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Antički kameni spomenik s lokaliteta Čipuljić kod Bugojna

An ancient stone monument from Čipuljić near Bugojno

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Tijekom izvođenja zemljišnih radova na lokalitetu Čipuljić kod Bugojna u središnjoj Bosni pronađen je kameni ulomak (T.1; T. 2) koji se može interpretirati na različite načine. Radi se o vrlo bogato dekoriranom kamenom bloku. Na prednjoj strani su vidljivi vrlo bogati prikazi palmete, te po jedna manja rozeta sa svake strane, od kojih je jedna oštećena. Ispod palmete, nalaze se ukrasi u obliku stiliziranog akantovog lišća. Na stražnjoj strani očuvanog dijela bloka vidljivi su ostaci dviju nasuprot postavljenih grančica i trokutastog zabata. Može se pretpostaviti da je prostor ispod zabata bio predviđen za neku centralnu predstavu, figuru ili nešto slično.

Ranokršćanska crkva i ranosrednjovjekovna nekropola pronađene na lokalitetu Čipuljić, povezuju kameni spomenik s istim nalazištem. Kameni floralni ulomak ostavlja vrlo realnu mogućnost da je riječ o dijelu sepulkralnog spomenika, koji je kasnije postao ugradbeni element nekog drugog kasnoantičkog objekta, moguće u kršćanskom kontekstu. Na ovaj sakralni sadržaj na istom lokalitetu se nadovezala i ranosrednjovjekovna nekropola.

Ključne riječi: kameni spomenik, lokalitet Čipuljić kod Bugojna, palmeta, dekoracija

A stone fragment (Pl. 1; Pl. 2) found during earth works at Čipuljić near Bugojno in central Bosnia may be interpreted in a variety of ways. It consists of an elaborately decorated block of stone, the face adorned with a palmette and a small rosette on each side, one of which is damaged. Below the palmette is a stylized acanthus leaf decoration. The vestiges of two branchlets and a triangular pediment can be seen at the end of the fragment. The space below the pediment was probably intended for a central figure or other feature.

The fragment is associated with Čipuljić, where an early Christian church and an early mediaeval necropolis have also been found. The floral decoration on the stone is probably part of a funerary monument, which was later built into some other monument of late Antiquity, in all likelihood in a Christian context. Later, in the early mediaeval period, a necropolis succeeded this religious feature at the same site.

Key words: stone monument, site Čipuljić near Bugojno, palmette, decoration

Na lokalitetu Čipuljić kod Bugojna, otkriven je 2005. godine kameni ulomak s bogato dekoriranim biljnim ornamentima na prednjoj strani. Okolnosti nalaza nisu u cijelosti poznate. Nalaz je otkriven tijekom kopanja instalacija, nakon čega je prenesen pred zgradu općine Bugojno gdje se i sada nalazi (T. 1: 4, 5).¹ U arheološkim je krugovima područje Čipuljića poznato po kasnoantičkoj crkvi² i ranosrednjovjekovnom groblju.³

Na takvom je lokalitetu i dalje moguć pronalazak različitih pokretnih predmeta. Nažalost, od posljednjih arheoloških istraživanja u naselju Čipuljić obavljane su intenzivne građevinske aktivnosti. Blizina urbanog naselja u Bugojnu i regionalne ceste, te plodni ravničarski teren bili su razlogom gradnje privatnih i gospodarskih objekata, kuća i slično. Na ostatku se područja intenzivno obrađuju poljoprivredne parcele. Ove okolnosti nažalost uvelike smanjuju mogućnost nastavka bilo kakvih sistematskih istraživanja. Slučajni su nalazi zato vrlo realna mogućnost, i na njih treba obratiti pažnju.

Jedan od slučajnih nalaza ulomak je kamenog spomenika isklesan u kamenu muljici.⁴ Dimenzije spomenika su 70 cm visine, 60 cm širine, te 50 cm dubine. Na prednjoj se strani nalazi izuzetno kvalitetan prikaz palmete, a s njezine lijeve i desne strane smještene su male rozete. Desna je rozeta dobro očuvana, dok je lijeva oštećena (T. 1: 1, 2, 3; T. 2). Ispod palmete vidljivi su ostaci stiliziranog lista akanta.

Gornji izduženi polukružni dio kamenog spomenika odvojen je od donjeg dijela četvrtastom profilacijom. Ta je profilacija očito bila dijelom kompaktnog četvrtastog okvira od kojeg su sačuvane

A fragment of stone with an elaborate floral decoration on the face was discovered in 2005 at Čipuljić near Bugojno. The circumstances of the find are not entirely clear; it was uncovered during excavations for the installation of services, and taken to the Bugojno municipal council building, where it still stands (Pl. 1: 4, 5).¹ Čipuljić is well known in archaeological circles for its early Christian church² and early mediaeval burial ground.³

This area is one that could still yield various portable artefacts. Unfortunately, the village of Čipuljić has been the focus of considerable building works since the last archaeological investigations. The proximity of the town of Bugojno and a major road, as well as the fertile, level ground, were conducive to the construction of private and commercial buildings, houses and so forth. The rest of the area is under intensive agricultural cultivation. As a result, the opportunities for continuing with systematic investigations are very limited. At the same time, there is a greater likelihood of chance finds, for which vigilance is needed.

This fragment of a stone monument is one such chance find. Made of mudstone,⁴ it is 70 cm high, 60 cm wide, and 50 cm deep. The face is decorated with a palmette of superior workmanship, with a small rosette on either side. The rosette to the right is well preserved, but the one on the left is damaged (Pl. 1: 1, 2, 3; Pl. 2). The vestiges of a stylized acanthus leaf can be seen below the palmette.

The entire upper register of the fragment, which is semi-elliptical in shape, is divided from the lower by a rectangular moulding, evidently part of a rectangular frame, of which a rather narrower

¹ Za slanje fotografija, te dimenzija, kontakte sa Zavodom za zaštitu spomenika u Bugojnu, veliku pomoć mi je pružila moja nekadašnja studentica, a sada kolegica mr. Ajla Sejfuli. Koristim priliku da joj se najiskrenije zahvalim, na ukazanoj pomoći.

² Paškvalin 2003, 129–207; Paškvalin 1959, 98; Paškvalin 1961, 89; Paškvalin 1966, 146; Paškvalin 1968, 159; Paškvalin 1970, 131.

³ U prvoj kampanji istraživanja srednjovjekovne nekropole je vodio dr. Pavo Anđelić. O tome vidi: Anđelić 1959, 163. Ranosrednjovjekovnu nekropolu je kasnije istraživala kolegica Nada Miletić. Nažalost, lokalitet nije do danas publiciran. O gabaritima dovoljno govori podatak da je tokom više kampanja otkriveno preko 800 grobova.

⁴ Cambi 2013, 32, sl. 88.

¹ I would like to take this opportunity to express my warmest gratitude to my former student, and now colleague, Ajla Sejfula MSc, who was of great help in sending me photographs and measurements and putting me in touch with the Institute for the Protection of Monuments in Bugojno.

² Paškvalin 2003, 129–207; Paškvalin 1959, 98; Paškvalin 1961, 89; Paškvalin 1966, 146; Paškvalin 1968, 159; Paškvalin 1970, 131.

³ The first dig of the mediaeval necropolis was led by Dr. Pavo Anđelić. See Anđelić 1959, 163. The early mediaeval necropolis was later excavated by my colleague Nada Miletić. Unfortunately, the site has not yet been published, but an idea of its size may be gained from the fact that more than 800 graves have been uncovered during the various digs.

⁴ Cambi 2013, 32, Fig. 88.

samo tanke linije s desne i lijeve strane (T. 1: 1, 2; T. 2: 1, 5, 6).

Unutar spomenutog okvira s lijeve i desne strane smješteni su dekorativni motivi grana s listom. Ovakvi floralni reljefi javljaju se na brojnim spomenicima u Bosni i Hercegovini.⁵ Ispod reljefa vidljiv je trokutasti zabat u kojem se očito nalazio centralni dio spomenika (T. 1: 1, 2; T. 2: 1, 5, 6).

Bočne i stražnja strana spomenika grubo su obrađene. Na kamenu su vidljivi i ostaci dvaju utora (T. 2: 3, 4): jednog na vrhu neposredno iza ruba palmete, drugog, znatno većeg, u istoj liniji u drugom dijelu spomenika. Gledajući sa stražnje strane evidentno je da se radi o spomeniku polukružnog oblika koji najvjerojatnije prati trokutasti zabat s prednje strane (T. 2: 2, 3). Njegov je donji dio vidljivo uleknut, a gornji dio sa stražnje strane natkriven.⁶

Navedene činjenice daju široku mogućnost interpretacije spomenika u pogledu njegove uporabe, namjene i društvenog konteksta. Ovaj rad predstavlja jedno od mogućih rješenja i eventualan motiv za iznošenje drugih mišljenja i objašnjenja ovog neobičnog spomenika.

Jedan od osnovnih metodoloških pristupa interpretacije odnosi se na bližu ili dalju analogiju ovom spomeniku.

Slične uvjetne analogije s reljefima palmete, kao centralnog motiva na gornjem dijelu spomenika, utvrđene su na nadgrobnim spomenicima koji se čuvaju u Ateni, Pireju⁷ i Edinburghu⁸ (T. 3). Ovi spomenici nedvojbeno su grčkog podrijetla. Na dvama od triju navedenih spomenika nalaze se i grčki natpisi (T. 3: 1, 2), a dva su analoška bliža našem primjerku jer se i njihove palmete nalaze u polukružno oblikovanom dijelu kamena (T. 3: 2, 3). Pored velike palmete, na nadgrobnom spomeniku iz Atene postavljene su i dvije male, jedna sa svake njezine strane tvoreći tako akroterij (T. 3: 1).

Ovo, naravno, nikako ne sugerira da je spomenik pronađen na lokalitetu Čipuljić grčkog podrijetla.

moulding to right and left is still extant (Pl. 1: 1, 2; Pl. 2: 1, 5, 6).

Within this frame are decorative motifs consisting of leafy branchlets to left and right. Floral reliefs of this kind are known on many monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁵ Below them is a triangular pediment, evidently part of the central section of the monument (Pl. 1: 1, 2; Pl. 2: 1, 5, 6).

The back and sides of the monument are crudely worked. The remains of two grooves can be seen (Pl. 2: 3, 4): one just by the edge of the palmette in the upper register, and another, significantly larger groove directly below in the other part of the monument. From behind, the monument can be seen to be semi-circular in outline, probably echoing the triangular pediment on the face (Pl. 2: 2, 3). The lower part is noticeably recessed or overhung by the upper part of the back of the monument.⁶

All these features allow for a wide range of possible interpretations of the monument regarding its use and purpose, as well as its social context. This paper sets out one such interpretation, as well as possible reasons for the presentation of other opinions and explanations of this unusual monument.

One of the basic methodological approaches to interpretation is to seek more or less close analogies with the monument.

