (CSIR IV 2 Nr. 26).

[17] Porträtnische der Optima / Friedberg, Kirche: Lupa 1457.

Nazionale Romano teilweise rekonstruierte Grab der Fonteier[18]. Jedenfalls dürfte es sich um Grabbauten gehandelt haben, in deren Fassaden die Reliefblöcke eingelassen waren, die stets den Umriss eines Quaders bewahrten. d.h. sie gehörten zu einem Mauerverband aus Quadermauerwerk (Kockel 1993: 8). Das dürfte auch für die Porträtreliefs aus Noricum gelten, die wohl im Regelfall in einem Quadermauerwerk angebracht waren und nur selten an einem gemauerten Grabbau[19].

In diesem Zusammenhang sind natürlich auch die Maße der in Noricum erhalten gebliebenen Porträtnischen von Bedeutung. Dabei kann festgestellt werden, dass deren Breitenmaße von 0,30 – 1,80 m reichen, die Tiefenmaße von 0,05 – 0,40 m, wobei allerdings rund die Hälfte der erhaltenen Porträtnischen eingemauert sind, so dass nur für 68 Exemplare eine Angabe zur Tiefe gemacht werden kann. Die Breite von 0,30 – 0,45 m wird für Porträtnischen mit einer Person[20] verwendet, die Breite von 0,49 – 0,75 m vor allem für Porträtnischen mit zwei Personen[21], seltener auch mit einer Person[22] bzw. drei oder mehr Personen[23]. Die Breite von 0,76 – 1,00 m findet sich für Porträtnischen mit zwei Personen[24], drei Personen[25], seltener mehr als drei Personen[26] und in einem Ausnahmefall mit einer Person[27]. Für die Breite 1,01 – 1,49 haben sich Beispiele für zwei Personen[28], drei Personen[29] sowie vier und mehr Personen[30] erhalten. Eine Breite von 1,54 – 1,80 m wird schließlich nur in wenigen Fällen erreicht, wobei zwei Personen[31], drei Personen[32] und jeweils einmal vier[33] bzw. sechs Personen[34] wiedergegeben sind.

Auch hinsichtlich der erhaltenen Tiefenabmessungen lassen sich keine allzu weitreichenden Schlüsse ziehen. An vier Exemplaren[35] mit jeweils einer dargestellten Person lässt sich eine Tiefe zwischen nur 0,053

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18 Kockel 1993: 7; 83–85 Nr. A 1: Taf. 1a. 2b. c. 3a. b; 85 Nr. A 2: Taf. 1a. 3 c. d; 103–105 Nr. C 4: Taf. 1b. 18d. 19a.

19 Vgl. Kremer 2001: 160–161 mit den beiden Porträtreliefs I 182 und I 183.

20 Breite 0,30 – 0,45: eine Person: 5 Exemplare: Lupa 591 (Ovilava). Lupa 1214 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 6650 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1492 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 861 (Virunum).

21 Breite 0,49–0,75: zwei Personen: 12 Exemplare: Lupa 534 (Lauriacum). Lupa 882 (Virunum). Lupa 4685 (Celeia). Lupa 883 (Virunum). Lupa 491 (Lauriacum). Lupa 872 (Virunum). Lupa 590 (Ovilava). Lupa 301 (Iuvavum). Lupa 492 (Lauriacum). Lupa 584 (Ovilava). Lupa 588 (Ovilava). Lupa 3599 (Celeia).

22 Breite 0,49–0,75: eine Person: 6 Exemplare: Lupa 867 (Virunum). Lupa 868 (Virunum). Lupa 1464 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 496 (Lauriacum). Lupa 1318 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 875 (Virunum).

23 Breite 0,49–0,75: drei Personen: 6 Exemplare: Lupa 494 (Lauriacum). Lupa 6154 (Celeia). 861 (Virunum). Lupa 488 (Lauriacum). Lupa 585 (Ovilava). Lupa 886 (Virunum). Lupa 3611 (Celeia); vier Personen: 3 Exemplare: Lupa 479 (Lauriacum). Lupa 487 (Lauriacum).Lupa 488 (Lauriacum).

24 Breite 0,76–1,00: zwei Personen: 11 Exemplare: Lupa 587 (Ovilava). Lupa 1230 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1403 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1440 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 869 (Virunum). Lupa 1425 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1465 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 3602 (Celeia). Lupa 1489 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1624 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 3627 (Teurnia).

25 Breite 0,76–1,00: drei Personen: 19 Exemplare: Lupa 5301 (Celeia). Lupa 876 (Virunum). Lupa 1340 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 498 (Lauriacum). Lupa 1625 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 8511 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 583 (Ovilava). Lupa 1238 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1318 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1415 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 497 (Lauriacum). Lupa 1223 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1202 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 489 (Lauriacum). Lupa 1757 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 495 (Lauriacum). Lupa 1203 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 4600 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1291 (Flavia Solva).

26 Breite 0,76–1,00: mehr als drei Personen: 7 Exemplare: Lupa 4613 (Lauriacum). Lupa 885 (Virunum). Lupa 4397 (Celeia). Lupa 1222 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 4380 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 586 (Ovilava). Lupa 3616 (Celeia).

27 Breite 0,76–1,00: Lupa 485 (Lauriacum).

28 Breite 1,01 – 1,49: zwei Personen: 11 Exemplare: Lupa 1333 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1229 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1623 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1152 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 2139 (Virunum). Lupa 877 (Virunum). Lupa 878 (Virunum). Lupa 1460 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 7261 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1332 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1486 (Flavia Solva).

29 Breite 1,01 – 1,49: drei Personen: 15 Exemplare: Kronstorf (Lauriacum). Lupa 490 (Lauriacum). Lupa 4643 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 880 (Virunum). Lupa 1151 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1453 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 4628 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 13343 (Celeia). Lupa 4825 (Flavia Solva).Lupa 13333 (Celeia). Lupa 1424 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1452 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 3628 (Teurnia). Lupa 1328 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1499 (Flavia Solva).

30 Breite 1,01 – 1,49: vier und mehr Personen: 5 Exemplare: Lupa 1355 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1341 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1402 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1159 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1271 (Flavia Solva).

31 Breite 1,54 – 1,80: zwei Personen: Lupa 879 (Virunum).

32 Breite 1,54 – 1,80: drei Personen: Lupa 1487 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1606 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 4629 (Flavia Solva).

33 Breite 1,54 – 1,80: vier Personen: Lupa 884 (Virunum).

34 Breite 1,54 – 1,80: sechs Personen: Lupa 1719 (Flavia Solva).

35 Tiefe 0,053 – 0,09: Lupa 501 (Lauriacum). Lupa 1214 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 6650 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 354 (Aelium Cetium).

und 0,09 m feststellen, was sehr wenig ist und allenfalls auf eine nachträgliche Abarbeitung an der Rückseite schließen ließe. Das etwas unterdurchschnittliche Tiefenmaß von 0,12 – 0,20 m findet sich an 26 Exemplaren[36], das durchschnittliche von 0,21 – 0,30 m an 31 Exemplaren[37]. Als überdurchschnittlich wird man die an sieben Exemplaren[38] erhaltene Tiefe von 0,31 – 0,40 m bezeichnen dürfen.

Von einigem Interesse ist die bereits bei den Angaben zu den Maßen genannte Zahl der in den Porträtnischen dargestellten Personen. Selten ist eine einzige Personen wiedergegeben. Es handelt sich dabei um fünf Porträtnischen aus Flavia Solva[39], zwei aus Virunum[40] und zwei aus Lauriacum[41]. Hinzu kommt noch eine Reihe von Porträtnischen, in denen jeweils nur eine Person erhalten ist[42]. Von den vollständig erhaltenen Exemplaren geben sieben einen Mann bzw. einen jungen Mann wieder[43] und zwei eine Frau bzw. ein Mädchen[44]. Ein gutes Beispiel ist eine Porträtnische aus Bad St. Leonhard im Territorium von Virunum[45], die einen Mann in der Ärmeltunika und im Sagum wiedergibt (Abb. 1).

Abb. 1. Porträtnische aus Bad St. Leonhard / Gemeindeamt (Lupa 868).

Standardlösungen sind die Wiedergabe eines Ehepaares in der Porträtnische oder ein Dreifigurenrelief mit Ehepaar und einem Kind oder anderen Verwandten. Für die Darstellung von zweifigurigen Porträtnischen mit einem

[36] Tiefe 0,12 – 0,20: Lupa 5301 (Celeia). Lupa 8364 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 488 (Lauriacum). Lupa 872 (Virunum). Lupa 876 (Virunum). Lupa 487 (Lauriacum). Lupa 585 (Ovilava). Lupa 4613 (Lauriacum). Lupa 1223 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 3611 (Celeia). Lupa 8726 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 489 (Lauriacum). Lupa 584 (Ovilava). Lupa 587 (Ovilava). Lupa 1203 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 491 (Lauriacum). Lupa 499 (Lauriacum). Lupa 590 (Ovilava). Lupa 867 (Virunum). Lupa 891 (Virunum). Lupa 1159 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1222 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1230 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1499 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 4397 (Celeia). Lupa 4825 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 6154 (Celeia).

[37] Tiefe 0,21 – 0,30: Lupa 496 (Lauriacum). Lupa 497 (Lauriacum). Lupa 591 (Ovilava). Lupa 1151 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1394 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1421 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 479 (Lauriacum). Lupa 490 (Lauriacum). Lupa 534 (Lauriacum). Lupa 327 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1464 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 6649 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1229 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 492 (Lauriacum). Lupa 868 (Virunum). Lupa 8510 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1623 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 495 (Lauriacum). Lupa 4918 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 8511 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1152 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1486 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 7261 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 485 (Lauriacum). Lupa 1219 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 3616 (Celeia). Lupa 3602 (Celeia). Lupa 1238 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1487 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1067 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1489 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 2139 (Virunum).

[38] Tiefe 0,31 – 0,40: Lupa 1212 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 1520 (Virunum). Lupa 879 (Virunum). Lupa 1757 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 869 (Virunum). Lupa 1328 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 3619 (Celeia).

[39] Einzelperson: Flavia Solva: Lupa 1214. Lupa 1318. Lupa 1464. Lupa 1492. Lupa 6650.

[40] Einzelperson: Virunum: Lupa 867. Lupa 868.

[41] Einzelperson: Lauriacum: Lupa 485. Lupa 496.

[42] Einzelperson: erhaltungsbedingt: Flavia Solva: 14 Exemplare: Lupa 1219. Lupa 1240. Lupa 1320. Lupa 1336. Lupa 1337. Lupa 1338. Lupa 1339. Lupa 1394. Lupa 4777. Lupa 6649. Lupa 8364. Lupa 8510. Lupa 8715. Lupa 8726. – Virunum: 3 Exemplare: Lupa 891. Lupa 1550. Lupa 2433. – Lauriacum: 1 Exemplar: Lupa 499. – Ovilava: 1 Exemplar: Lupa 591. – Aelium Cetium: 1 Exemplar: Lupa 354. – Celeia: 1 Exemplar: Lupa 3619.

[43] Mann: Lupa 485. Lupa 496. Lupa 868. Lupa 1464. Lupa 1492. – Junger Mann: Lupa 1214. Lupa 6650.

[44] Frau: Lupa 1318. – Mädchen: Lupa 867.

[45] Bad St. Leonhard, Gemeindeamt: CSIR II 2 Nr. 144; Lupa 868 (Abb. 1).

Abb. 2. Porträtnische aus Arnoldstein (Klagenfurt, LM für Kärnten Inv. 239. Abgebildet mit freundlicher Erlaubnis des Landesmuseums für Kärnten, H. Dolenz, Lupa 879).

Ehepaar sind insgesamt 39 Beispiele auf uns gekommen, wozu noch drei schlecht erhaltene kommen. Von den erhaltenen Exemplaren stammen 22 aus Flavia Solva[46], zehn aus Virunum[47], eines aus Teurnia[48], zwei aus Celeia[49], drei aus Ovilava[50], zwei aus Iuvavum[51] und zwei schlecht erhaltene aus Lauriacum[52]. In fast allen Fällen ist die Frau zur Rechten des Mannes dargestellt, nur in drei Fällen zur Linken des Mannes[53]. Die beiden Partner blicken wie die Freigelassenenpaare auf den stadtrömischen „Kastengrabreliefs" gerade aus dem Bild und sind eher unverbunden nebeneinander gesetzt, allenfalls durch die *dextrarum iunctio* oder ein leichtes Gegeneinanderdrehen der Köpfe miteinander verbunden (Vgl. Zanker 1975: 287). Selten finden sich auf Porträtnischen zwei Männer[54] oder zwei Frauen nebeneinander[55]. Ein qualitätsvolles Beispiel für eine Porträtnische mit Ehepaar zwischen breiten reliefgeschmückten Rahmenfeldern bildet ein Exemplar aus Arnoldstein (Virunum) in Klagenfurt[56] (Abb. 2).

Von Dreifigurenreliefs mit einem Ehepaar und einem weiteren Angehörigen der Familie haben sich in Noricum insgesamt 48 Exemplare erhalten, davon 26 aus Flavia Solva[57], vier aus Virunum[58], eines aus Teurnia[59], fünf aus Celeia[60], zehn aus Lauriacum[61] und zwei aus Ovilava[62]. Auch bei diesen Dreifigurenreliefs

46 Ehepaare: Flavia Solva: 22 Exemplare: Lupa 327. Lupa 1152. Lupa 1230. Lupa 1317. Lupa 1332. Lupa 1333. Lupa 1403. Lupa 1421. Lupa 1425. Lupa 1440. Lupa 1460. Lupa 1465. Lupa 1486. Lupa 1489. Lupa 1611. Lupa 1623. Lupa 1624. Lupa 1625. Lupa 4918. Lupa 7261. Lupa 9082.– Schlecht erhalten: Lupa 1212.

47 Ehepaare: Virunum: Lupa 869. Lupa 872. Lupa 875. Lupa 877. Lupa 878. Lupa 879 (Abb. 2). Lupa 881. Lupa 882. Lupa 883. Lupa 2139.

48 Ehepaare: Teurnia: Lupa 3627.

49 Ehepaare: Celeia: Lupa 3599. Lupa 4685.

50 Ehepaare: Ovilava: Lupa 584. Lupa 587. Lupa 588.

51 Ehepaare: Iuvavum: Lupa 301. Lupa 302.

52 Schlecht erhaltene Ehepaare: Lauriacum: Lupa 491. Lupa 501.

53 Lupa 587 (Ovilava). Lupa 882. Lupa 883 (beide Virunum).

54 Lupa 534 (Lauriacum). Lupa 3602 (Celeia).

55 Lupa 590 (Ovilava).

56 Klagenfurt, Landesmuseum für Kärnten Inv. 239: CSIR II 2 Nr. 155; Lupa 879 (Abb. 2).

57 Dreifigurenreliefs aus Flavia Solva: Lupa 1067. Lupa 1151. Lupa 1202. Lupa 1203. Lupa 1223 (Abb. 3). Lupa 1238. Lupa 1291. Lupa 1319. Lupa 1328. Lupa 1335. Lupa 1340. Lupa 1415. Lupa 1424. Lupa 1452. Lupa 1453. Lupa 1487. Lupa 1499. Lupa 1606. Lupa 1626. Lupa 1757. Lupa 4600. Lupa 4628. Lupa 4629. Lupa 4643. Lupa 4825. Lupa 8511.

58 Dreifigurenreliefs aus Virunum: Lupa 874. Lupa 876. Lupa 880. Lupa 886.

59 Dreifigurenrelief aus Teurnia: Lupa 3628.

60 Dreifigurenreliefs aus Celeia: Lupa 3611. Lupa 5301. Lupa 6154. Lupa 13333. Lupa 13343.

61 Dreifigurenreliefs aus Lauriacum: Lupa 488. Lupa 489. Lupa 490. Lupa 492. Lupa 494. Lupa 495. Lupa 497. Lupa 498. Lupa 30822.– Schlecht erhalten. Lupa 493.

62 Dreifigurenreliefs aus Ovilava: Lupa 583. Lupa 585.

Abb. 3. Porträtnische aus Landscha (Flavia Solva) (Graz, UMJ Lap. Inv. 161. Abgebildet mit freundlicher Erlaubnis des Universalmuseums Joanneum, Abt. für Archäologie und Münzkabinett, K. Peitler, Lupa 1223).

ist die Frau normalerweise links vom Mann, also zu seiner Rechten dargestellt. In einer Reihe von Fällen findet sich zwischen und vor dem Ehepaar ein Kind[63]. Ein gutes Beispiel für diese Darstellungsweise liefert eine Porträtnische aus Landscha im Gebiet von Flavia Solva[64] (Abb. 3).

Häufig sind Porträtnischen, in denen links ein Mann und in der Mitte Frau und Mann als Ehepaar wiedergegeben sind[65]. Der Mann links kann auch deutlich als junger Mann ausgewiesen sein und somit als Sohn des Ehepaares rechts von ihm gelten[66]. Eine Porträtnische mit dem Sohn links von den Eltern stammt vom Seggauberg (Flavia Solva)[67]. Der Sohn kann auch rechts von dem Ehepaar links in der Porträtnische dargestellt sein[68].

Links vom Ehepaar kann in der Porträtnische auch eine jüngere Frau, wohl die Tochter wiedergegeben sein[69]; sie kann aber auch rechts vom Ehepaar[70] dargestellt sein. Ein Beispiel für die erste Version bildet eine Porträtnische aus Stallhofen[71] (Abb. 4).

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63 Ehepaar mit Kind: 11 Exemplare: Lupa 488 (Lauriacum). Lupa 874 (Virunum). Lupa 1067. Lupa 1151. Lupa 1223. Lupa 1238. Lupa 1757. Lupa 8511 (alle Flavia Solva). Lupa 3611. Lupa 6154. Lupa 13343 (alle Celeia).

64 Porträtnische aus Landscha (Flavia Solva) / Graz, Universalmuseum Joanneum Lap. Inv. 161: CSIR IV 3 Nr. 5; Lupa 1223 (Abb. 3).

65 Mann und Ehepaar: 6 Exemplare: Lupa 492 (Lauriacum). Lupa 886 (Virunum). Lupa 1452. Lupa 1499. Lupa 1626 (alle Flavia Solva). Lupa 3628 (Teurnia).

66 Junger Mann links und Ehepaar: 5 Exemplare: Lupa 585 (Ovilava). Lupa 1202. Lupa 1453. Lupa 4629. Lupa 4643 (alle Flavia Solva).

67 Porträtnische aus Seggauberg (Flavia Solva) / Graz, Universalmuseum Joanneum Lap. Inv. 263: CSIR IV 2 Nr. 59; Lupa 1202.

68 Ehepaar und junger Mann rechts: 7 Exemplare: Lupa 490. Lupa 494. Lupa 495. Lupa 497. Lupa 498 (alle Lauriacum). Lupa 880 (Virunum). Lupa 4628 (Flavia Solva).

69 Junge Frau links und Ehepaar: 2 Exemplare: Lupa 1487. Lupa 4825 (beide Flavia Solva).

70 Ehepaar und junge Frau rechts: 3 Exemplare: Lupa 1415. Lupa 1606. Lupa 4600 (alle Flavia Solva).

71 Porträtnische aus Stallhofen / Pfarrkirche St. Nikolaus: CSIR IV 2 Nr. 53, Lupa 1606 (Abb. 4)

Abb. 4. Porträtnische aus Stallhofen / Pfarrkirche St. Nikolaus (Lupa 1606).

Selten findet sich links in der Porträtnische eine ältere Frau und rechts von ihr das Ehepaar[72]. Eine Ausnahme stellt eine Porträtnische mit einem jungen Mann links, einer Frau in der Mitte und einer jüngeren Frau rechts dar[73]. Auch die beiden Porträtnischen mit zwei Registern, die jeweils oben ein Ehepaar zeigen, unten aber einmal einen Mann und einmal ein Mädchen, sind Ausnahmen[74].

Neben den beiden eben behandelten Standardformen der Darstellung in Form von Zwei- oder Dreifigurenreliefs kommen selten auch die Darstellungen zweier Ehepaare in einer Porträtnische vor[75]. Dabei können entweder jeweils links die Frauen und rechts von ihnen die Männer dargestellt sein[76] oder die Männer links und rechts am Rand und die Frauen in der Mitte[77].

Weiters können in einer Porträtnische vier Personen dargestellt sein, von denen zwei ein Ehepaar sind, die weiteren Personen im Regelfall aber Kinder[78]; Ehepaar und Kinder können auch in zwei Registern übereinander angeordnet sein[79]. Das schönste Beispiel für die Gruppierung eines Ehepaars und zweier Kinder in zwei Registern übereinander stammt aus dem Territorium von Lauriacum[80] (Abb. 5).

In einigen wenigen Fällen finden sich in einer Porträtnische auch fünf und mehr Personen. Es handelt sich dabei einmal um zwei Ehepaare mit Kind[81], zwei Ehepaare mit zwei Kindern[82] und einmal um fünf Personen in zwei Registern[83].

Wichtige Aufschlüsse zu den Grabinhabern lassen sich aus den Inschriften der Porträtnischen erwarten. Von den 141 erhaltenen Porträtnischen aus Noricum haben sich allerdings nur auf 24 Exemplaren die Inschriften erhalten, die im Allgemeinen Bezug auf den Stifter des Monuments, seine Frau und evtl. weitere Verwandte haben[84]. Beim Ehemann handelt es sich in der großen Mehrzahl (in 13 Fällen) um einen

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72 Links ältere Frau und Ehepaar: 2 Exemplare: Lupa 489 (Lauriacum). Lupa 1203 (Flavia Solva).

73 Lupa 30822 (Lauriacum).

74 Unteres Register Mann: Lupa 583 (Ovilava).– Unteres Register Mädchen: Lupa 13333 (Celeia).

75 Zwei Paare: Lupa 884. Lupa 885 (beide Virunum). Lupa 1159. Lupa 1271 (beide Flavia Solva). Lupa 4397 (Celeia).

76 Lupa 884 (Virunum). Lupa 1271 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 4397 (Celeia).

77 Lupa 885 (Virunum). Lupa 1159. Lupa 1355 (beide Flavia Solva).

78 Ehepaar und Kinder: Lupa 487 (Lauriacum). Lupa 1222. 1424 (beide Flavia Solva). Lupa 3616 (Celeia).

79 Lupa 479. Lupa 4613 (beide Lauriacum).

80 Porträtnische aus Enns (Lauriacum) / Enns, Museum Lauriacum Inv. R X 177: Kremer 2001, Nr. I 88; Lupa 4613.

81 Zwei Ehepaare mit Kind: Lupa 1341 (Flavia Solva).

82 Zwei Ehepaare mit zwei Kindern: Lupa 1719 (Flavia Solva).

83 Lupa 586 (Ovilava).

84 Inschriften mit Bezug auf Grabinhaber: Lupa 301 (Iuvavum). Lupa 867. Lupa 868 (beide Virunum). Lupa 1151. Lupa 1229. Lupa 1230. Lupa 1291. Lupa 1333. Lupa 1355. Lupa 1402. Lupa 1403. Lupa 1421. Lupa 1424. Lupa 1425. Lupa 1464. Lupa 1465. Lupa 1623. Lupa 1624. Lupa 1625 (alle Flavia Solva). Lupa 3599. Lupa 3611. Lupa 3616. Lupa 13333. Lupa 13343 (alle Celeia).

Abb. 5. Porträtnische aus Ebenboden / Kastenreith-Weyer, Ennsmuseum (Lupa 479).

römischen Bürger[85]. Hinzu kommt in einem Fall ein Freigelassener als Grabherr[86]. Viermal handelt es sich um Peregrine als Stifter[87]. In zwei Fällen ist der Ehemann ein Veteran einer Legion[88], einmal war der Sohn eines Ehepaares römischer Bürger Soldat in einer Hilfstruppeneinheit[89]. Einmal ist der Grabinhaber ein Sklave[90]. Unklar ist die Situation in zwei Fällen, in denen einmal in der Inschrift nur die Namen dreier Kinder mit Altersangabe genannt werden[91] bzw. ein anderes Mal in der nur unvollständig erhaltenen Inschrift mit einer Ehegattin (*uxor*) und einer Tochter[92] (Abb. 1). Die in den Inschriften genannten Ehegattinnen sind auch bei einem römischen Bürger als Ehemann manchmal Peregrine[93]. Eine Inschrift auf einer Porträtnische mit einem Elternpaar und zwei Kindern nennt insgesamt elf Personen, wobei es sich beim Stifterehepaar um römische Bürger handeln dürfte[94], zumal der Mann eine Toga trägt.

Von einigem Interesse ist auch die von den Männern getragene Kleidung, da sie Rückschlüsse auf die Datierung der Porträtnischen erlaubt. Dabei sind die von P. Kranz und von H. R. Goette zur Zeitstellung der sog. Vorform der *toga contabulata* gewonnenen Erkenntnisse von entscheidender Bedeutung (Kranz 1986: 212–216, 224–226; Goette 1990: 57–59, 143–144). Hinzu kommt noch die häufig in Verbindung mit dieser Togaform getragene *tunica manicata,* die sich aber auch in Verbindung mit anderen Kleidungsstücken wie dem *sagum* findet (Bonfante Warren 1973: 614; Pausch 2003: 176–180). Dieses ist nach den neueren Untersuchungen von M. Handy und dem Autor, vor allem wenn es sich um einen Militärmantel handelt, ab der severischen Zeit anzusetzen (Handy & Pochmarski 2016: 122–127).

In einer Reihe von Porträtnischen sind der Mann oder die Männer in einer Toga mit faltigem *balteus* und faltigem *umbo* wiedergegeben[95]. Diese Togaform wurde nach H. R. Goette in Rom durch das ganze 2. Jh. n. Chr. bis in die severische Zeit getragen (Goette 1990: 42–54). Da ab der severischen Zeit in Noricum die sog. Vorform der *toga contabulata* üblich wurde, sind die Porträtnischen mit dieser Togaform wohl in die Zeit davor, also am ehesten in die mittel- bis spätantoninische Zeit zu datieren. Bei mehreren Beispielen lässt sich nur mehr der faltige *balteus* oder der faltige *umbo* erkennen[96].

85 Ehemänner als römische Bürger: Lupa 1151. Lupa 1230. Lupa 1291. Lupa 1355. Lupa 1403. Lupa 1424. Lupa 1425. Lupa 1464. Lupa 1465. Lupa 1624 (alle Flavia Solva). Lupa 3611. Lupa 13333. Lupa 13343 (alle Celeia).

86 Lupa 1333 (Flavia Solva).

87 Lupa 301 (Iuvavum). Lupa 1402. Lupa 1421. Lupa 1625 (alle Flavia Solva).

88 Lupa 1623 (Flavia Solva: legio X Gemina). Lupa 3599 (Celeia: legio II Italica).

89 Lupa 1424 (Flavia Solva: cohors I Brittonum).

90 Lupa 1229 (Flavia Solva).

91 Lupa 867 (Virunum).

92 Lupa 868 (Virunum).

93 Lupa 1230. Lupa 1291. Lupa 1465 (alle Flavia Solva).

94 Lupa 3616 (Celeia).

95 Toga mit faltigem *balteus* und faltigem *umbo*: 9 Exemplare: Lupa 1328. Lupa 1337. Lupa 4628 (2x) (alle Flavia Solva). Lupa 874. Lupa 875. Lupa 878. Lupa 879. Lupa 2139 (alle Virunum). Lupa 3616 (Celeia).

96 Lupa 1203 (*balteus*). Lupa 1335. Lupa 1337. Lupa 1464. Lupa 1465 (*umbo*) (alle Flavia Solva).

Die sog. Vorform der *toga contabulata* lässt sich an einer größeren Anzahl von Exemplaren (15 Stück) beobachten, die fast alle aus Flavia Solva stammen[97]; hinzu kommen noch zwei Exemplare aus Virunum[98]. An einer Reihe weiterer Porträtnischen lässt sich zeigen, dass die sog. Vorform der *toga contabulata* mit einer *tunica manicata* verbunden ist[99]. *Tunica manicata* und Vorform der *toga contabulata* bei einer Person sind bei zwei Exemplaren mit dem *sagum* bei einer anderen Person verbunden[100]. Eine Person mit *tunica manicata* und *sagum* kann auch mit einer anderen Person in der Vorform der *toga contabulata* zusammengestellt sein[101]. Das *sagum* und die Vorform der *toga contabulata* sind auch auf einer Reihe weiterer Porträtnischen bei zwei Personen miteinander vergesellschaftet[102].

Nicht selten (auf 9 Exemplaren) findet sich die halbärmelige Tunika zusammen mit dem *sagum*[103]. Häufiger erscheint die *tunica manicata* in Verbindung mit dem *sagum* auf 26 norischen Porträtnischen[104]. Das *sagum* ohne Bestimmung der darunter getragenen Unterkleidung lässt sich ebenfalls nachweisen[105].

Von besonderem Interesse ist die Kombination des *sagum* mit dem Schwert, weil dadurch für die in erster Linie aus Lauriacum stammenden Porträtnischen klar wird, dass auf ihnen Angehörige der seit 174 / 175 n. Chr. hier stationierten *legio II Italica* dargestellt sind. In einer Reihe von Fällen, findet sich die *tunica manicata* und das *sagum* mit dem Schwert[106], in einer Reihe weiterer Fälle erscheint das *sagum* mit dem Schwert[107].

Insgesamt zeigt sich, dass dank der Beobachtung der Kleidung der Männer für eine ganze Reihe von Porträtnischen eine schlüssige Datierung ausgesprochen werden kann, wobei die Grundlage einerseits die sog. Vorform der *toga contabulata* bildet, die sich in Noricum seit der severischen Zeit nachweisen lässt, andererseits die Kombination von *tunica manicata* mit dem *sagum*, die gleichfalls ab der severischen Zeit aufzukommen scheint. Das wird zusätzlich unterstrichen durch die Porträtnischen mit *sagum* und Schwert, die aufgrund der Stationierung der *legio II Italica* in Lauriacum auch auf das Ende des 2. Jhs. n. Chr. hinweisen. Als Datierungshilfe kommt noch die Kombination einer Person in der Vorform der *toga contabulata* mit einer anderen im *sagum* auf einer Porträtnische hinzu. Ein Großteil der Porträtnischen aus Noricum ist demnach bereits im 3. Jh. n. Chr. entstanden.

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97 Vorform der *toga contabulata*: 15 Exemplare: Lupa 1212. Lupa 1271 (2 x). Lupa 1320. Lupa 1332. Lupa 1340. Lupa 1425. Lupa 1486. Lupa 1487. Lupa 1489. Lupa 1499 (2 x). Lupa 1623. Lupa 1719. Lupa 4918. Lupa 8726. Lupa 9083 (alle Flavia Solva).

98 Vorform der *toga contabulata*: Lupa 877. Lupa 880 (beide Virunum).

99 *Tunica manicata* und Vorform der *toga contabulata*: 5 Exemplare: Lupa 1152. Lupa 1317. Lupa 1333. Lupa 1341 (2 x). Lupa 4600 (alle Flavia Solva).

100 *Tunica manicata* und Vorform der *toga contabulata* + *sagum*: Lupa 1238. Lupa 1606 (beide Flavia Solva). Lupa 491 (Lauriacum).

101 *Tunica manicata, sagum* + Vorform der *toga contabulata*: Lupa 1424 (Flavia Solva). Lupa 490 (Lauriacum).

102 *Sagum* + Vorform der *toga contabulata*: 5 Exemplare: Lupa 1202. Lupa 1319. Lupa 1402. Lupa 1452. Lupa 1453 (alle aus Flavia Solva).

103 Halbärmelige Tunika und *sagum*: 9 Exemplare: Lupa 1222 (2 x). Lupa 1223) (1 x halbärmelige Tunika). Lupa 1492. Lupa 1624. Lupa 1626. Lupa 4380 (3 x). Lupa 4825, Lupa 7261 (alle Flavia Solva). Lupa 2433 (Virunum).

104 Tunica manicata und sagum: 26 Exemplare: Lupa 327. Lupa 1152 (2 x). Lupa 1214. Lupa 1338. Lupa 1355 (2 x). Lupa 1403. Lupa 1415. Lupa 1440. Lupa 4643 (2 x). Lupa 6650. Lupa 8510 (alle Flavia Solva). Lupa 868. Lupa 882. Lupa 883. Lupa 884 (2 x). Lupa 885. Lupa 886 (2 x) (alle Virunum). Lupa 3627. Lupa 3628 (2 x) (beide Teurnia). Lupa 485. Lupa 494 (2 x). Lupa 497 (2 x). Lupa 500. Lupa 534 (2 x). Lupa 4613 (2 x) (alle aus Lauriacum).

105 *Sagum*: 12 Exemplare: Lupa 1460. Lupa 1611. Lupa 1625. Lupa 6649 (alle Flavia Solva). Lupa 869 (Virunum). Lupa 354 (Aelium Cetium). Lupa 479. Lupa 488 (2 x). Lupa 489. Lupa 502. Kronstorf (alle Lauriacum). Lupa 6154 (Celeia).

106 *Tunica manicata, sagum* und Schwert: 6 Exemplare: Lupa 492. Lupa 493 (1 x nur *tunica manicata* und *sagum*). Lupa 495 (1 x nur *tunica manicata* und *sagum*). Lupa 496. Lupa 499 (alle aus Lauriacum). Lupa 4777 (Flavia Solva).

107 *Sagum* und Schwert: Lupa 1414 (1 x nur sagum) (Flavia Solva). Lupa 487 (1 x nur Schwert, 1 x nur *sagum*). (Lauriacum).

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Abbildungsnachweis

Alle Abbildungen beruhen auf Aufnahmen von O. Harl aus der Bilddatenbank ubi-erat-lupa, wofür ich ihm sehr herzlich danke. Weiters habe ich den zuständigen Museen für die Erteilung der Publikationserlaubnis sehr zu danken.

Archaeozoology of Classical antiquity in Croatia

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This paper presents a short overview of the state-of-the-art in archaeozoological studies of the Classical periods. A brief list of all currently known, mostly published, archaeofaunal analyses for the Greek, Hellenistic and Roman period sites of present-day Croatia is given. The list of analysed assemblages is arranged according to the types of sites from which they originate, subdivided into two main chronological groups: pre-Roman and Roman. Finally, the main issues considered by individual analyses are briefly discussed with the aim of merging these mostly heterogenous analyses into more comprehensive understanding of life during the period of Classical antiquity.

Keywords: *archaeozoology, Classical Greece, Hellenistic period, Roman period, Croatia*

1. Introduction

Our knowledge of animals and the use of animals from the time of Greek colonisation through the Roman period in Croatia is very limited. Although many archaeological sites are known, faunal remains have mostly been ignored. However, the situation has changed in the last ten years, and the awareness of the importance of faunal remains has increased. Yet only a small number of faunal assemblages have been analysed so far. Even less has been published, mainly in the form of preliminary or summary reports. As a result, relatively little is still known about animals, their significance and exploitation during these periods.

This paper presents a review of archaeozoological research from Classical antiquity sites to the present day Croatia (Fig. 1). The review is divided into three sections. In the first two, a brief outline of faunal studies to date is given, based on both published and unpublished data. The first covers the period of Greek colonisation of the eastern Adriatic, while the second details the Roman period. The third section combines known data and discusses the state-of-the-art archaeozological research by topics that have been addressed by these studies.

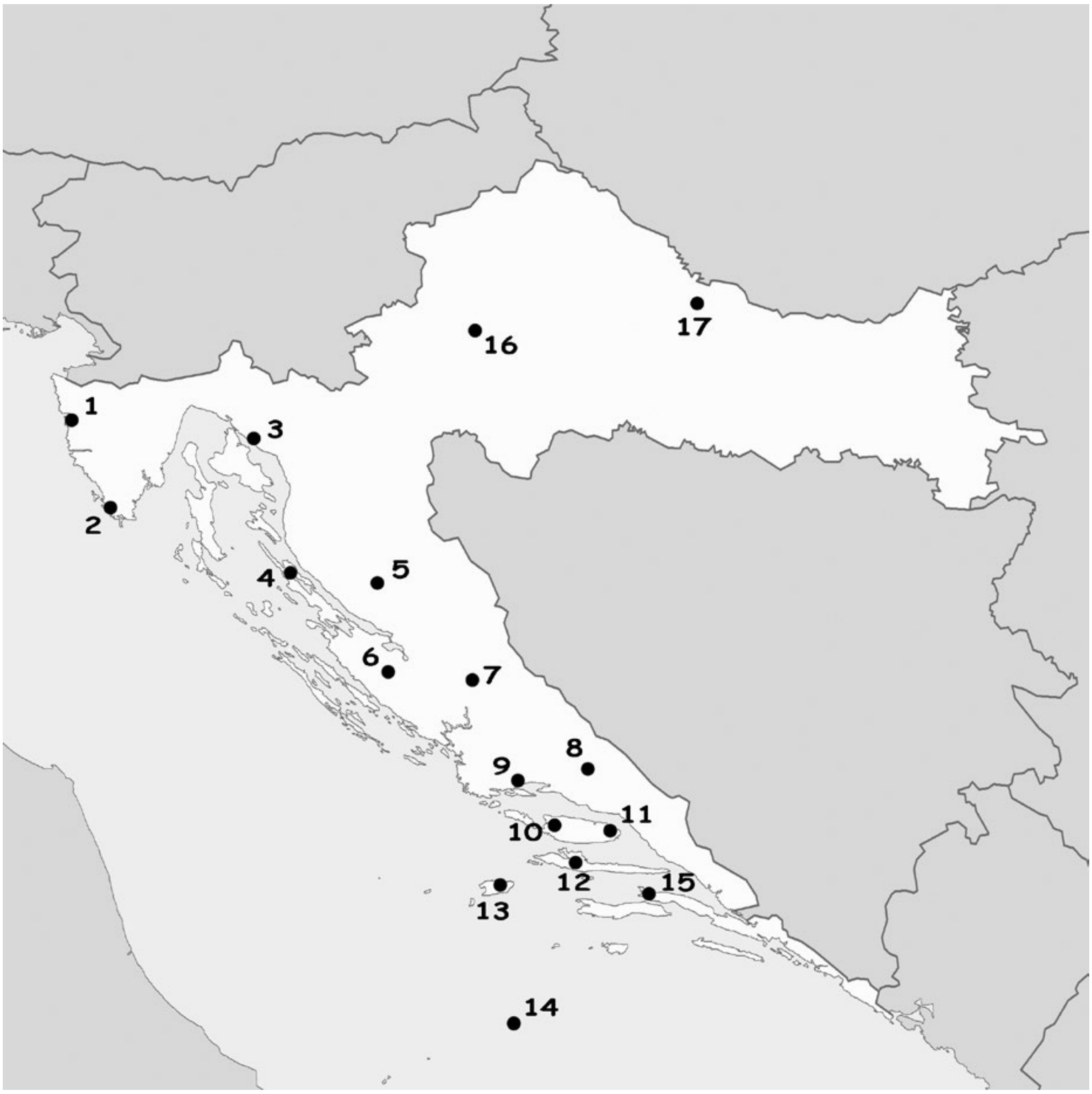

Figure 1. Archaeological sites that are referred to in the text. 1. Loron, 2. Krvavići-Boškina, 3. Pola, 4. Crikvenica-Igralište, 5. Caska (Pag), 6. Lički Ribnik, 7. Nedinum, 8. Burnum, 9. Tilurium, 10. Resnik, 11. Rat (Brač), 12. Bunje (Brač), 13. Pharos (Hvar), 14. Issa (Vis), 15. Palagruža (Palagruža), 16. Nakovana, 17. Šepkovčica, 18. Virovitica Kiškorija South.

2. Archaeozoological research of the second half of the 1st millenium BCE

The earliest period of interest for this review is the period of Greek colonisation. Geographicaly, it is limited to the eastern Adriatic, more precisely to middle and south of present-day Dalmatia. Considering it is still unclear whether the oldest colonies were established during the Classical or Hellenistic Greek periods (e.g. Cambi *et al.* 2002; Sanader 2008; Poklečki Stošić 2010), this chapter covers a chronological range rather than a specific cultural affiliation. That said, this is in fact the Iron Age period when Dalmatia was a territory controlled by local indigenous populations. Considering certain degree of interactions between Greek settlers and the locals, causing the latter to be at least to a certain degree culturally influenced by the former, it seems methodologically correct to include archaeozoological analyses of indigenous sites from this period as well, if we are to understand reality and legacy of Greek presence in the Adriatic. Therefore, this section is divided into three parts according to the type of archaeological sites that are mentioned here, firstly including non-Greek settlements.

2.1. Local indigenous settlements

So far, only two indigenous sites from Dalmatia from this period have been archaeozoologically analysed: hillforts Nadin near Zadar and Rat on island Brač.

Nadin hilfort is located in Ravni Kotari and was an economic, cultural and administrative center of the Liburnian territory. This settlement was transformed into a formal Roman municipium *Nedinum* in the 1st century CE. It was inhabited until Late Antiquity when it declined to eventually be abandoned (Chapman *et al.* 1996: 250). While several occupational phases are known from Nadin, it is the Iron Age complex which is of interest here. Although the site is currently being systematically excavated, recent archaeozoological analysis is focused only on the faunal remains from the Roman period (Martina Čelhar, personal communication). So far, the results of a single study that also included faunal material from the Iron Age Liburnian phase were published as a very summarised report (Schwartz 1996). Within the assemblage of remains of almost exclusively domestic animals, sheep and goats dominate, followed by significantly fewer cattle and even fewer pigs. Certain significant changes were observed in the composition of faunal assemblages from Roman period, which will be discussed further below.

The hillfort of Rat is located on the island Brač. It was occupied from the Early Bronze to Iron Age. Very detailed archaeozoological study covered material from all strata (Gaastra *et al.* 2014). Similarly to the previous case, domesticated animals dominate the assemblage, with sheep and goats being the most numerous taxa. Unlike the contemporary Nadin faunal assemblage, here pig is the next common taxon with cattle being the third. While pigs and cattle were used for meat, ageable data for sheep showed temporal oscilations in animal management practices during the life of hillfort Rat. Exploitation of sheep fluctuated between meat and milk production and wool production. However, it remains to be resolved what caused these temporal trends in herd management (Gaastra *et al.* 2014: 22).

2.2. Greek settlements

Probably the oldest and the largest Greek colony in the eastern Adriatic is *Issa*, located on the island of Vis. Although the Greek (and later Roman) settlement and surrounding cemeteries have been thoroughly excavated and studied, archaeozoological remains are almost neglected. Only a single published paper with preliminary results of the analysis of the selected marine molluscs and fish assemblage found within houses and graves is available (Paladin *et al.* 2018). All recorded species still live in the surrounding sea, and the ancient population did not have to venture too far from the coast to collect or fish them. Unfortunatelly, the studied material was not sorted out between Greek and Roman stratigraphic contexts and does not differentiate between urban and cemetery assemblages, making the use of this data relatively limited. In addition, faunal material from Hellenistic and Roman period graves recovered within the eastern necropolis is currently under study. Preliminary results indicate that animal remains found in the former graves are dominated by domesticates, mostly sheep and goats, sporadically accompanied by rare finds of marine molluscs and fish (Radović, unpublished data).

Also well known is the Greek colony *Pharos* on the island of Hvar. Faunal material from the recent excavations have been analysed in detail (Gaastra, in press). Here too, sheep and goats are the most numerous taxa, followed by cattle and pigs. Concerning wild animals, the most hunted species is red deer. Both sheep and goats were predominantly slaughtered as subadults or young adults, while cattle were culled in an adult age, suggesting primarily meat exploitation for all domesticates (Gaastra, in press).

The third analysed faunal assemblage comes from the coastal settlement at Resnik in Kaštela Bay. It is still not clear whether it was a native settlement or perhaps some sort of Greek outpost, before the Roman town *Siculi* was founded in the same place. However, it has relatively rich Hellenistic deposits that yielded faunal remains which were analysed (Sanford 2011). As in all contemporary sites in the wider region, sheep and goats predominate the assemblage, although in a slightly smaller degree in comparison to others. A relatively high proportion of cattle stands out as the highest among the surrounding analysed assemblages (Gaastra 2017: 22). Age profiles show that most sheep were culled in adulthood, as also were cattle.

Generally, with the exception of *Issa* due to a lack of data, all analysed faunal assemblages from both indigenous and Greek settlements show similar patterning in the faunal composition dominated by small ruminants.

2.3. Sacred places

A small number of archaeological sites from the Classical antiquity in the eastern Adriatic were used for different, sacred purposes. These places were secluded and only a small number from the second half of the first millenium BCE are known. Of these, only a few have been archaeozoologicaly analysed.

The oldest is a Greek sanctuary discovered on the remote Palagruža island dedicated to the Trojan hero Diomedes. It was founded around the late 6th century BCE and occasionally visited by Greek seafarers by the 1st/2nd century CE (Kirigin *et al.* 2009). The sanctuary was destroyed by human activity in later periods. So far the only published faunal analysis focused on a small bird assemblage recovered from deposits dated between Bronze Age and late Roman period, including also the material deposited during the period when sanctuary was in use. The analysis revealed a presence of two distinct group of bird taxa: seabirds that nested here and passage birds that used Palagruža island as a stopover during flight across the sea. Within the former, the most interesting is the first record of the Northern Gannet in the Adriatic Sea (Oros Sršen *et al.* 2017). However, the paper itself remained focused on the palaeoecology of the Palagruža island during the Late Holocene and natural palaeoenvironmental conditions that may have caused the accumulation of bird remains without actually attempting to make a direct connection to the archaeological context.

The only other sacred site from this period that has been archaeozoologically studied is the Late Iron Age sanctuary in Nakovana cave on the Pelješac peninsula. Its interior chamber was actually used by local people and not by Greeks. However, the exclusive imported Hellenistic fineware indicates strong contacts with the Greek colonies on the neighbouring islands (Kaiser & Forenbaher 2012). This sanctuary was in use for circa 300 years until the chamber was sealed, probably by natural causes, no later than the 1st century BCE to be recovered only in recent excavations. As such it was extraordinary well preserved which allowed for a unique possibility to study ritual activities practiced here. A very detailed archaeozoological study is available for the faunal material recovered there. The faunal assemblage from Nakovana cave is heavily dominated by very young sheep and goats, of which mostly head and lower limb elements are present. The material is highly fragmented but butchery traces are very scarce. Based on these critera as well as its contextual surroundings it has been suggested that animal remains have been deposited as the result of some ritual (Appleby & Miracle 2012), which will be discussed further below.

3. Archaeozoological research of the Roman period

Starting with the late 1st century BCE but probably not longer after the *Bellum Batonianum* ended, Rome consolidated its presence in the eastern Adriatic with the emergence of the first permanent Roman settlements and military camps (Wilkes 1969). A variety of types of sites is evidenced with an equally variable degree of archaeozoological studies, both in number and quality of data.

3.1. Urban sites

A great number of Roman urban centres are known from the territory of the present-day Croatia. Unfortunatelly, these are the least known from the aspect of subsistence economy and animal use in general. Only a handful of faunal assemblages from urban centres are studied. Roman *Issa*, already mentioned in the previous chapter, has been poorly studied. The quality of data available is even worse in comparison to that of Greek *Issa*, due to the much smaller number of analysed graves (Radović, unpublished data). Some of the results from the archaeomalacological study mentioned earlier (Paladin *et al.* 2018) also relate to this period, but since the material was analysed as a whole, these data are not very useful.

Subsistence of the Roman *Nedinum* is better known. Although recent archaeozoological studies have not yet been published, the results of the older analysis are published (Schwartz 1996). As noted above, certain significant changes were observed in the composition of faunal assemblages from Roman period in comparison to older Iron Age assemblage. In particular, an increased frequency of pig remains is evidenced, followed by a relative decrease of the sheep and goats (Schwartz 1996: 240). However, the summarised reporting provided of these data restricts further discussion. In addition, recent excavation has yielded numerous cattle remains, although its significance is yet to be seen (Martina Čelhar, personal communication).

Finaly, recent excavations alongside the souther wall of the Archaeological Museum of Istria recovered mixed Iron Age and Roman context, with the latter consisting of only a single uppermost layer. The recovered faunal assemblage was archaeozoologicaly analysed. Unfortunatelly, considering extremely low number of remains attributed to the period of Roman *Pola* it was only possible to note that sheep and goats are the dominant taxa, followed by less numerous cattle and pig (Brajković *et al.* 2011).

3.2. Rural sites (villages)

So far, faunal material from two rural sites located in the Roman province of *Pannonia* have been studied. Virovitica Kiškorija South was a Roman village, situated in the present-day Slavonia. Regardless of the complexity of the site, due to very unfavourable preservational conditions in the soil, only a small sample of animal remains has been collected and analysed (Radović 2015; Šoštarić *et al.* 2015). The majority of assemblage consists of heavily fragmented teeth enamel and dentine fragments, most of it which come from cattle, followed by sheep or goat with only a few equid and pig remains. It can be argued that such a taxonomic composition is biased towards larger mammals is due to the aforementioned soil acidity and its destructive effects on bones, so these results should be looked at with caution.

The archaeological site of Šepkovčica near Velika Gorica (Turopolje) is categorised as a rural complex without a specific cultural or functional attribution identified. Two cemeteries were discovered nearby. A mixed one with both cremated and skeletal graves was archaeozoologically studied in detail (Hincak *et al.* 2007). Both human and animal burnt and unburnt bone samples were analysed, with the use of microscopic analysis (see further below). The results showed presence of small ruminants (mainly sheep and goats), pig and cattle in graves, sporadically accompanied with red deer, fish and bird remains. The paper itself focused more on the methodological approach to the study of fragmented human and animal remains from graves and ignored any interpretation of the significance of these finds.

3.3. Villas and workshops

This category of the types of sites from the Roman period is much better studied in the context of their economy. Based on large volume of evidence for pottery production and agricultural activities (e.g. olive oil production), a lot is known about everyday life in Roman villas and workshops. Still, aspect of their diet is commonly neglected.

Loron is situated on the western side of Istrian peninsula. The most numerous taxa are sheep, goats and cattle, closely followed by pig, The ageable data for sheep and goats indicate that the majority were culled as subadults, suggesting that at Loron they were used primarily for meat. This same meat exploitation could be said for cattle although one cannot exclude the possibility of them being used as draught animals as well. Within a small number of equid remains, several are identified as ass (Brajković & Radović, in press). These results are in concordance with the results of a previous study (Brajković & Paunović 2001). In addition, the archaeomalacological assemblage was also studied indicating limited exploitation of marine molluscs (Alvàs-Marion 2001).

Also on the Istrian peninsula, the faunal assemblage from the villa at the site Krvavići-Boškina is equally dominated by cattle and small ruminants. They are followed by less numerous pigs (killed in a juvenile age) and even fewer horses. Infrequent remains of wild boar and red deer testify to rare episodes of hunting (Trbojević-Vukičević & Štilinović 2007).

Further south-east, at the site of Crikvenica-Igralište, within the area of the *Ad Turres* settlement, remains of the pottery workshop complex were recovered. Detailed analysis of the faunal assemblage confirmed similar taxonomic composition dominated by domesticates as above. The majority of remains belong to cattle, followed by sheep and goats, and with a lesser number pigs and equids. Red deer is the most common wild species attesting to sporadic hunting activities (Miculinić 2018).

Recent discovery and excavations of the villa at Lički Ribnik near Gospić revealed a large sample of archaeobotanical remains and only a handful of animal bones, originating from the kitchen area. However, even this extremely poor faunal assemblage fits well with others in the region: only cattle and sheep are determined, while their remains bore traces of butchery and burning, indicating some specific patterns of food preparation (Reed *et al.* 2019).

Archaeological research of a Roman villa in Caska Bay on the island of Pag yielded numerous animal remains. The analysis is still in progress but preliminary results indicate relatively large number of cattle remains, in addition to smaller number of small ruminants and pigs (Radović, unpublished data). Other taxa are present but in much smaller numbers. However, the most striking find is a partially articulated camel skeleton, consisting of complete skull, all of the cervical vertebrae and most of the thoracic vertebrae, with just a few rib fragments. The rest of the body was not found (Radović & Radić Rossi 2016). More on this exclusive finding will be discussed later in the text.

The final site from this group that yielded relatively a large faunal assemblage comes from a Roman villa near Bunje on the island of Brač. Here the archaeozoological analysis is also in progress. So far, preliminary results suggest very similar composition of domestic animals, with sheep, goats and cattle dominating the assemblage. Worth mentioning, however, is a relatively noticeable number of cervid remains, suggesting certain significance of hunting activities here (Radović, unpublished data).

3.4. Military camps

The final group of Roman period sites includes permanent military camps in Roman Dalmatia: *Burnum* and *Tilurium*. The results of the archaeozoological analysis of the assemblage from *Burnum* indicate large number of pigs and sheep/goats, with the latter being slightly numerous. Cattle and red deer are present but negligible. Other faunal finds include rare bird and molluscs remains. Pigs are slaughtered in while in the infantile and juvenile ages, while other animals were culled mostly during their adulthood (Campedelli 2007). Unfortunatelly, these results are based on a small sample.

A significantly larger faunal assemblage has been studied from the military camp *Tilurium* at Gardun near Trilj, although the only published paper is limited to a single stratigraphic unit – a pit with a small number of animal bones. Only the remains of two pigs were identified baring numerous cut and chop marks indicating extensive butchery (Šimić-Kanaet *et al.* 2005). The majority of faunal material is currently being studied and/or prepared for publication. Preliminary results indicate high proportions of all main livestock species: cattle, sheep/goats and pigs, with cattle being the most numerous taxon. A point of interest is a moderate number of neonate and infantile individuals of all species mentioned above. This could suggest the breeding of some animals within the camp itself (Radović & Buljubašić, unpublished data).

4. Discussion

A summary of archaeozoological studies and their results given above, is shown here in the context of scientific research, or topics that were discussed, in order to better understand complexity of human-animals relationship in the Classical antiquity.

4.1. Subsistence economy and diet

Almost all of the above listed studies considered diet to a certain degree. It is the most discussed aspect of animal use at any archaeological site. It can be argued whether this is because it is seemingly the simplest question to answer. One eats what is available (of course, that is to say, what is edible), so species representation at a site gives us pretty good indication of what could have been eaten there. However, this can also be a very slippery slope given the possibility of certain other factors that could affect dietary choices, such as local laws and traditions, just to name a few. Also, neglecting for the time being pets and sacred animals, not all 'ordinary' animals were used exclusively for food; sheep give wool, cattle can be used as a beast of burden, and horses used for transport. Still, even such exploitation of animal resources forms economy, though not necessarily related with diet. With all that in mind, here is the summary of what is known about Greek and Roman subsistence economy and dietary habits in general, and what are specifics related to certain types of sites, if any.

Common to all analysed faunal assemblages is the absolute dominance of domesticates, in particular livestock. Most numerous are cattle, sheep, goats and pig, although their quantitative ratio varies between sites. Wild taxa are rare and when they are present, red deer is the most common species. A similar distribution of animal species can be seen at all sites from the Iron Age indigenous settlements to the Roman period military camps. However, while small ruminants (sheep and goats) form the basis of the subsistence economy in the earlier periods, as is commonly seen anywhere in the Mediterranean, pigs and cattle dominate in the later, Roman period. That transition is clearly visible in the faunal assemblage from Nadin hillfort where both periods are studied (Schwartz 1996: 240). Overall, cattle are more common at all Roman period sites (grave contexts excluded). However, situation is different for *Burnum* with surprisingly low percentage of cattle (Campedelli 2007). It is even more striking when compared to faunal asemblage from *Tilurium*. Although they are from the same type of site (military camp), same period and located in the same province, the latter assemblage shows clear pattern of predominance of cattle. If these results are true and unbiased (i.e. result of a small sample size, unfavourable taphonomic conditions and/or excavation methods) it wil be very interesting to try and resolve the reason for this difference.

All the above mentioned livestock were eaten. However, data about age-at-death of animals, indicating the age when they were culled, suggest that in some cases sheep were probably used for milk and/or wool, and cattle for milk and/or as a draught animals (mostly in villas). Pigs provided much appreciated meat so that was their sole purpose. In addition to above mentioned livestock, a few remains of equids (horse, ass or their hybrids) and dogs are present almost at any Roman site. Both were usually not eaten, with the former being used for work and transport. Such faunal composition is very common in the Roman period in Europe (Bököny 1974; Riedel 1996; Peters 1998; Kron 2002).

The common scarcity of wild animals indicates their minor contribution to the diet and relative negligence of hunting in general. However, they were still used (cervids, at least) to provide raw material used in crafting, or at least that can be concluded based on the fact that cervid remains are represented mostly by their antlers and metapodials.

Finally, with the exception of the aforementioned assemblages from *Issa* and Loron, sporadic mollusc remains are at best preliminarily identified and briefly mentioned in the reports. Fish remains are extremely rare, which may be due either to unfavourable preservation conditions or excavation methods. Generally, evidence of fishing and shellfish gathering are scarce and almost exclusively limited to islands and coastal sites. The true extent of the use of marine (and freshwater) resources within these periods is yet to be determined.

4.2. Communications, trade and import

As said earlier, within the analysed faunal assemblages, both Greek and Roman, domestic animals predominate. As these species were already present in the region, it may seem impossible to look at them as potential evidence for travel, trade and import. However, through a detailed analyses of faunal material from Greek colonies in the Adriatic, a certain aspect of the Greek colonisation in Dalmatia, previously unknown, is revealed. By looking at domestic taxa varieties between indigineous settlements, Greek colonies and Greek mainland, through a comparison of livestock biometric data, it was possible to infer a level of interactions between Greek colonists and local native populations (Sanford 2012). The reasoning is simple. If the Greeks were bringing herds with them, they would match in body size with those in Greece or wherever they actually came from. The study of material from Greece showed that cattle are getting bigger throughout the classical to Hellenistic periods in Greece, and so do sheep. This pattern is mirrored in the size of livestock at Greek colonies in southern Italy (Sanford 2014). In the biometric analysis of contemporary faunal assemblages from Dalmatia and from southern Italy and Greece certain patterns emerged. There is evidence for an increase in the size of livestock in Dalmatian Greek colonies. Sheep in the settlement at Resnik are bigger as opposed to smaller local breed, while cattle are in between (possibly mixed) (Sanford 2011). A somewhat different situation is evidenced from the Greek colony of *Pharos* and in the sanctuary at Nakovana cave used by local indigenous people. Both assemblages have some larger animals but mostly both sheep and cattle are of mixed sizes. The most striking point is the clear difference in livestock size profiles between Resnik and *Pharos*. Resnik seems to have fully Greek-sized sheep, while in *Pharos* local breeds seem to retain a stronger presence for a while at least, which does not fit the pattern seen for Greek colonies on the other side of the Adriatic. It is suggested that such difference in livestock body size may be a result of either the translocation of Greek sheep and cattle to new settlements (*i.e.* their movements with colonists) or some improvements to local livestock subsequent to the colonisation (Sanford 2012). It could be argued that

Resnik had more conservative, not to say xenophobic approach towards local domesticates, while *Pharos* seems to be more open and had intermingled groups of local and Greek livestock. Also, Resnik is a century or so later than the *Pharos* sample, so it could be a chronological issue (Sanford 2012: 192). All this indicates a more complex process of the Greek colonisation of the eastern Adriatic then previously thought, at least from the faunal point of view.

A similar example is seen in cattle from the Roman military camp of *Tilurium*, where preliminary metric analysis indicates a smaller-sized breed (Radović & Buljubašić, unpublished data). Considering a similar trend at the indigenous sites in the region, such results may suggest that cattle were probably procured locally and not imported from other parts of the Empire.

During Roman period, the acquisition of exotic and display animals was not uncommon, although often very expensive (Peters 1998). Despite the scarcity of published archaeozoological studies for Classical antiquity archaeological sites in Croatia, a single case has been reported. Recent archaeological excavations in the economic complex of the Roman villa in Caska yielded faunal remains among which camel bones were identified. Camels are not native to Europe so this important discovery contributes significantly to our understanding of communication and trade routes in the Mediterranean during the Roman Empire. The original interpretation has put this finding in association with the noble Roman family of *Calpurnii Pisones*, who owned the villa in the Caska Bay (Radović & Radić Rossi 2016). However, direct radiocarbon dating of the camel bone indicates a younger age, although still Roman (Irena Radić Rossi, personal communication). This obviously warrants a different interpretation of this find, though it does not diminish its uniqueness and significance.

4.3. Rituals

One of the most interesting aspects of archaeozoological studies are animal remains found in ritual contexts because of their potential symbolic role within given society (O'Day *et al.* 2004). It is also one of the most notorious and difficult aspect to interpret. Unlike other subjects this one requires close liason between an archaeozoologist and an archaeologist who supervised excavations and understands associated remains of material culture. Not only that it is difficult to recognize ritual contexts in a first place, but it is much more difficult to accurately reconstruct processes that caused such animal assemblage, and nearly impossible to understand the reason behind it (unless helped through written contemporary sources). With that in mind, faunal remains can contribute greatly to our understanding of ritual actions that took place in sanctuaries or at cemeteries.

Two sacred sites described earlier are dated to the second half of the first millenium BCE: Palagruža island and Nakovana cave. The only published paper dealing with faunal remains from Palagruža focuses almost exclusively on the occurance of certain bird species at the site and provides valuable data about the local palaeoenvironment. However, due to its unique geographical position, Palagruža island stands out as an important stopover site between western and eastern Adriatic, both for birds and for humans, which may have somehow affected the foundation of the sanctuary here. Although authors concluded that the remains of all species (except domestic chicken) were accumulated by natural death and not by humans actions (Oros Sršen *et al.* 2017: 6), it is worth noting that certain birds have very special meaning within the Diomedes cult, according to ancient sources (Kirigin *et al.* 2009). Further analyses are in progress and it will be very interesting to see the results of these studies, in particular those that will emphasise the possible connection of discovered bird species and their significance in the life of this Greek sanctuary, if any.

On the other hand, the faunal assemblage from Nakovana cave has been studied in detail precisely because of its potential connection to the sanctuary. The faunal assemblage is dominated by domesticates. Several criteria were used to suggest that animal remains from Nakovana inner chamber represent remains of sacrificed animals. Based on the body part representation and bone surface modifications, it is argued that animals were most likely sacrificed at the site, but there is not sufficent evidence to indicate that feasting occured there as well (Appleby & Miracle 2012: 280). Due to relatively small size of the analysed sample and aproximate duration of 300 years of use of this site, it is impossible to suggest the frequency of these rituals; however it is unlikely that they occured frequently or included a large number of sacrificed animals (Appleby & Miracle 2012: 282). What strikes the most is the obvious difference between exclusivity of imported Hellenistic fineware and ordinariness of domestic animals, where the former represent exotic and expensive luxuries as opposed to the latter. Examples of Greek livestock imports were mentioned earlier in the text, but that is hardly the case here. The local origin of these animals is further supported by their biometric data, which confirmed that they came mostly from smaller-sized animals, typical of local breeding (Jane Sanford, personal communication). So what this discrepancy in exclusivity between the two groups of finds tells us about the ritual is not clear. In addition, interpretation for the ritual pattern of consumption in the cave has recently been disputed, through re-evaluation of criteria used for ritual patterning and comparison with faunal assemblages from other contemporary sites in central Dalmatia (Gaastra 2017). Thus the ritual aspect of these finds remains uncertain until further analysis.

While animal remains found within sanctuaries may be questionable, as shown above, those that are found within graves are more likely to be interpeted as ritualistic unless they are intrusions from younger periods. Regardless of the number of excavated Greek and Roman settlements and corresponding cemeteries, only two have been archaeozoologicaly analysed.

One form of ritual behaviour that has been associated with cemeteries is the placement of animal remains within or surrounding graves. They can be interpreted as food offerings to deceased person, sacrifices to deities or remains of the funerary feast. The only two examples of the archaeozoological studies of animal remains from graves are from *Issa* cemetery and from Šepkovčica cemetery, with the former being still under study, while the latter made no attempt to interpret recovered remains within the context of funerary customs during Roman period.

4.4. Miscellaneous

Finally, some studies focused on different aspects of research, not directly contributing to any of the above mentioned topics. Methodological issues were tackled in a single study of human and animal remains from graves at Šepkovčica (Hincak *et al.* 2007). The aim of this paper was to test the effectivness of using the new method in identifying skeletal remains. In particular, microscopic analysis of hystological samples (i.e. hystological analysis) was successfully used to prove its usefulness in analysis when dealing with highly cremated remains.

5. Conclusion

This paper presents the results of all faunal studies of Classical antiquity sites in the present-day Croatia made so far. Although relatively few and often unrelated, when put together, these studies represent a clear source of information for anyone concerned with the reconstruction of any and all aspects of human-animals relations in the past.

It is an overview, summarising all known data regarding archaeozoological studies of the material from the second half of the 1st millenium BCE to late Roman period, without any agenda to replace cited papers. The modest scope of this paper did not permit a detailed retelling and re-interpretation of the mentioned studies. The ultimate goal here is to encourage further studies, not only archaeozoological but any contributing to our understanding of animal husbandry, diet, funerary customs and other rituals in the Classical antiquity. A more extensive approach exceeds the scope of this paper while any decreased effort would fail in addressing the problem.

Acknowledgements

Author wishes to thank colleagues Martina Čelhar, Jane S. Gaastra, Ankica Oros Sršen, Goran Tomac, Domagoj Tončinić and Marina Ugarković, who provided their insight and expertise with comments that greatly improved the manuscript, although any errors are my own.

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Eine seltene Variante der eisernen Trompetenfibeln*

Ján RAJTÁR, Nitra

Der Beitrag befasst sich mit einer seltenen Variante der eisernen Trompetenfibeln mit der Spiralschutzhülse ohne Knopf auf dem Bügel, die manchmal auch in der Querrillen oder mit Gittermuster an den Köpfen tauschiert werden. Sie kamen an einigen germanischen Brandgräberfeldern in der Westslowakei vor, jedoch solche Fibeln sind in anderen Bereichen des Barbaricums, wo man sonst die Gewandnadeln öfters auch aus Eisen hergestellt hat, nicht vertreten. Mehrere nahe Parallelen sind dagegen in Pannonien aus Siscia und aus der Umgebung von Vindobona bekannt und vereinzelt sind sie ebenso in Dakien und entfernteren Raetien vorgekommen. Die Herstellung aus Eisen und ihre Verzierung verbindet sie mit einer anderen Gruppe von spezifischen pannonischen Trompetenfibeln, die mit silberner Tauschierung entweder in Kreisrillen oder mit Gittermuster an breiteren Köpfen geschmückt sind. Diese Verzierungsart war dem "Provinzialgeschmack" fremd und lässt sich wohl von der bei den Germanen vor allem in den nordwestlichen Bereichen Europas geübten Verzierungstechnik ableiten. Diese Trompetenfibeln wurden jedoch schon in pannonischen Werkstätten erzeugt. Neben Pannonien kamen solche Fibeln vereinzelt auch in anderen Regionen vor und einige Fundstücke sind ebenfalls aus einigen germanischen Brandgräbern in der Slowakei bekannt. In germanischem Milieu hat man die Silbertauschierung an mehreren Fibelformen wie auch an anderen Gegenständen angewendet, das Gittermuster besonders an den prunkvollen Stuhlsporen. In Pannonien wurden mit solcher Silbertauschierung die eisernen Pferdegeschirrteile in den Hügelgräbern von Inota und Baláca verziert, wo vermutlich die Vertreter stark romanisierten Elite den angesiedelten Bevölkerungsgruppen der germanischen Herkunft bestattet waren. Es lässt sich daraus voraussetzen, dass aus solchen Impulsen und Anforderungen von diesem Milieu sind auch die eisernen pannonischen Trompetenfibeln mit spezifischen Silbertauschierung, einschließlich der behandelten Sonderformen in der 1. Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts entstanden und von einigen Handwerkern in der Provinz produziert wurden. Die auffällige Menge von den eisernen Trompetenfibeln in Siscia deutet darauf hin, dass es sich dort nicht nur um ein Handelszentrum, sondern auch um ein Herstellungszentrum von solchen Fibeln handeln könnte.

Key words: *Donauregion, Römische Kaiserzeit, eiserne Trompetenfibeln*

Einführung

Die absolute Mehrheit der römischen Fibeln wurde durch das Gießen vor allem aus den Kupferlegierungen hergestellt. Solche Erzeugung hat den römischen Handwerkern und Werkstätten ihre serienmäßige und massenhafte Produktion ermöglicht, so dass sie auch den großen Bedarf

* Der Beitrag entstand im Rahmen des Projektes VEGA 2/0115/18.

und Gebrauch von solchen Gewandnadeln decken konnten. Andererseits dieses Arbeitsverfahren erlaubte auch verschiedene Formen und Modifikationen von diesen Trachtteilen entweder nach lokalen Traditionen oder nach individuellem Geschmack, bzw. nach Modeänderungen oder neuen Erscheinungen herzustellen, modifizieren und auf den Markt bringen. Das Vorkommen aus Eisen verfertigten Fibeln in den Gebieten innerhalb der römischen Grenzen ist dagegen ganz rar. Offenbar hängt das auch damit zusammen, dass die Bearbeitung von kleinen Eisenstücken und Anfertigung von solchen Gegenständen wie die Fibeln durch das Schmieden war weitaus anspruchsvoll und noch dazu wenig effektiv. Sie benötigte ganz andere Arbeitsweise genauso wie ganz andere Geübtheiten und Erfahrungen. Bereits bei der Vorbereitung von Halbfabrikaten musste man jedes einzelnes Eisenstück mehrmals bis zum Glühen im Feuer erhitzen und dann schnell durch die genauen Hammerschläge auf dem Amboss (mit Schmiedegesenken und ebenso mit Hilfe von anderen Werkzeugen) ausformen und noch durch das Meißeln oder Schneiden grob bearbeiten. Erst darauf folgten weitere ähnliche Fertigungsstufen wie bei der Bearbeitung von den Gussrohlingen.

Außerhalb der römischen Grenzen im Barbaricum wurden die Fibeln jedoch nicht so selten auch aus Eisen hergestellt. Ihre große Produktion und Vorliebe ist besonders charakteristisch für die Bereiche der Przeworsk-Kultur im heutigen Polen, wo sie in der älteren Römischen Kaiserzeit überwiegen (Godłowski 1981: 90). Von dort haben sie sich durch die Kultureinflüsse, Handelskontakte aber genauso durch die Mobilität ihren Trägern/innen in die benachbarte wie auch entferntere Regionen verbreitet. Im Gebiet nördlich der mittleren Donau lässt sich vor allem um die Mitte und in der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. ständig wachsende Anzahl von solchen Fibeln sowie von anderen vorwiegend aus dem Bereich der Przeworsk-Kultur stammenden Fundgattungen beobachten. Sie deuten darauf hin, dass sie hierher gemeinsam mit ihren Trägern/innen gelangten und hängen mit einer Immigration von einigen Gruppen der Zuwanderer aus dortigen Gebieten in diesen Raum um die Zeit der Markomannenkriege zusammen.

Neue Untersuchungen der letzten Jahre haben dazu weitere Hinweise gebracht. Unter anderen sind das auch die Ergebnisse der Grabungen auf dem germanischen Brandgräberfeld in der westslowakischen Ortschaft Sekule, Kr. Senica, unweit der österreichischen und tschechischen Grenze. Die Fundstelle liegt westlich der Kleinen Karpaten auf der linken Seite der March im Gebiet, das in der Römischen Kaiserzeit von Donausueben, den Markomannen oder Quaden, besiedelt war. Die Mehrzahl der untersuchten Bestattungen stammt aus der Stufe B2/C1 der relativen Chronologie, was etwa der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. entspricht. Unter den Grabbeigaben aus diesem Zeitabschnitt sind neben den heimischen sowie importierten römischen Erzeugnissen auch ziemlich häufig Gegenstände vertreten, die auf Verbindungen mit entfernten kulturethnischen Milieus in westlichen, aber vor allem in nördlichen Teilen des mitteleuropäischen Barbaricums hinweisen. Zu mehreren Grabkomplexen finden sich genaue Parallelen auf den Gräberfeldern der Przeworsk-Kultur (Hüssen, Rajtár & Voss 2017; Iván, Kovácsová & Rajtár 2019).

Die eiserne Trompetenfibel aus dem Grab 21 des Gräberfeldes von Sekule

Auf der Nekropole von Sekule waren die Brandgräber häufig zerpflügt und nur selten komplett erhalten. Da einige Grabbeigaben unter oder neben den Urnen deponiert worden waren, sind auch von den gestörten Gräbern zumindest Teilinventare erhalten geblieben. Es ist auch der Fall des Grabes 21, das durch den Ackerbau sehr beschädigt war, aber von seinem Inhalt haben sich doch einige Gegenstände erhalten, die in einer Vertiefung unter der Urne hingelegt wurden. Es waren zwei Eisenfibeln, ein Anhänger mit Bergkristallkiesel, zwei Fragmente einer Knochennadel und ein Fragment vom Knochenkamm, ein konischer Spinnwirtel aus Bronze, mehrere Bronzeblechfragmente wahrscheinlich von einem Eimer, Fragmente von blauen Glasperlen und zerschmolzene Glasfragmente (Abb. 1.).

Eine von den Eisenfibeln ist vollständig erhalten (Abb. 1: 1). Sie besitzt einen massiven T-förmigen Körper mit rechteckiger Kopfplatte und breitem, S-förmig gebogenem Bügel, der sich noch leicht zum gerade abgeschnittenen Fußende verbreitet, der hohen Nadelhalter ist rechteckig und bandförmig. Die Spirale ist auf der Innenseite des Kopfes gedeckt und nur mit gespanntem Draht der Sehne in einer Rille im Unterteil der Kopfplatte befestigt. Nach der Form lässt sie sich zu den Fibeln mit Deckplatte der Serie 11 der Gruppe V von O. Almgren eingliedern (Almgren 1923: 65–66), jedoch in seiner Typologie findet sich keine genauere Entsprechung. Diese Fibeln hat R. Jamka in einem Artikel über die Funde aus Leonów

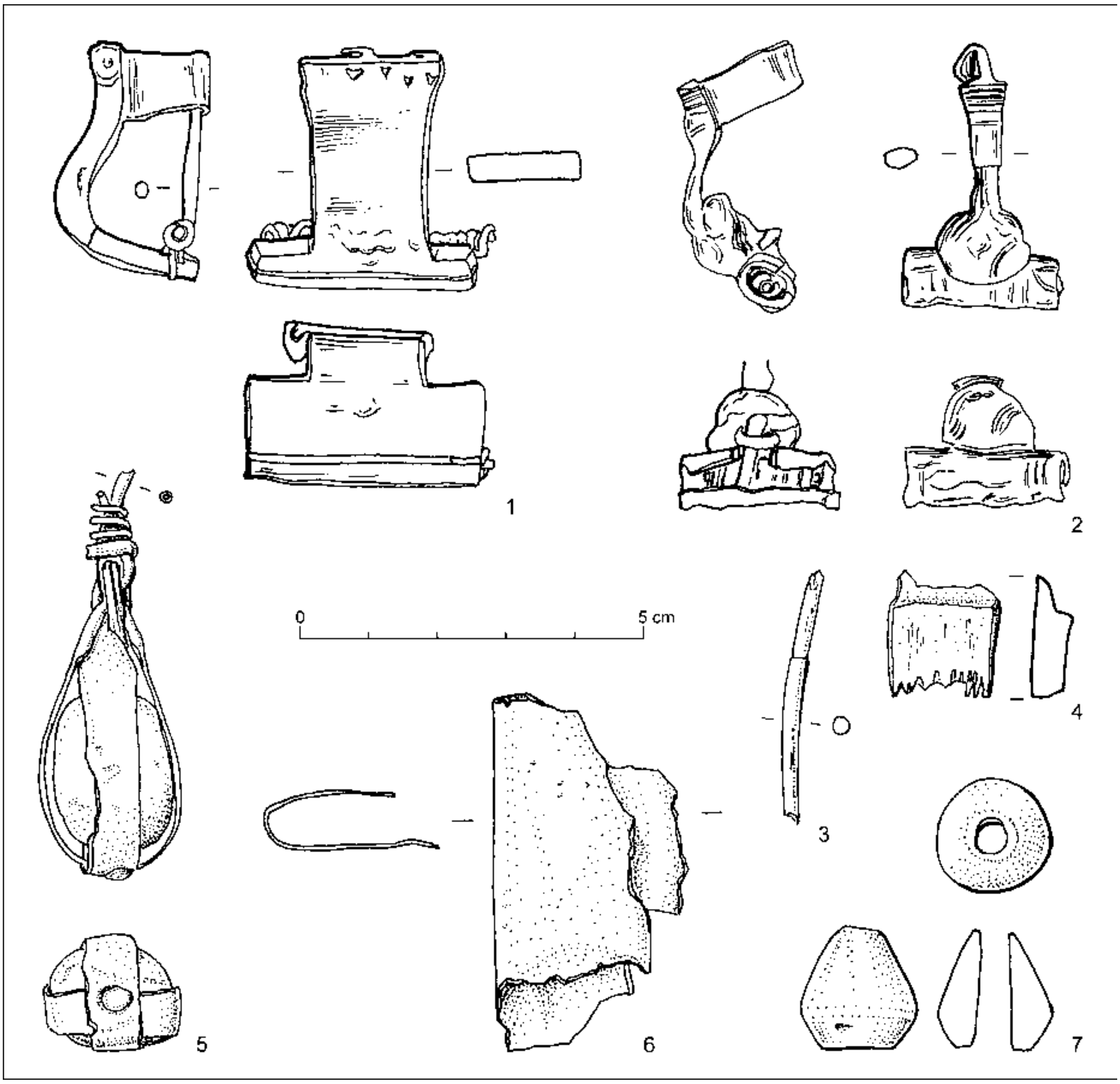

Abb. 1. Auswahl der Funde aus dem Grab 21 in Sekule, Kr. Senica, Slowakei (1–2 Eisen, 3–4 Knochen, 5 Bronze mit Bergkristallkiesel, 6–7 Bronze; Zeichnungen J. Hritzová).

gesammelt und charakterisiert, deshalb werden sie auch als Typ Leonów bezeichnet. Seiner Meinung nach sind sie im Gebiet von Großpolen wohl im ersten Viertel des 2. Jahrhunderts entstanden und dann im zweiten Viertel und Anfang der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts haben sie sich weit verbreitet (Jamka 1963: 62, 70–73, Abb. 3, Taf. I: 5). Nach K. Godłowski gehörten sie vor allem in westlichen Teilen der Przeworsk-Kultur zu den charakteristischen Formen der entwickelten Stufe B2, vereinzelt sind sie auch in benachbarten Kulturbereichen vorgekommen (Godłowski 1977: 22–23). Im Mitteldonaugebiet sind die Eisenfibeln vom Typ Leonów bisher nur selten vorgekommen und werden in die Stufe B2/C1, etwa in die 2. Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. datiert (Iván, Kovácsová & Rajtár 2019: 313–314).

Die zweite mehrteilige Eisenfibel hat einen verbreiteten Trompetenkopf und leicht gebogenen Bügel mit flachovalem D-förmigem Querschnitt, der sich mäßig nach hinten zum Fußende verbreitet. Die Oberfläche ist zwar korrodiert aber am gerade abgeschnittenen Fußende sind noch vier Querrillen deutlich zu erkennen, die ursprünglich wahrscheinlich mit eingelegten Silberdrähtchen verfüllt wurden. Unter dem Fuß ist schräg nach hinten gestellter hoher schmaler bandförmiger Nadelhalter, noch mit abgebrochener Nadelspitze in der Rast. Unter dem Kopf ist am hinausrückenden Spiralhalter röhrenförmige, unten mit einem Schlitz geöffnete Schutzhülse befestigt, die eine Spiralrolle mit Achse umschließt, die Nadel ist gebrochen und fehlt. Auf der Hülse lassen sich noch Spuren von mehreren Querrillen beobachten. Die Länge der Fibel beträgt 3,8 cm, sie ist 1,8 cm hoch und die Hülse 2,3 cm lang (Abb. 1: 2). Diese Gewandnadel stellt eine ganz seltene Sonderform der Trompetenfibel dar, die werden noch unten weiter behandelt.

Von erhaltenem Grabinventar deutet an die Verbindungen mit dem Bereich der Przeworsk-Kultur neben der Fibel vom Typ Leonów ebenfalls der gebundene Anhänger aus einem Bergkristallkiesel in einer Bronzefassung von glatten Blechstreifen hin (Abb. 1: 5). Solche Anhänger kommen im östlichen Barbaricum vor allem gerade im Verbreitungsgebiet dieser Kultur vor, dabei alle bisher bekannten Exemplare stammen

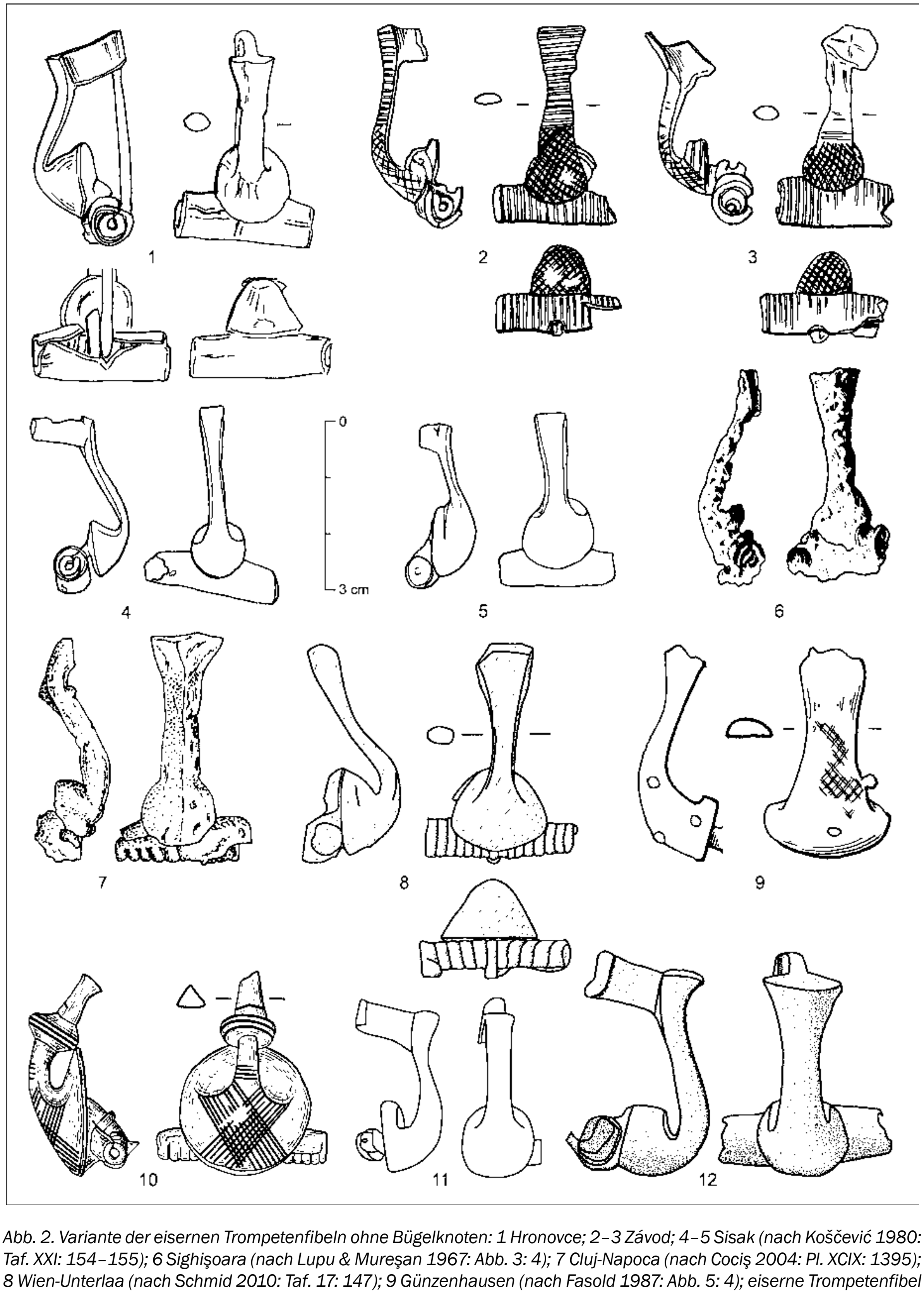

Abb. 2. Variante der eisernen Trompetenfibeln ohne Bügelknoten: 1 Hronovce; 2–3 Závod; 4–5 Sisak (nach Koščević 1980: Taf. XXI: 154–155); 6 Sighişoara (nach Lupu & Mureşan 1967: Abb. 3: 4); 7 Cluj-Napoca (nach Cociş 2004: Pl. XCIX: 1395); 8 Wien-Unterlaa (nach Schmid 2010: Taf. 17: 147); 9 Günzenhausen (nach Fasold 1987: Abb. 5: 4); eiserne Trompetenfibel A 85 mit Silbertauschierung: 10 Likavka; bronzene Kniefibeln vom Typ Jobst 12A: 11 Banovo polje – Crkvina (nach Petković 2010: Taf. XXIV: 7); 12 Wien-Unterlaa (nach Schmid 2010: Taf. 19: 161); sonstige Zeichnungen J. Hritzová.

aus den Frauengräbern (Stanek 1999: 333–336, 339). Es lässt sich vermuten, dass im Grab 21 von Sekule etwa in der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. auch eine Frau bestattet wurde.

Die Parallelen und die Frage der Herkunft der Sonderform eiserner Trompetenfibeln

Zur Trompetenfibel aus dem Grab 21 von Sekule finden sich bei O. Almgren keine Entsprechungen und ebenso sind keine Parallelen aus dem Gebiet der Przeworsk-Kultur oder anderen Kulturbereichen des mitteleuropäischen Barbaricums bekannt. Im Gebiet der Westslowakei sind jedoch noch einige weitere solche Fundstücke zum Vorschein gekommen. Eine, auch nach Ausmaßen gleichförmige, komplett erhaltene, doch ziemlich korrodierte Eisenfibel mit kegelförmigem Trompetenkopf (Abb. 2: 1) stammt aus germanischem Brandgräberfeld in Hronovce, Kr. Levice, in unterem Grantal, wo sie zusammen mit anderen Gegenständen aus den bereits zerstörten Gräbern gefunden wurde (Beljak 2014: 15, Abb. 6: 4–9; die Fibel ist dort nicht abgebildet[1]).