Provisional analogies with palmettes as a central motif on the upper register have been found on funerary monuments in Athens, Piraeus⁷ and Edinburgh⁸ (Pl. 3). These monuments are undoubtedly of Greek origin; two of the three also bear epitaphs in Greek (Pl. 3: 1, 2). Two of these monuments are more closely analogous to our specimen, in that the palmette relief is set in a semi-circular form (Pl. 3: 2, 3), whereas the Athens monument has two smaller palmettes to each side of the larger one, forming an acroterion (Pl. 3: 1).

This does not, of course, mean that the monument found at Čipuljić is also of Greek origin. It may be more accurately dated by the stylized

⁵ Paškvalin 2012, 219, sl. 28, 220, sl. 32, 227, sl. 53.

⁶ Postojanje utora kao tehničkog rješenja prisutno je na mnogobrojnim rimskim objektima (T. 4: 1, 2).

⁷ Schwarzmaier 2007, 182.

⁸ Schwarzmaier 2007, 190.

⁵ Paškvalin 2012, 219, Fig. 28, 220, Fig. 32, 227, Fig. 53.

⁶ The presence of grooves for technical reasons has been found on many Roman objects (Pl. 4: 1, 2).

⁷ Schwarzmaier 2007, 182.

⁸ Schwarzmaier 2007, 190.

Okvirna datacija može se precizirati prema stiliziranom akantovom lišću, koje cijeli spomenik stavlja u period od kraja 2. do 4. stoljeća. Kasnoantička bazilika pronađena na istom lokalitetu,⁹ ne može se staviti u direktnu korelaciju s pronađenim spomenikom. Ipak, pojedini u njoj pronađeni ulomci pokazuju izvjesne sličnosti. Ti su ulomci prilično devastirani zbog čega se ne može precizno definirati njihova namjena, ali motivi palmete i stilizirane rozete ukazuju na sličnost s našim spomenikom.¹⁰

Sama namjena ovog predmeta je dvojbena. Prema prednjoj bi se strani spomenik mogao definirati kao nadgrobnna stela, ali bočne i leđna strana (T. 1: 3; T. 2: 2, 3, 4), njihova gruba obrada i postojanje dva utora ukazuju na to da je predmet bio ugrađen u neki zid ili objekt. Debljina spomenika sugerira zaključak da je spomenik morao biti ugrađen u masivniji zid. Ovakvi deblji spomenici prilično su česti i nazivaju se blokovima.¹¹ Za naš se ulomak s velikom sigurnošću može utvrditi da je riječ o kamenom bloku.

Masivni kameni blokovi i utori nisu rijetki na području Bosne i Hercegovine. Jedan od njih je i spomenik u Brezi koji ima velike utore i neobrađene leđnu i bočne strane, što ukazuje na njegov ugradbeni karakter.¹² Značajan broj stela¹³ i cipusa¹⁴ na području Bosne i Hercegovine također ima neobrađene leđne strane, a nešto rjeđe i bočne.

Manji utor neposredno uz unutarnju ivicu palmete također ide u prilog zaključku da je ulomak bio ugrađen u masivniji zid ili objekt (T. 2: 2, 3, 4). On nam govori da je spomenik bio u razini okolne površine u njegovoj neposrednoj blizini u koju je mogao biti ugrađen cijelom svojom debljinom. Ako je ovaj spomenik uistinu bio ugradbeni element, to nam sugerira postojanje nekog rimskog sakralnog ili sepulkralnog spomenika ili objekta u kojem se sam spomenik nalazio.

Osim toga, moguća je i pretpostavka da je ovaj kameni ulomak mogao bio dio grobnice ili neke nadgrobnne edikule. Uvjetne analogije koje se

acanthus leaf, which places the entire monument in the period from the late 2nd to the 4th century. The late Antique basilica at the same site⁹ cannot be directly associated with the fragment, but some other fragments found in the basilica display certain similarities. This applies in particular to a fragment which is too badly damaged for its purpose to be identified, but the floral motifs of a palmette and stylized rosette bear some likeness to our monument.¹⁰

The purpose of the object is uncertain. The face suggests that it was a funerary stela, but the sides and back (Pl. 1: 3; Pl. 2: 2, 3, 4), with their crude finish and the presence of two grooves, indicate that it was built into a wall or other structure. The depth of the fragment suggests that it was set into a substantial wall. Thick monuments of this kind are fairly common and are known as blocks.¹¹ Our fragment too can with considerable certainty be identified as a stone block.

The presence of grooves, as well as the massive block-like form, are not uncommon in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A monument found in Breza, with large grooves and with the back and sides left rough, also appears to have been built into a wall.¹² A significant number of funerary stelae¹³ and cippi¹⁴ found in Bosnia and Herzegovina also frequently have the sides left rough and the back almost invariably so.

Further evidence for the fragment having been set into a substantial wall or structure is the presence of the smaller groove just beside the inner edge of the palmette (Pl. 2: 2, 3, 4), suggesting that the monument was set flush with the surrounding surface, that is with its entire depth within the body of the wall. If the monument was inset in this way, it would suggest that it belonged to a Roman religious or funerary monument or structure.

Another strong likelihood is that the fragment could have been part of a tomb or funerary aedicule. Provisional analogies pertaining solely to the tridimensionality of our fragment and analogous

⁹ Paškvalin 2003, 129–207.

¹⁰ Paškvalin 2003, 314, sl. d, i, j, e.

¹¹ Maršić 2009, 19.

¹² Paškvalin 2012, 338, sl. 33a i b.

¹³ Paškvalin 2012, 57–201.

¹⁴ Paškvalin 2012, 338, sl. 33a i b.

⁹ Paškvalin 2003, 129–207.

¹⁰ Paškvalin 2003, 314, Figs. d, i, j, e.

¹¹ Maršić 2009, 19.

¹² Paškvalin 2012, 338, Figs. 33a and b.

¹³ Paškvalin 2012, 57–201.

¹⁴ Paškvalin 2012, 338, Figs. 33a and b.

odnose isključivo na trodimenzionalnost našeg ulomka utvrđene su na spomenicima u Rimu, Padovi i Kopenhagenu.¹⁵ Rekonstruirana obiteljska grobnica pronađena na Via Appia vrlo je slična bloku iz Čipuljića: u centralnom dijelu zabata pored palmete nalaze se prikazi rozeta,¹⁶ a monumentalnost grobnice ukazuje na mogućnost da se i ulomak iz Čipuljića može promatrati iz istog aspekta.

Radi nepostojanja reljefa u edikuli ili trokutastom zabatnom reljefu ispod floralne dekoracije, ne možemo zaključiti kojoj je vrsti ovaj spomenik pripadao. S obzirom na vidljivo udubljenje ispod krova na dvije vode (T. 1: 2; T. 2: 1, 2, 3, 5, 6) koje postoji i na leđnoj strani (T. 1: 2; T. 2: 2, 3), možemo pretpostaviti da je taj prostor bio predviđen za reljefni prikaz, figuru osobe, obitelji ili nečeg sličnog.

U prilog interpretaciji ovog spomenika kao edikule ide i činjenica što su ovakvi spomenici često bili dijelom arhitektonske kompozicije. Najčešće su se javljali u obliku trokutastih zabata, što ih upravo i povezuje s grčkim nadgrobnim hramovima ili grobnim kapelicama. Zbog toga su i poznati stručnjacima kao stele u obliku edikule, odnosno »naiskos« stele.¹⁷ Analizom dimenzija ovog spomenika, osobito njegove debljine, utvrđeno je kako je ova pretpostavka ipak najmanje vjerojatna. Grčke stele koje imaju polukružno krunište s palmetom definiraju se kao »Palmeten stele«.¹⁸

U prilog interpretaciji spomenika kao ugradbenog reljefa ide i vrlo dobra studija koja analizira ugradbene građevinske portrete i reljefe u Istriji i Dalmaciji.¹⁹ Analiza ulomaka koji su bili predmetom ove studije pokazala je da su nadgrobnji reljefi ugrađivani u različite građevine, a najčešće se nije radilo o cjelovitom spomeniku, nego samo o nekom njegovom sadržaju, odnosno dijelu.²⁰

Izgradnja velikih mauzoleja i monumentalnih grobnica kao grobnih obilježja i arhitektonskih ulomaka u vezi s njima poznata je na području da-

specimens can be found in Rome, Padua and Copenhagen.¹⁵ A reconstructed family tomb found on the Via Appia even has closely comparable features on the pediment, with a central palmette and rosettes,¹⁶ while the imposing size of the monument suggests that the Čipuljić fragment could belong to such a context.

The absence of reliefs on the aedicule or triangular pediment relief below the floral decoration makes it difficult to determine what kind of monument it belonged to. The recess below the saddle roof (Pl. 1: 2; Pl. 2: 1, 2, 3, 5, 6), found also on the back of the fragment (Pl. 1: 2; Pl. 2: 2, 3), suggest that this space was intended for a relief of a figure, family scene or other such feature.

In support of the suggestion that the monument was an aedicule is the fact that such monuments constitute an architectural composition. They usually occur in the form of triangular pediments, a feature that relates them to Greek funerary temples or shrines. They are also known to scholarship as aediculae or funerary naiskoi.¹⁷ The dimensions of this monument, however, particularly its depth, make this the least likely possibility. Greek round-headed stelae with a palmette are known as »Palmeten stele«.¹⁸

Further support for the hypothesis that the monument was an inset funerary relief is to be found in an excellent paper dealing with structural portraits and reliefs in Istria and Dalmatia.¹⁹ Analysis of the fragments covered by this paper indicates that funerary reliefs were built into a variety of structures. Most were not intact, but constituted only part of a monument.²⁰

Large mausoleums and monumental tombs erected as grave markers and the architectural fragments associated with them are known from several sites in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Table 4: 1,

¹⁵ Maršić 2009, Prilog 1, sl. 1, 2, 3 i 4, Prilog 2, sl. 1 i 2.

¹⁶ Maršić 2009, Prilog 1, sl. 4.

¹⁷ U prilog ovome idu i komparacije grčkih stela u ovome radu.

¹⁸ Schmaltz 1983.

¹⁹ Maršić 2009.

²⁰ Maršić 2009, 11.

¹⁵ Maršić 2009, Plate 1, Figs. 1, 2, 3 and 4, Plate 2, Figs. 1 and 2.

¹⁶ Maršić 2009, Plate 1, Fig. 4.

¹⁷ The comparison with the Greek stelae in this paper also favours this supposition.

¹⁸ Schmaltz 1983.

¹⁹ Maršić 2009.

²⁰ Maršić 2009, 11.

našnje Bosne i Hercegovine, i to na više lokaliteta (T. 4: 1, 2), kao što su Šipovo, Pritoka kod Bihaća, Podgradina kod Glamoča i Trbušće kod Foče.²¹

Zbog stupnja devastacije spomenika ispod zabata, njegovo tumačenje kao nadgrobnog reljefa ostaje dvojbeno. Ovakva situacija ne ostavlja prostor za sigurno utvrđivanje radi li se u prostoru ispod zabata o polukružnom udubljenju ili onom na dvije strehe. U slučaju da se ispod zabata nalazilo potonje, spomenik je mogao služiti i kao glavni akroterij neke građevine, najvjerojatnije u kontekstu građevnog portretnog reljefa.