Besonders bedeutend sind jedoch zwei weitere Exemplare, die nur vor kurzem ebenfalls im Bereich einer germanischen Brandnekropole in Závod, Kr. Malacky, nur unweit von Sekule im Marchtal aufgelesen wurden[2]. Beide diese Fibeln sind ganz identisch, nicht so korrodiert und nur teilweise durch die Feuereinwirkung beschädigt, so dass ihre Verzierung sich besser erkennen lässt. Neben mehreren Querrillen auf dem Bügel, Fußenden und Spiralhülsen sind sie noch auf den Kopfteilen dicht mit feinen schräg geritzten, quer sich überlappenden Linien verziert, die einen Gitternetzmuster bilden und ursprünglich mit Silberdrähtchen verfüllt wurden (Abb. 2: 2–3).

Eine solche Verzierungsart kam bisher auf einigen anderen eisernen Trompetenfibeln in Pannonien vor. Sie waren vor allem aus älteren Museumsammlungen bekannt und nur bei manchen davon wurden auch ihre Fundorte angegeben, wie Bruckmaierhof zwischen Oberschützen und Pinkafeld im Burgenland, Veszprém, Wiener Neustadt und bei mehreren Stücken Sisak (die Fundstellen bei weiteren Exemplaren sind unbekannt – Almgren 1923: 44; Kovrig 1937: 54, 118, Taf. VII: 70, XXIX: 3, 5–7; Patek 1942: 199, Taf. XXII: 8–10). Sie entsprechen der Form Almgren 85 und besitzen unvergleichbar größere und stärker ausgeprägte Trompetenköpfe, die werden am Rand mit silbernem Perldraht eingefasst. Noch dazu tragen sie auf dem Bügel massive konische Knöpfe, die oft die Ränder von breiten scheibenförmigen Kopfbasen berühren und ebenso mit silbernen Perldrahteinlagen in umkreisenden Rillen versehen sind. Reichhaltig werden auch ihre Fußenden und Fußknöpfe verziert. Die langen Spiralen mit umwickelter oder oberer Sehne haben keine Schutzhülsen. E. Patek teilte die in Pannonien erschienenen Fibeln mit Trompetenkopf in fünf Gruppen und diese Formen hat sie als Gruppe 4 ausgegliedert. Ihrer Meinung nach war ihre Verzierung dem "Provinzialgeschmack“ fremd und lässt sich auf die bei den Germanen in Nordwesteuropa verwendete Ziertechnik zurückzuführen. Sie hat jedoch diese Gewandnadeln schon für heimische Fabrikate gehalten, die von einigen Werkstätten in dieser Provinz produziert wurden. Noch in größerer Anzahl sind in Pannonien die gegossenen Bronzefibeln dieser Gruppe vorgekommen (Kovrig 1937: 53–54; Patek 1942: 113–114, 197–199, 290). W. Jobst vertritt die Meinung, dass man diese Spangen wegen des ziemlich scharf umrissenen Verbreitungsgebietes und einiger, ganz markanter Merkmale als eigenen provizialrömischen Typ betrachten kann und deshalb hat er sie als pannonische Trompetenfibeln bezeichnet (Jobst 1975: 42–43).

Bereits früher war besonders auffällig die große Konzentration von diesen Trompetenfibeln in Siscia, heute Sisak in Kroatien und E. Patek hat diese römische Stadt deshalb auch als Handelszentrum mit diesen Spangen angesehen (Patek 1942: 114). Die von R. Koščević unternommene Bearbeitung und Veröffentlichung der Fibeln aus diesem Fundort hat ihre zahlreiche Vertretung bestätigt und noch bekräftigt. Von den dort stammenden 33 Fundstücken der Trompetenfibeln gehören 13 eiserne Exemplare

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1 Für freundliche Mitteilung und die Unterlagen danke ich Herrn J. Beljak.

2 Die ersten Funde aus diesem Gräberfeld hat bereits E. Beninger (1934: 96–100) veröffentlicht, jedoch seine genaue Lokalisierung war lange nicht bekannt. Es wurde erst im Herbst 2017 erneut entdeckt. Die unternommenen Untersuchungen haben gezeigt, dass alle Brandgräber wurden offenbar leider schon in Vergangenheit durch tiefes Umpflügen zerstört. Die Bearbeitung und Veröffentlichung der Untersuchungsergebnisse ist in Vorbereitung.

zu der oben beschriebenen Gruppe mit reichhaltiger Verzierung, die vor allem durch die Silbertauschierung gebildet ist (Koščević 1980: 25–26, 53–54, Taf. XXI: 161, XXII: 164–165, 169, XLII: 89, 91). Neben dem sind dort noch 3 weitere eiserne Trompetenfibeln einer abweichenden Variante ohne Bügelknoten und mit Spiralschutzhülse vorgekommen (Koščević 1980: 25, 53, Taf. XXI: 154–155, XLII: 90), die nach der Form, Große und Gestaltung (hier Abb. 2: 4–5) genau den Fibeln aus Sekule, Hronovce und Závod entsprechen. Die Fibeln aus Sisak sind beschädigt und in ihrer Beschreibung ist keine Verzierung erwähnt. Sie sind jedoch offenbar ziemlich korrodiert und deshalb konnten jegliche Verzierungspuren bereits verschwunden oder sind nicht mehr merkbar.

Zwei weitere eiserne Trompetenfibeln ähnlicher Form sind auch in Dakien belegt. Ein beschädigtes und ziemlich korrodiertes Stück (Abb. 2: 6) stammt aus einer Brandnekropole des 2. Jahrhunderts in Sighişoara (Lupu & Mureşan 1967: 178, Abb. 3: 4) und das zweite aus Cluj-Napoca (Abb. 2: 7). S. Cociş hat sie zusammen mit spezifischer Form der in Dakien öfters vertretenen bronzenen Trompetenfibeln ebenfalls ohne Bügelknoten aber mit facettiertem Kopf und Körper behandelt und als Typ 21c2 aus Eisen in seiner Gliederung bezeichnet. Er ist der Meinung, dass sie sich in dieser Provinz entwickeln konnten und in der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts wurde ihre lokale Produktion vor allem für den Bedarf vom Militär bestimmt (Cociş 2004: 115, Pl. XCIX: 1395). Im Unterschied zu den beiden Eisenexemplaren besitzt jedoch keine einzige von den Bronzefibeln dieser Form eine Spiralschutzhülse. Es ist auch bemerkenswert, dass außerhalb von Dakien ist bisher nur eine solche Bronzefibel mit facettiertem Kopf und Körper aus Mähren in mitteldonauländischem Barbaricum bekannt (Peškař 1972: 35, 88, Taf. 14: 4). In Dakien sind auch zwei eiserne Trompetenfibeln Almgren 85 vorgekommen, eine davon mit den Tauschierungspuren auf breitem Kopf und massivem Bügelknopf aus Caransebeş, den römischen Tibiscum (Cociş 2004: 114, 204, Pl. XCVIII: 1375–1376). Im Gebiet südöstlich von Pannonien ist ein Fragment von ähnlicher Eisenfibel mit silbertauschiertem Gittermuster auf dem Kopf in Jagodina – Vojska in Serbien zum Vorschein gekommen (Petković 2010: 119, 121, Abb. 31, Taf. XX: 7).

Am nordpannonischen Limes ist aus dem Bereich von Vindobona unlängst eine sehr nahe Parallele zu den behandelten Sonderformen der eisernen Trompetenfibeln bekannt geworden, die aus einer Grabung in Wien 10, Unterlaa stammt (Schmid 2010: 106, Taf. 17: 147). Sie ist stark korrodiert, hat ähnlich geformten kegelförmigen Kopf, leicht gebogenen Bügel vom flachovalen Querschnitt der sich zum Fußende verbreitet, der Nadelhalter ist gebrochen und Nadel fehlt. Sie besitzt eine zehnwindige Spirale, jedoch im Unterschied zu unseren Exemplaren ist ohne Schutzhülse (Abb. 2: 8). Aus derselben Grabung stammt auch eine eiserne Fibel vom Typ Almgren 85 mit konzentrischen Kreisrillen auf dem Kopf und eng nebeneinander liegenden Rillen auf dem konisch sich nach hinten verbreitenden Bügel, noch mit einer Bronzeplättchen auf dem Fuß (Schmid 2010: 30, 106, Taf. 17: 148).

Neuerdings vergleicht H. Sedlmayer mit dieser Sonderform auch eine aus Eisen verfertigte Spange mit sackförmigem Kopf, die bei den Grabungen in Canabae von Lauriacum am norischen Limes gefunden wurde (Sedlmayer 2018: 125, 128, Abb. 104–105/4). Es ist jedoch sehr fraglich ob es sich in diesem Fall um eine solche Trompetenfibel handeln könnte.

Sehr bemerkenswerte Fibelfunde stammen jedoch aus einem noch mehr westlich gelegenen Fundort Günzenhausen bei Eching, Ldkr. Freising in Bayern, in ehemaliger Provinz Raetien. Dort wurde eine kleine teilweise zerstörte Grabgruppe entdeckt und flächenmäßig vollständig untersucht. Im Grab 2, wahrscheinlich Frauenbestattung mit zahlreichen Beigaben von Terra sigillata, Ton- und Glasgefäßen sowie einem Lavezbecher und Münzen, wurde auch eine beschädigte eiserne Fibel mit teilweise ausgeschmolzenem silbertauschiertem Gittermuster gefunden (Abb. 2: 9). Das Grab lässt sich nach einer von den beigegebenen Münzen, einem As von Marc Aurel geprägt 161/162, das ein terminus post quem für die Bestattung liefert, ziemlich genau datieren (Fasold 1989: 183, 190, 207–209, Abb. 5: 4). P. Fasold hat die Spange für eine Kniefibel gehalten obwohl er auch gleich vermerkt hat, dass die sonst übliche halbrunde Kopfplate in diesem Fall fehlt. Er hat auf die Parallelen im mittleren Donauraum hingewiesen aber wegen dem ungewöhnlichen Material und Verzierungsart an möglicher Herkunft aus germanischem Kulturkreis gedacht. Die Fibel hat zwar einen breiteren Kopf und Körper aber ihre Profilierung mit leicht gebogenem Bügel ist ähnlich wie bei den behandelten Sonderformen der Trompetenfibeln und durch die silbertauschierten Gittermuster ist sie mit ihnen auch direkt verwandt. Die Datierung des Grabes 2 entspricht ebenso ihrer Gebrauchzeit.

Aus ähnlich reich ausgestattetem Grab 4b derselben Nekropole, wahrscheinlich ebenfalls einer Frauenbestattung stammt eine komplett erhaltene eiserne Trompetenfibel Almgren 85 mit konzentrischen Kreisrillen und drei geritzten Linien, die Verzierung am Kopf noch in zwei Dreiecksegmente gliedern und mit dichter Gravur am konischen Bügelknopf. P. Fasold hat sie mit ähnlichen pannonischen Trompetenfibeln aus dem mittleren Donauraum verglichen und dort auch ihrer Herkunft vermutet (Fasold 1987: 183, 190, 210, Abb. 8: 3). Die wenige Vergleichsstücke aus den Grabkontexten waren damals aus dem Grab 109 der römischen Nekropole von Matrica, Százhalombatta-Dunafüred in Ungarn (Topál 1981: 42, Pl. XXXVII: 17) und aus den Gräbern 94 und 175 des germanischen Gräberfeldes von Abrahám in der Slowakei (Kolník 1980: 43, 62, Taf. XXX: 94b1–2; L: 175b) bekannt, die in die Abschlussphase der Stufe B2 datiert sind. Bei den Überlegungen zur Herkunft von beiden bestatteten Frauen hält es deshalb P. Fasoldt für wahrscheinlich, dass es sich um romanisierte Germaneninnen handeln konnte, die sich im Zuge eines organisierten Programmes an der Aufsiedelung des osträtischen Raumes beteiligt haben. Der Abbruch der Belegung des Bestattungsplatzes könnte mit den Ereignissen während der Markomannekriege im Zusammenhang stehen (Fasold 1989: 191, 193).

Die Fibel aus dem Grab 4b von Günzenhausen unterscheidet sich sehr deutlich von den sonstigen in Raetien und Noricum vertretenen bronzenen Trompetenfibeln Almgren 85 ebenso wie von den verwandten Fibeln des Typs Almgren 86, die für spezifisch raetischen Fibeltyp gehalten werden (Gschwind & Ortisi 2001). Inzwischen sind noch weitere Vergleichsstücke zu dieser Fibel aus der Südwestslowakei bekannt geworden. Zwei solche eiserne Exemplare stammen aus dem Grab 4 (3/61) vom germanischen Gräberfeld in Gbelce, Kr. Nové Zámky, wo sie zusammen mit einer Silberfibel der Variante Almgren 38–39c gefunden wurden. Neben den Kreisrillen und geritzten Linien auf den Köpfen sind sie ähnlich wie die mehreren raetischen Fibeln vom Typ Almgren 86 noch mit zwei Kreisaugen verziert, jedoch im Gegensatz zu ihnen besitzen sie keine Stützplatte. J. Beljak und T. Kolník betrachten sie deshalb als ein Zwischenglied in der Entwicklung der Trompetenfibeln vom Typ Almgren 85 zum Typ Almgren 86 und datieren sie in die Zeit um die Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts (Beljak & Kolník 2006: 77, 80–82, Abb. 11: 1–2). Neuerdings sind noch zwei fast gleiche Fundstücke als Lesefunde aus dem schon erwähnten Gräberfeld in Hronovce zum Vorschein gekommen[3]. Aus der Slowakei stammt eine korrodierte eiserne Fibel etwa vom Typ Almgren 85 mit Kreisrillenverzierung ebenso aus dem Grab 75 vom germanischen Gräberfeld in Bešeňov, Kr. Nové Zámky (Kolník 1961: 234, 245, Taf. XI: 75g) und Fragment einer Eisenfibel mit silbertauschiertem Gitternetzmuster am breitem Trompetenkopf (Abb. 2: 10) wurde überraschend im Bereich einer Siedlung der Púchov-Kultur in Likavka, Kr. Ružomberok im nördlichen Bergland gefunden (Pieta & Švihurová 2019: Fig. 1: 4).

S. Ortisi hat sich im Zusammenhang mit den Veränderungen in der Zusammensetzung von Provinzbevölkerung im mittelkaiserzeitlichen Raetien mit Auftauchen von regionalspezifischen Kleidungsteilen, darunter vor allem mit den aus mittleren Donauraum stammenden Fibeln befasst. Eine Erklärung hierzu sieht er in Verbindung mit größeren Bevölkerungsverschiebungen und Ansiedlung von Zuwanderer im östlichen Raetien bereits vor aber besonders während oder nach den Markomannekriegen. Seiner Meinung nach Personen, die diese Trachtbestandteile hierher gebracht haben ursprünglich aus den Kontaktzonen zwischen Römern und Germanen an der mittleren und wohl auch unteren Donau stammten und in diesem Kontext lassen sich auch die beiden in Raetien ganz außergewöhnlichen eisernen Fibeln aus Günzenhausen betrachten (Ortisi 2016: 524).

Die gesammelten und zusammengestellten Parallelen der Eisenfibel vom Grab 21 in Sekule (Abb. 2: 1–9) stellen eine Gruppe von Sonderformen dar, die sich sowohl von üblichen pannonischen Typen wie auch von allen übrigen Formen der Trompetenfibeln sehr deutlich unterscheiden. Das wichtige abweichende Merkmal ist vor allem der fehlende Bügelknoten, den sonst alle Trompetenfibeln besitzen. Neben der Anfertigung aus Eisen gehört zu ihren gemeinsamen Attributen die mehrteilige Konstruktion, kleinerer, manchmal kegelförmiger oder gedrückter Trompetenkopf, Spiralschutzhülse (mit einigen Ausnahmen wie bei dem Fundstück aus Wien-Unterlaa), leicht gebogenen Bügel vom flachovalen oder D-förmigen Querschnitt, der sich mäßig nach hinten verbreitet, gerade abgeschnittenes Fußende und hoher schmaler bandförmiger Nadelhalter. Nach diesen Merkmalen lassen sich diese Spangen als eine eigene Variante

[3] Unpubliziert. Für die Information danke ich Herrn J. Beljak.

der Trompetenfibeln ohne Bügelknoten betrachten. Die zwei aus den Grabkontexten in Günzenhausen und Sekule stammenden Exemplare stützen ihre Datierung um die Mitte und in die 2. Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts.

Diese Variante der Trompetenfibeln mit ihrer Form und sonstigen Merkmalen erinnern an einige bronzene Kniefibeln mit Spiralhülse vom Typ Jobst 12A (Jobst 1975: 59–60, Taf. 15: 97, 101), die zahlreich in den Donauprovinzen Noricum, Pannonien und Dakien vertreten sind. Besonders ähnliche Form zeigt z. B. das Fundstück aus Banovo polje – Crkvina (Abb. 2: 11), das S. Petković deshalb auch mit den oben erwähnten bronzenen Trompetenfibeln aus Dakien vom Typ 21c nach Cociş mit facettiertem Kopf und Körper ohne Bügelknoten verglichen hat (Petković 2010: 133, 141, Taf. XIV: 7). Die ebenso sehr verwandte Form weist auch eine Kniefibel auf (Abb. 2: 12), die aus der Umgebung von Vindobona stammt (Schmid 2010: 34, 107, Abb. 2: 11). Aus dem Vergleich mit diesen Kniefibeln scheint es sogar ganz möglich zu sein, dass es sich um eiserne Nachahmungen von solchen Formen handeln könnte.

Auf dem Fußende und Spiralhülse der Fibel aus Sekule sind die Spuren von Querrillen und auf den beiden Exemplaren aus Závod neben ebensolchen Querrillen noch auch geritzte Gittermuster auf den Kopfteilen erhalten, die ursprünglich, ähnlich wie bei der Fibel aus Günzenhausen, mit Silbertauschierung versehen wurden.

Die Tauschierung insbesondere mit Silber gehörte im Römischen Reich bereits von der frühen Kaiserzeit zur beliebten und oft hochgeschätzten Ziertechnik von verschiedenen metallenen Gegenständen, von Kleingeräten, Tintenfässern, Dekorations- und Luxusartikel bis zu Waffen und Ausrüstungsteilen, die die römischen Hersteller meisterhaft beherrschten (Holmquist 1951: 15–23, Abb. 4–6; Noll 1988; Bishop & Coulston 2006: 83–88; Thomas 1971). Diese Verzierungstechnik hat eine langlebige Tradition und wurde öfters vom späteren 1. bis zum 3. Jahrhundert verwendet, jedoch auf den Gewandnadeln ist sie nur ganz ausnahmsweise belegt und zwar gerade bei den spezifischen eisernen pannonischen Trompetenfibeln.

Im Freien Germanien erscheint dagegen die Tauschierung mit Draht aus Bunt- oder Edelmetall auf mehreren Fibelformen. In westlichen Teilen im Elbegebiet waren es vornehmlich eiserne knieförmig gebogene Fibeln, die häufiger auf der Bügeloberseite flächig in Querkerben mit Silbereinlagen verziert wurden (Gupte 2004: 14). In östlichen Teilen sind um die Wende zwischen 1. und 2. Jahrhundert oder in der 1. Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts bronzene aber besonders eiserne Trompetenfibeln vom Typ Almgren 76 (Almgren 1923: 41) wie auch andere ähnliche Formen aufgetaucht, dessen Oberfläche auf den Fußteilen oder ganzen Bügeln quer oder schräg ausgeführte Rillen bedeckt haben, die mit Silber- oder Kupferdrähtchen tauschiert wurden. Solche, manchmal dicht verzierte Trompetenfibel kamen ebenfalls im Gebiet nördlich der mittleren Donau um die Mitte des 2. Jahrhundert vor (Peškař 1972: 83–85, Taf. 13: 10; Tejral 1999: 149, Abb. 8: 5–7, 15–16, 18). Ähnliche Verzierung aus gruppenweise angeordneten feinen Quer- oder Schrägfurchen tragen oft auch viele hauptsächlich eiserne Formen der Kopfkammfibeln der Almgren Gruppe V, Serie 8, die gleichfalls im 2. Jahrhundert vor allem in östlichen Teilen des Barbaricums sehr stark verbreitet waren (Machajewski 1998; Tejral 1999: 151–152; Iván, Kovácsová & Rajtár 2019: Taf. 12: 1). Die Tauschierung mit einem Gittermuster wurde jedoch an diesen Fibeln nur ganz rar verwendet, wie z. B. auf einer Trompetenfibel aus Grab 24 in Chmielów Piaskowy (Godłowski & Wichman 1998: 26, Taf. XXXIII: 24,5) und auf einer Kopfkammfibel aus Grab 181 in Kamieńczyk (Dąbrowska 1997: 45, Taf. C: 181,2).

In germanischen Bereichen wurden außer den Fibeln auch andere Gegenstände wie Gürtelschnallen, Riemenbeschläge, Pferdegeschirrteile und ebenso prächtige Stuhlsporen mit Streifen aus Silberdrähtchen tauschiert. Gerade auf einigen eisernen Stacheln von solchen Prunksporen, die aus den reich ausgestatteten Gräbern in nordelbgermanischen Kulturbereichen, vornehmlich in Südskandinavien und im unteren Elbegebiet stammen, kommt neben der silbernen Streifentauschierung auch Gittermuster vor. Aus dem schwedischen Öland sind zwei solche Exemplare aus einem Grabfund in Hörninge (Holmquist 1951: 71–72, Abb. 31) und noch ein Stück mit Gittermuster und das zweite mit waagerechter Streifentauschierung aus Körpergrab A 2 in Sörby-Störlinge (Hagberg 1965: 45, Abb. 2) bekannt. Weitere solche prunkvolle Stuhlsporen wurden in Jütland im Körpergrab aus Bredal zusammen mit ähnlich verzierter Gürtelschnalle und einem Beschlag (Mikkelsen 1990: 171–173, 178–180, Abb. 22; 27: b–c), dann im Grab aus dem Jahr 1877 in Brokær (Rasmussen 1995: 48, 9e–f), im Grab A in Dollerup (Voss & Ørnes-Christensen 1948: 220–222, Abb. 7) und noch im Körpergrab 41 in Hørløkke (Böhme 1991: 300, Nr. 16) aufgefunden. In Schleswig-Holstein hat man zwei Stuhlsporen mit Gittermuster verzierten Eisenstacheln auch mit ähnlich verzierten Bestandteilen der Schwertscheide im Urnengrab 1984 und noch ein Sporenpaar im Urnengrab K. S. 10386 auf dem Gräberfeld in Bordesholm gefunden (Saggau 1981: Taf. 94, i; 162: K. S. 10386, a; 1986: 61–62; Rau 2017: 411, Abb. 1: 2, a und c; 2: 1–2) und ein Stuhlsporn mit den Resten der Gittertauschierung stammt noch aus Urnengrab 358 in Husby (Raddatz 1974: 35, Taf. 74: 358, b). In Mecklenburg-Vorpommern sind solche prunkvolle silbertauschierte Stuhlsporen vor allem aus den Gräbern in Hagenow bekannt und ein Sporenpaar aus Urnengrab I/1899 ist auf den Eisenstacheln ebenso mit Gittermuster verziert. Solche Verzierungsart ist dort noch ebenfalls auf anderen Gegenständen wie auf einer eiserner Doppeldornschnalle und zugehöriger Riemenzunge aus Grab VII/1907, auf der Riemenzunge aus Komplex 5/1995 und noch auf dem Feuerstahl aus Grab 9/1995 verwendet (Lüth *et al.* 2000: 193, Abb. 10: 1; Voss 2008: 256–258, Abb. 2; 5). Ähnlich verziertes Sporenpaar stammt ebenfalls aus reich ausgestattetem Urnengrab 120 vom naheliegenden Gräberfeld in Körchow (Keiling 1983: 74, Abb. 9). Mindestens noch ein Exemplar von zwei Stuhlsporen aus Urnengrab 3 in Świecie Kołobrzeskie in Polen (vorher Schwedt in Westpommern) wurde ebenfalls mit Gittertauschierung verziert (Eggers & Stary 2001: 124, Taf. 334: 283 Schwedt a, 2–2a, 3–3a). Diese Prunksporen werden in die entwickelte Phase der Stufe B 2 bzw. in die 1. Hälfte bis ins mittlere Drittel des 2. Jahrhunderts datiert und gehörten zur Ausstattung der Gräber germanischer Kriegerelite.

Etwa in gleicher Zeit sind solche Stuhlsporen mit waagerechter oder schräger silberner Streifentauschierung auf den Eisenstacheln ebenso im Gebiet nördlich der mittleren Donau aufgetaucht. Neben dem Einzelfund aus Ringelsdorf und einem Sporenpaar aus dem reich ausgestatteten Grab im Rothenseehof in Niederösterreich sind das besonders die prachtvoll verzierten Stuhlsporen B 1 – B 4 aus dem Königsgrab von Mušov (Peška & Tejral 2002: 526–529, Taf. 50–53; Tejral 2002: 145, Abb. 1: 2–3).

Die weite Verbreitung derartig verzierter Sachgüter wie die erwähnten Fibeln, Gürtelschnallen, Riemenbeschläge, Pferdegeschirrteile und vor allem prächtige Stuhlsporen beweisen, dass zahlreiche Handwerker und Werkstätten im mitteleuropäischen Barbaricum diese Technik ebenso meisterhaft beherrschten.

Im Zusammenhang mit der Suche nach der Herkunft von dieser spezifischen Verzierungsart auf einigen eisernen pannonischen Trompetenfibeln sind sehr bemerkenswert die Funde aus einer kleinen Brandnekropole in Vinár-Cserálja und besonders aus den Hügelgräbern von Inota und Baláca in pannonischem Gebiet nördlich vom Plattensee. Nach dem Bestattungsritus, den zahlreichen Waffenbeigaben und einigen handgemachten germanischen Gefäßen aus den Gräbern in Vinár-Cserálja (Mithay 1989) lässt sich voraussetzen, dass hier etwa vom Beginn des 2. Jahrhunderts eine kleine Gruppe der Ansiedler germanischer Herkunft ihre Verstorbene bestattet hat, die nur teilweise romanisiert wurden und ihre Grabsitten beibehalten haben (Tejral 2002: 154–155). Im Männergrab 12 mit Waffenbeigaben befand sich ein Paar von Stuhlsporen mit waagerechter silberner Streifentauschierung auf den Eisenstacheln und eine solche Stuhlsporn ist noch im Grab 17 vorgekommen (Mithay 1989: 55, 67, Abb. 10: 17, 2; 11: 12, 3–4; 21).

Noch bemerkenswertere Funde stammen aus den Hügelgräbern von Inota und Baláca. Unter den beiden aufwendig aufgebauten Grabmonumenten in Inota wurden neben den reich ausgestatteten Gräbern in separaten Gruben auch Wagenteile und Pferdeskelette entdeckt. Bei den Pferdeskeletten lagen zahlreiche Teile von eisernen Pferdegeschirren, die reichhaltig mit silbernen Fäden tauschiert wurden. Die Inotaer Hügelgräber werden in die Regierungszeit des Traianus eventuell an den Anfang der Regierungszeit von Hadrianus datiert. Zu den silbertauschierten eisernen Pferdegeschirren sind keine genaue Parallelen bekannt (Palágyi 1981: 26, 35, 40–41, Taf. III: 1–4, 7–8, 11; XVI: 1–15, 17–20). Unter dem Grabhügel in Baláca wurde ein *bustum* ebenfalls mit Überresten von einem aufgezäumten Pferd gefunden. Die Pferdegeschirrgarnitur bestand neben den Bronzebeschlägen auch aus mehreren eisernen Teilen vom Zaumzeug, Riemendurchlässen und –ösen, die mit silbernen Gitternetzmustern tauschiert wurden. S. K. Palágyi hat sie mit der Verzierung von eisernen pannonischen Trompetenfibeln verglichen und in die hadrianische Periode datiert (Palágyi 1995: 400–404, 408, Abb. 2; 3: 1–7). Die Eigenart dieser pannonischen Hügelgräber, wo sich auf einer Seite die provinzialrömische Grabsitten und auf der anderen Seite auch einige Elemente des fremden Grabritus und ungewöhnliche Beigaben wie Waffen und Ausrüstungsteile ausprägen deuten darauf hin, dass es sich um die Bestattungen von den Vertretern stark romanisierten Elite den angesiedelten Bevölkerungsgruppen der germanischen Herkunft handelte (Nagy

1997; Tejral 2002: 157–158). Die einzigartigen eisernen Teile von Pferdegeschirrgarnituren, die keine Vergleichsstücke in den Provinzen besitzen, wurden jedoch offenbar nach gewünschtem Geschmack und spezifischem Anspruch den Auftraggebern in pannonischen Werkstätten gefertigt. Es lässt sich daraus voraussetzen, dass aus solchen Impulsen und Anforderungen sind auch die eisernen pannonischen Trompetenfibeln mit spezifischen Silbertauschierung, einschließlich der behandelten Sonderformen in der 1. Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts entstanden und von einigen Handwerkern in der Provinz produziert wurden.

Schussfolgerungen

Zum Schluss lässt sich feststellen, dass die eiserne Fibel von mehrteiliger Konstruktion mit Trompetenkopf und Spiralschutzhülse, flachovalem, leicht gebogenem Bügel ohne Knopf, mit gerade abgeschnittenem Fußende, hohem schmalem Nadelhalter und mit den Spuren der Verzierung mit Silbertauschierung aus dem Grab 21 in Sekule und die gesammelten und zusammengestellten Parallelen bilden eine eigene seltene Variante der eisernen pannonischen Trompetenfibeln (Abb. 1: 2; 2: 1–9). Die zwei aus den Grabkontexten in Günzenhausen und Sekule stammenden Exemplare stützen ihre Datierung um die Mitte bzw. in die 2. Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts. Mit ihrer Form und sonstigen Merkmalen erinnern sie sehr an einige bronzene Kniefibeln mit Spiralhülse vom Typ Jobst 12A und so kann man wohl auch vermuten, dass sie ihre aus Eisen verfertigten Nachahmungen darstellen. Die Verzierung mit silberner Streifentauschierung aber vor allem mit Gittermuster an Kopfteilen von einigen Exemplaren verbinden sie mit den sonstigen eisernen pannonischen Trompetenfibeln, die ähnlich entweder in Kreisrillen oder mit Gittermuster an breiteren Trompetenköpfen tauschiert sind. Eisen als das für römische Herstellung von Fibeln ganz ungewöhnliche Material ebenso wie eigenartige Verzierungsart muten den Anschein an, dass es sich

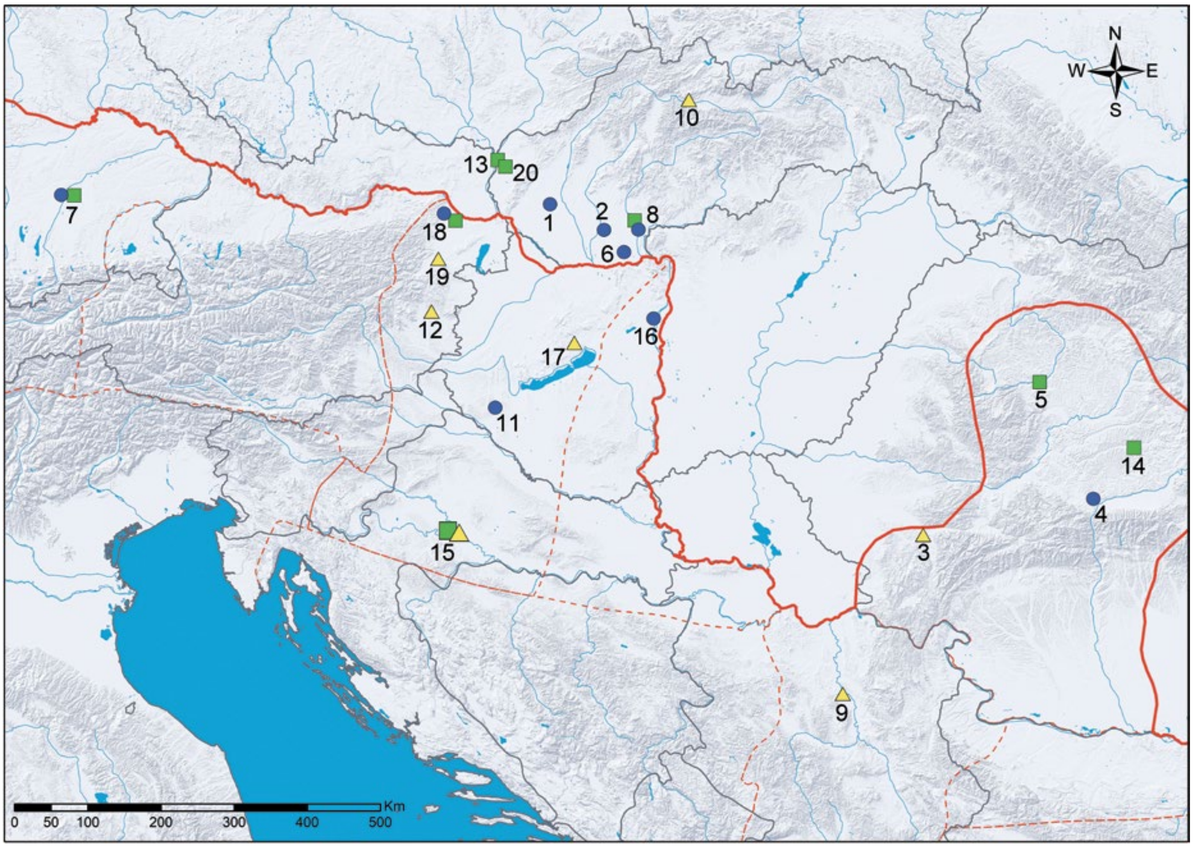

*Abb. 3. Verbreitung der eisernen Trompetenfibeln. Grüne Vierecke – Variante ohne Bügelknoten; gelbe Dreiecke – Formen A 85 mit silbertauschiertem Gitternetzmuster; blaue Kreise – Formen A 85 mit Kreisrillen. 1 Abrahám; 2 Bešeňov; 3 Caransebeş (**Tibiscum**); 4 Caşolţ; 5 Cluj-Napoca; 6 Gbelce; 7 Günzenhausen; 8 Hronovce; 9 Jagodina; 10 Likavka; 11 Magyarszerdahely; 12 Oberschützen – Pinkafeld; 13 Sekule; 14 Sighişoara; 15 Sisak; 16 Százhalombatta-Dunafüred (**Matrica**); 17 Veszprém; 18 Wien-Unterlaa; 19 Wiener Neustadt; 20 Závod.*

um Erzeugnisse der germanischen Handwerker außerhalb der römischen Grenzen in Barbaricum handelt könnte. Die angeführten Beispiele von einigen eisernen Gegenständen aus den reichen pannonischen Hügelgräbern, die auf ähnliche Arbeitsweise und mit gleicher Ziertechnik nach gewünschtem Geschmack und Anspruch den Antragstellern aus der Elite von stark romanisierten bereits früher angesiedelten Bevölkerungsgruppen der germanischen Herkunft hergestellt wurden deuten jedoch darauf hin, dass es sich schon um die Produkte von örtlichen pannonischen Werkstätten handelte. Die Impulse und Anregungen für die Herausbildung und weitere Formgebung von diesen besonderen eisernen Gewandnadeln konnten gerade aus diesem spezifischen ethnokulturellen Milieu in Pannonien ausgehen. Darauf weist auch das bisher zwar ziemlich spärliche Verbreitungsbild von solchen eisernen Trompetenfibeln hin (Abb. 3), das jedoch wahrscheinlich durch den ungünstigen Forschungs- und Publikationsstand deutlich geprägt ist. Die Vielzahl von den bekannten Fundstellen liegt in Pannonien, die einzelnen Fundstücke in benachbarten ebenso wie in entfernteren Gebieten lassen sich durch die Mobilität von den Personen erklären, wie das auch die Funde aus Günzenhausen belegen. Die relative Funddichte in der Südwestslowakei hängt offensichtlich mit den intensiven und vielfaltigen Kontakten der dortigen germanischen Bevölkerung mit dem Römischen Reich zusammen, die sich gleichfalls in zahlreichem Vorkommen von verschiedenen anderen provinzialrömischen Produkten in diesem Gebiet wiederspiegelt.

Die auffällige Menge von den eisernen Trompetenfibeln in Siscia deutet darauf hin, dass es sich dort nicht nur um ein Handelszentrum, wie das bereits früher E. Patek vermutete, sondern auch um ein Herstellungszentrum von solchen Fibeln handeln könnte. Ihre häufige Vertretung im Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei belegt so auch die alten Verbindungen mit dem Bereich des heutigen Kroatiens.

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Die »Schatztruhe« der Universität Innsbruck. Kinderuni mobil. 2019

Elisabeth RASTBICHLER, Innsbruck

Die »Schatztruhe« der Universität Innsbruck steht für:
**Kreative Kunst- und Kulturvermittlung*
**Mobile Kinderuniversität („Schätze im Koffer“)*
**Expertenwissen nach außen tragen*
**Pädagogisch qualifizierte Kinderbetreuung*
**Freude am Lernen*
**Bildung für alle*

2009 wurde die »Schatztruhe« am Institut für Geographie der Universität Innsbruck gegründet. Am 19.09.2009, exakt 18 Jahre nach dem sensationellen Ötzifund, der weltweit bekannten Mumie aus dem Gletschereis der Ötztaler Alpen, wurde die neue Einrichtung zur Forschungskommunikation an der Universität Innsbruck von Univ.-Prof. Dr. Karlheinz Töchterle (ehemaliger Bundesminister für Wissenschaft und Forschung und 2009 in der Funktion als Rektor der Universität Innsbruck) und Univ.-Prof. Dr. Hans Stötter (Leiter des Instituts für Geographie) aus der Taufe gehoben. Mit der Leitung dieser mobilen Kinderuniversität wurde ich betraut, was eine ganz große Ehre für mich darstellt und mich stolz und unendlich dankbar macht. Als Gründungsmitglied der Jungen Uni (2001) brachte ich Jahre Erfahrung im Umgang mit den Kindern und der Kunst- und Kulturvermittlung für diese neue Aufgabe bereits mit. Die Nachfrage ist enorm. Wir halten nun jährlich bis zu 100 Kurse. Die Zielgruppen sind Kinder und Jugendliche vom Kindergartenalter bis zur Matura. Auch Erwachsene sind von unseren Programmen begeistert.

2010 bis 2013 war das Archäologische Museum Innsbruck/Institut für Archäologien die zentrale Wirkungsstätte der »Schatztruhe«. Mit über 10 000 jungen Besuchern und Besucherinnen (allein in diesen drei Jahren!) tauchten wir in die verschiedensten Epochen der Weltgeschichte ein. Wir präsentierten den Kindern Kunstschätze des Museums und die Themen des Zentrums für Alte Kulturen in kreativer Art und Weise in verschiedensten Veranstaltungsreihen und museumspädagogischen Programmen.

Am 01.01.2014 wurde die »Schatztruhe« mobil und vom Museum unabhängig. Angesiedelt ist diese Einrichtung nach wie vor am Institut für Archäologien. Wir touren seither mit dem Auto mit viel Schwung, Engagement und einem fantastischen kleinen Team durch ganz Tirol und über die Grenzen hinaus. Mit unserem „Museum im Koffer“ besuchen wir Kindergärten, Horte, Schulen, Museen, Ausgrabungs- und Gedenkstätten und nehmen an Großveranstaltungen wie der Langen Nacht der Forschung, der Langen Nacht der Kirchen, an den Aktionstagen der Jungen Uni und an Veranstaltungen diverser Kinder-Sommer-Universitäten in ganz Österreich teil. Die weiteste Reise bislang führte nach Mersin/Türkei.

Wir arbeiten fantasievoll in Kleingruppen, um den Kindern verschiedenste Epochen der Weltgeschichte sowie relevante Forschungsergebnisse und Expertenwissen spannend vermitteln zu können. Es handelt sich immer um Workshops mit Stationenbetrieb, bei dem die haptische Komponente im Vordergrund steht. Viele Requisiten und Repliken ermöglichen ein „Be-greifen“ im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes. Unsere Erfahrung ist die, dass, wenn das Lernen mit positiv besetzten Emotionen verbunden ist, der Inhalt viel eher im Gedächtnis bleibt. Lernen soll Freude bereiten. Wir beobachten oft, dass Kinder so im Spiel versunken sind, dass sie gar nicht merken, dass sie eigentlich lernen. Auch Kinder mit besonderem Förderungsbedarf liegen uns am Herzen und sind immer willkommen.

Auf alle aktuellen und ehemaligen Angebote (von der Steinzeit über die Metallzeiten, von den alten Ägyptern, Griechen, Römern bis zu den Wikingern, dem Leben im Mittelalter und bis hinauf in die Neuzeit) einzugehen, würde hier den Rahmen sprengen. Vier Themen seien jedoch herausgehoben:

1. „Faszination Ötzi“

Alles begann mit dem Ötzi! Schon seit der Auffindung der ältesten Feuchtmumie der Welt am 19.09.1991 bin ich mit dem Fund verbunden, da mir die ehrenvolle Aufgabe von Univ. Prof. Dr. Konrad Spindler (+2005) zukam, die Fundgeschichte zu recherchieren. Es handelt sich ja um einen Zufallsfund! Zum 10-jährigen Jubiläum der Auffindung wurde 2001 die Junge Uni, eine der ersten Kinderuniversitäten im deutschsprachigen Raum, gegründet. Seither fasziniert dieser archäologische Sensationsfund aus den Ötztaler Alpen nicht nur mich. Dieser Fundkomplex begeistert Forscher und Forscherinnen sowie Laien auf der ganzen Welt seit nun 28 Jahren. Wer war der Mann, der vor 5300 Jahren in unseren Alpen lebte? Was wissen wir über seine Lebensweise, seinen Körper, seine Kleidung, seine Waffen, Geräte und seinen Tod? Warum fasziniert er heute noch? Wir laden in diesem Programm ein, auf eine Entdeckungsreise in die Jungsteinzeit mit uns zu kommen, um die Fund- und Forschungsgeschichte sowie aktuelle Forschungsergebnisse aus erster Hand zu erfahren!

Foto 1. Die Archäologin Elisabeth Rastbichler und der „Mann im Eis“ in Bozen am 19.09.2016 zum 25-jährigen Jubiläum der Auffindung.

2. „FRIEDA – Eine Taube erzählt vom Ersten Weltkrieg und der Sehnsucht nach Frieden.“

Dieses Programm lief 2014 bis 2018 (zum Gedenken „100 Jahre Erster Weltkrieg“) und ist ein Beitrag zum Frieden.

Mittels echter Brief- bzw. Friedenstauben und mit weiteren Requisiten aus unserer mobilen »Schatztruhe« vermittelten wir Wissenswertes zum Ersten Weltkrieg allgemein und speziell aus Tirol. Die zentralen Themen waren: Ursachen – Auslöser – Auswirkungen. Wie lebten Soldaten, Frauen und Kinder? Welche Rolle spielten Tiere im Krieg? Was ist Krieg genau? Was ist Frieden? Welche Menschen setzten/setzen sich besonders für den Frieden ein? Was wünschen wir Kindern, die heute in Kriegsgebieten leben müssen?

Foto 2. *Mia herzt die Taube FRIEDA.*

Foto 3. Entsendung der Friedenstauben im Rahmen des Workshops FRIEDA in der Pfarre Sistrans am 09.06.2017 zur Langen Nacht der Kirchen.

Mit diesen Gedanken ließen wir jeweils am Abschluss eines Workshops echte Friedenstauben fliegen.

Das Programm FRIEDA ist mit über 50 Workshops abgeschlossen. Ein Ethikprogramm ist in Vorbereitung. Das Weitertragen des Friedensgedankens ist uns ein Herzensanliegen.

3. Ein weiteres Herzstück ist unser Römerprogramm „AGUNTUM 4ever – DIE Römerstadt Tirols!“

Wir stellen in diesem Workshop unsere Institutsgrabung in der Stadt Aguntum bei Lienz in Osttirol vor. Jede weitere archäologische Grabung dort liefert neue Erkenntnisse zur Lebensweise, Kunst und Kultur vor etwa 2000 Jahren. Was erzählen uns die Ruinen und die vielen Funde über die Römer, die bei uns gelebt

Foto 4. Kinderworkshop in den Ruinen von Aguntum. Kinder Sommer Uni 2015.

haben? Was ist ein Forum, ein Macellum, ein Atriumhaus? Was haben die Menschen gegessen, wie sich gekleidet, womit wurde gehandelt etc.? Viele Requisiten und Repliken aus der Römerzeit lassen die Kinder die Liebe zur Antike entdecken, forever – davon sind wir überzeugt!

4. Unser „jüngstes Kind“ ist folgendes Programm: „Euer guter Vater Maxi“. Kaiser Maximilian I. und sein „Gedächtnus“ in Tirol.

Wir stellen uns folgende Fragen: Wer war Kaiser Maximilian I.? Sein Leben – sein Charakter – seine Leidenschaften – sein Humor – seine Familie – sein Land – seine Neuerungen – seine Bücher – seine Kunst – was blieb?

Dies ist heuer eines unserer Jubiläumsprogramme zum 10-jährigen Bestehen der »Schatztruhe« und zu 350 Jahre Universität Innsbruck. Und da Bilder mehr als 1000 Worte sagen, hier noch weitere Impressionen und die Einladung, uns auf unserer Homepage www.uibk.ac.at/schatztruhe zu besuchen.

Fotos 5 und 6. Impressionen zum Jubiläumsthema “Kaiser Max”.

Ich danke meinem Team für all die tollen Ideen, die Fachkompetenz, die gute Zusammenarbeit und das Engagement in der Vorbereitung und Umsetzung unserer gemeinsamen Projekte:

Dipl. Geographin Uschi Frisch, Mag. Marlene Gurker (Archäologin und Deutsch und Geschichte Lehramt), Mag. Claudia Holzhammer (Archäologin, Ethnologin, Kunst- und Kulturvermittlerin), Mag. Nina Mayer-Wilhelm (Archäologin, Kunst- und Kulturvermittlerin), Mag. Christine Oberauer (Archäologin, Indogermanistin, Kunst- und Kulturvermittlerin) und dem Historiker Mag. Michael Kaser.

Wir von der »Schatztruhe« der Universität Innsbruck gratulieren unserer Freundin und Kollegin, Univ.-Prof. Dr. Mirjana Sanader, von Herzen zum Geburtstag. Du, liebe Mirjana, warst bereits als junge Studentin an unserem Institut eine „großartige Erscheinung mit markanter Stimme" und schon bald ein Vorbild! Ad multos annos!

Amtsdirektorin Mag. phil. Elisabeth Rastbichler studierte Klassische Archäologie, Ur- und Frühgeschichte und Kunstgeschichte an der Universität Innsbruck (Sponsion 1991). Die berufliche Laufbahn begann mit dem Sensationsfund Ötzi. Die Recherchen zur Fundgeschichte des Fundkomplexes eröffneten ein spannendes Wirken seit nun 28 Jahren in den verschiedensten Bereichen der Universität Innsbruck.

1991-1992 Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte

1992-1998 Institut für Alpine Vorzeit

1998-2004 Institut für Hochgebirgsforschung

2004-2010 Institut für Geographie

Seit 2010 Institut für Archäologien

Nach zehn fantastischen Jahren in der Forschung erfüllte sich ein weiterer Herzenswunsch, der Wechsel in die Forschungskommunikation und das Arbeiten mit Kindern. Es erfolgte berufsbegleitend eine Zusatzausbildung zur pädagogisch qualifizierten Kinderbetreuerin (BAKIP Innsbruck) und zur Kunst- und Kulturvermittlerin (München 2011).

Die Archäologin ist Gründungsmitglied der Jungen Uni (2001) und leitet seit 2009, seit der Gründung der »Schatztruhe« der Universität Innsbruck, diese mobile Kinderuniversität, um junge Menschen auf kreative Art und Weise für Wissenschaft und Forschung zu begeistern.

Dans les fourgons de l'armée romaine

Michel REDDÉ, Paris

Le musée de Strasbourg possède un monument lapidaire bien connu sous le nom de stèle "du train des équipages" qu'on peut comparer avec une autre découverte à Baden-Baden. Les scènes représentent, dans l'un et l'autre cas, un soldat conduisant un cisium. Contrairement à une opinion courante, il ne s'agit pas ici du ravitaillement de l'armée, mais du transport des dépêches officielles, une activité dans laquelle les militaires jouaient au quotidien un rôle important, bien documenté dans différents documents papyrologiques.

Mots-clés: *Courrier, poste, armée, cisium, Strasbourg, monument figuré*

Le musée de Strasbourg possède un monument lapidaire bien connu, mais dont la rareté et l'intérêt semblent avoir été quelque peu sous-estimés par les commentateurs. Il s'agit de la stèle funéraire Espérandieu 5499 dite communément "du train des équipages" (Hatt 1955). Découverte en remploi dans le rempart tardif du camp romain (2 rue du Dôme), elle est cassée en haut, ce qui rend l'inscription incomplète et ne permet pas de formuler d'hypothèse définitive sur la forme de la partie sommitale. Deux registres la composent : l'inscription et une scène figurée en-dessous (fig. 1).

Inv. Musée : 9012. H. cons. 0,97 m ; l. 0,70 m ; ép. 0,27 m. Grès rouge des Vosges.

CIL XIII, 11630 : [– – –] *an(norum) [– –]L / stip(endiorum) XVI h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / h(eres) f(aciendum) c(urauit).*

Fig. 1. Stèle funéraire dite "du train des équipages" à Strasbourg. Photographie Musées de Strasbourg, M. Bertola.

Le registre inférieur, dont le champ iconographique en creux est bordé par un bandeau rectangulaire ménagé dans la pierre, montre un soldat, reconnaissable à son *gladius*, qu'il porte à droite, et à son manteau. L'homme est assis sur un chariot à deux essieux dont les roues comportent neuf rayons. Le plateau est surmonté par une caisse à ridelles, dans laquelle sont entreposés des sacs. Le soldat tient un fouet de la main droite et guide de la main gauche deux limoniers[1] qui se dirigent vers la droite. “Le collier se présente presque horizontalement sur une encolure dressée” (Raepsaet 1982, n° 29). En arrière-plan, un arbre figure le paysage.

Bibliographie : Espérandieu VII, 5499; Hatt 1955: 130; Hatt 1964: n° 9 ; Raepsaet 1982: n° 29; Cubaynes 2018: n° 63; Lupa 24098.

Ce monument funéraire peut se comparer à un autre, découvert non loin de là, à Baden, qui figure une scène quasiment identique. La pierre est complète. Il s’agit d’une stèle rectangulaire à fronton triangulaire inscrit dans le cadre du monument. Rosace avec feuilles dans le fronton et dans les écoinçons (fig. 2).

Musée de Karlsruhe n° inv. C 65. H. 1,92 m ; l. 0,77 m ; ép. 0,20 m. Grès.

CIL XIII, 6304 : *Dis Manibus / L(ucius) Aemilius (L(ucii) f(ilius) Clau(dia) / Crescens, Ara, / mil(es) leg(ionis) XIIII G(eminae) M(artiae) V(ictricis), (centuria) Valeri /Bassi, ann(orum) XXXIIII, stip(endiorum) XIIII, / L(ucius) Aemilius Mansuetus / et L(ucius) Aemilius Albanus / fratres idemque / heredes f(aciendum) / curauerunt.*

Le registre inférieur montre le défunt assis sur un chariot à deux essieux, porté par quatre roues à 12 rayons. La caisse à claire-voie porte un sac. L’homme tient un fouet de la main gauche et guide de la main droite deux chevaux qui se dirigent vers la gauche.

Fig. 2. Stèle funéraire d’Aquae/Baden-Baden. Photographie Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, Thomas Goldschmidt.

Bibliographie : Espérandieu *Germ*. 1931: 455 ; Schallmayer 1989: 94 ; Lupa 3896.

La similitude iconographique de ces deux scènes, qui proviennent au demeurant de lieux géographiquement proches, ainsi que l’agencement des stèles sont frappants. Ajoutons à cela que leur date est sans doute voisine : la stèle de Baden peut être datée de l’époque flavienne, pendant laquelle la *legio XIIII Gemina*, revenue dans la vallée du Rhin en 69, tient jusque vers 92 son quartier général à Mayence (Franke 2000: 197). Comme on sait maintenant que le camp de Strasbourg était dépourvu de garnison légionnaire jusque vers 90 (Goguey & Reddé 1995; Kuhnle 2018) on peut proposer l’hypothèse d’une datation de la stèle de Strasbourg à partir de cette date, ce que la formule funéraire employée n’interdit pas. La mutilation de l’inscription n’empêche pas de reconnaître ici la pierre tombale d’un soldat de la VIIIe légion.

On se gardera d’identifier par un vocable latin précis les deux véhicules représentés, tant l’exercice semble risqué, face à la multiplicité des définitions issues des auteurs anciens eux-mêmes, ce qu’une consultation rapide des différents articles de la *Real-Encyclopädie* permet de vérifier aisément. On peut toutefois affirmer sans risque d’erreur que les chariots représentés ici ne sont ni des véhicules légers à deux roues, voués à des déplacements rapides d’une ou deux personnes, ni des wagons à roues pleines destinés à porter de lourdes charges. Il s’agit ici de véhicules permettant de porter des bagages mais autorisant sans doute un déplacement de une ou plusieurs personnes à

[1] C’est le terme qu’emploie Raepsaet 1982, n° 29 et qui peut désigner aussi bien des chevaux que des mules. Les oreilles allongées laissent penser à des mules, mais il peut s’agir d’une maladresse du sculpteur.

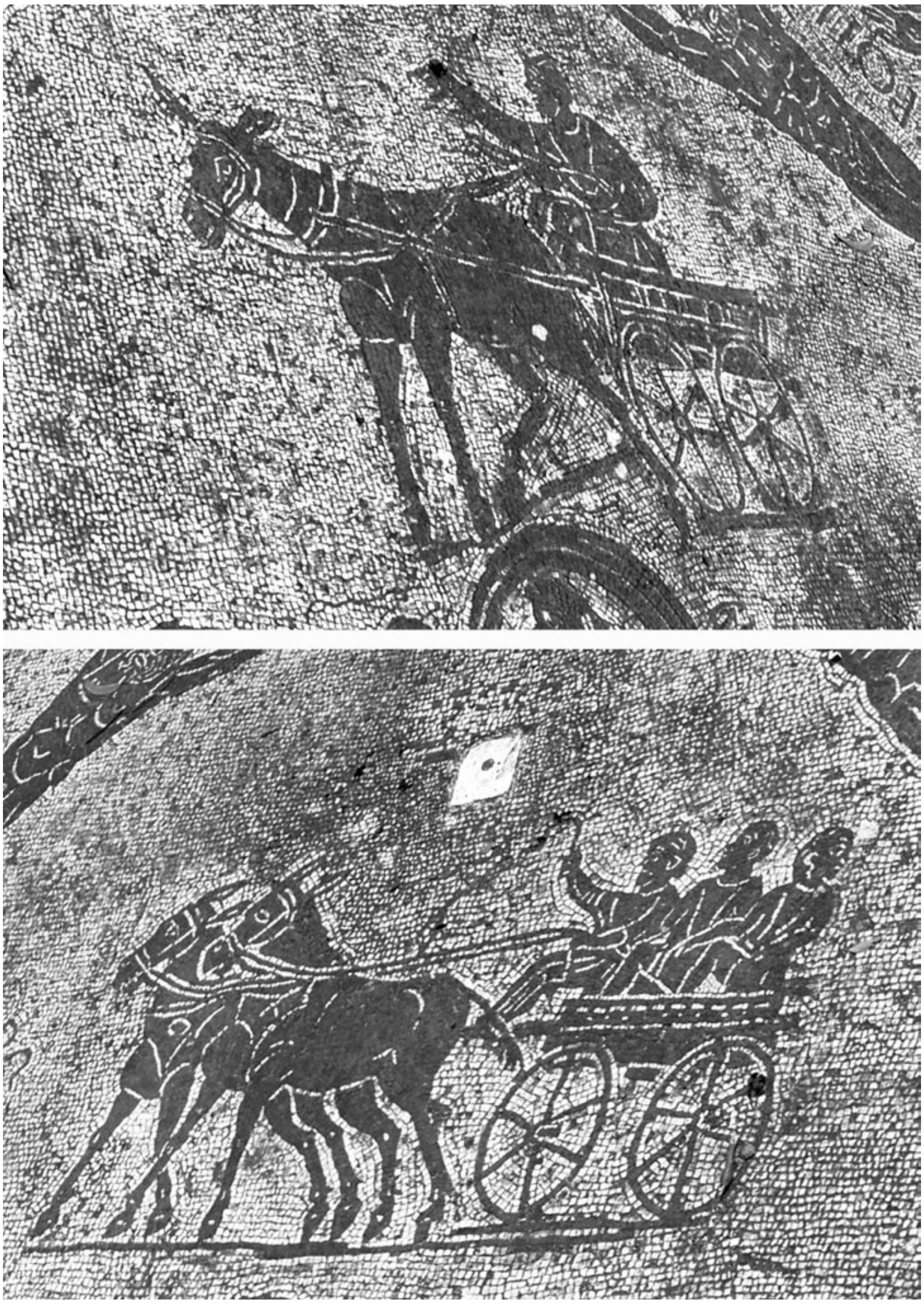

Fig. 3 : Mosaïque des thermes des Cisarii d'Ostie. Montage photographique M. Reddé.

vitesse moyenne. On voit deux bons exemples de voitures similaires figurées sur la mosaïque des thermes des *Cisiarii* à Ostie : l'une transporte une personne, dans une attitude très semblable à celles de nos bas-reliefs de Strasbourg et de Baden, l'autre trois (fig. 3). Les *cisiarii* étaient des loueurs privés de véhicules, organisés en corporations et sans doute installés aux portes des villes, comme semblent l'indiquer différentes inscriptions italiennes (*CIL* XIV, 2874 ; X, 1064 ; X, 4660).

Les wagons propres à l'armée sont quelquefois représentés, mais le plus souvent de manière anecdotique, comme c'est le cas sur la colonne trajane, où elles figurent le plus souvent en arrière-plan. On reconnaît, par exemple, à l'ouverture de la deuxième campagne dacique, l'ensemble des types de transport utilisés : animal de bât portant un ballot, chariot à deux roues (rayons) tiré par des bœufs, avec un chargement de boucliers, chariot plus léger tiré par des mules, muni d'une caisse dans laquelle on observe des armes, notamment des javelots (ou des lances) (Stefan 2015: scènes 123–124). Mais on peut observer aussi d'autres types de transport, par exemple celui des pièces d'artillerie installées dans des charrois (*carroballistae*) (Stefan 2015: scènes 104–105 ou 164), celui des ballots (Stefan 2015: scène 285) ou des tonneaux de vin (Stefan 2015: scène 149), tirés par des bœufs ou des mules. Il s'agit, chaque fois, de véhicules de types différents. On doit enfin mentionner la scène 95–97 (Stefan 2015) où l'on voit des voitures à quatre roues, à l'arrêt et sans attelage, en arrière-plan du combat, enfermés dans une enceinte. Ces véhicules sont très semblables à nos exemplaires de Strasbourg et de Baden. L'un porte dans sa caisse des boucliers, daces et romains, et une épée dace, l'autre une amphore, un vase, probablement une enseigne-*draco*. Pour cette dernière raison, A.S. Stefan considère qu'il s'agit ici du camp dace ; nous serons plus dubitatif car les armes non romaines pourraient être du butin et les charrettes sont très semblables à celles dont il est ici question dans cet article, même si ces arguments ne fournissent pas de preuve définitive.

Si l'on connaît, pour l'époque impériale, un grand nombre de représentations de véhicules de toutes sortes[2], le type de scène qui figure un soldat conduisant une voiture n'est guère documenté dans le corpus iconographique romain. On peut certes mentionner bon nombre de bas-reliefs funéraires provenant du *limes* pannonien, mais l'étude que leur a consacrée Z. Visy montre, à juste titre, que la plupart des scènes de voyage illustrées par cette série sont d'ordre symbolique et doivent être mises en relation avec des pratiques d'offrandes funéraires régionales. Elles ne sont d'ailleurs pas du tout le propre des militaires (Visy 1997).

Au sein de cette série pannonienne nous pouvons toutefois mettre à part deux reliefs, dont l'un, bien connu, figure un certain L. Blassius Nigellio, *speculator* de la *legio VII Claudia* de *Viminacium* (*CIL* III, 1650). La voiture à deux essieux est tirée par trois chevaux conduits par un cocher encapuchonné. Derrière lui est assis le défunt sur un siège surélevé, tandis qu'un troisième personnage, assis à l'arrière dans le sens contraire de la marche sur un ballot (?), tient une lance de bénéficiaire. Il s'agit sans doute d'un *calo* ou d'un simple soldat (Visy 1997: n° 70). On doit encore mentionner à *Sirmium* un certain [---] *Salvius, frumentarius* de la *legio II Adiutrix* (*CIL* III, 3241). La scène est similaire à la précédente, hormis le fait que le personnage situé à l'arrière tient un long bâton, considéré comme le symbole de la fonction du *frumentarius* (Visy 1997: n° 69). Ces deux reliefs montrent en l'espèce des officiers dans le cadre de leurs fonctions, bien identifiées ici par leur grade, mentionné dans l'inscription[3]. La question qui se pose à nous est maintenant de savoir si l'on peut espérer identifier la fonction précise des deux soldats de Strasbourg et de Baden, puisqu'elle n'est pas caractérisée par l'épigraphie. On peut, à titre d'hypothèse, en proposer deux : le ravitaillement ou le transport des nouvelles.

La question du ravitaillement ordinaire de l'armée, hors expéditions, a fait, ces dernières années, de sensibles progrès, sans être pour autant définitivement résolue. À ceux qui, comme J. Remesal Rodriguez, croient en l'existence d'un système de fournitures organisé et contrôlé par l'État, avec des caisses de compensation gérées au niveau des procurateurs provinciaux (Remesal Rodriguez 1997) s'opposent les tenants d'un système plus libéral faisant largement appel aux services privés (Wierschowski 1984; 2001). Sans entrer plus avant dans un débat qui pourrait être long, on doit reconnaître que les informations extraites de sources nouvelles comme les ostraca du désert oriental d'Égypte ou les tablettes de Vindolanda montrent sans ambiguïté le rôle du ravitaillement local et l'importance des intermédiaires privés dans le fonctionnement du système. Dans le désert oriental, l'essentiel passait par le truchement de vivandiers civils installés à demeure. Pour ce qui est des surplus individuels, achetés directement par les soldats, il s'agissait d'un système fondamentalement opportuniste qui s'appuyait sur toute une série de déplacements individuels ou collectifs (estafettes, caravanes) dont le but initial était autre et la régularité aléatoire (Cuvigny *et al.* 2003: 295–353). Il n'y avait, en l'occurrence, guère de wagons, notamment sur la piste de Bérénice ; sur celle de Myos Hormos, moins sableuse, ceux-ci n'étaient pas spécifiquement destinés au ravitaillement des postes (Bülow-Jacobsen 2013).

À Vindolanda, l'ensemble du dossier donne l'impression d'un système assez proche, mais quelques documents exceptionnels semblent concerner un ravitaillement collectif "en gros". Nous intéresse ici plus particulièrement la tablette 343, dont nous redonnons le texte original et la traduction d'origine, pour les passages qui nous concernent (Bowman & Thomas 1994):

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2 La thèse de Molin 1996 sur ce sujet est malheureusement restée inédite.

3 Ce type de scène existe aussi en Gaule, notamment à Jünkerath (Espérandieu 5266) ou à Langres (Espérandieu 3245). L'absence d'emblème symbolique d'une fonction officielle sur ces deux bas-reliefs, par ailleurs détachés de leur support lapidaire, rend toutefois leur interprétation incertaine.

i
Octauius Candido fratri suo salutem
a Marino nervi pondo centum
explicabo e quo tu de hac
re scripseras ne mentionem
mihi fecit aliquotiens tibi
scripseram spicas me emisse
prope m(odios) quinque milia prop-
ter quod (denarii) mihi necessari sunt
nisi mittis mi aliquit (denariorum)

ii
minime quingentos futurum
est ut quod arre dedi perdam
(denarios) circa trecentos et erubes
cam ita rogo quam primum aliquit
(denariorum) mi mitte coria que scribis esse Cataractonio scribe
dentur mi et karrum de quo

scribis et quit sit cum eo karro mi scribe iam illec petissem
nissi iumenta non curaui uexsare
dum uiae male sunt uide cum Tertio
de (denariis) VIII s(emisse) quos a Fatale accepit
non illos mi *vacat* accepto tulit

iii
scito mae explesse [[exple]] coria
clxx et bracis excussi habeo
m(odios) cxix fac (denarios) mi mittas ut possi-
m spicam habere in excusso-
rio iam autem si quit habui
perexcussi contuber-
nalis Fronti amici hic fuerat
desiderabat coria ei ad
signarem et ita (denarios) datur
{urus} erat dixi ei coria in-
tra K(alendas) Martias daturum Idibus [4]

---

[4] "Octavius to his brother Candidus, greetings. The hundred pounds of sinew from Marinus – I will settle up. From the time when you wrote about this matter, he has not even mentioned it to me. I have several times written to you that I have bought about five thousand modii of ears of grain, on account of which I need cash. Unless you send me some cash, at least five hundred denarii, the result will be that I shall lose what I have laid out as a deposit, about three hundred denarii, and I shall be embarrassed. So, I ask you, send me some cash as soon as possible. The bides which you write are at Cataractonium – write that they be given to me and the wagon about which you write. And write to me what is with that wagon. I would have already been to collect them except that I did not care to injure the animals while the roads are bad. See with Tertius about the 8½ denarii which he received from Fatalis. He has not credited them to my account. Know that I have completed the 170 bides and I have 119 modii of threshed bracis. Make sure that you send me cash so that I may have ears of grain on the threshing-floor. Moreover, I have already finished threshing all that I had. A messmate of our friend Frontius has been here. He was wanting me to allocate (?) him bides and that being so, was ready to give cash. I told him I would give him the bides by 1 March" (traduction des éditeurs).

Nous reprenons ici l'essentiel du commentaire des éditeurs. Dans cette lettre écrite par un certain Octavius et destinée à la garnison de *Vindolanda*, les sommes et les quantités de ravitaillement sont considérables et ne sauraient concerner des achats privés : Candidus est requis de payer 500 deniers, quand Octavius en a déjà déposé 300 en garantie pour une livraison de grain de 5000 *modii*. On apprend par ailleurs que le même Candidus est impliqué dans un achat de 100 livres de tendons – probablement destinées à des ballistes (Reddé 2012) –, de peaux de cuir et de 119 *modii* d'une céréale mondée (épeautre ou peut-être orge maltée ?). Tout cela nécessite des wagons lourdement chargés qui ne peuvent circuler par n'importe quel temps, sur n'importe quelle route, ce qui explique leur retard. Pour les éditeurs, il ne semble pas faire de doute que Candidus soit un militaire, peut-être même un centurion, car il s'agit du donneur d'ordre. On peut évidemment hésiter pour ce qui concerne Octavius; nous y verrions volontiers un marchand civil, semblable à ces vivandiers qui organisent le trafic dans le désert oriental d'Égypte. En ce cas, il y aurait de bonnes chances pour que les véhicules concernés fussent privés eux-aussi.

Il est bien certain que nous sommes, avec cette tablette, dans une tout autre configuration que celle de nos militaires de Strasbourg et de Baden. Évoquer à ce propos, avec J.-J. Hatt (Hatt 1955), le "train des équipages", qui est une notion moderne et ne constitue pas un service spécifique et autonome de l'armée romaine, ne saurait être pertinent dans le cas qui nous occupe. Mieux vaudrait donc ne plus utiliser ce terme inexact. Mais, si l'on exclut ici la question du ravitaillement militaire, à quoi peut-on songer ?

La question des transports publics et de la transmission des nouvelles a été reprise par A. Kolb dans son ouvrage qui fait désormais référence sur le sujet (Kolb 2000). Envisageant tout d'abord la question du *cursus publicus*[5], l'auteur en rappelle les usagers, normalement des personnages de haut rang exerçant une charge publique ou accomplissant une mission, mais aussi de simples soldats, en particulier quand ils agissaient pour le compte de ceux-ci[6]. Bien entendu, la transmission des nouvelles officielles entrait dans les tâches de ces militaires et Suet. *Aug*. 49. 3 rappelle qu'Auguste avait fait disposer régulièrement des voitures pour l'acheminement du courrier impérial ; ses successeurs avaient développé ce système qui pesait lourdement sur les communautés civiques, même en Italie, jusqu'à ce que Nerva libérât la péninsule de ce *munus* (Eck 1979: 88–107). Nul doute, par exemple, que les nombreuses lettres qu'échangeait Pline avec Trajan n'empruntaient de tels chemins. A. Kolb rappelle à ce propos l'énormité de la correspondance entre l'Empereur et ses différents représentants civils ou militaires, mais aussi, bien sûr, entre les différents échelons de l'administration provinciale ou entre un légat de légion et les postes placés sous son autorité dans le cadre de son "Kommandobereich" (Kolb 2000: 266–267). L'acheminement du ravitaillement militaire, trop pondéreux, n'entrait en revanche pas dans ce système (Kolb 2000: 97, 229).

La terminologie à la fois variée et abondante qui désigne les différents rouages du transport des nouvelles officielles montre que cette tâche a pu varier dans le temps mais aussi être confiée à différentes catégories d'exécutants (Kolb 2000: 264–294). Chaque région devait avoir d'ailleurs ses spécificités. Pour le désert oriental d'Égypte, par exemple, le système a pu être décrit avec beaucoup de détails grâce à l'abondance de la documentation nouvelle, notamment les journaux de poste de Krokodilô (Cuvigny 2005); divers dossiers particuliers sont venus depuis lors compléter ce témoignage essentiel (Cuvigny 2019a; 2019b). Dans le désert, on a presque toujours affaire à des cavaliers. Ailleurs, les sources mentionnent notamment des soldats de différents grades, depuis les *speculatores* du *praetorium* impérial (Suet., *Cal.* 44. 2) ou les *equites singulares* (Speidel 1994) jusqu'aux simples soldats (Ap., *Met.* 10. 13), quelquefois pré-positionnés dans certaines provinces, sans être nécessairement rattachés organiquement au *cursus publicus* (Kolb 2000: 288–289).

[5] Le terme apparaît comme tel, pour la première fois, dans le *Pan. Lat*. 6 (7). 7. 5), même si les principes sur lesquels repose le service remontent à Auguste.

[6] Le système est bien connu en Orient et fonctionne sur le principe des liturgies, comme le rappelle notamment la célèbre inscription de S. Sotidius Strabo Libuscidianus publiée par Mitchell 1976 (= *SEG* XXVI, 1392; *AE* 1976, 653). Elle concerne l'ensemble du territoire de Sagalassos en Pisidie et fixe les obligations des habitants, tout en essayant de limiter les abus inhérents au système, sur la base de fournitures en nature payées, sauf exceptions spécifiques, à destination des personnes publiques dûment autorisées et pourvues d'un diplôma.

Revenons à nos soldats de Strasbourg et de Baden. Il s'agit bien évidemment de militaires en mission, chargés régulièrement de la même opération de "courriers", sans quoi leur pierre tombale ne l'aurait pas représentée ; une tâche routinière qui entre dans les fonctions courantes d'un soldat mais pour laquelle on ne connaît pas ici de grade spécifique ni de *sermo technicus*, sans quoi leur épitaphe l'aurait mentionné[7]. Comme ces militaires ne sont manifestement pas préposés au ravitaillement de leur unité, qui incombe à des officiers via des intermédiaires civils, on l'a dit, et qu'ils voyagent sur des charrettes assez rapides avec un chargement léger, nous proposons d'y reconnaître de simples soldats missionnés pour le transport du courrier et des dépêches officielles, ainsi que des menus colis qui s'échangent régulièrement de poste à poste, comme le montre la documentation égyptienne. Ce thème iconographique est certes très peu diffusé, mais tout porte à croire qu'il est issu d'un atelier régional, ce dont pourrait témoigner la proximité géographique et chronologique des lieux de découverte. On comprend ainsi qu'il n'ait guère essaimé, comme d'ailleurs nombre de motifs iconographiques spécifiques à la Gaule de l'Est, particulièrement riche en ce domaine (Reddé 1978).

Abréviations

AE	*L'année épigraphique. Revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine*, Paris.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin.
Lupa	*www.ubi-erat lupa.org (F. & O. Harl, Bilddatenbank zu antiken Steindenkmälern)*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*

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[7] En l'espèce, il ne s'agit bien évidemment pas de *beneficiarii*.

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The Temple Mount of Jerusalem from the destruction by Titus to the Rise of the Umayyads

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Jerusalem is a central city of three major monotheistic religions of today, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. It was also sacred for the ancient Roman State Religion from the Hadrianic period into the Byzantine period. Shrines and cult places, central to of all of the above mentioned religions, were placed on the Temple Mount, and studied by archaeologists and art historians. Historically Jerusalem has been torn apart by various conquerors and then rebuilt as: Aelia Capitolinea, Hierosolyma, Al Qouds, Jerusalem. Such situation demonstrates that a holy place often will keep its status after a change of religion. Various Roman emperors such as Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, Hadrian, have left their marks here. The Israeli archaeologists, Benjamin Mazar together with his daughter Eilat Mazar, and scholars connected with the Hebrew University,Jerusalem, have excavated parts of the surroundings of the Temple Mount finding not only rich movable material, but quality buildings demonstrating usage of the area lying at the foot of the Temple Mount for some civil official purposes in the early Islamic period, may be as a governor palace.

Key words: *The Temple Mount, Aelia Capitolinea, Hierosolyma, Al Qouds, Jerusalem, Titus, Umayyads*

Plinius the Elder describes Jerusalem of early first century A.D. as “Evidently the most famous town, not only in Judea, but in the entire East” (NH 70.), Strabon, born in Amasea in Pontus, slightly earlier tells more facts about the holy city and the countryside of Judea (Strabon XVI), Josephus Flavius presents the story of Jerusalem in details and from the Jewish point of view (Josephus Flavius). For the later periods information is fairly scarce.

“The Temple Mount” (Fig. 1), bound with religion and administration, rises proudly over Jerusalem today as it did for thousands of years. It is considered as one of the most holy places in the world, originally bound to Judaism, but also central to Christianity and Islam. As for the last, despite of the fact that officially since the year 661, the capital and the centre of religious life of Islam was moved to Damascus and subsequently to Bagdad.[1] Historically the Temple Mount gave its space to the First Temple, built by King Solomon and after its destruction for the Second Temple, built by Herod the Great, which in its turn was destroyed by fire by Roman soldiers during the Jewish War. This event was described in detail by Josephus Flavius[2]. Hadrian, the founder of the pagan town named Aelia Capitolina may have placed here the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and at the end this very spot became the holy place of worship for the Muslims.

1 From the year 634 Palestine was infiltrated by the Arabs. Jerusalem surrendered peacefully in AD 638. Palestine was taken under Arab rule under kalif Omar (634 – 750). Under Ummayad dynasty (661 – 750) the administrative and religious capital was placed in Damascus, to be moved by Abbasids in 750 to Bagdad.

2 The story starts with history of Judea from the reign of Antiochos Epiphanes (175 – 164 BCE), deals in detail with siege of Jerusalem and ends with taking over of Masada and subduing revolt on Cyrenaika.

Fig. 1. “The Temple Mount” with “The Dome on the Rock”. General view (author’s photo).

As we see it today The Temple Mount constitutes the central religious point of Islam, expressed by the presence of al-Haram al Sharif which means “the noble enclosure” and the al-Aqsa Mosque. City of Jerusalem is in Arabic called al-Quds, meaning “the holy” and al-Haram al Sharif is the oldest surviving sacral monument of al-Quds. The research agrees that the mosque is situated on the place where earlier stood the Jewish Second Temple. Sultan Abd al-Malik removed the debris from Roman and mostly Byzantine periods, assembled on the Temple Mount and he discovered the natural rock sticking from the ground. This rock on the hill called Moria was through the centuries identified as the one on which according to the common beliefs the prophet Abraham offered his son to God. According to Muslim beliefs the boy’s name was Ishmael, according to the Old Testament his name was Izaak.[3]

“The Dome on the Rock” (Fig. 2) is planned as a central building. “The Holy Rock” is encircled by a row of columns and together with the outer row of columns, being placed in a pattern of an octagon, form the limits for the pilgrim passage. The octagonal layout of the outer chain of columns follows the line of the outer walls of the building. In this way the ambulacrum, facilitating for the visitors the viewing the holy rock, forms also the limits between the outer and inner space of this holy place.

Above the rock and the ambulacrum stands a decorated cupola. It is copied from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, from the so-called Rotunda, as documented by Oleg Grabar[4]. The decoration is partially taken from this very place and transplanted to “The Dome on the Rocks”.

The mosque is almost entirely built of spolia. Columns are of coloured marble, taken from various Roman buildings, as they were used on a large scale in official architecture of the Roman Empire since Trajan. Coloured marble plates are used as veneers for the covering of the lower portion of the walls of the Dome; they are taken from various Byzantine public buildings. Mosaics decorating the upper portions of the walls, arches, soffits, domes have golden leaves used extensively, they all are taken from various buildings representing Byzantine sacral architecture.

3 Gen. 22.1–18; 22.2 (Abraham shall go to the territory called Moria); 22.6–18 (the offer of Izaak).

4 Grabar 1996: passim. The discussion concerns both the shape of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (especially the dome) as well as its decoration as the source of inspiration for the Umayyad architecture. Note that the Rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre does not carry today its original decoration.

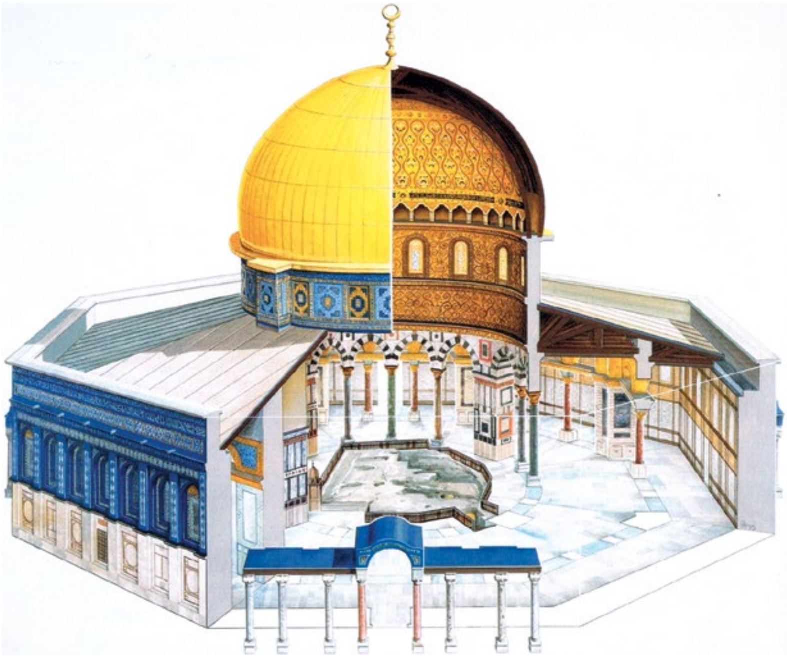

Fig. 2. The Dome on the Rock, Schematic drawing illustrating the inner room of the temple (Courtesy Prof. Wolfgang Zwickel, Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz).

Grabar stresses, in connection with the usage of expensive materials coming from spolia, the aspect of state propaganda. Sultan Abd al-Malik in producing the picture of triumphant Islam wanted to surpass in splendor the most famous Byzantine churches, and such was the Church of the Holy Sepulchre[5].

Standing on the southern edge of the Temple Mount, in the early Roman period occupied by the Herodian Royal Stoa, the "Al-Aqsa Mosque" was built during the reign of sultan Abd al-Malik or his son, al-Walid. It has the plan of the type "broad house". Such a plan is typical for the early Islamic mosques and also leans on the Byzantine solutions. In the Byzantine period it was used for the planning of buildings where greater number of people gathered for common activities such as worship. Churches and synagogues were built for such purposes and therefore show as a rule an inner space divided by rows of columns in aisles, facilitating organization of space during ceremonies and consequently the orientation of prayers (Fig. 3). By having a broader central nave and for example three side aisles on each side of it, and subsidiarily by the marking of the direction of prayer by the placement of a niche in the end of the central nave and distinguishing it by providing a cupola[6], - the Al Aqsa mosque shows until today a typical basilical form (Fig. 4).

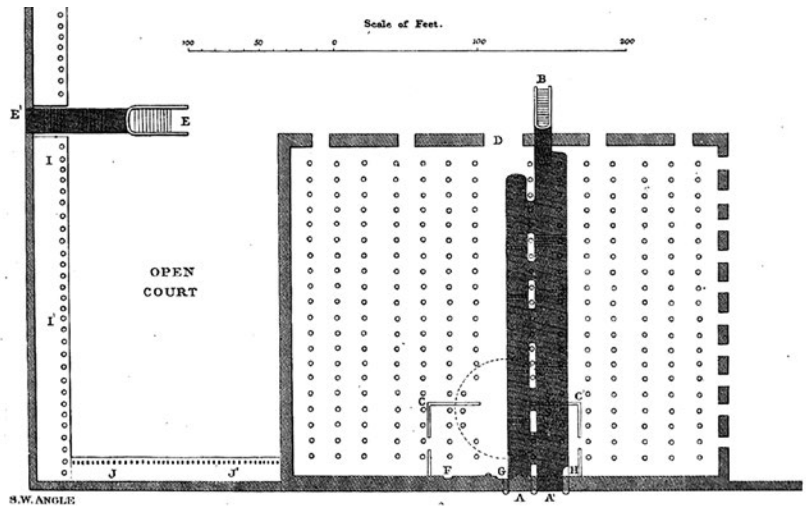

Fig. 3. Al-Aqsa Mosque. Multiple naves solution. Plan of the mosque from AD 1047 (published by Le Strange 1890: p. 126).

5 This aspect was also discussed by Grabar 1996: 104.

6 Called "gibla". The gibla was placed on the south marking the direction towards Islam's Holy Place – Mecca.

Fig. 4. Al Aqsa Mosque today. View towards the entrance (author's photo).

Thus the two most sacred buildings of early Islam continued the Byzantine tradition as to architectural shape of their space of worship and borrowed a general idea on how to divide and decorate their interior in order to provide functionality. In decoration, however, human figures were excluded in Islam, – instead script and symbols have been richly employed. Coloured mosaics and gold – symbols of richness and glory, – accentuated the greatness of architectural form.

The Umayyad sacral architecture as seen on the Temple Mount has nothing in common with the architecture of the Jewish Second Temple, which was burned and demolished during the Roman siege. The Temple was never rebuilt, the fragments of its architecture were – as archaeological sources document – used in the construction of the Roman town of Aelia Capitolina[7]. During the Roman period the dominant building on the Temple Mount was the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, constructed on the order of emperor Hadrian[8].

The Jupiter Temple was demolished with the legalization of Christianity, further, the archaeological sources suggest that the entire area of the Temple Mount lost its importance as a religious central point and in effect its importance in the city. The area was apparently left in ruins to demonstrate the fall of both Judaism, building on the Old Testament, and of the Roman State religion. In literature often the saying by Jesus as expressed in Mark 13.1–4 is supplied as a prophetic reference to such complete destruction. According to this prediction the Temple will be demolished and Christianity will stay triumphant.

Hadrian also built a second forum in Aelia Capitolina. This forum was situated in the western part of the city. The temple on it was in the Byzantine period partially included in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre[9] and remnants of Hadrianic construction are today partially seen in situ in the "White Russian Convent". This spot was, however, situated outside the limits of Aelia Capitolina and must thus be excluded as a candidate to bear the name of the "Jupiter Temple".

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7 Excavations in the Roman Aelia Capitolina were conducted by The Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University, the results are being published in the Qedem series. Volume Five (in preparation) will deal with the Herodian period, volume Four describes the post 70 AD (Roman) period, The second volume, which appeared in 2003 presents Byzantine period.

8 No remains of this temple are known, therefore some researchers believe that Hadrian only erected a colossal statue of Jupiter Capitolinus. Recent large scale excavations by the Western Wall conducted by Benjamin Mazar, partially published, revealed large scale constructions facilitating the access to the Temple platform. They have been interpreted as fragments of a bridge leading from Tyropeon valley to the Temple Mount. Such construction is meaningful only in case of the monumentalisation of the former Temple Area. (B. Mazar conducted excavation also on southern side of the Temple Mount, where remnants after the Umayyad official architecture were recorded (to be discussed below).

9 It was also proposed that the western forum should be considered the Capitolium and the temple standing on it was proposed to be identified as the Hadrianic Temple of Jupiter. This suggestion is now abandoned.

Fig. 5. Madaba map. Floor mosaic in the Madaba Church, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, dated ca. A.D. 600 (author's photo).

Some information about the layout of Aelia Capitolina supplies the "Madaba map" (Fig. 5) a floor mosaic dated to ca. A.D. 600[10]. The plan is oriented with the east on the top, as usual for that period. One may see there the **cardo maximus**, the second **cardo** and **decumanus maximus**, some squares such as the one near today's Damascus gate, bearing the characteristic column may be easily recognized. Many large, roofed constructions, certainly churches, may also be spotted – but our knowledge is insufficient to recognize all public places. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre with the Rotunda of the Grave of Christ is dominating in the west. It was the largest and the most famous church of Jerusalem in the Byzantine period. The building was as well the largest and most splendid of its time, and is often reproduced as for instance on the rainbow arch of the Santa Maria Maggiore church in Rome[11], but also is to be found as a motif on Christian sarcophagi and on devotionalia and similar objects of minor art.

The excavations under the leadership of Benjamin Mazar and his daughter Eilat Mazar conducted on a large scale (total area of 8 acres) at the south-western corner of the Temple Mount enclosure in Jerusalem (years 1968 – 78).[12] At the southern and southwestern foot of the Temple Mount, mentioned above, after the removal of earth and all movable archaeological remains dated to various periods, a large building complex belonging to the time of reign of the Umayyad dynasty has been disclosed. The buildings are in the archaeological literature called "the Umayyad palace complex" and dated to the 8th century A.D. The buildings were one and two storied, flat roofed, rectangular in shape, the larger of them had a rectangular inner courtyard. Several rooms discovered under excavations, still carried interior decoration such as wall-paintings and floor-mosaics. The technical features and the choice of motifs decorating walls indicated that the paintings were produced in the Umayyad period. The size of the buildings, their careful planning and construction, the choice of the materials used, all indicated their representative, official function, probably also administrative, as proposed by excavators. Possibly also some religious functions were involved, as one of the buildings was directly connected with the Al-Aqsa Mosque through steps leading from the roof of the building below to the openings in the encircling wall and further to the yard of the Temple Area.[13] The size and quality of the buildings were impressive for this early period in the history of Islam (Fig. 6). After

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[10] The map is still in situ in the church of Madaba, lying on the left side of the river Jordan, in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

[11] Dated to the 5th century A.D.

[12] B. Mazar *et al.* (first volume has already appeared).

[13] Cf. Mazar 1975, where the reconstruction of the Umayyad buildings and the proposition of reconstruction of the connecting passage is proposed.

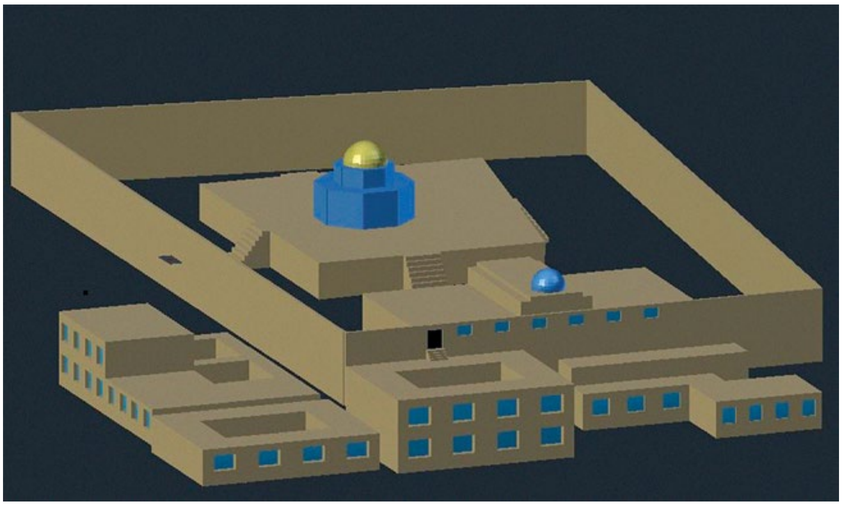

Fig. 6. The Temple Area during the reign of the Umayyads. Digital reconstruction leaning on materials discovered and published during the Benjamin Mazar and Eilat Mazar excavations executed by Kamil Sobczak, University of Lodz, Poland.

the death of Benjamin Mazar in 1995, Eilat Mazar became leader of the excavations, the results of which are being published in the Qedem series[14].

The excavations close to the Temple Mount point to the constant architectural development not only on the top of the hill as was thought before, but also on the area lying close to it. The apparent placement of the official architecture close to the Temple Mount underline its importance during the Umayyad period, and at the same time signalizes the stability of the state. Today, the buildings lying on the top of the Temple Mount function as holy to Islam. The importance of the Temple Mount for Judaism, the Roman State Religion and Islam is, however, an acknowledged fact. This spot by the placement of the Roman temple of Jupiter was -although for short time- holy to the Roman world. The usage of the Temple Mount by three important religions: Judaism, the Roman State religion and Islam demonstrate in reality the theory of “continuity and change” – telling that a holy place often will keep its status also after the change of religion or a period of discontinuity. In the above discussed case politics was tightly bound to religion, what is the common feature when we speak about a state religion.

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Künzing und die Tabula Peutingeriana – Aspekte zum Donaulimes in Bayern und zum UNESCO-Welterbe „Grenzen des Römischen Reiches“

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Ausgehend von dem aktuellen Welterbeantrag „Grenzen des Römischen Reiches – Donaulimes“ von Deutschland, Österreich, Slowakei und Ungarn und seinen Hintergründen, aber auch der Erweiterung nach Osten über Kroatien, Serbien, Bulgarien und Rumänien, beschäftigt sich der Aufsatz mit dem Kastellort Künzing. Neben dessen Beitrag zum zukünftigen Welterbe durch das hölzerne Amphitheater wird die Zuweisung des Ortsnamens Petrensibus auf der Tabula Peutingeriana untersucht.

Schlüsselwörter: *UNESCO-Welterbe, Grenzen des Römischen Reiches, Donaulimes, Künzing, Amphitheater, Petrensibus, Tabula Peutingeriana*

1. Vorrede: Das UNESCO-Welterbe „Grenzen des Römischen Reiches“

Ende Januar 2018 führten die gemeinsamen Anstrengungen von Kolleginnen und Kollegen aus den Denkmalämtern, Museen und zuständigen Ministerien von Ungarn, Slowakei, Österreich und Bayern zur Fertigstellung eines umfangreichen gemeinsamen UNESCO-Welterbeantrags „Grenzen des Römischen Reiches – Donaulimes“. Nach der Einreichung in Paris zum 1. Februar 2018 und der mittlerweile erfolgten Evaluation durch ICOMOS erwarten wir nun die Anmerkungen der Gutachter oder auch Vorschläge zu Änderungen, vor allem aber eine hoffentlich positive Empfehlung zur Eintragung in die Welterbeliste in einer der nächsten Sitzungen des UNESCO-Welterbekomitees.

Dieser Antrag hat seinen Ausgang in den Welterbe-Eintragungen des Obergermanisch-Raetischen Limes (ORL) in Deutschland und des Antoninuswall in Schottland. 2005 formulierte das Welterbekomitee im Zusammenhang mit der Erweiterung des Hadrianswalls durch den ORL zu den „Grenzen des Römischen Reiches“: „(It) also recommends that the nomination be seen as the second phase of a possible wider, phased, serial transboundary nomination to encompass remains of the Roman frontiers around the Mediterranean Region.” (29COM 8B.46). Auf dieser Grundlage erfolgte 2008 die Erweiterung der „Grenzen des Römischen Reiches“ um den Antoninuswall (32COM 8B.40). Neben der Eintragung von Abschnitten der römischen Grenzen in die Welterbeliste der UNESCO war ein erklärtes weiteres Ziel der damaligen Partner ein intensiver wissenschaftlicher, aber auch denkmalpflegerischer Austausch aller potentiell Beteiligten. Als „formelle“ Plattform wurde hierzu die Bratislava Group gegründet (WHC-08/32.COM/10B, 10–11; Jilek 2008), die Archäologen und Denkmalpfleger der Länder über den informellen Austausch der Archäologen bei den regelmäßig stattfindenden Limeskongressen (Sulk 2013) hinaus regelmäßig zusammengeführt hat und weiterhin zusammenführt.

Der Antrag zum Donaulimes gründet darauf basierend auf einer engen Kooperation aller europäischen Länder mit Anteilen an den „Grenzen des Römischen Reiches – Frontiers of the Roman Empire“. In der sogenannten Koblenz-Declaration wurden diese definiert: "The Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage should consist of the line(s) of the frontier at the height of the Empire from Trajan to Septimius Severus (about AD 100 to 200), and the military installations of different periods which are on that line. The installations include fortresses, forts, towers, the limes road, artificial barriers and immediately associated civil structures." (WHC-08/32.COM/10B, 11) – für den oder die Welterbeanträge musste eine möglichst enge, eingängige Definition gewählt werden. Dementsprechend kommen als Partner in Europa die Länder Großbritannien, Niederlande, Deutschland, Österreich, Slowakei, Ungarn, Serbien, Bulgarien, Rumänien und natürlich auch Kroatien in Frage. Schon früh hat letzteres Land sein Interesse an der Zusammenarbeit bekundet – immerhin stammt der Eintrag „Frontiers of the Roman Empire Croatian Limes“ in der nationalen Tentativliste vom 1. Februar 2005 (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/2014/croatia; letzter Zugriff 1.1.2019).

Allerdings zeigte sich in den Jahren seit 2015, als Österreich zusammen mit Bayern an einem binationalen Antrag, aber auch die Slowakei und Ungarn wieder intensiv an jeweils nationalen Anträgen zu arbeiten begannen, dass der ursprüngliche Ansatz einer seriellen, die antike Welt umspannenden Nominierung, also der allmählichen Ergänzung der bestehenden Welterbestätte um weitere Elemente, nicht weiter verfolgt werden kann. Hintergrund ist die Spezifizierung des Vorgehens bei seriellen Welterbenominierungen, wie sie im sogenannten Ittingen Report vorgeschlagen und vom Welterbekomitee 2010 beschlossen wurden (WHC-10/34.COM/9B). In der Folge davon wurden die Operational Guidelines, nach denen Welterbenominierungen zu erfolgen haben, geändert (Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, WHC.17/01; 12 July 2017. https://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/document-57-11.pdf, para 133–138; letzter Zugriff 1.1.2019). Nach intensiven Diskussionen mit Vertretern von ICOMOS International und dem Welterbezentrum in Paris wurde uns 2016 klar, dass kein Weg an einer sogenannten Thematischen Studie zu den Grenzen des Römischen Reiches und einer Fraktionierung in mehrere eigenständige Welterbestätten vorbeiführen würde. In einer fast unglaublichen Einhelligkeit stellten im Juni und Juli des Jahres 2016 alle betroffenen europäischen Staaten die für die Studie notwendigen Daten zu den potentiellen Plätzen, aber auch bezüglich einer sinnvollen Auswahl unter den Gesichtspunkten „Beitrag zum außergewöhnlich universellen Wert“ (OUV) und „Management“ zur Verfügung, so dass schon im Frühjahr 2017 die umfangreiche Studie „The Frontiers of the Roman Empire. A Thematic Study and proposed World Heritage Nomination" (Ployer *et al.* 2017) fertig gestellt und auf der nachfolgenden Sitzung des Welterbekomitees in Krakau vorgestellt und „begrüßt“ werden konnte (41 COM 8B.50, p. 259 http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2017/whc17-41com-18-en.pdf; letzter Zugriff 1.1.2019).

Aufbauend auf der Thematischen Studie ist eine Aufteilung der „Grenzen des Römischen Reiches" in mehrere Abschnitte – Nordafrika, Vorderer Orient, ev. das Bergland nördlich des Zweistromlandes und in Europa – vorgesehen. Hier sind, zumindest vorläufig, neben dem existierenden Welterbe der Niedergermanische Limes, der Dakische Limes und der Donaulimes als eigenständige Welterbestätten angedacht. Entsprechend erfolgte die eingangs angeführte Nominierung des Donaulimes – in der aktuellen Form als dessen westlicher Teil zwischen Bad Gögging in Bayern und Kölked kurz vor der ungarisch/kroatischen Grenze. Insgesamt betrifft der Antrag eine Strecke von 997 Flusskilometern. An nominierten Plätzen enthält er 175 Component Parts (einzelne Flächen), die in 98 Cluster (Orten) zusammengefasst sind. Entsprechend den Überlegungen von möglichen Statements zum OUV im Rahmen der Erarbeitung der Thematischen Studie wurde festgestellt, dass der gegebenenfalls so eingetragene Donaulimes durch den östlichen Abschnitt mit Kroatien, Serbien, Bulgarien und Rumänien in Form einer signifikanten Erweiterung ergänzt werden könnte. Der OUV erhielte durch die in diesem Abschnitt gegebene (zeitweise) Zugehörigkeit zu Byzanz mit den in diesem Zusammenhang ausgeführten sehr späten Militäranlagen die notwendigen zusätzlichen Qualitäten. Voraussetzung hierzu ist ein gemeinsamer Erweiterungsantrag der vier betroffenen Länder in den nächsten Jahren. Erste Vorbereitungen und internationale Abstimmungen laufen gerade an.

2. Bayern mit seinem Beitrag zum Welterbeantrag „Grenzen des Römischen Reiches – Donaulimes“

Bayern ist an dem 2018 eingereichten Welterbeantrag mit 9 sogenannten Clustern (Orten: Bad Gögging – Heilbad, Eining-Weinberg – Wachtturm und Heiligtum, Weltenburg–Am Galget – Kleinkastell, Regensburg-Großprüfening – Kastell und Vicus, Regensburg Kumpfmühl – Kastell und Vicus, Regensburg – Legionslager, Straubing – Ostkastell und Kastell St. Peter, Künzing – Amphitheater und Vicus, Passau – Kastelle und Burgus) mit insgesamt 24 Component Parts (Teilflächen) vertreten. Sie verteilen sich entlang 205 Flusskilometern. Am Beginn des bayerischen Abschnitts gibt es zwischen Bad Gögging und Eining-Weinberg eine Art Überschneidung mit dem existierenden Welterbe Obergermanisch-Raetischer Limes, der mit dem Halblegionslager Eining-Unterfeld und dem Auxiliarkastell Eining auf das Südufer der Donau ausgreift (430ter-419 bzw. 430ter-420; vgl. die Liste der Component Parts unter https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/430/multiple=1&unique_number=1539 bzw. die Kartierung 2015 ebenda; letzter Zugriff: 1.1.2019). Deren Eintragung als Teil des ORL steht in der Folge der konzeptionellen Sicht des Limes durch die Reichs-Limeskommission Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts.

Die Auswahl der bayerischen Plätze erfolgte in enger Abstimmung mit den internationalen Partnern, vor allem aber mit den betroffenen Kommunen. Die Hauptfragestellung war dabei der aktuelle Denkmalerhalt der vorgesehenen Component Parts. War dieser ausreichend groß, konnte überlegt werden, ob und gegebenenfalls welchen Beitrag jeder einzelne Teil zum außergewöhnlichen universellen Wert (OUV) des Donaulimes leisten könnte. Wesentliche Aspekte hierfür waren einerseits die Vielfältigkeit der Plätze (erkennbar in den oben gegebenen beschreibenden Namensbestandteilen), andererseits die Zielsetzung, trotz der notwendigen Auswahl ausreichend Elemente zu nominieren, so dass die Linie der einstigen römischen Grenze durch eine genügend große Zahl von „Perlen an der Kette" dokumentiert werden würde. Sichtbarkeit spielte dabei keine entscheidende Rolle. Von Bedeutung waren dagegen auch die Möglichkeit der Vermittlung eines Objektes als Teil des möglichen Welterbes und vor allem die Frage, inwiefern absehbar war, dass die Plätze in nachhaltiger Weise „gemanagt" werden können. Die Ablehnung eines Objektes durch die Kommune (gelegentlich auf der Grundlage der Ablehnung der Grundstückseigentümer) zur Übernahme in den Welterbeantrag bildete ein Ausschlusskriterium.

3. Das römische Künzing im Rahmen des Welterbeantrags

In den vergangenen Jahrzehnten mussten auf Grund der intensiven lokalen Bautätigkeit erst große Teile des Kastells, dann des Kastellvicus von Künzing bauvorgreifend archäologisch untersucht werden (zusammenfassend Sommer 2008: besonders Beilage). In Folge davon steht es mit den Erhaltungsbedingungen von Kastell und Vicus als Ganzem eher schlecht, jedenfalls konnten keine größeren zusammenhängenden Flächen identifiziert werden, die eine Nominierung hätten begründen können. Im Rahmen der umfangreichen Ausgrabungen wurde jedoch am südöstlichen Rand des Kastellvicus ein hölzernes Amphitheater entdeckt (Schmotz 2005; 2006; 2007; Sommer 2009: 50–52). Auch wenn es auf dem obersten erhaltenen Planum fast vollständig freigelegt wurde, beschränkte sich der Ausgräber bei den weiteren Arbeiten auf ein Viertel der Fläche (Sommer 2009: Fig. 5.4); die übrigen Teile sind bis heute unberührt und sorgfältig überdeckt im Boden erhalten. Da die Gemeinde den gesamten Bereich des Amphitheaters und die südlich anschließenden bisher unangetasteten Flächen in ihr Eigentum überführte, bleibt der größte Teil des Amphitheaters von Künzing der Nachwelt dauerhaft erhalten. Heute ist die Arena mit den umgebenden Tribünen durch eine hölzerne Installation gekennzeichnet und durch Erläuterungen vor Ort für den Besucher erschlossen (Abb. 1). In der Funktion und Größe vergleichbare Anlagen bei Auxiliarkastellen kennen wir in Deutschland vom ORL sonst nur noch in Zugmantel und Dambach, wo der Bereich der Tribünen durch antike Wälle gekennzeichnet ist, wir aber nichts über die eventuellen hölzernen Konstruktionen wissen (Zugmantel: 430ter-268; Dambach: 430ter-385; Sommer 2009: 53–54; 48–49), und vielleicht in Arnsburg (430ter-302; Sommer 2009: 47). Am Donaulimes handelt es sich bei dem Künzinger Amphitheater um einen in dieser Art bei einem Auxiliarkastell nicht nur in Bayern bisher einmaligen Befund, der dementsprechend einen besonderen Beitrag zum OUV des beantragten Welterbe leisten kann.

Abb. 1. Künzing, Lkr. Deggendorf. Hölzerne Installation über dem römischen Amphitheater und Erläuterung vor Ort (BLfD, C. Sebastian Sommer).

4. Künzing und die Tabula Peutingeriana

Naturgemäß steigt das Interesse an den Plätzen, die für einen Welterbeantrag erwogen werden oder gar enthalten sind, in der Öffentlichkeit und der Archäologie. Nicht von ungefähr war daher die Einladung nach Künzing, in dem dortigen Museum Quintana/Archäologie in Künzing (http://www.museum-quintana.de/content; Zugriff 6.4.2018) in einer öffentlichen Abendveranstaltung über den Stand des Welterbeantrags zu referieren (15.3.2018). Bei den Folien des Vortrags durfte auch ein Scan des den Bereich des Donaulimes in Bayern betreffenden Ausschnitts der Tabula Peutingeriana nicht fehlen, der einzigen, wenn auch nur in einer mittelalterlichen Abschrift erhaltenen römischen Straßenkarte oder besser Weltkarte (Rathmann 2016: 6). Trotz langjähriger Beschäftigung mit Künzing kam mir erst während des Vortrags die weiter unten aufgeworfene und formulierte Frage.

Auf dem heute in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien aufbewahrten, bereits seit 2007 als UNESCO Welt(dokumenten)erbe eingetragenen Darstellung (https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tabula_Peutingeriana; Zugriff 6.4.2018), und nach dem zeitweiligen Augsburger Eigentümer Konrad Peutinger benannten Karte ist auf einem ca. 34 cm breiten zusammengesetzten Pergamentstreifen von insgesamt noch knapp 7 m Länge fast das gesamte römische Reich dargestellt. Es fehlt nur am linken Rand Nordafrika, die Iberische Halbinsel und der größte Teil von Britannien. Trotz der wegen der Darstellungsform starken Verzerrung sind die Teile in sich relativ stimmig und über das Ganze gesehen nachvollziehbar aufgezeichnet (vgl. den letzten Faksimiledruck Rathmann 2016 mit ganz hervorragender Wiedergabe in Originalgröße nach der letzten Restaurierung der Karte; vgl. Abb. 2).

Abb. 2. Passau, RömerMuseum Kastell Boiotro. Abdruck einer vergrößerten Tabula Peutingeriana mit den Teilnehmern des bayerischen Visiting Programms 2018 aus Rumänien, Bulgarien, Serbien, Kroatien sowie den Organisatoren in Bezug zu ihrem jeweiligen Herkunftsort (RömerMuseum Kastell Boiotro).

Seit der Entdeckung der Tabula Peutingeriana im frühen 16. Jahrhundert (vermutlich kurz danach von Konrad Celtes aus einer Klosterbibliothek gestohlen; Rathmann 2016: 6) gab es eine vielseitige Beschäftigung mit ihrer Entstehungsgeschichte und Datierung, der Darstellung, ihrem Inhalt, ihrer Genauigkeit bzw. ihren Fehlern. Hier sei nur auf einige in ihrer jeweiligen Zeit im deutschen Sprachraum bedeutende Werke hingewiesen (Prugger 1823; Miller 1887; Rathmann 2016 mit einer Zusammenfassung der Geschichte der Karte S. 6–8). Bezüglich der Herkunft ist man heute der mehrheitlichen Meinung, dass die vorliegende Karte auf eine Vorgängerin des frühen 5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. zurückgeht, vielleicht sogar genau datierbar auf das Jahr 435 (Rathmann 2016: 9–10). Ob diese allerdings auf einer großen, in Rom unter Augustus von Agrippa angebrachten Karte, einen späteren Vorläufer aus der Zeit um 300 n. Chr. oder gar – wie unlängst vorgetragen – auf über mehreren Stufen kopierten und ergänzten hellenistischen Karten basiert (Rathmann 2016: 11–26), soll hier nicht weiter verfolgt werden. Wahrscheinlich wird man die Vorläufer und die antike Karte selbst aber als „Chorographische Karte“ bezeichnen können, also als eine Kombination von geographischen Gegebenheiten und textlichen Erläuterungen (Rathmann 2016: 15–19).

Im Rahmen der verschiedenen Kopierprozesse – z.T. deshalb notwendig, weil das ursprüngliche Trägermaterial Papyrus vermutlich spätestens nach ca. 50 Jahren der Benutzung irreparabel beschädigt war und die Inhalte auf einen neuen Papyrus (bzw. irgendwann auf das haltbarere Pergament) übertragen werden mussten – konnten die Kopisten insbesondere in der Legende neuere Informationen nachtragen oder auch alte, überflüssige entfernen (Rathmann 2016: 20–21). Offensichtlich sind insbesondere in der römischen Kaiserzeit auch Informationen aus jüngeren Itineraren (Reiseweg-Auflistungen) eingeflossen (Rathmann 2016: 23). Kaum scheinen dagegen Veränderungen an der Kartographie als solcher vorgenommen worden zu sein, sei es Mangels Kenntnis der Zeichner, sei es aus Platzgründen auf den Papyrus-/Pergamentstreifen, z.B. bezüglich des in der Kaiserzeit stärker in den Fokus rückenden Germanien (Rathmann 2016: 23–24). Auffällig ist, dass die verschiedenen Angaben, insbesondere auch Ortsnamen, vermutlich aus optischen Gründen nur bis zu einer bestimmten Dichte ausgeführt wurden (Rathmann 2016: 29). Rathmann ist auch der Meinung, dass die regelmäßig gegebenen „Distanzangaben eine eher unzuverlässige Informationslage“ darstellen (Rathmann 2016: 29). Diese Distanzen in Meilen, teilweise aber auch in dem keltischen Maß der Leugen, bilden den Anlass für viele Diskussionen und Überlegungen.

Abb. 3. Tabula Peutingeriana, Ausschnitt Blatt 3 (Zusammenfügung aus Rathmann 2016: 49 und 51; BLfD, S. Scherff/ Österreichische Nationalbibliothek).

An dieser Stelle soll auf den im Zusammenhang mit Künzing interessierenden Ausschnitt westlich des Inns eingegangen werden (Abb. 3). Am oberen Rand des dritten Blatts der Tabula ist die Donau (hier unbeschriftet) eingezeichnet. Etwa in der Mitte steht jenseits davon unter anderem in rot die Bezeichnung *MARCOMANNI*. Der hier zu besprechende Bereich findet sich rechts darunter, wo der Inn als *fl(umen) Ivaro* im spitzen Winkel in die Donau mündet. Die Flusssignatur beginnt am linken Ende der merkwürdig verkürzten Alpen nahe *Ivavo* (Salzburg). Insgesamt wurde bei der Art der Kartendarstellung wie auch sonst in der Tabula kaum Rücksicht auf topographische Genauigkeit genommen (Rathmann 2016: insbes. 29). Im spitzen Winkel der Flüsse ist *Castellu Boloduru* eingetragen, das für die römischen Ansiedlungen in der heutigen Stadt Passau steht. Hier beginnt auch als rote Linie eine Straße Richtung Westen, die über drei Haken, die Siedlungen angeben, nach *Regino* (Regensburg) führt. Diese Straße ist unschwer als die die Anlagen des Donaulimes verbindende Donausüdstraße zu interpretieren. Regensburg ist seiner Bedeutung als Legionslager entsprechend mit einer speziellen Signatur aus zwei hausartigen Gebäuden jeweils mit einer Tür und einem darüber liegenden Fenster gekennzeichnet. Mittlerweile ist allerdings klar, dass diese und andere Signaturen, trotz vielfältiger Versuche, keine über die gesamte Tabula nachvollziehbare Systematik erkennen lassen (Rathmann 2016: 29).

Der erste der Winkel (rechts) ist mit *Castellu Boloduru* verbunden. Dieser Name, nach Claudios Ptolemaios und dem *Itinerarium Antonini* wohl eher *Boiodurum*, wird heute allgemein mit einem auf der rechten Innseite, also schon in Noricum gelegenen mittelkaiserzeitlichen Kastell gleichgesetzt, obwohl die Tabula wie auch Ptolemaios als Lage einer Siedlung mit diesem Namen den Winkel zwischen Donau und Inn, also die heutige Altstadt in Raetien, angeben, wo es ebenfalls ein oder mehrere Kastelle gab (Talbert 2000: Karte 12; Bloier 2013: insbes. auch Anm. 2 mit Literatur zum Kastell; Niemeier 2014: 7–8, 12–13; Niemeier 2015). Der ehemalige Stadtarchäologe und Museumsleiter von Passau, J.-P. Niemeier, versuchte diesen Widerspruch – P. Reinecke folgend – dahingehend zu lösen, dass er eine Verlagerung bzw. Präzisierung des Namens vermutete: „Wahrscheinlich haben die Römer mit *Boiodurum* zunächst das gesamte neu besetzte Gebiet bezeichnet, bevor sie schließlich den Namen auf das Kastell, das an der Innmündung um 90 n. Chr. errichtet wurde, die dazugehörige Zivilsiedlung und auf die Zollstation in der

Passauer Innstadt, also auf den norischen Teil, übertrugen.“ (Reinecke 1924: 24–25; Niemeier 2014: 8). Hinsichtlich des Eintrags in der Tabula bedeutet dies, dass dessen Bezug zur Topographie von Passau unklar ist. Will man nicht auch noch einen darüber hinaus gehenden Fehleintrag annehmen, müsste man den unterhalb des Namens eingezeichneten Straßenteil als graphisches Element interpretieren. Auffällig ist weiterhin, dass – trotz der nachgewiesenen Zollstation und schwachen Hinweisen auf eine mögliche Brücke (Niemeier 2014: 52–53) – keine Straßenverbindung über den Inn hinweg nach Noricum eingetragen ist.

Die Beschriftung des übernächsten, vor Regensburg angegebenen Hakens ist mit *Sorvioduro* und dessen Bezug auf Straubing eindeutig (Reinecke 1924: 43; Fischer 2015b; zu Straubing zuletzt Prammer 2018: 9–17). Mit einer Entfernung von ca. 39 km in der Luftlinie zwischen dem Osttor des Legionslagers in Regensburg und dem Westtor des Ostkastells bzw. etwas weniger zum Westkastell gibt es auch eine relativ gute Übereinstimmung mit der Entfernungsangabe der Tabula von XXVIII Meilen (entsprechend etwa 42 Straßenkilometern). Schwierig zu lesen ist der dazwischen liegende Abschnitt mit dem dritten Haken, wo ein dunkel fleckiger Bereich unter der zugehörigen Schrift auf eine Beschädigung des Pergaments, vielleicht durch eine Rasur nach einer Verschreibung, schließen lässt. Diese „Störung“ muss schon alt sein, denn sie ist schon auf dem ersten Faksimile 1887 zu erkennen (Miller 1887). Unsicher ist hier einerseits die Entfernungsangabe rechts von *Sorvioduro* (XXIIII oder eher XXVII), andererseits der darunter geschriebene Name. Eindeutig ist dagegen die rechts davon zu lesende Angabe XVIII (Abb. 3).

In einer frühen Auseinandersetzung mit Teilen der Tabula diskutierte C. Prugger diese Stelle 1823 vor der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Er verweist auf einen Streit „unter den Gelehrten“, ob an der fraglichen Stelle *Petrensibus* oder *Pontrensibus* zu lesen sei (Prugger 1823: 28). Als Hintergrund sieht er eine fehlerhafte Angabe, die als *P.rensibus* gelesen werde. Aufgrund einer damaligen Annahme, dass es auch einen „auf dem linken Ufer (der Donau) angebrachten trajanischen Limes“ gäbe, suchte Prugger den von ihm bevorzugt als *Petrensibus* gelesenen Platz im Raum Hängersberg nördlich der Donau (heute Hengersberg), verweist aber immerhin auch – auf der Grundlage einer Auskunft des Pfarramts Hengersberg – auf häufigere römische Funde im Bereich von Künzing. Soweit ich erkennen kann, ist die Lesung dieser Stelle im 20. Jahrhundert nicht weiter diskutiert oder in Frage gestellt worden, wenn auch heute neben *Petrensibus* bzw. *P(e)trensibus* eher *Patrensibus* oder nur *P[]trensibus* als Alternative gelesen wird und allgemein von einer Lage südlich der Donau ausgegangen wird (z. B. Reinecke 1924: 38; 1962: 15; Moosbauer 1997: 176–177; H. Bender in Talbert 2000: Directory 182 „unlocated“, vgl. Karte 12; auf die kaum nachvollziehbaren „Überlegungen“ Freutsmiedl 2005: 199–200 braucht hier nicht eingegangen zu werden).

Auffälligerweise wurde bisher regelmäßig die Entfernungsangabe XVIII von Passau als gegeben angesehen mit dem Ergebnis, dass man den Namen *Petrensibus* auf Pleinting und die dort liegenden vorgeschichtlichen Befestigungsanlagen, insbesondere das sogenannte Oppidum bei Unter(n)buch (Denkmal D-2-7344-0140, Ringwall vorgeschichtlicher oder frühmittelalterlicher Zeitstellung; Pätzold 1983: 237) im Abstand von 27 km bezog und dort eine *mansio* vermutete (Reinecke 1924: 38; 1930: 7; 1962: 15; 0,7 km nordwestlich davon liegt mit dem Denkmal D-2-7344-0115 auch noch eine frühmittelalterliche Abschnittsbefestigung; Pätzold 1983: 253). Allerdings kennen wir bis heute weder von der Höhenbefestigung noch von deren Fuß irgendwelche nennenswerten römischen Funde. Im Unterschied dazu hat lediglich H.-J. Kellner den Namen auf das Kastell in Moos-Burgstall bezogen, allerdings ohne Anklang zu finden (Kellner 1970: 203–204 Nr. 2125). Unabhängig davon folge mit diesem sonst nirgends auftauchenden Namen „(die Tabula) im Gegensatz zum Itinerar, das hier mit einer etwas längeren Meilenzahl nur Quintanis kennt, offenbar einer älteren Quelle.“ (Reinecke 1930: 7). Erstaunlich ist, dass sich anscheinend niemand daran gestört hat, dass die zwischen *Sorvioduro* und *Petrensibus* gegebene Entfernungsangabe mit keiner der beiden Zuweisungen zusammen passt; die Angaben XXIIII oder XXVII sind für Moos-Burgstall im Abstand von 30 km deutlich zu lang und mit etwa 47 km für Pleinting zu kurz.

Das Fehlen des zwischen Passau und Straubing ansonsten verschiedentlich genannten und im Itinerarium Antonini als *Quintianis*, in der Notitia Dignitatum und der Vita Severini als *Quintanis* bezeichneten Orts (Reinecke 1924: 39–40; Schönberger 1975: 115) auf der Tabula ist insofern irritierend, als das damit allgemein identifizierte römische Künzing nicht nur über die ganze mittlere Kaiserzeit, sondern wahrscheinlich auch noch in der spätrömischen Zeit besetzt gewesen ist (Bayer-Niemeier 2017: 36–53). Auf das im Bereich des heutigen Ortskerns gelegene Kastell bezogen würde die Entfernungsangabe von Straubing in der Lesung XXVII mit gemessenen 43 km einigermaßen passen.

Es stellt sich damit die Frage, warum eigentlich die Entfernungsangabe Passau – *Petrensibus* korrekt wieder gegeben sein soll mit dem Ergebnis eines Zielpunkts Pleinting ohne Hinweise auf eine römische Anlage, während die Entfernungsangabe von Straubing, die einigermaßen genau an einem sicheren römischen Kastell mit zugehöriger Zivilsiedlung endet (bisher nur *Quintanis*) im Grunde verworfen wird. Ist nicht viel wahrscheinlicher, dass mit *Petrensibus* der bekannte römische Ort mit korrekter Distanzangabe von Straubing gemeint und die Entfernungsangabe von Passau falsch ist? Falls dieser Ansatz richtig ist, müssten wir von einem Namenswechsel für Kastell und Vicus von Künzing ausgehen, nämlich von *Petrensibus* zu *Quint(i)anis*. Dies erscheint insofern denkbar, als heute *Quintanis* nicht mehr „nach dem kelt. Namen eines Baches (heute Kinze, n. an Bruch und Künzing vorbeifließend)" gebildet erscheint (Reinecke 1924: 40; 1930: 5), sondern – C. Cichorius und H. Schönberger folgend – vielmehr nach dem Zahlzeichen *quinta* der wahrscheinlich in Künzing, gegebenenfalls ab etwa der Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr., vielleicht aber auch dauernd dort stationierten Einheit, der *cohors V Bracaraugustanorum equitata* (Farkas 2015: 40–41, mit Überlegungen zur dauernden Stationierung der Truppe; 147–148 mit Hinweis auf Cichorius; Schönberger, 1975: 115; 1985: 475, in der Annahme der Nachfolge der *cohors III Thracum*; Ganslmeier/Schmotz 2003: 16; Fischer 2015a: 206; irrtümlich wird ebd. 205 auch die Tabula als Quelle für den Namen aufgeführt). Es wird dagegen in der Namensforschung neuerdings vermutet, dass *Quintana* über das *Quintianis* des Itinerarium Antonini „vom römischen Gentilnamen Quintius abzuleiten" sei (v. Reitzenstein 2004: 6; v. Reitzenstein 2006: 146 s.v. Künzing; Bayer-Niemeier 2017: 39). Ich sehe mich nicht in der Lage, diese beiden Stränge gegeneinander abzuwägen, die auf der einen Seite von einer nicht eindeutig belegten Einheit in Künzing ausgehen, auf der anderen von einer sicheren Schreibung Quintianis bzw. einem späteren Wegfall des „*i*" hin zu *Quintana* als nicht originalem römischen Ortsnamen ausgehen.

Will man *Petrensibus* nicht grundsätzlich als unzuweisbar einordnen (Bender 2000: 182 „unlocated", vgl. Talbert 2000: Karte 12), meine ich unabhängig davon, dass *Petrensibus* wahrscheinlicher auf (das frühe) Künzing zu beziehen ist, als auf eine vor- oder frühgeschichtliche Befestigung ohne römische Funde. Dass Bezeichnungen, die vielleicht nur in der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts gebräuchlich waren, in der Tabula aber über die verschiedenen Redaktionen hinweg stehen blieben, scheint nicht ungewöhnlich zu sein (Rathmann 2016: 22–23). Warum gegebenenfalls jedoch ausgerechnet *Petrensibus* in der Tabula Peutingeriana stehen blieb, wird sich kaum feststellen lassen.

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Dujmovača – Zagorski put, numizmatički nalazi

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U radu se obrađuju numizmatički nalazi s položaja Dujmovača – Zagorski put gdje su 2011. godine provedena zaštitna arheološka istraživanja rimskog gospodarsko – ladanjskog objekta.. Među nalazima dominiraju rimski novci koji se mogu smjestiti u vremenski okvir od 2. stoljeća prije Krista do 5. stoljeća. Manji dio novca pripada bizantskoj numizmatici i datira se u drugu polovinu 6. stoljeća.

Ključne riječi: *numizmatika, rimski novac, bizantski novac, Split, Dujmovača, Zagorski put*

Širi prostor grada Splita značajno je arheološko područje. Među brojnim nalazištima i spomenicima rimskog razdoblja središnje mjesto, uz carsku palaču, zauzima glavni grad provincije Dalmacije Salona sa svojim agerom, na kojem su se, koristeći izvanredne prirodne uvjete, razvila brojna gospodarska zdanja i ladanjske vile. Stoga nije čudno da u jeku suvremene izgradnje često dolazi do novih značajnih arheoloških otkrića koji nanovo svjedoče o davnoj prošlosti splitskog područja. Tako su 2011. godine prilikom izgradnje trgovačkog centra u Dujmovači na položaju Zagorski put otkriveni ostaci arhitekture što je potaklo zaštitna arheološka istraživanja koja su rezultirala otkrićem većeg arhitektonskog sklopa s brojnim pokretnim nalazima iz rimskog razdoblja (Katavić *et al.* 2015).

Dujmovača je predio koji se prostire na sjeveroistoku splitskog poluotoka. Ime je dobila po potoku i crkvi sv. Duje. Nekad je to bio slikoviti krajolik, danas potpuno devastiran suvremenom izgradnjom. Plodna zemlja, voda i odličan prometni položaj u blizini Salone pogodovali su nastanku i razvoju rimskog gospodarsko – ladanjskog kompleksa na ovome mjestu koje je trajalo više stoljeća. Riječ je o jednom od mnogih sličnih objekata rasutih na pomno odabranim položajima u salonitanskom ageru. Godine 2014. u suradnji Muzeja grada Splita i tvrtke Kaukal d. o. o. održana je izložba pod nazivom *Dujmovača Express* o povijesti splitskog predjela Dujmovača. Tom prilikom prvi put su predstavljeni i rezultati arheoloških istraživanja na predjelu Zagorski put uključujući i neke numizmatičke nalaze. Tijekom tih istraživanja pronađeno je 174 komada novca koje obrađujemo u ovome radu. Dominiraju rimski novci kojih je 164 komada ili 94,25%, a 10 primjeraka ili 5,74% pripisano je bizantskoj numizmatici.

Pronađena numizmatička građa može se svrstati u vremenski okvir od 2. stoljeća prije Krista do 6. stoljeća. Na točnu determinaciju pojedinih primjeraka znatno je utjecala činjenica da su novci većim dijelom vrlo loše očuvani. Posljedica je to loših prirodnih uvjeta u kojima su se stoljećima nalazili. Stoga je preciznije bilo moguće odrediti tek 49 rimskih i 3 bizantska novca.

Najstariji primjerci su dva jako istrošena rimska brončana republikanska novca iz 2. ili 1. stoljeća prije Krista (kat. br. 1, 2). Činjenica da su oba prepolovljena ukazuje da su bez sumnje bila u optjecaju u 1. stoljeću. Prepolavljanje većih nominala naime, provodilo se kada bi u optjecaju ponestalo sitnijeg novca što je osobito često bio slučaj za julijevsko-klaudijevskog razdoblja.

Primjerci rimskog carskog novca od prvog do prve polovine 3. stoljeća nisu brojni. Determinirano ih je tek 7 primjeraka. Premda su u prvoj polovini 1. stoljeća bakreni asevi igrali najveću ulogu u svakodnevnom opticaju, determiniran je tek jedan Tiberijev primjerak (kat. br. 3, slika 1). Slijedi Trajanov dupondij (kat. br. 4), novac u vrijednosti dva asa, te srebrni denar Marka Aurelija iz druge polovine 2. stoljeća (kat. br. 5). Razdoblje Antonina zastupljeno je s još dva primjerka koji bi po portretu mogli pripadati Marku Aureliju ili Komodu (kat. br. 6, 7). Jedan je as, a drugi sestercij, brončani novac u vrijednosti četiri asa. Iz samog kraja drugog i prve polovine 3. stoljeća su dva srebrna denara, jedan Septimija Severa, a drugi Aleksandra Severa s likom Julije Mameje (kat. br. 8, 9).

Slika 1. kat. br. 3 avers i revers

Druga polovina 3. stoljeća donosi nešto veći intenzitet dotoka novca. Isključivo je riječ o antoninijanima među kojima su s pet primjeraka najbrojniji primjerci cara Galijena (kat. br. 10–14). Ovima valja pribrojati i jedan primjerak za koji se ne može točno utvrditi pripada li Valerijanu I. ili Galijenu (kat. br. 15). S dva antoninijana zastupljen je car Klaudije II Gotik (kat. br. 16, 17) dok se po jedan primjerak može pripisati Aurelijanu (tip *Divus Claudius*) (kat. br. 18) i Maksimijanu (kat. br. 19).

Slika 2. kat. br. 20 avers i revers

Novci 4. stoljeća su najbrojniji. Najstariji među njima su numi Maksimijana (kat. br. 21), te Dioklecijana (kat. br. 20, slika 2). Maksimijanov primjerak datiran je, doduše, u zadnje desetljeće 3. stoljeća, no spada u razdoblje kovanja 294. – 305. godine. Dva numa iz razdoblja kovanja 313. – 320. godine pripadaju Liciniju

I., odnosno Konstantinu I. (kat. br. 22, 25). Ova vrsta novca kovana je nakon Dioklecijanove monetarne reforme do godine 317/18. kada car Konstantin uvodi novac centenional. Točno je određeno ukupno 13 centenionala koji se mogu pripisati Liciniju I. te Konstantinu I. ili nekom od njegovih sinova (kat. br. 23, 24, 26–36). Nakon monetarne reforme 348. godine, kuju se brončani novci koje označavamo prema modulu koji u numizmatici označava promjer novca. Iz toga razdoblja, uz jako istrošene primjerake Konstancija II. ili Julijana (kat. br. 37, 38), je novac modula Ae1 s Kristogramom emitiran iz kovnice Arelate koji se može pripisati Magnenciju ili Decenciju (kat. br. 39, slika 3). Ostali kovovi najvećim dijelom Ae3 modula pripadaju carevima druge polovine 4. stoljeća među kojima su najbrojniji oni Valensa (kat. br. 40–43), te pojedini primjerci Valentinijana I (kat. br. 44), Valentinijana II (kat. br. 47) i Gracijana (kat. br. 48). Najmlađi barem približno određeni primjerak je novac Ae2 modula tipa *Reparatio Reipub* Valentinijana II iz razdoblja 375. – 392. godine (kat. br. 49).


Slika 3. kat. br. 39 avers i revers

Od novca 4. stoljeća za 14 primjeraka je bilo moguće utvrditi kovnicu. Najzastupljenija je siscijska kovnica s 5 primjeraka, odn. 35,71%, zatim slijede novci kovnice Kizik kojih je 4 ili 28,57%, potom Arelate 2 ili 14,28% te sa po jednim primjerkom ili sa po 7,14% novci kovnica Roma, Akvileja i Herakleja.

Ukupan udio zapadnih kovnica (Siscia, Arelate, Roma, Aquileia) iznosi 64,28% dok je udio istočnih kovnica (Cyzicus, Heraclea) 35,71%.

Nažalost, pobliže odredivi primjerci čine tek nešto manje od jedne trećine ukupno pronađenog rimskog novca. Čak 114 primjeraka novca potpuno je istrošeno pa mogu poslužiti samo kao statistički pokazatelj dotoka novca u širem vremenskom rasponu. Premda se neki primjerci mogu smjestiti u prva stoljeća carstva (kat. br. 50–53), većina novca ipak pripada drugoj polovini 4. i 5. stoljeću (kat. br. 54–164).

Deset bizantskih kovova spadaju u najmlađe novce na lokalitetu. Među njima tri se sigurno mogu pripisati Justinijanu (kat. br. 165–167), dok ostalih sedam nije bilo moguće preciznije determinirati, ali svakako ne prelaze vremensku granicu 6. stoljeća (kat. br. 168–174). Za točno određene Justinijanove novce bilo je moguće odrediti kovnicu. Primjerak u vrijednosti od 20 numa kovan je u nedalekoj Saloni nakon oslobođenje grada od Istočnih Gota (kat. br. 166). Od dva primjerka u vrijednosti od deset numa jedan je emitiran iz kovnice u Konstantinopolu (kat. br. 165), dok drugi po svojim karakteristikama može biti pripisan nekoj kovnici na području Italije (kat. br. 167). Ovaj nam je primjerak posebno zanimljiv jer predstavlja najmlađi točno određeni novčani nalaz na ovome položaju.

Numizmatički nalazi na lokalitetu Dujmovača – Zagorski put upotpunjuju opću sliku dotoka novca na područje splitskog poluotoka. Tijekom istraživanja nedalekog Dioklecijanovog akvedukta 1999. godine pronađeno je nekoliko desetaka primjeraka novca 4. i 5. stoljeća, te jedan Justinijanov dekanumij (Šeparović 1999b). Brojni nalazi, osobito rimskog novca, potječu s raznih položaja užeg područja grada Splita (Bonačić Mandinić 2007a). U Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu čuva se 28 primjeraka (Bonačić Mandinić 2007a: 66–72; 2007b). Njima valja pribrojiti i primjerke pronađene tijekom arheoloških istraživanja u Dioklecijanovoj palači krajem 60-ih i početkom 70-ih godina prošlog stoljeća (Bonačić Mandinić 2007a: 75) kao i u novije vrijeme

(Rismondo 2005: 248; Šarić & Rismondo 2005: 400–401; Bonačić Mandinić 2014: 359). Po brojnosti numizmatičkih nalaza na splitskom poluotoku svakako prednjači lokalitet *Ad basilicas pictas* smješten na splitskom predjelu Manuš (Šeparović 1999a; 2006). Tu je pronađeno preko tisuću primjeraka novca u rasponu od ranog carstva do 6. stoljeća s uvjerljivo najvećim brojem kovova 5. stoljeća, pa se kronološki i intenzitetom dotoka taj lokalitet uvelike poklapa sa nalazištem Dujmovača – Zagorski put. Upravo najveći broj nečitkog, nekvalitetnog i istrošenog novca s kraja 4. i iz 5. stoljeća svjedoče o ekonomskoj i političkoj krizi koja je zahvatila Carstvo, te o rastućoj inflaciji koju je pokušao suzbiti car Anastazije monetarnom reformom 498. godine.

Svi spomenuti nalazi svjedoče o gustoj naseljenosti i korištenju prirodnih resursa splitskog poluotoka u razdoblju i prije i poslije gradnje carske palače.

Što se samoga nalazišta Dujmovača – Zagorski put tiče, prema numizmatičkim nalazima se sa sigurnošću može potvrditi kontinuitet života na tom položaju od ranog Carstva do pred kraj 6. stoljeća.

Katalog novca

Katalog je koncipiran kronološki po vladarima i razdobljima kovanja. Sastoji se od dva dijela. U prvom dijelu su podaci o nominali, dataciji, kovnici i standardnoj literaturi. Oznaka kovnice, ukoliko je vidljiva, donosi se na kraju. Drugi dio sadrži podatke o veličini, težini, položaju kalupa, stanju očuvanosti i tipu novca.

Nominale: As – as; An – antoninianus; Cen – centenionalis; D – denarius; Dp – dupondius; Num – nummus; Min – minimus; Nakon 348. godine kuju se brončani novci koje označavamo po modulu, odn. promjeru (Ae 1–4).

Kovnice: Ant – Antiochia; Aq – Aquileia; Are – Arelate; Con – Constantinopolis; Cyz – Cyzicus; Her – Heraclea; Ita – Italia; Med – Mediolanum; Rom – Roma; Sal – Salona; Sis – Siscia.

Split, Dujmovača - Zagorski put						
POJEDINAČNI NALAZI						
Rim						
Republika						
1	As	2. st. pr. Kr.	Rom	RRC ?		
2	AE	2.–1. st. pr. Kr.	?	RRC ?		
Tiberius						
3	As	15–16	Rom	RIC 35		
Traianus						
4	Dp	98–117	Rom	RIC ?		
M. Aurelius						
5	D	161–180	Rom	RIC ?		
M. Aurelius ili Commodus						
6	S	161–192	Rom	RIC ?		
7	As	161–192	Rom	RIC ?		
Septimius Severus						
8	D	197–198	Rom	RIC 118		

Severus Alexander						
(Iulia Mammaea)						
9	D	222–235	Rom	RIC 360		
Gallienus						
10	An	260–268	Rom	RIC 160	G__	
11	An	260–268	Rom	RIC ad 226		
12	An	260–268	Sis	RIC 581	__I	
13 -						
14	An	260–268	?	RIC ?		
Valerianus I ili Gallienus						
15	An	253–260	Rom	RIC ?		
Claudius II.						
16	An	268–270	Rom	RIC 104		
17	An	268–270	?	RIC ?		
Aurelianus						
(Divus Claudius II.)						
18	An	270	Med	RIC 261		
Maximianus						
19	An	293	Ant	RIC 607 ?	_B_	
Razdoblje kovanja 294–305						
Diocletianus						
20	Num	302–303	Rom	RIC 103a	RP __*	
Maximianus						
21	Num	295–296	Cyz	RIC 10b	K A	
Razdoblje kovanja 313–320						
Licinius I.						
22	Num	315–316	Sis	RIC 17	•SIS• __A	
23	Cen	318–320	Her	RIC 29 ?	SMHA	
Constantinus I. ili Licinius I.						
24	Cen	319–320	?	RIC ?		
Constantinus I.						
25	Num	318	Are	RIC 169 ?	P__	
26	Cen	319	Sis	RIC 84	•ASIS•	

Razdoblje kovanja 320–325						
Constantinus I.						
27	Cen	320–324	?	RIC ?		
(Crispus)						
28	Cen	321–324	Sis	RIC 169	DSIS	
Constantinus I. ili sinovi						
29	Cen	321–323	?	RIC ?		
Razdoblje kovanja 324–330						
Constantinus I.						
(Crispus)						
30	Cen	325–326	Cyz	RIC 35	SMKA•	
Razdoblje kovanja 330–337						
Constantinus I.						
(Constantinopolis)						
31	Cen	331–334	Cyz	RIC 92	SMKG	
Constantinus I. ili sinovi						
32	Cen	331–334	Cyz	RIC ?	SMKG	
Razdoblje kovanja 337–341						
Constantius II.						
33	Cen	337–340	Sis	RIC 101	•ASIS•	
Constantinus II., Constans ili Constantius II.						
34 -						
35	Cen	336–340	?	RIC ?		
Razdoblje kovanja 341–348						
Constans ili Constantius II.						
36	Cen	347–348	?	RIC ?		
Nepoznato razdoblje kovanja 348–355						
Constantius II.						
37	AE 3	348–355	?	RIC ?		

Constantius II. ili Iulianus						
38	AE 4	355–363	?	RIC ?		
Razdoblje kovanja 350–355						
Magnentius ili Decentius						
39	AE 1	350–353	Are	RIC 198/199	SPAR	
Razdoblje kovanja 364–378						
Valens						
40	AE 3	364–378	Sis	RIC 7b ?	?SISC	
41 -						
42	AE 3	364–378	?	RIC ?		
43	AE 4	364–378	?	RIC ?		
Valentinianus I.						
44	AE 3	364–375	?	RIC ?		
Valentinianus I. ili Valens						
45	AE 3	364–378	?	RIC ?		
46	AE 3	367–378	?	RIC ?		
Valentinianus II.						
47	AE 3	375–378	Aq	RIC 17c	SMAQS	
Nepoznato razdoblje kovanja 367–383						
Gratianus						
48	AE 3	367–383	?	RIC ?		
Nepoznato razdoblje kovanja 375–392						
Valentinianus II.						
49	AE 2	375–392	?	RIC ?		
Neodrediv						
50	As	1.–2. st.	?	RIC ?		
51 -						
52	An	2. pol . 3. st.	?	RIC ?		
53	An	3. st.	?	RIC ?		
54 -						
66	AE 3	2. pol. 4. st.	?	RIC ?		
67 -						
127	AE 4	kraj 4.–5. st.	?	RIC ?		
128 -						
164	Min	5. st.	?	RIC ?		

Bizant						
Iustinianus I.						
165	10 Num	550–551	Con	DOC 85.1	CON	
166	20 Num	536–565	Sal	DOC 360 ?		
167	10 Num	553–565	Ita	DOC 363.2		
Neodrediv						
168 -						
174	10 Num	6. st.	?	DOC ?		

1. MGS. Prepolovljen. Tež.: 10,71 g. Dim.: 30 x 15 mm. Istrošen.
2. MGS. Prepolovljen. Tež.: 6,05 g. Dim.: 25 x 11 mm. Istrošen.
3. MGS. Tež.: 9 g. Dim.: 26 mm. Istrošen.
4. MGS. Tež.: 8,51 g. Dim.: 26 mm. Istrošen.
5. MGS. Tež.: 2,96 g. Dim.: 17 x 15 mm. Axis: 6. Istrošen.
6. MGS. Tež.: 19,1 g. Dim.: 27 mm. Istrošen.
7. MGS. Tež.: 5,12 g. Dim.: 22 mm. Istrošen.
8. MGS. Rv: Paci Aeternae. Tež.: 2,2 g. Dim.: 16 x 17 mm. Dobro sačuvan.
9. MGS. Rv: Vesta. Tež.: 3,05 g. Dim.: 19 x 18 mm. Axis: 11. Dobro sačuvan.
10. MGS. Rv: Aeternitas Aug. Tež.: 1,2 g. Dim.: 16 mm. Axis: 12. Istrošen.
11. MGS. Rv: Laetitia Aug. Tež.: 2,5 g. Dim.: 16 mm. Axis: 6. Istrošen.
12. MGS. Rv: Salus Aug. Tež.: 2,31 g. Dim.: 20 x 17 mm. Axis: 12. Istrošen.
13. MGS. Tež.: 2,53 g. Dim.: 20 x 18 mm. Axis: 12. Istrošen.
14. MGS. Tež.: 1,55 g. Dim.: 18 x 16 mm. Axis: 6. Istrošen.
15. MGS. Rv: Victoria Augg. Tež.: 2,37 g. Dim.: 21 x 18 mm. Axis: 5. Istrošen.
16. MGS. Rv: Victoria Aug. Tež.: 1,14 g. Dim.: 19 mm. Axis: 5. Istrošen.
17. MGS. Dim.: 14 mm. Istrošen. Jako je istrošen, može biti i Divus Claudius.
18. MGS. Rv: Žrtvenik. Tež.: 2,71 g. Dim.: 17 x 14 mm. Axis: 12. Istrošen.
19. MGS. Rv: Concordia Militum. Tež.: 2,44 g. Dim.: 20 mm. Axis: 12. Istrošen.
20. MGS. Rv: Sacra Mon Urb Augg et Caess NN. Tež.: 11,2 g. Dim.: 28 mm. Istrošen.
21. MGS. Rv: Genio Populi Romani. Tež.: 9,25 g. Dim.: 26 mm. Axis: 12. Istrošen.
22. MGS. Rv: Iovi Conservatori. Tež.: 2,8 g. Dim.: 22 mm. Istrošen.
23. MGS. Rv: Providentiae Augg. Tež.: 1,82 g. Dim.: 18 x 17 mm. Axis: 12. Istrošen.
24. MGS. Rv: Virtus exercit / Vot XX. Tež.: 2,88 g. Dim.: 17 mm. Axis: 12. Istrošen.
25. MGS. Rv.: Soli Invicto Comiti. Tež.: 1,22 g. Dim.: 20 x 17 mm. Axis: 6. Istrošen.
26. MGS. Rv: Victoriae Laetae Princ Perp, Vot PR. Dim.: 18 mm. Dobro sačuvan.
27. MGS. Rv: DN Constantini Max Aug / Vot XX. Tež.: 2,03 g. Dim.: 18 mm. Istrošen.
28. MGS. Rv: Caesarum nostrorum / Vot X. Tež.: 1,94 g. Dim.: 18 mm. Axis: 7. Dobro sačuvan.
29. MGS. Rv: Beata Tranquillitas Votis XX. Tež.: 2,29 g. Dim.: 18 mm. Axis: 6. Istrošen.
30. MGS. Rv: Providentiae Caess. Tež.: 2,4 g. Dim.: 19 mm. Istrošen.
31. MGS. Tež.: 2,06 g. Dim.: 18 x 17 mm. Axis: 12. Istrošen.
32. MGS. Rv: Gloria Exercitus, 2 bojna znaka. Tež.: 1,45 g. Dim.: 17 mm. Axis: 12. Istrošen.
33. MGS. Rv: Gloria Exercitus, 1 bojni znak. Tež.: 1,19 g. Dim.: 15 x 14 mm. Axis: 1. Dobro sačuvan.

34. MGS. Rv: Gloria Exercitus, 1 bojni znak. Tež.: 1,1 g. Dim.: 18 x 16 mm. Istrošen.
35. MGS. Rv: Gloria Exercitus, 1 bojni znak. Tež.: 1 g. Dim.: 16 x 15 mm. Axis: 11. Istrošen.
36. MGS. Rv: Vot XX Mult XXX. Tež.: 1,29 g. Dim.: 13 mm. Istrošen.
37. MGS. Rv: Fel Temp Reparatio, galija. Tež.: 2,45 g. Dim.: 19 mm. Axis: 12. Istrošen.
38. MGS. Rv: Spes Reipublice. Tež.: 1,02 g. Dim.: 14 mm. Axis: 12. Istrošen.
39. MGS. Rv: Kristogram. Dim.: 24 mm. Istrošen.
40. MGS. Rv: Securitas Reipublicae. Tež.: 1,96 g. Dim.: 18 mm. Axis: 12. Istrošen.
41. MGS. Rv: Securitas Reipublicae. Tež.: 1,89 g. Dim.: 17 x 16 mm. Axis: 6. Istrošen.
42. MGS. Rv: Gloria Romanorum. Tež.: 1,83 g. Dim.: 17 mm. Axis: 12. Istrošen.
43. MGS. Av..: DN V....S PF AVG. Dim.: 15 x 11 mm. Istrošen.
44. MGS. Rv: Gloria Romanorum. Tež.: 1,64 g. Dim.: 16 x 15 mm. Axis: 6. Istrošen.
45. MGS. Rv: Securitas Reipublicae. Tež.: 2,33 g. Dim.: 17 x 16 mm. Axis: 12. Istrošen.
46. MGS. Rv: Securitas Reipublicae. Tež.: 2,01 g. Dim.: 16 mm. Axis: 6. Istrošen.
47. MGS. Rv: Gloria Romanorum. Tež.: 1,47 g. Dim.: 16 mm. Axis: 6. Istrošen.
48. MGS. Rv: Gloria Romanorum. Tež.: 1,66 g. Dim.: 16 x 15 mm. Axis: 7. Istrošen.
49. MGS. Rv: Reparatio Reipub. Tež.: 5,09 g. Dim.: 21 mm. Axis: 6. Istrošen.
50. MGS. Av.: Nazire se glava d.. Tež.: 6,63 g. Dim.: 24 mm. Istrošen.
51. MGS. Tež.: 2,87 g. Dim.: 21 x 20 mm. Istrošen.
52. MGS. Tež.: 1,74 g. Dim.: 22 x 20 mm. Istrošen.
53. MGS. Tež.: 1,41 g. Dim.: 20 x 10 mm. Istrošen.
54. MGS. Tež.: 3,5 g. Dim.: 17 mm. Istrošen.
55. MGS. Tež.: 1,77 g. Dim.: 16 mm. Istrošen.
56. MGS. Tež.: 1,59 g. Dim.: 16 mm. Istrošen.
57. MGS. Av: Glava d.. Tež.: 1,54 g. Dim.: 16 mm. Istrošen.
58. MGS. Tež.: 1,53 g. Dim.: 17 mm. Istrošen.
59. MGS. Tež.: 1,44 g. Dim.: 16 x 14 mm. Istrošen.
60. MGS. Rv: Securitas Reipublicae. Tež.: 1,44 g. Dim.: 16 x 15 mm. Axis: 6. Istrošen.
61. MGS. Tež.: 1,38 g. Dim.: 16 mm. Istrošen.
62. MGS. Tež.: 1,37 g. Dim.: 16 mm. Istrošen.
63. MGS. Rv: Securitas Reipublicae. Tež.: 1,32 g. Dim.: 19 x 15 mm. Axis: 12. Istrošen.
64. MGS. Tež.: 0,93 g. Dim.: 17 x 12 mm. Istrošen.
65. MGS. Tež.: 0,69 g. Dim.: 16 x 13 mm. Istrošen.
66. MGS. Dim.: 17 x 9 mm. Istrošen.
67. MGS. Tež.: 1,85 g. Dim.: 13 mm. Istrošen.
68. MGS. Tež.: 1,8 g. Dim.: 14 mm. Istrošen.
69. MGS. Tež.: 1,79 g. Dim.: 12 mm. Istrošen.
70. MGS. Tež.: 1,48 g. Dim.: 14 mm. Istrošen.
71. MGS. Tež.: 1,43 g. Dim.: 13 mm. Istrošen.
72. MGS. Tež.: 1,39 g. Dim.: 13 mm. Istrošen.
73. MGS. Tež.: 1,36 g. Dim.: 15 mm. Istrošen.
74. MGS. Tež.: 1,35 g. Dim.: 14 x 12 mm. Istrošen.
75. MGS. Tež.: 1,29 g. Dim.: 14 mm. Istrošen.
76. MGS. Tež.: 1,26 g. Dim.: 13 mm. Istrošen.
77. MGS. Tež.: 1,2 g. Dim.: 12 mm. Istrošen.
78. MGS. Tež.: 1,15 g. Dim.: 13 mm. Istrošen.
79. MGS. Tež.: 1,14 g. Dim.: 15 mm. Istrošen.
80. MGS. Tež.: 1,11 g. Dim.: 13 mm. Istrošen.

81. MGS. Tež.: 1,11 g. Dim.: 12 mm. Istrošen.
82. MGS. Tež.: 1,1 g. Dim.: 14 mm. Istrošen.
83. MGS. Tež.: 1,09 g. Dim.: 13 mm. Istrošen.
84. MGS. Tež.: 1,07 g. Dim.: 15 mm. Istrošen.
85. MGS. Tež.: 1,05 g. Dim.: 15 x 10 mm. Istrošen.
86. MGS. Tež.: 1,04 g. Dim.: 13 mm. Istrošen.
87. MGS. Tež.: 1,03 g. Dim.: 12 mm. Istrošen.
88. MGS. Tež.: 1,03 g. Dim.: 14 mm. Istrošen.
89. MGS. Tež.: 1,02 g. Dim.: 15 mm. Istrošen.
90. MGS. Tež.: 1,01 g. Dim.: 12 mm. Istrošen.
91. MGS. Rv: Salus Reipublicae. Tež.: 0,96 g. Dim.: 11 mm. Axis: 12. Istrošen.
92. MGS. Tež.: 0,95 g. Dim.: 11 mm. Istrošen.
93. MGS. Tež.: 0,95 g. Dim.: 11 mm. Istrošen.
94. MGS. Tež.: 0,95 g. Dim.: 15 mm. Istrošen.
95. MGS. Tež.: 0,95 g. Dim.: 14 mm. Istrošen.
96. MGS. Tež.: 0,91 g. Dim.: 12 mm. Istrošen.
97. MGS. Av: Poprsje d.; Rv: Salus Reipub ?. Tež.: 0,88 g. Dim.: 12 mm. Istrošen.
98. MGS. Tež.: 0,86 g. Dim.: 13 mm. Istrošen.
99. MGS. Tež.: 0,8 g. Dim.: 12 mm. Istrošen.
100. MGS. Tež.: 0,71 g. Dim.: 12 mm. Istrošen.
101. MGS. Tež.: 0,71 g. Dim.: 11 x 9 mm. Istrošen.
102. MGS. Tež.: 0,7 g. Dim.: 12 mm. Istrošen.
103. MGS. Tež.: 0,69 g. Dim.: 13 mm. Istrošen.
104. MGS. Tež.: 0,62 g. Dim.: 15 mm. Istrošen.
105. MGS. Tež.: 0,6 g. Dim.: 13 x 7 mm. Istrošen.
106. MGS. Tež.: 0,6 g. Dim.: 11 mm. Istrošen.
107. MGS. Tež.: 0,58 g. Dim.: 11 x 8 mm. Istrošen.
108. MGS. Tež.: 0,54 g. Dim.: 12 x 9 mm. Istrošen.
109. MGS. Tež.: 0,52 g. Dim.: 14 x 9 mm. Istrošen.
110. MGS. Tež.: 0,52 g. Dim.: 11 mm. Istrošen.
111. MGS. Dim.: 11 mm. Istrošen.
112. MGS. Dim.: 12 mm. Istrošen.
113. MGS. Dim.: 12 x 9 mm. Istrošen.
114. MGS. Dim.: 12 x 11 mm. Istrošen.
115. MGS. Dim.: 11 x 9 mm. Istrošen.
116. MGS. Dim.: 12 mm. Istrošen.
117. MGS. Dim.: 11 x 9 mm. Istrošen.
118. MGS. Dim.: 12 x 8 mm. Istrošen.
119. MGS. Dim.: 14 x 7 mm. Istrošen.
120. MGS. Dim.: 12 mm. Istrošen.
121. MGS. Dim.: 11 mm. Istrošen.
122. MGS. Dim.: 11 x 7 mm. Istrošen.
123. MGS. Dim.: 12 x 7 mm. Istrošen.
124. MGS. Dim.: 13 mm. Istrošen.
125. MGS. Dim.: 11 x 9 mm. Istrošen.
126. MGS. Dim.: 12 mm. Istrošen.
127. MGS. Dim.: 12 x 9 mm. Istrošen.

128. MGS. Tež.: 0,99 g. Dim.: 10 mm. Istrošen.
129. MGS. Tež.: 0,85 g. Dim.: 10 mm. Istrošen.
130. MGS. Tež.: 0,84 g. Dim.: 10 mm. Istrošen.
131. MGS. Tež.: 0,79 g. Dim.: 10 mm. Istrošen.
132. MGS. Tež.: 0,76 g. Dim.: 10 mm. Istrošen.
133. MGS. Tež.: 0,7 g. Dim.: 10 mm. Istrošen.
134. MGS. Tež.: 0,61 g. Dim.: 10 mm. Istrošen.
135. MGS. Tež.: 0,55 g. Dim.: 10 mm. Istrošen.
136. MGS. Tež.: 0,54 g. Dim.: 8 mm. Istrošen.
137. MGS. Tež.: 0,53 g. Dim.: 10 mm. Istrošen.
138. MGS. Tež.: 0,51 g. Dim.: 9 mm. Istrošen.
139. MGS. Dim.: 9 mm. Istrošen.
140. MGS. Dim.: 9 x 7 mm. Istrošen.
141. MGS. Dim.: 10 x 7 mm. Istrošen.
142. MGS. Dim.: 10 mm. Istrošen.
143. MGS. Dim.: 10 mm. Istrošen.
144. MGS. Dim.: 10 mm. Istrošen.
145. MGS. Dim.: 10 mm. Istrošen.
146. MGS. Dim.: 7 mm. Istrošen.
147. MGS. Dim.: 9 x 7 mm. Istrošen.
148. MGS. Dim.: 9 mm. Istrošen.
149. MGS. Dim.: 10 mm. Istrošen.
150. MGS. Dim.: 9 mm. Istrošen.
151. MGS. Dim.: 9 mm. Istrošen.
152. MGS. Dim.: 10 x 7 mm. Istrošen.
153. MGS. Dim.: 9 x 7 mm. Istrošen.
154. MGS. Dim.: 8 mm. Istrošen.
155. MGS. Dim.: 6 mm. Istrošen.
156. MGS. Dim.: 9 x 5 mm. Istrošen.
157. MGS. Dim.: 10 x 6 mm. Istrošen.
158. MGS. Dim.: 9 x 8 mm. Istrošen.
159. MGS. Dim.: 8 mm. Istrošen.
160. MGS. Dim.: 10 x 8 mm. Istrošen.
161. MGS. Dim.: 7 mm. Istrošen.
162. MGS. Dim.: 10 x 6 mm. Istrošen.
163. MGS. Dim.: 8 x 6 mm. Istrošen.
164. MGS. Dim.: 6 mm. Istrošen.
165. MGS. Tež.: 2,53 g. Dim.: 15 mm.
166. MGS. Tež.: 1,38 g. Dim.: 12 mm. Istrošen. Određen je po ostatku reversa na kojem se možda nazire K..
167. MGS. Tež.: 4,1 g. Dim.: 15 x 14 mm. Istrošen.
168. MGS. Tež.: 3,21 g. Dim.: 13 mm. Istrošen.
169. MGS. Tež.: 3,15 g. Dim.: 14 mm. Istrošen.
170. MGS. Tež.: 2,58 g. Dim.: 15 x 13 mm. Istrošen.
171. MGS. Tež.: 2,46 g. Dim.: 15 mm. Istrošen.
172. MGS. Tež.: 4,03 g. Dim.: 16 mm. Istrošen.
173. MGS. Tež.: 2,4 g. Dim.: 14 mm. Istrošen.
174. MGS. Tež.: 2,18 g. Dim.: 15 mm. Istrošen. Određen po debljini i težini..

Kratice

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Amfora iz Garduna

Zrinka ŠIMIĆ-KANAET, Zagreb

Tijekom arheološkog iskopavanja 2018. godine na lokalitetu legijskog logora Tilurija izdvojena su iz Sonde D, položaj „Grudina“ dva ulomka amfore. Nakon provedene mineraloško-petrografske analize izbruska (eng. thin section analysis*), možemo zaključiti da možda pripadaju afričkoj produkciji iz nepoznatog centra proizvodnje. Kontekst nalaza i fragmentiranost suzuju njihovu potpunu analizu. Dokaz su uklapanja jadranskog prostora, otočnog, obalnog i dijela kopna putem trgovine u širi kontekst mediteranskog tržišta kao i konzumaciju proizvoda koji su se transportirali u amforama i na prostoru rimskog logora.*

Ključne riječi: *Gardun, amfora, Tilurij, trgovina, legijski logor*

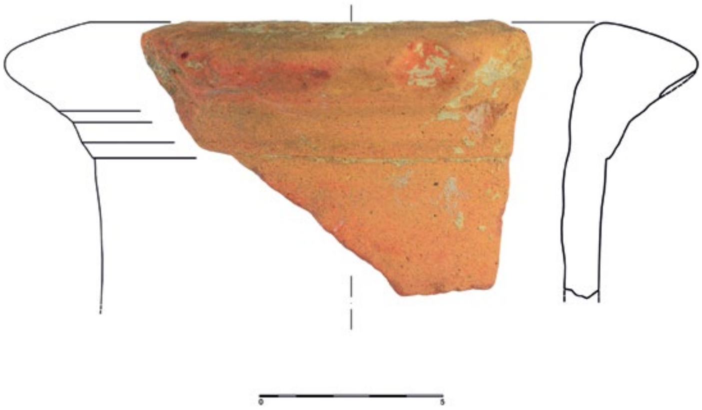
Prostor današnjeg sela Garduna i okolice od prapovijesti je imao važnu stratešku ulogu, mjesto prijelaza preko rijeke Cetine koje Tabula Peuntigeriana spominje kao *Pons Tiluri* [1]. Tu je bilo sjecište putova koji su vodili od obale prema unutrašnjosti Dalmacije. Delmati su prvi koji na tom prostoru grade gradine, a Rimljani najkasnije nakon pokoravanja Delmata početkom 1. st. po. Kr. podižu legijski vojni logor Tilurij. U Tiluriju je boravila VII. legija, a natpisima su potvrđene XI. legija i IIII. legija, zatim konjaničke postrojbe *ala Claudia nova*, *ala I Frontoniana*, te pješačke pomoćne postrojbe *cohors I Belgarum, cohors II Cyrrhestarum* i *cohors III Alpinorum*. Od sredine 2. st. po. Kr. pa do sredine 3. st. po. Kr. smještena je stalna posada *cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum*. Nakon nje Tilurij ostaje beneficijarijska postaja sve do kasne antike (Zaninović 1996: 280–292; 2007: 27–31; Sanader 2003: 9–18; Tončinić 2011: 11–15). Sustavna arheološka istraživanja rimskog legijskog logora Tilurija provode se kontinuirano od 1997. godine do danas. Rezultati istraživanja objavljeni su u monografijama *Tilurium I – IV*[2], te u različitim člancima.

Zbog specifičnog oblika amfore su bile pogodne za prijevoz kao trgovačka ambalaža ili za čuvanje vina, ulja, ribljih proizvoda, kao i ostalih poljoprivrednih proizvoda poput žita, suhog voća, začina. Pojavljuju se u raznim oblicima ovisno o porijeklu, namjeni i vremenu uporabe (Ožanić Roguljić 2018: 152–157). U sekundarnoj upotrebi koriste se i za ukop ili za drenažu (Cambi 1961–62: 145–150; 1980: 73–80; Constantini 2013: 670). Za izradu amfora je korištena kvalitetna i dobro pripremljena glina u specijaliziranim radionicama (Zevi 1969: 180–181). Amfore su postale pokazatelj poljoprivrednih aktivnosti i trgovačkih mreža (Jurišić 2000; Glicksman 2005: 193; Göransson 2007: 17–18). Važan su predmet analiza

[1] Ovaj rad je financirala Hrvatska zaklada za znanost projektom IP-2018-01-4934 „Razumijevanje rimskih granica: primjer istočnog Jadrana” (AdriaRom).

[2] Sustavna arheološka istraživanja od 1997. god. pod vodstvom red. prof. dr. sc. Mirjane Sanader provodi Katedra za antičku provincijalnu i ranokršćansku arheologiju Odsjeka za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Rezultati istraživanja Tilurija objavljeni su u Sanader 2003; Šimić-Kanaet 2010; Sanader *et al*. 2013; Sanader *et al.* 2014; Sanader *et al.* 2017.

materijala na arheološkim lokalitetima (Will 1997: 264–265). U Tiluriju amfore čine značajnu skupinu keramičkih nalaza, a do sada su izdvojeni ulomci standardnih tipova amfora. – Lamboglia 2, Dressel 2 – 4, Camulodunum 184, Dressel 6A, Pascual 1 / Dressel 1, Dressel 6b, Dressel 20, Dressel 7 – 11 / Beltran 1, Schörgendorfer 558, knidske, amfore ravnog dna i kasnoantičke amfore istočnog podrijetla (Šimić-Kanaet 2003: 126–127; 2010: 43–47; 2017: 87–88; Čerina 2011: 219–227; Vukov 2020: 229–239).



Slika 1. Ulomci amfore GAR 18 770 (crtež: M. Rončević, 2019).

Tijekom arheoloških istraživanja rimskog vojnog logora Tilurija 2018. godine na sondi D dokumentirana su dva ulomka amfore (GAR 18 770 i 441, sl. 1.). Ulomci pripadaju amfori s horizontalno izvučenim obodom nakošenim rubom prema van, trokutastog presjeka i dijela stijenke vrata na kojem se s vanjske strane nalazi plitko urezana reljefna traka. Unutarnja stijenka oboda uvučena je plitkom kanelurom. Amfora je tvrde fakture i boje 2.5YR 5/8 red, 10R 5/8 red prema Munsellu. Vanjska površina stijenke je premazana prevlakom boje 2.5YR 6/6 light red. Dimenzije ulomka su v: 6,3 cm, p: 14 cm, d: 1,1–3,3 cm. Ulomci oblikom i fakturom odudaraju od do sada obrađenih nalaza na ovom lokalitetu.

Analizom izbruska (prilog 1. i 2. na kraju teksta) utvrđen je fabrikat (sastav gline i dodanih primjesa) koji se može usporediti s analizama materijala s afričkog područja (Contino & Capelli 2013: 199–208; 2016: 539).

Proizvodnja amfora na području sjeverne Afrike, u Tripolitaniji (Keay 1984: 129) i Byzaceni (Leptis Minor, Hadrumetum) započela je krajem 1. i početkom 2. st. po. Kr. te uz razvoj brojnih tipoloških varijanti traje sve do 6. st. (Zevi 1969: 173; Bonifay 2004; 2005: 462; Contino 2013: 318; Contino *et al.* 2017: 1–43).

Morfološka raznolikost afričkih amfora, čak i unutar istih tipova, stvara poteškoće u pogledu tipološke specifikacije tako da je preliminarni rezultat mineraloško-petrografske analize za sad jedini pokazatelj mogućeg porijekla ovih amfora.

Izostanak stratigrafskog konteksta nalaza amfore GAR 18 770, 441 suzuje mogućnost potpune analize. One su ipak dokaz o trgovini Jadranom i komunikaciji kopnenim putem prema unutrašnjosti Dalmacije. Amfore su pokazatelji kako živimo, što volimo i u čemu uživamo. Buduća istraživanja sigurno će doprinijeti boljem razumijevanju gospodarsko-političke situacije na istočnoj jadranskoj obali i unutrašnjosti kao i trgovačke komunikacije na širokom prostoru Mediterana. One su, uz afričko kuhinjsko posuđe, sigilatu i svjetiljke, prepoznate na prostoru rimskog logora.

Iznesena analiza je preliminarna. Uočene specifičnosti u fakturi i morfologiji treba upotrijebiti kao komparativan materijal za buduća istraživanja.

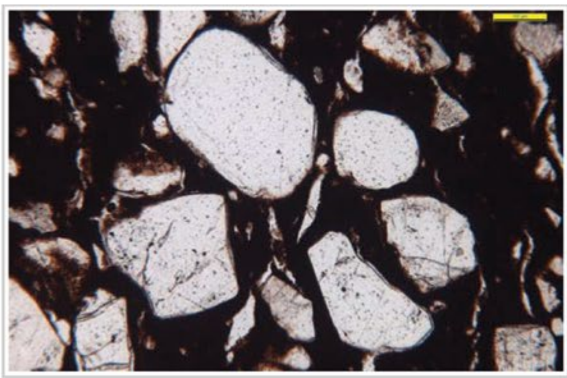
Dodatak: R. Sauer, Mineraloško-petrografska analiza izbruska amfore GAR 18 770 (Prijevod: I. Pavić-Berger)[3]

Opis: Izbrusak uzorka pokazuje oksidacijski pečenu, crvenosmeđu, optički neaktivnu masu bogatu željeznim oksidom koja ima vrlo mali udio vapnenca. Sveukupna količina primjesa je 26 %. Osnovna masa pokazuje u izbrusku 6 % vidljivih pora/šupljina (uglavnom duguljaste nerazvijene pore). Zrna primjesa su loše raspoređena. Prosječna veličina zrna je 0,1 mm, a najveće zrno koje se moglo primijetiti je 1,1 mm. Primjese se najvećim dijelom sastoje od monokristalina (91 %) s tek malo polikristalinskog kvarca (5 %). Uz to prisutan je u manjim količinama feldšpat (2 %) (pertit, mikroklin, albit i drugi, koji su dijelom sericitirani), čestice željeznog oksida te rijetko vapnenačke pseudomorfoze (pore/šupljine izgorenih karbonatskih čestica), kristalinski komadići stijena (uglavnom kvarcit i komadići kvarcnog feldšpata/

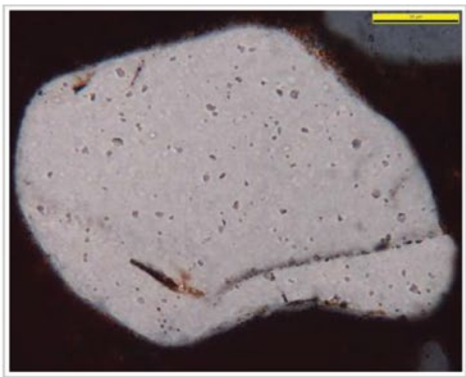
[3] Zahvaljujem dr. sc. R. Saueru i dr. sc. I. Pavić-Berger na analizi i interpretaciji uzorka.

glinenca). U tragovima se primjećuju foraminifere/krednjaci (kako „Kalkschaler"/fusulinida, tako i „Sandschaler"/textularida), komadići siltita i teški minerali (od kojih su vidljivi turmalin, rutil i cirkon). Osobito su grublja zrna kvarca djelomično vrlo obla.

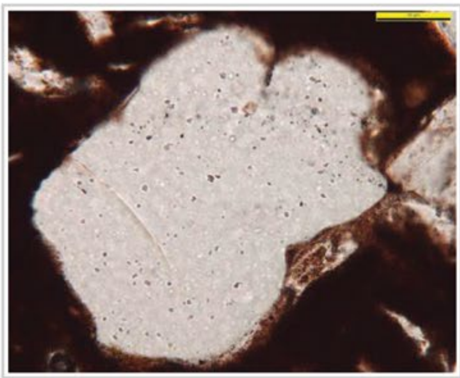
Interpretacija: Keramički izbrusak (uzorak GAR 18 770, 441) je napravljen od gline siromašne vapnencom, koja je namjerno pomiješana s finim pijeskom. Izbrusak je relativno visoko pečen (vjerojatno na 850 –



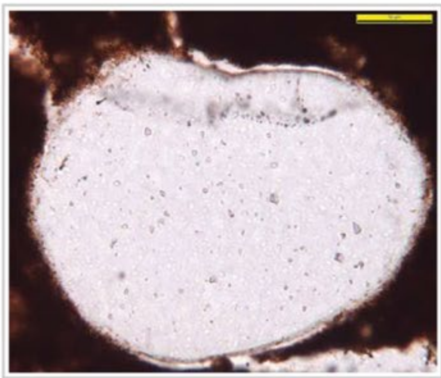
gut gerundetee Quarze; // Pol.



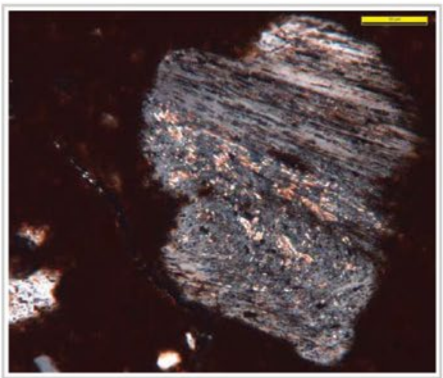
gut gerundeter Quarz; // Pol.



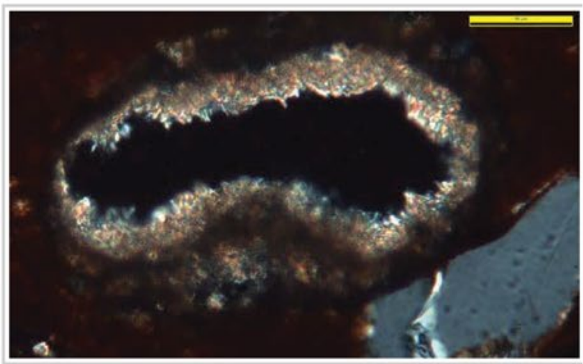
gut gerundeter Quarz; // Pol.



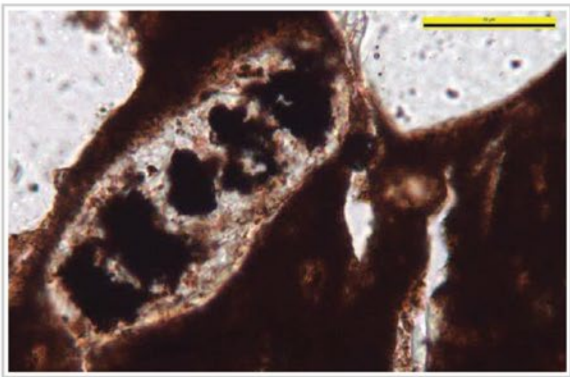
gut gerundeter Quarz; // Pol.



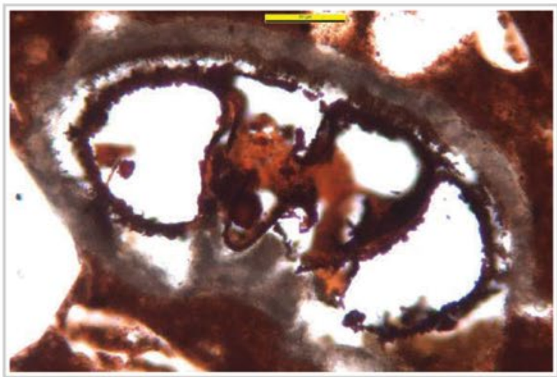
Feldspat tlw. serizitisiert # Pol.



Hohlraumpore eines ehemaligen karbonatischen Partikels; # Pol.



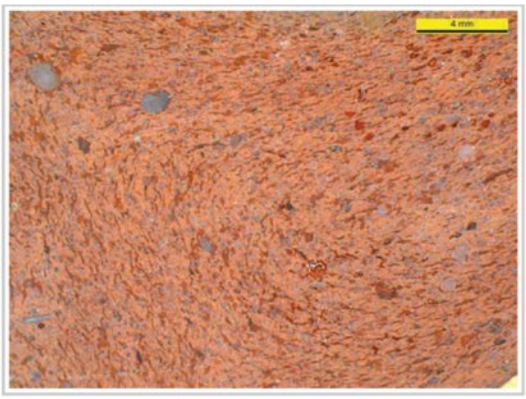
: kieselige sandschalige Foraminifere // Pol



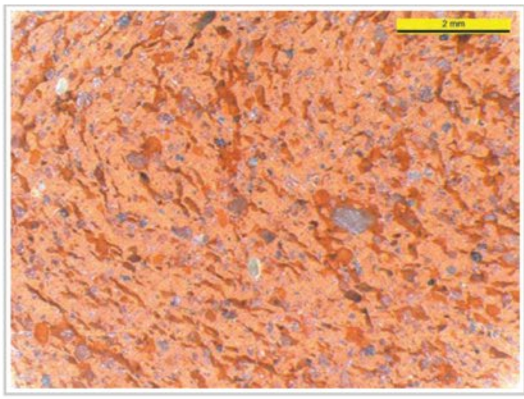
ausgebrannter Foraminiferenrest; // Pol.

Prilog 1. Primjeri tipičnih primjesa u uzorku GAR 18 770 (autor: dr. sc. R. Sauer).

900℃). Intencionalni dodatak primjese sastoji se od prilično zrelog pijeska (što znači da ima jako malo komadića stijena i feldšpata). Pijesak se sastoji uglavnom od zrna kvarca koja su većinom zaobljena.



Scherben, Auflichtaufnahme



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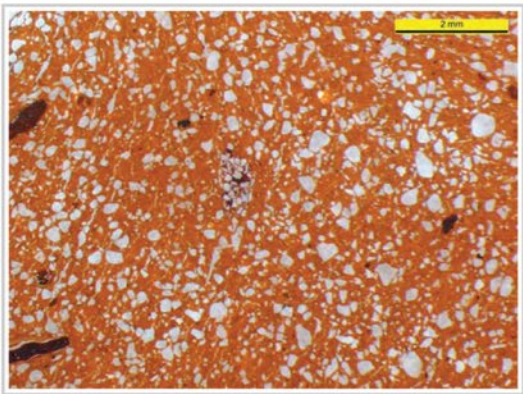
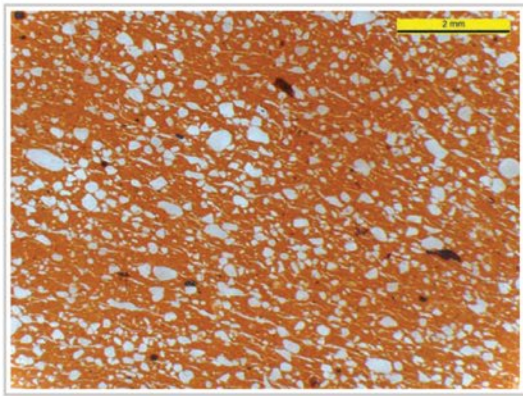
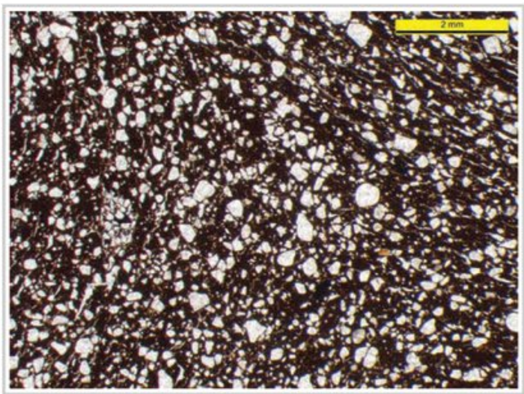


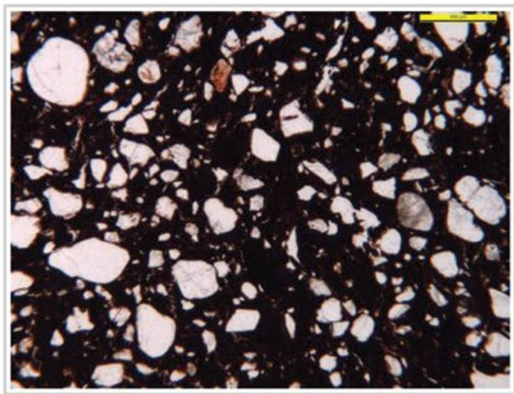
Dünnschliffübersichtsaufnahme Auflicht



Dünnschliffübersichtsaufnahme, Auflicht



Dünnschliffübersichtsaufnahme // Pol.