Ne treba isključiti ni mogućnost da je nekadašnji rimski nadgrobni spomenik u kasnijoj fazi bio iskorišten kao spolij u kasnoantičkom kršćanskom kontekstu, s obzirom na to da je voditelj arheoloških istraživanja na lokalitetu, konstatirao da su ostaci kasnoantičke crkve građeni od građevinskog materijala iz prethodnih rimskih epoha.²²

Navedene tvrdnje sugeriraju i novi karakter samog lokaliteta Čipuljić. Iako je spomenuti lokalitet primarno poznat po ranosrednjovjekovnoj nekropoli i kasnoantičkoj bazilici, na ovom se prostoru prije podizanja kršćanske crkve i nešto novijeg groblja najvjerojatnije nalazio sakralni ili sepulkralni objekt. I na drugim je lokalitetima u Bosni i Hercegovini potvrđena ljudska prisutnost i aktivnost u različitim razdobljima na istom području.²³ Ovo bi moglo biti i rješenje pitanja karaktera samog lokaliteta Čipuljić. Na mjestu sadašnjeg naselja najvjerojatnije je bio neki sepulkralni sadržaj, na što se nadovezala kasnija izgradnja kršćanske bazilike, te u ranom srednjem vijeku velike nekropole.

2), among them Šipovo, Pritoka nr. Bihać, Podgradina nr. Glamoč and Trbušće nr. Foča.²¹

The extent of the damage below the pediment, however, also makes it difficult to identify the monument with certainty as a structural funerary relief, for one cannot be sure whether the area below the pediment consisted of a semi-circular recess or was set under a saddle roof. If the latter, the monument could also have served as the main acroterion of a building, probably in the context of a funerary portrait in relief.

The possibility cannot be excluded that what was formerly a Roman funerary monument was later used as decorative spolia in a late Antique Christian context, particularly since the head of the archaeological excavations at this site found that the late Antique church had been built of materials from the Roman period.²²

All this suggests a new character for Čipuljić itself. Although principally known for its early mediaeval necropolis and late Antique basilica, there was probably a religious or funerary structure there even before the early Christian church was built, followed later by the burial ground. A human presence or human activity over several different periods at the same site have been identified at other sites in Bosnia and Herzegovina,²³ and the same could well be true of Čipuljić. There was almost certainly some religious component in what is now the settlement of Čipuljić in Bugojno, prior to the construction of the Christian basilica, which was in turn succeeded by a large necropolis in early mediaeval times.

²¹ Paškvalin 2012, 471–494.

²² Paškvalin 2003, 133.

²³ Miletic 1984, 393–394.

²¹ Paškvalin 2012, 471–494.

²² Paškvalin 2003, 133.

²³ Miletic 1984, 393–394.

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1



2



3



4



5

Tabla / Plate 1



Tabla / Plate 2

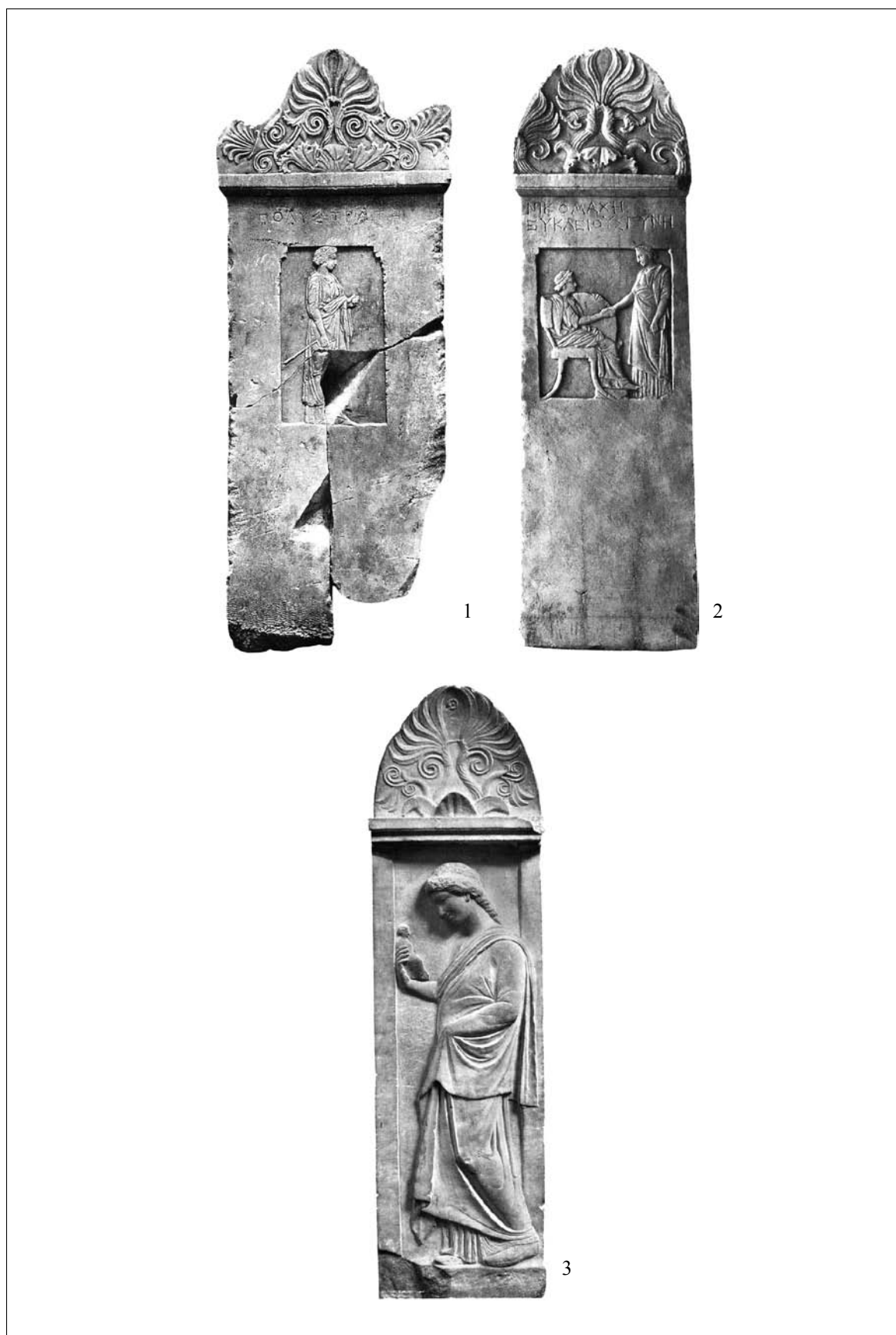


Tabla / Plate 3: Schwarzmaier 2007, 182, 190



1



2

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Stela veterana 14. legije Gaja Antonija Sentina iz Siscije

Stele of the Veteran of the 14th Legion *Gaius Antonius Sentinus* from *Siscia*

UDK: 904:726.82(497.5 Sisak)''652''

Izvorni znanstveni rad/Original scientific paper

Objavljuje se fragmentarno sačuvana nadgrobna stela Gaja Antonija Sentina (Gaius Antonius Sentinus), veterana 14. legije (legio XIV Gemina Martia Victrix), nađena 2009. u Kvirinovoj ulici u Sisku, u sjevernome dijelu Siscije unutar gradskih zidina. Razmatraju se epigrafsko-prozopografski i strukturalno-ikonografski aspekti spomenika kao temelj za njegovo datiranje u razdoblje od zadnje trećine 1. stoljeća do ranoga 2. stoljeća. Usprkos fragmentarnosti, reljefni prikaz može se rekonstruirati kao motiv pokojnika u poluležećemu položaju na ležaljci (klinē) i jednoga sluge koji stoji okrenut prema pokojniku. Ispred ležaljke postavljen je tro-nožac na kojemu je kantar, a sa svake njegove strane na podu je po jedna velika posuda; s lijeve vrč, a s desne boca. Opisana ikonografija svojstvena je vojničkim stelama u Germaniji koje su izrađivale radionice u vojnim logorima Mogontijaku (Mainz) i Koloniji Agripini (Köln) u flavijevskom i trajan-

The article discusses the so-far unpublished fragmentary stele of Gaius Antonius Sentinus, a veteran of legio XIV Gemina Martia Victrix, found in 2009 in Kvirinova Street in Sisak, in the northern section of Roman Siscia within the town walls. The discussion comprises the epigraphic, prosopographical, iconographic and structural components of the funerary stone in question as the basis for its dating at the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. In spite of the fragmentary state, the relief can be reconstructed as representing a deceased person reclining on a couch (klinē) and a single servant turned towards him. Placed centrally in front of the klinē is a tripod with a kantharos and with large vessels at its sides on the floor – a jug on the left and a bottle on the right side. Such funerary scenes were widespread among the Roman army in both Germanias, and are typical of the army stonemasons' workshops

skom razdoblju. Raspravlja se i o važnosti tog nalaza u kontekstu vojne povijesti rimske Siscije, osobito s obzirom na njezinu siromašnu epigrafsku baštinu povezanu s ranom prisutnošću vojske na području grada. Stela Gaja Antonija Sentina dodatno govori u prilog još uvijek arheološki nedokazanoj pretpostavci o prisutnosti vojnika 14. legije u Sisciji potkraj 1. stoljeća.

Ključne riječi: Panonija, Germanija, Siscia, rimska vojska, nadgrobna stela, 14. legija, veteran

Arheološki kontekst

Spomenik je pronađen 2009. prilikom kopanja rupe za stup ograde na području Rasadnika Mencl u Kvirinovoj ulici br. 7 u Sisku (sl. 1). Vlasnik parcele o nalazu je obavijestio Gradski muzej Sisak koji je stelu preuzeo. Pronađena je na relativnoj dubini od 70 cm, u sloju nasute zemlje.¹ Okolnosti nalaza, odnosno nepostojanje arheološkoga konteksta, otvaraju pitanje njezine izvorne lokacije. Prema mome shvaćanju, postoje dvije mogućnosti: ili je stela izvorno stajala u neposrednoj blizini pronalaska ili je ovamo premještena. U prilog prvoj mogućnosti govori činjenica da spomenik nije imao sekundarnu funkciju, odnosno nije korišten kao spolij, što je u pravilu slučaj s antičkim kamenim spomenicima i građevnim materijalom s područja Siska. Primjeri su brojni; od opeke i kamena korištenih pri izgradnji sisačke utvrde iz 16. stoljeća i drugih objekata na području grada Siska i okolnih mjesta, preko sarkofaga uzidanih u temelje kuća (npr. u Lađarskoj ulici), do nadgrobne stele iz Siska uzidane u školu u Jasenovcu.² Vezano uz urbani karakter predmetnoga područja, dosadašnja istraživanja u blizini pronalaska stele na obližnjemu groblju Sv. Kvirina i na istočnome dijelu Kvirinove ulice rezultirala su nalazima arhitekture iz razdoblja od prve polovice 1. stoljeća do kasne antike, uključujući ostatke sjevernoga ulaza u Sisciju i bedema.³ Treba na-

¹ Čuva se u Gradskom muzeju Sisak pod inventarnim brojem 22659.

² Gregl, Migotti 2000, 119–123.

³ Za pregled dosadašnjih nalaza vidi Vrbanić 1981, 187–200; Vuković 1994, 94; Lolić 2003, 138; Leleković 2013; Lolić 2014. Za detaljan pregled urbanizma antičke Siscije vidi Lolić 2014.

in Mogontiacum (Mainz) and Colonia Agrippina (Köln) in the Flavian and Trajanic periods. The stone is further discussed in terms of its importance for the military history of Siscia, especially in the light of the poorly known epigraphic evidence for the early presence of the army in this town. The funerary stele of Gaius Antonius Sentinus represents an additional argument in favour of the archaeologically still unproven hypothesis that a detachment of the Fourteenth legion was present in Siscia as early as the late 1st century.

Key words: Pannonia, Germania, Siscia, Roman army, funerary stele, Fourteenth legion, veteran

Archaeological context

The stele was found in 2009 during the digging of a posthole for the fence of the nursery garden Mencl at 7 Kvirinova Street (Fig. 1). The owner of the land informed the Town Museum of Sisak about the find, which was then taken into the Museum's charge. The stele was recovered from earth fill at a relative depth of 70 cm.¹ The circumstances of the find, that is, the lack of archaeological context, open the issue of the original find-spot of the stele. According to my understanding of this issue, two possibilities should be considered. Either the find-spot was the original finding place of the stele, or the stone was subsequently brought there. The former possibility seems likely on account of the fact that the stele was not found as reused (*spolium*), which readily happens with Roman monuments and building materials from the Sisak area. The examples are many, from bricks and ashlar used in the building of the 16th-century Sisak stronghold and other buildings in Sisak and nearby settlements, to sarcophagi built into the house walls, such as in Lađarska Street, to a funerary stele built in the school in the village of Jasenovac.² In relation to the urban character of the find-spot of the stele, it should be noted that the excavations conducted so far within the nearby cemetery of Saint Quirinus and in the eastern stretch of Kvirinova Street have yielded architectural remains from the 1st half

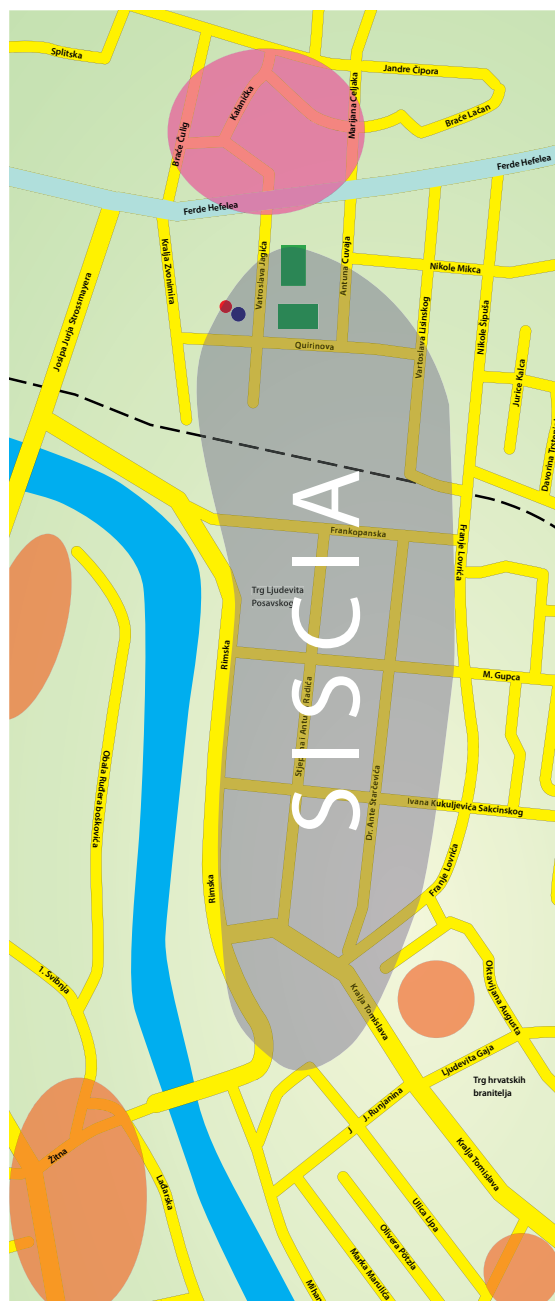
¹ The stele is now in the Town Museum of Sisak (inv. no. 22659).

² Gregl, Migotti 2000, 119–123.

pomenuti da je ovo područje, sjeverno od Željezničkog kolodvora, među najslabije istraženima. Sustavno se istražuje tek dio bivšega gradskoga groblja Sv. Kvirina,⁴ a podaci koje imamo izvan toga prostora uglavnom se odnose na postavljanje komunalne infrastrukture i infrastrukture unutar tvorničkoga kruga Segestike. Zapadni dio Kvirinove ulice gdje je stela pronađena i područje sjeverno od njega do sada nisu bili predmetom značajnijih arheoloških istraživanja. Jedino istraživanje provodilo se 2011. godine u Kvirinovoj 1. Njime je utvrđeno postojanje antičkoga opkopa na toj čestici što se poklapa s podacima iz arhivske građe o Sisciji.⁵ Bedem i opkop izgrađeni su u vrijeme vladavine Septimija Severa krajem 2. ili početkom 3. stoljeća te su presjekli, odnosno presložili ranije strukture i slojeve.⁶ Opkop je postojao do 19. stoljeća pod imenom Kontra, a ulijevao se u Kupu.⁷

Ako je stela pronađena na izvornoj lokaciji, to podrazumijeva dvije moguće okolnosti: ili je područje na kojem je pronađena bilo dio nekropole ili je pokojnik sahranjen ovdje zbog nemogućnosti pokapanja na nekropoli.

Dosadašnjim istraživanjima identificirano je ukupno šest antičkih nekropola na području Siska: četiri na lijevoj obali Kupe i dvije na desnoj u Novom Sisku.⁸ Najbliža je mjestu pronalaska nadgrobne stele Sjeverna nekropola. Bila je smještena uz cestu *Siscia – Andautonia – Poetovio* čija trasa je prolazila oko 250 m sjeverno od današnje Kvirinove ulice u pravcu istok – zapad (ispod današnje Ulice Ferde Hefelea i Zagrebačke ulice). Od ove se ceste kod stanice *Ad Fines* (Buševac?) granao odvojak koji je preko Nevioduna vodio do Emone.⁹ Odsječak *Siscia – Neviodunum – Emo-*



Sl. / Fig. 1: Karta Siscije s naznačenim okolnostima pronalaska stele. Sivo – *Siscia intra muros*; crvena točka – lokacija pronalaska stele; plava točka – lokacija pronalaska groba; zeleno – istraženi i djelomično istraženi dijelovi lokaliteta Sv. Kvirin; roza – Sjeverna nekropola; plava trasa – cesta prema Andautoniji; narančasta područja – nekropole / Map of Siscia with finding circumstances marked. Grey area – *Siscia intra muros*; red dot – find-spot of the stele; blue dot – find-spot of the grave; green area – completely or partially explored sections of the Saint Quirinus site; rose area – North cemetery; blue route – the road to Andautonia; orange areas – cemeteries (karta / map by Maximativa d.o.o.)

⁴ Na istočnom dijelu nalazi se dječji vrtić.

⁵ Leleković 2013.

⁶ Lolić 2014. Čini se da se tijekom 2. stoljeća urbana jezgra malo smanjila – na lokalitetu »Šetnica« opkop je presložio objekt s hipokaustom (Tomaš Barišić 2012).

⁷ Lolić 2014.

⁸ U literaturi su se uvriježili nazivi Jugoistočna nekropola, Istočna nekropola, Sjeverna nekropola, Sjeverozapadna nekropola i nekropola u Novom Sisku (Wiewegh 2003, 9). Kako je istraživanjima kod Mosta Gromova 2013. godine (Nakić 2013) na području Novog Siska utvrđeno postojanje još jedne nekropole, Zapadne, na kojoj prevladavaju skeletni ukopi u zemljanoj jamu, njihov ukupan broj je šest.

⁹ Vrbanović 1981, 197; Nenadić 1987, 84; Burkowsky 1996, 78; Wiewegh 2003, 31–32, 34; Leleković 2012, 326–327; Lolić 2014.

na sagrađen je najvjerojatnije već za Tiberija.¹⁰ Sjeverna nekropola bila je miješanoga tipa, a nalazi datiraju od 1. do 4. stoljeća.¹¹ Njezine točne granice nisu utvrđene, kao što nije utvrđeno niti koliko duboko je ona zadirala s južne strane prema današnjoj Kvirinovoj ulici. Osim jednoga potvrđenoga nalaza groba, na ovome području nemamo zabilježene ukope.¹² Taj jedini potvrđeni nalaz odnosi se na grob od opeke sa skeletnim ukopom pronađen u Kvirinovoj 7A, 1970. prilikom gradnje stambenoga objekta. Čestica se nalazi u blizini one na kojoj je pronađena stela. Osim groba, otkriveni su dijelovi zidova i profilirana baza stupa. Grob je bio razoren iskopom za temelj; u dokumentaciji su ucrtane dimenzije zatečenoga stanja i položaj na gradilištu, ali se prilozi ne spominju.¹³ Činjenica da na ovom području nema drugih nalaza grobova može se objasniti nepostojanjem nadzora prilikom izgradnje velikoga kompleksa Mlina i pekara te stambenih objekata u Zvonimirovoj i Kvirinovoj ulici.

Prilikom polaganja instalacija redovito su pronađeni ostaci rimske arhitekture i pokretni nalazi.¹⁴ Opečni grobovi uobičajeni su na siscijskim nekropolama, a datiraju od 1. stoljeća do kasne antike.¹⁵ Po načinu konstrukcije mogli bi izdvojiti dva glavna tipa opečnih grobova: grob od slagane opeke bez uporabe veziva i zidani grob.¹⁶ Grob naden u blizini stele pripada prvomu tipu koji traje od 1. stoljeća do kraja antičkoga razdoblja, a koristi se i za paljevinske i skeletne ukope.¹⁷ Skeletni se ukopi u Panoniji počinju sporadično pojavljivati od kraja 1. stoljeća, a povezuju se s imigrantima iz središta Carstva ili iz istočnih provincija. Češći su od druge polovice 2. stoljeća.¹⁸ S obzirom na to da nema drugih nalaza grobova, postoji mogućnost da se nekropola na ovom prostoru prostirala u razdoblju prije velikih građevinskih zahvata u drugoj

of the 1st century AD to Late Antiquity, including parts of the northern town walls, and the gate.³ It should also be born in mind that this area, situated north of the railway station, is among the least researched. Only a section of the former town cemetery of Saint Quirinus is being systematically excavated,⁴ while the data on the area outside this place mostly stem from the communal infrastructure works and the infrastructure works within the premises of the Segestica factory. The western section of Kvirinova Street (the find-spot of the stela) and the area to the north of it have not been the subject of any considerable archaeological research as of yet. The only excavation took place at 1 Kvirinova Street in 2011, revealing the existence of a ditch there, which corresponds to the archival data on *Siscia*.⁵ The town walls and the ditch were built during the rule of Septimius Severus at the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, intersecting or covering earlier architectural structures and layers.⁶ The ditch was named Kontroba and flowed into the Kupa River, and existed up to the 19th century.⁷

If the find-spot of the stela was its original place, two possibilities come into consideration. Either this site was part of a cemetery, or the burial took place there due to the fact that it was not possible to bury the body in the cemetery at that time.