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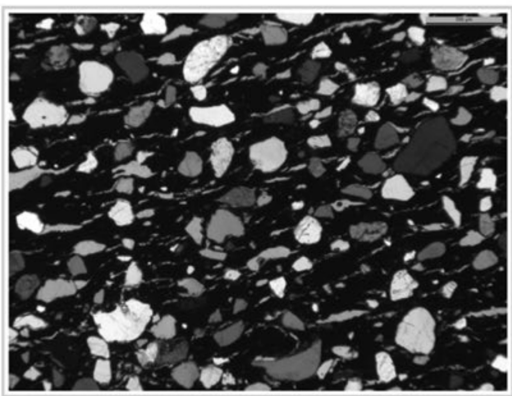
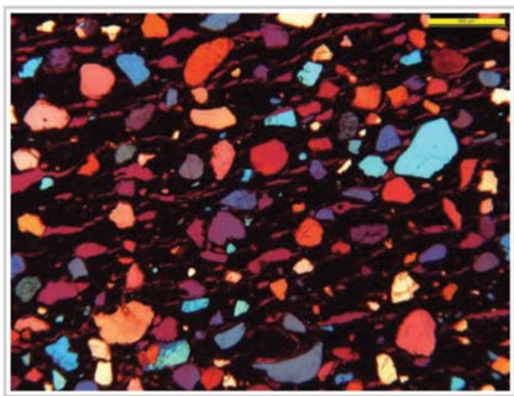


Dünnschliffübersichtsaufnahme # Pol. SW



Dünnschliffübersichtsaufnahme # Pol. +Gips

Prilog 2. Izbrusak uzorka GAR 18 770 (autor: dr. sc. R. Sauer).

Na osnovi petrografskog sastava podrijetlo iz Korinta se može s priličnom sigurnošću isključiti. Možda je riječ o imitaciji iz nekog drugog područja. O drugim mjestima potencijalnog podrijetla za sada nije moguće diskutirati jer nedostaju arheološki utemeljeni pokazatelji. Upadljivo jednoličan sastav bogat kvarcom, tipično zaobljena zrna kvarca (kao i odsutstvo tinjca/mice) te rijetke foraminifere u tragovima, sve su to relativno izražene karakteristike ovog izbruska na osnovi kojih je moguće isključiti dosta keramičkih produkcija (mjesta proizvodnje), kao na primjer ona čija je keramika bogata vapnencom (karbonatom), kao i ona čija keramika ima sasvim drugačiji sastav primjesa. Moguće da postoje sličnosti s nekim afričkim amforama.

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Hello from the other side: Barbarians

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This article discusses some questions that lead to the Danubian Limes during Late Antiquity in Pannonia Secunda. Life in the Late Antique province, before the arrival of Avars, was characterized by the opposition, but also by the coexistence of Roman and newly arrived population. This population came from the other side of the Limes and we used to call them Barbarians. Because of many connotations this term is used only under question marks. In this article, we will touch on some issues of the Gepids and other barbaric groups.

Key words: *Limes, Late Antiquity, Barbarians, Romans, Gepids*

Professor Mirjana Sanader left a deep and indelible mark on my studies. She is a part of numerous memories of my first archaeological days at the field of Tilurium and she generously offered me a huge support during my first days of work at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb. Since one of the topics of her research has been the Roman Limes in today's Croatia, I offer this humble contribution as an acknowledgment from us on the other side of the archaeological research, yet again intertwined with solid connections. Together we create a new and, hopefully, a better future of the Department of Archaeology that will remain a part of her legacy. Therefore, with deepest gratitude and honor I wish all the best to Professor Mirjana Sanader to whom I dedicate this article.

Limes formed a frontier that symbolizes differences between identities (ethnic, social, cultural) but also signifies a merger that, in military terms, can be traced through the establishment of a foederati relationship involving many newcomers and tribes, later evolving into a much solid relationship where some individuals with barbaric origins became the very top of the social elite of the Roman Empire, because military skills were given a particularly important place (or became particulary important)?

The main focus of this paper is observing the Gepids and their establishment of authority and life in particular centers of Pannonia Secunda, such were Cibalae and Sirmium. We look at them through multiple levels. Therefore, some of the data is obtained from historical sources which are in line with numismatic findings and archaeology.

When we search for the history of Gepids in Second Pannonia, the archaeological finds mostly have methodological issues. The biggest archaeological problem is the insufficiency of the fundamental research including general reliance on archaeology including the destruction of the site by excavating. Then there is lack of analyzing specific samples and finds and a lot of subjective interpretation of the archaeological and historical context. Therefore, in the former province of second Pannonia, we don't have a huge amount of archaeological finds that could be linked to the Gepids with full certainty. New insights and interpretation proposals based on a more refined approach to the existing archaeological finds from Sremska Mitrovica and Vinkovci have been brought forward, which may provide a better understanding of how the Gepids attempted to establish their footing in southern Pannonia.

The main conclusions are brought trough grave finds which mostly include parts of female costume assemblages and ceramics. Coins are pretty rare. Men's graves mostly bear the story of warriors, woman's graves show us remains of the costume and some everyday objects and tools, but it is hard to detect the daily life of the Gepidic society and the extent to which it coexisted with indigenous peoples and other barbaric groups, which also had to change over time. For this type of research, for the Pannonia Secunda, the most relevant are the two Gepid settlements Sirmium and Cibalae, where the greatest consideration was given to the study of ceramics attributed to them, in particular regarding the manner of producing vessels, specifics of decoration and geographic position of their rulement, and residence. In two cases, settlement finds have been discovered: remains of dwellings and, apparently, settlement pottery in Sremska Mitrovica (Sirmium) as well as in Vinkovci (Cibalae). A settlement is also very likely to have existed near the Jakovo-Kormadin site. Unfortunately, there are a lot of finds without any or certain archaeological context, therefore they don't tell us much about their berriers and their history. Also, there is an attribution problem. A possible solution is a holistic approach to archaeology. In that case, it is not crucial to attribute certain finds to a certain group of people and to put all the conclusions in proper boxes. It is necessary to work more, to dig deeper, and to include numerous archaeological methods to understand the living world of Late Antiquity in the Pannonia Secunda. In that world limes weren't just a barrier. It was also an extended arm of the Empire where different groups coexist. With indigenous people, they change the history of the world and establish new customs. It is unenviable to research the true origins of that new customs trough questions of ethnicity. Some groups changed their leaders and sometimes they accept some new identity that is hard to follow in archaeological way or literature sources. That is also the case with the Gepids. Maybe also the time is not ripe enough for long-term conclusions. For example, was the Batajnica helmet ended in possession by a Herul notable, since it is known from written sources that the Gothic king Theoderic the Great tried to maintain good relations with the Heruls and they were settled in the eastern part of southern Pannonia (Steinacher 2010: 245–351; Gračanin & Škrgulja 2016: 30). Or was it Gepidic spoils of war, as Vinski thought (Vinski 1972: 188)? Batajnica is situated at the eastern edge of Syrmia, close to modern Belgrade, and its area was part of the once Herul-held territory, as was also dominated by Gepids for a while. To add to the point, such helmets seem also to have been worn by Eastern Romans, and they might have been produced in the Eastern Roman Empire, meaning that the Batajnica example could have been in possession by an Eastern Roman, since the area likely fell under Roman sway again already in 552. (Stephenson 2003: 31; Vinski 1985: 89–90). Furthermore, the pot decorated with stamped ornament cannot be regarded as a firm ethnic identity marker for the Gepids, since the technique is typical for the Late Roman pottery tradition as well as the pottery production of the so-called Germanic cultural circle. (Rapan-Papeša & Roksandić 2016: 155–156). All in all, it is rather evident how the usual attribution of the Batajnica finds to a Gepid rests on shaky foundations. This does not mean that there were no Gepids in the Batajnica area during their decade-long presence in or control of the modern Syrmian region, but only that the Batajnica artifacts should not be ascribed to Gepids by automatism. The biggest question what do we scientifically get with such attribution of finds to the specific ethnic group at the time when they were completely mixed anyway? Is such an attribution even necessary? Such attributions do not solve any particular conundrum, except that it may point to the different peoples who coexisted in the territory of the Pannonia Secunda and who shared a similar (or even the same) customs and culture. We can trace the difference in the burial rituals. If military equipment originates from the grave it was unlikely in possession by Ostrogoths since they traditionally did not inter weapons in their graves (Werner 1956: 128; Bierbrauer 1994: 144; Burns 1984: 113; Wolfram 2009: 120). Therefore, in the Batajnica example, other Germanic groups come into consideration and the obvious candidates are the Gepids. However, at least in the case of the Zemun spatha, the Heruls may also be included in the group of potential bearers. The double-edges swords could also be seen as indicators of professional status, since Roman civilians were legally barred from carrying weapons. Yet the laws do not always reflect an actual situation (Halsall 2002: 200). A first-rate sixth-century testimony indicates that barbarians and Romans engaged into armed duels to settle legal differences outside the court of law (Cassiod., *Var*. 3.24.3–4, with 3.23.3), which means that both groups owned weapons. It is possible that Roman provincials also interred swords in an attempt to bolster symbolically their status, notwithstanding the fact that some of them could have joined the military ranks of their barbarian overlords (Theuws 2009: 299). Finally, some of the Syrmian spathae may actually be remnants of armed conflicts in the late fifth and during the sixth centuries, suggesting that they should be treated as lost objects, in which case they could have been in possession by Ostrogoths, Gepids, Heruls and perhaps even Lombards alike (Menghin 1983: 15–18; Sarantis 2010: 370–371; Gračanin & Škrgulja 2015: 187).

The objects may have also been in use by the local Roman population exposed to barbarian influences. Their appearance does not need to be linked to a specific Germanic group, but it may be interpreted as a result of the transfer of fashion or as markers of social or gender status.

The similar problem poses an S-shaped fibula discovered in Vinkovci, an artifact said to be characteristic of a Lombard female costume (Dimitrijević *et al.* 1962: 97; Dimitrijević 1979: 191; Bojčić 1984: 214; Dizdar 1999: 68; Demo 2009: 140; Rapan-Papeša 2012a: 434; Rapan-Papeša 2012b: 10–11). Yet Cibalae is believed to be one of the two most important Gepid settlements in southern Pannonia and it seems that, from about 536, the place remained continuously in their possession regardless of their military-political ups and downs. It is quite far-fetched to imagine that the Lombards may have acquired the settlement following the Gepid defeat in (probably late) 551, as has been proposed solely based on this isolated find whose provenance from Vinkovci is, moreover, far from certain.

Consequently, it could be assumed that the area roughly stretching from Osijek to Dalj and Vinkovci was a zone between the Gepid and Lombard spheres of influence. Cibalae would thus belong to the Gepid zone, as is commonly thought, even though there have been differing opinions (Bóna 1976: 34–35; Simoni 1979: 221). To be sure, the ethnicity of inhabitants of the sixth-century Cibalae in single cases cannot be determined based on archaeological material, but the overall character of the finds apparently suggests the Gepid rule (Rapan-Papeša 2011: 15; Rapan-Papeša & Roksandić 2016: 158–159).

The settlement near the Jakovo-Kormadin site seems to have been an economically better-off community, even though the total number of graves that may be securely dated to the first half of the sixth century amounts only to 32. The burial inventories are richer than from Vinkovci. Both the first set of six graves and the second set of twenty-six graves had each two burials with weapons (graves 4f: 3,4; 4g: 2,8). Especially rich in comparison to other graves was Grave 4g: 2, which contained arrowheads and a part of a quiver that are to be linked to hunting, an activity that was a source of great prestige in the late Roman society and would show a buried person as a leading man of the local community (Theuws 2009: 305–307). The interment of spears could have been associated with hunting, as well as with communicating power, since the lance was a symbol of authority in both Roman and barbarian contexts during Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages (Theuws 2009: 303–304). A presence in the female grave 4g: 5 of a perforated solidus minted by the Gothic king Theoderic the Great, which had been used as a pendant, can also be interpreted as a sign of prestige. The majority of other intered objects indicate an engagement of people in the same economic and domestic activities as in Cibalae, with additional material evidence such as weaving knives and iron flints.

The paper has attempted to show that the Gepids were not only active participants in the struggle for control over the mid-to-lower Danube area from the late fifth to the mid-sixth century but that they also managed to pressure the Empire into acknowledging them as the main regional power among the barbarian groups settled in the Carpathian Basin. Even though the extant literary sources are, for the most part, negatively disposed towards the Gepids, these narratives clearly allude to the Gepids as a powerful *gens* that managed to challenge the Ostrogoths and oppose the Romans. Such a development was surely a result of the Gepids' military strength and inner political stability, as well as their adaptability to new circumstances as they first seem to have made effort to recapture Sirmium under Roman sponsorship in probably 528, and then moved against the Romans themselves to regain the city in 536, both instances that clearly testify to the Gepids' capability of showing an initiative. To be true, their endeavor to retake and maintain Sirmium was made easier by the Romans' engagement elsewhere, against the Ostrogoths in Italy, barbarian incursions on the lower Danube and the Persians in the East, but it must be equally stressed that the Gepids confirmed their grip over the city by overwhelming the Roman army on the battlefield in 539. Their subsequent attacks against the Roman territory from southern Pannonia were meant to make Justinian I willing to concede to Gepids' objectives and were not mere raids of conquest. This in itself is a testimony to the Gepids' ability to successfully conduct an open conflict policy that served to consolidate their prestige.

The paper has also argued that the Gepids pursued what may be called a concrete and consistent policy towards both the Empire and the neighboring barbarian groups, aimed at securing and defending the Gepids' interests. Their approach was modeled along the lines of the Roman imperial methods in dealing with various peoples by using instruments of dynamic diplomacy as they combined, depending on the current situation, direct confrontations, negotiations, and strucking deals. This is evident from the Gepids' relations towards the Lombards and from their doings with the Kutrigur Huns and Slavs. As for the Gepids' relations towards the Romans, they seem never to have been keen on clashing with the Empire, but rather poised towards keeping a good relationship with the Romans as much as possible, and only resorting to aggressive actions or provocative solutions when they felt threatened, as was the case after it had become clear in the late 540s and the early 550s that Justinian I was much more inclined to side with the Gepids' rivals the Lombards. The Gepids' recapture of Sirmium and much of southeastern Pannonia should be seen as resulting from their desire to reclaim what they deemed to be their rightful possession that could guarantee them a prominent place in the Roman system of political hierarchy among the newly established states. Moreover, it could be contended that the Gepids, instead of being oppressors of the Romans as Prokopios of Caesarea portrays them, fostered functional and mutually beneficial interactions with the local Roman population in southern Pannonia, which the archaeological evidence from Vinkovci seems to suggest.

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Antičko strukovno nazivlje u prapovijesnoj arheologiji

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Antička arheologija kao znanstvena disciplina nastala je prije prapovijesne arheologije, stoga ne čudi da je u prapovijesnoj arheologiji, osobito u njezinim ranijim razvojnim fazama, preuzet cijeli niz strukovnog i znanstvenog nazivlja razvijen u okviru antičke arheologije. U radu se razmatraju primjeri primjene takvog nazivlja u prapovijesnoj arheologiji te opravdanost toga postupka.

Ključne riječi: *strukovno nazivlje, antika, prapovijest*

Arheologija kao struka i znanost zasniva se na iskonskoj ljudskoj znatiželji o postanku, podrijetlu i razvoju vlastitoga roda, na vječnim pitanjima tko smo? što smo? odakle smo? zašto smo to što jesmo? Odgovore su pokušavali dati anonimni autori drevnih epova, predanja, mitova, legendi, ali i antički pisci koji su nam ostavili najstarija zapisana promišljanja o toj temi. Razvoj arheologije ozbiljnije je započeo u doba renesanse i humanizma s oživljenim zanimanjem za antičku materijalnu baštinu, ali i njezino duhovno nasljeđe. Dakle, možemo reći da je europska arheologija utemeljena na proučavanju geoloških vremenskih formacija i klasičnih starina. I upravo je u tim okvirima nastajalo i razvijalo se prvo strukovno i znanstveno arheološko nazivlje pa se i danas u prapovijesnoj arheologiji koristimo, opravdano ili ne, nazivima preuzetim iz geologije i antičke arheologije.

Najbrojniji i najčešći izvor spoznaja iz prapovijesnih vremena, uz kamene i koštane izrađevine, svakako su različite keramičke izrađevine. S obzirom na činjenicu da su gomile grčkih vaza bile odavno poznate, da su se zbog svoje ljepote i reprezentativnosti masovno skupljale i pohranjivale u prvim zbirkama i muzejima, davno je stvoreno i njihovo strukovno nazivlje. Proučavanje i tipološko razvrstavanje prapovijesne keramike kao predmet proučavanja mlađe je pa se činilo najjednostavnijim preuzeti neke nazive iz već ustaljene antičke terminologije. Tako će i danas mnogi prapovjesničari velike keramičke posude za zalihe nazivati grčkim imenom pithos (πίθος, grč. velika zemljana, odozgo otvorena posuda, bure, bačva), a posude s dvije ručke amforama (αμφιφορεύς ili αμφορεύς, grč. velik zemljan vrč s dvije ručke) iako oba predmeta tipološki zapravo pripadaju onome što nazivamo loncem. Specifične zdjele s dvjema visokim, okomitim ručkama koje nadvisuju otvor posude, rado ćemo nazvati kantarosima ili kantarima jer na prvi pogled tako podsjećaju na specifične oblike grčke keramografije (κάνθαρος, grč. kukac balegar). Askos (ασκός, grč. koža, mješina) je još jedan naziv antičkog podrijetla, a riječ je o posudi koja u keramici nastoji oponašati oblik mješine od životinjske kože. Zanimljivo je napomenuti da potonja dva oblika najčešće pronalazimo u eneolitičkim zajednicama jugoistočne Europe, dakle onoga dijela koji je geografski najbliži području klasične Grčke. Još je jedan, vrlo specifičan tip posude u obliku životinjskog roga, životinjske glave ili stilizirane životinje, karakterističan za srednji neolitik istočne jadranske obale, ali i njezina zaleđa te grčkoga područja, naziv preuzeo iz antičke terminologije, a to je riton (ρυτόν, grč. rog za piće). I dok bismo u mlađim prapovijesnim, odnosno protopovijesnim razdobljima mogli naći opravdanje za uporabu ovih „antičkih“ naziva jer dobar dio željeznodobnih europskih populacija već dolazi u doticaj s grčkom, a potom i italskom kulturom, za starija, neolitička i eneolitička razdoblja to nije potrebno. Stoga se u tipologijama keramičkih oblika oslanjamo na dva osnovna tipa: zdjelu i lonac s mnogobrojnim varijacijama. No, keramiku ne čini samo posuđe, od nje su izrađene i brojne figure i figurice koje često nazivamo idolima. Opet riječ grčkog podrijetla (εἴδωλον) koja ima više značenja. Ono primarno je lik, prilika, slika, sjena, utvara. Potom dobiva značenje kumira, odnosno kipa ili slike mnogobožačkog boga. U prenesenom značenju idol je predmet slijepog obožavanja ili nadnaravno biće (Klaić 1984). Ova tumačenja jasno pokazuju da je sasvim neopravdano termin idol rabiti za svaku keramičku, koštanu ili kamenu figuricu jer za veliku većinu njih nemamo pravog objašnjenja, odnosno ne znamo s kojom su namjerom bile načinjene, je li njihova svrha bila sakralna, ritualna ili sasvim profana, jesu li one same po sebi bile sveti predmet ili tek instrument pri obavljanju nekog obreda.

Jedna od najintrigantnijih figura kasnoga neolitika na prostoru istočne Mađarske pronađena je u ruševinama kuće na lokalitetu Szegvár-Tűzköves koji se pripisuje potiskoj kulturi. Kada je pronađena predstavljala je nemalo iznenađenje jer je proturječila dotadašnjoj predodžbi da neolitičke figurice prikazuju isključivo ženske likove. Ova je opisana kao muškarac, iako nema jasno vidljivih naznaka spola, koji sjedi na nekoj vrsti prijestolja, na licu ima masku, a u ruci drži neko zakrivljeno oruđe. Upravo je to oruđe navelo Janosa Makkaya da, oslanjajući se na grčku mitologiju, protumači ovu figuru kao prikaz Krona, prvobitno boga zemljoradnje, prepoznajući u zakrivljenom predmetu srp kojim ovaj bog razdvaja nebo i zemlju, a što se savršeno uklapa u sliku neolitičkih zajednica kao prvih poljoprivrednika (Makkay 1978; 1964).

Mnogi će i u prapovijesnim razdobljima govoriti o nekropolama, misleći pritom na groblja. No, dok naziv „grad mrtvih“ nasuprot grada živih ima smisla u klasičnoj i antičkoj arheologiji, u europskoj prapovijesnoj arheologiji (pritom ne mislim na protopovijesna razdoblja), u kojoj nema ni gradova živih (uglavnom je riječ o većim i manjim selima, zaseocima ili osamljenim imanjima) teško možemo govoriti o gradovima mrtvih. Prapovijesna groblja obično su mala sa stotinjak grobova, tek rijetko onih s tisućama ukopa. Stoga je primjerenije rabiti jednostavan izraz groblja.

Iako u prapovijesnoj arheologiji nije uobičajen termin akropola, neki su autori ipak pokušali telove, specifičan tip naselja karakterističan za jugoistočnu Europu, usporediti s akropolama grčkoga klasičnog razdoblja. To se u prvome redu odnosi na naselja tipa tela otkrivena na području Grčke gdje se ona nazivaju magulama. Tako je već prvu opsežniju objavu rezultata istraživanja na dvjema najznačajnijim magulama u Tesaliji, onima u Sesklu i Diminiju godine 1908. autor Chrestos Tsountas nazvao *Ai proistorikai Akropoleis Dimeniou kai Sesklou/Prapovijesne akropole Sesklo i Dimini* (Tsountas 1908). Tsountas je naziv akropola za Sesklo odabrao kako zbog njegova istaknutog položaja na brežuljku Kastraki, tako i zbog obrambenih zidova koje je otkrio istraživanjima. Više od pola stoljeća kasnije isti je naziv upotrijebio drugi veliki istraživač navedenih naselja, Demetrios Teocharis koji opisujući Sesklo kaže da je najnovijim istraživanjima otkrio ostatke velikog, organiziranog naselja što je promijenilo sliku o malom naselju od 30 do 50 objekata na vrhu brežuljka Kastraki u spoznaju o pravom „malom gradu“ s više od 3000 stanovnika. Stoga je on uvjeren da je najviši dio naselja na brežuljku Kastraki zapravo akropola srednjoneolitičkog grada (Teocharis 1973: 65). Ta usporedba počiva na povijesnim vezama s kasnijim razdobljima (mnoge su neolitičke magule bile nastanjene i u klasičnom razdoblju). Dakle, Teocharis fenomen polis-akropola klasičnoga vremena uspoređuje s fenomenom magula neolitičkoga razdoblja, a najbolji primjer za to je upravo Sesklo, tipično neolitičko tel-naselje, u čijem je podnožju otkriveno prostrano ravno naselje, a njihov odnos odgovara upravo onome između akropole i polisa. Objašnjenje za takav obrazac naseljavanja Teocharis vidi u razvoju organizacije društva i nastajanju novih institucija upravljanja i vlasti te pravila društvenoga ponašanja tijekom srednjega neolitika (Teocharis 1973: 68).

Još jedan pojam preuzet iz klasične arhitekture Teocharis primjenjuje na neolitičke objekte. Opisujući građevine na akropoli, središnju naziva megaronom: „Megaron je ovdje jasan i sastoji se od glavne prostorije, otprilike 5 m dugačke i 4 m široke i otvorenog trijema koji čine dvije ante, svaka s 2 drvena stupa.“ (Teocharis 1973: 66). Ovakav tip građevine, dobro poznat iz klasičnih vremena, ponajprije iz homerskih epova gdje označuje unutarnju, najreprezentativniju prostoriju vladareva dvora, prisutan je i na drugim neolitičkim magulama. Isti je naziv za stariju građevinu vučedolskoga građevinskog sloja, otkrivenu na vučedolskom Gradcu 1938. godine, unutar koje i oko koje je pronašao i pet talioničkih peći, upotrijebio i R. R. Schmidt pa je pojam „megaron ljevača bakra“ postao opće mjesto vučedolske kulture (Schmidt 1945: 21, Textbild 12; Dimitrijević 1979: 282; Durman 1983: 33 itd.). U mlađem građevinskom sloju otkrio je još jednu veću građevinu tipa megarona, ali s dvije prostorije i definirao je kao *Herrenhaus*, odnosno kuću gospodara, pridajući joj tako homersko značenje, a što je vidljivo iz njegova dodatnog objašnjenja u bilješci (Schmidt 1945: 26, bilj. 1; Textbild 16). Iako su svojedobno neki autori smatrali da je takav tip građevine obilježje hladnih krajeva Europe gdje su građene od drva, danas se ipak prednost daje egejskom, napose grčkom području gdje se, kao što smo već rekli, takve građevine pojavljuju već u srednjem neolitiku.

Iz antičke su arhitekture preuzeti i nazivi friz i metopa, ali ne da bi se opisivali građevinski ukrasni elementi nego ukrasi na keramičkim posudama. Tako će nerijetko ukrasni motivi koji kontinuirano teku oko cijele posude u opisima biti razvrstani u frizove i/ili metope.

Oppidum, inače latinski naziv za mali, utvrđeni grad bez određenog pravnog statusa, u prapovijesti se rabi kao odrednica za keltsko naselje utvrđeno moćnim kamenim bedemima (tzv. *murus Gallicus*). Naziv je posuđen od Gaja Julija Cezara koji je tako nazivao keltska naselja u svojim djelima. Keltska *oppida*, međutim mogu biti vrlo velika pa tako sam Cezar spominje *oppidum Bibracte* kao jedno od najvećih i najbogatijih keltskih naselja (...*et quod a Bibracte, oppido Haeduorum longe maximo et copiosissimo*... Caesar, Lib.I 23).

Dakako, utjecaj antičke arheologije na prapovijesnu, vidljiv je i na drugim razinama, osim terminološkoj. Osobito kod proučavanja i objašnjavanja nematerijalnih aspekata života prapovijesnih ljudi (umjetnost, religioznost, vjerovanja) često ćemo posegnuti za primjerima iz antičkih razdoblja opravdano tražeći korijene antičkim mitovima, legendama i pričama u starijoj, dubljoj prošlosti, odnosno prapovijesti (v. primjerice radove A. Durmana i M. Milićević Bradač).

Antički izvori

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Zwei principales aus Dalmatien am Obergermanischen Limes

Andreas THIEL, Esslingen/Neckar

Ein Grabstein der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jh. aus Mainhardt am Obergermanischen Limes nennt Maximus, einen mensor, und Bato, einen optio, der Cohors I Asturum. Die beiden mit 38 bzw. 40 Jahren Verstorbenen stammten aus Dalmatien und dienten in der selben Centurie. Die Heimat des Älteren war das bekannte municipium Salvium in den Dinarischen Alpen bei Glamoč. Der Heimatort des Maximus wurde verschiedentlich falsch mit municipium Magnum angegeben. Tatsächlich weisen die erhaltenen Inschriftenreste auf eine Lesung als municipium Maccarum. Daher ist davon auszugehen, dass der zweite Verstorbene ursprünglich von der Dalmatischen Küste, aus dem heutigen Makarska stammte.

Schlüsselwörter: *Cohors Asturum, Cohors Dalmatarum, Mainhardt, Makarska, Municipium Maccarum, Maximus Dasas*

Innerhalb der namentlich bekannten Auxiliareinheiten des *exercitus Imperii* lassen sich wenigstens zehn *Cohortes Delmatarum* bzw. *Dalmatarum* unterscheiden, die im Verlauf der ersten drei nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte in den Provinzen Britannia, Caesariensis, Dacia Superior, Germania superior, Illyricum, Moesia inferior, Moesia superior und Tingitana belegt sind. Noch im ersten Jahrhundert könnten allein fünf dieser Kohorten am Rhein stationiert gewesen sein (Stein 1932: 185 ff.; Spaul 2000: 306), bevor sich ihre Zahl, wohl durch Abkommandierungen nach Britannien, auf zwei reduzierte. Die *Cohortes III* und *V Dalmatarum* standen ab flavischer Zeit im Vorfeld des Mainzer Doppellegionslagers, vermutlich in Wiesbaden, und sind auf mehreren Militärdiplomen aber auch Ziegelstempeln gut belegt. Beide Einheiten dürften am Grenzausbau in Südwestdeutschland unter Vespasian und Domitian beteiligt gewesen sein. Wohl in diese Zeit gehört ein Grabstein aus Köln (CIL XIII 8271), den der Praefekt der *Cohors III Dalmatarum*, Claudius Iustus, seinem verstorbenen Sohn setzte. Im zweiten Jahrhundert gehörte dann lediglich noch die *Cohors V Dalmatarum* dem obergermanischen Heeresverband an, bevor auch diese Einheit in der Mitte des 2.Jhs. n.Chr. in die Provinz *Dacia* verlegt wurde.

Die Präsenz römischer Soldaten, deren Heimat der Südosten des heutigen Kroatien war, bleibt am Obergermanischen Limes jedoch noch länger nachweisbar. Schon seit dem Beginn der wissenschaftlichen Erforschung des Limes in Süddeutschland ist eine Grabinschrift bekannt, die uns vermutlich drei römische Bürger aus Dalmatien nennt. Es handelt sich um den gemeinsamen Grabstein für einen *mensor* und einen *optio* aus dem Kastellplatz von Mainhardt im Landkreis Schwäbisch Hall (CIL XIII 6528; Lupa 7604). Das 2,5 ha große Steinkastell von Mainhardt befindet sich am südlichen Abschnitt der Grenzlinie zwischen der Provinz Obergermanien zur Germania Magna und ist Teil des sogenannten Vorderen oder Äußeren Obergermanischen Limes, der um 155 n.Chr. errichtet wurde (Schönberger 1985: 392 ff.; 482 f. E 67). Mit einer Höhe von 470 m ü.NN gehört Mainhardt dabei zu den höchstgelegenen Plätzen am Limes. Das Kastell befand sich auf einer kleinen Hochebene inmitten des stark gegliederten Berglands des Schwäbisch-

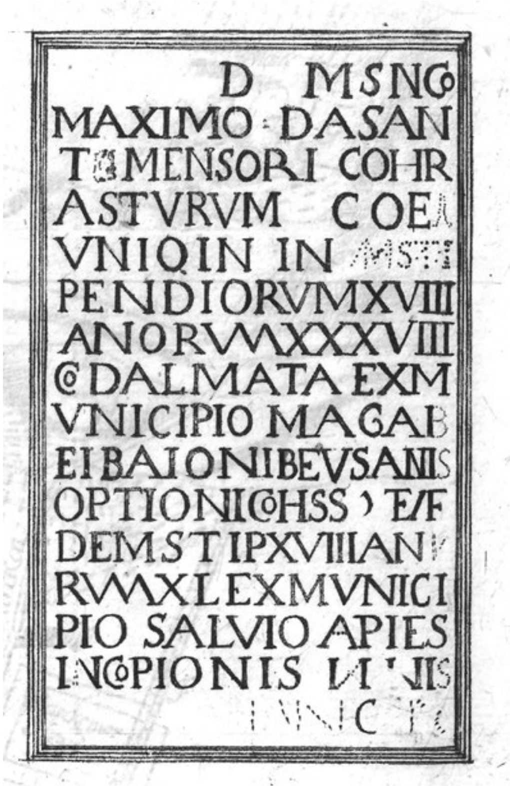

Abb. 1: Grabinschrift des Maximus und des Bato nach Hanßelmann 1768. Mainhardt, Kreis Schwäbisch-Hall, Baden-Württemberg, Deutschland.

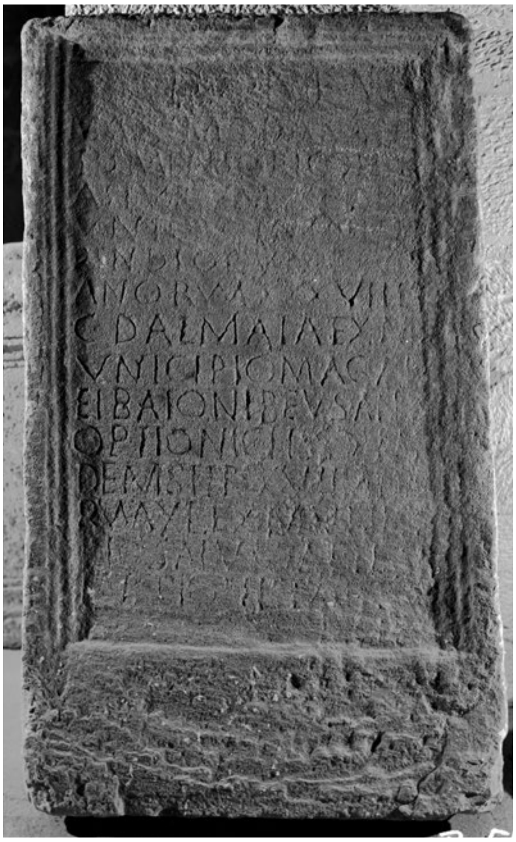

Abb. 2: Grabstele des Maximus und des Bato aus Mainhardt. Landesmuseum Württemberg (Foto: Landesdenkmalamt Baden-Württemberg).

Fränkischen Waldes. Die römische Präsenz beschränkt sich auf die Zeit zwischen der Mitte des 2.Jhs. und der Mitte des 3.Jhs. n.Chr. In den ersten Jahrzehnten nach der Anlage des Kastells bis in die Zeit von Septimius Severus war hier die ursprünglich aus dem Nordwesten Spaniens stammende *Cohors I Asturum equitata* stationiert, eine fünfhundert Mann starke, teilberittene Einheit (Stein 1932: 164f.; Spaul 2000: 72 ff.). Wie häufig im römischen Heer der Mittleren Kaiserzeit kamen ihre Rekruten jedoch aus verschiedenen Teilen des Reiches, darunter auch aus Dalmatien.

Die älteste Nachricht über den Grabstein stammt aus der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jhs. Die Erstpublikation liefert uns die vollständigste, leider gleichzeitig auch leicht fehlerhafte Fassung des ursprünglichen Inschriftentextes. So publizierte der Hofrat der Fürsten von Hohenlohe, Christian Ernst Hanßelmann, 1768 im ersten Band seines Werkes „Beweiß, wie weit der Römer Macht ...“ einen neben der Tür der Pfarrkirche von Mainhardt eingemauerten, gemeinsamen Grabstein zweier *principales* (Hanßelmann 1768: 69, 236 ff.). Maximus Dasas und Bato Beusas dienten als *mensor* bzw. *optio* in derselben Centurie. der 1. Kohorte der Asturer.

Der massive, leicht unregelmäßig geformte Quader mit den Maßen 162 cm x 92/95 cm x 23/25 cm wurde im Jahr 1839 aus dem Mauerwerk der Kirche gelöst und in das königliche Antiquarium nach Stuttgart gebracht, wo er bis heute aufbewahrt wird (LMW Inv.Nr. RL 184). Er ist unverziert, lediglich seine Vorderseite trägt ein leicht vertieftes Schriftfeld, das durch zwei unterschiedlich breite, einfache Leisten gerahmt wird.

Die epigraphische Datenbank der Universität Heidelberg (HD036680) gibt die Inschrift wie folgt wieder:

DI M
MAXIMO DASAN
T[ ] MENSORI COH I
ASTVRVM | COE[ ]
VNI QVIN[ ]IN[ ]
PENDIORVM XVIII
ANORVM XXXVIII
C DALMATA EX M
VNICIPIO MAGAB
ET BATONI BEVSANTI
OPTIONI COH S S | EA
DEM STIP XVIII AN[ ]
RVM XL EX MVNICI
PIO SALVIO APIES
[ ]

In Transkription: D(is) M(anibus) / Maximo Dasan/t[is] mensori coh(ortis) I / Asturum |(centuria) Coe[---]/uni Quin[t] in[i sti]/pendiorum XVIII / an(n)orum XXXVIII / c(ivis) Dalmata ex m/unicipio Magab(---) / et Batoni Beusanti(s) / optioni *coh(ortis) s(upra) s(criptae) |(centuria) ea/dem stip(endiorum) XVIII an[no]/rum XL ex munici/pio Salvio Apies / [------]*

Eine Datierung des Steines ist lediglich über den Fundort bzw. die obergermanische Heeresgeschichte möglich (s.o.). Demnach wurde die Grabstele in der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts gesetzt (Faust 1998: 6 mit Kat. Nr. 152), bevor die Cohors Asturum den obergermanischen Heeresverband verließ.

Die Grabinschrift ist einer der zahlreichen epigraphischen Belege dafür, dass in der mittleren Kaiserzeit der Truppenname allein kein Hinweis für die tatsächlich geübte Rekrutierungspraxis ist. Wir lernen in dem Formular wenigstens zwei, einschließlich des Erben und Stifters möglicherweise drei, Soldaten aus Dalmatien kennen, die miteinander in der Ersten Asturerkohorte dienten. Diese räumlich sehr weite Verschickung dalmatischer Rekruten bis nach Obergermanien überrascht (Kraft 1951: 52), doch sicherlich waren sie nicht die einzigen „Fremden" in ihrer Einheit. In dieser Zeit wurden die meisten Kohorten aus dem Hinterland ihres Standortes ergänzt und behielten wie die *Cohors Asturum* ihre Namen eher aus Tradition. Ob Maximus Dasas und Bato Beusas besondere Fähigkeiten und Kenntnisse besaßen, die sie für einen Einsatz speziell in Mainhardt oder bei der Cohors Asturum empfahl, wissen wir leider nicht. Auf den militärischen Rang, den die beiden verstorbenen *principale*s bekleideten, bzw. ihre damit verbunden Aufgaben als *optio* (Domaszewski & Dobson 1967: 58 f.; Breeze 1967*)* und mensor (Domaszewski & Dobson 1967: 25; Arnaoud 1995) innerhalb der Kohorte braucht hier nicht näher eingegangen werden. Zu der mehrfach diskutieren Frage, ob es sich bei dem *mensor cohorti*s um einen Techniker handelte, oder seine Aufgaben eher im Bereich der Versorgung (*mensor frumenti*) zu suchen sind, tragen Inschrift und Fundort nichts Neues bei.

Jedoch ist der Grabstein seit seiner Auffindung vor nunmehr 250 Jahren wiederholt und bis heute mit abweichenden Lesungen publiziert worden. Die ausführlichste, kommentierte Besprechung fand vor gut einhundert Jahren statt und findet sich nicht im CIL, sondern in dem Sammelwerk der römischen Inschriften und Bildwerke des ehemaligen Königreichs Württemberg (Haug & Sixt 1914: 590 ff. Nr. 416). Hier sind verschiedene Probleme bei der Lesung des Steins benannt, die sich andernorts leider nicht finden, was zu fehlerhaften Lesungen und damit auch zu Fehlaussagen in der Sekundärliteratur führte.

Die in einen harten, aber auch sehr grobkörnigen Sandstein eingearbeitete Grabinschrift befand sich bereits bei ihrer Auffindung Ende des 18.Jhs. in keinem guten Erhaltungszustand mehr und hat seit ihrer Erstpublikation weiter gelitten. So war etwa die vorletzte Zeile mit der Nennung des Erben und Stifters des Grabsteins Apies(?) Incopio, die Hanßelmann noch wiedergab, bereits im 19. Jh. nicht mehr erkennbar, weshalb diese Buchstabenfolge in der Editionen des Steines in der Heidelberger Epigraphischen Datenbank fehlt. Da sich beide Namensteile andernorts nicht finden, muss hier wohl leider von einer fehlerhaften Transkription Hanßelmanns ausgegangen werden. Den illyrischen Cognomen Dasas oder Dazas trägt auch Bato, ein Soldat der *Cohors III Dalmatorum*, der in der zweiten Hälfte des 1. Jhs. in Bingen bestattet wurde (CIL XIII 7508). Dieser Bato war Angehöriger der vermutlich größten Völkerschaft Dalmatiens, der Ditiones (*natione Ditio*). Der Name ist auch andernorts häufiger belegt (Kakoschke 2007: 285 f. CN 1019) und dürfte auch mit Baton gleichzusetzen sein (Mesihović 2011: 473 f.). Ebenfalls aus Bingen ist der Beiname des zweiten Verstorbenen, Beusas oder Beuzas, bekannt (CIL XIII 11962). Bereits etwa um das Jahr 30 n.Chr. wurde hier einem Soldaten der *Cohors IIII* Dalmatarum ein Grabstein gesetzt. Auch dieser Namen ist andernorts mehrfach belegt (Kakoschke 2007: 171 CN 509).

Zur Herkunft der Verstorbenen

Bis heute deutlich lesbar, wird der erstgenannte Verstorbene, Maximus (Sohn des) Dasas, in der siebten Zeile als *„civis Dalmata ex municipio Maga(---)"* angesprochen, während die Heimat von Bato oder Baton (Sohn des) Beusas mit *„municipio Salvio"* angegeben ist. Das *Municipium Salvium* in den Dinarischen Alpen, sechs Kilometer westlich von Glamoč ist aus historischen Quellen (Claudius Ptolemäus Geogr. II, 16,6; Itinerar. Antonini 269) und Inschriften vergleichsweise gut bekannt (Mesihović 2011: 457 ff.) Wilkes schlägt eine Verleihung der Stadtrechte unter Hadrian vor, ferner sind Männer aus *Salvium*

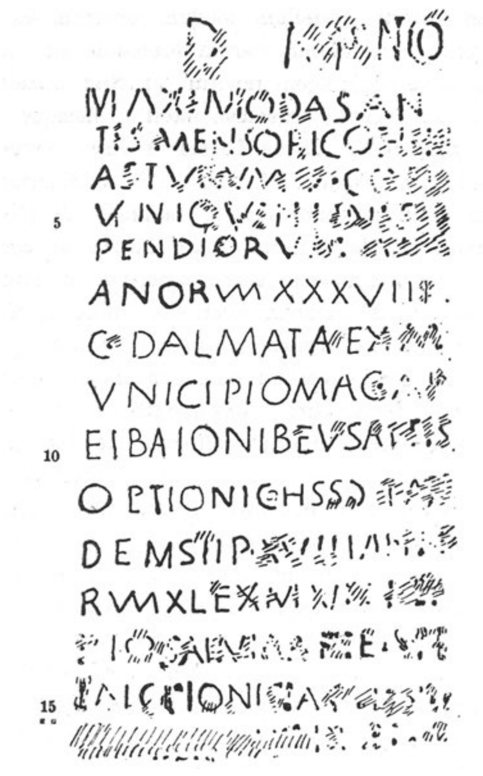

Abb. 3: Zeichnung der Mainhardter Grabinschrift im Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (1905)

im 3. Jh. wiederholt im römischen Heer belegt (Wilkes 1969: 270 f.). Ob der *optio* Bato(n) das Bürgerrecht besaß, wird zu Recht angezweifelt (Mesihović 2011: 473 f.). Unsere Kenntnis über Salvium und seine Bewohner deckt sich gut mit den Informationen, wie wir sie der Mainhardter Inschrift entnehmen können. Mit gebotener Vorsicht ließe sich auch die eher abgeschiedene Lage des Kastellplatzes innerhalb der Provinz Obergermanien mit der der Heimatstadt des Bato vergleichen. Probleme bereitete und bereitet jedoch die Herkunft des Maximus. Hanßelmann las als Ortsbezeichnung „*Magab*..." und schreibt auf Seite 239: „Das *municipium* MAGAB auf der 9ten Linie ist des *Mensoris patria.* Es kommt aber ein solches *municipium* anderswo meines Wissens nicht vor. ...". Die Mehrzahl der nachfolgenden Bearbeiter schlossen sich dieser Lesung an, trotz des Umstandes, dass sich dieser Buchstabenfolge kein bekannter Name eines Siedlungsplatzes zuweisen lässt. Einzig Zangemeister wollte im CIL (CIL XIII 6538) die verstümmelte Ortsangabe zu „Municipium Magnum" auflösen.

Bereits die schon im CIL abgedruckte Umzeichnung der Inschrift zeigt jedoch deutlich den Wortanfang „M A G A ...". Ein „N" anstelle des „A" wäre im Vergleich mit dem übrigen Schriftbild ungewöhnlich breit ausgeführt, auch ist der erkennbare Rest einer senkechten Haste deutlich abgesetzt und gehört bereits zu einem neuen Buchstaben. Dies lässt sich trotz der Verwitterung der Inschrift auch heute noch im Original ausreichend gut erkennen (s. u. Abb. 4). Diese fehlerhafte Transkription im CIL hat nachfolgend leider zu verschiedenen Fehlschlüssen geführt. Beispielsweise sah Alföldy (ders. 1965: 98 mit Anm. 13) in seiner „Gesellschaft und Bevölkerung der römischen Provinz Dalmatien" die Heimat des Maximus im *Municipium Magnum* (Balina Glavica). Auch Wilkes scheint sich auf das CIL verlassen zu haben (ebd. 1969: 240) und spricht Maximus als Angehörigen der nichtrömischen Landbevölkerung aus dem Umfeld des *municipium Magnum* an.

Nachdem die Auflösung des CIL zu „municipium Magnum" abzulehnen ist, kehrte die Heidelberger Epigraphische Datenbank (HD 036680) wieder zu der von Hanßelmann gegebenen Transkription *"municipio Magab(---)"* zurück. Dabei ist diese Lesung nicht nur aufgrund der Tatsache unbefriedigend, dass eine Siedlung des 2. oder 3. Jhs., deren Namen zu der Buchstabenfolge „M A G A P ..." oder „M A C A P ..." passen könnte, bis heute weder in der Provinz Illyricum selbst, noch andernorts im Römischen Imperium bekannt ist. Nachfolgend soll eine andere Lesung und damit auch eine andere Lokalisierung des Municipiums innerhalb Damatiens vorgeschlagen werden. Bei den meisten Bearbeitern blieb bislang unbeachtet, wie stark offenbar bereits 1768 der rechte Rand des Inschriftenfeldes verwittert war. In mehreren Zeilen war jeweils der letzte Buchstabe nicht mehr zweifelsfrei erkennbar. Aus diesem Grunde las Hanßelmann beispielsweise in der 4. Zeile falsch „COHR" für Kohorte statt richtig „COH I" (ORL 1893: 14). Wichtig ist nun, dass uns bereits Hanßelmann für seine vorgeschlagene Lesung „*M A G A B (---)*"" lediglich ein fragliches(!) „B" überliefert, wie seine gute Zeichnung (Abb. 1) deutlich wiedergibt. Er erkannte lediglich eine senkrechte Haste, die Fortsetzung des letzten Buchstabens in der betreffenden Zeile 9 zu einem „R" ist schon von ihm ergänzt! Im Limeswerk schreibt Mettler hierzu: „Vom Namen des Municipiums ist M A G A sicher, von dem folgenden Buchstaben ist eine senkrechte Hasta mit zwei in der Mitte nach rechts abgehenden Querhasten erhalten, was auf ein B oder R weist." (ORL 1893: 14). Auch das CIL weist auf diesen Umstand noch hin (ebd. Anm. 9). Andere, neuere Bearbeitungen zuletzt auch die Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg, berücksichtigen meist zwar in anderen Zeilen der Inschrift den Ausfall der letzten Buchstaben, machen aber auf genau diese Schwierigkeit bei der Ergänzung der Buchstabenfolge „M A G A..." in Zeile 9 nicht mehr aufmerksam! Heute ist durch die immer weiter fortgeschrittene Verwitterung eine bessere Lesung, als sie uns Mettler gab, nicht mehr möglich, wie eine aktuelle Aufnahme der Partie zeigt (Abb. 4).

Hinter dem „A“ folgte ein weiterer Buchstabe, der mit einer senkrechten Haste beginnt und sowohl zu einem „B“ oder auch einem „R“ zu ergänzen ist.

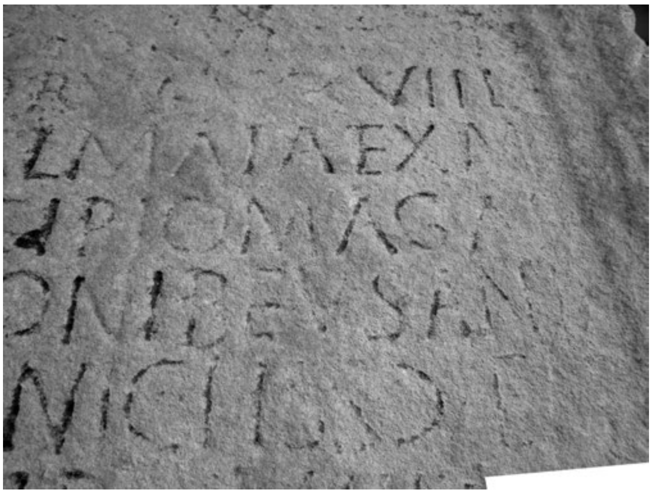

Abb. 4: Grabstele des Maximus und des Bato: Detailansicht der Zeilenenden 8 – 10. Landesmuseum Württemberg (Foto: Andreas Thiel)

Liest man nun den fraglichen Schriftzug als „M A G A R...“, so wäre eine Rekonstruktion des Ortsnamens als „municipium Magarum“ bzw. „Macarum“ wahrscheinlich zu machen. Zudem fällt die ungewöhnliche Form des Buchstabens „G“ auf. Will man nicht eine Sorglosigkeit des Steinmetzen erkennen, so unterscheidet sich dieser deutlich von der üblichen Schreibweise eines „G“ wie es beispielsweise ein etwa zeitgleicher Altar für Jupiter aus Mainhardt zeigt (HD036707; Lupa 25566). Es könnte statt eines verunglückten „G“ eher ein doppeltes „C C“ in Ligatur gemeint sein. Damit stand am Ende der neunten Zeile ursprünglich „M A C C A R ...“! Als Identifizierung der Heimatstadt des Maximus soll hier daher das heutige Makarska südöstlich von Split vorgeschlagen sein. Dies wäre gleichzeitig Nachweis für den Rechtsstatus der römerzeitlichen Ansiedlung im 2. Jhd. als municipium, und würde bedeuten, dass dieser Küstenabschnitt noch von Delmatae bewohnt wurde (Wilkes 1969: 176 f.; Grbić 2014). Der Platz wird auf der Tabula Peutingeriana zwar als *„Inaronia“* (*„in Aronia“*?) bezeichnet, in lateinischen mittelalterlichen Quellen findet sich aber durchaus auch die Bezeichnung „Mac(c)arum“, ebenfalls begegnet „Macarscensis“ (Graesse & Benedict 1972). Der Barrington Atlas gibt den antiken Namen des Küstenortes demzufolge mit „Muccurum“ wieder (BAtlas 20 E6), was wohl auf die in den Schriftquellen für die Jahre 533 n.Chr. bzw. 549 n.Chr. überlieferten Bezeichnungen „Muccur“ bzw. „M(o)uicurum“ für den spätantiken Hafenort und Bischofssitz zurückgeht (Wilkes 1969: 426; 432). Wir dürfen daher annehmen, dass unser „Civis Dalmata Maximus Dasas“ auf seiner Grabinschrift betont haben wollte, dass seine Heimat ursprünglich das reizvolle Küstenland im Süden Kroatiens gewesen ist. Ob er seine Jugend am Meer oder wie der zusammen mit ihm bestattete Bato im nahen Gebirge verbracht hatte, bevor er als Soldat die Wälder Germanien kennenlernte, lässt sich nicht entscheiden.

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Bonifacije VIII., papa koji nije znao za dodvoravanje

Željko TOLIĆ, Split

U kasnom srednjem vijeku, nakon abdikacije Celestina V. (1294.), za papu je u zakonito sazvanim konklavama i na zakonit način izabran kardinal Benedetto Gaetani, koji je kao novoizabrani papa uzeo ime Bonifacije VIII. (1294. – 1303.), čiji devetogodišnji pontifikat spada ne samo među najburnije, nego i najznačajnije u crkvenoj povijesti. Od izbora za papu pa sve do svoje smrti papa Gaetani je rijetko uživao u miru. Stalno je bio u nekim sukobima koje on – na temelju kritičko-povijesne analize događaja – nije želio niti ih tražio, ali su oni tražili i pronašli njega. No u svim tim događajima Bonifacije VIII., čiji se pontifikat referirao i na naše krajeve osnutkom Šibenske biskupije, ostao je dosljedan, odlučan i nepopustljiv u obrani kanonskih i crkvenih prava, neovisno o tome je li se radilo o moćnom francuskom vladaru Filipu IV. Lijepom, s kojim je gotovo cijeli ponitifikat bio u napetim odnosima, o franjevačkim „spiritualcima“, moćnoj rimskoj velikaškoj obitelji Colonna, ili nekom drugom. Brojne bule koje je u tim prigodama objavio nisu bile ni dodvorničke ni populističke, već upravo suprotno: jasne, oštre i nadasve pravedne, u skladu sa sviješću koju je Bonifacije VIII. imao o sebi kao vrhovnom pastiru i Crkvi koju je predvodio u tim prijelomnim vremenima. Ovaj članak ima dva dijela. Prvi je naslovljen: „Od 1294. do 1301. godine“ i sadrži šest odnosnih podnaslova u kojima autor govori o izboru i karakteru Bonifacija VIII., o njegovu sukobu s franjevačkim spiritualcima, sukobu sa rimskom velikaškom obitelji Colonna i s francuskim kraljem, kao i znamenitoj buli Clericis laicos *koju je potonji sukob iznjedrio, te o osnutku Šibenske biskupije i Jubilarnoj godini. Drugi dio, koji ujedno predstavlja i burniji dio Bonifacijeva pontifikata, nosi naslov: „Od 1301. do 1303. godine“. Kao i u prvom, autor i u drugom dijelu podastire odnosne podnaslove u kojima govori o krucijalnim temama iz posljednjih godina Bonifacijeva pontifikata, kao što su: nastavak sukoba s francuskim kraljem i u tom kontekstu objavljenim bulama* Salvator mundi *i* Ausculta fili carissime*, zatim o manipulacijama francuskoga dvora oko krivotvorenja potonje bule, o važnom konzistoriju u Anagniju i znamenitoj buli* Unam Sanctam*, o atentatu na papu Bonifacija i njegovoj smrti te na koncu o maštovitim optužbama protiv njega u režiji francuskoga dvora.*

Ključne riječi: *Bonifacije VIII., Ljudevit IV. Lijepi, Colonna, Šibenska biskupija, bula*

Na Petrovoj stolici u Rimu, kao nasljednici apostola Petra, izmijenile su se brojne osobe različitih profila: među njima nalazimo mučenike, svece i blaženike, ali također nepotiste i notorne grešnike. Pojedini su u tom nizu ostavili trag kao založni evangelizatori i reformisti, drugi kao graditelji, treći kao mecene i izvrsni organizatori. Među onima s papinskom tijarom na glavi bilo je dječaka, pravih ratnika i kolebljivih duša, ali i vrlo hrabrih osoba. Tražimo li osobe s potonjom oznakom nemoguće je, primjerice, zaobići Leona I., Grgura I. i VII., Inocenta III. i druge. U krug s takvom oznakom nedvojbeno spada i papa s kojim se bavimo u ovom izlaganju, Bonifacije VIII. Premda povjesničari o njemu i danas promišljaju te iznose različite sudove, nerijetko i oprečne, ipak se ne može prijeći preko činjenice da je njegov pontifikat bio jedan od značajnijih u crkvenoj povijesti. Ovaj smo rad podijelili u dva osnovna naslova – prvi: *Od 1294. do 1301. godine*; drugi: *Od 1301. do 1303*. godine, svaki s odnosnim podnaslovima – to ćemo pokušati i obrazložiti.

I. Od 1294. do 1301. godine

1. Izbor i karakter

Nakon samoinicijativnog odreknuća od papinstva Celestina V. (5. srpnja – 13. prosinca 1294.), s nadimkom *„pontifex angelicus"*, koji je bio svet čovjek, ali u upravnim poslovima papinske kancelarije i uopće nekog vodstva u Crkvi posve neiskusan, gotovo naivan[1], kardinalski je zbor na konklavama održanim u tvrđi Castelnuovo u Napulju, izabrao njegova nasljednika, kardinala Benedetta (Benedikta) Gaetania, koji je uzeo ime Bonifacije VIII. (1294. – 1303.)[2].

Novoizabrani papa rođen je 1235. godine u Anagniu, malom gradiću jugoistočno od Rima, u pokrajini Lazio, koji se zbog činjenice da su četvorica papa potjecali iz njega – Inocent III. (1198. – 1216.), Aleksandar IV. (1254. – 1261.), Grgur IX. (1227. – 1241.), Bonifacije VIII. – kiti nadimkom: „grad papâ". Potjecao je iz plemićke obitelji; otac Roffredo i majka Emilija imali su više djece: najstariji je bio Roffredo, a Benedetto među najmlađima. Nakon što je Benedetto postao papa, obitelj Gaetani vrtoglavo se uzdigla te je, zahvaljujući svojim posjedovnim i financijskim danostima, postala jedna od najutjecajnijih obitelji u toj pokrajini (Rendina 2005: 506). Određenu protutežu činile su joj druge dvije velikaške obitelji: Colonna, koja je u to vrijeme također bila u usponu, te nešto slabija Orsini; obje su bile u rodbinskim vezama s Gaetanijima (Kottje & Moeler 2008: 169) i iz njih je potjecalo nekoliko vrlo utjecajnih kardinala u tadašnjem kardinalskom kolegiju: Jakov i Petar iz obitelji Colonna, a Matej iz obitelji Orsini.

Gaetani je studirao svjetovno i kanonsko pravo u Bologni te se smatrao nasljednikom velikih jurista na papinskoj stolici, kao što su Inocent III. i Inonocent IV. (1243. – 1254.). Nakon studija najprije je bio bilježnik u papinskoj kuriji, a zatim je u istoj postao i tajnik; u tom je svojstvu obavio i neke poslaničke zadaće u Francuskoj i Engleskoj. Martin IV. (1281. – 1285.) imenovao ga je kardinalom đakonom (1281.), a Nikola IV. (1288. – 1292.) kardinalom prezbiterom (1291.)[3]. Duhovnost mu nije bila jača strana: dapače, bila je slaba i površna. K tome, bio je krut, nerijetko neljubazan i sarkastičan, zbog čega je stekao brojne neprijatelje (Bihlmeyer & Tuechle 1990: 26).

Bonifacijev dolazak na kormilo Crkve odvijao se sukladno odredbama konstitucije *Ubi periculum* Grgura X. iz 1274. godine, koja sadrži čitav niz proceduralnih uputa o konklavama i izboru novoga pape. Jedinu „mrlju" u tom smislu iznosi Bonifacijev suvremenik, znameniti Dante Alighieri († 1321.), koji je prema Bonifaciju VIII. bio nesklon i vrlo podozriv. On smatra da je Gaetani na papinsko prijestolje došao zahvaljujući simoniji, zbog čega ga je u svom glasovitom spjevu *La divina comedia* smjestio u svoj „pjesnički" pakao, kao i njegova prethodnika Nikolu III. (1277. – 1280.) (*Inferno*, XIX, 52–57); k tome ga, na usta Guida iz Montefeltra (†1298.), vojnog stratega koji je pred kraj života postao redovnik, naziva i „knezom novih farizeja" (*principe de' novi Farisei*) (*Inferno*, XXVII, 85). Osim te pjesničke mašte, nikakvi drugi izvori i dokazi o simoniji prilikom Bonifacijeva izbora ne postoje. Stoga se sasvim pouzdano može konstatirati: Gaetani je nedvojbeno bio među onim kardinalima koji su neiskusnom Celestinu V. dobronamjerno savjetovali da odstupi s papinske stolice, jer je uviđao da bi Crkva pod njegovim nekompetentnim vodstvom – izložena

[1] Celestinovo odstupanje nije u Crkvi bila novost. Papinstva su se prije njega odrekli sveti Poncijan (230. – 235.), koji je u vrijeme progona u prvim stoljećima kršćanstva deportiran na Sardiniju; sveti Silverije (536. – 537.), koji se, svrgnut i deportiran, odrekao papinske službe radi mira u Crkvi u korist protupape Vigilija koji je tada postao njegovim zakonitim nasljednikom (537. – 555.); Ivan XVIII. (1004. – 1009.), koji se odrekao papinstva te kao običan monah živio u samostanu svetog Pavla izvan rimskih zidina. Usp. Andreoli *et al.* 1993: 12, 28–29, 57; Kelly 1995: 351–354; Rendina 2005: 56–57, 143–150, 358–399, 503–506.

[2] O Bonifaciju VIII. postoji obilna literatura. Ograničavamo se navesti samo ona djela kojima ćemo se služiti tijekom izlaganja: Bihlmeyer & Tuechle 1990: 25–32; Jedin 1993: 319–330; Guillemain 1994: 129–174; Kelly 1995: 354–358; Torressani 2000: 336–341; Mezzadri 2001: 45–54; Pio 2002; Kovačić 2004: 225–234; Martina 2004: 61–64; Rendina 2005: 506–515; Kottje & Moeler 2008: 169–172; Saraco 2018: 127–132.

[3] Andreoli *et al.* 1993: 88; Kelly 1995: 355..

državno-političkim interesima napuljskog kralja Karla II. Anžuvinca (1285. – 1309.) i drugim uljezima na papinskom dvoru – mogla upasti u velike neprilike. Taj Gaetanijev čin/savjet imao je u vidu samo dobrobit Crkve, a njegov eventualni dogovor s kardinalima oko izbora novog pape, koji je pao upravo na njega, čin je kolegijalnosti, s jedne, i iskrene brige za Crkvu, s druge strane, koji se ni u kojem slučaju ne može svesti na subjektivni pjesnički doživljaj i okvalificirati kao simonija.

Nedugo nakon izbora za papu, Bonifacije VIII. je donio niz omraženih, ali važnih odluka: opozvao je i suspendirao sve Celestinove odluke, izuzev onih koje su se odnosile na imenovanje kardinala; iz papinske kurije odstranio je nepovjerljivo osoblje koje je njegova neiskusnog prethodnika više puta dovelo u zabludu, čak ga i varalo tako da je Celestin, i ne znajući, jednu te istu crkvenu nadarbinu dijelio trojici ili čak četvorici ljudi; papinsku kuriju, koju je Celestin V. na prijedlog lukavog napuljskog kralja smjestio u Napulj, vratio je u njezino tisućljetno sjedište, u Rim (Mezzadri 2001: 45; Saraco 2018: 127; Kovačić 2004: 225).

Međutim, njegove karakterne crte pribavile su mu, rekosmo, brojne neprijatelje, među kojima su se osobito isticao saveznički „trijumvirat“: franjevački „spiritualci“, obitelj Colonna i francuski kraljevski dvor. Sa svima njima Bonifacije VIII. je ušao u sukob koji je u sve tri varijante bio silovit, bespoštedan i, na koncu, za njega osobno tragičan.

2. Sukob s franjevačkim „spiritualcima“

„Spiritualci“ (*spirituales* ili *fratres spirituales*: duhovna braća) su skupina koja u franjevačku povijest ulazi u drugoj polovici 13. stoljeća, u vrijeme kad se u Franjevačkom redu, pod utjecajem obrazovanije braće, pojavljuje tendencija koja franjevački način života nastoji što više usličniti monaškom, osobito benediktinskom: veliki samostani, zajednički život, liturgijski život, studij, biblioteke[4]. Protivno tome, franjevački spiritualci, naglašavajući ideju da duhovni sinovi i sljedbenici sv. Franje Asiškoga (†1226.) nisu „monasi“ nego „braća“ (*fratres*), zanosno i radikalno teže *ad normam Regulae* i povratku izvornim idealima Reda iz Franjina vremena: naspram velikim crkvama daju prednost malim kapelama; eremitorijima (lat. *eremitarium*: pustinjačka nastamba, samotište) spram prostranim samostanima; prošnji naspram sigurnom životu; svjedočanstvu života naspram znanosti itd. U dnu te njihove težnje stajalo je franjevačko Pravilo (*Regula franciscana*), koje su oni jednostrano promišljali, a na poseban način „pitanje svih pitanja“ – *paupertas franciscana* (franjevačko siromaštvo), koje je predstavljalo gordijski čvor onodobnog franjevaštva. Ne uvažavajući prirodni razvoj Reda, kao ni posebna tumačenja Pravila što ih je Sveta stolica kao najviši crkveni autoritet s vremena na vrijeme iznosila na zahtjev Reda, spiritualci su ušli u otvoreni sukob ne samo s Redom, nego i sa Svetom stolicom, kojoj su negirali pravo tumačenja i, još manje, ublažavanja Pravila, poglavito zavjeta siromaštva.

Franjevački spiritualci ponajviše su koncentrirani u središnjoj Italiji, poglavito u trima pokrajinama (Umbriji, Markama i Toskani), te u južnoj Francuskoj (Provansi). Uglavnom su bili braća laici koje su predvodili vrlo gorljivi i učeni ideolozi. U južnoj Francuskoj začetnik im je bio Hugo iz Dignea (*Hugues de Digne*, † 1255.), provincijal u Provansi i istaknuti propovjednik, a potom je vodstvo preuzeo fra Petar Ivan Olivi († 1298.). Talijanske je pak spiritualce predvodilo nekoliko ideologa: toskanske je predvodio fra Hubertin iz Casalea († 1329.), a markijske fra Petar (Liberat) iz Macerate te, nakon njegove smrti (1307.), fra Petar iz Fossombronea, znatno poznatiji kao Anđeo Klarenski (*Angelo Clareno*, † 1337.), čovjek široke naobrazbe i utjecajnih prijateljstava, koji je svoje ideje izložio u opsežnom *Expositio regulae*, u *Historia septem tribulationum* i drugim polemičkim spisima.

Spiritualci su bili snažno prožeti i nadahnuti „joakimizmom“, naukom koji je proizišao iz filozofsko-teološkog promišljanja talijanskog mistika i cistercitskog opata Joakima iz Fiore (*Gioacchino da Fiore*), rođenog oko 1130. u Celico u Kalabriji i preminulog 1202. u San Giovanni in Fiore, koji je razvio teološko učenje o povijesti spasenja u tri razdoblja: a) razdoblje Oca, kojega predvodi *ordo coniugatorum* i koje se proteže od Adama do Krista; b) razdoblje Sina, kojega predvodi *ordo clericorum* i koje obuhvaća razdoblje od Krista do njegova vremena; c) razdoblje Duha Svetoga, koje treba predvoditi *ordo monachorum*. Ovo

[4] Budući da bi u idućem broju znanstvenog časopisa *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, pod naslovom: „Nastanak i razvoj opservancije u franjevačkom redu do ekumenskog sabora u Konstanzu“, trebao izići moj članak u kojem se opširno govori i o franjevačkim spiritualcima, iz tih razloga u ovom podnaslovu ne upotrebljavam nikakve bilješke.

potonje, koje je ujedno i doba kontemplacije, donijet će i revolucionarne promjene u kojima će hijerarhijska, sakramentalna i pravna Crkva biti nadiđena i zamijenjena uspostavom duhovne Crkve (*Ecclesia spiritualis*) u kojoj će jedan novi red, koji će sačinjavati *viri spirituales*, tj. siromašni i „maleni“, pod vodstvom jednog „anđeoskog pape“ (*pontifex angelicus*), predstavljati novi model kršćanskog života; to novo, treće, razdoblje, naučavao je cistercitski opat, bit će najavljeno pojavom tzv. *„anđela šestog pečata“*, koji će donijeti *vječno Evanđelje svim narodima* (Otk 14, 6). Te Joakimove ideje, obavijene u proročko ruho, snažno su rasplamsale maštu franjevačkih spiritualaca, koji su „anđeoskog papu“ prepoznali u Celestinu V., a „anđela šestog pečata“ u svome Utemeljitelju, svetom Franji Asiškom, koji je urešen „znakom Boga živoga“ (tj. stigmama) i nositelj „vječnog Evanđelja“ (tj. Pravila).

Premda se Bonifacije VIII. još kao kardinal zauzimao za prosjačke redove (*ordines mendicantium*: franjevci, dominikanci, karmelićani, augustinci i serviti) i pred profesorima Pariškog sveučilišta branio njihova prava, franjevački spiritualci ga nisu prihvatili već radikalno odbacili, jer su se teško mirili s odreknućem „anđeoskog pape“, koji je ujedno bio i njihov zaštitnik: rezignirano su i, dakako, neutemeljeno počeli tvrditi da je Celestinovo odreknuće bilo pravno neutemeljeno te da je Bonifacije VIII. uzurpator papinske tijare. Što više, u svojim su nastupima otišli i korak dalje te su i njegove prethodnike – Grgura IX. (1227. – 1241.) i Nikolu III. (1277. – 1280.), zbog dviju bula (*Quo elongati,* koju je objavio prvi, i *Exiit qui seminat*, koju je objavio drugi) – proglasili krivovjercima, jer su se usudili tumačiti franjevačko Pravilo koje je, tvrdili su, Franji objavio Krist. No, hladni pravnik ubrzo je uzvratio: svjestan da raspolaže s *plenitudo potestatis*, bespoštedno je ušao u sukob s tom „franjevačkom desnicom“ i njezinim vođama te bulom *Firma cautela* (1296.) ekspresno izopćio sve spiritualce, ne ustručavajući se pritom upotrijebiti i represivni aparat, Inkviziciju. Razbijeni spiritualci razbježali su se na sve strane, također i izvan talijanskih granica; Anđeo Klarenski je, primjerice, pobjegao u Grčku. Međutim, to nije riješilo problem: premda su tom Bonifacijevom bulom bili uzdrmani i obezglavljeni, spiritualaci ipak nisu nestali; njima će se još dugo i ozbiljno baviti Bonifacijevi nasljednici: Klement V. (1305. – 1314.), Ivan XXII. (1316. – 1334.), Martin V. (1417. – 1431.) i Eugen IV. (1431. – 1447.).

3. Sukob s obitelji Colonna

Osim sa franjevačkim spiritualcima, Bonifacije se zapleo u ozbiljan sukob i sa spomenutom obitelji Colonna koja je – za razliku od drugih velikaških obitelji, koje su sve više propadale i gubile svoje nekadašnje značenje – bila u usponu. U vrijeme Bonifacija VIII. ta je vrlo razgranata obiteljska zajednica bila vrlo bogata i moćna. Iz nje su potjecala i dvojica kardinala: Jakov i sinovac mu Petar. Isprva su Colonne bila na strani Bonifacija VIII., njegove pristaše, te su se nadali da će s njegovom pomoći još više uzdići svoj rod i proširiti svoju moć. Uostalom, dvojica kardinala Colonna dali su mu svoj glas prilikom izbora za papu. Međutim, kako je novi papa zauzeo drukčiji smjer te veću naklonost iskazivao njihovim suparnicima, obitelji Orsini, a nije zanemario ni vlastiti rod, to je Colonnama bio znak za uzbunu i promjenu stava: od početnih pristaša prometnuli su se u otvorene neprijatelje prema papi povezujući se s njegovim oponentima, već spomenutim franjevačkim spiritualcima i francuskim dvorom (tada već izrazitim papinim protivnikom). Smišljali su taktiku i čekali prikladan trenutak da se dignu protiv Bonifacija VIII.

I doista, nije prošlo mnogo vremena, Colonne i Bonifacije VIII. ušli su u otvoreni sukob, do istrebljenja, a povod mu je bio „gerilski prepad“ na Apijskoj cesti (*via Appia*) na povorku koja je na osamdeset mazgi prenosila veliku sumu novca iz Rima u Anagni; taj ogromni novac trebao je poslužiti za teritorijalnu ekspanziju Gaetanijeva roda, konkretno za kupnju posjeda Ninfa koji se nalazio u neposrednoj blizini posjeda koji je bio u rukama Colonna. Prepad na Apijskoj cesti izvršio je Stefano (Stjepan) Colonna, sinovac kardinala Jakova i brat kardinala Petra Colonne, koji je 3. svibnja 1297., s naoružanom četom, presreo povorku te zaplijenio i oteo sve blago. Dobivši obavijest o tom drumskom razbojstvu, papa je žurno sazvao konzistorij (kardinalsko vijeće) na kojemu je obitelji Colonna rezolutno postavio tri uvjeta: prvi, da Colonne vrate što su oteli; drugi, da se vođa napada Stjepan Colonna prijavi u zatvor; treći, da Colonne u vlasništvo Rimske crkve predaju glavne obiteljske posjede, tj. *castra* Zagarolo, Colonna i, njima najvažniju, Palestrinu. Od tih uvjeta Colonne su pristale samo na prvi, povrat blaga. K tome, tjedan dana nakon tog razbojstva, 10. svibnja, sastali su se u kući/utvrdi Petra Contia u Lunghezzi. S njima su ondje bile i njihove pristaše, među kojima i trojica franjevaca[5], te su izradili „instrumentum publicum“, poznat kao *Proglas iz Lunghezze* (*Manifesto*

[5] Jedan od njih bio je i pjesnik „frater Iacobus Benedicti de Tuderto“, poznatiji kao fra Jakopone de Todi. Usp. Costa 1997: 39.

di Lunghezza), koji su zatim odaslali u svijet: u njemu su tvrdili da je Celestinovo odreknuće od papinstva nevaljano i protupravno te da Bonifacije VIII. nije zakoniti papa, što će oni i dokazati na koncilu koji se radi toga treba čim prije sazvati[6]. Preko svojih tekliča Colonne su taj proglas položili na glavni oltar u bazilici Sv. Petra u Rimu, ali i na vrata ostalih rimskih bazilika.

Kako je bilo i za očekivati, Bonifacije je odlučno reagirao: istoga je dana sazvao konzistorij te ekspresno izopćio kardinale Jakova i Petra lišivši ih kardinalske časti. Uz dvojicu kardinala, osuda, kojom su lišeni posjeda te svakog drugog crkvenog i svjetovnog dostojanstva, je pala i na druge članove obitelji Colonna: Agapita, Stjepana, Jakova zvanog „Sciarra" (Šara), Ivana i Odona, sve odreda braću kardinala Petra Colonne. No, kao da im to nije bilo dovoljno, Colonne su iz Palestrine, 16. svibnja, poslale u svijet novi proglas u kojem su potvrdili ranije optužbe protiv Bonifacija VIII. Papin je odgovor i ovaj put bio brz i odlučan: bulom *Lapis abscisus*, od 23. svibnja 1297., proglasio ih je raskolnicima i svetogrdnicima te ih ponovno udario kaznom izopćenja i zapljenom njihovih dobara[7]. Međutim, ni to Colonne nije urazumilo pa su iz Palestrine, 15. lipnja iste godine, poslali svijetu novi, treći po redu, proglas protiv pape Bonifacija, koncipiran i stiliziran na način da bude poziv cijelom kršćanstvu, u kojem su starim optužbama pridodali nove: optužili su ga za tiranski apsolutizam prema kardinalskom kolegiju i gramzive namete na štetu kršćanstva. Budući da je sve slutilo na raskol – jer su se dvojica kardinala iz roda Colonna već odmetnula od pape, a protiv njega su već otvoreno nastupali francuski i napuljski dvor, kao i glavni kandidat za carsko prijestolje Albert Austrijski[8] – ostali su kardinali smatrali svojom dužnošću dati svečanu izjavu u kojoj su, suprotno izjavama što su ih odašiljale Colonne, naveli da je Celestinovo odreknuće od papinstva bilo posve zakonito, kao što je bio zakonit i Bonifacijev izbor za papu. K tome, smatrali su potrebnim navesti i činjenicu da je Bonifacije prilikom izbora dobio glasove i dvojice kardinala Colonna koji su ga poslije izbora u više navrata priznali zakonitim papom, a zatim su se odmetnuli od njega te se dali u narušavanje crkvenog jedinstva.

Iako mu je ta izjava kardinalskog kolegija, u smislu podrške i lojalnosti, bila vrlo značajna, Bonifacije VIII. je pošao i korak dalje te je uslijedila i njegova osobna reakcija: 14. prosinca 1297. proglasio je protiv pobunjenih Colonna križarski rat. Ta križarska vojna, kojoj su se odazvali mnogi Talijani, nije bila usmjerena samo protiv dvojice raskolničkih (i posljedično tome heretičkih) kardinala iz obitelji Colonna, nego i protiv cijele njihove rodbine, pristaša i vazala[9]. Ne mogavši se oduprijeti, Colonne su bili prisiljeni predavati svoje gradove, a naposljetku i dragocjenu Palestrinu. Zatim su se u pokorničkoj odjeći, uključujući i dvojicu svojih kardinala, uputili u Rieti na poklon papi, gdje su se bacili na koljena i molili Bonifacija za oprost. Svjestan da je prvi pozvan oprostiti, papa je tako i postupio. No, budući da je pri tome bila nužna i određena zadovoljština za njihova razna nedjela i neutemeljene izjave, Bonifacije ih je smjestio u Tivoli, nedaleko od Rima, gdje su bili pod stražarskom prismotrom. No kako straža nije bila na visini zadatka, svi su oni uspjeli pobjeći iz Tivolija i pronaći utočište na dvoru francuskog kralja, glavnog i najmoćnijeg papina protivnika, gdje su, zajedno sa franjevačkim spiritualcima i najbližim kraljevim suradnicima, smišljali jednu od najgnusnijih osveta (Kelly 1995: 356.; Rendina 2005: 510; Cardini & Montesano 2006: 344). Nakon što su Colonne umakle iz Tivolija, papa više nije oklijevao: zapovjedio je da se Palestrina, kao središte njihove moći, do temelja razori te da se preko njezinih ruševina prijeđe plugom i prospe sol, što je bila jasna reminiscencija na razaranje antičke Kartage, s jedne, i razvidna potvrda njegova despotizma, s druge strane[10].

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[6] O tom proglasu: Denifle 1889; Scholz 1903.

[7] Thomas *et al.* 1884 – 1907: vol. I, poglavlja 967–972, br. 2389.

[8] O njemačkom građanskom ratu i borbi za carsko prijestolje između Adolfa I. Nassauskog (1292. – 1298.) i Alberta I. Austrijskog (1298. – 1306.), kao i o nastojanjima potonjega da ga papa prizna za cara usp. Bihlmeyer & Tuechle 1990: 28; Torressani 2000: 339.

[9] Papa je već 14. rujna 1297. udijelio oprost „ab omni pena et banno seu pena spirituali et temporali" svima koji se pridruže križarskim četama „ad impugnationem et expugnationem depopulationem et destructionem seu dampnatificationem et offensionem" posjeda obitelji Colonna. Usp. Thomas *et al.* 1884 – 1907: vol. I, poglavlje 940, br. 2352.

[10] Detaljan pregled događaja od otimanja blaga na Apijskoj cesti pa do razaranja Palestrine: Fumi & Cerlini 1914: 121–122.

4. Sukob s francuskim kraljem i bula *Clericis laicos*

Čitavi Bonifacijev devetogodišnji pontifikat podudarao se s vladavinom francuskog vladara, kralja Filipa IV. „Lijepoga" (1285. – 1314.) iz dinastije Capet, o kojemu među povjesničarima postoje oprečna mišljenja: dok ga neki prikazuju kao sposobna, drugi mu tu sposobnost poriču i opisuju kao vrlo gramzljiva i pohlepna vladara (Kovačić 2004: 229), koji je zbog svoje ambicioznosti, teritorijalnih pretenzija i ratova – a posljedično tome i potrebe za novcem – ušao u otvoreni sukob s Bonifacijem VIII.

Povod tom sukobu bio je rat između Francuske i Engleske, zbog bogate pokrajine Flandrije, koja je po nasljednom pravu pripadala engleskoj kruni; na engleskom se prijestolju u to vrijeme nalazio kralj Edvard I. (1272. – 1307.). U tom ratu obojici su vladara bila potrebna velika novčana sredstva. Da ih namaknu, obojica su se odvažili ući u „zabranjenu zonu" i „ubirati sa stabla s kojega im je bilo zabranjeno jesti" (usp. Post 2, 16–17). Počeli su, naime, uvoditi namete i na crkvene prihode, ne obazirući se pritom na propise kanonskog zakona, kao ni na odredbe Trećeg lateranskog koncila (1179.) koji je, među ostalim, donio odluke i na tu temu. Edvard I. si je, primjerice, 1294. godine prisvojio samostanska i kaptolska dobra, kao i dobra viteških redova te konfiscirao dobra svih priorata kojima se matična kuća nalazila izvan njegova kraljevstva; k tome je, na jednom područnom koncilu, milom ili silom, ishodio polovicu prihoda engleske Crkve, a u studenom iste godine zatražio je da engleski parlament donese zakon po kojem će kralj dvije godine nesmetano uzimati desetinu od svih crkvenih dobara (Mezzadri 2001: 48–49).

Sličnu stvar je iste godine poduzeo i Filip Lijepi, koji je također na područnim koncilima francuskog klera zahtijevao dvogodišnju desetinu. Slijedeće, 1295. godine, nametnuo je da klerici od svojih osobnih prihoda daju stoti dio, a slijedeće je zaveo pedesetinu na sve prihode crkvenih i svjetovnih osoba (Mezzadri 2001: 49).

Ta samovolja i gramzivost dvojice vladara bila je povod za papinu intervenciju u zaštitu crkvenih prava. Energičan i temperamentan, kakav je već bio, objavio je bulu *Clericis laicos* (1296.), kojom je pod prijetnjom izopćenja zabranio da klerici, bez znanja Svete Stolice, daju bilo kakve prinose laicima, s jedne, te da vladari i njihovi službenici utjeruju poreze na crkvena dobra, s druge strane (Jedin 1993: 321). U tom smislu, Bonifacije u spomenutoj buli piše: *„Prošlost uči da su laici bili neprijateljski prema crkvenim osobama* (tj. klericima)*, a to potvrđuju i iskustva današnjeg vremena. Vidimo kako se laici, nezadovoljni područjem vlastite uprave, nastoje uvući ondje gdje im nije dopušteno, ne vodeći računa da im je zabranjena bilo kakva vlast nad klericima i crkvenim dobrima. Prelatima te regularnim i svjetovnim klericima nameću teške namete [...] na različite načine upinju se crkvene osobe svesti u ropsko stanje i podložiti ih svojoj vlasti"* (Mezzadri 2001: 49).

Međutim, te su papine riječi „otišle u vjetar", jer se nijedna od zaraćenih strana nije osvrtala na njegovu bulu. Što više, francuski je kralj odgovorio oštrim protumjerama te zabranio izvoz srebra i drugih dragocjenosti s francuskog područja, a iz Francuske izagnao papinske sakupljače blaga i talijanske bankare, koji su to blago iz Francuske transferirali Svetoj Stolici (Bihlmeyer & Tuechle 1990: 27). No kako ti prihodi iz Francuske nisu bili zanemarivi, papi Bonifaciju nije preostalo ništa drugo doli ublažiti odluke i djelomično ustuknuti. Izjavio je da se spomenuta bula ne odnosi na feudalne obveze klera te je dopustio da klerici mogu kralju davati „spontane" priloge; u žurnim pak slučajevima, o kojima će prosudbu donijeti sam vladar, autorizacija Svete Stolice nije nužna. K tome je, u znak dobrohotnosti i miroljubivosti prema francuskom vladaru, kanonizirao kraljeva djeda, kralja Luja IX. (1297.), nazvavši ga „Super homo" (Mezzadri 2001: 49).

5. Osnutak Šibenske biskupije

Pontifikat Bonifacija VIII., na različite načine povezan i s našim krajevima, poglavito je povezan sa Šibenskom biskupijom i njezinim osnutkom 1298. godine (Tolić 1999: 240–245). Do te godine šibenska se Crkva, njezin kler i vjernici, nalazila u sastavu Trogirske biskupije od koje se željela odvojiti i imati vlastitu biskupiju, što nije prolazilo bez trzavica i napetosti koje su, započete 1197. godine, trajale cijelo stoljeće, točnije do pontifikata Bonifacija VIII. Naime, godine 1297. u Rim se uputio knez Juraj Šubić Bribirski – brat bana Pavla Šubića, knez Omiša i primorskih gradova (*civitatum maritimarum illustris comes*), a od 1274. do 1290. i knez Šibenika – koji se u Vječnom gradu osobno susreo s papom Bonifacijem i izložio mu želju Šibenčana. Iz Rima je zatim pošao u Napulj, gdje je o istoj stvari razgovarao s kraljicom Marijom, sestrom ugarsko-hrvatskog kralja Ladislava IV. „Kumanca“ i suprugom Karla II., kralja Sicilije, te je zamolio da se i ona također zauzme kod pape za „šibensku stvar“. Bribirski knezovi su u to doba bili na vrhuncu moći te su se u borbi za hrvatsko-ugarsku krunu, nakon gašenja dinastije Arpadovća, zauzimali za napuljske Anžuvince, tj. za Karla Roberta, unuka kraljice Marije. Kako je Bonifacije VIII. vrlo uvažavao kraljicu, a ona, s druge strane, s cijelom svojom obitelji uvažavala bribirske knezove, toplo je papi preporučila šibensku stvar. Da udovolji kraljici, a imajući u vidu stoljetnu napetost između Šibenčana i Trogirana, papa se složio te su Šibenčani 1298. godine – zaslugom kneza Jurja, kraljice Marije i milošću Bonifacija VIII. – konačno dobili svoju biskupiju i biskupa.

Bulu o osnutku Šibenske biskupije – *Sacrosancta Romana ecclesia*, od 1. svibnja 1289. – Bonifacije je poslao dvojici nadbiskupa, zadarskom Henriku i splitskom Petru (obojica franjevci)[11], koji su kao papini delegati imali zadaću primijeniti njezine odredbe, tj. izdvojiti „villam Sibenicensem“ iz trogirske jurisdikcije i Šibenik proglasiti gradom (*civitas*). K tome, trebali su odrediti granice nove biskupije, koja je bila podređena Splitskoj nadbiskupiji, izabrati najpogodniju crkvu za katedralu, odrediti zgradu za biskupsku kuriju i, naposljetku, izabrati dostojnu osobu za šibenskog biskupa i posvetiti ga.

Nakon što su odredili crkvu sv. Jakova za katedralu (*ecclesiam sancti Jacobi [...] pro cathedrali Sibenicensi ecclesia erexerunt*) i izvršili druge pojedinosti koje su se u buli zahtijevale, dvojica su nadbiskupa naposljetku, 28. lipnja 1298., izabrali i prvoga šibenskog biskupa: fra Martina iz Raba, člana samostana sv. Franje u Šibeniku, kojega su sutradan i posvetili, uz asistenciju još nekoliko biskupa (ninskoga, hvarskoga, skradinskoga i korčulanskog). Kako je crkva sv. Jakova bila premalena da primi veliko mnoštvo vjernika, obred posvete odvijao se na Šibenskom trgu (*in plathea Sibenici*).

6. Jubilarna godina

Pontifikat Bonifacija VIII. odvijao se na prijelazu iz 13. u 14. stoljeće. Završetak 13. stoljeća i okrugla 1300. godina pružili su mu izvanrednu priliku da na konkretan način podsjeti na božansku povlasticu na osnovu koje on, kao Kristov namjesnik na zemlji i Petrov nasljednik, raspolaže ključevima kraljevstva nebeskoga (*„Što god svežeš na zemlji, bit će svezano na nebesima; a što god odriješiš na zemlji, bit će odriješeno na nebesima“*, Mt 16, 19). Završetak stoljeća i s time povezana eshatološka očekivanja koja su, ne po prvi put, spontano nastala među vjernicima znatno su nadilazili židovske jubileje[12], što je dodatno učvrstilo papinu samosvijest kao „ključara“ i potaknuli ga na proglas jubilarne godine.

Da bi se nastanak i proslava jubilarne godine, prve u crkvenoj povijesti, bolje razumjeli, potrebno je imati u vidu i tadašnje povijesne okolnosti. Naime, gore spomenuto tumačenje povijesti spasenje u tri razdoblja, proizišlo iz promišljanja i pera Joakima iz Fiorea, sve je više, počevši od 1260. godine, zaokupljalo ljude i stvaralo uvjerenje o ulasku Crkve u „treće razdoblje“, tj. razdoblje Duha Svetoga. Franjevački spiritualci, Dante Alighieri, Arnaldo od Villanove samo su neki od onih koji su takvo uvjerenje pojačavali i učinili ga vrlo raširenim, poglavito u mediteranskom prostoru. U takvom duhovnom ozračju, s mislima na spasenje, u Rim su sa svih strana pristizali hodočasnici koji su se okupljali u bazilici Sv. Petra: bili su uvjereni da će u bazilici apostolskog prvaka zadobiti oprost grijeha i time postići vječno spasenje. Jacopo Gaetani Stefaneschi (1261. – 1341.), kardinal i nećak Bonifacija VIII., u svoju je kroniku zapisao kako se *„najednom pronio glas da onaj tko bi taj dan pošao moliti na grob sv. Petra dobio potpuni oprost i, u narednim danima, oprost od sto godina“* (Mezzadri & Lovison 2002: 93). To vjerničko mnoštvo koje je spontano nahrupilo u Petrovu baziliku u Rimu potaknulo je Bonifacija VIII. da *auctoritate Apostolica* udjeli oprosta i proglasi Jubilej. Inicijativa za prvu jubilarnu godinu u crkvenoj povijesti, dakle, nije pošla od pape ili Rimske kurije, nego od vjernika i njihovih eshatoloških očekivanja.

[11] Nakon što se ugasila dinastija Arpadovića, Bonifacije VIII. je želio da na hrvatsko-ugarsko prijestolje dođu napuljski Anžuvinci. Da im osigura podršku u Dalmaciji, za splitskog je nadbiskupa 1297. imenovao franjevca Petra (1297. – 1324.), dotadašnjeg kapelana kraljice Marije, dok je zadarskog nadbiskupa Ivana (1291. – 1297.), koji je naginjao na stranu Andrije II. „Mlečanina“, premjestio u talijanski Trani i na njegovo mjesto imenovao franjevca Henrika iz Todija (1297. – 1299.). Usp. Thainer 1863: 113–114; Gams 1873: 420, 426; Eubel 1898: 484, 292.

[12] Kako je poznato, jubilarna godina (hebr. *jôbēl*: rog za sazivanje naroda) se u Starom zavjetu svečano slavila svake sedme i svake 49. godine, a nazivala se još oprosnom ili milosnom godinom. U toj su se godini oslobađali robovi i opraštali dugovi; zemlja je morala mirovati, a skupljati se moglo samo ono što je izraslo samo od sebe. Usp. Rebić 2002: 406.

Kako je poznato, oprost, koji je oslobađao od grijeha, u crkvi nije bio novost, jer je i prije bio udjeljivan, poglavito križarima i hodočasnicima u Svetu zemlju. Međutim, novost je bila u činjenici da se sada Rim, odnosno bazilika Sv. Petra, pojavio kao jedini izvor milosti te se, navodno na temelju stare predaje, počelo tvrditi da ta stoljetna godina treba ujedno biti i godina općeg oprosta. Premda Rimska kurija za takve tvrdnje nije imala povijesnih dokaza, jer se takvo što u Rimu nikada nije dogodilo, Bonifacije VIII. je ipak procijenio da vjernička očekivanja ne bi smjela ostati uzaludna, a pogotovo razočaravajuća; smatrao je da na njih treba odgovoriti. I doista, bulom *Antiquiorum habet digna fide relatio*, od 22. veljače 1300., papa je odgovorio na ta vjernička očekivanja te udijelio opći oprost „pro poenitentibus et confessis“ koji bi tijekom te godine obavili posjete apostolskim bazilikama Sv. Petra i Sv. Pavla: za Rimljane je bio propis trideset, a za strance petnaest posjeta. Takva duhovna povlastica dobivanja oprosta, prema odredbi Bonifacija VIII., vrijedila je svakih sto godina[13]. Da bi se ovjekovječila uspomena na taj značajni rimski događaj, znameniti je slikar Giotto (†1337.) prikazao Bonifacija VIII. kako iz lože Lateranske bazilike udjeljuje oprost, koji će nedugo zatim ući u memoriju pod nazivom „Jubilej“.

Ta prva jubilarna godina i s njom povezani potpuni oprost imali su snažan odjek u kršćanskom svijetu. U Rim je sa svih strana pristizalo mnoštvo vjernika i znatno nadvisilo tadašnji mali broj rimskoga pučanstva (kroničar Ivan Villani donosi brojku od 200.000 nerimskih hodočasnika). Međutim, sve to hodočasničko mnoštvo, kao i brojke koje se oko toga navode, manje su značajni u odnosu na jednu drugu, bitniju stvar: da je papa mogao zagrabiti u „riznicu milosti“ (*thesaurus Ecclesiae*) i udijeliti potpuni oprost grijeha, s jedne, i da se to udjeljivanje po prvi put dogodilo u Rimu, s druge strane. No unatoč toj povlastici, nijedan europski (i kršćanski!) vladar te jubilarne godine nije došao u Rim.

II. Od 1301. do 1303. godine

1. Nastavak sukoba s francuskim kraljem

Činilo se da su odnosi Bonifacija VIII. s Filipom Lijepim bili posve izglađeni. Osim kanonizacije Luja IX., to je sugerirao i događaj od 27. lipnja 1298., kada su dvojica zaraćenih vladara, francuski i engleski, odložili oružje i, na temelju papine arbitražne odluke, potpisali primirje; taj diplomatski uspjeh ne umanjuje ni kasnija izjava francuskog dvora prema kojoj zasluga za tu arbitražnu odluku pripada „Benediktu Gaetaniju“ kao osobi, a ne kao papi Bonifaciju VIII.

Međutim, tri godine kasnije odnosi između pape i francuskog vladara ponovno su postali napeti, zapravo neizlječivo zatrovani; bule, koje je Bonifacije VIII. uslijed tih događaja objavio, nisu za francuskog vladara i njegove najbliže suradnike, ministre i savjetnike, značile ništa: u Francuskoj Filipa IV. one su bile poništene, obezvrijeđene, što više, krivotvorene.

2. Bule *Salvator mundi* i *Ausculta fili carissime*

Povod tim mučnim događajima bilo je imenovanje Bernarda Saisseta za biskupa u novoosnovanoj biskupiji Pamiers, koju je Bonifacije VIII. osnovao 1295., ne pitajući za to ni kralja ni biskupa Toulousa, od čije je biskupije dijelom odcijepljen Pamiers. Saisset, koji je prethodno bio opat u Saint-Antonin u Pamiersu, je 24. listopada 1301., zbog neopreznih i kritičkih izjava protiv kralja[14] pozvan da odgovara pred Državnim vijećem. Protiv njega je zbog vrijeđanja kralja, pobune, veleizdaje, simonije i krivovjerja otvoren

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13 Denzinger & Schönmetzer 1976: 278–279; Gligora & Catanzaro 1996: 40–53. Klement VI. (1342. – 1352.) je bulom *Unigenitus Dei Filius* (27. siječnja 1342.) – pozivajući se na *Levitski zakonik* (25, 10): *„Tu pedesetu godinu proglasite svetom. Zemljom proglasite oslobođenje svim njezinim stanovnicima. To neka vam bude jubilej, oprosna godina“* – skratio stogodišnje razdoblje te odlučio da se jubilarna godina slavi svakih pedeset godina i, uz to, dvjema apostolskim bazilikama pridodao i treću, Sv. Ivana Lateranskoga, kao „caput et mater omnium ecclesiarum mudi“ (majku i glavu svih crkva na svijetu). Usp. Denzinger & Schönmetzer 1976: 301; Gligora & Catanzaro 1996: 54–61; Rendina 2005: 533–534.

14 Saisset je pred svojim gostima navodno izjavljivao da je kraljeva majka izvanbračna kći, da kraljevi predci nemaju nikakve veze s Karlom Velikim, da njime upravljaju njegovi dvorjani, da će se njegova dinastija s njime ugasiti itd.

sudski proces, a zatim je predan nadbiskupu Narbonnea koji ga je trebao staviti u zatvor (Guillemain 1994: 152–153; Torressani 2000: 339). Papa o tome nije ništa znao, nego mu je samo poslan izvještaj o procesu, sa zamolbom da svrgne i kazni biskupa Saisseta. Međutim, Bonifacije VIII. je reagirao sasvim suprotno te objavio bulu *Salvator mundi* (4. prosinca 1301.). Njome je, osim što je rezolutno zahtijevao Saissetovo oslobođenje te da mu se vrate oduzeta dobra, poništio sve povlastice koje je prethodno (tj. 1297.) udijelio Filipu IV. (među ostalim i onu da se kleru u slučajevima potrebe može nametnuti porez), jer su povrijeđeni sloboda i nepovredivost Crkve. Praktički, to je značilo reaktivizaciju bule *Clericis laicos*, koja je na francuskom području opet zadobila početnu snagu. Zajedno sa spomenutom bulom, Bonifacije je zakazao i sinodu francuskog klera, koja se treba održati za svetkovinu Svih svetih 1302. u Rimu: na sinodu su pozvani francuski biskupi, opati, kaptoli, teolozi i pravnici te opati Clunyja, Citeauxa i Premontrea; na njoj će se, prema papinoj zamisli, promotriti, izložiti, urediti i odrediti ono što bude korisno za slavu Božju i čast Svete stolice, za katoličku vjeru, za očuvanje crkvenih sloboština, za ispravljanje zloporaba i, naposljetku, za dobro upravljanje u francuskom kraljevstvu.

Samo dan kasnije, 5. prosinca, Bonifacije VIII. je objavio novu bulu, *Ausculta fili*, koja je ionako već vrlo zategnute odnose između francuskog vladara i pape još više zaoštrila. U toj buli, nakon kurtoaznog uvoda, papa odmah prelazi na bitno i francuskom kralju piše: *Poslušaj, sine, kao nauk, odredbe oca i učitelja koji na zemlji zauzima mjesto Onoga koji je jedini Učitelj i Gospodin.* A zatim slijedi njegova odlučna tvrdnja: *Nitko te, predragi sine, ne može uvjeriti da nemaš viših od sebe i da nisi podložan vrhovnoj glavi Crkve. Bog nas je, premda nedostojne, postavio iznad kraljeva i kraljevstava*. Nakon toga slijede druge pritužbe na račun francuskog vladara i njegovih zloporaba na crkvenom području, kao i podsjećanje na sinodu francuskog klera koja je zakazana za Svi svete u Rimu iduće godine (Guillemain 1994: 154–155).

2. 1. Manipulacije francuskog dvora

S ovom bulom, a poglavito navedenim riječima, sukob između kralja i pape, vještim se manevrom francuskog dvora s crkveno-pravnog premjestio na politički kolosijek, na kojem se Francuska Filipa IV. izuzetno dobro snalazila. Naime, potpomognut svojim ministrima i pravnim savjetnicima – kao što su Pierre Flote, Guillaume Nogaret i Pierre Dubois, koji su bili vrsni poznavatelji Rimskog prava – francuski je kralj taj sukob s papom posve izokrenuo u svoju korist: oslanjajući se na maksimu *rex in suo regno est imperator*, zaodjenuo je taj sukob u političko ruho u kojem su politička neovisnost i autonomija države odjednom izbili u prvi plan. Tako su se, gotovo preko noći, sudarile posve oprečne koncepcije: Filipova o politički neovisnoj i autonomnoj državi i Bonifacijeva o univerzalnoj državi (*Christianitas*) pod papinim vodstvom. Drugim riječima, sukobile su se dvije oprečne koncepcije: francuska o apsolutističkoj državi u nastajanju i papinska o teokratskoj državi, koju je Bonifacije, ugledajući se na Grgura VII. i osobito na Inocenta III., ponovo htio ostvariti.

Budući da je Bonifacije VIII. zastupao *teokratsku koncepciju* da ga je „Bog postavio iznad kraljeva i kraljevstava“, *Ausculta* se u Francuskoj nije smjela objaviti u njezinu izvornom obliku: izvorna je bula spaljena, a Pierre Flotte je umjesto nje razglasio jednu krivotvorinu (Martina 2004: 62), tj. *„Deum time“*, u kojoj se pod papinim imenom iznosi iskrivljen i pooštren sadržaj „navodne“ papine bule, među ostalim, i slijedeća rečenica: *„Želimo da znaš da si nam podložan u duhovnim i vremenitim stvarima“*. Da bi cijela stvar izgledala što uvjerljivije, s krivotvorinom *Deum time* je istovremeno razaslan i navodni kraljev pismeni odgovor papi u kojem se ističe misao kako kralj u svjetovnim/materijalnim stvarima nije nikome podložan: *„Sciat maxima tua fatuitas, in temporalibus nos alicui non subesse“*. Tako se – grubim krivotvorinama i smišljenim odgovorima, ukratko: manipulacijom – obrađivalo francusko javno mnijenje, kako svjetovno tako i crkveno.

Bonifacije VIII. je tom grubom manipulacijom i političkim „igrokazom“ francuskog dvora bio zbunjen. I s pravom, jer su sukobi na relaciji pape-vladari u prošlosti nerijetko ostajali unutar dotičnih kancelarija i nisu izlazili u javu. Međutim, sada je taj sukob, i to u krivotvorenom obliku, izišao u javnost te je – po trgovima i crkvama, javnim i privatnim mjestima, ukratko: posvuda – postao predmet javnih rasprava, u kojima se istodobno klicalo (kralju) i optuživalo (papu). Uviđajući da se radi o grubom izigravanju, papa je nastojao raščistiti i pojasniti svoju izjavu, kojom je želio kazati da je njegova nakana bila potvrditi neizravnu vlast Crkve oko vremenitih stvari „ratione peccati“ (iz razloga grijeha).

2. 2. Konzistorij u Anagniju

S nakanom da raščisti i pojasni stvar, papa je 25. lipnja 1302. sazvao konzistorij u Anagniju, na koji su došli i poslanici francuskoga kralja. Prvi je na tom sastanku govorio kardinal-biskup Porta, Matej iz Acqasparte, bivši general franjevačkog reda. On se ponajprije osvrnuo na papine riječi iz *Ausculta fili* dajući time do znanja da dokument koji je predstavljen francuskoj javnosti nije autentičan, nego krivotvorina. Zatim je istaknuo da *„u Crkvi, Kristovoj i Petrovoj lađi, postoji samo jedan upravitelj, samo jedna glava čije su zapovijedi svi dužni slušati i koji je gospodar svih stvari, vremenitih i duhovnih, onaj koji ima puninu vlasti“*. Na kraju je još kazao: papa ima vlast također i u vremenitim stvarima *ratione peccati.*

Nakon njega riječ je uzeo Bonifacije VIII. Najprije je naveo riječi Svetoga pisma: „Ono što je Bog sastavio, čovjek neka ne rastavlja“ i odmah zatim nastavio govoriti o „jednom čovjeku“ koji je grubo narušio odnose između kralja i Crkve, aludirajući na Pierre Flotea. Kako je Flote bio slijep na jedno oko, papa je kazao kako ga je „Bog djelomično kaznio, osljepljujući njegovo tijelo kao što je slijep njegov duh“; zatim je dodao da je taj čovjek heretik jer je napravio jednu krivotvorinu optužujući papu da pretendira na izravnu vremenitu vlast. Potom je kazao i ovo: *„Već je četrdeset godina kako proučavamo pravo i dobro znademo da postoje dvije vlasti koje je Bog odredio [...] Ne želimo uzurpirati kraljevu vlast, ali kralj ne može nijekati da nam nije podložan, kao svaki drugi vjernik, kada je u pitanju grijeh“* .

Prisjećajući se svojih diplomatskih misija, koje je još kao kardinal i papin poslanik obavljao u Francuskoj, Bonifacije nije propustio u svom govoru istaknuti svoju osobnu naklonosti prema „predileta filia Ecclesiae“, ali i podsjetiti slušateljstvo da su njegovi prethodnici svrgnuli trojicu francuskih kraljeva. I budući da se (sadašnji) kralj okaljao još težim prijestupima nego oni, onda bi trebao znati da ga papa može svrgnuti kao slugu („sicut unum garcionem“).

U tom ozračju napetosti s jedne i druge strane, u Rimu se 1. studenoga 1302. sastala zakazana sinoda francuskog klera na koju je pristiglo 40 biskupa i 6 opata. Većinski dio sinodalaca potjecao je s područja koja nisu bila pod vlašću francuskog kralja; među sudionicima je bio i nadbiskup Bordeauxa, Bertrand de Got (budući Klement V.). Na kraju sinode, 18. studenoga, na blagdan Posvete bazilike sv. Petra i Pavla, Bonifacije VIII. je objavio *Unam Sanctam*.

3. Bula *Unam Sanctam*

Riječ je o dogmatskom dokumentu, napisanom uzvišenim tonom i svečanim stilom, u kojem se isprepleću navodi iz Evanđelja, odredbe Grgura VII., sv. Bernarda, Inocenta III. i IV. Njegov se sadržaj može sažeti u četiri bitne točke:

– postoji samo jedna, sveta, katolička i apostolska Crkva, izvan koje nema spasenja: glava te Crkve je Krist, a njegov namjesnik na zemlji je papa;

– Crkvi su povjerena dva mača: duhovni i vremeniti (*gladius spiritualis et materialis*); prvim raspolaže duhovna vlast, a drugim se služe vladari, ali na način da to bude na dobro Crkve i u skladu s uputama koje im daje duhovna vlast;

– Stvoritelj je sve tako uredio da se niže podlaže višemu; sukladno tome, vremenita ili svjetovna vlast mora biti podređena duhovnoj koja je izvrsnija: duhovna postavlja svjetovnu i sudi joj, ako skrene s puta pravednosti, a duhovnoj sudi samo Bog; tko se protivi duhovnoj vlasti, protivi se Bogu;

– i kao zaključak: „Izjavljujemo, tvrdimo i određujemo da je svako ljudsko stvorenje, u pogledu spasenja, u svemu podložno rimskom biskupu“ (*Porro subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanae creaturae declaramus, dicimus, difinimus omnino esse de necessitate salutis*)[15].

Premda *Unam Sanctam* ne donosi ništa novo i posebno, jer je Bonifacije VIII. u njoj samo sažeto i na svečan način iznio shvaćanje koje je i prije postojalo, francuski je dvor i to protumačio kao prijetnju kojom se ugrožava sloboda i neovisnost francuske države. Kao i u slučaju *Ausculta fili*, tako su kraljevi suradnici i

[15] Denzinger & Schönmetzer 1976: 279–281; Guillemain 1994: 158–160; Torressani 2000: 340; Mezzadri 2001: 51–52; Martina 2004: 62–63; Saraco 2018: 131.

s ovom bulom nastojali deformirati i iskriviti papinu misao na način da su njegove riječi, koje su imale posve teološki smisao i značenje, počeli tumačiti isključivo u „feudalnom ključu" tvrdeći da papa sebi prisvaja izravnu vlast i u vremenitim/svjetovnim pitanjima.

Bonifacije VIII. je, međutim, odlučno reagirao: ustao je protiv iskrivljivanja njegovih misli, s jedne, te izjavio da ne pretendira uzimati išta što spada u svjetovnu vlast, s druge strane. U svjetovna i politička pitanja papa se upliće jedino onda kad mora ustati u obranu vjere i morala, što se podrazumijevalo pod ondašnjim izrazom „zbog grijeha" (*ratione peccati*).

No jedna rečenica u buli, o kojoj se najviše raspravljalo, zaslužuje posebnu pažnju: *„Duhovna vlast postavlja vremenitu"* (*Spiritualis potestas terrenam potestas instituere habet*). No, osim pažnje, potrebno je i pojašnjenje: izraz „postavlja" (*instituere habet*) za Bonifacija VIII. nije značilo podijeliti vladarima naravnu zakonitost, nego zakonitost višega, nadnaravnoga, reda povezanu s obredom pomazanja. Zastupnici tzv. „političkog augustinizma", a Bonifacije VIII. je njegov izraziti sljedbenik, smatrali su i poganske vladare zakonitima, ali ipak u nekom nižem (nesavršenom) smislu, iz razloga što su svi ljudi, kako su smatrali zastupnici spomenutog smjera, pozvani u viši (nadnaravni) red.

4. Atentat na Bonifacija VIII. i njegova smrt

Dok su se Francuskom širile najogavnije optužbe i klevete protiv Bonifacija VIII., on se nalazio u rodnom Anagniju, gdje se povukao zbog velikih vrućina koje su vladale u Rimu. No i tu su ga dostigle vijesti o klevetničkoj i raskolničkoj djelatnosti u Francuskoj. Osjetio se ponukanim i napisao pismo francuskom kralju u kojem je izrazio zaprepaštenje i bol zbog kleveta koje o njemu kruže u njegovu kraljevstvu. Međutim, nije ni slutio da je jedna skupina po kraljevu nalogu i pod vodstvom papinih starih neprijatelja Vilima Nogareta i Šare Colonne, već došla u Italiju i krenula u Anagni, s namjerom da izvede „atentat"[16] na Bonifacija VIII.: namjera im je bila uhititi papu i dovesti ga u Francusku, gdje bi mu se sudilo na koncilu koji će kralj sazvati.

Ta je skupina, predvođena Nogaretom, u zoru 7. rujna 1303., ušla u grad te po gradskim ulicama stala izvikivati: „Živio francuski kralj! Živjeli Colonne!". Nakon što su ušli u papinu palaču, papina se pratnja razbježala, a uz njega su ostala samo dvojica kardinala. Prije nego su razbojnici upali u njegove odaje, papa se obukao u svečano papinsko ruho te u ruke uzeo križ i ključeve, insignije Petrove vlasti: smatrao je, ako ga ubiju, time će razvidno pokazati da su svetogrdnici. Nakon što su upali u papine odaje, razbojnici su Bonifacija VIII. obasipali pogrdnim izrazima i prijetnjama, ali se ipak nisu usudili staviti ruke na njega[17]. Među tim uvredama i prijetnjama bili su zahtijevali da se odreče službe, ali papa je samo šutio.

Papu su držali zarobljenog tri dana i vijećali što s njime učiniti: pogubiti ga ili odvesti u Francusku na suđenje. U međuvremenu, u zoru trećega dana, konačno su se pokrenuli i građani Anagnija te oslobodili Bonifacija VIII. Razbojnici su se razbježali, a papa se nakon nekoliko dana vratio u Rim.

No nije dugo poživio. Već je bio star i boležljiv, a zbog neviđenog događaja duboko potresen i ponižen. U takvom psiho-fizičkom stanju, samo dvadesetak dana nakon povratka u Rim, je i umro, točnije 11. listopada 1303., te pokopan u grob koji je unaprijed pripravio za sebe u bazilici Sv. Petra (Bihlmeyer & Tuechle 1990: 31; Guillemain 1994: 165–168; Martina 2004: 63).

5. Optužbe protiv Bonifacija VIII.

Bonifacije VIII. je jedan od papa koji je ne samo za života nego i poslije smrti najviše ozloglašavan i klevetan. Sve optužbe na njegov račun mogle bi se svesti u dvije kategorije: optužbe etičko-doktrinarnog karaktera i one političko-religioznog karaktera.

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[16] Upravo tu riječ „atentat" je godinu dana poslije napada na papu u Anagniju upotrijebio vođa francuske ekspedicije, Vilim Nogaret. Usp. Guillemain 1994: 182.

[17] Nemali broj autora navodi da je Bonifacije VIII. tada bio i fizički zlostavljan te da je dobio zaušnicu (tzv. *schiaffo di Anagni*: pljuska u Anagniju). Međutim, Englez Wiliam iz Hundlabyja, opunomoćenik biskupa iz Lincolna i očevidac toga događaja, izvještava kako je „Šara htio ubiti papu, ali su ga drugi zadržali pa mu nije nanio nikakvu osobnu povredu". Nitko od suvremenika ne spominje „pljusku iz Anagnija", što znači da se radi o izmišljotini, jednoj od mnogih kako u crkvenoj tako i u svjetovnoj povijesti. Usp. Mezzadri 2001: 53; Saraco 2018: 132.

Glavni pokretači prvih bila su dvojica kardinala iz obitelji Colonna (Jakov i Petar) i njima bliski krugovi, osobito nakon što su bili svrgnuti, a njihova utvrda Palestrina razorena. Iz njihovih je krugova proizišao i *Proglas iz Lunghezze* u kojem se tvrdi da je odreknuće Celestina V. nevaljano i protivno kanonskom pravu, što bi samim time značilo da Bonifacije VIII. ne bi bio zakoniti papa.

Na Colonne su se nadovezali Francuzi koji su (14. srpnja 1303.) iznijeli ništa manje nego 29 optužnica, u kojima se iznose razne i neutemeljene optužbe na Bonifacijev račun, među ostalim: da ne vjeruje u vječni (zagrobni) život, u besmrtnost duše, u transsupstancijaciju u euharistiji, da smatra kako bludnost nije grijeh, da posjeduje osobnog demona, da je sodomist i ubojica, da je prekršio ispovjednu tajnu, da je mučki usmrtio svoga prethodnika; praktično, da nije pastir kojemu je stalo do spasenja duša, nego do njihove propasti. Pozivanje na koncil protiv njega motivirano je idejom da je kralj politički i vjerski branitelj francuskog naroda.

Klevete protiv Bonifacija nisu prestale ni nakon njegove smrti. Kao i za života, ponovno su glavni pokretači tih kleveta bili francuski krugovi, čiji su glavni širitelji bili samostan St. Denis, dominikanci oko pape Ivana XXII. (1316. – 1334.) i Pariško sveučilište (Sorbona). Glasoviti rektor toga sveučilišta Pierre d'Ailly (lat. *Petrus de Alliarco*, † 1420.), u životopisu Celestina V., ne ustručava se Bonifacija VIII. nazvati „drugim Herodom“, za čija je nedjela i Ciceronova elokvencija manjkava: *„Sed pro pudor! Sic Bonifatius ille, alter Herodes, Petrum servabat in carcere [...] O vere horrenda sententia, imo vere Herodiana saevitia [...] Certe ad hoc monstruosum facinus invalida nostra deficit lingua, ad quo etiam nec Ciceronis eloquentia sufficeret“* (Bock 1952: 254).

Optužbe za herezu u novije su vrijeme obnovili njemački povjesničari Karl Rober Wenck († 1927.), Richard Scholz († 1946.) i Robert Davidsohn († 1937.) koji tvrde da je Gaetani za vrijeme studija u Parizu (premda je vrlo dvojbeno da je on ondje ikada studirao)¸ bio navodno očaran averoizmom Sigierija Brabantea († 1282.), flamanskog filozofa i profesora na Pariškom sveučilištu[18]. To bi, prema njima, samo potvrdilo i ojačalo sve one optužbe koje su se navodno pripisivale papi Bonifaciju koje su se odnosile na besmrtnost duše, na uskrsnuće i euharistiju. No sve te neutemeljene pretpostavke i maštarije argumentirano su pobili i odbacili drugi njemački povjesničari, poglavito Robert Holtzmann i Ludwig Möhler (Mezzadri 2001: 46–47).

Zaključak

Pontifikat Bonifacija VIII. jedan je, kako rekosmo u uvodu, od značajnijih u crkvenoj povijesti. Od izbora za papu pa sve do smrti Bonifacije je stalno bio u nekim napetostima. Bez obzira je li se radilo o franjevačkim spiritualcima, obitelji Colonna ili francuskom kralju Filipu IV., njegovo je ponašanje uvijek bilo ravnomjerno, isto, na visini svoga poslanja: zapovjedničko, neuobičajeno tvrdo i nepopustljivo. Ne vodeći previše računa o konkretnim povijesnim okolnostima, zanosio se i nadahnjivao idejom o vrhovnoj vlasti nad svim katoličkim kraljevstvima, ideja koju je trasirao i provodio njegov prethodnik Inocent III. i drugi srednjovjekovni velikani na papinskoj stolici, kojima su razni europski vladari davali u feud i vlastita kraljevstva (kao i naš Dmitar Zvonimir papi Grguru VII.). Međutim, previdio je jednu bitnu stvar: ono što je bilo moguće Inocentu III. početkom 13. stoljeća to samo stoljeće kasnije više nije bilo moguće, jer se Bonifacijev pontifikat odvijao u bitno drugačijim povijesnim okolnostima: naspram Inocentove srednjovjekovne *respublica christiana*, u Bonifacijevo se vrijeme na europskoj pozornici javlja nacionalni zanos i „moderna država“ u kojoj je kralj *imperator in suo regno*, toliki da je već bila izlišna izjava kojom se još zanosio papa Leon X. kada je u prigodi krunjenja cara Karla V. napisao: „Kao što su na nebu dvije zvijezde, sunce i mjesec, koje zasjenjuju sve ostale zvijezde, tako na zemlji postoje dva dostojanstva, papa i car, kojima su podložni i duguju poslušnost svi ostali knezovi“ (L. Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, sv. IV, 298); naspram dvaju moćnih mačeva (*spiritualis et materialis*) u Inocentovoj ruci, u Bonifacijevo se doba javlja goropadni *regalizam* koji, po savjetu i pod vodstvom državnih i kraljevih *legista*, formiranih na novim sveučilištima i osposobljenih za dijalektičku instrumentalizaciju, ne preza čak ni od političke propagande u kojoj je, za interese države i kralja, dopušteno kanonske propise flagrantno kršiti, a papinske akte (bule) i odredbe (izopćenja) blokirati, njihovu objavu zabraniti i, što više, falsificirati. Stoga, imaju li se u vidu povijesne okolnosti u kojima se

[18] O Sigijeriju usp. Coccia, 2004; Di Brabante 2007.

srednjevjekovna ideja o jedinstvenoj kršćanskoj državi (*christianitas*), pod papinim i carevim patronatom, mrvi u razne nacionalne i pokrajinske Crkve, podvrgnute svjetovnim vlastima, u kojima vladar ili knez, uz državne, kontrolira i crkvene poslove, onda nam Bonifacijeva *Clericis laicos* postaje razumljiva, a *Ausculta fili* neizbježna. Ima li se u vidu da apsolutistički plašt francuskog vladara teži sve pokriti i nadzirati, da ne dopušta bilo kakvu neovisnost, također i na crkvenom području, onda se rezolutna *Unam Sanctam* pojavljuje kao posve opravdana. Svakako, Bonifacije VIII. se u crkvenim stvarima nije pogađao niti kolebao, a najmanje dodvoravao. Što bi bilo da je na njegovu mjestu bio neiskusni Celestin V., teško je pretpostaviti. No Bonifacije VIII. je bio gordi i nesavitljivi papa koji je za ideale kojima se hranio legao u grob, baš kao i njegov davni prethodnik, apostol Petar.

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Cetina Valley Project (CeVaS) – Tracing the Early Bronze Age Tradesmen

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Cetina Valley Survey (CeVaS) is a scientific project whose goal is exploring the prehistoric periods of the Cetina Valley, primarily the Cetina Culture of the Early Bronze Age. Although the project seeks to answer some general questions concerning this important Early Bronze Age culture, such as the settlement pattern, the settlement-tumuli spatial relationship, and overall what kind of society is suggested by the survey, the stress is placed on the relationship with the Aegean. The Cetina Culture is chronologically the earliest evidence of the Aegean contacts with the area of the eastern Adriatic coast. Therefore, a systematic survey of the Cetina Valley is crucial for revealing the nature of the Cetina-Aegean contacts, which in addition can improve our understanding of the earliest Aegean interaction with the central Mediterranean.

Key words: *Cetina Valley, Cetina Culture, Early Bronze Age*

The paper presents a scientific project dedicated to elucidating the nature of the Early Bronze Age culture – Cetina Culture – that developed in the valley of an eponymous river.[1] The project's title is *Cetina Valley Survey* (CeVaS). It formally started in 2015, and since 2017 it has been primarily funded by the Croatian Science Foundation. Goals and some preliminary results of this project are elaborated below. Professor Mirjana Sanader has been one of its vital members. Although the project's principal goal is exploring the prehistoric periods of the Cetina Valley, finds of later periods are equally important. Having directed an excavation of the Roman legionary fortress of Tilurium (Sanader 2003; Sanader & Tončinić 2010; Sanader et al. 2014; 2017), located on a hill right above the Cetina river, and being one of the leading experts on Roman provincial archaeology in Croatia, her contribution to the project consists precisely of studying Roman remains that have marked the valley and which we constantly encounter while conducting the field survey for the CeVaS project. With this paper I would like to thank professor Sanader for her encouragement to initiate this project and for her continuous support ever since its beginning. I still remember in detail our two-hour long conversation in summer 2014 while strolling around the old school of the Gardun village in the vicinity of the site of Tilurium. Her excavation there was ongoing and I happened to visit for a couple days. Professor Sanader was telling me on that warm summer day that I really ought to start my own field project. I told her about my idea of the Cetina Valley Survey. She listened very carefully. Before that walk and hour conversation, that project was just an idea I had. By the end of the conversation, thanks to professor Sanader's encouragement and constructive suggestions, it became a reality that was

1 This work has been fully supported by the Croatian Science Foundation under the project number IP-2016-06-1478 Cetina Valley Survey (CeVaS) / Između istoka i zapada – dolina rijeke Cetine kao komunikacijska poveznica tijekom prapovijesti i antike.

ready to start happening. Five years later the project is *blooming* and is meeting even more ambitious goals. I sometimes wonder if it would have ever even started if it had not been for that walk with professor Sanader. I warmly thank for her generous support and help.[2]

As mentioned in the introduction, the paper presents a project dedicated to exploring the prehistoric periods of the Cetina Valley, primarily the Cetina Culture of the Early Bronze Age. This culture saw its birth along the Cetina river which springs from an underground cave near the small village of the same name in the Dinara mountains. From its source, *the river* descends from an elevation of 385 meters above sea level to the Adriatic Sea, with its mouth in the town of Omiš just to the south. The river is 101 km long and is navigable in some parts. It is the most water-rich river in Dalmatia, and so it offers a variety of benefits for the local population: it improves the agriculture, powers water-mills and several hydropower plants, and in the past couple of decades it has served as a valuable resource for tourist and sport activities. The Cetina Valley was inhabited already in the Paleolithic and Neolithic times (Milošević 2017: 25–33), but its prehistoric highlight belongs to the Early Bronze Age when the eponymous culture – Cetina Culture – developed there. Testimonies to this prehistoric human presence have been discovered in the fields, karstic hills and caves around the river, but also in the river itself – at several locations the river has yielded examples of intentional deposition of artifacts. The most significant such case came from the confluence of the Cetina and Ruda rivers near the town of Trilj. A large variety of prehistoric, as well as Roman artifacts were discovered there, including weapons and military equipment (Milošević 2017: 19–20, 68, 207–237). A Roman legion was permanently stationed at Tilurium to pacify rebellious Delmatae, but also to guard the approach to the provincial capital at Salona, and keep it safe from possible attacks from the Balkan interior (Zaninović 2007; 2015; Milošević 2017: 55, 73). Military equipment discovered in the river testify to this war-like image of the valley in Roman times. Weapons of prehistoric date, indicate that conflict and a need to defend the valley were also known to its pre-Roman inhabitants.

During later periods the area was again highly contested and control passed between a number of regional and local powers before the conquest by the Ottoman Empire during the early 16th century (Jurin Starčević 2006). After this it retained for a while a frontier role between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Venice. Memories of the Ottoman domination are still vividly preserved in local legends, and architectural remains are abundantly present in the landscape to keep that memory alive. Warfare marked the valley in more recent times too. During World War II many villages were burnt down, and some aged inhabitants are still around to tell us about those tragic events. Then there was the recent Croatian War of Independence a in the 1990s when the area was a scene of severe conflicts, the local population fled; a part of the valley is still covered in land-mines and the memory is fresh and painful. Even these few examples show that war and conflicts are something that has left a strong mark on life in the valley, as a result of its strategic role of a transit zone between the inner Balkans and the Adriatic Sea.

Let us now explore the earliest period when the valley served as such a transit zone. This takes us to the period of the already mentioned Early Bronze Age Cetina Culture, which in terms of foreign trade, according to Joseph Maran, represents the region's highlight during the entire Bronze Age (Maran 2007: 15–18). The culture saw its birth in the regions of upper and middle Cetina river. That was its original territory from where it first spread to northern Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and northern Albania, and then its features travelled even farther across the seas to the Ionian islands, Apennine peninsula, Sicily, Malta and Greece (Milošević 2017: 34–35). Now, the dating of this culture is a difficult affair, since very few C14 dates from Cetina Culture contexts are available (they are listed in Forenbaher 2018: 136). Actually, only very few Cetina Culture sites in Croatia have been systematically excavated since this dating method became widely applicable in archaeology. Local archaeologists, even in the most recent publications, date this culture significantly later than some foreign scholars have done. For example, one of the most recent publications dates it from 1900–1600 BC (Milošević 2017: 34). Such dating may be consistent with other relevant local cultures, but is too late when Cetina pottery found abroad is brought into the picture. For example, a significant quantity of decorated pottery of Cetina type has been discovered in Greece. J. Maran points out

[2] The paper is abbreviated version of two initial publications of the CeVaS project results (Tomas 2017; Tomas forthcoming).

that all Greek contexts in which Cetina pottery appears belong to the EH III period whose beginning should be put around 2200 BC. He observed that the Cetina-Aegean contacts became especially intensive towards the end of the 3rd millennium BC; soon afterwards, at a time equivalent to the beginning of MH I, the Cetina Culture seems to have disintegrated (Maran 1998: 326–330; 2007: 15–18). Thus by following Aegean correlations, the Cetina Culture is to be dated from 2200–2000 BC. Ph. Della Casa dated it even earlier, around the middle of the 3rd millennium BC (Della Casa 1995: 573), which is chronologically significantly distant from A. Milošević's dating. In terms of Central European relative chronology, B. Govedarica places the culture within Reinecke phases Bronze A1 and A2 (Govedarica 1989: 111).

Even this brief overview shows that more data is needed to resolve the chronological enigma of the Cetina Culture. That can only be achieved by future archaeological investigations of relevant Cetina sites. And precisely that is one of the goals of the project CeVaS (Cetina Valley Survey), which commenced in 2015 under the directorship of H. Tomas (www.cevas.ffzg.hr). Other goals of this project are presented in Tomas 2017: 220–221. For now, relying on the fairly reliable chronology of the Aegean contexts where Cetina pottery has been found, we accept in this paper and elsewhere dating proposed by J. Maran. The same dating is accepted by S. Forenbaher (2018: 133).

If we move to the question of how and where to conduct future archaeological excavations, we encounter the next problem – the difficulty of identifying new Cetina Culture sites, especially the settlements. The settlement types of this culture are in general difficult to establish, since very few have been discovered. Some settlements were situated in the plains along the Cetina river (pile dwellings); caves were also occupied, the most important of which is Škarin Samograd; as well as hill-forts (Marović & Čović 1983: 201–203; Milošević 2017: 35, 39, 177). Since 2015 we have been surveying the valley within the CeVaS project with an aim of discovering new Cetina Culture settlements (Tomas 2017: 220–221).

In contrast with the scanty remains of settlements, burials – that is, tumuli – are plentiful; often no traces of settlements have been found in their vicinity. In their burial customs the Cetina people were bi-ritual: both inhumation (in cist graves, contracted position) and cremation (cremated remains deposited in jars) were practised (Marović 1976; 1991; Milošević 1998; 2017: 35). The Shtoj tumuli near Shköder in northern Albania have been identified as the southernmost site of the Cetina Culture. Not only does the burial type correspond with that of the Cetina Culture tumuli, but typical Cetina pottery was discovered in some of them (Koka 1985: 242; Govedarica 1989: 189–190; Oikonomidis *et al.* 2011: 187).[3] The Shtoj site is important for another reason: just below the central grave of Tumulus 6 a group of six anthropomorphic violin-shaped terracotta figurines was discovered (Koka 1985: 241–250), very similar to EH III figurines from Lerna and Aegina in Greece, and to examples from Maliq III and some other sites in Albania (Maran 1998: 329–330; Gori 2015: 201, fig. 62). But it appears that the figurines belonged to a pre-Cetina grave and may perhaps be connected with types of the Vučedol culture (Govedarica 1991), with which examples from Kuća Rakića near Podgorica in Montenegro may also be associated (Saveljić-Bulatović & Lutovac 2003: 25).

Along with elaborate pottery metal objects are reported to have been discovered in the Cetina tumuli (Forenbaher 2018: 132–133). Since the area of the Cetina Culture contained no metal sources, it is obvious that metal was obtained through trade. The lack of evidence for metal production on the sites examined suggests that these metal objects were imported as finished products (Marović & Čović 1983: 217), but we must bear in mind that, as has been said above, very few settlements have so far been discovered, so we do not really possess any data about the existence – or absence – of metal workshops in them. Decorated bronze daggers are the most elaborate metal objects found; simpler forms. For the purpose of this paper the most significant is a knife from the site of Bitelić which has, together with two knives from Serbia, been compared to a MH knife from Sesklo in Greece (Marović & Čović 1983: 207, pl. 33/7).[4] Most other daggers are interpreted as similar to Middle European examples (Milošević 2017: 37).

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3 Some of the Shtoj tumuli were used over a longer period of time, i.e. from the Early Bronze Age to the end of the 1st millennium BC (Jubani 1992).

4 Govedarica (1989: 172) does not think that the Bitelić knife should be put in the context of the Cetina Culture; he accepts that this knife has MH links, but sees its closest parallels in Albania, in the Maliq IIIc context.

A chance find of a collection of gold items from Nin-Privlaka (just to the north of the Dalmatian city of Zadar) is also significant for examining Aegean connections. It includes biconical necklace beads similar to those from Tumulus R 26 at Steno in Leukas, Troy IIg and Poliochni, and golden bracelets that have been compared to EM II-III finds from the Mochlos and Platanos cemeteries in Crete (Vinski 1959: 210–211). Unfortunately, upon a more detailed study the claimed similarities were proved to be unfounded (Tomas 2012). Yet one of the sites just mentioned merits further attention: the Steno necropolis at Leukas displays noticeable similarities in the construction of its tumuli to those of the Cetina culture, and the same is true of some tumuli of the western Peloponnese (Govedarica 1989: 125–126, 217; for the Steno cemetery in general see Kilian-Dirlmeier 2005). It should be mentioned that many authors have stressed the very special character of the island of Leukas in this period; basically it was a place where during the middle of the 3rd millennium BC Adriatic and Aegean maritime networks converged (Borgna & Càssola Guida 2009: 99; Heyd 2013: 37).

In addition to the metal examples cited above, finds of Cetina Culture pottery have been taken to indicate maritime trade between the Aegean and the Adriatic (Marović & Čović 1983: 207). Cetina pottery is distinguished by its rich decoration. Various geometric motifs were formed by stamping, incising and channelling the surface and then applying white filling; triangles and zigzags are the most frequent (Fig. 1.). The hallmark of this group is the vessel type called Kotorac, which has a biconical body, high conical foot, and a cylindrical neck. In addition to decoration of the type just described, which often covers the whole surface of the vessel, the Kotorac type has triangular perforations on its upper body (several examples). This decorated Cetina pottery had a wide distribution: associated groups have been found in Albania and the Italian and northern Adriatic coasts, but also as far away as Malta, the Peloponnese and the Saronic Gulf (Govedarica 1989: 132, 142–144; Kaiser & Forenbaher 1999; Maran 2007: pl. IIIb; Nicolis 2005: 534–535; Broodbank 2013: 351–352; Ballan 2014: 9–10, 53–55, 68; 2017; Gori *et al.* 2018). Among many significant finds of this pottery at Greek sites, such as Kolonna, Korakou, Lerna, Mycenae, Prosymna, Tiryns, Tsoungiza, Zygouries, etc., the material from the site of Altis in Olympia is considered crucial.[5] Here in addition to imported Cetina pottery, local Grey Minyan ware imitated the Cetina decoration (Rambach 2007: 86).

Such an abundance of Cetina pottery in the Aegean provides good evidence for some regular exchange. Already in 1911 F. Weege, the first discoverer of the Cetina pottery at Olympia, proposed that the site was founded by people from the east Adriatic coast (quoted in Rambach 2007: 82; Weege 1911: 184–185). This view is shared by J. Maran and J. Rambach, who suggest that Olympia was part of a network of trading posts of the 'Cetina people' along the southern Adriatic coast and the Ionian islands, and that it had strategic importance as a station along an overland route across the Peloponnese to the vibrant trading system of the Aegean Sea (Maran 2007: 16; Rambach 2007: 86). If so, this particular culture is of crucial importance, since it constitutes a unique east Adriatic/west Balkan example of Bronze Age expansion to the Aegean. The discovery of the Cetina pottery at sites on or close to the shores of the Ionian Sea is a good indication that it travelled by sea. Govedarica allowed for a movement in the opposite direction, especially in the case of some pottery motifs (which are first attested in Lerna IV, thus making them earlier than any of the east Adriatic examples), as well as in the case of the practice of cremation, which must have come from the south – the Cetina Culture is the very first Adriatic/west Balkan culture that practised it, whereas earlier examples can be found in the Aegean (Govedarica 1989: 144, 217, 225).

The importance of the Early Bronze Age trade that may have spanned the eastern Adriatic and Ionian islands (reflected in finds of Cetina pottery in the Aegean already referred to, but also in prestigious goods of precious metal discovered on Adriatic and Ionian sites), has been stressed by a number of scholars, with the island of Leukas serving as a hub of activity between the Adriatic (both its eastern and western coasts) and the Aegean (see a summarising discussion in Heyd 2013: 33, 37; 2013a: 54–55). We can assume that metal trade was the main motivating factor in these Early Bronze Age contacts. Find context – that is mostly grave contexts – of the metal objects possibly imported from the Aegean suggest that they were deposited in graves to enhance the social status of the deceased. In connection to this we should remember three tumuli

5 A connection between the Altis material and the Cetina Culture was first proposed by J. Maran (1986).

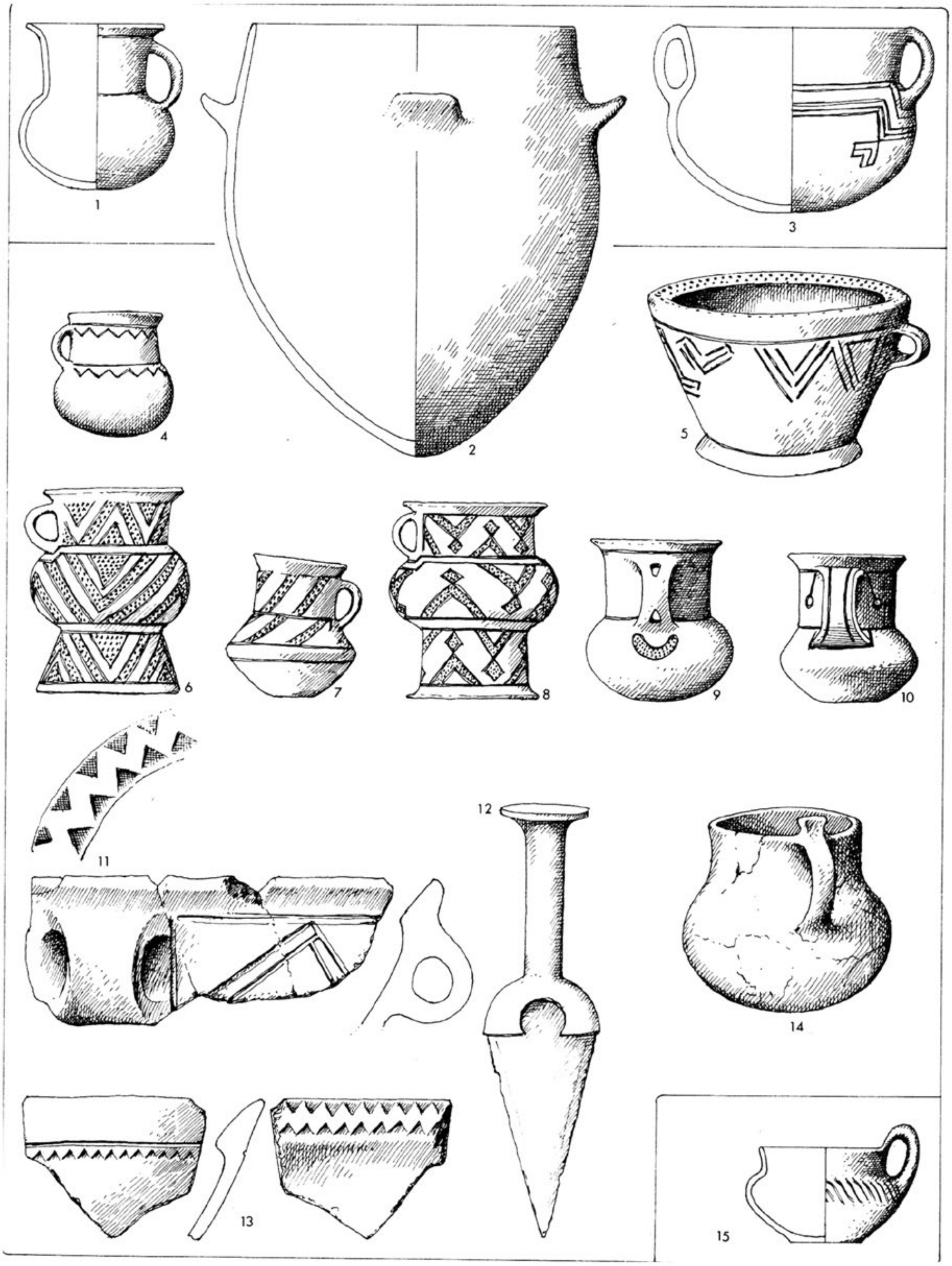

Fig. 1. A selection of the typical Cetina Culture material (after Marović & Čović 1983: fig. 15).

with luxurious grave goods found along the Montenegrin part of the eastern Adriatic: Mala Gruda and Velika Gruda near Kotor and Boljevića Gruda near Podgorica (Parović-Pešikan & Trbuhović 1974; Parović-Pešikan 1976; Dimitrijević 1979: 322–323; Primas 1992: 47–55; 1996; Della Casa 1996; Saveljić-Bulatović & Lutovac 2003: 15–16, 27–32; Guštin 2006; Baković 2011). Golden rings discovered in them, probably ornaments for the head, have been compared to those from an EH II Tumulus at Steno on the island of Leukas (Maran 1998: 330–332, pl. 21/3–7; 2007: n. 42; Primas 1988: 176; 1996: 75–88, 146). J. Maran emphasizes that the centre of distribution of such golden rings lies in the Balkans and the Carpathian Basin and that the Leukas examples therefore probably represent Balkan imports to northwest Greece (Maran 2007: 9), in which case they do not speak in favour of the northward expansion of Aegean ideas. However, in addition to these rings, there are two significant items in the Mala Gruda tumulus: (1) a golden dagger, whose origin has been suggested to be Aegean, (Parović-Pešikan & Trbuhović 1974: 135), Levantine (Primas 1988: 177; 1996: 88–91), or Anatolian (Maran 1997: 175; 1998: 33–332), and (2) a silver shaft-hole axe, at first interpreted as Dalmatian (Parović-Pešikan & Trbuhović 1974: 135, see also the discussion in Primas 1996: 105–109), and then as Aegean in origin (Dimitrijević 1979: 323). These two objects do point towards the south, and they were obviously meant to enhance prominence in a social hierarchy.[6]

If we can indeed talk about hierarchical societies within the areas of the Cetina Culture and the Montenegrin tumuli, and accept that the aristocratic status of the deceased was accentuated by luxurious Aegean metal objects, could we postulate that Aegean aristocratic ideas found their way towards north along the eastern Adriatic coast during this period? If we can, then it is very interesting to observe – at least according to present evidence – that material goods (i.e. Cetina pottery) travelled south, but some ideas travelled north. Or should we acknowledge a possibility that the aristocratic ideas in question were in fact of northern origin, and not Aegean?[7] As for the question of who were the active participants in this exchange, I am inclined to believe that it was the Cetina people who travelled to the Aegean, and not the opposite. If we place on the map all Greek sites where Cetina pottery has so far been discovered, we will see a nice line leading towards Attica. And if we remember that the Cetina people imported metal, we would logically assume that the goal of the Cetina people travels was the Laurion metal sources, well exploited already in the Early Bronze Age (Gale 1980: 174–178; Spitaels 1984).

That the search for metal prompted these early long-distance movements has also been argued by E. Borgna and P. Càssola Guida, who bring stone tumuli (cairns) into the picture, stressing that their diffusion in Greece at the end of the Early Helladic and the beginning of the Middle Helladic period may be due to Adriatic influences. They speculate whether those tumuli may have been symbolic expressions of early long-distance interaction concerned with acquiring metal (Borgna & Càssola Guida 2007: 199–200; 2009: 91–92). Some scholars even consider it possible that, in addition to influences or trade contacts, groups of people of the western Balkans may have actually settled on the island of Leukas and in the north-western Peloponnese during the EH II-III transition (see discussion in Ballan 2014: 54). Some recent studies, though, show that such a scenario is not easy to accept. Thus, in her dissertation E. Ballan shows that the Cetina-looking pottery from Olympia in fact conforms to local pottery fabrics, obviously meaning that it was produced at the site, not imported. Furthermore, although the decorative motifs do resemble the genuine Cetina types, the technique of their execution is not the same (Ballan 2014: 185–186; 2017). Ballan concludes that both Olympia and Lerna – the two Greek sites with the largest amount of Cetina-looking pottery – reveal local production of vessels. Even though they resemble the Cetina culture types, the differences in the treatment of the pottery surface and in the execution of decoration do not allow us to suppose that the producers of those vessels were in fact immigrants from the Cetina region. The Adriatic and Greek groups of vessels appear to reflect rather independent ceramic traditions, so despite undeniable similarities we cannot take them as evidence of the settlement of Adriatic/Balkan people in western Greece, as had been previously argued by scholars (Ballan 2014: 186–187; 2017).

For the purpose of examining in more detail some of the issues presented in this paper, the core area of the Cetina Culture needs to be more thoroughly explored. In 2015 a permit by the Ministry of Culture, Croatia was granted to the Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, to start a project of the systematic survey of the Cetina Valley (CeVaS – Cetina Valley Survey) in Southern Croatia under the direction of the author.[8] Although the project seeks to answer some

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6 For illustrations of both objects, see Maran (1998: pl. 21/8–9), Della Casa (2011: fig. 5) and Heyd (2013: figs. 10B, 13B).

7 The issue is in detail discussed in Galaty et al. 2014: 171.

8 This project is mostly supported by the Croatian Science Foundation (project no. IP 06-2016-1478). Project investigator is Helena Tomas, full professor at the Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Zagreb. Collaborators on the project are: Eleonora Ballan, PhD, Matija Dronjić, MA in archaeol. et ethnol., Maja Gori, PhD, Kornelija Jurin Starčević, PhD, Marina Milićević Bradač, distinguished professor

general questions concerning this important Early Bronze Age culture, such as the settlement pattern, the settlement-tumuli spatial relationship, and overall what kind of society is suggested by the survey (obviously that is a crucial question, since that very society was capable of spreading its material around the central Mediterranean), the stress is placed on the relationship with the Aegean. This is chronologically the earliest evidence of Aegean contacts with the eastern Adriatic coast. After the lacuna of the Mycenaean period and several subsequent centuries, the two areas would establish firmer links again only in the second half of the 1st millennium BC when several Greek colonies were founded on the Croatian coast and the islands (Cambi *et al.* 2002; Sanader 2004; Tomas 2005; 2009; Poklečki Stošić 2010). During the Early Bronze Age, however, firm links were already in existence, as confirmed by the relative abundance of Cetina pottery in Greece and other indications that have been presented in this paper.

To conclude, as far as the present evidence tells us, the Cetina Valley in Croatia clearly had contacts with the Aegean at the end of the Early Bronze Age and beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, but the nature of those contacts has not yet been properly explored. The fact is that more attention has been paid to those contacts in Greece by archaeologists who discovered the Cetina pottery at their sites, whereas the core Cetina area has been less present in Cetina-Aegean studies. I believe that a systematic survey of the Cetina Valley is crucial for revealing the nature of the Cetina-Aegean contacts, which in addition can improve our understanding of the earliest Aegean interaction with the central Mediterranean.

That the Cetina Culture was a prehistoric highlight of the valley has been demonstrated by the fact that its inhabitants were capable of establishing far-reaching contacts. Their need for raw materials, primarily metal, may have been the impetus for their long voyages; the Cetina river, navigable at some parts, may have in that process served as a crucial communication channel. Despite this beneficial river giving direct access to the Adriatic Sea, and then to the vibrant Mediterranean basin, periods prior or posterior to the Cetina Culture were not equally prominent. The CeVaS project seeks to explore the factors that may have influenced such a diachronic variation. The material recovered during surveying is expected to give an insight into the level of intensity of habitation of the area through time, as well as the intensity of foreign contacts (i.e. the isolation of the valley versus its receptiveness of the outside world). Comparisons to more recent periods or episodes (such as the Ottoman period, Second World War or the Croatian War of Independence) may highlight the advantages of living in a very fertile environment, but also disadvantages caused by the role of the Cetina Valley as a transit zone from the inner Balkan peninsula to the open sea. As such, the valley has been a stage of numerous conflicts and wars. The fact that a Roman legion was once settled in the Valley (the legionary camp of Tilurium, see above) testifies that conflicts (possibly caused by similar human factors) may have disturbed the life in the valley even in a more distant past.

The Cetina Culture is chronologically the earliest evidence of the Aegean contacts with the area of the eastern Adriatic coast. It is not only the early date of those contacts that is particularly telling, but also the fact that during the Early and Middle Bronze Ages Aegean overseas contacts were orientated towards the central and eastern Mediterranean, whereas the areas of the western Mediterranean (Adriatic Sea included) at that time lay outside of the Aegean sphere of interest (Laffineur & Greco 2005). The Cetina Culture constitutes a single exception to this scenario. I believe that a systematic survey of the Cetina Valley is crucial for revealing the nature of the Cetina-Aegean contacts, which in turn can at least slightly alter our picture of the earliest Aegean interaction with the central Mediterranean. The Bronze Age, however, is not a period to which the CeVaS project is limited. It constitutes its core for the reasons elaborated above. Yet, examining the dynamics of that period naturally prompts one's curiosity in how vibrant the valley was in preceding and subsequent times. Could it be that some common patterns in settlement features, burials, agriculture, river exploitation, road network, foreign contacts, exchange, trade, etc. could be traced in the valley throughout prehistory, antiquity and even later? Could similar geographical or climatic factors lead to similar ways of living, similar needs and similar movements? The Cetina river may always have served as a communication channel, and this project is expected to establish to what extent that beneficial natural

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feature was exploited in various periods. This should reflect the overall importance of the Cetina Valley as a place of habitation and communication through prehistoric and historic times, also as a crucial pathway leading from the inner Balkan peninsula to the open sea.

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Aurelius Alexsander, ein christlicher *beneficiarius legionis XI Claudiae*?

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In dem vorliegenden Beitrag wird der Sarkophag des Aurelius Alexsander besprochen. Er wurde auf der frühchristlichen Nekropole von Manastirine in Salona für einen beneficiarius legionis XI Claudiae aufgestellt. Die Fundumstände sprechen dafür, dass Aurelius Alexsander zu den Mitgliedern der ersten christlichen Gemeinde von Salona gehört hat, und in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 4. Jh. bestattet wurde. Die Analyse des Ehrentitels Claudia und die Vergleichsbeispiele aus der Provinz Dalmatien und dem Reich sprechen für eine Datierung ins 3. Jahrhundert.

Schlüsselwörter: *Legio XI, Claudia, beneficiarius, Sarkophag, Salona, Manastirine*

Unter den zahlreichen Denkmälern die während der archäologischen Grabungen auf der bekannten frühchristlichen Nekropole von Manastirine in Salona gefunden wurden ist auch der Sarkophag des Aurelius Alexsander zu nennen. Da der Sarkophag nach seinem Standplatz zur frühchristlichen Phase von Manastirine gehört und Aurelius Alexsander ein *beneficiarius legionis XI Claudiae* war, sind in diesem Denkmal die provinzialrömische und die frühchristliche Archäologie gewissermaßen vereint.[1] Zwei Zweige der Archäologie in denen Frau Professor Mirjana Sanader ihr ganzes berufliches Leben wissenschaftlich tätig war und die Sie auf dem Lehrstuhl für provinzialrömische und frühchristliche Archäologie der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität in Zagreb unterrichtet hat. Es ist mir eine besondere Freude, diesen Beitrag meiner Professorin und Doktormutter in tiefster Dankbarkeit zu widmen.

Obwohl der Sarkophag des Aurelius Alexsander (Abb. 1 und 2) mehrmals in wissenschaftlichen Veröffentlichungen besprochen wurde, möchten wir bei dieser Gelegenheit erneut auf dieses Denkmal aufmerksam machen.[2] Das Denkmal sticht nämlich in vielerlei Hinsicht unter jenen der XI. Legion in Dalmatien hervor. – Es ist das einzige Denkmal das in einer dokumentierten und veröffentlichten archäologischen Grabung gefunden und anhand der Fundumstände datiert wurde. Es ist der einzige Sarkophag dieser Legion in Dalmatien. Es ist auch das einzige Denkmal auf dem der Ehrentitel der Legion in ungekürzter Form als *Claudia* erscheint. Es ist das jüngste Denkmal dieser Legion in Dalmatien und eine der jüngsten Erwähnungen der Benefiziarier überhaupt. Letztendlich ist es das einzige Grabdenkmal das für einen angenommenen christlichen Angehörigen der *legio XI Claudia* errichtet wurde.

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[1] Diese Arbeit wurde von der kroatischen Wissenschaftsstiftung im Rahmen des Projekts IP-2018-01-4934 „Understanding Roman Borders: the Case of the Eastern Adriatic” (AdriaRom) vollständig unterstützt.

[2] Bulić 1884: 18–19, Nr. 6; De Rossi 1885: 170; CIL III 8727; Egger 1926: 73–74, Nr. 75; Betz 1939: 68, Nr. 106; ILJug 2353; CBFIR 483; Marin 1994: 66; Duval et al. 2000‘: 604–606; Matei-Popescu 2010: 153; Salona IV: 756–758. br. 419; EDH HD034742;EDCS EDCS-28700943; Matijević 2015: 465, Nr. 87.

Abb. 1. Der Sarkophag des Aurelius Alexsander (AMS-BLitt.-4, Foto: Filipa Sršen).

Abb. 2. Die Inschrift am Sarkophag des Aurelius Alexsander (AMS-BLitt.-4, Foto: Filipa Sršen).

Es handelt sich um einen 201 cm breiten, 53 cm hohen und 75 cm tiefen Sarkophag mit einem 210 cm breiten, 60 cm hohen und 96 cm tiefen Deckel. An der Vorderseite des Deckels ist eine Beschädigung von 145 x 45 cm. Auch die obere linke Ecke des Sarkophags ist beschädigt. An der Vorderseite befindet sich die Inschrift in einer Tabula ansata, die ebenfalls an der oberen linken Ecke beschädigt ist. Die Ansätze sind mit Rosetten und Palmetten geschmückt, und der Raum zwischen den Ansätzen und der Tabula mit einer schlichten floralen Verzierung. Die Buchstabengröße reicht von 4,5 bis 6 cm und der Text der Inschrift ist auf fünf Zeilen verteilt. Ligaturen kommen in den Zeilen 1(ND), 2 (AV) und 4 (ME) vor. Die Inschrift lautet:

[Aure]lius Alex{s}ander b(e)n(e)
[f(iciarius) legio]nis XI Claudi<a>e v<i=l>bus
sibi suo
ius<s>it testamento arcam
<p=r>oni

In verschiedenen Veröffentlichungen wurden abweichende Lesungen und Datierungen vorgeschlagen. Frane Bulić, Rudolf Egger und andere haben die Lesung *b(e)n(e) / [f(iciarius) legio]nis* vorgeschlagen, wobei Egger die Abkürzung *b(e)n(e)f(iciarius)* zwar als ungewöhnlich aber nicht anstößig angesprochen hat. Er hat noch darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass die Benefiziarier am Anfang des 4. Jh. verschwinden und unsere Inschrift somit eine der jüngsten Erwähnungen der Benefiziarier überhaupt ist.[3] Andere Veröffentlichungen haben die Lesung *b(eneficiarius) n(umero) / [f(rumentariorum) legio]nis* vorgeschlagen (CBFIR 483; EDH HD034742).

Der Sarkophag wurde 1884 östlich der großen Apsis der Basilika von Manastirine gefunden und seine Fundumstände bilden den ersten Anhaltspunkt für seine Datierung. Rudolf Egger hat bei der Veröffentlichung des frühchristlichen Friedhofs Manastirine angeführt, dass der Sarkophag „seinem Standplatz nach sicher schon zum christlichen Coemeterium“ gehört (Egger 1926: 73–74 Nr. 75). Er zählt Aurelius Alexsander zu den Mitgliedern der ersten christlichen Gemeinde von Salona und seinen Sarkophag zu den Grabdenkmälern dieser Gemeinde in der Nähe eines Märtyrergrabes. Das Martyrium bringt er mit jenem des Jahres 304 in Zusammenhang und datiert die Grabdenkmälern in der Nähe bis ins 2. Jahrzehnt des 4. Jh. (Egger 1926: 41–42, 52–53). Der Sarkophag steht heute *in situ*, doch ist er, wie den Abbildungen zu entnehmen ist, durch die Zugehörigkeit zur ersten Periode und die damit verbundene Überbauung, ziemlich unzugänglich. Die vorgeschlagene Datierung wurde von Artur Betz und anderen Autoren angenommen (Betz 1939. 23–24; Marin 1994: 66; Duval *et al.* 2000: 604–606; Salona IV: 756–758. br. 419). Einige Datierungen umfassen das ganze 4. und 5. Jh. (EDH HD034742; EDCS EDCS-28700943). Andere Autoren sprechen sich aber für eine Datierung ins 3. Jh. aus (Ritterling 1925: 1693; CBFIR 483; Matijević 2015: 142, Nr. 87). Dabei wird hervorgehoben, dass jener Teil der Nekropole, auf dem der Sarkophag aufgestellt wurde, zwar in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 4. Jh. benutzt wurde, doch andere Merkmale gegen eine christliche Inschrift und für eine Datierung ins 3. Jh. sprechen. – So die Nennung des Rangs eines Benefiziariers, die Namensformel des Aurelius Alexsander und das Ausbleiben des Gentilnamens Flavius. Außerdem wurde darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass Manastirine bereits in vorchristlicher Zeit als Nekropole benutzt wurden und die Grabsteine bis ins 1. Jh. zurückreichen (Duval *et al.* 2000: 604–606; Matijević 2016: 142). Neben den Fundumständen und den oben angeführten Argumenten gibt es noch einen weiteren und willkommenen Anhaltspunkt für die Datierung des Sarkophags des Aurelius Alexsander. Dabei handelt es sich um den Namen der XI. Legion, bzw. um die verschiedenen Formen ihres Ehrentitels, die auf ihren Denkmälern generell und insbesondere in der römischen Provinz Dalmatien bestätigt sind. Besondere Aussagekraft besitzen diese wenn man sie zusammenhängend mit den Fundorten und Denkmaltypen auf denen sie bestätigt sind analysiert und auch die Rangordnung der Soldaten berücksichtig für die Denkmäler, oder von denen die Denkmäler errichte wurden. Bei näherer Betrachtung wird man feststellen, dass der Name der XI. Legion auf den Inschriften in der römischen Provinz Dalmatien in sechs verschiedenen Formen belegt ist. – Auf 29 Denkmälern als *legio XI*, auf 43 als *legio XI C(laudia) p(ia) f(idelis)*, auf 6 als *legio XI Cl(audia) p(ia) f(idelis)*, auf 5 als *legio XI Cl(audia)*, einmal als *legio XI Clau(dia)* und auf dem des Sarkophag des Aurelius Alexsander als legio *XI Claudia* (Tončinić 2017: 91–93). Die Verleihung des Ehrentitels *Claudia pia fidelis* an die Legion steht im Zusammenhang mit der Revolte, die *Lucius Arruncius Camillus Scribonianus*, *legatus Augusti pro praetore* von Dalmatien, gegen Kaiser Claudius im Jahre 42. erhoben hat. Nachdem die VII. und XI. Legion ihre Unterstützung verweigert haben, schlug die Revolte fehl und auf diese Weise befreite sich Kaiser Claudius von einem sehr ernsten Rivalen, der an der Schwelle Italiens zwei Legionen und eine unbekannte Anzahl

[3] Bulić 1884: 18; Egger 1926: 73; ILJug 2353; Salona IV: 756–758. br. 419; Matijević 2016: 465, Nr. 87.

von Hilfstruppen zur Verfügung hatte. Kaiser Claudius belohnte die Treue der VII. und XI. Legion durch die Verleihung des Ehrentitels *Claudia pia fidelis*. [4] Es hat bereits Emil Ritterling, der das gesamte epigraphische Material der VII. und XI. Legion auf dem Gebiet des Imperiums zusammengestellt hat, hervorgehoben, dass verschiedene Formen des Ehrentitels, den beide Legionen getragen haben, unterschiedlich zu datieren sind, und seine Argumentation wurde von Arthur Betz angenommen (Ritterling 1925: 1617, 1628, 1705; Betz 1939: 6–7, 9–10, 17–19, 23–24). Die Denkmäler, auf denen die Legionen als *leg(io) VII* und *leg(io) XI*, erscheinen, sind in die Zeit vor 42 n. Chr. zu datieren, bzw. in die Zeit zwischen der Ankunft der Legion in Dalmatien und dem Jahre 42 n. Chr. Die Denkmäler auf denen die Legionen den Ehrentitel *C(laudia) p(ia) f(idelis)* tragen, sind in die Zeit zwischen dem Jahre 42 n. Chr. und dem Abzug der Legion aus Dalmatien zu datieren (Ritterling 1925: 1617, 1628, 1705; Betz 1939: 6–7, 9–10, 17–19, 23–24; Tončinić 2011: 138–143.). Einige Denkmäler mit dem Ehrentitel *C(laudia) p(ia) f(idelis) können auch nach dem Abzug der Legion*en aus Dalmatien errichtet worden sein. Dies bezieht sich hauptsächlich auf die Grabsteine von Veteranen, die in Dalmatien hätten begraben werden können als die legio VII. *C(laudia) p(ia) f(idelis)* bereits in Viminacium stationiert war und die *legio XI C(laudia) p(ia) f(idelis)* in Vindonissa. Später ist es im Laufe der Zeit zu weitere Änderungen des Legionsnamens bzw. zur Veränderungen des Ehrentitels gekommen. Laut Emil Ritterling wird der Ehrentitel *C(laudia) p(ia) f(idelis) während des gesamten 1.* Jh. bis zur Regierungszeit Trajans verwendet. In der Regierungszeit Trajans erschien die Form *Cl(audia) p(ia) f(idelis)*. Im Laufe der Zeit wurde *p(ia) f(idelis)* weggelassen, und dies gilt insbesondere für das 3. Jh. Seitdem ist der Ehrentitel Claudia in den Varianten *Cl(audia), Cla(udia), Clau(dia), Claud(ia)* und *Claudia* vertreten (Ritterling 1925: 1628–1629, 1705; Betz 1939, 10, 23.). Arthur Betz hat Ritterlings Argumenten ein weiteres hinzugefügt. Er hat auf die Denarii des Septimius Severus hingewiesen, die in den Jahren 193/194 zu Ehren jener Legionen geprägt wurden, die ihn auf den Thron gebracht haben. Die VII. und XI. Legion erscheinen auf diesen Münzen mit dem Ehrentitel *Cl(audia)* (Betz 1939: 23; RIC IVa 10; RIC IVa 12).

Diese Datierung wird von einer zusammenhängenden Analyse der verschiedenen Formen des Ehrentitels, der Fundorte und Denkmaltypen auf denen sie in Dalmatien erscheinen und der Rangordnung der Soldaten für die die Denkmäler, oder von denen die Denkmäler errichte wurden bestätigt. Die Denkm*äler, auf denen die Legion als legio XI C(Laudia) p(ia) f(idelis)* erscheint, befinden sich im Küstenbereich der Provinz und überschreiten nicht die Grenze des sogenannten *dalmatinischen Limes*, also die Linie die von den Lagern *Burnum – Andetrium – Tilurium* – Gračine im Hinterland von *Narona* gebildet wird. Unter den Denkmälern überwiegen Grabsteine aktiver Soldaten. In Bezug auf diese Eigenschaften unterscheiden sich diese Denkmäler kaum von jenen derselben Legion aus der Zeit vor 42 n. Chr. Es handelt sich in beiden Fällen um Denkmäler aus der Stationierungszeit der Legion im Legionslager Burnum in Dalmatien, also aus der Zeit vor dem Jahre 68/69 (Tončinić 2017: 92).

Es gibt deutlich weniger Denkmäler, auf denen die Legion als *legio XI Cl(audia) p(ia) f(idelis)* erscheint. Für die Datierung in die Zeit in der die XI. Legion nicht mehr in Dalmatien stationiert war, sprechen neben dem Ehrentitel auch andere Argumente. – Neben den Standorten im *Küsten*bereich der Provinz Dalmatien (*Burnum, Salona, Municipium Magnum, Novae* und Podstrana-Jesenice) ist so erstmals einen Standort entlang der Grenze zu Moesien (Skelani an der Drina) belegt. Votiv- und Grabdenkmäler sind mit je drei Exemplaren gleichermaßen vertreten. Auf ihnen werden vier Benefiziarier und je ein Lagerpräfekt und Veteran genannt. Soldaten die im aktiven Dienst verstorben sind, sind mit nur einem Benefiziarier vertreten. Darüber hinaus dominieren unter den Fundorten zivile Siedlungen, und Benefiziarierstationen. Letztendlich werden auf den Denkmälern vorwiegend Benefiziarier genannt, die oft außerhalb ihrer Provinz ihr Amt ausgeübt haben. Nur der Lagerpräfekt aus Burnum passt nicht in dieses Bild. Sein Grabstein kann aber dank der *Manibus* Formel in die 2. Hälfte des 1. und den Beginn des 2. Jh. datiert werden, was mit der Datierung des Ehrentitels *Cl(audia) p(ia) f(idelis)* übereinstimmt (Tončinić 2017: 92).

Ein noch deutlicheres Bild ergeben die Denkmäler, auf denen die Legion als *legio XI Cl(audia),* bestätigt ist. Auch hier sprechen neben dem Ehrentitel auch andere Argumente für eine Datierung in die Zeit in der die XI. Legion nicht mehr in Dalmatien stationiert war. – Neben den Standorten in der Küstenzone der Provinz Dalmatien (Gračine im Hinterland von *Narona* und *Municipium Magnum*) erscheinen wieder Standorte entlang der Grenze zu Moesien (Skelani an der Drina und Komina bei Pljevlja), aber auch ein weiterer Ort

[4] Ritterling 1925: 1617; Betz 1939: 36–37; Zaninović 1996: 288; Cambi 2009; Tončinić 2014; 2017.

im Landesinneren der Provinz (Čakovec bei Josipdol). Vier Votivdenkmäler überwiegen im Vergleich zu einer Bauinschrift. Dreimal werden Benefiziarier genannt, gefolgt von je einem Speculator und Zenturio. Letztlich dominieren unter den Fundorten Benefiziarierstationen (Tončinić 2017: 92–93).

In dieses Bild fügt sich auch das Denkmal ein auf dem die Legion als *XI Cla(udia)* bestätigt ist. Es handelt sich um ein Votivdenkmal das von einem Benefiziarier in Glamoč, im Landesinneren der Provinz Dalmatien aufgestellt wurde (Tončinić 2017: 93).

Der Sarkophag auf dem sich Aurelius Alexsander als Benefiziarier *legionis XI Claudi(a)e* zu erkennen gibt weicht in Grunde ebenfalls nicht von den übrigen Denkmalern ab, auf denen die verschiedenen Formen des Ehrentitels *Claudia* in der Provinz Dalmatien erscheinen. Er wurde zwar im Küstenbereich, in Salona aufgestellt, aber der Benefiziarier war hier im Amt des Statthalters tätig (Matijević 2015: 136–144).

Als wichtiger Beitrag zur Datierung der verschiedenen Formen des Ehrentitels *Claudia* und damit auch der Denkmäler auf denen sie erscheinen, sind wenige zuverlässig datierte Denkmäler zu erwähnen. Ein Überblick der veröffentlichten Benefiziarierdenkmäler im gesamten Römischen Reich zeigt, dass die zuverlässig datierten Denkmäler der VII. und XI. Legion mit dem Ehrentitel *Claudia* aus den Jahren zwischen 155 und 244 stammen (Tončinić 2017: 93–94). – Die Weihinschrift des *Ulpius Alexander* und der *vexillat(io) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae)* wird anhand der Konsulnamen ins Jahr 155 datiert (CBFIR 643). Die Weihinschrift des *Calpurnius Honoratianius, praef(ecti) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae)* wurde anhand des einen erhaltenen Konsulnamen wahrscheinlich im Jahre 182 errichtet (CBFIR 585). Die Weihinschrift des *b(ene)f(iciaraius) co(n)s(ularis) legi(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) Tiberius Claudius Certus* wird anhand der Konsulnamen ins Jahr 195 datiert (CBFIR 581). Die Weihinschrift des *b(ene)f(iciaraius) co(n)s(ularis) legi(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) Marcus Aurelius Titianus* ebenfalls anhand der Konsulnamen ins Jahr 200 (CBFIR 575). Die Weihinschrift des *[b(ene)]f(iciaraius) co(n)s(ularis) legi(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) Aurelius Nicomachus* ins Jahr 213 (CBFIR 582).). Die Weihinschrift des *b(ene)f(iciaraius) co(n)s(ularis) legi(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) Marcus Aurelius Marcianus* ins Jahr 230 (CBFIR 610). Die chronologische Folge schließt ab mit der Weihinschrift des *spec(ulator) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) Aur(elius) Valerianus*, die *Numini / maiestatiq(ue) / d(omini) n(ostri) Gordiani / Aug(usti)* geweiht ist und somit in die Jahre zwischen 238. i 244. datiert werden kann (CIL III 03021; 10058; Brunšmid 1907, 118–119, br. 242; EDH HD055357).

Die zuverlässig datierten Vergleichsbeispiele reichen also von der Mitte des 2. bis zur Mitte des 3. Jh. Leider können wir auf keine datierten Vergleichsbeispiele für die Ehrentitel in Form von *Cla(udia)* und *Claudia* hinweisen. Hinzu kommt. dass es für diese Formen des Ehrentitels nicht nur in Dalmatien wenige Vergleichsbeispiele gibt. Die oben vorgelegte Analyse der verschiedenen Formen des Ehrentitels *Claudia* unter Berücksichtigung der Fundorte und Denkmaltypen auf denen sie in Dalmatien erscheinen und der Rangordnung der Soldaten für die die Denkmäler, oder von denen die Denkmäler errichte wurden zeigt aber, dass sie alle zu einer geschlossenen Gruppe gehören. Die Merkmale *für eine Datierung de*s Sarkophags des Aurelius Alexsander ins 3. Jh. scheinen sich also zu bestätigen. Für eine Datierung ins späte 3. Jh. könnte die verlängerte Form des Ehrentitels sprechen, und auch die schon von Egger als schlecht geschriebene Inschrift mit den zahlreichen Fehlern. Beides kann aber auch auf die Tatsache zurückgeführt werden, dass es sich um ein privates Grabdenkmal und nicht um eine öffentliche Weihinschrift handelt. Die Frage wie die Datierungsmerkmale des 3. Jh. mit den Fundumständen des angehenden 4. Jh. in Einklang zu bringen sind bleibt also offen. Es ist zu hoffen, dass die provinzialrömische und frühchristliche Archäologie, die in Salona ein breites und noch unerschöpfliches Betätigungsfeld besitzen, recht bald neue Anhaltspunkte bekommt.

Abkürzungen

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Red-figure lekythoi of Agrinion group from central Dalmatia[1]

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Three red-figure lekythoi discovered in Issa and Pharos, Late Classical and Hellenistic Greek settlements established in the eastern Adriatic islands of central Dalmatia, can be attributed to the Agrinion group. Although all were conceivably associated with a funeral context, only the two from Issa were actually found as grave depositions on Martvilo and Vlaška njiva necropolis. The latter is especially important as it was documented with the rest of the funeral assemblage, found in grave 65. This paper discusses the Agrinion lekythoi from central Dalmatia, in the light of the available contextual evidence. In this way, it attempts to offer a contribution towards a better understanding of the distribution and chronology of these finds in the context of cultural interaction in the central Mediterranean region during the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic times, and explores their role within the local funeral customs, including a possible link between the depictions on Agrinion lekythoi and aspects of death rituals.

Keywords: *Dalmatia (eastern Adriatic), Issa, Pharos, Red-figure pottery, lekythos, Agrinion group, burial assemblage*

Among the diverse body of evidence of ancient ceramic wares discovered in the Dalmatian region of the eastern Adriatic, a small group of red-figure lekythoi stands out. Lekythos (Greek λήκυθος) was a type of ancient vessel, a flask of a kind used for holding oils and unguents, as well as other aromatic extracts. They had a prominent role in various aspects of the funeral rituals, and their appearance in grave assemblages, notwithstanding the symbolic function, can allude to the presence of oil. Lekythoi were also used in other types of everyday activities, especially in baths and gymnasiums. The development of this ceramic form can be traced from the 6th c. BCE to the early Hellenistic times, when lekythoi were in grave deposits and conceivably their function replaced by unguentaria (Rotroff 1997: 138). During this period, lekythoi were made in a number of different wares and pottery styles, most notably in black-figure, white-ground, red-figure, gnathia and other. Three examples of small lekythoi, painted in red-figure style, were discovered in Issa and Pharos, Late Classical and Hellenistic Greek settlements that came into existence on the neighbouring central Dalmatian islands of Vis and Hvar. Their morphological and stylistic similarities allow us to attribute these to the Agrinion group, as defined by Ian McPhee (McPhee 1979).

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[1] It is a pleasure for me to dedicate this article to professor dr. sc. Mirjana Sanader, Chair for Roman Provincial and Early Christian archaeology in the Department of Archaeology of the University of Zagreb, out of gratitude for her extensive contribution to Croatian and therefore European archaeology. Like many colleagues, I was a student of prof. Sanader, and I am especially grateful for her guidance and support as a chair of my PhD committee. Although prof. Sanader dealt primarily with Roman and Early Christian archaeology, some of her numerous professional and scientific contributions are devoted to aspects in connection to the earliest urban settlements in Croatia, the Greek cities in Dalmatia. Therefore, the topic, discussing a facet of the material culture from Issa and Pharos, is deemed appropriate for this occasion.

Fig. 1 a-c. Red-figure lekythos of Agrinion group from Martvilo necropolis, Issa (Vis), Photo: Tonći Seser

Two Agrinion lekythoi were found in Issa on the island of Vis.[2] Both are associated with a funeral context, and served as grave goods. One example comes from a tomb discovered on the northern side of the southwestern Issean necropolis, known as Martvilo (Fig. 1a-c). This area of Martvilo was investigated due to construction works that took place in 1948, when the football playground was erected on the spot. On this occasion 10 tombs were discovered, but only a brief text and a few photographs are available as the accompanying documentation (Abramić 1949: 12; Čargo 2010: 63–66). The Agrinion lekythos is among the 39 objects, today kept at the Archaeological Museum in Split, that are set in connection with these tombs (Abramić 1949: T. III; Lisičar 1973: T. XIII; McPhee 1979: 159–160, nr. 21; Kirigin 2008: 95). Its detailed context, including the associated tomb and its funeral assemblage, remains, unfortunately, unknown. The second Agrinion lekythos from Issa was found in grave 65 on the eastern Issean necropolis on Vlaška njiva (Fig. 2a-c, 3). It was documented with the rest of its funeral assemblage, all discovered

Fig. 2 a-c. Red-figure lekythos of Agrinion group from Vlaška njiva necropolis, Issa (Vis), Photo: Tonći Seser.