So far, a total of six Roman cemeteries have been identified in the area of Sisak: four on the left bank of the River Kupa, and a further two on its right bank, in Novi Sisak (New Sisak).⁸ The nearest to the find-spot of the stela under discussion is the

¹⁰ Bojanovski 1974, 15.

¹¹ Burkowsky 1996, 78.

¹² Lolić 2014.

¹³ Gradski muzej Sisak DOK-167; Vuković 1994, 94; Lolić 2014. Istraživanjem na adresi Kvirinova 1 također nisu pronađeni ostaci grobova (Leleković 2011).

¹⁴ Lolić 2014.

¹⁵ Vrbanoš 1981; Nenadić 1987; Burkowsky 1996; Wiewegh 2003; Lolić 2014.

¹⁶ Wiewegh 2003, 31–3, 34.

¹⁷ Burkowsky 1996, 75–77.

¹⁸ Leleković 2012, 313, 333.

³ For an overview of the finds so far, see Vrbanoš 1981, 187–200; Vuković 1994, 94; Lolić 2003, 138; Leleković 2013; Lolić 2014. For a detailed overview of Siscian urbanism, see Lolić 2014.

⁴ The eastern section holds a kindergarten.

⁵ Leleković 2103.

⁶ Lolić 2014. It appears that, during the 2nd century, the urban core shrank a little, as is indicated by the fact that at the site “Šetnica” (Promenade) the ditch overlay a hypocaust building (Tomaš Barišić 2012).

⁷ Lolić 2014.

⁸ The cemeteries are found under the following names in the literature: Southeast cemetery, East cemetery, North cemetery, Northwest cemetery, and the cemetery in Novi Sisak (New Sisak) (Wiewegh 2003, 9). Given that a further burial ground (West cemetery, containing mostly skeletal inhumations in earth pits) was found during the 2013 excavations at the site of Most Gromova in Novi Sisak (Nakić 2013), the total number of Siscian cemeteries amounts to six.

polovici 1. stoljeća koji se povezuju s činjenicom da je Siscija dobila status kolonije za vrijeme Vespazijanove vladavine 71. godine.¹⁹ Grob je pronađen neposredno uz antički objekt kamenih temelja koji su tipični za flavijevsku fazu izgradnje u Sisciji te je moguće da je izgradnja preslojila raniju nekropolu ili njezin dio. Kao što je već spomenuto, neposredna blizina bedema i opkopa mogla je negativno djelovati na očuvanje arheoloških nalaza. Mijenjanje razine vode u opkopu i erozija tla mogli su izobličiti ili izbrisati eventualne tragove grobova iz 1. i 2. stoljeća.²⁰

Skeletni grob iz Kvirinove 7A mogao bi se pripisati nekoj kriznoj situaciji, poput opsade, kada nije bilo moguće vršiti ukope na nekropoli. Takvih kriznih situacija bilo je mnogo od sredine 2. stoljeća i Markomanskih ratova (166. – 180.). Praksa pokapanja unutar rastera grada potvrđena je arheološkim istraživanjima kod crkve Sv. Križa,²¹ zatim u Rimskoj 25²² i kod križanja Frankopanske i Lovrićeve ulice. Kod crkve Sv. Križa radi se o dva dječja groba datirana u 4. stoljeće, a u Rimskoj 25 najvjerojatnije o grobu dojenčeta, također kasnoantičkom.²³ Grobovi u Frankopanskoj bili su razoreni građevinskim radovima, a nalaz lukovičaste fibule također ih smješta u kasnoantičko razdoblje.²⁴ Sve se ove lokacije nalaze u blizini bedema te vjerojatno ukazuju na promjenu pogrebnih običaja u kasnoj antici kada ukopi nisu striktno vezani uz nekropole, odnosno kada nekropole pomalo prodiru u rubne dijelove grada. Kasna antika prihvatljiva je datacija za grob iz Kvirinove 7A, ali ne i za stelu koja se po svojim karakteristikama datira u kraj 1. ili početak 2. stoljeća, što je obrazloženo u drugome dijelu priloga.

Iz navedenoga izlaganja proizlazi da je stela, ako je pronađena na izvornoj lokaciji, bila postavljena na nekropoli ili dijelu nekropole iz ranocarskog

North cemetery. It stretched along the road *Siscia – Andautonia – Poetovio* in the W-E direction under Ferde Hefelea Street and Zagrebačka Street, some 250 metres north of Kvirinova Street. From this road, another one leading towards *Emona* via *Neviodunum* branched off at the station *Ad Fines* (Buševac?).⁹ The road section *Siscia – Neviodunum – Emona* was probably built as early as the time of Tiberius.¹⁰ The North cemetery was of a mixed-rite type, spanning the time period from the 1st to the 4th centuries.¹¹ Its boundaries have not been established with certainty, so it remains unknown how far to the south it stretched towards Kvirinova Street. No other burials have been recorded in this area, apart from one grave.¹² It was found at 7A Kvirinova Street during the building of a residential building in 1970; it was made of tiles and contained a skeleton. Its find-spot is in the vicinity of the place where the stele was found. In addition to the grave, sections of walls and a moulded column base have been recovered there. The grave was destroyed by a foundation digging; the situation of the find within the building site and its dimensions have been recorded in the excavation documentation, but there is no mention of grave goods.¹³ The absence of other recorded graves in this area can be explained by the lack of supervision during the construction of the large complexes of the Mill and Bakeries Ltd., as well as of the construction of the residential buildings in the streets Zvonimirova and Kvirinova.

Laying pipes in Sisak has always been accompanied by finds of the remains of Roman architecture and small finds.¹⁴ Brick and tile graves dating from the 1st century to Late Antiquity are commonly found in Siscian cemeteries.¹⁵ In terms of construction, they can be classified into two types: tile tombs built without the use of mortar, and masonry tombs.¹⁶ The grave found in the vi-

¹⁹ Treba napomenuti da na lokalitetu Sv. Kvirin do sada nije pronađen nijedan grob iz antičkog razdoblja te su se eventualni ukopi mogli nalaziti na prostoru koji je omeđen ulicama Biskupa Kvirina i V. Jagića.

²⁰ Takva situacija zabilježena je u blizini, na Sjeverozapadnoj nekropoli 2013. godine (Koprivnjak, Miletić 2014).

²¹ Lolić 2000, 34.

²² Škrgulja 2011, 72.

²³ Škrgulja 2011, 72.

²⁴ Svi ukopi su skeletni, u opečnim grobovima, bez korištenja veziva (Burkowsky 1996, 75; Lolić 2014).

⁹ Vrbanović 1981, 197; Nenadić 1987, 84; Burkowsky 1996, 78; Wiewegh 2003, 31–32, 34; Leleković 2012, 326–327; Lolić 2014.

¹⁰ Bojanovski 1974, 15.

¹¹ Burkowsky 1996, 78.

¹² Lolić 2014.

¹³ The Town Museum Sisak DOK-167; Vuković 1994, 94; Lolić 2014. The excavations at 1 Kvirinova Street also yielded Roman burials (Leleković 2011).

¹⁴ Lolić 2014.

¹⁵ Vrbanović 1981; Nenadić 1987; Burkowsky 1996; Wiewegh 2003; Lolić 2014.

¹⁶ Wiewegh 2003, 31–3, 34.

razdoblja koja je preslojavana gradnjom od druge polovice 1. stoljeća nadalje. Kao što je već spomenuto, u blizini su pronađeni grobovi Sjeverne nekropole te je moguće da je ona južno dopirala do današnje Kvirinove ulice. To bi otprilike bila i njezina južna granica sa zapadne strane. Kako je u blizini pronađen i skeletni grob, moguće je da su grob iz Kvirinove 7A i stela međusobno povezani, odnosno da je riječ o jednoj grobnoj cjelini. U tome bi slučaju grob Gaja Antonija Sentina bio dosad najraniji identificirani skeletni ukop s područja Siscije. Međutim, zasad su to samo spekulacije koje treba potvrditi novim arheološkim istraživanjima.

Ako stela nije izvorno stajala u blizini, mogla je na mjesto nalaza dospjeti sa zemljom za nivelaciju tla ili ju je netko dopremio ovdje s namjerom da je iskoristi pri gradnji ili kao ukras. Nasipavanje i nivelacija tla u Sisku provodili su se najkasnije od početka 19. stoljeća kada je pripreman teren za razvoj suvremenoga grada.²⁵ Međutim, zbog dimenzija stele nije vjerojatno da je ona na mjesto nalaza dospjela slučajno. Stoga radije treba pomišljati o planu da se ona iskoristi kao spolij ili ukras.²⁶ I ovdje moramo zaključiti da odgovore mogu dati samo nova istraživanja.

Rosana Škrgulja

Opis stele

Sačuvan je ulomak stele od žućkastog pješčenjaka visine 95 cm, širine 77 cm i debljine 28 cm koji, po svemu sudeći, sadrži cjelovit natpis i samo manji dio reljefnoga prizora pri dnu arhitektonske niše (sl. 2). Na lijevome rubu sačuvanoga dijela niše razaznaje se donji dio glatkoga stupa koji preko prstenastog zadebljanja prelazi u masivnu okruglastu bazu. Oblik baze nije posve razvidan jer je zasječen stajaćom površinom predočenom u obliku letve na kojoj je smještena glavnina prizora. Ipak, stup je u cjelini najbliži tuskanskomu redu. Neposredno uz njega smješten je ljudski lik kojemu je vidljiv donji dio zvonolike tunike i no-

cinity of the stela was of the former type, and was in use from the 1st century to the end of antiquity for both incinerations and inhumations.¹⁷ Inhumations began sporadically appearing in *Pannonia* at the end of the 1st century, and are ascribed to immigrants from the centre of the Empire or the eastern provinces. They became more frequent from the 2nd half of the 2nd century.¹⁸ Given the lack of more graves, it is possible that the cemetery on this site existed before the large development in the 2nd half of the 1st century, connected with the elevation of *Siscia* to the status of Roman colony during the rule of Vespasian in AD 71.¹⁹ The grave was found in the immediate vicinity of a building with stone foundations, typical of the Flavian building phase in *Siscia*. It is therefore possible that this building overlay part of an earlier cemetery. As was mentioned before, it is also possible that the immediate vicinity of the town walls and ditches endangered the preservation of archaeological finds. The oscillation of the water level in the ditch, as well as the soil erosion, could have deformed or erased possible remains of 1st- and 2nd-century graves.²⁰

The skeletal burial from 7A Kvirinova Street could be ascribed to a situation of crisis such as a siege, which rendered it impossible to bury the dead in the cemetery. Such crises were abundant from the mid 2nd century and the Marcommanic Wars (AD 166-180). The practice of burying within the town walls has been ascertained by the excavations at the church of the Holy Cross,²¹ at 25 Rimska Street²² and at the intersection of the streets Frankopanska and Lovrićeva. On the site of the Holy Cross, two 4th-century child burials were found, while the grave in Rimska Street was most probably a late Roman infant burial.²³ The graves in Frankopanska Street were destroyed by building works, but can be safely considered as late Roman on account of the find of a crossbow

¹⁷ Burkowsky 1996, 75–77.

¹⁸ Leleković 2012, 313, 333.

¹⁹ It should be remembered that the site of Saint Quirinus has so far failed to yield a single Roman burial, which means that possible graves could have been located in the area bounded by the streets Kvirinova and V. Jagića.

²⁰ Such circumstances have been recorded in 2013 in the nearby Northwest cemetery (Koprivnjak, Miletić 2014).

²¹ Lolić 2000, 34.

²² Škrgulja 2011, 72.

²³ Škrgulja 2011, 72.

²⁵ Lolić 2014.

²⁶ U slojevima nasipa do sada su pronalazeni samo manji ulomci, osim na lokalitetu Sv. Kvirin. Međutim, na Sv. Kvirinu nivelirani su spomenici koji su tamo stajali i neznatno su pomaknuti.



Sl. / Fig. 2: Stela Gaja Antonija Sentina, Gradski muzej Sisak, inv. br. 22659 / Stele of Gaius Antonius Sentinus, The Town Museum of Sisak, inv. no. 22659 (foto / photo by Blaženka Suntešić)

gu (potkoljenica i stopala) u profilu, odnosno u koraku nadesno. Tunika, koja doseže do koljena, prikazana je poput teške tkanine bez izraženih nabora. Preostali dio prizora čini okrugli tronožni stol, a na podu sa svake njegove strane po jedna izrazito velika posuda. S lijeve je strane vrč kruškolikoga oblika s izvijenom ručkom koja doseže do oštećenoga oboda, a s desne četvrtasta boca s dvije koljenaste ručke koje ne prelaze razinu ulegnutoga prstenasto obrubljenoga otvora. Tronožac je prikazan odozgo ukoso tako da su mu vidljive ne samo izvijene noge sa završecima u obliku stiliziranih lavljih šapa nego i okrugla gornja površina, gotovo u potpunosti zapremljena trbušastim kantarom na niskoj stožastoj nozi, s dvjema velikim ručkama koje pod kosim kutom nadvisuju ravni prstenasti obod. Između vrča i stola, te poviše boce vodoravno se proteže uska letva koja je očito rub nekoga predmeta od kojeg je iznad boce sačuvan i mali komad površine iznad ruba. Kratki potez te letve sačuvan je i lijevo od ručke vrča, ali je otučen na potezu između toga mjesta i koljena ljudskoga lika. Krajnji desni predmet – valjkasta noga sa tri prstenasta zadebljanja, koja je u gornjemu dijelu oštećena, ali je jasno da se proteže sve do opisanoga ruba, otkriva da je posrijedi prikaz ležaja (*klinē*) od kojega su vidljivi samo donji rub i desna noga. Druga noga

brooch.²⁴ All the abovementioned sites are situated in the vicinity of the town walls, probably indicating the change in grave rituals in Late Antiquity, when burials ceased to be strictly limited to cemeteries, or, rather, when cemeteries started penetrating the *intra muros* space. While late antique date is acceptable for the burial from 7A Kvirinova Street, this does not apply to the stela, which should be dated to the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries, as is explained later in this text.

It transpires from the above discussion that, if the stela was found in its original place, it belonged to the early Imperial cemetery that was overlain by another building from the 2nd half of the 1st century onwards. As was already mentioned, burials belonging to the North cemetery have been found in the vicinity, which suggests that this cemetery possibly stretched as far as Kvirinova Street, which would then delineate its southwest boundary. On balance, it is possible that the late Roman grave from 7A Kvirinova Street can be brought in connection with the stela, meaning that they composed a single burial complex. In that case, the grave of *Gaius Antonius Sentinus* should be the earliest recorded skeletal burial from *Siscia* so far. This, however, remains conjectural until further archaeological evidence.

If the stela was not found originally located in the vicinity, it could have been brought there together with soil for terrain levelling, or perhaps someone transported it there to use it as building material or as a decoration. Filling up and terrain levelling in Sisak were carried out from the early 19th century at the latest, when the terrain was being prepared for the modern urban development.²⁵ However, the dimensions of the stela speak against its chance appearance on the find-spot. Therefore, its intended usage as a spoil or a decoration is more likely.²⁶ Here, again, only future archaeological research could offer more reliable answers.

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²⁴ All graves were skeletal, and made of tiles without mortar (Burkowsky 1996, 75; Lolić 2014).

²⁵ Lolić 2014.

²⁶ So far, earth fills have yielded only smaller fragments, except on the site of Saint Quirinus. However, on this site only the monuments from the spot were levelled, and therefore just slightly relocated.

ležaljke nije prikazana, što odgovara razmjerno uobičajenom ikonografskomu obrascu na stelama tog tipa u Germanijama (*Lupa* 15874, 7073, itd.). Premda veoma fragmentaran, reljef ipak sadrži dovoljno elemenata za rekonstrukciju prizora pokojnika u poluležećem položaju na ležaljci uz koju stoji sluga okrenut pokojniku. O toj će slici, koja osim tronošca i raznih posuda na njemu i uza nj može sadržavati različitih pojedinosti, biti riječi u podnaslovu *Tipologija i ikonografija*.

Natpis

Natpisno polje uokvireno je neravno isklesanim profilom u obliku obrnutoga slova S (*cyma reversa*) koji je gotovo cjelovit na gornjoj strani i na bočnim stranama (oštećen je samo u gornjem desnome kutu), dok se na donjoj nazire tek manji potez pri samome dnu ulomka. Natpis glasi:

C(aius) Antonius

Sentinus

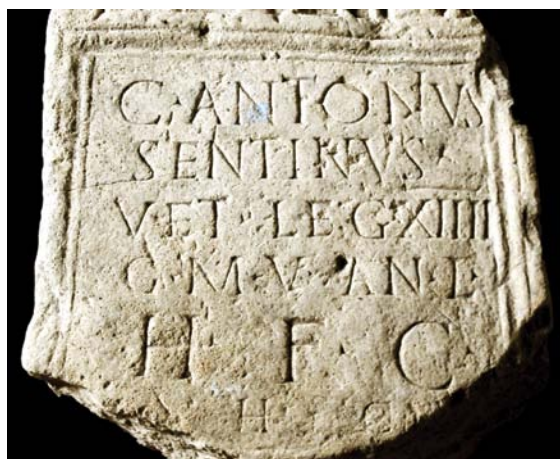
vet(eranus) leg(ionis) XIII

G(eminae) M(artiae) V(ictricis) an(norum) L.

⁵H(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

H(ic) c(onditus) ili H(ic) c(ubat) ili H(eres) c(uravit) ili H(onoris) c(ausa).

Slobodan prijevod, bez poštivanja redosljeda re-daka, glasi: *Ovdje počiva pedesetogodišnji Gaj Antonije Sentin, veteran 14. Udvojene Martove Pobjedničke legije. (Spomenik) je dao načiniti nasljednik.*



Sl. / Fig. 3: Stela Gaja Antonija Sentina, natpis / Stela of Gaius Antonius Sentinus, the inscription (foto / photo by Blaženka Suntešić)

Description of the stele

The measurements of the preserved fragment, made of yellowish sandstone, are as follows: height 95 cm (relief: 15–21 cm; inscription: 75 cm), width 77 cm, and thickness 28 cm. The epitaph seems to be preserved in its entirety, while of the relief depiction only a smaller part survives at the bottom of the architectonic niche. On the far left bottom part of the niche the lowest segment of a smooth column (probably of stylised Tuscan order) is visible, featuring an annulet and a massive roundish base beneath, whose full shape remains obscured by the narrow horizontal surface supporting the figures in the scene. Next to the column a human figure is depicted, of which only the lower part survives, containing the lowest part of a bell-shaped tunic and the lower legs in profile walking towards the right; a tunic of the mid-knee length is shown as a heavy drapery with no folds. The remainder of the scene is occupied by a round tripod placed centrally in front of a couch and flanked by two large vessels standing on the floor: a pear-shaped, one-handled jug on the left, and a square two-handled bottle on the right side. The tripod is shown from a slanting perspective from above, so that not only its undulating legs with the feet imitating lion's paws are visible, but also its upper surface holding a round-bodied kantharos with high handles and a low conical foot. Between the jug and the tripod and above the bottle runs a horizontal narrow strip of surface, evidently the edge of an object whose small above-edge portion survives above the bottle. A short segment of the edge in question survives to the left of the jug's handle, but is damaged between that point and the knee of the human figure. The terminal feature of the scene on the right side is a cylindrical shaft with three superimposed annulets. In spite of the damage in its uppermost section, the leg is clearly connected to the above-described edge, revealing the motif as a *klinē*, of which only the lower edge and one leg survive. The left leg is not depicted at all, which corresponds with one of the usual patterns of *klinē* representations on this type of stele in the *Germanias* (*Lupa* 1584, 7073, etc.). All in all, despite its fragmentary state, the relief clearly reveals the scene of a deceased person reclining on a *klinē*, with a standing servant turned towards him and a tripod in front. For further information on such

Razrješenje je posljednjega retka ponešto problematično. No sugestija da se znak između slova *H* i *C* protumači kao antisigma i oznaka za centuriona pokazala se neutemeljenom jer ostaci na površini kamena najvjerojatnije prikazuju razdjelnu točku, ali sigurno ne prikazuju slovo. Svojevrsno omalovažavanje spomena centurionske službe (na koju bi pokojnik sigurno bio ponosan) njegovim smještanjem u zadnji redak i klesanjem plićim slovima bilo bi prilično neočekivano. Inačica rješenja formule *heres curavit* u zadnjem retku (*nasljednik se pobrinuo*) manje je vjerojatna jer bi značila ponavljanje neznatno preoblikovane formulacije iz prethodnoga retka. O trećoj, najmanje vjerojatnoj mogućnosti rješenja (*honoris causa*) vidi bilj. 29. Sve u svemu, podjednako vjerojatnima, a ujedno i posve prihvatljivima, smatram prva dva ponuđena rješenja: *hic conditus* i *hic cubat*.