2 The lekythoi from Vis were photographed by Tonći Seser, and the drawing was made by Jasmina Beneta. I thank them both.

during a rescue excavation that took place in this locality in 1983, as a response to the construction of Hotel Issa (Kirigin 1983). The third example forms a part of the Collection of the Dominican Monastery of St. Petar Mučenik (St. Peter the Marty) in Stari Grad on the island of Hvar (Fig. 4 a-c).[3] Although the contextual evidence in connection to this artefact is missing, it is said to have come from the ancient Greek city of Pharos, that was established on the site of present-day Stari Grad (Kirigin 2004: 156, T. XXXI, F).

Fig. 3. Red-figure lekythos of Agrinion group from Vlaška njiva necropolis, Issa (Vis), Drawing: Jasmina Beneta.

All three examples were made from light brown clay, Munsell 10 YR 7/4 (very pale brown), that was fine levigated and contains no visible inclusions (for Martvilo example see Čargo 2010: 66, 72). Their height is between 13.1 cm and 15.5 cm. The mouth flares outward, and is slightly offset from the neck, while the neck is similarly offset from the shoulder. A single strap handle connects the neck with the shoulder, on the side opposite to the main scene depicted on the body. The examples from Pharos and Vlaška njiva (inv. br. AMS 72362) have similarly shaped ovoid bodies and elongated necks. Their resemblance is further attested in the same decorational treatment of the neck and lower body. Both of the necks are adorned with so-called tongues, or elongated petals, while below the main scene, a frieze of double egg pattern with a dot to the right circumflexes the frontal side of the lower body. The main scene and subsidiary motives differ. On the frontal side of the body of the lekythos from Vlaška njiva, the main scene consists of a representation of a female figure, sitting in a chariot pulled by two birds, perhaps geese. It may be a depiction of the goddess Aphrodite. The scene is flanked by spiral tendrils, with a tear shaped motif in between. The example from Pharos depicts a seated woman, to the right, with her face facing the opposite direction, holding what is probably a box in her hands. The subsidiary spiral tendril flanks the scene, with two additional motives in between shaped in the form of an hourglass. The lekythos

Fig. 4 a-c. Red-figure lekythos of Agrinion group from Pharos, Photo: Eduard Visković.

[3] I thank very much friar Mario Marinov for his permission to publish the lekythos from Pharos. The lekythos was photographed by Eduard Visković, whom I also thank very much for his help.

found on Martvilo necropolis (Inv. nr. AMS Fb 1415) has a somewhat more elongated ovoid body. The neck is decorated on the frontal side with four simple and rather hastily painted black vertical strokes. The main scene depicts a female figure seated on a chair to the right, holding a mirror in her left hand. The spiral tendril flanks the scene, while the band of egg pattern is replaced with a reserved strip. The examples from Pharos and Martvilo exhibit faint remains of added white on the figures.

Since the establishment of the Agrinion group by Ian McPhee in 1979, these lekythoi have been discussed in several publications. The current state of evidence indicates that various examples of Agrinion lekythoi were distributed in the central Mediterranean region, including the Ionian islands (Corfu, Lefkada), Epirus (Ambracia, Ioannina, Agrinion), the western Peloponnese (Olympia), Etolia-Acarnania (Stratos), the eastern Adriatic (Apollonia, Dyrrhachion, Issa, Pharos), southern and northern Italy (Heraclea Lucania, and Spina respectively) and the region of Sicily (the Lipari islands) (Aurigemma 1965: 131, tav. 160, b, second row, second and fifth leykthos from the left side; Brenabò Brea & Cavalier 1965: tav. XCII, 6; McPhee 1979; Pianu 1990: 34–35, tav. XIV, 4; Gliotta 1997: 93, 94; Andréou 2004: pin. 271–273; 2009: 131–132; Kirigin 2004: 156, T. XXXI, F; Hidri 2005: 101–106; Papadopoulous 2009; Pliakou 2009: 192, 193, pl. 1; Stavropoulou-Gatsi & Tsantila 2009: 248, 249; Čargo 2010: 72; Grazia Amore & Dimo 2010; Shehi & Tichit 2013; Paleothodoros 2015; Aggeli 2016). Ian McPhee suggested these lekythoi represent a local fabric from north-west Greece, but that their stylistic decoration drew inspiration from the Apulian red-figure production (McPhee 1979: 159–162). Several decades later, John Papadopoulos pointed out the possible influence of the Corinthian archaic production and suggested Ambracia as the most likely production site (Papadopoulos 2009: 239). Nevertheless, he did not exclude the possibility that the manufacture of the Agrinion lekythoi could have taken place in other localities as well, including Apollonia or Dyrrhachion in the south-eastern Adriatic (Papadopoulos 2009: 239). Ioanna Andreou also argued Ambracia as the most important workshop of this group, and in the same manner acknowledged the possibility of other workshops, for example, in Apollonia or Lefkada, which might have manufactured the same type of lekythos (Andreou 2004; 2009). She further on suggested small lekythoi from the Lefkania workshop (360–340 BCE) as possible prototypes (Andreou 2004), but Anthi Aggeli recently pointed out differences between the two groups, in the types of motives and their presentation (Aggeli 2016: 68). The city of Leukas (island of Leukas near Acarnania) was also considered a likely candidate (Pliakou 2009: 210), as were several workshops in the area of Acarnania and Aetolia (Stavropoulou-Gatsi & Tsantila 2009: 258). Local manufacture was assumed for examples found in graves of Apollonia (Grazia Amore & Dimo 2010: 389, 390). Based on their study on lekythoi from Artemision in Dyrrhachion, Eduard Shehi and Anne Tichit argued that the production of Agrinion lekythoi took place in the ceramic workshop(s) of Dyrrhachion, or that there were several interconnected regional centres where such artefacts were made (Shehi & Tichit 2013). Recent analysis by Dimitrios Paleothodoros concludes that there are currently five sites where the production of these vessels has been feasibly argued (Paleothodoros 2015). These are: Elis on Peloponnese, Ambracia in Epirus, Stratos in Aetolia-Acarnania, the Ionian island of Corfu and Dyrrhachion in the southern eastern Adriatic. In that light, he believes that there were probably several ceramic workshops that produced this type of lekythoi and moves forward to propose the city of Elis as the first and the oldest production centre, after which the manufacture of this type spread to other workshops along the Ionian-Adriatic vertical (Paleothodoros 2015). Anthi Aggelli publishes the lekythoi from Ambracia and considers them locally manufactured, but does not exclude other possible workshops in Apollonia or Dyrrhachion and Elis (Aggeli 2016).

Based on the available evidence it looks plausible that various interconnected workshops in the above-discussed central Mediterranean sites manufactured lekythoi that exhibit similar morphological and stylistic traits. However, considering the state of research, it is not possible, at the moment, to suggest the precise origins for the examples found in central Dalmatia. That being said, the lekythoi discovered in Issa and Pharos show clear analogies to lekythoi of this group found elsewhere. The example from Martvilo necropolis finds close shape comparisons in examples from Dyrrhachion, Forme 3 (Shehi & Tichit 2013: 121, 122) or Papadato in Aetolo-Akarania and Ambracia/Arta in Arta, Epirus (Stavropoulou-Gatsi & Tsantila 2009: pin. 34, ɣ; Aggeli 2016: eik. 3, 1). A similar shape of the body witnessed in the other two Agrinion lekythoi from central Dalmatia can be observed in Dyrrhachion, Forme 7, although our examples have simple ring foot that is in Dyrrhachion represented only in Forme 1 (Shehi & Tichit 2013: 121, 122), as well as Strato (Stavropoulou-Gatsi & Tsantila 2009: pin. 33–35). The central scenes that decorate the frontal bodies of the Agrinion lekythoi most commonly show representations of female figures in various phases of the beautification processes. Mythological depictions of deities (e. g. Eros and Aphrodite) and animals appear as well (Andreou 2009: 132, AE 6707; Stavrpoulou-Gatsi & Tsantila 2009: pin 33, 35, γ, 35, γ; Agelli 2016: 68). Latter examples from Ambracia can have more than one figure (Aggeli 2016: 68), that has been used as an argument against the Apulian influence, where only one figure remained the tradition (Aggeli 2016: 68). The Vlaška njiva lekythos is decorated with a scene that most likely represents the goddess Aphrodite on a chariot driven by geese. This display is, for now, unique. However, there are other examples from Ambracia, which also depict a female figure that could be interpreted as the goddess Aphrodite (i. e. with swans, Aggeli 2016: 60, 61, eix. 3,2). The seated woman holding a mirror, as is the one on the Martvilo lekythos, finds analogies in examples found on various sites in NW Greece, such as the Papadato in Etoloakarania (Stavropoulou-Gatsi & Tsantila 2009: pin. 34, γ) or Dourouti (Ioannina) in Epirus (Andreou 2009: 130, AE 6703, from grave LXXX, from grave LXXX), as well as in the Apollonia in modern-day Albania (Grazia Amore & Dimo 2010: 389, 1.170, from grave 9). A scene similar to the one shown on the lekythos from Pharos, a seated woman looking back and holding a box, has been documented on lekythoi originating from Agrinion, Corfu (McPhee 1979: 159, 4, 15) and Dourouti (Ioannina) (Andreou 2009: 131, AE 6705, from grave LXXX). The added white colour has also been recorded on various sites, including Ambracia and Dyrrhachion (McPhee 1979: 160; Shehi & Tichit 2013: 118; Aggeli 2016). Analogies can be established for the rest of the decorative motives as well. For example, the same neck decoration and the egg pattern on the lower body appear on numerous lekythoi of this group found on all the above noted sites. The neck decorated with simple vertical lines, appears as well, although apparently less frequently (Aggeli 2016: 74, eik. 5, 5667). The reserved strip below the main scene, as seen in the Martvilo example, has previously been noted on lekythoi found in Agrinion and Corfu (McPhee 1979: 159, nr. 7 and 14).

The date for the production and use of the Agrinion lekythoi seemingly falls within the 4th c. BCE. Several opinions, however, have been offered with regards to a more precise date of these vessels. The difficulties have arisen from the fact that many of the found examples come from museums, frequently without securely documented context and partially as a result of extensive looting activities documented namely in the Greek regions. In spite of that, recently obtained contextual evidence has shed more light on this aspect. When Ian McPhee studied these vessels he took into consideration the style and dates of the available contexts proposing a date range between the second quarter and the last quarter of the 4th c. BCE (McPhee 1979: 161). A recent study of red-figure ware from Ambracia conducted by Anthi Aggeli has brought forth that the production of Agrinion group lekythoi, at least in Ambracia, took place already from the beginning of the 4th c. BCE and lasted until the third quarter or the beginning or the fourth quarter of the same century (Aggelli 2016: 68). According to M. Grazia Amore & Dimo, the lekythoi of this group found in graves of the Tumulus 9 and 10 in Apollonia should be dated from between the first half and the middle of the 4th c. BCE (Grazia Amore & Dimo 2010: 389, 390). Examples that were discovered in two necropolises in Strato have been dated to the middle of the 4th c. BCE (Stavropoulou-Gatsi & Tsantila 2009: 248, 249). However, the authors emphasise that no firm conclusions can be made as almost half of the graves were looted. Branko Kirigin suggested the second half of the 4th c. BCE as a date for the examples found in Pharos and Martvilo necropolis (Kirigin 2004: 156). This was recently supported by several examples discovered in well documented grave contexts from Dourouti (Ioannina) (Andreou 2009: 144; Pliakou 2009: 192, 193, pl. 1.). In southern Italy, one Agrinion lekythos was found in Heraclea Lucania (today the area of Basilicata), documented in a grave dated between 330 and 310 BCE (Pianu 1990: 333, 34). Among the central Dalmatian examples, only the one found in tomb 65 on Vlaška njiva can be studied with its fully documented funeral context. The grave, shaped in the form of a rectangle, was aligned with dressed stones, covered with two massive stone blocks. The funeral assemblage consisted of various shapes of ceramic vessels that include four oinochoe (one red-figure and three gnathia), five skyphoi (four black-coated and one red-figure), one small pelike (gnathia), three lekythoi (one red-figure, one gnathia and one Apulian black painted), two saucers (black-coated), one shallow bowl (black-coated) and one pyxida (plain), along with two strigils, five astragals and the remains of clothing (4 bronze fibulae). While the style of fibulae indicates local eastern Adriatic type of artwork (early Baška type of fibula), the pottery is imported, and based on style and form analogies seems to have originated from various workshops, including southern and northern Apulia and Picenum. On top of the grave cover several other objects were deposited as well. These include: a seated (thorned?) terracotta female figurine, an oinochoe (Alto Adriatico), two pelikas (gnathia), a skyphos (black-coated), pyxida (plain), lekane (Alto-Adriatico), strigil and a ring. The majority of the material is consistant with the date of the second half of the 4th c. BCE, while several objects could be dated to the early 3rd c. BCE as well.

This brings us to the next questions, are these vessels associated with specific individuals? Notwithstanding the deposition of lekythoi in graves and their functional role within the burial ritual, is there also a connection between the depictions on Agrinion lekythoi and aspects of burial rituals? Can these be seen in relation to new conventional values brought forth by the Hellenistic period that refer to woman's beauty and the ideal of that beauty (Houby-Nielsen 1997: 244)? Perhaps it is not a coincidence that along with various female beautification scenes, some mythological depictions refer to the goddess Aphrodite, whose cult became very popular during the Late Classical and Hellenistic times, when she was also viewed as an incarnation of the new artistic and conventional values. If scenes were accompanied by symbolic messages that reflect cultural tendencies, was this meaning transferred along with the vessels themselves and understood by the new users? In order to at least partially answer this question, with regards to the central Dalmatia area, one would need to introduce all the available material evidence, which certainly goes beyond the scope of the current contribution. However, it would seem that in the case of Agrinion lekythoi we simply lack some crucial aspects of the contextual evidence to permit us to more closely examine its role within the burial ritual. Namely, to the best of my knowledge the only funeral context with known information about the sex of the deceased comes from Heraclea Lucania, where the Agrinion lekythos was deposited in the grave of a female individual (Pianu 1990: 34). The example from Vlaška njiva, unfortunately, does not offer new insights in this aspect. Grave 65 was documented in close special connection with another grave 65a. The individuals buried therein have been identified as an adult female and a male, but the available documentation does not permit conclusions on which should be associated with grave 65 and which with 65a.

The distribution of Agrinion lekythoi, and their use in burial rituals, is a faint reminder of cultural contacts that took place in the Late Classical and early Hellenistic period between the central Mediterranean regions. Although several lekythoi can hardly be considered evidence of regular trade, the area of central Dalmatia was certainly involved in various ways in these interactions, as implied also by other imports from Greece or strongly influenced by those productions (i.e. Miše & Touloumtzidou 2016: 304–307). The contextual evidence from Issa indicates the Agrinion lekythoi in central Dalmatia were associated with tomb assemblages of the second half of the 4th c. BCE, but conceivably towards its end (and the beginning of the 3rd c. BCE). In the context of burials, these lekythoi were functionally and culturally appropriated, and used by mourners (along with other artefacts) as symbolic objects from far away within the elaborated rituals influenced by multifaceted realities as a part of the emotional and social process through which death was confirmed as a reality.

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Late Roman Glass Furnace in *Heraclea Sintica*

Lyudmil F. VAGALINSKI, Sofia

A glass kiln found in 2016 in Heraclea Sintica (southwestern corner of Bulgaria) is published. The furnace was used of secondary glass production applying the technique of free-blowing. The furnace dates back to the first half of the fourth century AD.

Key words: *glass, kiln, secondary glass production, Heraclea Sintica, ancient Macedonia*

Introduction

Heraclea Sintica lies in the south-western corner of Bulgaria, near the village of Rupite, Petrich municipality. This ancient city has been systematically researched through archaeological excavations since 2007[1]. The information currently available indicates that was founded by Macedonian colonists in the second half of the 4th century BC. After the Battle of Pydna in BC 168 the city was associated to the Roman state and belonged to the province of Macedonia. Its population was ethnically diverse: ancient Macedonians, Thracians, Hellenes, Celts, Romans, Illyrians (?) and even settlers from distant places like Miletus and Carthage. The city developed successfully despite several enemy attacks. Two powerful consecutive earthquakes caused severe damage. The first happened soon after AD 388. The residents of the city did not restore the agora, but around AD 400 they built an early Christian basilica in the north-eastern corner of the late Roman forum (Fig. 1). The second earthquake hit *Heraclea* shortly after AD 425. It broke the will of the citizens, among whom there are wealthy people, to restore their city. Life in the settlement centre of Middle Struma River's valley in Antiquity faded slowly throughout the second half of the 5th century (*terminus post quem* AD 457).

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1 The author is head of the archaeological research. About *Heraclea Sintica* see: Vagalinski & Nankov 2015; Sharankov 2016; Sharankov 2017; Vagalinski 2018; Vagalinski 2018a as well as www.archaeologia-bulgarica.com

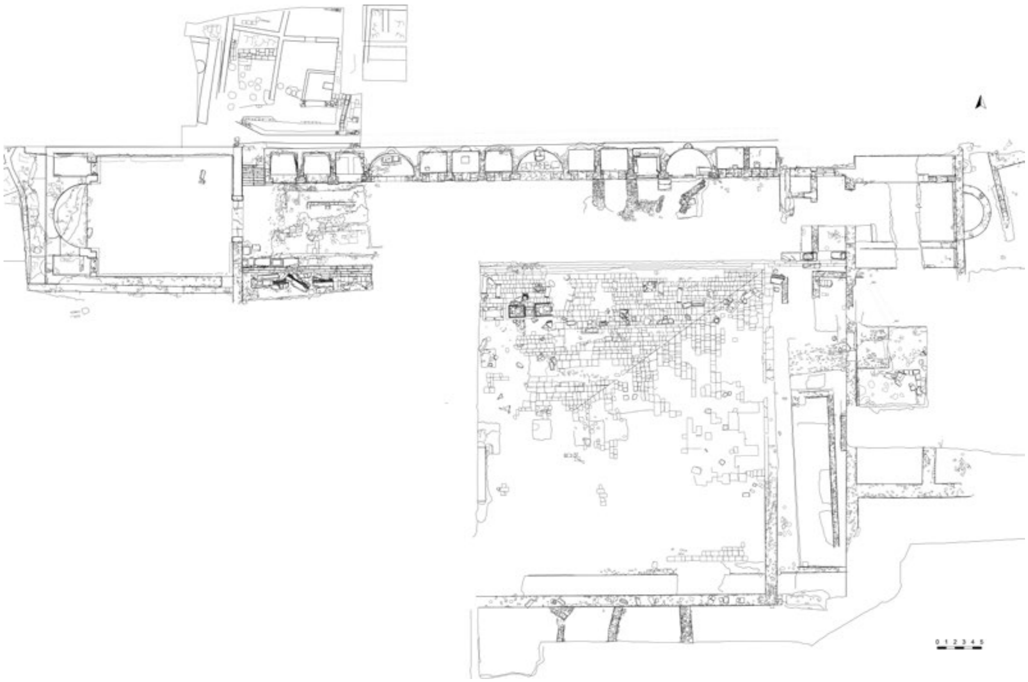

Fig. 1. *Plan of the late Roman forum of* Heraclea Sintica *(Milena Kamenova).*

Description of the furnace and its use

The furnace was studied in the summer of 2016. It is not published. It is located in the northwest corner of the civic basilica of the city and more precisely in the northeast corner of the northern of its two vaulted rooms (Fig. 2). The basilica itself, with its inscribed apse, occupies the northwest corner of the Late Roman forum (Fig. 1).

Fig. 2. Late Roman glass furnace in the civil basilica of Heraclea Sintica *(the author).*

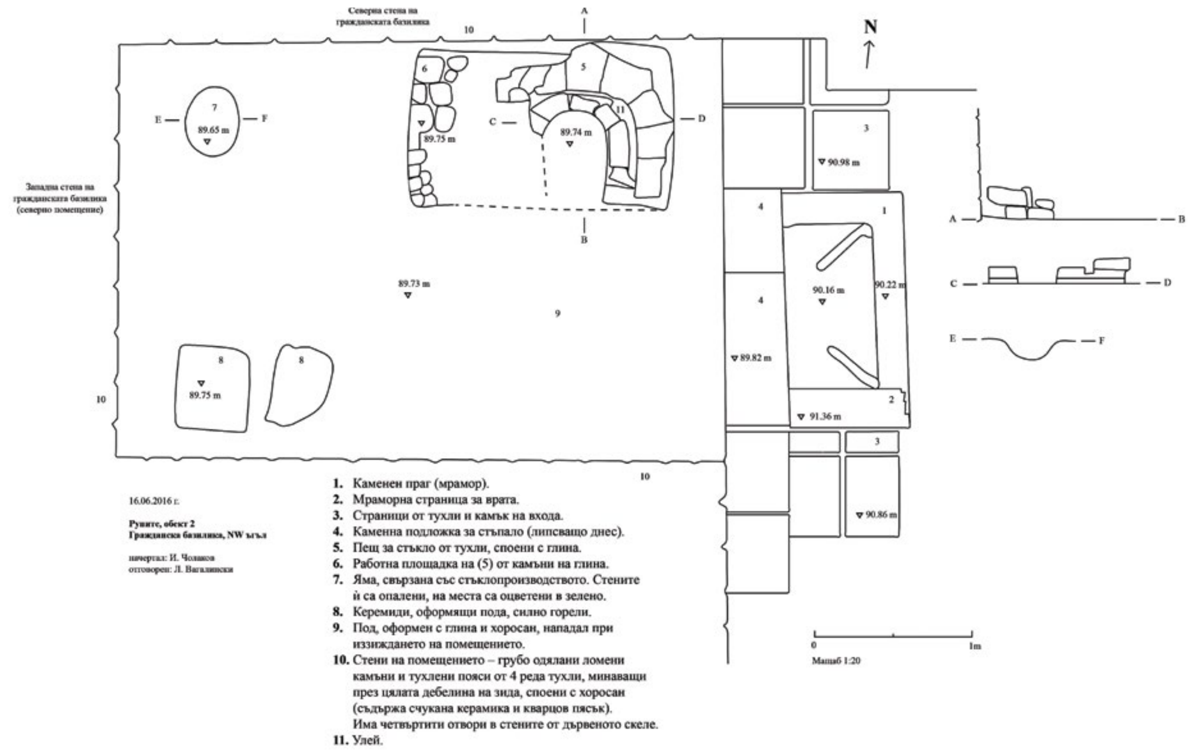

Fig. 3. Plan of the civic basilica's northern vaulted room with glass kiln (Ivo D. Cholakov).

The furnace has a horseshoe shape (Fig. 3). It is built of bricks, bound with clay. The floor is clay, 4 cm thick in total. Only the base is preserved and its southwest part is missing. The clay vault, walls and crucible have not survived. There are two construction phases of the furnace. Because of the very high temperatures developed, glass furnaces had a short life span; they were quickly worn down and constantly required small repairs. It is possible, that they were demolished and rebuilt every year, looking like overlapping rings when excavated (Antonaras 2017: 11).

The first phase is the outer, larger, horseshoe shaped structure (Fig. 3: 5). Its maximum outer width (east-west) is 112 cm. The maximum inner width (east-west) is about 60 cm. The preserved outer length (north-south) is 101 cm. The walls are up to 30 cm thick. They are preserved up to 20 cm in height. The interior of the walls is carefully plastered with clay to withstand the high temperature. The clay floor of the first phase is 1 cm thick.

A smaller horseshoe shaped structure, inscribed into the first one, represents the second phase (Fig. 3). It was built the same way as the first one. The inner width (east-west) of the second phase is about 37–40 cm. There is a distance between the walls of the two phases so that a 2 cm wide groove is formed (Fig. 3: 11). The floor of the second one is 3 cm thick and covers the floor of the older larger furnace.

The uneven rock around the furnace was levelled up with stones, welded with clay (Fig. 3: 6).

230 cm to the west of the furnace and from its centre a pit with oval plan was discovered (Fig. 3: 7); its dimensions are 50 cm (north-south axis) per 40 cm (east-west). Its depth is about 12 cm. The pit was full of ash. It probably served to gradually cool the hot glass vessels. This process, known as annealing, required 18–20 hours (Antonaras 2017: 11).

Approximately 250 cm southeast from the centre of the furnace there were two flat tiles (*tegulae*), carefully placed in horizontal position (Fig. 3: 8). It is difficult to conclude whether this is a ground for rolling the vessel to achieve its final form (Antonaras 2017: 10).

Pieces of glass from the vessel production (testing droplets and deformed masses of glass) as well as small fragments of raw glass were found around the furnace (Fig. 4). The small number of glass fragments found during the excavations confirms that efficient recycling must have been a high priority for ancient glassworkers (Antonaras 2017: 49). There is not enough data to identify the types of glass vessels produced in the furnace.

Fig. 4. Glass fragments by the Late Roman glass furnace in Heraclea Sintica *(the author).*

The kiln was used for secondary glass production applying the technique of free-blowing. It resulted in reduction in the price of glass products. Most residents of the Roman Empire could afford to buy such, even though their price was 10–20 times higher than that of clay pots of similar size. From the 2nd century onwards, most glassware was produced locally. In the eastern part of the Roman Empire, small independent producers prevailed (Antonaras 2017: 9, 15, 17, 48–50). Most likely, such was also the glassmaker from the civic basilica of *Heraclea Sintica*. The social status of craftsmen in the Roman Empire was very low (Antonaras 2016: 89). Glass furnaces, similar as shape and size, are known from other cities in late Antiquity Macedonia (4th – 6th c. AD): Thessaloniki, Edessa and Philippi (Antonaras 2014; Antonaras & Chrysostomou 2015). Typical of the age, they are located in the central parts of these settlements too.

Dating of the furnace

Stratigraphic dating

An enemy attack hit the city soon after AD 276. Its inhabitants quickly recovered and began a massive reconstruction of their forum. The civic basilica was then built. Probably this ambitious building program was also provoked by a decree of Emperor Galerius, which affirmed the urban status of *Heraclea* (Mitrev 2003). A powerful earthquake soon after AD 388 stroke while the construction of the central square was still unfinished. After the quake, the ruins of the furnace were covered by the clay flooring level of the next, fourth, settlement period, during which the basilica was used for husbandry purposes. Thus, the archaeological / stratigraphic date of the furnace stands between AD 276 and AD 388.

Archaeomagnetic dating

This dating is performed by Assist. Prof. Dr. Deyan Lesigyarski and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Maria Kostadinova-Avramova (both from the National Institute for geophysics, geodesy and geography at Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia). It reveals, that the furnace was ignited for the last time in the interval between AD 303 and AD 354 (Fig. 5).

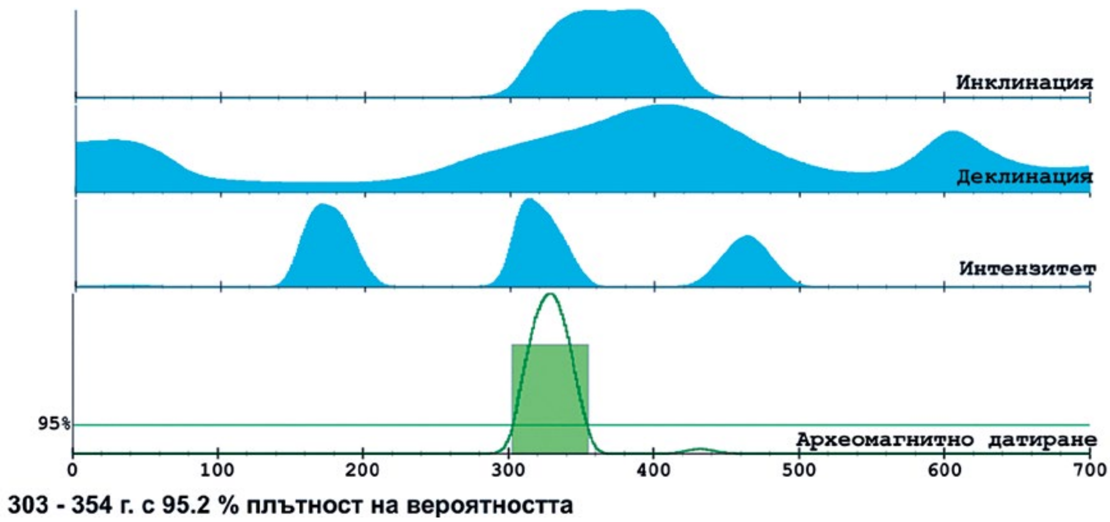

Fig. 5. Archaeomagnetic dating of the Late Roman glass furnace in Heraclea Sintica *(Deyan Lesigyarski & Maria Kostadinova-Avramova).*

It may be assumed that the furnace functioned in the first half of the 4th century.

Chemical analysis of glass fragments found around the furnace

The chemical analysis is performed by Assist. Prof. Dr. Boika Zlateva (Sofia University, Faculty of chemistry and pharmacy, Dept. of Analytical Chemistry) and Assist. Prof. Dr. Deyan Lesigyarski (National Institute for geophysics, geodesy and geography at Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia). The authors will publish the results of the study separately and in detail. Only the main conclusions will be presented in the present paper.

The analysis of 57 samples is performed through inductively coupled plasma atomic emission spectrometry (ICP-AES 6000, Perkin Elmer) and inductively coupled plasma mass spectrometry (ICP-MS DRC-e, Perkin Elmer). All the analysed samples show a high content of Na_2O, which determines the glass as sodium – typical of the Roman glass found on the territory of modern Bulgaria. Natural soda was used for the production. There are three prescription norms for glass production according to the ratio of the main components – capital-Roman, provincial-Roman and Middle Eastern. The analysed glass fragments belong to the provincial-Roman type. On the other hand, colorants such as MnO_2 and Sb_2O_3, which are typical of the Middle Eastern recipe, are used in the production. Interestingly, in about 10% of the samples, a significant amount of As_2O_3 has been found.

Conclusion

The location and stratigraphic position of the furnace confirm the field results that the rebuilding of *Heraclea Sintica*'s forum in the 4th century lasted for a long time, most probably for financial reasons. The earthquake at the end of the 4th century found the square unfinished. Obviously, the construction of the civic basilica was halted for a while and a glassmaker took advantage to deploy his workshop in its premises.

Until now, we have archaeological data for several manufactures in *Heraclea Sintica*: amphorae[2], terracotta, bone and stone products, fabrics (Cholakov 2015). The present glass furnace enriches our knowledge about crafts in ancient Macedonia[3].

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[2] Unpublished results.

[3] My gratitude to Dr. Anastassios Ch. Antonaras (Thessaloniki) for his advices regarding the interpretation of the furnace.

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Neuere Inschriften aus Bölcske

Zsolt VISY, Pécs

Drei aus Bölcske, Komitat Tolna in Ungarn, stammenden Inschriften werden in diesem Beitrag behandelt. Das Bruchstück der Bauinschrift eines Wachturmes, der lange Zeit verschollen wurde, eine alte Abschrift eines Grabsteines, der der Sammlung des Wosinsky Museum in Szekszárd gehört, und neuere Informationen zur Lesung des Steines gibt, ferner ein kleines Fragment eines Grabsteines, das in der Krypta der katholischen Kirche eingemauert wurde. All diese Inschriften bestätigen die Bedeutung des Gebiets von Bölcske in der römischen Zeit.

Schlüsselwörter: *Bölcske, limes, Wachttürme, Grabsteine*

Bölcske liegt am Westufer der Donau, wo der Fluss eine größere Biegung bildet. Obwohl die Limes-Straße sich westlich der Gemeinde identifizieren ließ, konnte eine andere Straße entlang des Flusses und am Fuße des Löß-Plateaus laufen, wo die Eisenbahnlinie zu finden ist. Der Flur Szentandrás-puszta liegt hier, westlich von Bölcske, am Fuß des Hadai Berges, wo auf Grund der von Zeit zu Zeit gefundenen römischen Funde (S. jetzt Szabó 2020: 247–262) ein frührömisches Kastell vermutet wurde. Im Gebiet des Dorfes, besonders in seinem nördlichen Gebiet, befindet sich eine keltische Siedlung (Wosinsky 1896: 576–577), und in der Donau konnte eine spätrömische Schiffslände (Soproni 1991b: 257–258; Visy 2003: 90–91; Tóth 2003: 5–10; Gaál 2003: 11–32) identifiziert werden. Ein römischer Turm kann 2 km südlich davon, auch in der Donau, vermutet werden. Manche sekundär verwendeten Steindenkmäler wurden auch in der reformierten und in der katholischen Kirche und in einigen Häusern gefunden.

1. Bruchstück der Bauinschrift eines Burgus

Das Inschriftenfragment wurde von F. Hajdók in dem der Familie gehörenden Grundstück in sekundärer Lage in 2008 gefunden, das stammt aber aus einem Flur bei Szentkút (Heiliger Brunnen). Dies befindet sich am Rand des nordöstlichen Hochufers in dem nördlichen Teil von Bölcske[1]. Seitdem befindet sich der Stein im Garten von Ferenc Hajdók, Tölgyfa Str. 1. in Bölcske.

Das Kalksteinbruchstück ist der rechte untere Teil der Inschriftentafel. An der rechten Seite befindet sich eine dreifache Umrahmung. Die Oberfläche ist glatt, aber zeigt kleinen Beschädigungen. Erhaltene

[1] Visy 2003: Karte 21. – Nach dem Abschluss des Manuskriptes hat sich herausgestellt, dass dieser Stein in 1907 in den Ruinen einer Kirche in der Kővári Weingarten gefunden wurde. Eine Abschrift gelangte ins Nationalmuseum, aber der Stein wurde laut dem Notar vom Wetter vernichtet, Kovács & Prohászka 2003: 291–299. Es ist erfreulich, dass der Stein doch – obwohl mit anderen Fundumständen – erhalten ist, und es lohnt sich hier den auch mit einem Foto zu veröffentlichen.

H: 48 cm, B: 38 cm, D: 19 cm. Die kapitalen Buchstaben wurden regelmäßig gemeißelt. Die Buchstabenhöhe misst 5 cm, aber in der 2. Zeile nur 3,5 cm.

Die Inschrift ist wie folgt:

M ° BVRGIS °
S ° PER LOCA °
LA[T]RVN
S °

Die Inschrift gehört der bekannten Gruppe der Burgus-Bauinschriften von Commodus, demgemäß ihre Ergänzung stößt keinerlei Schwierigkeiten. Die Zeilenteilung konnte auf Grund der bekannten Reste die Folgende sein:

Abb. 1. Burgus-Bauinschrift aus Bölcske (Photo Zs. Visy).

[Imp(erator)°Caes(ar)°M(arcus)°Aur(elius)°[[Commodus]]°Antoninus°
Aug(ustus)°Pius°Sarm(aticus)°Germ(anicus)°pont(ifex)°max(imus)° trib(unicia)°pot(estate)°
*VI°imp(erator)°IIII°co(n)s(ul)°IIII°p(ater)°p(atriae)°ripam°omne]***m***°burgis°*
*[a solo°extructis°item°praesidi(i)]***s***°per°loca°*
*[opportuna°ad clandestinos°]***la***[t]run-*
*[culorum transitus°oppositi]***s***°*
[munivit°per°[[L(ucium) Cornelium Felicem
Plotianum]]°leg(atum)°pr(o)°pr(aetore) °]]

Die beiden letzten Zeilen waren kürzer als die Anderen, und da sie zentriert geschrieben wurden, fallen keine Buchstaben auf die Fläche unter dem S der Zeile 4 der Inschrift.

Aus den weiteren ähnlichen Bauinschriften ist bekannt, dass die *burgi* und *praesidia* in den Jahren 183–184 gebaut wurden. Sie müssten nach dem Friedensschluss von 180 mit den Markomannen und Sarmaten erfolgten Unruhen von dem Statthalter der Provinz Pannonia Inferior *Lucius Cornelius Felix Plotianus* gebaut werden. Als er in 185 wegen Verschwörung wohl hingerichtet wurde (Leunissen 1989: 277; Fitz 1993 – 95: 536), hat sein Name getilgt werden müssen. Das Selbe geschah für den Kaiser Commodus, der in 193 getötet und mit *damnatio memoriae* bestraft wurde. Die beschädigten Bautafeln mussten aber zwei Jahre später, als Septimius Severus als neu „erkannte" Sohn von Marcus Aurelius, und demgemäß Bruder von Commodus geworden ist, entfernt werden (Soproni 1991a: 91–94).

Weitere Bauinschriften mit dem gleichen Text kamen in Dunaújváros zum Vorschein, und je eine in Budapest und in Százhalombatta. Sie sind Zeugnisse der militärischen Bautätigkeit zwischen Aquincum und Intercisa unter Commodus. Sicher ist aber nur, was in der Inschrift zu lesen ist: eine Baukampagne an der ganzen Limesstrecke (*omnis ripa*) von Pannonia Inferior. Eine genauere Datierung folgt aus dem nachträglichen Eintragung von Britannicus, beziehungsweise seine Hineinfassung in den originalen Text[2]. Die rätselhaften *latrunculi* konnten wohl Sarmaten sein (Alföldi 1941: 30–37), und die *burgi* standen wahrscheinlich eng an dem Donauufer, wo sich eine leichtere Überquerungsmöglichkeit öffnete (Visy 1995: 257). Was das vom *burgus* sich zu unterscheidende *praesidium* war, ist schwer zu bestimmen (Kovács FPA: 307–310; Visy 2009: 989–996), aber aus seinen weiteren Vorkommen konnte es eine Art Kleinkastell sein.

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[2] Fitz 1961: 203, neuerlich Kovács FPA 3: 304–305 und Mráv 2016: 24-28.

Die meisten Bautafeln stammen aus Intercisa, nur wenige aus anderen Fundstellen[3]. Man nahm an, dass solche Burgi den Fundstellen der Bauinschriften (Százhalombatta und Intercisa) – zwischen Aquincum und Intercisa gebaut wurde. Die Bedeutung der neuen Inschrift liegt darin, dass – angenommen, dass ihre Fundstelle bei Bölcske-Szentkút auf einen solchen Burgus hindeutet[4] – dieses Gebiet nun bis zum Lussonium auszudehnen ist. Dazu müsste man das Gebiet der angenommenen ursprünglichen Fundstelle archäologisch gründlich untersuchen. Die Stelle liegt am Rand des Hochufers, und da sich in diesem Bereich mehrere Furte auch in der Römerzeit befinden konnten, kann man mit einem solchen Burgus auch hier rechnen.

2. Fragment einer Grabinschrift(?)

In der Ecke der Krypta der katholischen Kirche befindet sich ein in die Mauer eingebautes kleines Inschriftenfragment. Seine sichtbare Größe ist 27,5 cm mal 23,5 cm, sein linker Teil steckt sich unsichtbar in der Mauer. Die obere Seite wurde flach gemacht, dies ist dann die obere Kante des Steines. Der Text endet in den beiden Zeilen nicht, die weiteren Buchstaben fehlen. Aus der Inschrift sind nur wenige Buchstaben erhalten geblieben. Die Buchstabengröße ist unterschiedlich. Sie beträgt in der ersten Zeile 6,3 cm und 5 cm in der Zeile 2. Da die Lehrfläche unter der 2. Zeile ziemlich hoch ist, kann man annehmen, dass dort schon keine weitere Zeile folgte.

Die Inschrift lautet wie folgt:

[…] A ° NA[…
…]NDRI[…]

Die durch Interpunktion getrennten Buchstaben der Zeile 1 lassen sich nicht interpretieren. In Zeile 2 konnte der Name *[Alexa]ndri* stehen. Mehr kann nicht festgestellt werden.

Abb. 2. Fragment einer Grabinschrift(?) aus Bölcske (Photo Zs. Visy).

3. Grabinschrift

Die fragmentarische Inschrift wurde in die Mauer der alten reformierten Kirche, über dem Südeingang an der Innenseite eingebaut, wo der damalige Priester János Pólya in 1813 abgeschrieben hat. Die Kirche wurde später abgebrochen, und in den vierziger Jahren des 19. Jhs. in größerem Format neugebaut. Die Inschrift gelangte in das Museum Szekszárd, und befindet sich auch jetzt dort[5]. Mór Wosinsky hat sie zum ersten Mal veröffentlicht (Wosinsky 1896: 700; Taf. CLXI). Die Inschriftentafel bildete die Vorderwand eines Grabmals, das wohl in Form eines Sarkophags aus vier Platten zusammengestellt und mit einer Deckplatte versehen am Oberfläche des Gräberfeldes aufgestellt wurde.

Die Abschrift des Textes befindet sich in der Matrikel der Kirche. Oben sind die Folgenden zu lesen:

Pro memoria A(nn)o 1813 d(ie) 15 Maii notatum
A Bölcskei Reformatus Templomnak Délre fekvő Ajtaja
felett ezen Lapidaris Inscriptio találtatik

(*Pro Memoria im Jahre 1813, am fünfzehnten Mai. Über dem Südtor der reformierten Kirche von Bölcske ist diese Steininschrift zu finden*)

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3 Visy 2016: No. 77–91, 84–102. Matrica: *CIL* 03, 03385; *RIU* 1426.

4 Mráv 2016, 29 ohne einen gründlichen Grund nimmt an, dass auch dieses Stück aus Intercisa stammt.

5 WMM Inv.-Nr. 58.349.1. – *CIL* 03, 3319 = 10299; *RIU* 1018; Burger 1991: 60, Nr. 95; Taf. 50, 1.

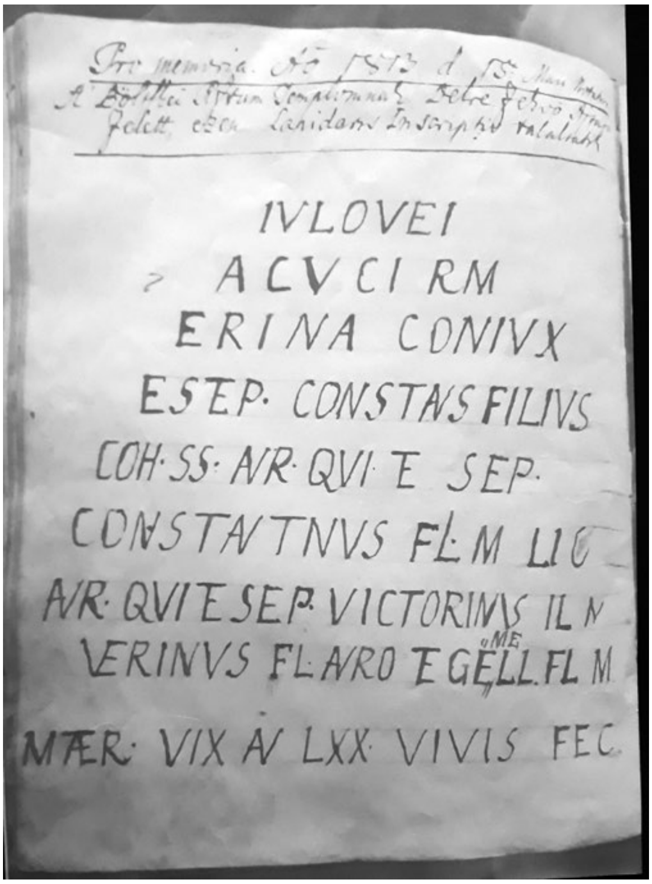

Abb. 3. Die Inschrift von Tatulus laut János Pólya (Photo Zs. Visy).

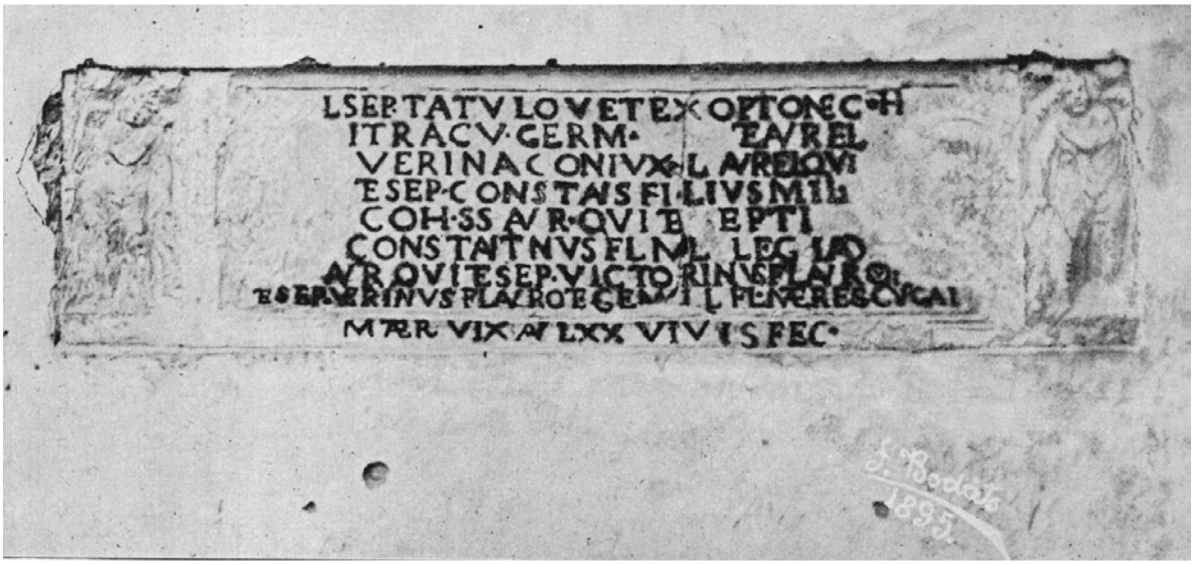

Abb. 4. Die Inschrift von Tatulus an der CLXI Tafel bei Wosinsky, signiert von F. Bodáts.

An der linken Seite fehlen Buchstaben in den ersten drei Zeilen, und an der rechten Seite in den ersten vier Zeilen. Der Interpunktion wurde in der Abschrift Acht gegeben. Es gibt manche falschen Lesungen, aber diese verringern keineswegs die Leistung des Priesters. Es lohnt sich seinen Text in Bezug nehmen, da damals die Inschrift noch in einem besser lesbaren Zustand war, und dadurch einige Ergänzungen und Verbesserungen zu der angenommenen Lesung gegeben werden können.

Die Abschrift ist wie folgt:

János Pólya	RIU 1018; HD03756
	D M
IVLO VEI	L SEP TATVLO VET EX OP**TI**O**NE** COH
ACV CI RM	I TRACV GERM **ET AV**REL
ERINA CONIVX	VERINA CONIVX L **AV**REL QVI
E SETP ° CONST**AN**S FILIVS	**ET** SEP CONST**AN**S FILIVS MIL
COH ° SS ° **AV**R ° QVI ° **ET** SEP °	COH S S **AV**R QVI **ET** SEPTI
CONST**ANTI**NVS F**IL** ° M LIG	CONST**ANTI**NVS F**IL** MIL LEG I **AD**
AVR ° QVI **ET** SEP ° VICTORIN**VS** IL M	**AV**R QVI **ET** SEP VICTORIN**VS FL AV**R QVI
VERINVS **FL** ° **AV**R O **ET** GEMELL F**IL** M	ET SEP **VE**RIN[ ] **AV**R Q **ET** S EMIL **FL** MERECCVSAE
M**ATE**R ° VIX **AN** LXX ° VIVIS FEC	M**ATE**R VIX **AN** LXX VIVI S FEC

Die Lesung des Priesters ist zwar lückenhaft, aber im Grunde genommen richtig und enthält sogar solche Buschstaben, die damals noch sicherlich besser lesbar waren als später. Die Bruchstücke der Grabtafel wurden im Museum zusammengebaut, und das Bindemittel oft verhindert die richtige Lesung des Textes. An den beiden Seiten des mehrfach profilierten Inschriftenfeldes im liegenden Format befinden sich je eine Rosette im peltaförmigen Bogen, und draußen je ein geflügelter Genius mit Fackel in einer in Barockformat gewölbten Nische.

Abb. 5. Das linke Ende der Grabinschrift von Tatulus von oben (Photo Zs. Visy).

Abb. 6. Die Grabinschrift von Tatulus (Photo Zs. Visy).

Die Maße sind wie folgt, H: 60 cm, B: 183 cm, D: 16 cm, Bh: 3,5 cm. An den beiden hinteren Rändern wurde der Tafel für die anpassenden Quertafeln verdünnt, und auf der linken Seite sogar die Vertiefung für den Eisenklammer ist sichtbar.

Die Lesung und die Interpretation der Inschrift ist zwar allgemein angenommen (RIU 1018; HD037568), aber eine gründlichere Überprüfung veranlasst manche Modifizierungen.

Über Zeile 1, am profilierten Rand an der rechten Seite sind Buchstabenspuren zu sehen.

Zeile 1 – Es ist fraglich, ob der verstorbene *optio* Tatulo[6] und nicht Tatulus war. Falls Tatulo, dann sein Name muss im Dativ verstehen, also *L(ucio) Sep(timio) ° Tatulo ° vet(erano).* Da Tatulo steht auf der Inschrift, hat die Dativ-Form höhere Wahrscheinlichkeit.

[6] Der Name kommt sonst nur einmal in Noricum in der Form Tatul(o) vor, der aber auch als Tatul(us) ergänzbar ist, Lőrincz OPEL IV: 109.

Zeile 2 – Es gibt eine Lacuna vor *e^t*, die aber Buchstabenreste aufweist. Es gibt genug Platz für 4–5 Buchstaben, der Letzte konnte ein *V* sein. Man kann also mit einer denen der Kinder ähnlichen Namenform rechnen: ... *qui e^t ° A^urel(ia) ° / Verina.*

Zeile 9 – Die Lesung des Namens des letzten Kindes ist umstritten. Pólya: AVR O ET GEMELL FIL, Wosinsky: Aur(elius) q(ui) / et S(eptimius) (A)emil(ius) f(i)l(ius), Bogáts: *AVR Q ET GEMI/ELL FL*, RIU 1018: (*A^ur(eli-) q(u-) / e^t S(eptimi-) (A)emil(i-) f(i)l(i-)*, HD037568: AVR Q ET S EMIL FL. Eine gründlichere Überprüfung zeigt, dass die Lesung *GEMELL* richtig ist. Ein *(A)emilius/a* kann auch dadurch gefragt werden, da dieser Name als *cognomen* ganz selten und nur in den südlichen Provinzen vorkommt (Lőrincz OPEL I: 29).

Wosinsky las am Ende dieser Zeile *Mereccusa*, und seine Lesung war allgemein übernommen. Es ist aber merkwürdig, dass auf der von F. Bogáts stammenden Zeichnung bei Wosinsky (Taf. CLXI) hier *M^A^T^ERESCUSAI* zu lesen ist, wo die Ligatur ist mit der Ligatur in Zeile 10 des Wortes *MA^T^ER* fast identisch ist. Eine genauere Überprüfung der Inschrift zeigte sich, dass die richtige Lesung *M^A^T^ERESCUSAI* ist. Ob diese Frau Mutter des verstorbenen *optio* gewesen sein konnte, muss aber dahingestellt werden.

Mehrere weitere, früher nicht identifizierte Interpunktionen können wahrgenommen werden, die in der neuen Lesung des Textes ohne besonderer Erwähnung erscheinen.

> *D(is) M(anibus) // L(ucio) Sep(timio) ° Tatulo ° vet(erano) ex ° opt^ione ° coh(ortis) ° / I T(h)racu(m) ° Germ(anicae) ° [... qu(ae)] e^t ° A^urel(ia) ° / Verina ° coniux ° L(ucius) ° A^urel(ius) qui /[5] e^t ° Sep(timius) ° Consta^ns ° filius ° mil(es) ° / coh(ortis) ° s(upra) s(criptae) ° A^ur(elius) ° qui e^t ° Septi(mius) / Consta^nt^inus ° fi^l(ius) ° mi^l(es) ° leg(ionis) ° I ° a^d(iutricis) ° / A^ur(elius) ° qui e^t Sep(timius) ° Victorinu^s ° fi^l(ius) ° A^ur(elius) ° q^ui / e^t Sep(timius) ° V^erinus f(i)l(ius) A^ur(elia) q(uae) / e^t (G)emell(a) f(i)l(ia) ° M^a^t^erescusa(i) oder m^a^t^er Escusa //[10] mater ° vix(it) ° an(nos) LXX vivi ° s(ibi) ° fec(erunt)*

Die Garnison von Lussonium war spätestens ab 121/122 n. Chr. die cohors I Thracum Germanica (Radnóti & Barkóczi 1951: 211; Visy 1979–1980: 79–80; Lőrincz 2001: 43). Der Veteran diente in dieser Kohorte. Der älteste Sohn hieß *L(ucius) A^urel(ius) qui e^t Sep(timius) Consta^ns,* der in derselben Kohorte diente wie sein Vater: *mil(es] coh(ortis) s(upra) s(criptae)*. Der zweite Sohn hieß *A^ur(elius) qui e^t Septi(mius) / Consta^nt^inus,* der in einer Legion diente: *mi^l(es) leg(ionis) I a^d(iutricis)*. Damit steht eine regelmäßige Situation vor uns: die Söhne des in einer Auxiliartruppe dienenden Soldat – in diesem Fall sogar der eines Unteroffiziers – folgen die Beschäftigung des Vaters. Der Eine wurde in derselben Einheit, der Andere schon in eine Legion eingerollt, hier in die Legion von Brigetio. Der dritte Sohn *A^ur(elius) qui e^t Sep(timius) Victorinu^s, der vierte A^ur(elius) q^ui e^t Sep(timius) V^erinus,* das fünfte Kind wohl ein Mädchen, *A^ur(elia) q(uae) e^t (G)emell(a) f(i)l(ia)*. Ein unlösbares Problem bedeutet das letzte Wort in der Zeile 9: Meressusa(e) oder Materescusa(i). Diese einheimische Frau könnte etwa die Mutter von Tatulus sein. Die Formulierung der Namen konsequent mit qui/quae et ist eine nicht oft vorkommende Erscheinung der supernomina[7], also ein zweiter, überflüssiger Namen, hier Aurelius/Aurelia.

Es gibt mehrere Hinweise auf die Datierung der Grabtafel. Das quer liegende Format weist auf die Nachahmung eines Sarkophags, und die Verwendung von Sarkophagen, die nicht in die Erde eingelassen sondern auf der Oberfläche standen, begann in Pannonien unter der Severer, frühestens am Ende des 2. Jh. Ein anderes Indiz ist, dass der zweite Sohn von Tatulus in der legio I adiutrix in Brigetio diente, und man kann annehmen, dass dies konnte erst dann vorkommen, als Brigetio unter Caracalla schon Pannonia Inferior angegliedert wurde. Auch der Namen Aurelius kann mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit mit Caracalla nach 212 n. Chr. zusammengebracht werden. Das letzte Merkmal ist das Barockmotiv (Erdélyi 1954: 199–200) der beiden Seitennische, das schon auf die Regierungszeit von Severus Alexander, Maximinus Thrax oder Gordianus hinweisen. Demgemäß lässt sich der Grabstein von Tatulus auf das dritte bis fünfte Jahrzehnt des 3. Jh. datieren.

[7] Fehér 2007: 443, 33. Anm.; Kajanto 1965: 58; 115. Cf. etwa Visy 2016: 146, Nr. 132 = *RIU* 1170; *RIU* 545 und dazu Paulovics 1941: 121–122. Grundlegend ist Lambertz 1913: 78–143; 1914: 99–170.

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Fish and Gourds: Contribution to the Study of the Cult and Iconography of the Prophet Jonah in the Middle Danube Region

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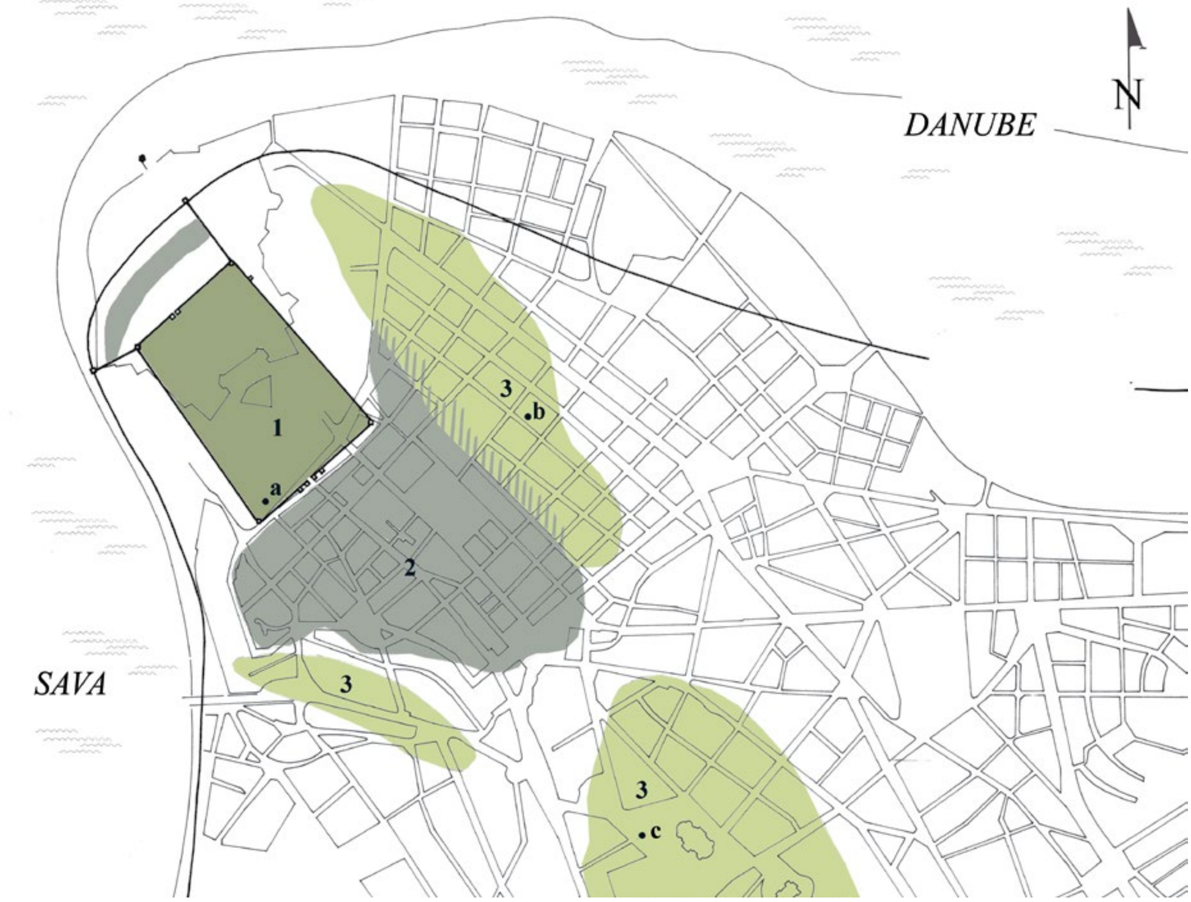
The paper is dedicated to the interpretation of a relief ornament found on a miniature lead vessel accidentally discovered in the area of the southeast Roman necropolis of the antique Singidunum. In the centre of the dish, whose shape corresponds to that of the ancient metal and ceramic oval plates with two horizontal handles (lanx), there is a representation of a fish and three more oval-shaped details, which have been subject to different interpretations. On this occasion, the author draws attention to the analogue early Christian representations and possibility that they, in fact, represent fruits of a special type of gourd (gr. κολοκύνθι) known as Lagenaria siceraria. Together with the representation of a fish, they form a well-known symbolic and associative assemblage found in the Old Testament story of prophet Jonah and his iconographic cycle, which is, besides that, largely widespread in Paleochristian art and present in the area of the Middle Danube.

Key words: *Jonah, Paleochristian iconography, fish, gourd, Lagenaria siceraria, plate, Belgrade, Middle Danube region*

The text on the iconographic representation from the miniature lead plate from Belgrade (Vujović: 2006) is my contribution to the Papers in honour of the esteemed professor dr Mirjana Sanader on her 65th birthday with my due respect for her scientific contribution to archaeology and her valuable research work.

The concerned object (Figures 1, 2) is preserved in the Collection for Late Antiquity and Byzantium of the National Museum in Belgrade (inv. no. 122/IV) where it has arrived as an chance finding from the surroundings of the former Batal mosque in an area close to the current House of the National Assembly (Map 1). This name used to refer to the remains of the former Ejnehan Bey mosque erected at the southern suburbs of the city of Belgrade along the Tsarigrad Road at the end of the 16th century (Šabanović 1970: 23, 27). The vessel was made of cast lead in the shape of an oval flat plate with two horizontal handles both decorated with two three-dimensional rosettes. The joints between the ends of handles and the rim, on both sides, contain small button-shaped ornaments, which probably imitate the eyes of bird protomes often found on different oval metal or ceramic plates (Chew 1997: Figs. 14, 17).

On the horizontally flared rim, one can recognize a stylized ornament of an oval kyma, but the most prominent adornment is the one at the bottom and it represents a low-relief representation of a fish with clearly emphasized details. The body of the fish is long with highlighted tail fin and pointed head with a clearly visible hypertrophied eye represented by a double circle. Two arched plastic strips indicate gills, while circular incisions represent scales. However, the fish is not represented as a single motive. Above and below the central representation of the fish found at the bottom of the dish, there are also three significantly less highlighted plastic forms, two of which are under and one above the fish. According to their basic aspect, the



Map 1. Singidunum (Belgrade) in the Late Roman period: 1. legionary camp; 2. civil settlements; 3. necropolises; a. possibly location of the Early Christian church; b. the Jonah sarcophagus; c. possibly location of the lead plate find.

Figure 1. Lead plate from Belgrade, National Museum Belgrade, inv. no. 122/IV (Vujović 2006: T. 1: 1).

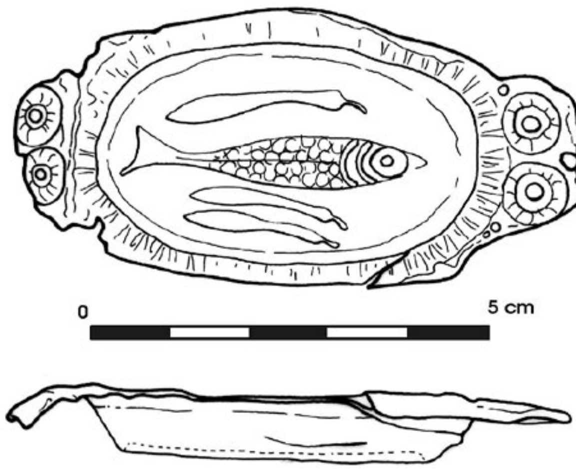


Figure 2. Lead plate from Belgrade, National Museum Belgrade, inv. no. 122/IV (Vujović 2006: T. 1: 1).

complete relief adornment of this metal plate stands in the museum inventory as „representation of four fish". A quick glance at this representation can really make the observer recognize in the above-mentioned forms, accompanying the central depiction of the fish, long and slightly bent fish-shaped silhouettes with heads turned in the opposite direction from the main representation. Therefore, certain authors who studied the relief representations of this vessel usually paid attention to the central depiction of the fish, which they interpreted within the framework of the Roman or wider Christian symbolism of the cult. They either recognized the three surrounding details as representations of fish or they did not mention them at all (Milovanović 2017: 143–144, 307, cat. 550; Cvjetićanin 2013: 208–209). The lead plate from Singidunum is also mentioned in a short note within the last paper dedicated to Jonah's sarcophagus from Belgrade (Pilipović & Milanović 2016: 227, note 41) as well as in recently published detailed research on Early Christianity in the middle section of the Roman Danubian Limes (Jeremić & Ilić 2018: 230).

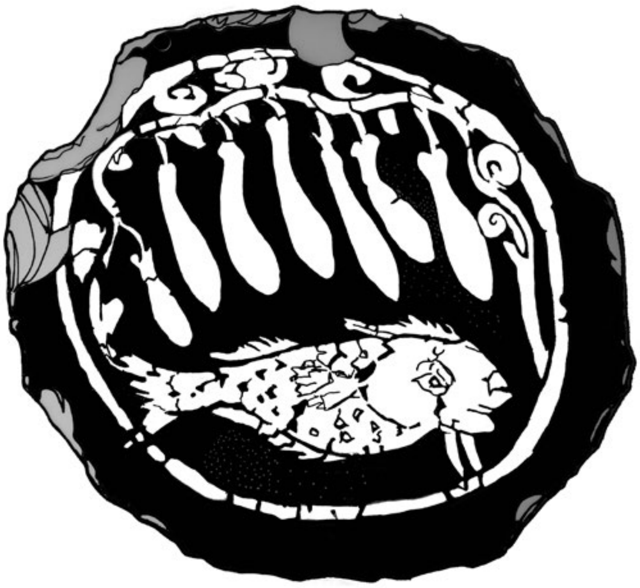


Figure 3. Bottom of the gold-glass cup, Corning Museum of Glass, inv. no. 66.1.205 (drawing by: M. Vujović).

However, on this occasion we would like to emphasize that the shapes of the three mentioned details are significantly different from the central representation of the fish, both by their opposite direction and by omission of characteristic ihtiomorphic details. Furthermore, besides the fact that the plate from Singidunum contains a reduced composition, the realization of the above-mentioned accompanying representations largely differs from the dominant and recognizable central motive of a fish. As we have already pointed out, all of the three surrounding relief forms have a completely smooth surface so that eyes, gills or scales are not suggested and cannot be recognized (Vujović 2006: 313). Our completely different interpretation of this composition relies on the role of the line-shaped details (Figure 2), less visible at first glance but still present, which on one side exceed the volume of these shapes and represent **petioles**. It is therefore certain that this is not a representation of animals (fishes) but **plants**, that is, fruits shown above and under the central representation of the fish.

Which plant (fruit) is it? In our previous paper, we identified it as a representative of a large family of Cucurbitaceae or cucumber (*Cucumis sativus),* which was considered to have been widely used during the Roman period, both for nutrition and in medicine (Vujović 2006: 313–314). Here we would like to introduce another possibility, which we consider more probable, especially in the context of the Early Christian past and tradition of Singidunum. The fruits surrounding the fish on the lead plate from Belgrade do belong to the family of Cucurbitaceae, however, they are not cucumbers, but probably a type of gourd from the family of cucurbits (*Cucurbita*), and the whole scene is a symbolic, reduced and concise presentation of the Biblical story of the prophet Jonah. This story belongs to the Paleochristian iconography and it is the most usually represented by three characteristic scenes: 1. Jonah is thrown overboard into the sea or in the jaws of a large fish, that is, a sea monster – Cetus (κῆτος); 2. the sea monster throws Jonah out of its womb on the shore; 3. Jonah is resting in the shade lying under a vine with elongated hanging fruits.

The relief ornament at the bottom of the plate from Singidunum could represent the third scene from the Jonah cycle, except that here, instead of a lying figure of the prophet there is a substitution in the form of a fish surrounded by gourds. Neverteless, we are more likely to believe that this summarized depiction using only a few symbols (fish, gourds) in an iconographic sense, in fact, completes the story of the prophet Jonah. As a good analogy for such an interpretation we refer to a representation found on a gold glass bowl from the Corning Museum of Glass (Whitehouse 2001: 245, cat. 834). The bottom of this vessel (Figure 3) has a lower part made of dark blue glass and an upper surface made of uncolored, transparent glass. Between these two parts, there is a depiction of a fish scene including a vine with seven elongated fruits realized by application of engraved golden leaves in a field framed by an irregular circular line. The bottoms of similar glass bowls with different scenes from the Old or New Testament in *fondi d' oro* technique, mostly dated to the 4th century, were usually found near the graves within the Paleochristian catacombs in Rome (Whitehouse 2001: 240–241), where they were the most probably manufactured. However, one can also find them in Cologne and other Early Christian centres, including the area of the Middle Danube river basin (Rankov 1983; Popovic 2013: 342, cat. 155). The depictions of scenes from Jonah's cycle are relatively frequent on *fondi d' oro* vessels, which complies with the great popularity of this motive in the Late Antique period (Jansen 2011: 69).

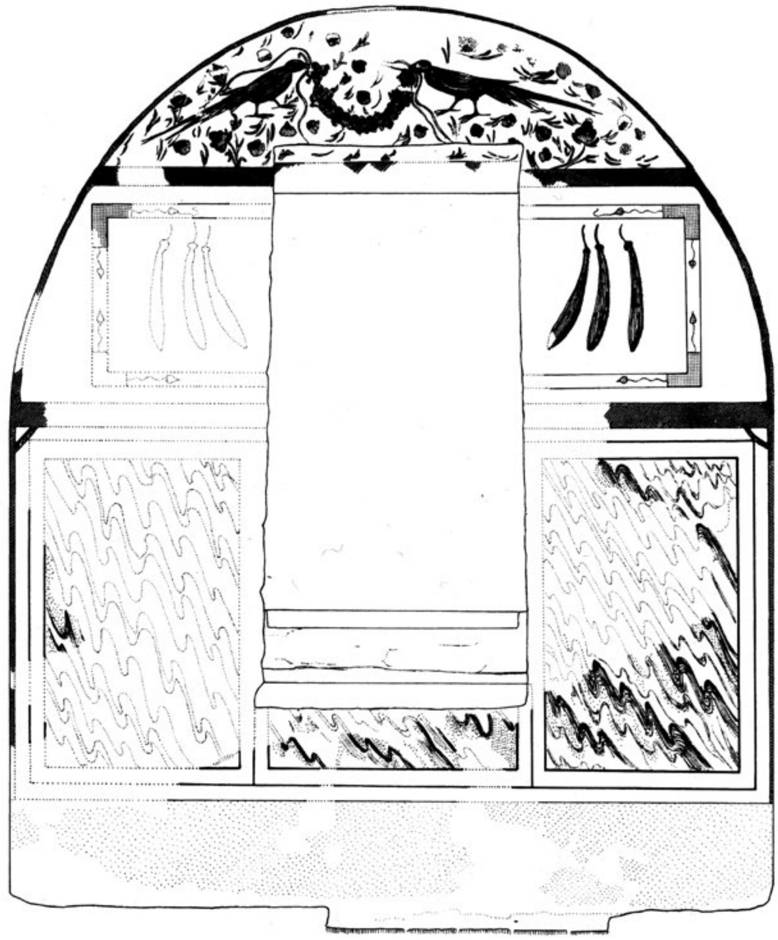


Figure 4. Fresco-painting from Early Christian tomb depicting gourds, Thessaloniki (Μαρκή 2006: 130, Σχέδ. 65).

A similar example of the above-mentioned iconographic-associative depictions of the story of the prophet Jonah, also in the funerary context, exists as well in the early Christian necropolises in Thessaloniki (Μαρκή 2006: 130, Σχέδ. 65, Pin. 1). At the entrance, on the right side of the south wall of the tomb No. 41, there is a preserved wall painting in the middle zone (Figure 4) with three prolate green fruits, similar to certain types of gourds. Those fruits also refer to the story of Jonah representing a sort of paradigm of salvation and eternal peace for the faithful, as well as baptism, death and resurrection of Christ (Ferguson 2011: 346–347).

The scenes from the Jonah's cycle are also very frequent on the relief ornaments of the early Christian sarcophagi from the end of the 3rd to the beginning of the second quarter of the 4th century (Gerke 1940: Taf. 28–30, 38–51, 53; Stommel 1958: 112–115). However, they appear, at the same time, in free standing sculpture (Weitzman 1979: 409–412, Figs. 365–369), as well as on other private or liturgical objects (Weitzman 1979: cat. no. 377, 384–385, 402). This subject was by far the most represented of all the other Old Testament stories in the Christian art of the pre-Constantine period before it slowly gave place to different iconographic contents (Snyder 2003: 84–87). The practice of summarizing of biblical scenes characteristic also for the earliest Christian art, as of the first years of the 3rd century, is clearly visible on the lower frieze of the so-called Murano diptych as well. Jonah is there depicted resting under the gourds and lying on a sea monster and not on the ground, as usual (Weitzman 1979: cat. no. 402, Fig. 59). Furthermore, a marble sarcophagus from the British Museum, dated to the last decades of the 3rd or the very beginning of the 4th century, besides the developed depiction of the story of Jonah at the front side, also contains a separately summarized scenes set aside on the lateral sides – one with a peacock and the other one with Cetus, both under the tree with hanging gourds (Rosenau 1961: 63–65).

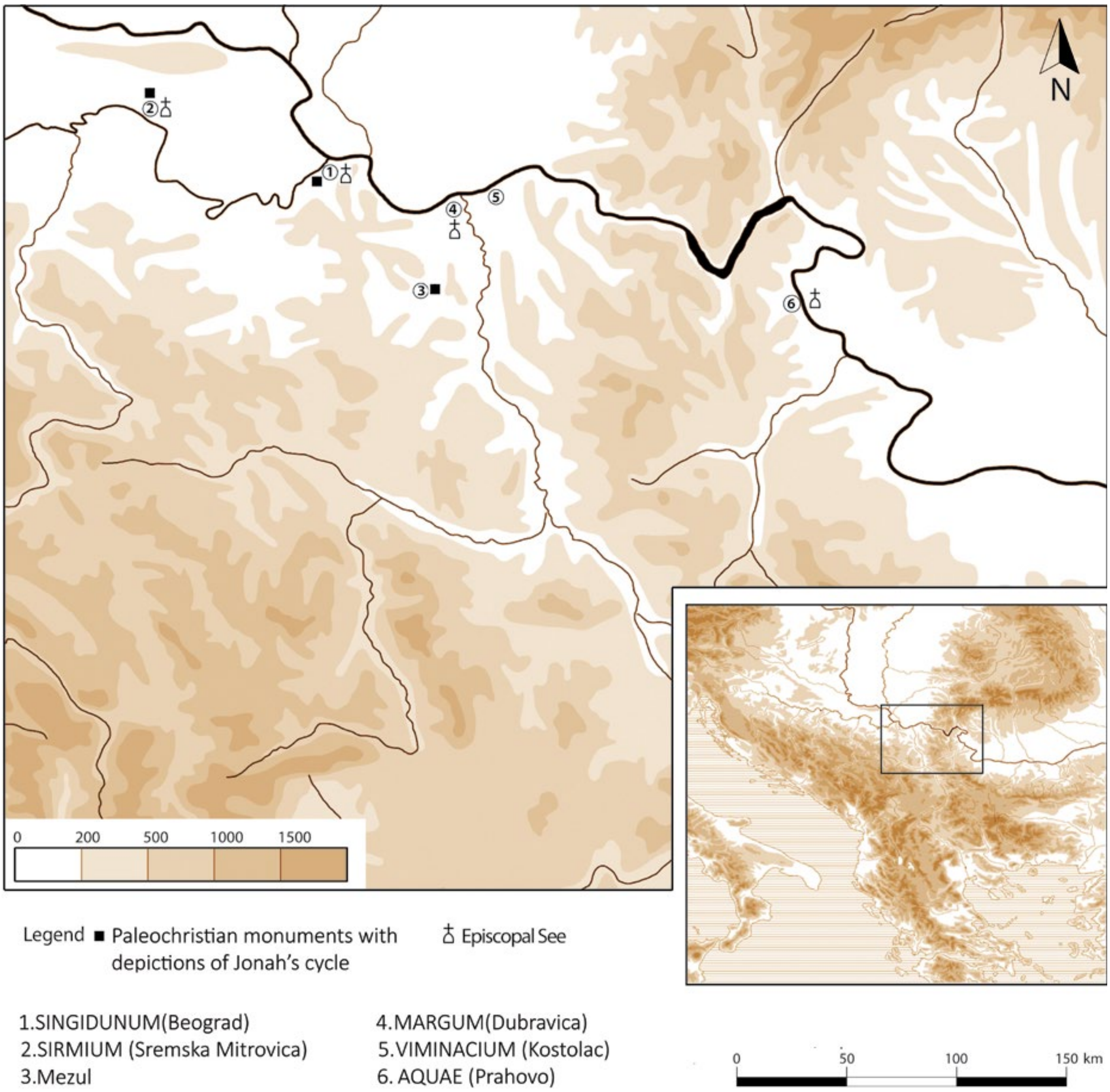
However, the opinions do not even closely agree regarding the type of plant mentioned in the Old Testament story of Jonah. We can freely say that this problem is as old as the led plate from Singidunum. Saint Jerome of Stridon, the famous translator of the Old Testament texts and creator of the transcript of the Vulgate, in one of his letters belonging to indecently bitter and sarcastic correspondence with Saint Augustine of Hippo from 404, explains his translation of the Hebrew word *qiqayon* (קִיקָיוֹן) naming the plant under whose God-given shadow prophet Jonah was resting while disapproving the decision of the God to spare Nineveh and its sinful inhabitants. In his translation of the Old Testament from Hebrew, Jerome named the disputable plant in the story of Jonah ivy (κίσσος) instead of gourd (κολοκύνθι) as written in Septuagint – the previous Alexandrian Greek translation of the Old Testament, which was widely used at that time.

Although it is a sort of biblical ἅπαξ λεγόμενον and apparently insignificant detail, such a translation of the name of the plant under which Jonah is resting before Nineveh will cause a storm of indignation among certain communities of North African Christians unprepared to accept changes in sacred texts. In his critique of the Jerome's translation Saint Augustine takes into account their complaints and asks for the disputable changes to be rejected (Bolin 1997: 25–30). Saint Jerome's replies: *I have already given a sufficient answer to this in my commentary on Jonah. At present, I deem it enough to say that in that passage, where the Septuagint has gourd, and Aquila and the others have rendered the word ivy (κίσσος), the Hebrew manuscript has ciceion, which is in the Syriac tongue, as now spoken, ciceia. It is a kind of shrub having large leaves like a vine, and when planted it quickly springs up to the size of a small tree, standing upright by its own stem, without requiring any support of canes or poles, as both gourds and ivy do. If, therefore, in translating word for word, I had put the word ciceia, no one would know what it meant; if I had used the word gourd, I would have said what is not found in the Hebrew. I therefore put down ivy, that I might not differ from all other translators.* (Jerome Ep. 75. VII. 22).

To make the confusion even bigger, the plant (qiqayon) Jerome talks about and which he translates as ivy instead of gourd, according to the opinion of some authors (Bolin 1997: 154–155), does not belong to the family of Cucurbitaceae at all. It is in fact a ricinus tree (*Ricinus communis*), which is today mentioned as such only in some more modern translations and editions of the Bible, but it never appears on the Paleochristian monuments with depictions of Jonah's cycle. On the contrary, in the Paleochristian iconography, as late as until the 5th century, when it completely disappears and gives place to Christ, saints or other Old Testament characters, the prophet Jonah is almost exclusively depicted lying under a tree or vine with elongated fruits pending. These fruits are characteristic for climbing plants from the family of Cucurbitaceae and they are the most similar to the different types of gourds whose shape also corresponds to the fruits represented on the plate from Singidunum.

The attempts to trace the particular plant, which has served as a model for these representations, have long been unsuccessful due to a great variability of cucurbits, especially gourds, specifically regarding the size and shape of fruits. In a terminology sense, the confusion is even more conspicuous, both in ancient and modern languages, since the same terms often referred to different types of cucurbits (Normann & Haarberg 2017: 13–14). A detailed interpretation of ancient written sources and the appropriate iconographic representations including these fruits have allowed to conclude that they relate to a special type of gourd known as *Lagenaria siceraria* [Lagenaria Siceraria (Mol.) Standley; Cucurbitaceae] (Decker-Walters *et al.* 2004; Janick *et al.* 2007). Unlike most cucurbits, the gourds of type *Lagenaria siceraria* are not part of the Columbian botanical exchange, but they originate from the southern part of Africa. They have been long present and used in the Mediterranean surroundings as one of the first domesticated plants used for nutrition, medical treatments and other needs (Decker-Walters *et al.* 2004: 501; Janick *et al.* 2007: 1454).

Young fruits, vines and flowers of this gourd are edible, the same as its seeds, but it is also grown for its typical shape and good characteristics of its shells which allow their use as bottles or pitchers (Berenji 1992; 1999; 2000; Morimoto & Mvere 2004). Dried and treated fruits were also used for manufacture of ladles, funnels, strainers, cups, saltshakers and other vessels, but also for different object of specific purpose such as masks, musical instruments or, more recently, pipes for tobacco smoking (Teppner 2004: 257–258; Rodić 2004: 11–12; Mladenović *et al.* 2012: 581). It is interesting that the shape of the gourd *L. siceraria* varies from long-fruited to bottle-shaped fruits on the same plant depending on the position and surface it is growing on, that is, depending on whether it is formed laid down on the earth or it is pending on the vine in vertical position (Janick *et al.* 2007: 1451). The fruits of this gourd also vary depending on the degree of their maturation or ripening. Elongated unripe fruits of the gourd *L. siceraria* were used for



Map. 2. Early Christian sites with Jonah's cycle representations on the Middle Danube basin.

nutrition, while those of a globular shape and yellow of brown colour, either ripe or dried, were usually grown for manufacture of utensils (Janick *et al.* 2007: 1454). This fact has certainly contributed to the different representations of the motive of gourd fruit in the scenes of Jonah's cycle in the ancient Christian art, including those discovered in the soil of the Danube river basin. Its particular vitality demonstrated by its rapid growth and large leaves and plump fruits full of seeds, determined this plant as a certain symbol of abundance and fertility, but also faith in God's providence, faith in the victory of life against death and faith in salvation and resurrection of the baptized, orthodox and righteous.

The representations of Jonah's cycle are also relatively frequent at the territory of today's Serbia where we usually found them within the most important Late Antiquity urban Christian centres and in their close surroundings (Map 2). One of the earliest presentations of the scenes from Jonah's cycle is found on a large lamp in the shape of a boat (Figure 5) made of copper alloy from Mezul near Smederevo (Pavlović 1969; Popović 1970). The prow is modelled in the shape of a sea monster – Cetus, with Jonah getting out from his mouth, while the body including ten beaks supporting wicks is decorated with representations of dolphins, fish and other sea creatures in relief. Above this scene, on the highly strained prow and stern of the boat there is a testament inscription carved on both sides: DEI IN DOMU/TERMOGENES VOTUM FECIT (Mirković & Dušanić 1976: 89–90, Nr. 83; Petrović 1993: 338, cat. no. 146).

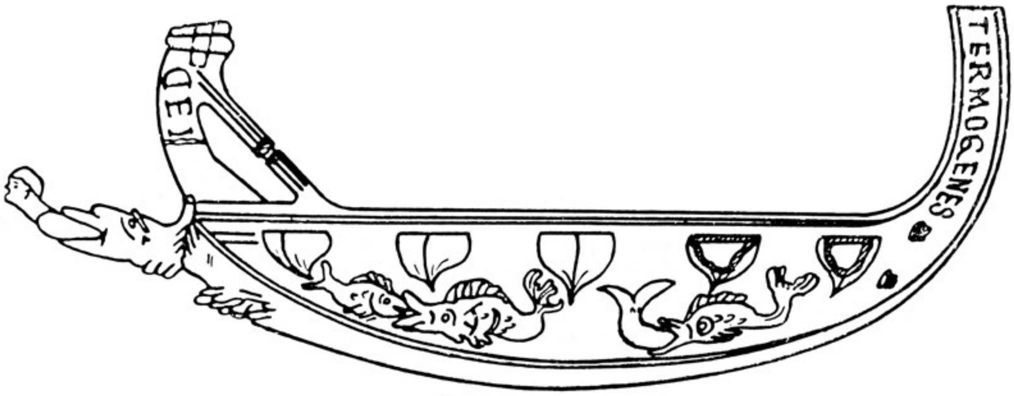


Figure 5. Copper alloy lamp in a shape of a boat from Mezul, Museum in Smederevo, inv. no. A 145 (Pavlović 1969).

Figure 6. Two fragments of marble mensa with Jonah's cycle relief scenes from Sirmium: a. Museum of Srem, Sremska Mitrovica, inv. no. A 1000; b. Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna (Popović 2013: 147–148, Fig. 69).

Two rim fragments belonging to a marble semicircular table, which probably used to be a part of the inventory of a sacral building (Figure 6), originate from Sremska Mitrovica, from the area surrounding the city forum of Sirmium (site 30). The relief representation preserved on some parts of this sigma type mensa contains a depiction of Jonah inside the jaws of the sea monster. We consider that, in this case, it is not a representation of the scene of Jonah swallowed by Cetus (Jeremić 2004: 71–72, Fig. 25; Popović 2013: 148, Fig. 69; Pilipović & Milanović 2016: 232), but the later one when, after ardent prayers for salvation addressed to the God (Jona: 2: 2), he is thrown out of the monster's mouth. First of all, it shows the position *exspansis manibus* characteristic for figures representing the suppliant – *orans* in the Paleochristian iconography. In support of this, another fragment of this table, discovered in 1852 in Sremska Mitrovica, which is today preserved in Kunsthistorisches Museum of Vienna (Kitzinger 1960: 22), contains the next scene in the narration sequence – Jonah resting under the gourd fruits.

Another representation, which was at a certain time classified in the same iconographic cycle, also originates from Sremska Mitrovica. The lateral walls of the Paleochristian tomb made of bricks from Mike Antića street (Figure 7) contain wall paintings among which we also recognize scenes from the story of Jonah (Popović 2011: 228–234, Figs. 10–15; Popović 2013: 147–148, 152, Fig. 68). On the preserved

Figure 7. Fresco-painted tomb from Sirmium, Mike Antića Street, Sremska Mitrovica (Museum of Srem Archives).

Figure 8. Relief decoration of sarcophagus depicting the Good Shepherd and Jonah, Belgrade, (National Museum in Belgrade, inv. no. 1564/IV).

wall paintings from the south longitudinal wall of this tomb, dated to the middle, that is, second half of the 4th century, I. Popović has identified a depiction of a boat with a sail, paddles and even a human figure with extended arms. Although we do not completely agree with this interpretation, the double pitched ceiling of this tomb was certainly painted with vegetal representation of green petioles and climbers with globular and oval gourd fruits in ochre colour (Figure 7), which can also refer to the story of Jonah.[1] The painted motives of the same Old Testament story were already known from the Pannonian area and from the Late Antiquity necropolis in Pecs (Hudak & Nagy 2009: 39–48, Pic. 23; Heidl 2014; Hudak 2009). Here, in the old Christian memorial crypt – the so called Tomb of Peter and Paul (Tomb I), on the eastern wall, there are two partly preserved summarized scenes from Jonah's cycle dated to the second half, that is, to the end of the 4th century (Hudak & Nagy 2009: 48).

Finally, on the soil of Belgrade, there was also found a subsequently used stone antique sarcophagus (Figure 8) with a Paleochristian representation, which was afterwards carved on its front side (Valtrović 1886: 70–71; Valtrović 1891: 130–142, T. 11–12; Pilipović & Milanović 2016). It was accidentally discovered at the end of the 19th century during construction works in the area of the northeast necropolis of the ancient Singidunum (Pop-Lazić 2002: 50–51, 86). The relief representation is composed of the depiction of the Good Shepherd on the left side of the front field bordered by Pannonian vaults and depictions of Jonah's suffering and salvation in the central part and on the right side. On this sarcophagus, we recognize two depictions belonging to Jonah's cycle – the scene when sailors are throwing the prophet overboard from the boat into the sea and the scene when Cetus is throwing Jonah out on the shore. The last scene is dominated by a depiction of a tree with long gourd fruits and one bird in the treetop (Pilipović & Milanović 2016: 221, Fig. 6). According to the characteristics of its style, the sarcophagus was the most probably created at the end of the 2nd or in the 3rd century, while the above-mentioned relief ornament with the old Christian scene was added later, the most probably around the middle of the 4th century, during its secondary use.