Slova su razmjerno pravilna, klesana u obliku rustične kapitale, ali ipak neujednačene kvalitete izvedbe; pojedina od njih klesana su duboko i pažljivo potezima jednake širine i dubine, dok su druga plića i nepravilnija, ali su sva omeđena istaknutim trokutastim završecima (serifima). Visine su slova različite: u prvome retku 7,5 cm, u drugome 6–6,5 cm, u trećemu 6 cm, u četvrtome 5–6 cm, u petome 8,5–9,5 cm, a u šestome retku 4,5 cm. Zadnji se redak osobito izdvaja malim, plitko uklesanim slovima što je očigledno posljedica skućenoga prostora preostalog nakon klesanja izrazito velikih slova u prethodnome retku. Usprkos takvom objašnjenju, taj redak djeluje kao da je dodan naknadno, možda drugom rukom. U cjelini, slova su istoga oblika uz dvije iznimke. Jedna se odnosi na slovo *S* na kraju prvoga retka koje je uže od onoga u drugome retku, s time da je to nedvojbeno posljedica nedostatka prostora. S druge strane, slovo *G* u trećemu i četvrtom retku različito je jer je potonje uklesano nespreno, s ukošenim donjim potezom. Iduća klesarska nesprenost očituje se u izvedbi slova *T*. U prvome retku ono je povišeno u odnosu na druga slova, ali nije sigurno da je to učinjeno radi uštede na prostoru. Međutim, slovo *T* u drugome i trećemu retku jedva da strši iznad preostalih slova, s tim da je ono u drugome retku izvedeno nepravilno, s ukošenom gornjom hastom. Među oblicima slova ističe se *O* s obzirom na to da je zbog pravilnoga okrugloga oblika više svojstven tzv.

iconography, occasionally enriched with various other components, see a more detailed discussion in the subheading *Typology and iconography*.

Epitaph

The inscription field is framed with fairly crudely carved moulding in the shape of the reversed letter *S* (*cyma reversa*), which is nearly completely preserved on three sides (apart from some damage on the upper right-hand corner), while on the lower side only a slight remain of the upper line of the moulding is preserved. The inscription goes:

C(aius) Antonius

Sentinus

vet(eranus) leg(ionis) XIII

G(eminae) M(artiae) V(ictricis) an(norum) L.

⁵H(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

H(ic) c(onditus) or H(ic) c(ubat) or H(eres)

c(uravit) or H(onoris) c(ausa).

A free translation, disregarding the line order, goes: *Here lies Gaius Antonius Sentinus, a veteran of the Fourteenth Twin Legion Martial Victorius, aged 50. The heir had (this monument) made.* The expansion of the abbreviated formula in the last line is somewhat problematic. Nevertheless, the suggestion for identifying the sign between the letters *H* and *C* as an *antisigma* denoting a centurion turned out to be unjustified, as the remains on the stone surface most probably represent a punctuation mark, not a letter. Furthermore, to mark the rank of centurion (which would have certainly made its bearer proud) in a slightly degrading manner by placing it at the end of the epitaph and rendering it in shallow carving would have been unusual. The possibility of the expansion of the formula *HC* in the last line as *heres curavit* (*the heir made it*) is less likely, as it amounts to a broad repetition of the statement in the previous line; on the third possibility of expansion (*honoris causa*) see fn. 29. All in all, the first two expansions (*hic conditus* and *hic cubat*) seem to be equally likely.

The letters are fairly regular, cut in the manner of rustic capitals (*scriptura actuarialis*), but of uneven execution. Some of them are carefully and deeply cut, with strokes of even width and depth, while

kvadratnoj kapitali negoli rustičnoj. Brojka *četrnaest* izražena je znamenkama nadvišenima vodoravnom crtom. Razdjelne točke između riječi imaju oblik udubljenoga trokuta različito okrenutih vrhova, s time da razdjelnica na kraju drugoga retka nalikuje tzv. rascijepljenoj grančici.²⁷ Jedina ligatura, *NI* u prvome retku, nedvojbeno je upotrijebljena zbog nedostatka prostora, a ne kao epigrafski običaj ili svojevrsni ukras.²⁸ Koristene su uobičajene kratice: *C(aius)*, *vet(eranus)*, *leg(io)*, *G(emina)*, *M(artia)* *V(ictrix)* i *an(norum)*. Od dviju kratica grobnih formula prva je posve uobičajena [*h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*]), dok je druga [*h(ic) c(onditus)*] ili [*h(ic) c(ubat)*] prilično rijetka u grobnome kontekstu.²⁹ Uređenje teksta nije najuspjelije jer klesar nije znao procijeniti prostor zbog čega je u prvome redu morao stisnuti slovo *S*, a u trećemu je zadnja znamenka broja naslonjena na rub okvira. Očito je da mu nije pošlo za rukom slijediti uređenje na lijevoj strani koje pokazuje pravilno naizmjenično uvlačenje i izvlačenje redaka. Osim toga, drugi redak nije klesan pravocrtno, nego s laganom krivuljom po sredini, možda prouzročenom time što je čitava površina natpisnoga polja pomalo neravna. Na temelju procjene da je reljefna niša bila visoka otprilike kao i natpisno polje (75 cm), s obzirom na to da je na maloj visini sačuvane površine prikazana otprilike trećina tijela sluge i početak ležaljke (15–21 cm), kao i na temelju usporedbi sa srodnim spomenicima, može se pretpostaviti da je ukupna visina stele bila približno 200 cm. Dvije su mogućnosti za procjenu izgleda njezinoga donjega dijela od kojih ona prva, manje vjerojatna, podrazumijeva dodatnu reljefnu nišu s prizorom sluge koji vodi konja (*calo*) smještenu ispod natpisnoga polja. Vjerojatnije je, međutim, da je donji dio stele (prostor baze) ostao prazan, s time da je mo-

others are of a less regular and shallower cut, but all of them feature prominent triangular terminations. The letter height varies as follows: 7.5 cm in the first line, 6–6.5 cm in the second, 6 cm in the third, 5–6 cm in the fourth, 8.5–9.5 cm in the fifth, and 4.5 cm in the sixth line. The last line differs from the remainder of the text by its small and shallow cut letters, evidently resulting from the limited space left after cutting large letters in the previous line. Despite such an explanation, the formula in the last line leaves the impression of having been cut subsequently, possibly by another hand. Overall, the letters are of the same shape, with two exceptions. One of them is the letter *S* at the end of the first line, which is narrower than the one in the second line; the obvious cause for this was the lack of space in the first line. On the other hand, the letters *G* in the third and fourth lines are mutually different in that the latter was cut clumsily, with the lower stroke slanting instead of rounded. A further incompetence of the cutter transpires in the execution of the letter *T*, which surmounts the other letters in the first line, but it cannot be established with certainty whether this was due to the lack of space. On the other hand, the letters *T* in the second and third lines barely stick out from the rest, but the former is executed irregularly, with a slanting upper stroke. The letter *O* is particularly distinguished by its regular cut and round shape, more appropriate for the best lapidary letters (square capitals, *scriptura monumentalis*). The number *14* is represented with numerals topped by a horizontal stroke. Punctuation marks between the words are shaped as deep triangles with variously directed points; the one at the end of the second line resembles a split twig.²⁷ The only ligature (*NI* in the first line) was evidently used due to the lack of space, and not as an epigraphic standard or a kind of decoration.²⁸ All abbreviations used are common enough: *C(aius)*, *vet(eranus)*, *leg(io)*, *G(emina)*, *M(artia)* *V(ictrix)* and *an(norum)*. As for the two abbreviations for grave formulae, one of them is ubiquitous [*h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*]), while the other is quite rare in funerary contexts [*h(ic)*

²⁷ Usp. Šašel Kos 1997, br. 13, 15, itd.

²⁸ O funkcionalnoj i običajnoj uporabi ligatura i povišenih slova vidi Thylander 1952, 76, 205.

²⁹ Kratica *HC*, razriješena u okviru grobnog konteksta, rijetko se nađe u popisima kratica u epigrafskim priručnicima; vidi Calabi Limentani 1991, 495. Stoga ne čudi da je rijetka na grobnim spomenicima, a više je svojstvena istočnim provincijama (usmeni podatak Marjete Šašel Kos). Na jednom grobnom natpisu iz bugarskog grada Svištova (*Novae*, Donja Mezija, *CIL* III, 756) formulacija *honoris causa* ispisana je punim riječima.

²⁷ Cf. Šašel Kos 1997, nos. 13, 15, etc.

²⁸ On functional and habitual usage of ligatures, see Thylander 1952, 76, 205.



Sl. / Fig. 4: Stela isluženog vojnika (*missicius*) prve ale Flaviane iz Klein-Winterheima / Stele of a *missicius* of the *ala I Flaviania* from Klein-Winterheim (*Lupa* 15873)

gao biti posve neobrađen ili pak površno obrađen zubatim dlijetom kao na usporednim primjerkima iz Germanije (*Lupa* 15873, 15539) (sl. 4).³⁰

³⁰ O prizoru sluga koji vodi konja vidi bilj. 39. Visina od oko 200 cm dobivena je na temelju usporedbe sa stelama istog tipa iz Wiesbadena: 196 x 76 x 28 cm (*Lupa* 7071) i Mainza: 2,14 x 0,78 x 20 cm (Boppert 1992, 156–158, br. 51 i *Lupa* 15873, s pogrešno navedenim mjerama).

c(onditus) or *h(ic) c(ubat)*].²⁹ The ordination of the text was not very successful, in that the cutter was prone to a misjudgement of the available space, so he was compelled to squeeze the letter *S* into the first line, while in the third the last digit rests on the frame. Evidently, he was not able to follow the ordination set at the beginning, which shows a regular interchanging of protruding and indented lines. Furthermore, the second line is not cut straight, but is slightly curved in the middle, which was possibly caused by the fact that the whole surface of the inscription field is slightly uneven. On the basis of the estimation that the height of the relief niche was roughly the same as that of the inscription field (75 cm) because about one third of the picture survives (15–21 cm), as well as on the basis of comparison with similar stelai, the height of the stone discussed here can be estimated at around 200 cm. Its lower part can be hypothetically reconstructed in two ways. The first and less likely version implies a further relief niche below the inscription field, featuring a servant leading a horse (*calo*). It is more likely, however, that the lower section (socle) of the stele remained free of reliefs, and was either left completely rough or was superficially worked with a toothed chisel, as on some parallels from *Germania* (*Lupa* 15873, 15539) (Fig. 4).³⁰

From the very beginnings of the epigraphic discipline, commentators discourage the dating of monuments on the basis of the epigraphic and palaeographic traits of the inscriptions, and especially the dating of provincial stones on the basis of the parameters valid for the inscriptions of Rome and central Italy. In so doing, they usually point out that the only justified approach to dating provincial inscriptions is setting up chronologically

²⁹ The abbreviation *HC*, expanded so as to fit a funerary context, is rarely found in abbreviation lists in epigraphic textbooks; see Calabi Limentani 1991, 495. It is therefore no surprise that this abbreviation is rarely found in funerary contexts, and if so, it is mostly in the eastern provinces (Marjeta Šašel Kos, pers. comm.). In an epitaph in the Bulgarian town of Svištov (*Novae, Moesia Inf.*, *CIL* III, 756) the formula *honoris causa* was inscribed in full words.