* * *

Due to the lack of specific data, the original context related to the finding of the lead vessel with a relief ornament cannot be reliably determined, which therefore makes its more precise dating rather difficult.

[1] Admittedly, I. Popović sees a representation of a rich vegetal ornament with fruits of gourd also on the vertical sides of the north longitudinal wall (Popović 2011: 231, Fig. 15a). We consider that this motive was in fact a part of an ornament on the inner side of the vault which allowed for the deceased to be laid in a surrounding similar to the pergola under which Jonah is usually represented. This is clearly indicated by the fact that the depiction of vines and gourds is in fact preserved on one of the tegulas on which the double pitched roof of the grave is formed, while longitudinal vertical walls were made of horizontally laid bricks.

According to the museum documentation from the time of its purchase, the miniature lead vessel was discovered near the former Batal mosque, where findings of one lead and one stone antique sarcophagus were identified, without any specific data on the conditions of their discovery (Valtrović 1885: 45; Pop-Lazić 2002: 20–21, G–110, G–111). At the site of origin of these findings, but also in some wider surroundings, a great number of antique graves was identified, with both cremated remains and different skeleton burials, either freely buried or laid down in sarcophagi or graves built of bricks or stone (Pop-Lazić 2002: 20–21).

Therefore, the most probably, the lead plate originated from one of the antique graves devastated during later construction or other works in this area (Simić 1997). They were all found in a zone occupied by a south-eastern antique necropolis outside the borders of the Roman Singidunum erected in the extension of the main city communications and the route of the road of Singidunum – Viminacium. Most of the burials which could be dated belong to the first half of the 3rd century, while a smaller number of them was dated to the end of this century (Pop-Lazić 2002: 85–86).

According to the shape of the plate and characteristics of style of the relief representations, several hypotheses have been made. Larger oval plates, similar to the finding from Belgrade, were mostly made of silver and bronze as parts of precious tableware for serving meals at the tables of the wealthy people. They will later become a prototype for manufacture of similar dishes made of other materials, mostly ceramic and glass. In pottery manufacture, this shape of plate was usually reserved for more luxurious dishware of special purpose. The shape of flat oval or rectangular plates with horizontal, the most usually wavy handles, is known under the Latin name of *lanx,* or *lancicula, lancula,* that is, *langula* for smaller examples. It was used as tableware, the most often for serving meat, fish, crustaceans and fruit, but also sweets, different sauces and spices. The plates of such a shape used to be offered as gifts during Saturnalia or other holidays, but they were also often used as cult or worship utensils. They were also used during funerals and funeral feasts or they were left next to the deceased as grave goods. In the Christian iconography they were even related to the cult of the different saints, especially to Saint John the Baptist (Hilgers 1969: 206–208).

Simple manufacture and similarity to ceramic shapes of oval plates (Drag. 39), which are believed to have been manufactured in local provincial workshops, possibly even in the neighbouring Viminacium (Cvjetićanin 1996: 179), lead to the conclusion that the miniature lead vessel from the National Museum in Belgrade the most probably originated from one of the metallurgical workshops for manufacture of various lead objects which operated starting from the late 2nd and during the 3rd century and later, in the largest urban centres of the Upper Moesia – Singidunum and Viminacium (Popović 1992: 43; Spasić 1996: 41–42).

The compliance of the relief representation of the fish and gourds with the depiction found at the bottom of the above-mentioned *fondi d' oro* glass from the Museum of Corning, gives however a basis for a later dating. These products were probably manufactured by specialized glass workshops in Rome and around, the most probably between 360 and 390, which is indicated by the names of well-known historical persons and high church dignitaries (Howells 2015: 60–66).

Extremely small dimensions of the lead vessel from Singidunum and its relief ornament with the cult representation thus lead us to the conclusion that it was not used for food or as a children's toy (Vujović 2006: 315–316). According to the suggested new interpretation of the relief representation, we consider that, as in the case of glass *fondi d' oro* cups, this was the most probably an intimate grave good or a certain, although tiny mark, whose role was not only to designate Christian commitment of the deceased, but also to emphasise the faith in salvation, resurrection and eternal life of the dead by the depicted symbols originating from the Old Testament story of the prophet Jonah.

Abbreviations

Drag.	H. Dragendorf, "Terra Sigillata, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der griechischen und römischen Keramik". *Bonner Jahrbücher* 96–97, 1895, 18–155.
IMS	*Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*, Belgrade.

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Kasnorimska pogranična vojna zona u hrvatskome Podunavlju

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Nakon što su u 3. st. napustili pogranični jednolinijski fortifikacijski obrambeno-nadzorni sustav, Rimljani su zaštitu krajnjih dijelova svojega Carstva u 4. st. uredili kao široku zonu. Na osnovi je vojne povijesti, istraženosti te ubikacije nalaza ili nalazištâ i u hrvatskome Podunavlju moguće razaznati dva, u vremenu i prostoru, različito zamišljena načina osiguranja ruba spomenute države. Onaj iz dominata tema je ovoga rada.

Ključne riječi: *Rimsko Carstvo, rimska vojska, kasna antika, pogranično područje, hrvatsko Podunavlje*

Za to da je rimska vojska uz krajnje dijelove Rimskoga Carstva bila stacionirana u kontinuitetu, nema dokaza. Posredno je o obrambenoj zoni za dominata moguće čitati u više izvora (*Amm. Marc.*, *Hist. Rom.* XXIII: 5, 2; XXIV: 8, 5; XXXI: 5, 3; 8, 1; *Them.*, *Orat.* X: 136–138; *Zos., Hist.* XXIV: 1, 2) (Várady 1897: 101; Luttwak 1976: 130, 131; Isaac 1988: 132–147; Whittaker 1994: 209). *Limitanei* su pritom bili vojnici bliže, a *comitatenses* podalje od pograničnih rijeka (Whittaker 1994: 207, 225; Quast 2008: 278). Po Konstantinovu carevanju ovi potonji više nisu djelovali iz gradova, nego iz manjih utvrda (Luttwak 1976: 173; Isaac 1988: 140–147; Elton 1996: 68–77; Goldsworthy 2000: 172). Sudeći prema *NDO*-u, za kasnoga su Carstva Rimljani takve objekte na tlu hrvatskoga Podunavlja izgradili u mjestima *Ad Militare*, *Antianae*, *Ad Novas*, *Albanum*, *Teutiborgium*, *Cornacum* i *Cuccium* (V: 112, 262; XXXII: 21–40; XXXIII: 45) (http://lukeuedasarson.com/DuxPannoniae.html; http://lukeuedasarson.com/DuxValeriae.html). Nadopuni li se citirano s nalazima opekarskih proizvoda označenima legijskim pečatom (prema Kurzmann 2006 koja takvim predmetima pripisuje isključivo vojni kontekst), pokazat će se da je građevina koje su u 3.–4. st. na baranjskom, slavonskom i srijemskom tlu podigli rimski vojnici bilo i drugdje.

Iako fortifikacijski objekt(i), *militaria* te grobnice iz dominata u Batini nisu pronađeni, prvo je u to doba – izgradivši nešto 305. (Šašel & Šašel 1978: 170, 171, br. 1072) ili 307. g. (Kovács 2003: 31) – u mjestu *Ad Militare* (*NDO* XXXIII: 45) bila *legio VI Herculia* (Várady 1897: 89, 187, br. 3; CIL III: 10665i; Pinterović 1968: 71, br. 6; 1978: 111; Шарановић-Светек 1990: 50). No, kako utvrda tih vojnika nije pronađena niti je navedena u *NDO*-u, nije nemoguće da je riječ o natpisu iz nekoga drugog nalazišta (Nagy 1964: 274–280, T. 11: 2). Ni dokaza za to da je jednu fazu kompleksa *Ad Militare*, na osnovi opekarskih proizvoda *legionis II Adiutricis*, nužno datirati baš u 3./4. st. (Filipović & Podrug 2006) – nema. Budući da je na batinskome *Gradcu* istražen dio sjeveroistočnoga ugla vojnog logora iz 2.–3. st. (Pinterović 1971: 56, T. XXXV: 2; Vukmanić 2018: 78–90, crtež 1, sl. 3), vjerojatnost je da su uz taj bile podignute okrugle ugaone kule kakve su uz ranocarske kastele mogle biti dograđene u 3.–4. st. (Soproni 1973: 62–66; 1980: 222; Visy 2003a: 114) – na koje ondje ukazuje zemljovid A. Nagyja iz 1796. g. (sl. 1) (HR-DAOS-470-C,1/1) (Pinterović 1968: 56; Jelaš 2016: 55, K. 1) – neznatna. Nepoznato je i gdje su u *Ad Militare* bili *equites*

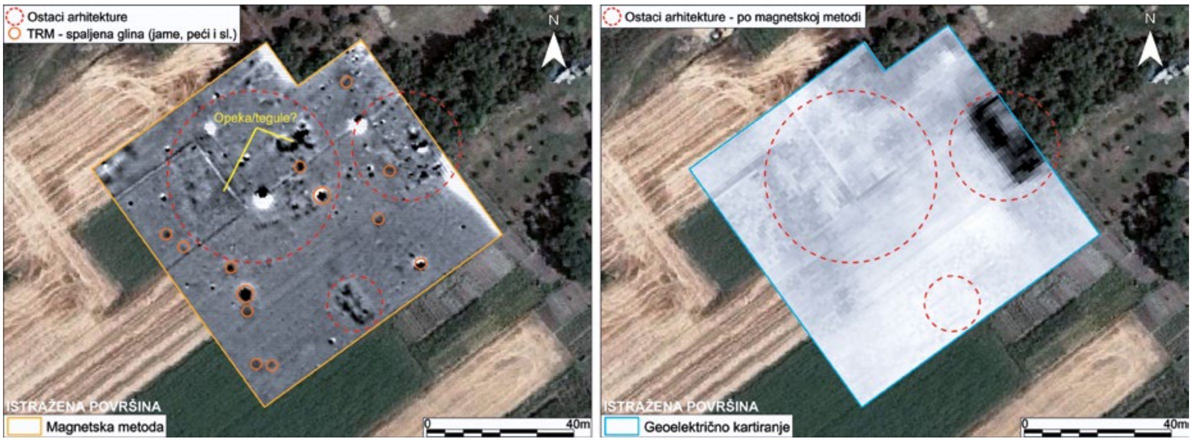
Slika 1. Batina (Gradac) – zemljovid (dio) iz 1796. s ucrtanim položajem i izgledom rimske fortifikacije (HR-DAOS-470-C,1/1) (snimio: I. Vukmanić, 2010).

Flavianenses (*NDO* XXXIII: 45). Premda se i *equites* i *cuneos* ponekad običava datirati poslije 378. g. (Haas 1845: 113; Várady 1897: 84), iz izvora (*Jord., Get.* 166*; Marcell., Chron. Min.*, 427, 1) je jasno da su oni pogranične fortifikacije u Panoniji tada već bili napustili (Kovács 2004; Quast 2008).

Stručnjaci dvoje o tome je li rimski lokalitet na *Várhegyju* u Zmajevcu bio imenovan *Novae* (Gračanin 2010: 30, 31, 40) ili *Ad Novas* (npr. Fröhlich 1888: 294; Јанкулов 1952: 14, 15; Klemenc 1961: 17; Pinterović 1968: 59, 60; Bulat 1977c: 83; Minichreiter 1987: 90). No taj se naziv (*Ad Novas*) – budući da je naveden u ranocarskom *Itin. Ant.* (243, 3) – nije mogao odnositi na Zmajevac. Premda na *Várhegyju* ranocarski predmeti – stele, *terra sigillata*, diplome i dr. – nisu otkriveni, neki vjeruju da na nastanak vojnoga logora tamo ukazuje novac iz 1. i 3. st. (Spajić 1971: 156, 157; Bulat 1977c: 83; 1981: 10; Sanader 2003: 138; Filipović 2010: 10–12; Ložnjak Dizdar & Dizdar 2014: 22, 23). Ipak, već sâm izgled *Várhegyja* – na zaravni nalik na tetragon kojemu je pristup moguć s jedne strane – sugerira da je riječ o kasnoantičkoj utvrdi ili utvrđenome naselju. Iz zraka su očite dimenzije toga mjesta od oko 145 x 90 m (1,3 ha) (o veličini *Várhegyja*: Várady 1897: 87–89; Graf 1936: 112; Bulat 1969: 41; Pinterović 1969: 58, 59; Minichreiter 1987: 90, 136; Sanader 2006: 155; Lolić & Wiewegh 2012: 219). Na osnovi istraživanja koja su 2002. g. tamo (k. č. 1618, k. o. Zmajevac) bila napravljena georadarskom metodom i metodom geoelektričnog otpora, koja je inicirala S. Filipović, a piscu ovoga rada ustupio doc. dr. sc. B. Mušič (Gearh d. o. o.), razvidno je da su ostatci ponajviše detektirani na dubini 0,5–1 m (sl. 2). Najbolje su očuvani temelji veće, prema sjeveroistoku usmjerene, građevine u središtu platoa i prostorije uz sjeverozapadni, odnosno zapadni rub *Várhegyja*, uz negdašnji bedem ili palisadu. Jedna manja zgrada djelomično je očuvana uz južni, a dio *bedema* uz sjeverni rub zaravni. Neodređeni broj objekata podignut je i blizu istočnoga ruba platoa. Sudeći prema položaju, tlocrtu i dubljem ukopu za temelj, veća je građevina – dimenzija oko 25 x 10 m koje krajnji dio završava polukružnom apsidom – mogla biti principija s kraja 3. ili početka 4. st., a manja utvrda izgrađena krajem 4. st. povrh prijašnje veće, bazilikalna građevina ili drugo. Nalazi pak (CIL III: 10665h; Pinterović 1968: 71, br. 6; 1978: 111; Bulat 1981: 10; Шарановић-Светек 1990: 50) ukazuju na to da su *Várhegy*, najranije na prijelazu 3./4. st., a najkasnije u drugoj polovini 4. st., mogli utvrditi ročnici *legionis VI Herculiae* (Várady 1897: 87–89; Bulat 1981: 10) *cohortis X* (Pinterović 1969: 58). Možda bi stoga uz taj lokalitet trebalo vezati već spomenutu ploču tih vojnika. No kako u *NDO*-u piše da su posada *Ad Novas* bili *auxilia Novensia*

(XXXII: 37, 38) i *equites Dalmatae* (XXXII: 9, 28, 40), a uspeti konje na *Várhegy* nije izgledno niti je rimska konjska oprema ondje pronađena, to je mjesto uputno tražiti drugdje (Gračanin 2010: 30, 31; Vukmanić, u tisku). Osim toga, sastav stanovništva na zmajevačkoj nekropoli *Mocsolás* (Šimić 1998: 55, 56; Filipović 2004: 15–17; 2005: 22, 23; 2006: 30, 31; 2010) ne upućuje na zaključak da se ondje nalazi vojno groblje. Usporedbom trećine od više od 220 tamo otkrivenih pokojnika (Dombay 1943: n. p.; Јанкулов 1952: 15; Bulat 1981: 10; Minichreiter 1987: 90, 136; Šimić 1998: 55, 56; Filipović 2006: 30, 31; 2008: 65; 2010; 2012; Leleković 2012: 345) s onima iz kasnorimskih nekropola u Osijeku, Vinkovcima i Štrbincima, ustanovljeno je da je prosječni životni vijek muškarca na mjestu današnjeg Zmajevca bio 40, žene 39, a drugdje za oba spola 37,4 godine (Šlaus *et al.* 2004). Iako su Sarmati, a poslije i Alani, Rimsko Carstvo započeli naseljavati već u drugoj polovini 3. i prvoj polovini 4. st. (*Amm. Marc.* XVII: 12, 8; XXXI: 12, 17) (Душанић 1995: 37, n. 51), u doba kada je raniju fazu na *Mocsolásu* moguće vezati uz Dioklecijana (Várady 1897: 87; Јанкулов 1952: 15), Konstantina i nasljednike (Dombay 1943: n. p.; Filipović 2010: 16–22), tek je onu kasniju, u drugoj polovini 4. st., potrebno promatrati u *barbarskom* kontekstu. Na to da je riječ o populaciji koja je predvođena Gotima u Baranju tada pristigla s istoka, a ne kontinuiranome razvoju domicilne zajednice, ukazuje pokapanje na redove, u zgrčenome položaju, nošnja, ukrasni motivi, te novac istočnoga dijela Rimskoga Carstva (Filipović 2010; Migotti 2015: 673, 674). A s obzirom na to (drugačije porijeklo), valjalo bi razmotriti razliku između životnoga vijeka novopridošloga zmajevačkog stanovništva koji je za oko dvije godine viši od starosjedilačkoga, rimskog. Prema tomu, nalazišta na *Várhegyju* i *Mocsolásu* primjer su kako mikrolokacija tipična za ranocarske vojne položaje može biti razlog da im se pogrešno pripiše neko mjesto. Načelno, podijeliti pogranično područje za dominata u dva entiteta (tip Ságvar podalje od Dunava i bez *barbarske* prisutnosti do oko 400. g. i tip Csákvár uz Dunav s prisutnim *barbarima* u 4./5. st.) inicirao je J. Tejral (Tejral 1999), prema čijim je odrednicama Zmajevac svrstan u tip Csákvár (Migotti 2015: 671–680). No dokaza za to da su *rimsku* vojsku tamo, nakon što su *Várhegy* napustili legionari ili drugi ročnici, od oko 356. g. (*Amm. Marc.* XVI: 10, 20) (Pinterović 1978: 94) do 378. ili 382. g., služili Goti, Sarmati i Alani – nema. Gotima su Rimljani zakonito naseliti Rimsko Carstvo dozvolili od 376. g. (*Oros., Hist.* VII: 33). Nakon što su ih ovi (Goti) 378. g. porazili kod Jedrenea, više ih nije bilo moguće spriječiti u kretanju Carstvom (*Amm. Marc.* XVI: 6, 11) (Whittaker 1994: 171–191, 253; Rodgers 2007: 114–116). Tek s odlaskom toga – federatskoga – gotsko-alansko-hunskog saveza iz Panonije (*Jord., Get.* XXVII: 140, 141; *Zos., Hist.* IV: 34, 2–4), u kojoj se taj skrasio od oko 378. do 402. g. (Mócsy 1973: 43; Lengyel & Radan 1980: 28; Kovács 2003: 35, 36; Gračanin 2005: 20), koincidira izostanak nalaza u Zmajevcu u najmanje jednoj idućoj generaciji. Iako neki misle da je germanska posada na *Várhegyju* bila još 424. – 425. g. (Vinski 1957: 36–41; Pinterović 1969: 58, 59) pripadnika toga naroda, ubrzo poslije podjele Rimskoga Carstva na Istočni i Zapadni dio (395. g.), u Baranji, Slavoniji i Srijemu (Rodgers 2007: 120) više nije bilo. Budući da je Panonija Valerija – koje cijela Baranja možda jest (*Fest., Brev.* 8), a možda nije (Várady 1897: 101; Soproni 1980: 59) bila dio – Velikim Hunima bila predana 433. g. (Gračanin 2005: 28), predmete je urešene germanskim motivima s *Várhegyja*

Slika 2. Zmajevac (Várhegy) – rezultati istraživanja metodom geoelektričnog otpora i georadarskom metodom na dubini 0,5–1 m na snimci Državne geodetske uprave RH-a (Muzej Slavonije & Gearh d. o. o., 2017).



Slika 3. Kamenac – rezultati istraživanja magnetometarskom metodom i metodom geoelektričnog otpora na snimci Državne geodetske uprave RH-a (Muzej Slavonije & Gearh d. o. o., 2014).

(Vinski 1957: 36–41, T. XXIV: 90–93) izglednije datirati između 378./382. i 402. ili poslije 433. g. Dakle, nominalnu je rimsku vlast u tom dijelu podunavlja do sloma zapadnoga dijela Rimskoga Carstva potrebno promatrati odvojeno od napuštanja kasnocarskih vojnih položaja.

U Kamencu, gdje se nalazi lokalitet dvojbena latinskoga naziva (Fröhlich 1888; Várady 1897: 84; Graf 1936: 112; Јанкулов 1952: 14, 15; Minichreiter 1987: 91; Gračanin 2010: 31), otkriveno je šest grobova iz posljednje četvrtine 3. i prve četvrtine 4. st. (Dombay 1957: 232–241, sl. 38–48). Navodno je tamo istražena rimska vila (Várady 1897: 87; Bulat 1969: 40, 44), a moglo se „vidjeti" i ostatke kastela (Bulat 1977c: 79; Minichreiter 1984: 5). No jesu li ti „ostatci" točno interpretirani kad oko 1980. g. u Kamencu više nije bilo moguće uočiti drugo dòli ulomke rimskoga građevinskog materijala? Godine 2014. tamo su poviše Glavne 5a–13, na oko 6500 m², bila napravljena geofizička istraživanja (Vukmanić 2014: 25, 26). Magnetometarskom metodom moglo se pritom razaznati skupine opeka, jame i peći, a geoelektričnim otporom na sjeveroistoku temelj većega objekta, u središtu građevinu od čvrstoga materijala, te na istoku temelj objekta, jame ili peći (sl. 3). Sondiranjima koja je 2014. g. u Glavnoj 5a, 5b, 17, 43, 47 i 51 vodio pisac ovoga rada pokazalo se da su kulturni slojevi ondje oštećeni. Ostatke bi – jer na vojnu odrednicu ne ukazuje nijedan predmet – ondje trebalo pripisati građevinama civilne namjene [naselju, prenoćištu (*mansio*) ili vili] te nekropoli. Citat kojime se tvrdi da je *Aureus Mons* bilo sjedište *praefecti legionis sextae Herculeae cohortis quintae partis superioris* (*NDO* XXXII: 45) arheološkim nalazima u Kamencu nije potvrđen.

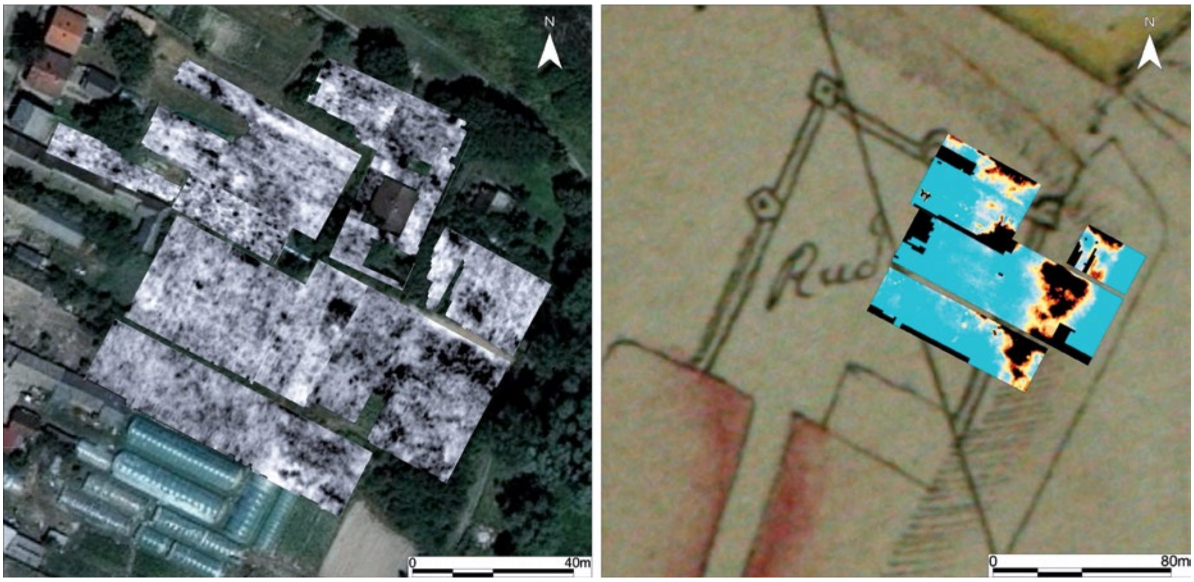
Rimska su nalazišta i artefakti između Popovca i Branjina Vrha (Koller 1804: 52; Katancsich 1827: 476; Csaplovics 1834: 258; Fényes 1851: 81; Graf 1936: 100, 101; Bulat 1960: 255; Minichreiter 1987: 132; Шарановић-Светек 1990: 64; Sršan 2002: 103) iz posljednje trećine 3. i 4. st. (Bulat 1977c: 79, 81; Göricke-Lukić 1997: 64; Ilkić & Ćurković 2008: 223, 229, br. 4, T. I: 4) dovođeni u vezu s lokalitetima *Aureus Mons* (Pinterović 1969: 58; Bulat 1974a: 85), *Antiana(e)* (Várady 1897: 83–88; https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/RE:Antiana) i *Quadriburgium Antianae* (Várady 1897: 101, 102), te postrojbom *pseudocomitatenses Antianenses* (*NDO* V: 112, 262) (Radman-Livaja 2012: 173, n. 127; http://lukeuedasarson.com/NDantianenses.html). No ako je ta jedinica uistinu bila osnovana tek 406.–407. g. (Kovács 2004: 121), autor ovih redaka nije ju sklon pripisati posadi toga mjesta. *Aureus Mons* vjerojatno se odnosi na Bansko brdo, dok je *Quadriburgium* mogao biti naziv, opisna imenica ili oznaka za manji kasnorimski vojni objekt (Zahariade 1999; Campbell 2009: 59; Băjenaru 2010: 169–179) kojega se ime slučajno podudara s istovjetnim pečatom na nekim (Várady 1897: 101, 102), tamo pronađenim, opekarskim proizvodima. Premda su pojedini stručnjaci ustvrdili da je riječ o nalazištu kod Branjina Vrha (Lazius 1551: 1114; Haas 1845: 3, 4, 113; Fényes 1851: 90; Brüsztle 1876: 93–95; Várady 1897: 102, 103), mislili su na *Pogan, Malu Lačku i Logor* zapadno od Popovca gdje je u karti HR-DAOS-470/C/27/34 početkom 19. st. označena *„Rudera arcis Romanae Quadri Burgi"* (Pinterović 1956b: 79; 1968: 55; Minichreiter 1987: 132). Pogrešno je to mjesto tražiti na toponimu *Tuneli* (*Vakub*) južno od Popovca (Ilkić 2008: 199–206, n. 5, K. 2), kao i tvrdnja da je ondje bio logor VI. legije. Naime, veličina *lokaliteta* na *Vakubu* premašuje i dimenzije takvih fortifikacija (prema: Campbell 2006: 60, 61) i broj vojnika u legijama u 4. st. (prema: Goldsworthy 2003: 200–208). Sudeći prema fotografijama iz zraka napravljenima za projekta *RoMiCRO* te geofizičkom istraživanju sjeveroistočnoga ugla nalazišta 2018. g., na *Poganu* se nalazi kasnorimska utvrda u obliku

Slika 4. Popovac (Pogan, Mala Lačka i Logor) – izgled fortifikacije i rezultat istraživanja georadarskom metodom na sjeveroistočnom dijelu lokaliteta na snimci Državne geodetske uprave RH-a (Arheološki muzej Osijek & Gearh d. o. o., 2018).

tetragona površine oko 5 ha (sl. 4). Uz sjeverni bedem te fortifikacije, širok do 5 m, na razdaljini od oko 40 m identificirane su dvije, prema van usmjerene, okrugle kule promjera oko 15 m, te dijelovi triju pravokutnih građevina čvrstih temelja od kojih je ona u sredini poduprta kontraforima. Najistočnija građevina mogla je obuhvaćati prostor od oko 30 x 30 m i tek je – jer je podignuta s otklonom prema utvrdi – potrebno razjasniti u kakvom je odnosu s ostatkom fortifikacije, izgrađene prije 378. g. Unutra, istočniji segmenti zidova objekta u očuvanome dijelu mjere 25 x 20 m, a zapadniji oko 30 x 10 m.

Na to da je ranocarski kastel *Novae* na *Dragojlovom brijegu* kod Jasenovca (Vukmanić, u tisku) krajem 3. st. bio renoviran ukazuju poluokrugle ili okrugle kule unutar njegova sjeverozapadnoga i jugozapadnoga ugla. Kula pak nalik lepezi u jugoistočnome dijelu tamošnje fortifikacije, ukupne veličine oko 170 x 130 m (2,2 ha) (Vukmanić & Mušič 2012: 25–27; Mušič *et al.* 2013: 106–109), potječe (prema: Soproni 1973: 62–66; 1980: 222) najkasnije iz polovine 4. st. Riječ je o jedinome, znanstveno određenom, dokazu za to da je identična mikrolokacija na tlu hrvatskoga Podunavlja bila u uporabi i za principata i za dominata. Izgledno je da su na tome mjestu u eri 286.–378. g. bili *equites Dalmatae* te *auxilia Novensia* (*NDO* XXXII: 9, 28, 37, 38, 40). A ako je ondje bio i dio *legionis VI Herculiae*, citirani bi se natpis s početka 4. st. moglo dovesti u vezu s ovim nalazištem. Nije isključeno ni to da je ta legija izgradila utvrdu na *Poganu*.

Višeslojnim arheološkim nalazištem *Gradina* u Lugu (Várady 1897: 84, 88; Graf 1936: 112, 113; Јанкулов 1952: 14, 15; Klemenc 1961: 17; Pinterović 1968: 59; Minichreiter 1987: 93, 129; Gračanin 2010: 52) obuhvaćen je prostor od oko 200 x 140 m (2,8 ha). Premda je rimska prisutnost tamo izgledna i u ranocarsko doba (Minichreiter 1990: 81), pokazatelja da je tada ondje bila vojska – osim opeke s možebitnim pečatom *cohortis III Alpinorum* (Bulat 1965b: 14, T. III: 6; Pinterović 1978: 111; Шарановић-Светек 1990: 53) koja u ovomu, vjerojatnom, *Albano* nije bila stacionirana (Вулић 1930: 6; Wagner 1938: 56, 57, 218, 219; Spaul 2000: 266, 267) – nema (Pinterović 1956a: 237; Bulat 1977c: 79; Minichreiter 1987: 93; Sanader 2003: 139; 2008: 104). Načelno, između 286. i 378. g. u *Albano* su bili *equites Dalmatae* (*NDO* XXXII: 9, 29). Godine 2013. na *Gradini* je dokumentiran sloj iz kojega je između 13. i 16. st. uništen onaj rimski, nekoliko novaca, te *in situ* ostatci dvaju kasnorimskih popločenja (Vukmanić 2013b: 22). Dio je tela, na površini od oko 4000 m^2, onomad istražen i georadarom što je rezultiralo otkrićem relevantnih arheoloških ostataka na dubini 0,7–1,3 m. Mjerenjem geoelektričnoga otpora ukazano je na ruševine (Vukmanić 2013a: 18–20). Osim toga, odsječak kasnoantičkoga objekta iskopan je uz Muzej Mađarske reformirane crkve (Cingeli 2016a; 2016b). Prema viđenom, na *Gradini* postoje barem dva rimska zida. Jedan je (k. č. 626, k. o. Lug), u pravcu istok-zapad, presječen garažom dok se drugi (k. č. 639), u pravcu sjever-jug, podvlači ispod sjevernoga pročelja crkve Reformiranih. Premda je kod stare škole na telu istraženo 26 – kako se navodi – kasnorimskih grobova (Pinterović 1956a: 237; Bulat 1977c: 79; Minichreiter 1987: 93), oni su zapravo mogli biti dio srednjovjekovne, tamo otkrivene, nekropole (Bulat 1977c: 79; Cingeli 2016a; 2016b). U nekropolu iz posljednje četvrtine 4. st. moguće je ubrojiti dva grobna mjesta sjeverno od crkve od kojih je najmanje jedno pripadalo Gotu (Vukmanić 2013b: 22, 23). Kasnorimska fortifikacija *morala* je stoga biti izgrađena zapadno odande.



Slika 5. Kopačevo (Baksád) – rezultati istraživanja georadarskom metodom i metodom električnog otpora na snimci Državne geodetske uprave RH-a i zemljovidu (dio) HR-DAOS-470-C,11/18 (Muzej Slavonije & Gearh d. o. o., 2016).

Toponim *Mali Sakadaš* u Kopačevu odnosi se na jezero sjeverno od rimskoga lokaliteta na *Baksádu* (Pataky 2003: 17). Taj je ondje bio uočen 1799. g. kad je S. K. Pávai u zemljovid HR-DAOS-470-C,11/18 ucrtao pravokutni fortifikacijski objekt s pet kula opisavši ga kao *„Rudera"*. Iako je objavljeno da je riječ o kastelu s polukružnim ugaonim kulama (Pinterović 1968: 56), izgled fortifikacije ukazuje na kvadriburgij s, prema van usmjerenim, kulama nalik rombu do kojega je kroz ulaz na jugu vodio jedan put. Sudeći prema sondažnim iskopavanjima (Pinterović 1956a: 238; 1961: 45; Bulat 1974b: 27; 1977d: 85, 86; 1984a: 120), nadzoru i istraživanjima koja je u Ulici Š. Petefija, Petefijevoj 78a, 93, 103 i u Ulici L. Košuta 2012.–2016. vodio stvaralac ovoga rada, dojam je da je istočno od Petefijeve postojala manja utvrda koje je na sjeveru i istoku još razvidan krajnji dio. U Kopačevu je stoga 2016. g. na površini od oko 5000 m^2 bilo napravljeno istraživanje georadarskom metodom te metodom geoelektričnog otpora kojima su detektirani tragovi vjerojatne, poljodjelstvom oštećene, rimske palisade (sl. 5). No u suprotnosti s arheološkima, čini se da geofizička istraživanja te odnos prostora i veličine fortifikacije u citiranom zemljovidu ukazuju na ostatke veće utvrde, veličine oko 140 x 140 m, koja samo nalikuje kvadriburgiju. Premda se vjeruje da ih je bilo tri (Minichreiter 1987: 93, 94, 122–124), u Kopačevu je dosad otkrivena jedna nekropola s tri pokojnika (Bulat 1984b: 20; Minichreiter 1987: 122, 123). Nije isključeno da su opisani lokalitet Rimljani zvali *Ad Labores* [(*Tab. Peut*. VI: 2); *Livorin* (*Rav. Cosm.* IV: 20)] (Várady 1897: 98, 99; Graf 1936: 67, 111–113).

Mjesto Mursa u kontekstu 4. st. spomenuto je u više izvora (npr. *Tab. Peut.* VI: 2; *Rav. Cosm.* IV: 19; *Ruf., Hist. Eccles.* XXXII; *Soz., Hist.* IV: 7). Kad su uzurpatoru rimskoga prijestolja Magnenciju poraz kod toga grada 351. g. nanijeli car Konstancije II. (*Aur. Vict., De Caes.* XXXIII: 1, 2; XLI: 21–25; XLII: 4; *Eutr., Brev*. X: 12) i zapovjednik Ilirika Vetranije (*Zos., Hist.* II: 42, 43, 49, 50), za potonje su se borili i pripadnici *legionis VI Herculiae* (*Sulp. Sev., Chr.* II: 38; Ζων., Ἐπιτ. XIII: 8). Iako nije isključeno da je postojala i poslije navedene godine, opstojnost je te legije, koja je tamo mogla biti najranije od 286. g., odonda dvojbena. Prikaz bitke kod Murse možda je otisnut na plombi pronađenoj u Sotinu (Ilkić 2006: 62, 63, 74, br. 14). Budući da je posljedica citiranoga sraza bio manjak vojnika, Rimljani su – smatrajući da će time pospješiti zaštitu granica (Várady 1897: 83, 84; Pinterović 1978: 72, 94; DuBois 2014: 89) – na svoj teritorij mogli biti prinuđeni naseliti populacije s onkraj Dunava (Barkóczi 1980: 115–117). Premda je zbog opekarskih proizvoda *legionis VI Herculiae* (Katancivs 1782: 96, 97; Bojničić 1879: 176; CIL III: 10665e=3759?; 10665f; 10665g; Szilágyi 1933: 42, br. 2a, 3, T. IX: 2, 3; Bulat 1965b: 13, T. II: 6–8; 1977c: 79; Шарановић-Светек 1990: 49) pretpostavljeno da je i u Mursi u 4. st. bila legijska utvrda (Katancivs 1782: 84, 97, 98; Sršan 1991: 63; Mažuran 1994: 35), izglednije je ondje tražiti fortifikaciju dijela spomenute legije, kohorte s oznakom *X*. Drugih nalaza, osim opekarskih proizvoda s pečatom (Arheološki muzej Osijek 201992; Bulat 1965b: 13, T. II: 10; T. III: 1, 2; Pinterović 1978: 111, T. XXII: 3), o tome da je VI. legija ikad bila na mjestu *Donjega grada* u Osijeku – nema. Utvrđeni su grad Mursu, poznat i kao sjedište zapovjednika dunavske flote (*praefectus classis Histricae, Mursae*) (*NDO* XXXII: 52) (*Aur. Vict., De Caes.* XXXIII: 1, 2; *Eutr., Brev.* IX: 8; X: 12) (Katancivs

1782: 1; Koller 1804; Pinterović 1978: K. III; Zaninović 1993: 56, 57) 378. (Bulat 1979: 13, 14; 1989b: 195) ili 380. g. razorili Goti (Lengyel & Radan 1980: 28; Gračanin 2005: 13, n. 14; Rapan Papeša 2012: 415–439; Sardelić 2012: 74–76). Na to da je lučna infrastruktura tamo postojala i prije kasnocarskoga doba, eventualno ukazuje ulomak tegule *cl(assis) F(laviae) P(annonicae)* (Szilágy 1933: 84; Bulat 1965b: 17, T. IV: 1). Dok jedni vjeruju da bi luku trebalo iskati kod željezničkoga mosta (Ljubić 1883: 94; Bulat 1983: 11), drugi taj objekt traže na spoju Huttlerove ulice s Dravom (Pinterović 1978: K. 3; Gardaš 2003: 9).

Budući da je u zidu kapele Sv. Roka u Petrijevcima [*mutatio* (odmorište) *Mursella* (*Itin. Hieros.* 563); *Mursa Minor* (*Tab. Peut.* VI: 1; *Rav. Cosm.* IV: 19)] pronađena opeka *legionis VI Herculiae*, barem su jednu rimsku građevinu u tome mjestu, ako taj predmet jest iz Petrijevaca, mogli podići vojnici. Nedaleko odande postojali su opkopi i tel *Mons Regius* (Pinterović 1969: 63; 1978: 106, 111; Bulat 1977c: 79; 1990: 8, 9; Шарановић-Светек 1990: 49). I kod mjesnoga groblja bile su dvije, opkopima omeđene, gradine. Tu je lokaciju, a ne Ćerine ili *Dalagaj*, M. Bulat smatrao Murselom (Bulat 1965a: 294; 1977c: 79). U 19. st. *Mons Regius* bio je uvelike uništen (Bulat 1990: 9, 10; Paušak 2007: 36, 37).

Arheološke lokalitete na položajima *Suvatovo* i *Močari* kod Nemetina također se običava dovoditi u vezu s rimskom vojskom. Premda je riječ o dvama nalazištima, stručnjaci ih nerijetko izjednačuju. Jedni *Suvatovo* poistovjećuju s *Ad Labores* uz Dravu (Katancivs 1782: 60, 61; Kukuljević 1873: 117; Tončinić 2015: 30), a drugi s položajem uz put kojime je rimski lokalitet u Kopačevu bio povezan s Daljem (Pinterović 1968: 61; 1969: 59). Ostatci iz dominata na *Suvatovu* nisu evidentirani. No, okolica Nemetina nalazi se pod minski sumnjivim područjem i nije joj moguće pristupiti, a dio je te i nasipan. Toponim *Močari* odnosi se na brežuljak 1,5 km južno odande. Na tomu mjestu izorani su rimski ostatci, među kojima opeka *legionis VI Herculiae cohortis X* (Bulat 1965b: 13, T. III: 3; 1969: 42; Pinterović 1978: 111; Minichreiter 1989: 185; Шарановић-Светек 1990: 49). Nedaleko, pronađen je i kovčeg sarkofaga (Göricke-Lukić 2000: 36, br. 2, T. VIII: 1; 2011: 73, br. 1).

Na ostatke iz kasnorimskoga doba u Dalju ukazuju slučajni nalazi (Kubitschek & Loewy 1879: 155), iskopavanja istočno (Bulat 1967: 358; 1969: 43; 1977c: 78; Vukmanić 2017) te grobnica jugozapadno od ciglane (Bulat 1977b: 22; 1977e: 92–94; 1984a: 125, 126, sl. 8: 1–4). I votivna pločica s prikazom podunavskoga konjanika iz okolice toga mjesta (Iskra-Janošić 1966: 50, 51, T. II: 1) dovodi se u vezu s vojskom. No tvrdnja da je spomenuti kultni lik bio štovan na mjestima koja prije nisu bila zahvaćena rimskim utjecajem, a koja vrijedi za Meziju (Alexandrov 2012: 283), nije validna za Panoniju. To što je slične predmete ondje moguće pronaći uz i podalje od Dunava vjerojatno je odraz stanja koje odgovara širokomu pograničnom području. Negdje u eri 286. – 378. g. u *Teutiborgio* ili *Teutibarcio* bila su dva konjanička odreda rimske vojske – *cuneus equitum Dalmatarum* u jednoj (*NDO* XXXII: 23) i *equites promoti* u drugoj utvrdi (*NDO* XXXII: 30). Nije poznato jesu li oni na mjestu Dalja [*Tittoburgo* (*Tab. Peut.* VI: 2); *Clautiburgium* (*Rav. Cosm.* IV: 20)], i gdje, bili istodobno. Budući da je sijelo u *Teutiborgio* prema tradicionalnome shvaćanju od 378. ili 380. g. do potkraj 4. st. (Kubitschek & Loewy 1879: 152–155; Bulat 1965b: 13, T. II: 11, 12; T. III: 9–12; Шарановић-Светек 1990: 50), a vjerojatnije do 351., ili 378. g., mogao imati *praefectus legionis sextae Herculiae* (*NDO* XXXII: 47), pratiti ga je mogla *cohors X* (Bulat 1965b: 13, T. II: 7, 9; Pinterović 1978: 111; Шарановић-Светек 1990: 50).

Ostatci iz rimskoga doba primijećeni su i na *Gradcu* sjeverno od Borova (Katancivs 1782: 14; Kukuljević 1873: 93; Bulat 1969: 43; Sršan 1987: 359). Lokalitet je tamo omeđen širokim i dubokim opkopom, a uz Dunav je vidljiv ostatak zida. Blizu je pronađeno mnogo predmeta, među kojima opekarski proizvodi *figulinae Iuvensianae legionis I Noricorum* (Dorn 1973: 23; Ilkić 2005: 21, 22, 35; Bubić 2012: 818). Oblik i tlocrt nalazišta, veličine oko 75 x 45 m (0,33 ha), ukazuju na doba prije i nakon ranocarske ere. Iako nije isključeno da je u pitanju ostatak promatračnice koja je poslije uklopljena u veću utvrdu, tamošnji su građevinski ostatci vjerojatnije dio kasnoantičke ili srednjovjekovne fortifikacije.

Nije poznato odnosi li se naziv *Ad Labores pontis Ulcae* [*Tab. Peut.* VI: 2; *Leutuoani* (*Itin. Hieros.* 563, 2)] na *Veliki prekop* (Graf 1936: 67), Veru (Kukuljević 1873: 90, 93, 119; Miller 1916: 446; Gračanin 2010: 24) ili neko treće mjesto. Pretpostavlja se i da su tim terminom bili označeni poslovi na reguliranju toka Vuke (Sardelić 2012: 73). A ako je na toponimu *Staro Ljeskovo* kod Bobote uistinu evidentirano devet rimskih vojnih objekata, pri čemu je na jednoj od opeka uočen pečat *legionis VI Herculiae* (Dorn 1977b: 151), tumačenje je da je riječ o prenoćištu ili odmorištu (Minichreiter 1989: 188; Hutinec 2008: 111, 112) malo vjerojatno.

Iz dominata je iz Vukovara objavljen ulomak votivne pločice (Iskra-Janošić 1966: 51) i ostava iz 354.–361. g. (Göricke-Lukić 1984: 201–209). Budući da su mjesta *Gašparove apoteke* (Karač & Žunić 2018: 206, 207, sl. 1, 342, 342) te *Franjevačke crkve* i *Gimnazije* strateški bitna (Pinterović 1968: 69, 70), nije isključeno da su Rimljani ondje izgradili fortifikacijski objekt. Jednako tako, vjeruje se da je na položaju *Trojstvo* (*Reissov salaš*) između Vukovara i Sotina na prijelazu 3./4. st. bila manja utvrda, vila ili prenoćište (Bulat 1967: 359; 1969: 44; Dorn 1973: 24). Premda je na toj lokaciji, poviše Dunava, izglednije tražiti promatračnicu, pitanje je ukazuju li na to kvalitetno napravljene podne pločice u obliku kvadra ili prizme.

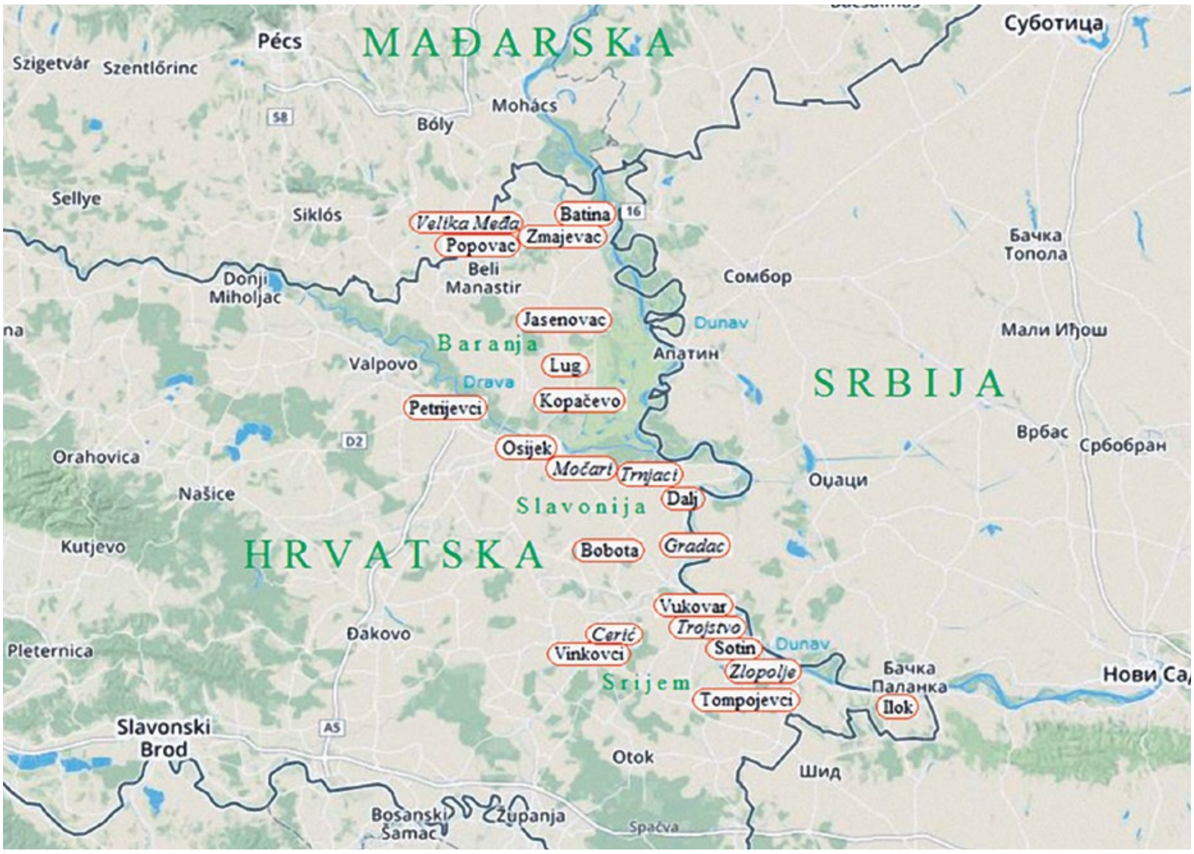
Sudeći prema *NDO*-u, u dvjema su utvrdama u *Cornaco* (*Tab. Peut.* VI: 2; *Rav. Cosm.* IV: 20) u 3.–4. st. bili *equites Dalmatae* (XXXI: 31) i *cuneus equitum scutariorum* (XXXII: 21, 22). Njima su pripisani vrhovi sulica koji su pronađeni u Sotinu, a opremi, oružju i predmetima tih postrojbi (Hoffiller 1912: 65, 67; Demo 1994: 127, br. 183; Ilkić 2003: 55–67, 72, 73, 178, 179; 2010: 61) možda bi trebalo pridodati one s položaja *Vrućak*, nedaleko od crkve Marije Pomoćnice i Ulice V. Nazora (Ilkić 2006: 58–61, 64, 72–74). Pri izgradnji jedne od sotinskih kuća otkriven je kasnocarski natpis (Ilkić 2003: 28; 2005: 20, n. 3), a pronađen je i građevinski materijal *figulinae Iuvensianae legionis I Noricorum* (Szilágy 1933: 23, br. 1k; Ilkić 2005: 35, br. 9). Pečatom *cohortis X* (Szilágy 1933: 42, br. 7–9a, T. IX: 7–9; Шарановић-Светек 1990: 50; Ilkić 2005: 22, 36, br. 11, 12) *legionis VI Herculiae* nešto je bilo obilježeno na *Popinom brdu* i *Vrućku* (Ilkić 2005: 38, br. 10, 13–18; 2012: 354, br. 3–7). Uz prometnicu prema Cibalama (*Cibalae* = Vinkovci) (Hutinec 2010b: 33) pronađeno je sedam kasnocarskih grobnica. U jednoj od njih otkrivena je opeka s pečatom VI. legije, a na obližnjoj oranici vojna oprema (Brunšmid 1901: 144; Hoffiller 1912: 67; Pinterović 1948: 220; Dorn 1967: 14, 15; Bulat 1977c: 81; Ilkić 2003: 62; Hutinec 2010a: 8–10; 2010b: 30, 60, br. 22). Dio naselja istražen je na položaju *Jaroši* (Ilkić 2007: 282; Hutinec 2010a: 9, 10; 2010b: 31–33). Najkasnije između 378. i 392. g. vojnici su iz *Cornaci* bili premješteni u današnji Rheinzabern (Ilkić 2003: 102, 128; 2006: 60; 2007: 277–282) [prije je smatrano da je *Cornacum* vojska napustila 395.–398. g. (Alföldy 1926: 77)] i poznati kao *numeri intra Gallias Cornacenses*. Premda dio stručnjaka, uvažavajući *pseudocomitatenses Corn(i)acenses* (*NDO* VII) (Brunšmid 1901: 140), smatra da život u *Cornaco* na prijelazu 4./5. st. nije sporan (Migotti 2012: 19–21) – rimska vojna komponenta *in situ* nedostaje.

Prema *NDO*-u, u *Cuccio* su bili *cuneus equitum promotorum* (XXXII: 6, 13, 15) i *equites sagitarii* (XXXII: 32). No, nije poznato jesu li oni na mjestu Iloka u eri 286.–378. g. bili istodobno. Budući da je riječ o kasnorimskim posadama, smještaj im je izgledno tražiti na povišenim položajima kakav je *Gornji grad* – možda ispod jednoga velikog trgovačkoga lanca. Na objekte koje je u Iloku u 3.–4. st. napravila rimska vojska ukazuje tegula *figulinae Iuvensianae legionis I Noricorum* (Szilágy 1933: 23, br. 1c; Pinterović 1968: 71) i vodovodne cijevi (Barbarić 1970: 8; Göricke 1976: 26; Batorović 2000: 5; Minichreiter 2007: 89–92). Temelji iz toga doba otkriveni su kod dvorca Odeschalchi (Tomičić & Dizdar 2006: 40; Tomičić *et al.* 2008: 11, 15, 16). I za principata i za dominata u *Cuccio* [*Cucci* (*Itin. Ant.* 232, 6); *Cuccio* (*Tab. Peut.* VI: 2); *Catio* (*Rav. Cosm.* IV: 20)] bila je postaja uz podunavski put. Najkasniji objavljeni novac iz Iloka datira iz 392. g. (Šamšalović 1973: 8).

Fortifikacijski je sustav Cibala, kojega su nasip i opkop bili u obliku kvadrata, dokumentiran u Vinkovcima 17 km zapadno od Dunava (Marsigli 1726: 47, T. XIX: 8; Gračanin 2010: 12, 19). Premda tip postrojbe koja je ondje mogla boraviti nije poznat, to su mjesto, dijelom utvrđeno zemljom (Migotti 2009: 232, 233), u 4. st. morali štititi vojnici. Svojevrsni *melting pot* u kulturnome, političkom i religioznom pogledu – zahvaljujući pravovjernoj kršćanskoj aktivnosti – umjesto arijanske je Murse početkom spomenutoga stoljeća postao baš taj grad (Migotti 2009: 130). Poslije 378. g. na nj su navalili Goti (Vrkić & Skelac 2016: 160).

Na lokalitetu *Plandište* jugoistočno od Cerića bio je izgrađen rimski objekt natkrovljen imbreksom *legionis VI Herculiae* (Bulat 1965b: 14, T. III: 5). Taj predmet ukazuje na to da je ondje nešto mogao podići jedan od odreda te vojske (*cohors X*). I u Tompojevcima su pronađene dvije grobnice označene pečatom VI. legije. Nekropola je tamo mogla biti između dvaju nalazišta naseobinskog karaktera, *Malat* i *Pivnice* (Dorn 1977a: 25, 26; Шарановић-Светек 1990: 50; Mikolašević 2012).

Signalne postaje, slične promatračnicama, Rimljani su za dominata gradili uz *unutarnju* stranu podunavske prometnice (Barkóczi *et al.* 1976: 97; Visy 1988: 33, 106; 2003a: 74, 77, 79, 98, 103; 2003b: 168; 2008: 55, 68, 168; Kovács 2008: 128; Szabó 2011: 131, 132). Navod da je „utvrda” *Quadriburgium* nalik takvomu objektu (Јанкулов 1952: 15) odgovara tvrdnji da se kod Popovca znalo za temelje manje građevine kvadratnoga tlocrta (Bulat 1977c: 80). Ti se podatci možda odnose na *Velike Međe* između Kneževa



Karta 1. Hrvatsko Podunavlje – mjesta vjerojatne građevinske aktivnosti rimske vojske u 3.–4. st. (autor: I. Vukmanić, 2019 prema https://www.mapbox.com).

i Popovca gdje su, jugozapadno od Županijske ceste 4019 (Vukmanić 2011), evidentirani čvrsti temelji, spomenici (Bulat 1960: 255; Predojević n. d.) i grobovi (Minichreiter 1987: 132, 133). Sudeći prema skici iz 1786. g. (Bulat 1977c: 67) i uz obalu je Drave na osječkome *Pristaništu* bila „izvidnica" ili „stražarski toranj" (Bulat 1977a: 31; 1989a: 17, 48, 49; Pinterović 1978: 162) – mogući ostatak signalne postaje izgrađene zapadno od mosta i uz rijeku kako bi služila nadziranju prometovanja kopnenim i plovnim putom. Uz put su, na dionici *Mursa–Tittoburgum*, slični objekti mogli biti na položajima *Močari*, *Dionice* i *Trnjaci*.[1] Zapadno od Dalja prvu signalnu postaju izgledno je tražiti na toponimu *Livadice*. Ako je riječ o ostatcima uz podunavsku prometnicu, takva je građevina možda bila izgrađena i na položaju *Ritovi* na *Zlopolju* jugozapadno od Sotina gdje je objekt kvadratnoga tlocrta veličine 7 x 7 m interpretiran kao vila (Ilkić 2003: 22).

Ostave koje su otkrivene u Batini, Gajiću, Gabošu, Bapskoj (Mirnik 1978: 41, 42, 56, 68, 72, 77, br. 134, 135, 143, 199–201, 256, 257, 280, 313) i Aljmašu (Bulat 1975: 19; Mirnik 1978: 68, br. 255; 1981: 76, br. 255; Demo 1994: 131, br. 194, 195) bile su zakopane uoči bitke kod Murse 351. g. (Bulat 1986: 11). Sudeći prema dobu, ta su *blaga* bila u vezi s građanskim ratom, a ne nasilnim prodorima stranih naroda u Rimsko Carstvo. No već tada moglo se naslutiti krah kasnorimske vojne zone na baranjskom, slavonskom i srijemskom tlu (karta 1). U kronološkoj su vezi s dolaskom *barbarskih* naroda u Panoniju ostave koje su u Cibalama bile sakrivene u eri 376. – 379. g. (Brunšmid 1911: 272–286; Mirnik 1978: 77, br. 313; Vrkić & Skelac 2016: 155).

Građevinski ostatci ili drugi nalazi koji ukazuju na to da je u Baranji, Slavoniji i Srijemu poslije 378. g. bilo rimskih fortifikacija, nisu uvjerljivi. Ni njihov prikaz u *NDO*-u ne treba shvaćati doslovno. Razmjerno čest, rimski je novac u to doba mogao biti plaća federata ili danak. Premda lokalitetima u kasnocarskoj obrambenoj zoni na spomenutome tlu nije uvijek određen tip, izgledno je da su to bile veće i manje utvrde i utvrđeni gradovi, promatračnice, signalne postaje, odmorišta ili prenoćišta uz put, naselja, vile te nekropole. Budući da su rimski vojnici predio sjeverno od Drave napustili najkasnije poslije 378. g., valjalo bi razmotriti jesu li i iz kraja južno od te rijeke otišli istodobno ili dvadesetak godina kasnije, što bi insinuiralo da su *barbarski* narodi uz Dunav neka mjesta zaobišli, a neka u unutrašnjosti napali. Navedeno

[1] Na informaciji o posljednje navedenim lokalitetima zahvalan sam H. Vuliću iz Gradskog muzeja Vinkovci.

ne znači da po njihovu dolasku ondje više nije bilo romanskoga stanovništva ili materijala, nego da otad nije bilo novih građevinskih faza koje je napravila rimska vojska. Toj su tezi – tezi diskontinuiteta ili modelu zamjene – prilog to što je u hrvatskome Podunavlju tijekom prve polovine 5. st. postojan bio jedino heretički crkveni ustroj (Gračanin 2013: 155–169) te izvori (*Jord., Get.* 166*; Marcell., Chron. Min.* 427, 1) u kojima je navedeno da su Rimljani 427. g. – poslije 50 godina – (Mócsy 1974: 359, 360; Gračanin 2005: 24, 25) vratili nadzor nad Panonijom (Valerijom) što znači da su istu i izgubili oko 377. g.

Kratice

AAntHung	*Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
AIA	*Annales Instituti Archaeologici*
AP	*Arheološki pregled*
BAR IS	*British Archaeological Reports International Series*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
DAOS	Državni arhiv u Osijeku
DissPann	*Dissertationes Pannonicae*
GMVi	Gradski muzej Vinkovci
GSM	*Glasnik slavonskih muzeja*
HAD	*Hrvatsko arheološko društvo*
HAG	*Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak*
ILJug	*Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter anos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt*
OZ	*Osječki zbornik*
PBM	*Рад Војвођанских Музеја*
RoMiCRO	Between the Danube and the Mediteranean. Exploring the role of Roman military in the mobility of people and goods in Croatia during the Roman Era
SEBarc	*Sylloge epigraphica Barcinonensis*
SS	Scrinia Slavonica
VAMZ	*Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*
VHAD	Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva

Antički izvori

Amm. Marc., Hist. Rom.	Ammianus Marcellinus, Historia Romana
Aur. Vict., De Caes.	Aurelius Victor, De Caesares
CIL III	Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum, Volumen tertium, in: T. Mommsen (ed.), Inscriptiones Asiae, Provinciarum Europae Graecarum, Illyrici Latinae. Berolini 1873.; Voluminis tertii suplementum, in: T. Mommsen, O. Hirschfeld & A. von Domaszewski (eds.), Inscriptiones Orientis et Illrici Latinae, Berolini 1889–1902.
Eutr., Brev.	Eutropius, Breviarium ab Urbe condita
Itin. Ant.	Itinerarium Provinciarum Antonini Augusti
Itin. Hieros.	Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum
Jord., Get.	Jordanes, Getae
Marcell. Chron. Min.	Marcellinus, Chronica Minora
NDO	Notitia Dignitatum Occidenis
Oros., Hist.	Orosius, Historiarum adversum Paganos libri VII
Rav. Cosm.	Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia

Ruf., Hist. Eccles.	Rufinus, Historia Ecclesiastica
Fest., Brev.	Rufius Festus, Breviarum rerum gestarum populi Romani
Soz., Hist.	Salaminius Hermias Sozomen, Historia Ecclesiastica
Sulp. Sev., Chr.	Sulpicius Severus, Chronica
Tab. Peut.	Tabula Peutingeriana
Them., Orat.	Themistius, Orationes
Ζων., Ἐπιτ.	Ζωναρᾶς (Ιωάννης ὁ), Ἐπιτομὴ ἱστριῶν
Zos., Hist.	Zosimos, Historia nova

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Roman amphorae from Tilurium

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The paper deals with the findings of amphorae from the Roman legionary fortress Tilurium, situated in the Roman province of Dalmatia. The author offers an overview of all amphorae published so far, found in research campaigns 1997 – 2010 and by locals during fieldwork. The content, provenance and dating of amphorae were analyzed, giving us an insight into dietary habits of Roman soldiers and the origin of imported goods. Wine, olive oil, fish products and fruit were transported to Tilurium in various types of amphorae from many parts of the Empire. Wine was imported from Italy, Aegean and Hispania, while olive oil was brought from Italy, Istria, Hispania and African provinces. Fish products were imported from Hispania, while dried fruit was brought from Italy and the eastern Mediterranean. Most of amphorae could be dated to the 1st and 2nd century CE, although several types of Late Republican and Late Antiquity origins are also represented.

Key words: *Dalmatia, Tilurium, legionary fortress, food supply, amphorae*

*Introduction**

I am dedicating this article to prof. dr. Mirjana Sanader, my professor and mentor, who has devoted much of her scientific career to the study of the Roman military and the legionary fortress Tilurium. It is a great honor to publish a paper about Roman amphorae from Tilurium in the proceedings on the occasion of her 65th birthday.

In the village of Gardun near Trilj, situated in the hinterland of the Dalmatia's capital Salona, a Roman legionary fortress Tilurium is located. The fortress is strategically located on the northeastern plateau above the right bank of the Cetina river (*Hippus flumen*), which enabled excellent control over the river crossing and river communication. From this strategic position, it was possible to monitor the important road routes leading from ancient Salona to Narona in the southeast and to former Delminium in the northeast (Sanader & Tončinić 2010: 42).

Based on the epigraphic sources, it has been known that the first permanent military unit to reside in the legionary fortress Tilurium was *legio VII* (from 42 CE known as *legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis*). The exact time of arrival of the legion in the Roman province of Dalmatia is unknown, but most authors agree that it was sometime during the Dalmatian-Pannonian Uprising (6 – 9 CE) when the legion came from the territory of Macedonia or Moesia (Zaninović 1984: 68–69; Tončinić 2011: 11–15). After the departure of *legio VII* to Viminacium in Upper Moesia, which occurred approximately during the mid-1st century, several auxiliary units were epigraphically attested in Tilurium - *cohors II Cyrrhestarum, ala Claudia nova, ala (Tungrorum)*

* This work has been fully supported by Croatian Science Foundation under the project IP-2018-01-4934 „Understanding Roman Borders: the Case of the Eastern Adriatic" (AdriaRom).

Frontoniana, cohors Aquitanorum, cohors I Belgarum, cohors III Alpinorum and *cohors VIII voluntariorum civium romanorum* (Zaninović 1984: 72–73; Sanader & Tončinić 2010: 34–37; Tončinić *et al.* 2011: 364; Vrbanc 2012: 131–133). *Cohors VIII* was the last military unit that left *Tilurium*, as testified by an inscription of a *centurio* on a sacrificial altar erected in 245 CE (CIL III 2706 = 9724; Zaninović 1984: 70; 2007: 182). Despite that, Tilurium preserved its military significance until the end of Antiquity. The station of *beneficiarii consularis* was developed in a civilian settlement known as *Pons Tiluri* (*It. Ant.* 337,5) or *Ponteluri* (*Rav. Cosm.* IV, 16), located beneath the legionary fortress, next to the bridge on the Cetina river (Zaninović 2007: 183; Glavaš 2016: 23). Tilurium was never given municipal status, however, the results of archaeological excavations and the analysis of small findings indicate the existence of Late Antique horizon that can be dated until the 6th century CE (Šimić-Kanaet 2010: 58; Tončinić & Vukov 2018: 40–43).

Despite the great historical importance of the site and numerous findings stored in museums, the systematic archaeological research did not start until 1997 (Sanader 1998: 243–255). Since then, the research has been conducted under the management of Prof. Dr. Mirjana Sanader from the Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb. During more than twenty years of excavations, remnants of the fortress architecture have been uncovered, as well as a large number of ceramic, glass, metal, stone and bone findings. So far, a large number of scientific papers, several doctoral dissertations (Šimić-Kanaet 2009; Buljević 2016; Ivčević 2016) and four comprehensive monographs (Sanader 2003; Šimić-Kanaet 2010; Sanader *et al.* 2014; 2017), dealing with the architecture, stone monuments and archaeological material found in excavations, have been published. The ceramic material found in research campaigns 1997 – 2010 was thoroughly analyzed and published by Dr. Zrinka Šimić-Kanaet (Šimić-Kanaet 2010; 2017; Vukov 2020: 229–239).

Amphorae from Tilurium

With more than 30 000 fragments, a ceramic material represents the most numerous category of findings among archaeological material excavated in Tilurium. Among those, in addition to the numerous tableware and cookware, a large number of amphora fragments were found. This paper seeks to summarize all findings of amphorae found in the research campaigns from 1997 to 2010. Hundreds of amphorae fragments were found during these 14 excavation campaigns, including 456 diagnostic fragments (Šimić-Kanaet 2010; 2017).[1] The analysis will also include nine fragments of amphorae from the private collections

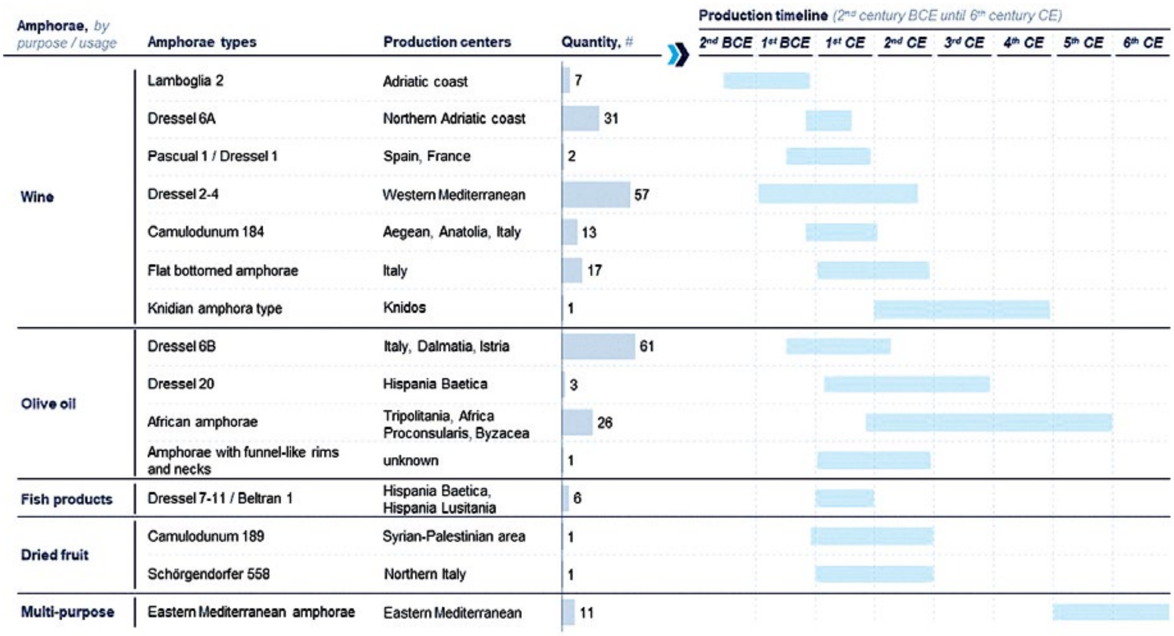

Figure 1. Overview of amphora types in Tilurium (by: M. Vukov, 2019).

[1] The amphorae found during archaeological excavations originate from the position of military dormitory (*centuriae*) and the building of indeterminate purpose built along the western rampart of the fortress.

of N. Tadinac, S. Tadinac and S. Roguljić found by locals during fieldwork (Bekić 1998: 234), as well as seven amphorae from *Tadinac I* and *Tadinac II* collections now deposited in the Museum of the Cetina Region in Sinj (Čerina 2011). Amphorae found in post-2010 campaigns are still in the publishing process and will therefore not be included in this paper.

The aim of this paper is to provide an insight into the military supply of the Roman legionary fortress Tilurium based on amphorae published so far. Amphorae were two-handled vessels used to store and transport a variety of products, such as wine, olive-oil, fish products and dried fruit. They were often distributed from remote areas and as such are the best indicators of trade, economy and food consumption (Peacock & Williams 1986: 2). Among published amphorae from Tilurium, 28 different types were distinguished. Most fragments belong to amphorae for transporting wine (128 fragments) and olive oil (91 fragments), while a smaller number of amphorae were used for the transport of fish products (6 fragments) and fruit (2 fragments).

Amphorae for transporting wine (*amphorae vinariae*)

The oldest fragments of amphorae documented in Tilurium belong to the **Lamboglia 2** type. So far, 7 fragments of this type have been found (Šimić-Kanaet 2010: 44, cat. no. 2779–2784, 2813). It is believed that this type of amphorae was developed in the mid-2nd century BCE and continued the production until the end of the 1st century BCE when it was replaced by the Dressel 6A type (Peacock & Williams 1986: 99–100; Bezeczky 1998: 228). They were produced in central and northern regions of Italy and on the Eastern Adriatic coast (Bezeczky 1998: 228).

The **Dressel 6A** amphora type, which was developed from the tradition of the Lamboglia 2 at the end of the 1st century BCE, is represented with 31 fragments (Bekić 1998: 239, P. 2: 10, 11; Šimić-Kanaet 2010: 44, cat. no. 2786–2793, 2795–2801, 2805–2810, 2815, 2816, 2916, 2983, 3080, 3124, 3125). They were produced on the western and northern Adriatic coast until the mid-1st century CE (Panella 2001: 195). Three fragments from Tilurium bear the stamp *M. Her(ennius) Picens* (Bekić 1998: 239; Šimić-Kanaet 2010: 47, cat. no. 2810) which helps in their precise dating. Namely, *M. Herennius* was consul in 34 BCE, and his son in 1 CE (Bezeczky 1998: 230).

Two fragments of amphorae might be attributed to the **Pascual 1 - Dressel 1** type (Šimić-Kanaet 2010: 45, cat. no. 2884, 2899). This type of amphorae was developed in the late Republican time from the Italian Dressel 1B type and was produced in northeastern Spain and southern France by the end of the 1st century CE (Peacock & Williams 1986: 93).

The most represented type of wine amphorae in Tilurium is the **Dressel 2-4**, with a total of 57 fragments (Šimić-Kanaet 2010: 44–45, cat. no. 2868–2883, 2885–2887, 2889–2898, 2915, 2993–2996, 3005, 3008, 3025, 3026, 3029, 3037, 3042, 3043, 3045, 3049, 3053, 3057, 3061–3069; 2017: 87, cat. no. 200; Čerina 2011: 220, cat. no. 2). This type was developed in Campania out of the tradition of Hellenistic amphorae from the Aegean island of Cos during the second half of the 1st century BCE. The production spread to many sites in the western Mediterranean where it continued until the 2nd century CE. Production centers of this type have been documented in Italy, Spain, France and England (Peacock & Williams 1986: 105–106; Freed 2000: 461).

The **Camulodunum 184**, also known as the Late Rhodian amphora type, is represented with 13 fragments (Šimić-Kanaet 2003: 126, cat. no. 140; 2010: 45, cat. no. 2902–2910, 3093; 2017: 88, cat. no. 208, 209). This type of amphorae with characteristic horn-shaped handles was developed on the island of Rhodes at the end of the 1st century BCE. The production spread to other Aegean islands, the Anatolian coast and Italy where it continued until the beginning of the 2nd century CE (Peacock & Williams 1986: 102; Bezeczky 1998: 233).

Another type of wine amphorae represented in Tilurium are **flat-bottomed amphorae**. So far, 17 fragments of this type have been found (Šimić-Kanaet 2010: 46, cat. no. 2964, 2976, 3010–3014; 2017: 88, cat. no. 201–207, 221–223). They were produced during the 1st and 2nd century CE in the workshops of Emilia Romagna (Forlimpopoli, Rimini), Etruria, Umbria, Picenum and the Veneto region (Ožanić 2005: 140).

Only one fragment of the bottom (Šimić-Kanaet 2010: 45, cat. no. 2914) can be attributed to the **Knidian amphora type**. This amphora type was produced on the Greek island of Knidos from Hellenistic until Byzantine times (Bezeczky 1998: 233; Starac 2006: 95–96). They were very rare on the Eastern Adriatic coast, where only a few individual findings have been found so far (Starac 2006: 96).

Amphorae for transporting olive oil (*amphorae oleariae*)

The most frequent type of amphorae used to transport olive oil is the **Dressel 6B**. It is predominant type in both Dalmatia and Tilurium, where 61 fragments have been found (Šimić-Kanaet 2003: 126, cat. no. 136, 137; 2010: 44, cat. no. 2803, 2812, 2817–2867, 2936, 2984, 2991; 2017: 87–88, cat. no. 211, 212, 215–220). It is believed that this type developed in the mid-1st century BCE in Cisalpine Gaul from where the production spread throughout northern Italy, Dalmatia and Istria. Two production centers have been documented in Istria – workshop of *C. Lecanius Bassus* in Fažana near Pula and workshop of *T. Statilius Taurus Sisenna* and *Calvia Crispinila* in Loron near Poreč. During the time of Vespasian, workshops came under the control of Roman Emperors where they remained until the reign of Hadrian when production ceased (Starac 1997: 143–144, 149). Import from northern Italy has been attested by a stamp *Pacci*, produced in the Po valley during the second half of the 1st century CE (Šimić-Kanaet 2010: 47, cat. no. 2812).

Figure 2. Amphora with funnel-like rim and neck (photo: Sanja Budić-Leto)

Only one fragment could be attributed to the type of **amphorae with funnel-like rims and necks** (Šimić-Kanaet 2010: 88, cat. no. 214). The center of production of this form is still unknown, although it is believed that they were developed out of tradition of the late Dressel 6B type. They were produced during the 1st and 2nd century CE (Bezeczky 1987: 35–36; Starac 2006: 96–97).

Import of Hispanic olive oil is evidenced by 3 fragments of the **Dressel 20** amphora type (Šimić-Kanaet 2010: 45, cat. no. 2999, 3001, 3071). These widely distributed large globular amphorae were produced in the province of Hispania Baetica from the time of Tiberius until the late 3rd century CE (Peacock & Williams 1986: 136).

Around the 3rd century CE, Italian, Istrian and Hispanic olive oil was replaced by African oil. It was imported from the African provinces from where it was distributed in various types of amphorae. These amphorae were produced in Tripolitania, Africa Proconsularis and Byzacena from the end of the 1st century until the 6th century CE (Starac 2006: 100; Šimić-Kanaet 2010: 46). So far, based on their characteristic ceramic structure, 26 fragments have been attributed to different types of African amphorae. Some of them are: Keay XXIV, Keay XXV, Keay XXV E, Keay XXVY, Keay XXVI, Keay XXXV, Keay XXXVA, Keay XXVB, Keay XXXVI, Keay XXVIH and Tripolitanian III (Šimić-Kanaet 2010: 46, cat. no. 2917–2927, 2929, 2931, 2932, 2950, 2956, 2957, 2958, 2961, 2978, 3000, 3023, 3039; Čerina 2011: 219–220, cat. no. 5–7).

Amphorae for transporting fish products and fruit

Fish products were imported in the **Dressel 7-11 / Beltran 1** amphora type that was produced in Hispania Baetica and Hispania Lusitania from the end of 1st century BCE to the end of 1st century CE (Peacock & Williams 1986: 118–119). So far, only six fragments of this type have been found in Tilurium (Šimić-Kanaet 2003: 127, cat. no. 138, 139; 2010: 45, cat. no. 2900, 2901, 2977, 2991).

There are only two fragments that can be attributed to amphorae used to transport fruit. First of them belongs to the **Camulodunum 189** type (Šimić-Kanaet 2017: 88, cat. no. 210). These "carrot shaped" amphorae, used to transport a variety of fruits (dates, figs, olives, grapes), were produced in the Syrian-Palestinian area from the end of 1st century BCE to the end of 2nd century CE (Carreras Monfort & Williams 2002: 133–144). The second fragment belongs to the **Schörgendorfer 558** amphora type (Šimić-Kanaet 2010: 46, cat. no. 3002) in which green and black olives were transported. They were produced during the 1st and 2nd century CE at unspecified location, most likely somewhere in northern Italy (Borzić & Jadrić-Kučan 2010: 529).

Amphorae for multi-purpose content

Several different types of amphorae used for the transport of wine, oil and fish products were produced from the 5th to the 7th century in the wider area of the Eastern Mediterranean (Cyprus, Syria, Cilicia, Black Sea coast) (Šimić-Kanaet 2010: 46). Singled out among them were: Late Roman 1A (LR 1A), Late Roman 2 (LR 2), Late Roman 4 (LR 4), Agora M273 and Almagro 51C (Šimić-Kanaet 2010: 46, cat. no. 2928, 3016–3022, 3027; Čerina 2011: 220, cat. no. 3, 8).

Conclusion

During the archaeological excavations of Roman legionary fortress Tilurium from 1997 to 2010, 456 diagnostic fragments of amphorae were found. When we include findings from private collections, we get a number of 472 diagnostic fragments, of which 242 can be typologically determined. Among those, 28 different types of amphorae were distinguished. The results of typological analysis provided insight into the function, origin and chronology of amphorae imported by Roman soldiers in the legionary fortress Tilurium. Amphorae for transporting wine (128 fragments) and olive oil (91 fragments) are most numerous, while amphorae for fish products (6 fragments) and fruit (2 fragments) are present in smaller numbers. One of the reasons of such a numerical display is probably the fact that wine and olive oil were part of the basic diet that was made available to soldiers by the military, while other groceries, such as fish sauces, fruit and nuts, soldiers had to pay for themselves (Davies 1971: 125).

Further analyses of amphorae indicate the contact between Tilurium and numerous areas of the Mediterranean region. Wine was imported from Italy in Lamboglia 2, Dressel 6A, Dressel 2-4 and flat-bottomed amphorae, from the Aegean in Camulodunum 184, Dressel 2-4 and Knidian amphorae, and from Hispania in Pascual 1 – Dressel 1 and Dressel 2-4 amphorae. Olive oil was imported from Italy and Istria in Dressel 6B amphorae, from Hispania in Dressel 20 amphorae, and from African provinces in various amphora types. Fish products were imported in the Dressel 7-11 type from Hispania, while dried fruit was brought from Italy in Schörgendorfer 558 amphorae and from the Eastern Mediterranean in the Camulodunum 189 amphorae.

The first import of amphorae is evidenced in the Late Republican period when the wine from Italy was transported in the Lamboglia 2 amphora type. The most extensive diverseness of amphora types was imported during the 1st and 2nd century CE while the legionary and auxiliary units were permanently stationed at the fortress. As opposed to Burnum, the other legionary fortress in Dalmatia, where only amphorae from 1st century CE, excavated at its amphitheater, were documented (Borzić & Jadrić-Kučan 2010: 526) amphorae from the Late Roman period, dating form the 3rd to 6th century CE, are represented at Tilurium. Although the last military unit left Tilurium in the mid-3rd century CE, analysis of small archaeological finds, i.e. amphorae indicates the continuity of life during Late Antiquity in this area. Various types of amphorae from Eastern Mediterranean and African provinces were imported during this timespan.

In the end, we can see that the food products being brought into Tilurium in amphorae, often from distant parts of the Empire, demonstrate organized military logistics as well as a varied and rich diet of Roman legionaries.

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CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin.

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Metodologija izrade virtualnih rekonstrukcija u arheologiji

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U članku je predstavljena sinteza rada na dvije virtualne rekonstrukcije arheoloških lokaliteta koje su istraživali djelatnici Odsjeka za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Obje rekonstrukcije su slijedile različite metodološke pristupe prilagođene svakom lokalitetu zasebno te su dijelom ovisile i o krajnjem cilju prikazivanja. Sintezom je predstavljena metodologija i pristup izradi virtualnih rekostrukcija na dva vremenski različita stambena objekta ruralnog karaktera. Brončanodobni lokalitet Alilovci Lipje i kasnoantički lokalitet Banjače poslužili su nam kao primjeri za provođenje metodoloških standarda i smjernica u izradi virtualnih rekonstrukcija definiranih Londonskom i Seviljskom poveljom. Na taj način uspostavljen je metodološki pristup koji je omogućio valorizaciju temeljnih podataka korištenih za interpretaciju i njihovo skaliranje prema vjerojatnosti.

Ključne riječi: *virtualne rekonstrukcije, metodološke smjernice, Alilovci Lipje, Banjače, brončano doba, antika*

Virtualne rekonstrukcije

Virtualne rekonstrukcije arheoloških nalazišta u većini se slučajeva koriste kao prezentacijski alat u struci. U proteklih dvadesetak godina one su postupno zamijenile klasične crteže koji su prikazivali idealne rekonstrukcije lokaliteta te su danas vrlo čest dio arheoloških interpretacija lokaliteta prikazanih na izložbama i stručnim publikacijama. S obzirom da se radi o vrlo popularnoj metodi prikazivanja nestalih predmeta, objekata, društava i krajolika, pojavila se potreba za definiranjem pravila i smjernica koje bi trebalo slijediti prilikom njihove izrade. Prvi pokušaji uvođenja standarda nastali su 2006. godine uvođenjem Londonske povelje kojom je po prvi puta opisano koje korake bi metodologija izrade virtualne rekonstrukcije u području kulturne baštine trebala sadržavati (Hugh 2016).

Donošenjem Seviljske povelje 2011. godine pobliže su definirani osnovni principi i standardi kojih bi se trebalo pridržavati prilikom izrade virtualnih rekonstrukcija u arheologiji te je na taj način ona postala svojevrsna nadgradnja na principe definirane u Londonskoj povelji. Poveljom se pobliže definiraju stručni termini koji se tiču virtualne arheologije i virtualnih rekonstrukcija, opisuju se ciljevi te se donose osnovni principi. Od definicija stručnih termina valjalo bi izdvojiti (*Seville principles* 2011):

Virtualna anastiloza – restrukturiranje postojećih komada objekata ili predmeta u virtualnom okruženju

Virtualna restauracija – koristi virtualni model za reorganiziranje dostupnih materijalnih ostataka kako bi dobili model predmeta ili objekta u prošlosti; uključuje virtualnu anastilozu

Virtualna rekonstrukcija – izrada virtualnog modela koji predstavlja predmet ili objekt kojeg su ljudi izradili u prošlosti; bazira se na direktnim dokazima s terenskih istraživanja i znanstveno opravdanim pretpostavkama

Virtualna reprodukcija – izrada virtualnog modela za prikazivanje arheološkog lokaliteta u jednom trenutku u vremenu; uključuje predmete, objekte, okoliš, krajolik, običaje i druge kulturno relevantne prikaze

Jedan od ciljeva Seviljske povelje je i uspostavljanje smjernica za rad unutar područja virtualne arheologije, koji uz uspostavljanje principa i kriterija za evaluiranje kvalitete rada čini jedan od najbitnijih zaključaka ovog dokumenta. Što se tiče samih principa, oni su detaljno opisani poveljom, a jedan od najvažnijih je svakako onaj koji se tiče autentičnosti kompjuterskih vizualizacija. U detaljnom opisu principa autentičnosti navodi se nekoliko podtočaka koje deifiniraju da bi svaka vizualizacija morala prikazati različite stupnjeve pouzdanosti podataka korištenih za izradu same rekonstrukcije. Isto tako, trebalo bi u vizualizacijama razlikovati ostatke pronađene *in situ*, od anastiloze i rekonstrukcije (*Seville principle*s 2011).

Članak predstavlja sintezu rada na dvije virtualne rekonstrukcije arheoloških lokaliteta koje su istraživali djelatnici Odsjeka za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Obje rekonstrukcije su slijedile različite metodološke pristupe prilagođene svakom lokalitetu zasebno te su dijelom ovisile i o krajnjem cilju prikazivanja. Sintezom je predstavljena metodologija i pristup izradi virtualnih rekostrukcija kroz dva zasebna projekta. Bez obzira što se radi o različitim vremenskim periodima i različitim kulturnim krugovima, u oba projekta je predmet istraživanja bio stambeni objekt ruralnog karaktera, u slučaju lokaliteta Alilovci-Lipje brončanodobni, a u slučaju Banjača kasnoantički. Kod kasnoantičkog lokaliteta istraženi su nisko sačuvani ostaci suhozidnog objekta, dok su kod prapovijesnog lokaliteta ostali vidljivi tek tragovi drvene građe i lijepa, koja nas upućuje na postojanje drvenog stambenog objekta. S obzirom na slabo stanje očuvanosti oba objekta, rekonstrukcija ovih arheoloških lokaliteta predstavljala je i jedini način da se prikaže njihov nekadašnji mogući izgled.

Projekt Alilovci Lipje

Lokalitet i arheološki kontekst

Arheološki lokalitet Alilovci Lipje vrlo je važan srednjebrončanodobni lokalitet iz nekoliko razloga. To je jedini sustavno istraživani lokalitet iz vremena početka srednjega brončanoga doba na prostoru sjeverne Hrvatske. Do njegova istraživanja o početku ovoga izuzetno zanimljivoga razdoblja u prapovijesti nije se znalo gotovo ništa. Osim toga, u zatvorenim kontekstima pronađena su dva iznimna nalaza, jantarna perla i *Brotlaibidol* (Mavrović Mokos & Pavličić 2015). Neki autori direktno povezuju Brotlaibidole uz distribuciju jantara s Baltika (Bandi 1974: 251; Ilon 2015: 301). Jantarna perla s lokaliteta Alilovci Lipje za sada ostaje najstariji i jedini pouzdano datirani nalaz takve vrste na području Hrvatske.

Od 2009. do 2012. godine u Alilovcima su istražena dva stambena objekta. Riječ je o poluukopanim stambenim objektima s nadzemnom drvenom konstrukcijom, na što ukazuju velike količine kućnog lijepa kojim je drvo bilo premazano. Stupovi, kao konstrukcijski element kuće, nisu pronađeni. To nas je navelo na zaključak da je nadgrađe bilo napravljeno od debljih greda ili balvana poslaganih jedni na druge i međusobno povezanih „muškim“ i „ženskim“ utorima. Osim brojnih etnoloških paralela na vrlo širokom prostoru srednje Europe, ovakav tip gradnje je karakterističan i za današnje Turopoljske i Zagorske kuće. Arheološke paralele nalazimo u Sloveniji i Austriji (Črešnar 2007: 328–329). Prva istražena kuća je dimenzija 13,5 x 6,5 m, dok je druga znatno manja 5,0 x 2,5 m. Oba stambena objekta su orijentacije sjeverozapad – jugoistok i građena su po istom principu; unutrašnjost im je bila premazana debljim slojem kućnog lijepa (pronađena je veća količina profiliranih komada lijepa – sl. 1), imali su operativni dio u kojem se skladištila i pripremala hrana te pravilno, okruglo ognjište promjera oko 1m koje se nalazilo u jugoistočnom kutu. Veći komadi karboniziranog drveta na cijeloj površini stambenog objekta ukazuju na postojanje drvenog poda (sl. 2). Ognjište je bilo postavljeno na kamenju premazanom lijepom kako bi ga se izoliralo od drvenog poda. 3D animacija je napravljena za veći stambeni objekt.

Slika 1. Veća količina profiliranih komada lijepa pronađenih ***in situ*** *(foto: J. Mavrović Mokos).*

Slika 2. Fotografija situacije na terenu s definiranim objektom 1, te s definiranim slojem koji se sastoji od većih komada karboniziranog drveta (foto: J. Mavrović Mokos).

Virtualna rekonstrukcija

S obzirom da se radi o prapovijesnom lokalitetu na kojemu ostaci građevina nisu sačuvani *in situ*, bilo je potrebno osmisliti adekvatan način za prezentaciju lokaliteta na izložbi *Alilovci, život prije 3700 godina* postavljenoj u Gradskom muzeju u Požegi 2015. godine (Mavrović Mokos & Pavličić 2015). Od građevinskih elemenata ostali su sačuvani samo ostaci kućnog lijepa i tragovi karboniziranog drva, što nam je, uz nalaz ognjišta, veliku koncentraciju fragmenata keramičkih posuda na cijeloj površini objekta, te jame za skladištenje, dalo dovoljno elemenata za virtualnu rekonstrukciju unutrašnjosti kuće.

Rekonstrukcija je temeljena na nacrtnoj dokumentaciji s istraživanja, a pronađeni keramički materijal je nakon restauracije snimljen i napravljeni su fotogrametrijski 3D modeli predmeta. Izrađeni 3D modeli su uvedeni u softver *Blender* u kojem je rađena i završna vizualizacija objekta (Blender 2019). Unutrašnji zidovi kuće su ekstrapolirani prema nalazima kućnog lijepa s lokaliteta čija je tekstura iskorištena za izradu rekonstrukcije. Otisci drvenih greda u kućnom lijepu sugeriraju korištenje drva u gradnji. Neposredno uz veću koncentraciju keramike koja je smještena uza zid objekta, prema podacima s terena, nalazila se i jama unutar koje su pronađeni fragmenti posude za skladištenje većeg promjera. U samom kutu objekta nalazilo se već prethodno spomenuto ognjište.

Slika 3. Virtualna rekonstrukcija brončanodobnog objekta iz Alilovaca kolorirana lažnim bojama prema kriterijima vjerojatnosti izvora informacija; crvena – rekonstrukcija prema objektivnim informacijama, plava – prema deduciranim informacijama, zelena – prema hipotetskim informacijama (izradio: M.Vuković).

Slika 4. Virtualna rekonstrukcija brončanodobnog objekta iz Alilovaca, prikaz unutrašnjosti kako je mogla izgledati u brončano doba (izradio: M. Vuković).

Metodološki pristup izradi ove rekonstrukcije može se raščlaniti na tri odvojene kategorije: a) rekonstrukcija prema objektivnim informacijama, b) prema deduciranim informacijama i c) prema hipotetskim informacijama. Tako je iz sl. 3 jasno vidljivo koji stupanj vjerojatnosti pripada pojedinom rekonstruiranom elementu unutar prikazanog kadra. Ovakav način označavanja stupnja vjerojatnosti je izrazito važan kod rekonstruiranja objekata čiji ostaci nisu pronađeni *in situ* kako bi se dodatno naglasilo što je znanstvena činjenica potvrđena arheološkim istraživanjima, a što hipotetski rekonstruirani dio modela ili scene. S obzirom da je krajnji cilj ove rekonstrukcije bio predstavljanje lokaliteta javnosti na izložbi, izvedena je i kraća animacija u kojoj je rekonstruirani objekt prezentiran. Fotogrametrijski snimljeni keramički materijal smješten je unutar objekta gdje je i pronađen, a na samoj animaciji naznačeni su kataloški brojevi predmeta koji su bili izloženi na izložbi. Na ovaj način sintetizirali smo terensku dokumentaciju, izloženi materijal, digitalizaciju kulturne baštine, interpretaciju lokaliteta i virtualnu rekonstrukciju te ih prezentirali javnosti i struci kroz izložbu (sl. 4).

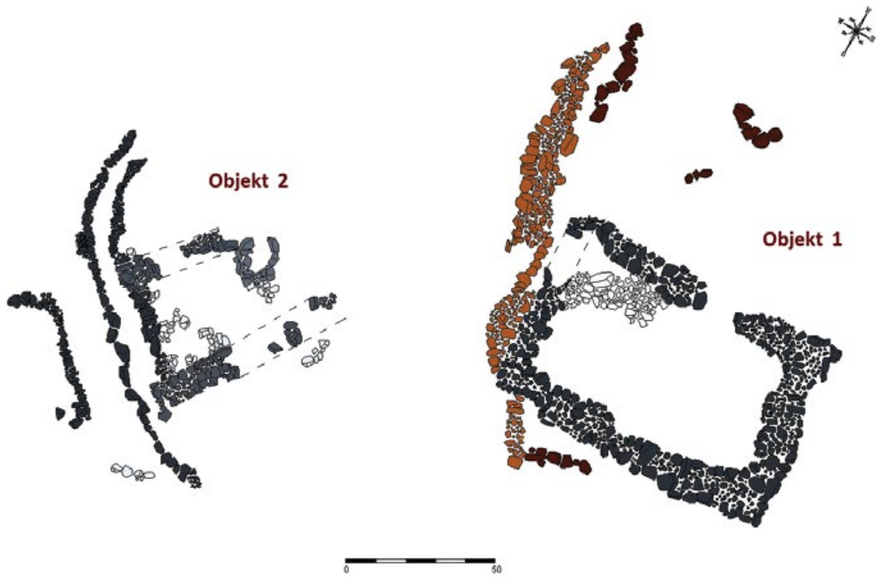
Projekt Banjače

Lokalitet i arheološki kontekst

Tijekom izgradnje Jadranske autoceste na dionici Dugopolje-Bisko 2005., Odsjek za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu proveo je zaštitna arheološka istraživanja na antičkom lokalitetu Banjače smještenom na području prostrane i razgranate krške dugopoljske zaravni, koja je od jadranske obale odijeljena Mosorom (Durman *et al.* 2005; 2006). Provedena istraživanja otkrila su ostatke suhozidne arhitekture ruralnog naselja ili gospodarskog kompleksa s početka 5. st., čiji se najveći objekt pravokutnog oblika (Objekt 1) nalazio ispod recentne suhozidne gomile (sl. 5). Vrlo je uobičajeno da se ispod ovakvih gomila nalaze ostaci arhitekture koji služe kao prirodno okruženje za odlaganje kamena u svrhu raščišćavanja polja (Ožanić Roguljić & Miloglav 2018; Ožanić Roguljić *et al.* 2018).

Slika 5. Zračna fotografija Objekta 1 (foto: Z. Sunko).

Navedeni objekt (Objekt 1) predstavlja građevinu pravokutnog oblika ukupne površine 66 m^2 (dimenzija 9,00 x 6,80 m), orijentacije JI-SZ s ulazom na sjevernoj strani (sl. 6). Od zidova koji su u prosjeku široki oko 1,00 – 1,40 m sačuvani su temelji položeni na kamenu živcu i crljenici. Unutar objekta nađena je veća količina nalaza od stakla, keramike, metala, brončani novac te jedan željezni nazubljeni srp (Ivčević 2018; Ožanić Roguljić 2018; Pavlović 2018). Zidovi su građeni suhozidnom tehnikom, bez ikakvog veziva s ispunom od zemlje i sitnog kamenja (sl. 7). Ispuna zidova sadržavala je veću količinu manjih pokretnih nalaza te značajnu količinu brončanog novca pretežno s početka 5. st. te jedan iz sredine 4. st. (Ožanić Roguljić & Miloglav 2018; Ožanić Roguljić *et al.* 2018).



Slika 6. Tlocrt istražene arhitekture (izradila: I. Miloglav).

Slika 7. Detalj zida suhozidne arhitekture Objekta 1 (foto: arhiva Odsjeka za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu).

S istočne strane Objekt 1 je naslonjen na ogradni zid dužine 14,35 m, a zapadnije od njega nalazila se još jedna suhozidna struktura (Objekt 2) koja po svim karakteristikama upućuje na prostor gdje se odvijao proces obrade žitarica. Prema veličini i smještaju u prostoru, može se zaključiti da su oba objekta služila kao radni, a ne stambeni prostori te da oba objekta pripadaju istom vremenu. U Objektu 1 nisu pronađeni nikakvi tragovi koji bi upućivali na namjenu u svrhu stanovanja. Prema velikoj količini pronađenih tegula na cijelom lokalitetu, može se pretpostaviti da su oba objekta bila natkrivena. Krov izrađen od tegula nad objektima za skladištenje u 5. st. je standard u arhitekturi građevina seoskog karaktera (Ožanić Roguljić & Miloglav 2018; Ožanić Roguljić *et al.* 2018).

Vjerojatno je za pretpostaviti da je Objekt 1 služio kao skladišni prostor, a Objekt 2 kao prostor za procesuiranje i skladištenje hrane. Tome u prilog išli bi i nalazi amfora i lonaca koji su također mogli poslužiti za skladištenje hrane, dok su nalazi stolnog posuđa prisutni u vrlo malom broju.

Iako su na lokalitetu Banjače očuvani samo donji dijelovi suhozidne arhitekture, mogu se naći poveznice s tradicijskom suhozidnom gradnjom koja je karakteristična za prostor istočnojadranske obale, a koja se očito na ovim prostorima zadržala do u novije doba. Debljina zidova Objekta 1 možda sugerira da se objekt koristio kroz duži vremenski period te u zimskim uvjetima. Krov od tegula, koje su pronađene na cijelom istraženom području, također možda ide tome u prilog. Oba objekta naslonjena su na ogradne prostore, odnosno torove što upućuje na karakter naselja sa stočarskom komponentom. Nastambe poljoprivredne zajednice najčešće su uključene u sustav plodnih polja, dok stočarske zajednice ograđuju prostor koji omogućuje zatvaranje i kontroliranje životinja (Harding 2006: 102). Ogradni zid na koji je naslonjen Objekt 1 sugerira prostoriju gospodarskog karaktera, kao i ogradni zid uz Objekt 2 koji je služio kao tor za stoku. Prema etnološkim istraživanjima, visina ovih zidova mogla je biti oko 1 m (Marković 2003).

Suhozidno graditeljstvo može se pratiti od najranije prapovijesti do danas, o čemu svjedoče arheološka i etnološka istraživanja na prostoru istočnojadranske obale (Kale 1998; Kulušić 1999; Sirovica 2013/2014). U pravilu radi se o jednoprostornim nastambama građenim od kamenih blokova u dvostrukom nizu s ispunom od sitnijeg kamenog materijala. Zidovi su temeljeni na čvrstom tlu, na stijeni, odnosno kamenu živcu (Kulušić 1999). Iako su na lokalitetu Banjače očuvani samo donji dijelovi suhozidne arhitekture, mogu se naći poveznice s tradicijskom suhozidnom gradnjom koja je kao vrlo specifičan i u krajoliku prepoznatljiv model stambene arhitekture zadržala neprekinutu graditeljsku tradiciju na ovim prostorima.

Virtualna rekonstrukcija

Za potrebe izložbe *Arheološka istraživanja na nalazištu Banjače* postavljene u Narodnoj knjižnici u Dugopolju 2018. godine napravljena je rekonstrukcija jednog od dva istražena kasnoantička objekta (Objekt 1) (Ožanić Roguljić & Miloglav 2018). Na oba objekta sačuvani su samo temeljni zidovi uz velik broj antičkih tegula i željeznih klinova koji su vjerojatno korišteni za povezivanje drvenih greda krovne konstrukcije. S obzirom da drugi objekt statički u rekonstrukciji ne bi podnio krovnu konstrukciju i da su tragovi prvog objekta puno bolje sačuvani, opredjelili smo se za njegovu rekonstrukciju. Antički objekt na lokalitetu Banjače predstavljao je zanimljiv izazov u kontekstu virtualne rekonstrukcije. Premda su ostaci objekta slabo sačuvani, velika količina materijala pronađena tijekom istraživanja i interdisciplinarni pristup dali su nam dovoljno informacija za izradu vizualizacije (sl. 8). Kako bi što vjerodostojnije rekonstruirali ovaj objekt, konzultirali smo etnološku literaturu u kojoj su primjeri suhozidne gradnje u ruralnim sredinama uobičajeni (Kulušić 1999). Primjenom ove analogije dali smo završni prijedlog rekonstrukcije objekta (sl. 10).

Slika 8. Objekti 1 i 2 tijekom rekonstrukcije; u fazi podizanja suhozidne gradnje i konstrukcije krova na Objektu 1 (izradio: M. Vuković).

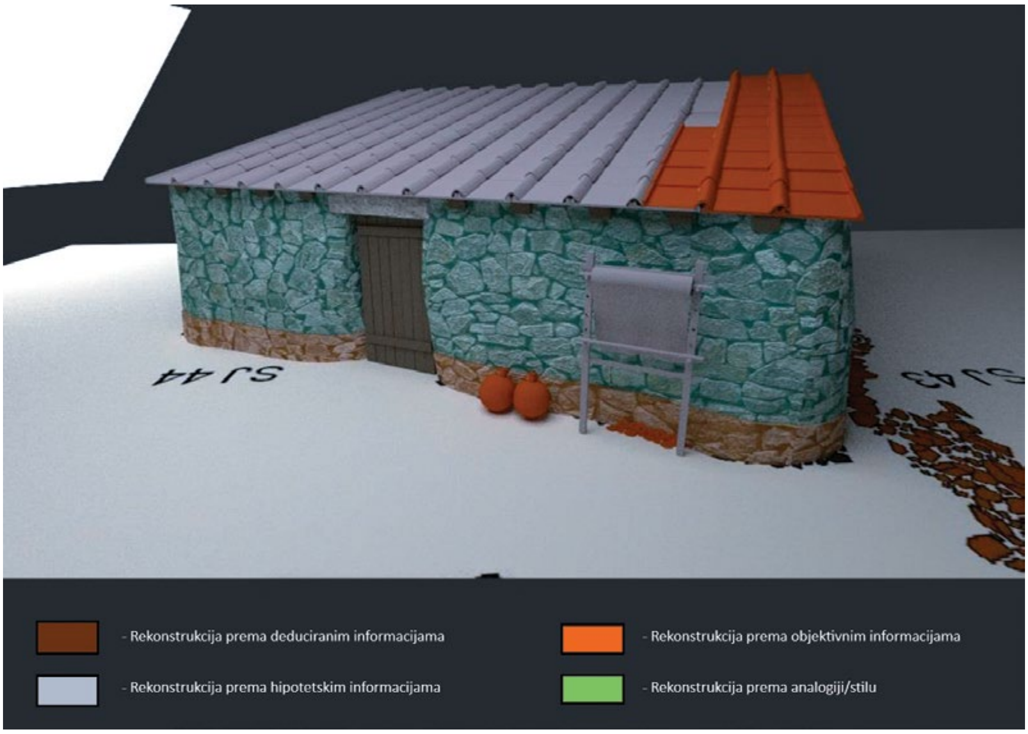
Metodologija izrade ove rekonstrukcije oslanja se na prethodni rad kolega koji su radili na rekonstruiranju segmenata antičkih Pompeja (Dell'Unto *et al.* 2013), uz manje modifikacije radi prilagodbe našim podacima s istraživanja. Nakon interpretacije nalaza i dokumentacije s istraživanja definirali smo četiri stupnja vjerojatnosti, koji su skalirani prema izvoru informacija (sl. 9) (Vuković *et al.* 2018):

1/ Rekonstrukcija prema objektivnim informacijama

2/ Rekonstrukcija prema deduciranim informacijama

3/ Rekonstrukcija prema analogiji ili stilu

4/ Rekonstrukcija prema hipotezi



Slika 9. Virtualna rekonstrukcija Objekta 1 kolorirana lažnim bojama prema kriterijima vjerojatnosti izvora informacija (izradio: M. Vuković).

U prvu kategoriju spadaju strukture i nalazi pronađeni *in situ*, kao što su fragmenti amfora, tegule, utezi za tklački stan te djelovi suhozidne arhitekture (Ožanić Roguljić 2018). U kategoriju koja koristi deducirane informacije spadaju elementi vizualizacije koji su rekonstruirani temeljem dedukcije prema dokazima s istraživanja. Primjerice, željezni okov brave za vrata sugerira postojanje drvenih vrata (Ivčević 2018: 226, T.1: 4), a željezni klinovi i čavli sugeriraju postojanje drvenih greda (Ivčević 2018: 229, T.3: 12, 13; T.4: 15, 16). Rekonstrukcija prema analogiji nam je omogućila rekonstrukciju zidova objekta prema analogijama iz etnoloških istraživanja (Kale 1998; Kulušić 1999; Marković 2003). Zadnja kategorija predstavlja i najmanje pouzdani izvor informacija za rekonstrukciju, a to su hipoteze. Na primjeru ovoga lokaliteta to bi bio tkalački stan koji je rekonstruiran na temelju nalaza tkalačkih utega unutar i oko objekta (Ožanić Roguljić 2018: 162, T. 8).

Slika 10. Virtualna rekonstrukcija Objekta 1 kako je mogao izlgedati na početku 5. stoljeća (izradio: M. Vuković).

Zaključak

Rekonstrukcije arheoloških lokaliteta često su korištene u prezentacijske svrhe, što nas kao istraživače ne oslobađa obveze da prilikom interpretacijskog procesa budemo objektivni i da imamo uspostavljen valjani metodološki pristup. Arheološke vizualizacije i rekonstrukcije pripadaju u vrlo kompleksno područje istraživanja u kojem se spajaju i zajednički interpretiraju znanstveni podaci, analize, arheološka interpretacija i imaginacija (Waterson 2015). Premda je donošenje Londonske (*London charter* 2009), a nakon nje i Seviljske povelje (*Seville principles* 2011), pružilo određene smjernice koje bi se trebalo poštovati pri izradi rekonstrukcija, ovom području istraživanja nedostaje stručne literature koja bi pružila kritički okvir i bolje definirala metodološki pristup (Waterson 2015). Rad na modeliranju i izradi rekonstrukcija pruža priliku za uključivanje stručnjaka iz različitih polja (statičari, arhitekti, povjesničari, povjesničari umjetnosti, etnolozi) u proces arheološke interpretacije (Dell'Unto *et al.* 2013) kako bi doprinio finalnoj interpretaciji nalazišta.

Na prikazanim primjerima rekonstrukcija dva stambena objekta pokušali smo što detaljnije slijediti smjernice Londonske i Seviljske povelje kako bi dobili najizgledniju moguću interpretaciju. Uspostavili smo metodološki pristup koji nam je omogućio valorizaciju temeljnih podataka korištenih za interpretaciju i njihovo skaliranje prema vjerojatnosti. Finalna interpretacija izvedena je u obliku slike koju prati prikaz u lažnim bojama kojim se ilustrira koji dijelovi rekonstruiranih objekata su proizašli iz kojeg i koliko vjerojatnog izvora. Iako su kontekst i interpretacija izrazito bitni u prezentaciji arheoloških nalazišta, pravi potencijal virtualnih rekonstrukcija leži u mogućnostima modeliranja i simuliranja aktivnosti zajednica iz prošlosti koje će biti nemoguće ostvariti bez dobro postavljenog metodološkog okvira i smjernica.

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Elektronički izvori:

London charter 2009	http://www.londoncharter.org/ posjet: 20.03.2019.
Seville principles 2011	http://sevilleprinciples.com/ posjet 20.03.2019.
Blender 2019	https://www.blender.org/ posjet: 20.03.2019.

Late Antique burials in an Iron Age Tumulus from Privlaka

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Examples of secondary subsequent burials in tumuli can be found throughout Europe. Archaeological excavations of the Iron Age tumulus in Privlaka yielded a total of 14 burials. Only one of the graves can be dated to the time of the construction of the tumulus, while the remaining 13 are dated to the Late Antique period. All but one of the graves contained the remains of subadults. There are many advantages to the analysis of non-adult skeletal remains. The study of growth rather than adult stature means that the age at which a certain group of children or a particular subadult have a stressful period can be examined.

Key words: *Iron Age tumulus, secondary subsequent burials, Late Antiquity.*

Introduction

Systematic excavations of the Iron Age Škonica tumulus in Privlaka near Nin were conducted in 2006 and 2008 by the Department of Archaeology of the University of Zadar under the supervision of prof. dr. sc. Brunislav Marjanović. The tumulus measured 30 meters in diameter and was approximately 3.5 meters high in the mid section. The excavation revealed a total of 14 burials. Only one grave (grave No. 14) can be related to Iron Age, the time of the construction of the tumulus, while the remaining 13 burials belong to the Late Antique period. The graves were rather shallow and characterised by simple grave construction. All of the graves were E-W orientated with minor deviations, and all of the deceased were laid on their back with the head positioned in the west part of the grave (Marjanović 2007). Grave offerings and finds are very rare and on the basis of datable finds can be placed to the 6th century AD (Vinski 1991; Fabijanić 2008). All but one of the graves yielded skeletal remains of subadults.

There are many advantages to the study of non-adult skeletal remains. For many years the study of infant and subadult skeletons has been unjustly under-represented in anthropological analyses. There are several reasons for that – different funerary practices combined with the fact that subadult bones are very fragile and in most cases buried in shallow graves results in their destruction or very poor preservation.

Age at time of death in subadults can be assessed with greater precision than in adult skeletons. Age estimates in children rely on specific markers such as the chronology of epiphyseal and diaphyseal union and deciduous and permanent dentition. Therefore, the age at death in subadult skeletons can be assessed more accurately than in adults. The study of growth rather than adult stature means that the age at which a certain group of children or a particular subadult have a stressful period (in a biological sense) can be examined.

Since the early 1980s a combination of several osteological indicators has been used to provide evidence of malnutrition in past populations. It is unlikely that a malnourished child is deficient in one single dietary element, so one should expect a combination of lesions associated with the lack of iron, zinc, calcium, protein and vitamins (Lewis 2006).

Materials and methods

Human osteological material analysed in this paper originates from the archaeological site Škornica in Privlaka. The excavation revealed an Iron Age tumulus with a total of 14 burials. Only one burial was dated to the original time of the construction of the tumulus, while the 13 remaining burials can be dated to Late Antiquity (6^{th} century AD). Only skeletons from the subsequent secondary burials dated to Late Antique period are analysed in this paper. For the purpose of this paper the term secondary burial is adopted after Burns (1991) who claims that a secondary burial is any subsequent burial, and that while the remains may have been disinterred many times each new burial is called a secondary burial.

The skeletal remains were in a poor state of preservation, but nevertheless basic anthropological analysis could have been conducted.

Anthropological analyses included determining the sex and age at death of the adult individual, subadult mortality, and pathological changes indicative of subadult stress.

In determining the sex of the skeletons basic anthropological criteria based on the morphological differences between males and females in both cranial (Krogman & Iscan 1986), and postcranial skeleton (Kimura 1982; Phenice 1969; Sutherland & Suchey 1991; Weaver 1980) were used. No attempt was made in determining the sex of subadults less than 15 years of age at the time of death.

The age at death of subadults was assessed based on the chronology of epiphyseal and diaphyseal union, deciduous and permanent dentition formation, and length of long bones diaphyses. (Bass 1995; Fazekas & Kósa 1978; Scheuer & Black 2000).

The age at death of the adult skeleton was assessed using several skeletal elements: changes to the pubic symphysis (Brooks & Suchey 1990) and the auricular surfaces of the pelvis (Lovejoy *et al.* 1985), obliteration of the cranial and maxillary sutures (Meindl & Lovejoy 1985), degenerative osteoarthritis in the joints (Mann & Jantz 1988; Meindl & Lovejoy 1985; Pfeiffer 1991), and obliteration of the occlusal surfaces on the teeth.

The age of the adult was given within a five-year range (e.g. 20–25), while the age of subadults was determined within a range of one year.

Indicators of subadult stress and pathologies included in the analysis are: *cribra orbitalia*, non-specific infectious diseases (*periostitis*), linear enamel hypoplasia, ectocranial porosity, Schmorl's nodes, and degenerative osteoarthritis.

Cribra orbitalia refers to the porous, sieve-like lesions of the orbital roof. Cribra orbitalia is thought to be indicative of iron deficiency anaemia, which is most likely the result of malnutrition, chronic blood loss or parasitic infestation. The highest frequencies of cribra orbitalia in most cases occur before 5 years of age (Mansforth *et al.* 1978; Goodman & Armelagos 1988)

The most common cause of non-specific diseases are infections, and the most common form found in archaeological populations (i.e. the human skeleton) are non-specific periosteal reactions called *periostitis* which is the inflammation of the peripheral bone. Inflammation of the periosteum is usually caused by trauma or parasitic infections. (Ortner 2003; Larsen 1997).

Linear enamel hypoplasia is manifested as horizontal defects of dental enamel on the buccal surfaces of the teeth (Goodman & Rose 1990). This is a subadult disorder which has for a long time been used as a non-specific indicator of physiological stress (Guatelli-Steinberg & Luckas 1999). Because of the nature of the dental enamel the defects cannot be remodelled and therefore represent the most permanent indicator of subadult physiological stressful incidents during the first 7 years of life (during which time permanent dentition is completely formed) (Lewis & Roberts 1997).

Ectocranial porosity is defined as small sieve-like pits that appear on the outer surface of the cranial vault, particularly around bregma, the sagittal suture and the squama of the occipital bone. This type of cranial porosity has been reported in American soldiers who died as prisoners of war during the Korean conflict (McKern & Stewart 1957). This condition is usually attributed to extreme and prolonged nutritional deprivation.

Schmorl's nodes are lesions which result from herniation and displacement of intervertebral disc. The presence of such lesions is usually idiopathic. The most common causes are degenerative changes associated with ordinary stress on the vertebral column (Schmorl & Junghanns 1971).

Degenerative osteoarthritis is characterised by the progressive formation of osteophytes around the edges of an articular joint surface. These changes are associated with the wear and tear of everyday activities and are distinguished from traumatic arthritis which is caused by disruption of the biomechanical functioning of a joint.

Results

Grave 1

Sex: subadult.

Age at death: 6.5 – 7.5 years.

Pathological features: not present.

Associated material or animal bones: not present.

Grave 2, individual A

Sex: subadult.

Age at death: 5 – 6 years.

Pathological features: not present.

Associated material or animal bones: animal bones.

Grave 2, individual B

Sex: subadult.

Age at death: 10.5 – 11.5 years.

Pathological features: mild active periostitis is present on the right tibia. Linear enamel hypoplasia is present on the teeth.

Associated material or animal bones: not present.

Grave 3

Sex: subadult.

Age at death: 1 – 4 years.

Pathological features: not present.

Associated material or animal bones: animal bones.

Grave 4

Sex: subadult.

Age at death: 5 – 7 years.

Pathological features: not present.

Associated material or animal bones: not present.

Grave 5

Sex: subadult.

Age at death: 14.5 – 15.5 years.

Pathological features: mild healed ectocranial porosity is present on both parietals and the occipital bone. Mild hyperostosis *frontalis interna* is present. Hyperostosis frontalis interna is defined as irregular thickening of the inner surface of the frontal bone.

Associated material or animal bones: not present.

Grave 6

Sex: subadult.

Age at death: 6 – 8 years.

Pathological features: not present.

Associated material or animal bones: not present.

Grave 7

Sex: subadult.

Age at death: 3 – 4 years.

Pathological features: mild healed cribra orbitalia is present in the orbits.

Associated material or animal bones: not present.

Grave 8

Sex: subadult.

Age at death: 1.5 – 2.5 years.

Pathological features: even though, not a pathological condition, it is of interest to note that gemination of the maxillary 1st incisor is present. Tooth gemination is a dental phenomenon that happens when two tooth crowns develop from one root.

Associated material or animal bones: fragment of a metal object.

Grave 9

Sex: subadult.

Age at death: 1 – 2 years.

Pathological features: not present.

Associated material or animal bones: sea shell.

Grave 10

Sex: subadult.

Age at death: 1 – 2 years.

Pathological features: mild healed cribra orbitalia is present in the orbits.

Associated material or animal bones: animal bone.

Surplus bones: ribs, left clavicle and left humerus of a subadult 1 – 3 years of age.

Grave 11

Sex: subadult.

Age at death: 4 – 5 years.

Pathological features: mild healed cribra orbitalia is present in the orbits.

Associated material or animal bones: not present.

Grave 12

Sex: male.

Age at death: 35 – 40 years.

Pathological features: mild healed periostitis is present on both femora. Scmorl's node is present on the 12th thoracic vertebrae. Linear enamel hypoplasia is present on the teeth.

Associated material or animal bones: not present.

Grave 13

Sex: subadult.

Age at death: 5 – 6 years.

Pathological features: not present.

Associated material or animal bones: pottery fragment.

Disscusion and concluding remarks

Secondary burials into tumuli are not a phenomenon limited to Dalmatia and examples of such secondary burials can be found throughout Europe. Subsequent secondary burials placed in the already existing tumuli have started to appear as early prehistory. The number of tumuli with subsequent burials dated to Late Antique period is relatively small. In the region between the Zrmanja and the Neretva river the occurrence of secondary subsequent burials is most prominent in the Late Middle Ages (47%), followed by the Early Middle Ages (28%), and the burials dated to Late Antique period (6%) (Šućur 2017).

Despite the poor state of preservation of the skeletal material some pathological features were observed in the sample. These include cribra orbitalia, periostitis, linear enamel hypoplasia, ectocranial porosity, Schmorl's nodes, and degenerative osteoarthritis.

Cribra orbitalia is generally accepted as an osteological indicator of subadult anaemia caused by iron deficiency, which is in itself the result of poor nutrition, endemic parasitism, unsanitary living conditions, or chronic gastrointestinal disease (Larsen 1997; Mittler & Van Gerven 1994). Data collected from different osteological series from different archaeological sites showed that the 'active' form of this pathology is most commonly seen in children, while if present in adults it is almost always in the 'healed' form (Walker 1986; Larsen *et al.* 1992; Mittler & Van Gerven 1994). This leads to the logic conclusion that cribra orbitalia is the result of subadult anaemia, while in adults it is only a sign of a stressful period from which the individual had obviously recuperated (Mittler & Van Gerven 1994). A considerable number of previous bioarchaeological investigations have included anaemia as a manifestation of the metabolic bone disease (e.g. Roberts & Manchester 2005). This inclusion is largely derived from the role of dietary iron-deficiency in combination with anaemia. The extensive involvement of bone marrow in order to regenerate blood cell supply results in secondary effects on bone cells and structure. The specific diagnosis of iron deficiency anaemia in past populations is complex and likely over-estimated, particularly as the wide range of potential causative factors, which includes intestinal parasitic infections and/or excessive blood loss, are frequently overlooked (Brickley & Ives 2010). Combined with other variables, linear enamel hypoplasia is a good indicator of subadult stress.

The occurrence of the above mentioned pathologies is similar to the previously published studies of bioarchaeological characteristics of the Late Antique populations from Croatia (Šlaus 1999; 2001; Šlaus & Novak 2014; Novak *et al.* 2009; Vyroubal *et al.* 2013).

Apart from these pathological features, two paleopathological oddities were also observed in the sample: tooth gemination and hyperostosis frontalis interna. Hyperostosis frontalis interna refers to an irregular thickening of the inner surface of the frontal bone. The estimated incidence of hyperostosis frontalis interna in the general population is between 5% to 12%, and has shown to be sex- and age-dependant phenomenon, with females manifesting a significantly higher prevalence than males (May *et al.* 2011). The occurrence of this condition is extremely rare in subadults.

The other rather rare condition observed in this small sample is tooth gemination. The cause of gemination is still unknown, although environmental factors such as trauma, vitamin deficiencies, systemic diseases, and certain genetic predisposition have been suggested as possible causes (Neena *et al.* 2015).

The Škornica tumulus is unique compared to other tumuli in this region due to its monumentality, peculiarities of the construction and the secondary Late Antique/Early Christian burials (Marjanović 2013.). From an anthropological point of view the importance of this site is in the demography of the individuals buried in the secondary graves. All but one individual are subadults, their ages ranging from 1 to 15 years at death. Even though the skeletal remains were in a relatively poor state of preservation and bones exhibit no clear evidence of malnutrition or trauma, certain pathologies were recorded.

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L’Iberia caucasica in età romana

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L’Iberia, uno dei regni caucasici più importanti, mantenne – soprattutto dal I al IV secolo d.C. – solidi rapporti con l’Impero romano, proprio perché costituiva un vero e proprio diaframma tra Oriente e Occidente ed in modo particolare con il Regno dei Parti; in ragione di questo i Romani strinsero rapporti di amicizia e di alleanza, tanto che i re d’Iberia erano trattati con tutti gli onori, come dimostra l’accoglienza riservata a Roma nel 141 d.C. al re Farasmane II.

Parole chiave: *Iberia, Caucaso, Farasmane II.*

Nell’epoca che va dal IV al II secolo a.C. il Regno d’Iberia aveva già tesaurizzato una lunga esperienza come Stato sovrano (Kavtaradze 2006): erano stati costruiti importanti edifici pubblici, ponti, strade, solide fortificazioni di difesa e molte altre costruzioni civili[1]. La maggior parte della popolazione abitava nelle campagne ed era dedita alla coltivazione della terra. In tempo di guerra il maggior numero di soldati dell’esercito dell’Iberia era costituito proprio da contadini. Erano considerati membri di alto rango della società la famiglia reale, i capi militari e i sacerdoti.

Le pianure dell’Iberia erano densamente popolate e ciò era dovuto al grado di sviluppo dell’agricoltura e dell’allevamento del bestiame, della viticoltura, dell’artigianato e del commercio. Una delle vie commerciali più importanti era quella che partiva dall’India e attraversando il Caucaso arrivava sino al Mar Nero. Lungo questa strada vi erano numerose città, villaggi e centri dediti al commercio.

A partire dal I secolo a.C. iniziò per il Regno d’Iberia un’epoca di grande prosperità e sviluppo e ciò grazie anche alla favorevole situazione geopolitica, che vedeva l’Impero romano e quello partico impegnati in un’interminabile e logorante guerra. In tale contesto il piccolo Regno d’Iberia seppe sfruttare molto abilmente la lunga conflittualità tra i due potenti imperi, traendone di conseguenza grandi vantaggi.

Nella prima metà del I secolo d.C. il Regno d’Iberia era diventato così forte, che cominciò ad estendere i propri confini e dopo una caparbia lotta conquistò l’importante città di Artaxata, sul fiume Aras, in territorio armeno. Nello stesso periodo l’Iberia si riprese le terre situate a sud-ovest dei suoi confini, quelle della parte superiore dei fiumi Chorokhi, Mtkvari e Aras, giungendo sino alle coste del Mar Nero.

Le fonti menzionano Mtskheta, posta alla confluenza dei fiumi Mtkvari e Aragvi, come capitale del Regno d’Iberia. Le ricerche e gli scavi archeologici nei siti vicino a Mtskheta hanno portato alla luce le fortificazioni principali di Armaztsikhe, *Sevsamora* (Tsitsamuri), Ghartiskari, Zaden (Zedazeni).

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1 Sul Regno d’Iberia si veda: Braund 1994; Zerbini *et al.* 2012: 57–69.

Il geografo greco Strabone racconta che «alla confluenza dei fiumi Mtkvari e Aragvi si trovano delle fortificazioni sulle rocce, distanti tra loro circa sedici stadi; in riva al Mtkvari c'è *Harmozike* (Armaztsikhe) e più in là *Sevsamora* (Tsitsamuri)»[2].

Armaztsikhe, l'attuale Bagineti, con le sue fortificazioni costituiva l'acropoli, ossia il forte principale della città di Mtskheta. Sia le fonti storiche sia i dati emersi dalle ricerche archeologiche confermano che qui esisteva una ragguardevole rete di fortificazioni.

I re d'Iberia della dinastia farasmaniana furono continuamente impegnati a costruire e a rinforzare la fortezza di Armaztsikhe: il re Parnavaz (284 – 219 a.C.) fece fare un fossato pieno d'acqua; il re Saurmag I (234 – 159 a.C.), figlio di Parnavaz, iniziò ad edificare Armazi; il re Mirvan I (159 – 109 a.C.), figlio adottivo, eresse un forte in cima alla montagna; il re Arsace I (90 – 78 a.C.) fece erigere il muro di cinta della città; il re Artoce (78 – 63 a.C.), figlio di Arsace I, costruì il forte interno di Armazi (Abuladze 1963: 82).

La fortezza di Armaztsikhe copre una superficie di quindici ettari ed è situata nella parte bassa della catena montuosa di Kartli, dove il fiume Mtkvari costeggia il fianco del monte. Il muro di cinta turrito del forte di Armaztsikhe confina con le strette gole che scendono dalle montagne circostanti. Le ricerche archeologiche hanno consentito di portare alla luce il forte originario, la parte della città abitata dalla popolazione autoctona e le altre fortificazioni. L'acropoli di Mtskheta, ovvero il forte originario, è costruita su un'altura rocciosa. Una delle porte della fortezza di Armaztsikhe è posta nella parte che è rivolta verso la gola di Karsani. Le indagini archeologiche hanno accertato che la superficie interna del forte, circondata dal muro di cinta, finisce per riunirsi con la linea di fortificazioni che seguono la catena montuosa del monte Kartli. Il basamento su cui poggiano le fortificazioni di Armazi è posto su di uno strato roccioso e le pietre squadrate sono posate in fila una accanto all'altra e tenute insieme con grappe metalliche o di legno a due punte. Lo spazio interno a ridosso delle mura del forte è riempito con pietre e terra argillosa. Durante gli scavi archeologici sono state rinvenute anche le rovine di edifici pubblici e di magazzini.

La *Sevsamora* di Strabone, ossia l'attuale Tsitsamuri, si trovava a nord-est del forte di Armaztsikhe, a tre chilometri di distanza, sulla parte sinistra del fiume Aragvi, sul dorso e lungo il pendio del monte. Nel tratto che segue la catena montuosa di Tsitsamuri sono state scoperte le mura dell'antico forte. È stata oggetto di ricerche archeologiche anche la torre di difesa di forma circolare, che è posta sul fianco della montagna; poco più avanti sono state ritrovate pietre squadrate, mattoni grezzi e tegole.

Il sistema di fortificazioni creato sulla catena montuosa di Tsitsamuri è il proseguimento a nord di Mtskheta della linea di difesa di Ghartiskari, situata sul lato destro del fiume Aragvi, dove sono venute alla luce le torri e le mura di difesa, che costeggiavano le acque di un piccolo torrente; più a sud sono state scoperte le rovine di edifici pubblici e magazzini. Il sistema di fortificazione di Ghartiskari era stato costruito su entrambe le rive del fiume Aragvi ed era disposto a terrazze sui ripidi pendii della montagna. Il muro di difesa aveva una larghezza di 2,50 metri e all'interno erano state costruite delle torri quadrate di metri 7,5 x 7,5. Durante gli scavi delle torri sono stati rinvenuti alcuni pezzi di legno dei solai interposti tra i piani. Dal materiale archeologico ritrovato in questo sito si evince che il sistema di fortificazioni creato nel II secolo a.C. venne utilizzato sino al III secolo d.C.

Quando nel 253 a.C. nel Regno dei Parti salì al potere la dinastia Arsacide, dominava all'inizio tutta la parte sud-orientale delle terre poste in riva al Mar Caspio; poi tra il II e il I secolo a.C. estese i suoi domini dal fiume Amu Darya, anticamente noto con il nome di *Oxus* (in Asia centrale, tra Turkmenistan e Uzbekistan), sino all'Eufrate, in Mesopotamia.

Il Regno dei Parti era considerato a quel tempo il più potente Stato orientale. Un simile rafforzamento e una così rapida espansione del Regno dei Parti veniva a creare una minaccia per le ambizioni di conquista di Roma in Oriente e ciò fece scoppiare un'aspra guerra tra le due "superpotenze" dell'epoca. Lo scontro per il controllo politico-militare del Caucaso tra l'Impero romano e il Regno dei Parti si trasformò così in una lunga ed estenuante guerra.

Nel 35 d.C. il re dei Parti tentò di conquistare l'Armenia, che era sotto il dominio di Roma. Il *princeps* Tiberio chiese pertanto l'appoggio e l'intervento militare del re Farasmane I d'Iberia, che era alleato di

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2 Strab., *Geograph.*, XI, 3, 5.

Roma e gli affidò il compito di contrastare con il suo esercito le incursioni dei Parti (Gamkrelidze 2008: 144–158). E così avvenne: le truppe del fedele re Farasmane riuscirono in un primo momento a ricacciare indietro dalle rive del fiume Aras l'esercito partico di Orode, figlio del re Artabano II. Successivamente, il re dei Parti ricompattò il suo esercito e marciò di nuovo verso il Caucaso. Allora il re Farasmane chiamò i guerrieri sarmati, suoi alleati, che dal Caucaso settentrionale giunsero in Iberia passando dal passo di Dariali. Fu così che Farasmane riuscì a vincere un'altra battaglia.

Il grande esercito dei Parti era composto essenzialmente dalla cavalleria, mentre quello degli Iberi disponeva di una potente fanteria e di agili reparti di cavalleria, cui si aggiungevano i guerrieri Sarmati e Albani assoldati dal re Farasmane.

Il re d'Iberia si servì cinicamente delle favorevoli condizioni ambientali e ricorse a metodi e strategie di battaglia già sperimentati. Sull'altro fronte l'esercito partico si trovava in una condizione meno favorevole, dal momento che la sua forte cavalleria non era abituata a combattere in montagna.

La battaglia iniziò con l'attacco della cavalleria degli Iberi, che lanciò le sue frecce contro il nemico; successivamente vi fu l'assalto in massa della fanteria, che si concluse con la completa disfatta dei Parti. Nella prima fase della battaglia Farasmane pose sotto assedio i posti di guardia del nemico e si accaparrò le scorte strategiche di alimenti e di foraggio per gli animali. Riguardo a questa battaglia Tacito scrive che il re Farasmane «mise sotto assedio l'accampamento dell'esercito partico, distrusse i magazzini di foraggio e circondò i posti di guardia fortificati» (Tac., *Ann.*, VI, 34). Lo storico romano racconta che prima della battaglia il re Farasmane si rivolse al suo esercito con queste parole: «Non siamo mai stati dominati dai Parti. Se non limitiamo i nostri sforzi, ci conquisteremo un grande nome con la vittoria; se invece mostreremo le spalle al nemico, sprofonderemo nella vergogna e nell'insidia [...] qua c'è un esercito ardito, di là c'è la preda» (Tac., *Ann.*, VI, 34). In questa battaglia fu lo stesso Farasmane a guidare il suo esercito contro i Parti e con manovre tattiche ben calcolate riuscì a vincere il forte esercito nemico. Questa sconfitta scatenò l'ira del re dei Parti, che riunì tutto il suo esercito e diede vita ad una lunga guerra contro il re d'Iberia.

Nel 51 d.C. l'esercito del re degli Iberi invase le terre al di là del fiume Aras, giungendo sino alla fortezza di Garni, a circa trentadue chilometri a sud dell'attuale Yerevan, in Armenia. Questa fortezza era stata costruita in un contesto naturale quasi inaccessibile e perciò particolarmente adatta alla difesa. Dopo un'accanita battaglia, l'esercito di Farasmane riuscì a sbaragliare la guarnigione di soldati che difendeva la fortezza di Garni e la conquistò.

Nel 58 d.C. l'esercito di Farasmane I corse in aiuto del generale romano Gneo Domizio Corbulone, che combatteva contro i Parti nella parte più meridionale del Caucaso. Grazie a questa operazione militare l'Iberia ricevette in compenso le terre che arrivavano sino al fiume Aras[3]. Il rafforzamento dell'influenza dell'Impero romano nel Caucaso impedì al Regno dei Parti di estendere il proprio dominio anche su questi territori (Braund 1991: 34–52; Zerbini 2012: 39–45).

Agli inizi del II secolo d.C. salì sul trono d'Iberia re Farasmane II il Benefattore, della cui figura si parla nell'opera "Kartlis Tskhovreba", ossia "Vita di Kartli", del cronista dell'XI secolo Leonti Mroveli, dove si legge: «Farasmane il Benefattore era un uomo mite ed estremamente magnanimo e clemente, di una bella età, di statura alta e forte, prode cavaliere e grande animatore in battaglia, impavido come un essere privo di carne» (Mroveli 1955: 51).

Re Farasmane II mise apertamente in atto una politica militare rivolta a combattere l'Impero romano e cercò di scacciare il potente nemico dalle coste della Colchide e da tutti i territori a sud del Caucaso. Per difendere i propri interessi l'Iberia caucasica osò mettersi contro sia l'Impero romano sia quello partico, vale a dire le due potenze militari più forti di quel periodo.

L'Iberia era vista da questi due grandi imperi come un regno forte e degno di grande rispetto; perciò, al tempo dell'imperatore romano Antonino Pio vennero nuovamente riallacciati i rapporti tra Roma e l'Iberia caucasica. Nell'*Historia Augusta* si narra che l'imperatore romano teneva in grande considerazione il re d'Iberia Farasmane II, perché aveva bisogno del suo appoggio militare nel Caucaso meridionale e nel Vicino Oriente.

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[3] Tac., *Ann.*, XIV, 23. Sui rapporti tra Roma e il Regno d'Iberia: Giardina 1996: 85–141; Migliorati 2004: 125–153; Furtwängler *et al.* 2008.

Nel 141 d.C. il re Farasmane II e il suo seguito si recarono a Roma per una missione diplomatica. Nell'Urbe il re degli Iberi fu accolto in pompa magna e con grandi festeggiamenti e poi venne fatta erigere in suo onore una statua equestre (Cass. Dio., *Hist.*, LXX, 2, 1*; Hist. Aug.*, IX, 6). La presenza di Farasmane e della sua famiglia a Roma è documentata anche epigraficamente da un frammento dei Fasti Ostiensi (*Pharasman[es rex Iberorum cum filio][...] et uxore Phr[...]*)[4].

Con una condotta politica duttile ed abile e basata sull'eterna disputa in atto tra l'Impero romano e quello partico, grazie alle vittorie riportate nelle guerre contro i Parti, il regno caucasico d'Iberia riuscì ad ampliare di molto i suoi confini e conobbe un periodo di grande splendore, di rapida crescita economica e di notevole sviluppo della sua produzione agricola e artigianale.

La regione di Kartli dell'epoca farasmaniana, vale a dire il Regno d'Iberia, nel quale rientrava anche una parte della Colchide, disponeva di un apparato militare molto organizzato. Dalle fonti a disposizione si desume che gli Iberi del Caucaso erano ben informati sulle tecniche più avanzate dell'arte militare dei Greci, dei Persiani e anche dei Romani, riuscendo ad adattare molto abilmente tali conoscenze ai propri mezzi.

Strabone riferisce che in tempo di guerra l'Iberia era in grado di mobilitare all'incirca cinquantamila fanti e ventimila cavalieri e inoltre «gli Iberi che abitano le pianure sono per lo più agricoltori [...] sono vestiti [...] come i Medi. Ma la maggioranza degli abitanti occupano la parte montagnosa [...]. Essi sono anche dediti alla coltivazione della terra. In tempo di guerra essi mettono insieme molte decine di migliaia di guerrieri» (Strab., *Geograph.*, XI, 3, 3). Il re d'Iberia poteva inoltre disporre di molte squadre di guerrieri assoldati tra le popolazioni nomadi delle montagne del Caucaso settentrionale (Strab., *Geograph.*, XI, 4, 5; Mroveli 1955: 23).

Dunque, in tempo di guerra il re d'Iberia poteva schierare un esercito composto da un gran numero di soldati, gran parte dei quali erano ben addestrati. In battaglia l'esercito degli Iberi era infatti una forza davvero temibile. A proposito del numero di soldati dell'esercito d'Iberia lo storico greco Appiano riferisce che «il re d'Iberia Artoce combatté contro Pompeo con settantamila guerrieri [...] sul fiume Mtkvari» (App., *De bello Mithrid.*, 103) e ciò quando nella guerra contro Mitridate VI Eupatore per ripristinare l'ordine in questa regione l'Impero romano poteva contare sul potentissimo esercito di Pompeo Magno, costituito da centoventimila fanti, quattromila cavalieri e venticinque comandanti di alto rango (App., *De bello Mithrid.*, 94).

Il comandante di più alto grado dell'esercito e il capo supremo del Regno d'Iberia era il re, nelle cui mani erano concentrati i principali poteri e a cui sottostava l'intero apparato amministrativo-militare; spesso in tempo di guerra era il re che guidava l'esercito.

Strabone scrive che dopo il re la seconda autorità più importante del Regno d'Iberia era il comandante militare, che veniva scelto tra i membri della famiglia reale (Strab., *Geograph.*, XI, 3, 6.); questa figura è ricordata anche da Leonti Mroveli nell'opera "Vita di Kartli", in cui si apprende che era in cima alla gerarchia militare e in ragione di questo aveva poteri di comando e di decisione su tutte le questioni militari. Al comandante sottostavano gli *eristavi* (il cui significato letterale è "capo dello Stato"), che erano i governatori dei distretti amministrativo-militari del regno. Subalterni agli *eristavi* erano gli *atasistavebi* (la cui traduzione è "capo di mille") e gli *asistavebi* (il cui significato è "capo di cento")[5]; da ciò sembrerebbe quindi che l'esercito del Regno d'Iberia fosse suddiviso rispettivamente in migliaia e in centinaia di unità.

Il fatto che accanto al re esistesse una seconda figura di alto rango, cui era assegnato il comando militare, indica che nel Regno d'Iberia veniva data un'importanza primaria all'esercito. Il comandante in capo dell'esercito degli Iberi, chiamato *eristavt-eristavi* (la cui traduzione è "duca dei duchi"), aveva il compito di comandare le forze armate; inoltre era responsabile della composizione e dello schieramento dell'esercito, della raccolta di informazioni segrete sul nemico e dell'addestramento militare dei soldati. Compiti analoghi venivano affidati ad alcuni *eristavi*, cioè "duchi", proprietari terrieri, che governavano sui territori ad essi assegnati e sui soldati qui residenti.

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4 Nesselhauf 1958: 219–228; *AE* 1959: 38.

5 Mroveli 1955: 24–25.

I figli delle famiglie aristocratico-militari venivano avviati sin da bambini all'addestramento militare, perché fare il soldato sarebbe stata la loro principale occupazione e il loro compito. Al primo posto della loro preparazione ed esercitazione veniva la caccia, che era il modo migliore per predisporsi alla vita militare e alla guerra, in quanto abituava il futuro guerriero all'uso delle armi, come ad esempio la capacità di lanciare lance e di centrare il bersaglio con le frecce, andare a cavallo, acquisire una grande resistenza fisica, essere coraggioso e imparare a combattere; inoltre, l'apprendimento della caccia offriva la possibilità di distinguersi in azioni di guerra e di entrare nella corte reale.

Il Regno d'Iberia era suddiviso in unità amministrativo-territoriali (Mroveli 1955: 24), governate dagli *eristavi*, che rappresentavano l'aristocrazia militare delle varie province del regno. Nelle fonti in lingua greca e aramaica essi vengono chiamati *sceptuchi* o *pitiakhsh* (Strab., *Geograph*., XI, 2, 18; Tsereteli 1942–1943: 37–43). Il nobile *eristavi*, che governava le terre che gli erano state assegnate dal re, era il funzionario più alto del re d'Iberia nel suo distretto territoriale: esercitava il potere militare e comandava l'esercito; in tempo di guerra aveva il comando dei battaglioni di soldati della sua provincia. Le insegne del nobile *eristavi*, che riceveva direttamente dal re, erano lo scettro, uno speciale anello con sigillo, una cintura impreziosita con vari ornamenti e l'armamento. Tutti questi simboli del potere compaiono tra i reperti archeologici venuti alla luce in alcuni siti dell'antico Regno d'Iberia, tra cui le tombe della famiglia reale d'Iberia rinvenute nell'antica capitale Mtskheta[6].

In una delle unità amministrativo-territoriali del Regno d'Iberia, quella che attualmente è la provincia di Kaspi, vi era Uphlistsikhe, il cui significato letterale è "fortezza del Signore", nei pressi dell'attuale città di Gori. Le scoperte archeologiche compiute in seguito agli scavi effettuati nel sito di Uphlistsikhe sono una fonte preziosa per studiare il mondo militare dell'Iberia in epoca romana. Uphlistsikhe si trova al centro della regione di Kartli, sulla riva sinistra del fiume Mtkvari, sul fianco della catena montuosa di Kvernaki; si tratta di un massiccio roccioso, in cui sono state scavate molte caverne.

Nelle fonti Uphlistsikhe è menzionata come un centro che dipendeva dalla città di Kaspi, nella regione di Kartli: «Uphlistsikhe appartiene a Kaspi» (Abuladze 1963: 81). Si può dire che Uphlistsikhe era la roccaforte che difendeva Kaspi dagli attacchi del nemico. Anche i risultati delle ricerche archeologiche confermano che nel I secolo d.C. il re d'Iberia Arsace II entrò vincitore a Uphlistsikhe e «conquistò Kaspi e regnò su Uphlistsikhe» (Abuladze 1963: 82).

Il sistema difensivo di Uphlistsikhe copriva un'area di quattro ettari ed era formato da costruzioni fatte con pietre rocciose e da altre con materiali diversi. Il fiume Mtkvari lambisce l'antica città nella parte rivolta a sud, mentre sul fianco ovest vi è uno strapiombo roccioso. Le mura della fortezza hanno una larghezza di metri 2,50. Nel III secolo a.C. l'insieme delle fortificazioni di Uphlistsikhe doveva formare un sistema di difesa alquanto efficace, come si evince dalla presenza di torri e mura di grande spessore.

Una delle principali preoccupazioni del Regno d'Iberia era quella di incrementare il proprio contingente militare con l'arruolamento dei cosiddetti soldati-agricoltori dalle campagne e dei figli delle famiglie di militari aristocratici e attingendo forze nuove anche tra gli abitanti dei territori alleati confinanti e persino soldati di professione venuti da fuori.

A difesa del re vi erano a corte alcuni reparti di soldati e le sue guardie del corpo. Questi corpi speciali erano costituiti dai figli delle famiglie nobili di militari, noti nel Medioevo con il nome *aznauri*, vale a dire nobili, con l'aggiunta di soldati di professione ingaggiati da fuori; in cambio dei loro servizi ricevevano lauti compensi e terre. Tra questi soldati venivano scelte le squadre che avevano il compito di imporre l'autorità reale, ossia riscuotere le tasse e mantenere l'ordine pubblico dentro i confini del regno.

I soldati che prestavano servizio a corte facevano carriera rapidamente, a condizione che avessero servito l'esercito sul campo, che si fossero particolarmente distinti in battaglia e che avessero servito fedelmente il re. In tempo di guerra la maggior parte di questi militari veniva schierata nella cavalleria pesante, molto abile nel compiere repentine manovre e rapidi spostamenti. Era composta da ufficiali intermedi e sottufficiali, più precisamente dai comandanti dei battaglioni da mille soldati, detti *atasistavebi*, e dai capi delle compagnie da cento soldati, chiamati *asistavebi*. In tempo di pace questi ufficiali svolgevano

6 Aphakidze *et al.* 1955. Si veda inoltre Aphakidze & Nikolaishvili 1996.

funzioni civili e governavano alcune piccole unità territoriali, mentre in guerra assumevano il comando dei reparti militari mobilitati e pronti a combattere, arruolati tra le comunità di agricoltori locali, che Strabone definisce «guerrieri e coltivatori della terra» (Strab., *Geograph*., XI, 3, 6). Erano proprio questi agricoltori che in caso di guerra prendevano le armi e andavano a combattere con l'esercito in difesa delle loro terre e anche del Regno d'Iberia; essi costituivano il nerbo dell'esercito degli Iberi e la maggior parte di loro veniva schierata con la fanteria leggera. Quando la guerra finiva tornavano alle loro case e al lavoro nei campi.

La struttura gerarchica dell'esercito del Regno d'Iberia doveva essere essenzialmente questa: autorità suprema: il re; comandante in capo dell'esercito: l'*eristavt-eristavi*; alti ufficiali: i comandanti di grado più alto e i capi delle truppe reclutate nei vari distretti amministrativo-territoriali del regno, vale a dire gli *eristavi*, ovvero i nobili "duchi" che governavano le loro terre; ufficiali intermedi e sottufficiali: i comandanti dei battaglioni di mille soldati, detti *atasistavebi*, quelli delle guarnigioni dislocate nei forti, i capi delle compagnie di cento soldati, chiamati *asistavebi*, i figli minori delle famiglie nobili e i soldati di professione reclutati da fuori; soldati semplici: contadini-guerrieri arruolati in caso di guerra, i soldati del posto e i mercenari stranieri.

L'esercito del Regno d'Iberia era costituito essenzialmente da due corpi: la fanteria e la cavalleria[7]. La guardia reale era composta da soldati scelti, che avevano il compito di difendere il re; essi erano equipaggiati con un armamento pesante: *lorica hamata*, elmo, scudo, lancia, arco e frecce, ascia di guerra e pugnale. Anche i cavalieri e i fanti erano ben equipaggiati e portavano probabilmente le stesse armi della guardia reale ed inoltre erano provvisti di carri da guerra e catapulte; il resto dei soldati indossava, come i fanti, una leggera cotta di maglia di ferro, vale a dire la *lorica hamata*, e combatteva con scudi di legno, lance, archi e frecce e fionde.

Nell'ambito del sistema di difesa del Regno d'Iberia una grande importanza avevano i posti di guardia e di avvistamento e le fortificazioni; erano dislocati nei punti strategicamente più adatti per contrastare i frequenti attacchi nemici, come è il caso di Mtskheta, Uphlistsikhe, Urbnisi, Nastakisi Sarkine, *Sarapana* e Dimna. Particolarmente efficace era il sistema di difesa di Mtskheta, la capitale del Regno d'Iberia.

Oltre alla fortezza principale di Armaztsikhe, fu creato nei suoi dintorni un poderoso sistema di fortificazioni e vennero rifatte e rese sicure tutte le vie di accesso e i passaggi strategici. Sia nei forti sia nelle città-fortezze furono insediate delle guarnigioni di soldati scelti, incaricati della loro difesa. Il sistema di difesa di queste città-fortezze dell'Iberia, frutto delle conoscenze di quell'epoca nell'arte del costruire e di adattamento alle caratteristiche geomorfologiche della regione caucasica – con le sue torri e le sue possenti mura, con solide porte di accesso e torri di guardia collocate nei punti di maggiore importanza strategica – garantiva sicurezza e una grande capacità di resistenza di fronte ai continui attacchi del nemico.

Dalle fonti risulta evidente che l'esercito del Regno d'Iberia era in possesso di una solida conoscenza dell'arte della guerra di quel tempo; di certo conosceva e praticava con grande abilità le varie strategie di guerra, con rapidi cambiamenti dello schieramento tattico sul campo di battaglia ed efficace sfruttamento delle condizioni ambientali[8]. In guerra i soldati del Regno d'Iberia erano arditi, sagaci e pugnaci. Nell'applicazione di tutte queste strategie di guerra – sia di attacco sia di difesa – l'esercito degli Iberi disponeva di armamenti in ferro e di macchine da guerra, che per quell'epoca erano evoluti.

Nonostante il grande vantaggio di Roma nella guerra in atto per l'egemonia sul Mediterraneo e sul Mar Nero, l'insanabile rivalità e l'interminabile ed estenuante conflitto con i Parti non le permise di consolidare il proprio potere né lungo la costa orientale del Mar Nero, né nelle regioni del Caucaso meridionale.

Nel II e nel III secolo d.C. a causa dei conflitti intestini e delle continue guerre esterne il Regno dei Parti si indebolì a tal punto che anche il potere centrale cominciò a sgretolarsi e il vasto impero finì per smembrarsi in tanti regni. Qualche tempo dopo il frammentato Regno dei Parti si riprese e si ricompose di nuovo, a cominciare dalla regione di Fars, nella parte sud-occidentale della Persia, in riva al Golfo Persico.

L'artefice della riunificazione dell'Impero persiano fu Ardashir I, membro della dinastia sasanide, che regnò dal 224 al 241 d.C.: egli conquistò dapprima il potere assoluto nella regione di Fars, poi sottomise

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7 Strab., *Geograph*., XI, 3, 3; XI, 4, 5; App., *De bello Mithrid*., 103; Mroveli 1955: 24–25.

8 Plut, *Vitae*, Pompeo, XXXIV; App., *De bello Mithrid*., 103; Cass. Dio., *Hist*.,, XXXVII, 1, 2; Mroveli 1955: 28.

l'intera Partia e infine nel 224 d.C. vinse la guerra interna contro il re Artabano IV della dinastia arsacide. Per immortalare questa decisiva vittoria il re Ardashir I fece scolpire a rilievo nella roccia la scena della sua investitura, in cui è raffigurato seduto sul suo cavallo, mentre il dio Ahura Mazda gli consegna la corona regale. Dopo aver sconfitto il re rivale Artabano IV e conquistato il potere, Ardashir I prese la capitale del Regno dei Parti, Ctesifonte, ponendo così le basi di un nuovo Impero persiano, noto con il nome di Persia sasanide.

Roma si trovò pertanto a doversi scontrare con la Persia della dinastia sasanide, la quale continuava la politica estera precedentemente intrapresa dalla Partia arsacide. I Sasanidi ambivano ad estendere la loro sfera d'influenza sulle regioni che si affacciavano sul Mar Mediterraneo, sul Mar Nero e sull'area caucasica. Anche Roma nutriva le stesse ambizioni espansionistiche sul Mar Nero e sul Caucaso. In ragione di ciò sorse un'insanabile disputa, che di lì a poco si trasformò in una lunga e cruenta guerra tra i due potenti imperi.

Il Caucaso aveva una grande importanza per lo sviluppo del commercio tra l'Oriente e l'Occidente; inoltre, per tutte e due le potenze militari impegnate in quella guerra rappresentava un appoggio essenziale e un fattore determinante per la vittoria finale. Infatti, chi riusciva a dominare le terre poste a sud della catena del Grande Caucaso avrebbe controllato anche i passi strategici delle montagne caucasiche, ossia tutti i collegamenti tra le regioni del Caucaso settentrionale. Tre erano i passi strategici: Aragvi-Dariali, Rioni-Mamisoni, Kodori-Klukhori; chi riusciva a controllare questi passi protetti dalla natura, da cui si aveva accesso alle valli al di qua e al di là della catena del Grande Caucaso, poteva decidere di aprire o chiudere a suo piacimento questi passaggi e usare le incursioni delle agguerrite tribù nomadi del Caucaso settentrionale come arma di ricatto e di minaccia per i nemici. Ecco perché l'esercito romano riservò un'attenzione particolare al controllo di questi passi strategici nel Caucaso, ingaggiando una furibonda lotta con i Parti.

Nel IV secolo d.C. la crisi politica ed economica dell'Impero romano entrò in una fase critica irreversibile e sempre più frequenti divennero le ribellioni. Nello stesso tempo si intensificarono le invasioni e le aggressioni delle tribù nomadi e barbare, che portarono nel 395 d.C., dopo la morte dell'imperatore Teodosio, alla separazione in Impero romano d'Occidente e d'Oriente.

Il lungo braccio di ferro tra l'Impero romano e quello Persiano sasanide ebbe come risultato che nel IV secolo d.C. quest'ultimo conquistò l'egemonia su tutta l'area caucasica: la parte meridionale dell'Iberia, le terre in riva al fiume Aras, che scorre in Turchia, Armenia, Azerbaijan e Iran, e l'Albània (l'odierno Azerbaijan) entrarono nella sfera d'influenza dell'Impero persiano.

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A Mithraic terracotta from Aquincum

Paula ZSIDI, Budapest

The pyramidal upper part of an unusual terracotta object became part of the collection of the Aquincum Museum in 1935. The terracotta object with various symbols on its sides (a swastika, an upright and recumbent cross motif, a vessel and a snake) terminates in a bird's head. A closer look at this pyramidal object and the interpretation of its symbols suggest that it can be regarded as a relic of the cult of Mithras. Made according to individual specifications in all likelihood, the object was recovered from one of the kilns of a pottery workshop in the eastern quarter of the Civil Town of Aquincum, and thus we can at best merely guess its function and intended use. It could equally well have been a votive gift destined for one of the town's known Mithraic sanctuaries or it could have been intended for personal use by one of Mithras' followers in his own house as an expression of personal devotion to the deity.

Key words: *Aquincum, Mithras cult, terracotta, religious symbols, votive object, private religiosity*

In 1935, the Roman Collection of the Aquincum Museum was enriched with a most unusual terracotta object (Budapest History Museum, Aquincum Museum, inv. no. 50071), namely the upper part of a pyramidal object (Figs. 1–2). Even though the object was regularly displayed as part of various exhibitions in the Aquincum Museum and it is currently also on view in the museum's permanent exhibition (Zsidi *et al.* 2009: 166, Cat. no. 1069), a critical re-assessment of this curious object is still lacking. Lajos Nagy, on whose excavation the object came to light, mentions it in his brief excavation report (Nagy 1937: 274), and then cites the enigmatic object in an article discussing the small clay lamp chimneys from Aquincum (Nagy 1945: 188–190). He briefly describes the terracotta and assigns it to the class of sepulchral relics on the strength of the symbols appearing on it. He did not treat the depiction in detail and merely noted that "Their symbolism would deserve a special examination". The present study has chosen this theme as its subject.

The terracotta came to light some 300 m east of the Civil Town's northern gate during a salvage excavation made necessary by construction work (Fig. 3). The findspot lies on the fringes of the so-called Gas factory pottery workshops, part of the town's eastern industrial quarter (Kuzsinszky 1932). The pyramidal object came to light from one of the rectangular pottery kilns uncovered in 1935. This part of the potters' quarter was later designated as the Papföld kilns (Póczy 1956: 121–125). On the testimony of the pottery finds, the workshops were active during the first decade of the third century (Vámos 2010: 68).

The terracotta is a red-coloured, solid pyramidal object that had probably been the upper finial of a larger object (H. 19.6 cm, L. 18 cm, W. 9.6 cm). Its fabric is made up of a lighter grainy core that was coated with darker, red-coloured, more finely levigated clay. The outer coating is cracked in some spots or flaked off, probably due to thermal stress during firing. Traces of smoothing can be made out along the edges and near the base, and in addition to the tool used during this procedure, imprints of the potter's fingers were

Fig. 1. The terracotta object from Aquincum, front-view. (Photo by P. Komjáthy).

Fig. 2. The terracotta object from Aquincum, viewed from back. (Photo by P. Komjáthy).

Fig. 3. The findspot of the terracotta in the Civil Town of Aquincum. (Aquincum Museum, Archive).

also preserved. The base of the pyramidal object was not coated with a layer of finer clay and thus the base is lighter with visible specks of mica and sand. The imprints of three fingers can be seen on the smoothed surface, left during its preparation for fitting it to the one-time lower part.

Betraying more about potting skills than artistic inspirations, the object was assembled from two halves. The lower, rectangular part is decorated with incised or impressed symbols, while the upper part is topped with a bird's head (Fig. 4). Although most traces of the join were concealed by the coating of finer clay added subsequently, the join of the two parts can be clearly made out under the tail of the dove, where

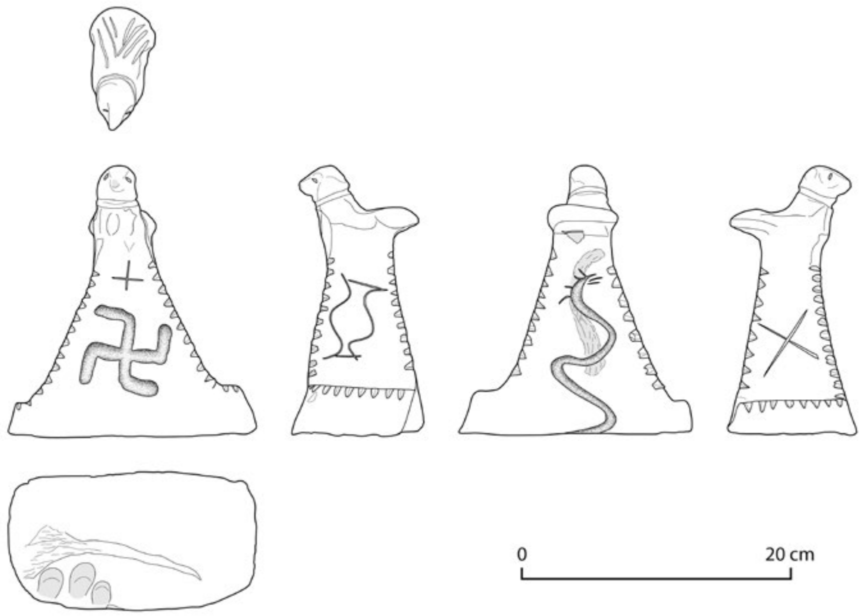

Fig. 4. Roll-out of the pyramidal terracotta (Drawing by T. Lajtos).

the fine coating flaked off. The dove was not set exactly in the axis of the pyramid and thus the dentition along the edges adjoining the bird figure is not symmetrical. Two steps of unequal height were made on the short sides of the pyramid near the base. The bird has a conical beak (whose tip broke off), the two incisions marking the eyes on the two sides of the head were added subsequently with a sharp implement. There is a shallow circumferential groove around the neck, made when the clay was still soft. The flat tail feathers are marked with incised lines on the rounded rear side. Each edge of the pyramidal part and the edges of base's shorter sides are denticulated. Each side of the pyramidal form is decorated, although the technical execution differs, as does its skilfulness. While excess material was removed after creating the more prominent motifs such as the swastika and the snake, both made with wider lines, the excess material remained in place in the case of the incised motifs (the vessel and the upright and recumbent cross). The front side is dominated by a counter-clockwise swastika, with the motif itself turned slightly to the right. Its regular form was probably made using an implement with a blunt rounded tip. Although Lajos Nagy suggested that it had simply been drawn with a fingertip (Nagy 1945: 188), this can be rejected in view of the narrow groove and the traces left by the implement. The potter incised an equal-armed cross above the swastika. The other prominent motif can be seen on the opposite side of the pyramidal form. The upward winding sinuous line was similarly created with a deep and wide line as the swastika motif. Another sinuous line, carefully smoothed away, can be made out underneath, perhaps representing an earlier attempt. Short, irregular and occasionally intersecting lines can be seen at the upper end of the sinuous line. A handle-less vessel with elongated body appears on the short side to the bird's left. The vessel was carelessly drawn, the lines do not always touch, the vessel tilts to one side and is not set in the centre. The other narrow side to the bird's right bears a recumbent cross of oblique, intersecting lines.

We submitted samples from the terracotta to archaeometric analyses alongside samples from two other artefacts from Aquincum. These were performed by Mária Tóth in the Mineralogical-Petrographic Laboratory of the Archaeometry Research Group. One of these was the discus of an oil lamp bearing the depiction of a snake and inscribed with a Greek name (Zsidi 2009), the other was the fragment of a terracotta statue portraying Mithras from the mithraeum of Symphorus (Zsidi 2014). Of the three objects, the discus and the pyramidal object discussed here came to light where they had been produced, in two different pottery workshops of the Civil Town of Aquincum, while the terracotta statuette was found in one of the town's mithraeums. The analysis of the samples revealed that the terracotta statuette and the pyramidal object discussed here had an identical fabric and were fired at the same temperature, suggesting that they perhaps been made in the same workshop.

The most prominent element on the pyramidal object is the modelled bird figure on its top. In his initial report, Lajos Nagy described and interpreted the bird as an eagle (Nagy 1937: 274), an identification he discarded in favour of common wood pigeon in a later study (Nagy 1945: 188). The bird's conical beak and spread-out tail feathers indeed resemble those of pigeons, and Lajos Nagy's subsequent identification was no doubt also motivated by the shallow groove around the bird's neck. This depiction resembles the bird figures topping the lamp chimneys from Aquincum (Nagy 1945: 163, Figs. 5–6), although it is more finely crafted. Lajos Nagy notes that pigeons were symbols of immortality and of life in the afterworld and he associated the find with funerary cults. The association between pigeons and the human soul appears in early Christian imagery, where the Holy Spirit was depicted as a pigeon (Vanyó 1988: 61). The pigeon was the bird of Venus in Graeco-Roman mythology, explaining its presence among the symbols of the Mithraic Mysteries, which also had an astronomical dimension. Venus was the planet of the second grade of initiation (*nymphus*), whose personifications include pigeons as well (Merkelbach 1984: 85). These are occasionally depicted, as on two gems portraying the tauroctony, where a pigeon, Venus' bird, appears among the stars beside Mithras' head (Merkelbach 1984: 393, Abb. 165a, Abb. 166).

The swastika motif on the front side undoubtedly occupies the most prominent position among the symbols. Its position, size and form all accentuate its important role. As a symbol of the Sun, the swastika is known since the Neolithic, and it is frequently encountered among the depictions of the Roman Age (Burillo-Cuadrado & Burillo-Mozota 2014: 33–35). It appears as a simple ornamental motif, for example on mosaic floors (Wellner 1969: 249, Fig. 12, Pl. LXV). In the Roman period, one widespread occurrence of swastikas is represented by swastika brooches, mostly found in military contexts (Böhme 1972: 46). Swastikas are depicted on relics that can be clearly associated with the cult of Mithras, although, curiously enough, their number is low. A swastika can be seen between Mithras' head and a depiction of Luna on a relief with the tauroctony scene from Gigen (Oescus; CIMRM 2247; Dölger 1934). Franz Dölger claimed that together with the two crosses, the swastika carved onto the frame of the relief was designed to represent the stars in the sphere of the Sun with his radiate crown and Luna (Dölger 1934: 64). The swastika similarly appears together with two stars on the fragment of a bronze statue (CIMRM 765): in this case, the symbol of the Sun adorns the lower arm. The statue fragment found in Italy is regarded as coming from a statue of Mithras exactly on account of the sun symbol on its body. However, Maarten Vermaseren argued that owing to its posture, the arm fragment cannot be associated with any of the known Mithras imageries and that the swastika is rarely encountered among Mithraic relics, making it uncertain that this find can indeed be related to the deity's cult. Yet, we should at this point recall Franz Dölger's contention that as a symbol of the Sun, the swastika can be considered as one of the secret signs of the Mysteries of Mithras (Dölger 1929: 91). Mention must here be made of a bust carved from limestone found in Aquincum, which similarly had a swastika subsequently carved onto its left arm (Zsidi 2012). Originally set up in a funerary chamber, the bust portrays one of the high-ranking soldiers of the legio II Adiutrix. The soldier's name and his rank as well as the swastika, the latter perhaps a reference to the soldier's beliefs, was most likely added locally to the bust that had not been made in a Pannonian workshop. The burial did not contain any other known symbols or finds indicating a direct link with the Mithraic cult. However, another find from Aquincum directly relates to the swastika appearing among the symbols of the Mithraic Mysteries. Klára Póczy published a factory lamp

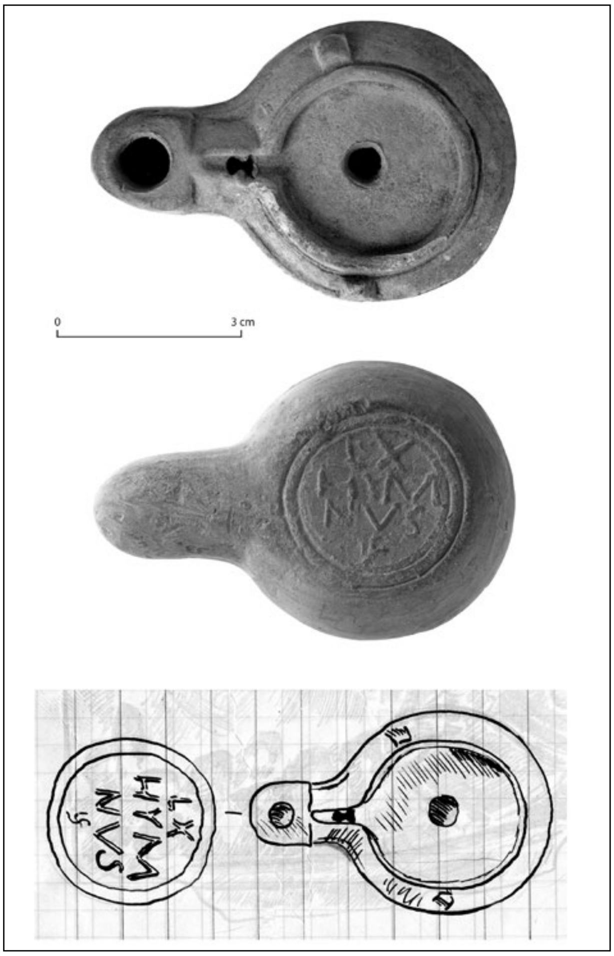

Fig. 5. Drawing of the oil lamp from the western cemetery of the Military Town and a photo of its base. (Photo by P. Komjáthy).

recovered from a cremation burial in Aquincum, which had a sign resembling a swastika under the LX/HYM/NVS stamp on its base. (Póczy 2000). In her view, the text of the stamp and the swastika refers to Hymn LX of Sol, and in this sense, the lamp can be expressly associated with the cult of Mithras, or had been commissioned by one of the deity's devotees as a symbol of the coming of light. The lamp found in 1937 is depicted with the stamp and the swastika underneath in the museum's illustrated accessions register (Fig. 5). Another reading of the stamp was proposed in the publication of the cemetery where this oil lamp was found (the western cemetery of the Military Town, the so-called Bécsi Road cemetery: Topál 2003: 106), according to which the text of the stamp is EX/HYM/VS and the swastika-like sign should be read as the letter F. However, the interpretation of the sign under the stamp as an F would only be possible if it were written in the cursive, which would be unusual in this position. Given that the sign is rather indistinct, its exact identification remains uncertain in the lack of analogous finds. It is possible that it is indeed a swastika, but it can equally well be "read" as a branch (Iványi 1935: 2, Type VII, Pl. LXXVIII. 12).

The equal-armed cross depicted above the swastika too confirms that the latter symbolised the Sun, the heavenly body in the Mithraic Mysteries (Burillo-Cuadrado & Burillo-Mozota 2014: 35). The smaller incised cross appearing together with the prominent swastika was placed there intentionally and not as a filler or a decorative element, even though this would not be unusual in the period (Tóth 1998–1999: 119–121). Given that the artefact dates from the early third century, the interpretation of the sign as an early Christian symbol can be excluded (Tóth 1998–1999: 119). As we have seen, an equal-armed cross appears together with a swastika on the Mithras relief from Gigen (CIMRM 2247), and it is also encountered on several other reliefs depicting the tauroctony (e.g. Merkelbach 1984: 297, Abb. 41, and 378, Abb. 143). These symbols can be found around Mithras' head and shoulder, usually among multi-ray stars denoting a specific number of planets. The cross on the pyramidal object from Aquincum thus reinforces the astral nature of the swastika.

The recumbent cross incised onto one of the short sides of the pyramidal object likewise symbolises a star. The seven planets are represented by upright and recumbent crosses on the celestial sphere on the left side of the Heddernheim altar (Merkelbach 1984: 346, Abb. 106).

An upward gliding snake, a depiction as prominent as the swastika, can be seen on the back side. The snake's head is accentuated with small incised lines, perhaps the depiction of a crested snake. Snakes can be associated with various deities of the Graeco-Roman pantheon, from Aesculapius to Mercury, and they are also attested on the relics of Liber-Libera, Sabazios and the Danubian Rider Gods. In addition to these depictions, snakes are often encountered on the cult vessels used during the rituals of these cults (Vámos 2009: 537–538). At the same time, portrayals of snakes occur within the framework of private religious practices, one of these being the personification of one of the *genii* protecting the house (Cvjetićanin 2008: 159–160; Schmid 1991: 68). There is a close association between snake depictions and Mithraism: snakes occur on the cult vessels used in Mithraic rituals (for example in the mithraeum of Symphorus in Aquincum: Vámos 2009: 538), and a crested snake is depicted on a vessel lid from the Tienen mithraeum (Martens 2004: 34, Fig. 9. 2) and on the fragment of a three-handled vessel from Carnuntum (Gassner 2004: 232, Fig. 5, top). Snakes figure prominently on the altars associated with the cult too. The snake on the back of the altar of the San Clemente mithraeum in Rome can be interpreted as a symbol of the second grade of initiation (Merkelbach 1984: 299, Abb. 43, and 301, Abb. 45). Snakes are also creatures essential to the tauroctony scenes, where they are shown drinking the blood spurting from the slain bull. On these depictions, the snake, representing the Hydra constellation, appears between the scorpion, the chalice or krater (if there is one) and the dog, conforming to the position of the constellations they symbolise (Tóth I. 2003: 72–74).

Thus, the presence of a vessel on the fourth side is hardly surprising. Lajos Nagy initially identified this vessel as a krater (Nagy 1937: 274), but later described it as a one-handled chalice (Nagy 1945: 188). In fact, the depiction clearly shows a handle-less vessel with elongated body, recalling the form of the one-handled jugs appearing on Roman grave monuments and sacrificial altars, which played a role in various sacrifices. In our case, the vessel can be related to the symbolism of the Mithras relics. Together with the dog and the snake, the vessel has a distinctive role in the tauroctony scenes. Although most of the vessels appearing in the tauroctony scenes have two handles, the vessel holding the bull's blood is occasionally a chalice lacking handles (e.g. Merkelbach 1984: 353, Abb. 116, and 358–359, Abb. 122). Vessels are depicted in other Mithraic scenes too, not only in portrayals of the tauroctony (e.g. on an altar: Merkelbach 1984: 319, Abb. 70, and on a gem: Gordon 2004: 277). While the depictions show a variety of vessel forms, most of these can either be associated with water (e.g. Merkelbach 1984: 321, Abb. 72) or appear together with a snake (CIMRM 942). The mixing vessels shown beside Mithras are symbols of water springs (László 2005: 247–248) and also of the Crater constellation (László 2005: 260). The latter interpretation fits in nicely with the astral dimensions of the other depictions appearing on the object.

The above overview of the depictions appearing on the sides of the pyramidal object has shown that each appears separately among the attributes or symbols of various deities of the Roman pantheon as well as on early Christian relics dating from a later period (Nagy 2018: 60). However, one shared trait of the depictions on the object is the astral association of their symbolism and their interrelated meaning. This astral dimension is perceptible, even though only a part of the original object has survived. The prominent elements are the Sun (swastika) and the constellations around it, the Water Serpent (Hydra) and the Cup (Crater). Together, these symbols are part of the visual idiom of the Mysteries of Mithras and can be interpreted together in this context. Another coherent system of the astral symbols, among which we can find some of the elements depicted on the pyramidal object even if in different visual representations (e.g. the Sun and the constellations), has been documented on a specific group of Pannonian gravestones, on which these symbols refer to the soul's journey to the otherworld (Tóth I. 2009: 11). This is perhaps the point where a link can be forged between the pigeon and the astral symbols, expressing the desire of Mithras' followers to attain immortality after life in this world (Merkelbach 1984: 76–77).

Lajos Nagy interpreted the terracotta object as a funerary ornament or the upper part of a sacrificial lamp chimney (Nagy 1945: 190). In our case, however, a function as an oil lamp (*Lichtturm*, *Lichthäuschen*) is contradicted by the rectangular base and the solidness of the object without any fenestrations, despite the presence of the pigeon on top. The form and the solidness has much more in common with the finials (*Abkrönung*) of stone funerary altars that were modelled in the shape of a roof and were sometimes provided with relief ornamentation (Ertel 2010: 158). The fabric and the size of the pyramidal object suggest that it was perhaps a miniature version of these altars, which the potter had made according to the specifications of his customer. It seems unlikely that it would have been made to be used as part of the furnishings of one of the mithraeums active in Aquincum, but it is possible that it had been intended as a votive offering. Another option is that it was destined for private use in the house of one of Mithras' followers, an initiate who had kept a variety of smaller objects in his house as an expression of his personal devotion to the deity (Gordon 2004: 278; Sas 2004: 360). The terracotta altar whose finial bore the astral symbols of the Mithraic cult was probably intended as another addition to these relics.

Abbreviations

CIMRM — M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis mithriacae I-II.*, Hague, 1956, 1960.

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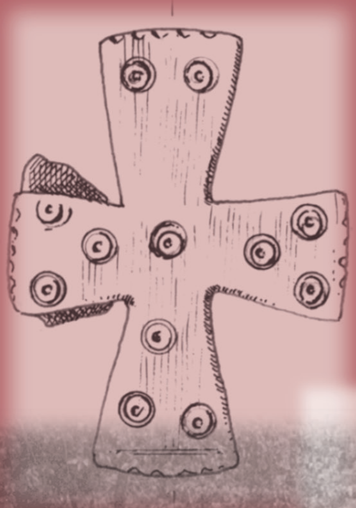

ISBN: 978-953-175-809-3

FF press