³⁰ On the motif of the *calo* leading the horse see fn. 39. The approximate height of 200 cm was assumed by comparison with two stelai of the same type, one from Wiesbaden: 196 x 76 x 28 cm (*Lupa* 7071), and another from Mainz: 214 x 78 x 20 cm (Boppert 1992, 156–158, no. 51 and *Lupa* 15873, with incorrect measurements).

Od samih početaka razvoja epigrafske discipline autori upozoravaju na zamke kod datiranja spomenika prema epigrafskim i paleografskim osobinama natpisa, a osobito na nepouzdanost kronologije provincijalnih spomenika temeljene na parametrima utvrđenima za grad Rim i užu Italiju. Pritom se mahom upućuje na potrebu ustanovljavanja kronološki osjetljivih epigrafsko-paleografskih sustava za uža područja.³¹ Međutim, u nedostatku takvoga alata, uglavnom se ipak pribjegava datiranju prema općim kronološkim obrascima, a kolika-tolika vjerodostojnost takvoga postupka nastoji se osigurati razradom svih epigrafsko-paleografskih elemenata pojedinoga natpisa. Budući da epigrafsko-paleografski kronološki sustav za spomenike Siscije još nije načinjen, ne preostaje drugo nego datirati ovdje predstavljeni natpis prema općim parametrima, oslanjajući se na susjedne krajeve i provincije za koje postoje barem okvirni epigrafsko-kronološki sustavi. S obzirom na gornje primjedbe, ne bi imalo smisla opterećivati tekst tipološkim uspoređivanjem svih pojedinačnih epigrafskih i paleografskih sastavnica natpisa. Međutim, ako se one sagledaju u cjelini, svi elementi natpisa komentirani u gornjemu opisu, uključujući uporabu *tria nomina* i izostanak grobne formule *D(is) M(anibus)*, o čemu nije bilo riječi pri opisu, upućuju na flavijevsko ili trajansko razdoblje, odnosno na zadnju trećinu 1. stoljeća i na početak 2. stoljeća.³²

Tipologija i ikonografija

Prizor gozbe, izvorno orijentalno-grčki motiv, poznat je u grobnoj ikonografiji od arhajskoga razdoblja grčke umjetnosti do rimske kasne antike. Za vrijeme helenizma prenesen je na prostore budućega Rimskoga Carstva gdje se pojavljuje u različitim inačicama u gradu Rimu i provincijama od sredine 1. stoljeća poslije Krista.³³ U starijoj literaturi motiv blagovanja smatrao se predodž-

sensitive epigraphic-palaeographic systems for limited areas.³¹ Such tools missing, dating on the basis of general chronological parameters is still customarily used, but its disadvantages are tentatively mitigated by considering all the epigraphic-palaeographic components of individual inscriptions as a whole. Given that the worked-out system for the epigraphic evidence of *Siscia* is still missing, the inscription studied here cannot be dated otherwise than by using general parameters, but with stress on neighbouring areas whose epigraphic evidence is better researched than that of *Siscia*. In view of the above remarks, it would be superfluous to burden the text with typological considerations of each and every epigraphic and palaeographic component of the Siscian epitaph. It suffices to assert that, if taken as a whole, all the components discussed in this paragraph, as well as the use of the *tria nomina* and the lack of the formula *D(is) M(anibus)*, which were not commented above, point to a date in the Flavian or Trajanic periods, that is, the later 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century.³²

Typology and iconography

The banqueting scene, as an originally Greco-Oriental motif of funerary iconography, was ubiquitous from the Greek Archaic period to Roman Late Antiquity. During Hellenism, it was transferred to the regions of the future Roman Empire, appearing in various versions in the City of Rome and the provinces from about the mid-1st century.³³ Previously, the banqueting scene was considered to illustrate the funeral banquet (*Totehmahl* – feasting in honour of the deceased). Recently, such interpretations have been mostly discarded in favour of the perception of this scene as relating the message of the deceased's well-being and the

³¹ Thylander 1952, 41, 48, *passim*; Gordon, Gordon 1957, 208–217; Petrović 1975, 122–124; Keppie 2001, 28; Calabi Limentani 1991, 151.

³² Thylander 1952, 40–53; Petrović 1975, 99–121; Calabi Limentani 1991, 150–155; Keppie 2001, 25–29; Šašel Kos 1997, *passim*; Starac 2002, 71–72; Paškvalin 2012, 23–30.

³³ Gabelmann 1972, 70, bilj. 34; Noelke 2005, 155–156, *passim*. A. Busch (2011, 132) datira pojavu tog motiva na grobnim spomenicima Rima na početak 2. stoljeća.

³¹ Thylander 1952, 41, 48, *passim*; Gordon, Gordon 1957, 208–217; Petrović 1975, 122–124; Keppie 2001, 28; Calabi Limentani 1991, 151.

³² Thylander 1952, 40–53; Petrović 1975, 99–121; Calabi Limentani 1991, 150–155; Keppie 2001, 25–29; Šašel Kos 1997, *passim*; Starac 2002, 71–72; Paškvalin 2012, 23–30.

³³ Gabelmann 1972, 70, fn. 34; Noelke 2005, 155–156, *passim*. A. Busch (2011, 132) dates the appearance of this motif in the funerary art of the City of Rome to the beginning of the 2nd century.

bom gozbe u čast pokojnika (*Totenmahl*), ali mu se u novije vrijeme taj smisao odriče ili ostavlja tek kao moguća primisao prizora koji prije svega prenosi poruku o blagostanju pokojnika i njihovu stvarnom ili priželjkivanom društvenom položaju.³⁴ S obzirom na mnogobrojne varijante prizora gozbe te na složenost njihova razvoja u kronološko-prostornim okvirima, na ovome mjestu usredotočit ću se na sliku predočenu na Sentinovoj steli koja prikazuje pokojnika u poluležećem položaju na ležaljci te samo jednoga slugu koji stoji uz nj. Taj se prizor na vojničkim stelama u objema Germanijama pojavljuje najkasnije od ranoflavijevskog razdoblja, istodobno s varijantom na kojoj je uz pokojnika prikazana i ženska osoba koja sjedi na stolici uz ležaljku. Potonji prizor doživljava se kao uvod u nastavak razvitka ovoga tipa stela koji se u ikonografskom pogledu kreće prema daljemu širenju slike obiteljske, vojničke i civilne gozbe obilježene umnožavanjem likova i atributa, svojstvene provincijama Porajnja i Podunavlja u 2. i 3. stoljeću.³⁵

Vratimo se, međutim, prizoru jednoga pokojnika na vojničkim stelama Rajnskoga limesa u 1. stoljeću koje su se izrađivale u vojničkim klesarskim radionicama Mogontijaka (*Mogontiacum*, Gornja Germanija, današnji Mainz) i Kolonije Agripine (*Colonia Agrippina*, Donja Germanija, današnji Köln). U svjetlu činjenice da je i sam koncept kamenoga grobnoga spomenika na to područje donijela rimska vojska, prizor blagovanja na tamošnjim grobnim spomenicima rado se pripisuje pomoćnim trupama iz istočnoga dijela carstva, osobito Trakije.³⁶ Spomenuti je motiv čest na vojničkim stelama obiju Germanija, datanima pretežno od flavijevskoga do trajanskoga razdoblja, s manjim brojem njih iz vremena vlasti cara Hadrijana.³⁷ Većina ih je pripadala augzilijarima, a samo manji broj legionarima i veterani-

real or wished-for social status.³⁴ Given the many variations of the banqueting motif and their complicated chronologies and territorial distributions, I shall dwell only on the picture as represented on *Sentinus'* stela, featuring the reclining deceased person and one standing servant. Such scenes appeared on military stelae from *Germania Superior* and *Germania Inferior* from the early Flavian period at the latest, simultaneously with scenes featuring the deceased and a female companion sitting on a chair. The latter scene represents an introduction to the further development of the motif of the "funerary banquet", which grew to include a larger communion of feasters and their attributes in both military and civilian contexts in the Rhine and Danube provinces of the 2nd and 3rd centuries.³⁵

As said above, the focus here will be on the scenes of a single deceased person on 1st century military stelae on the Rhine *limes*, produced in the camp workshops of *Mogontiacum* (*Germania Superior*, modern-day Mainz) and *Colonia Agrippina* (*Germania Inferior*, modern-day Köln). Since it was the Roman army that introduced the concept of the stone funerary stela to the future German provinces, the banqueting scene has often been ascribed to the mediation of auxiliaries from the eastern provinces, especially Thracia.³⁶ This motif is quite frequently found on stelae from the *Germanias*, dated mostly from the Flavian and Trajanic periods, with only several examples from the reign of the Emperor Hadrian.³⁷ The majority of these stelae were of auxiliary soldiers who died on active duty; only a smaller number belonged to legionaries and veterans of both branches.³⁸ However, these stones were not structurally identical, as some of them had a subsequent relief niche

³⁴ Gabelmann 1972, 70, 115–124; Hope 2001, 42; Noelke 2005, 164, bilj. 31, 205–211; Busch 2011, 132.

³⁵ Gabelmann 1972, 118, bilj. 149; Barkóczy 1984; Noelke 2005, 183–205.

³⁶ Gabelmann 1972, 67, 70; Busch 2011, 132, bilj. 154. Suprotno tome, W. Boppert (2003, 274–275) smatra da spomenuti prizor ne treba povezivati s grčko-tračkim predloškom, jer se u Germaniji pojavljuje najranije kod zapadnih augzilijara.

³⁷ Gabelmann 1972, 118; Noelke 2005, 156, 205, *passim*.

³⁴ Gabelmann 1972, 70, 115–124; Hope 2001, 42; Noelke 2005, 164, fn. 31, 205–211; Busch 2011, 132.

³⁵ Gabelmann 1972, 118, fn. 149; Barkóczy 1984; Noelke 2005, 183–205.

³⁶ Gabelmann 1972, 67, 70; Busch 2011, 132, fn. 154. Contrary to this, W. Boppert (2003, 274–275) claims that the scene in question should not be connected with a Greco-Thracian prototype, as its first appearance in *Germania* was on stelae of the western auxiliary soldiers.

³⁷ Gabelmann 1972, 118; Noelke 2005, 156, 205, *passim*.

³⁸ Of the 35 Flavian-Trajanic military stelae with banqueting scene from both *Germanias*, 25 belonged to active auxiliary soldiers, four to auxiliary veterans, and three each to active and retired legionaries (Noelke 2005, 206).

ma obaju rodova vojske.³⁸ Te stele međutim nisu bile strukturalno jednake jer je izvjestan broj njih imao, osim niše s prizorom blagovanja, dodatnu reljefnu nišu s motivom sluge koji vodi konja, smještenu ispod natpisa (sl. 5). Takvi su spomenici odreda pripadali konjanicima pomoćnih četa, poginulima za vrijeme službe.³⁹ Usporedba veličina spomenika s dva reljefna polja sa sačuvanim mjerama Sentinijeve stele dopušta mogućnost da je i potonja ispod natpisa imala još jednu reljefnu nišu.⁴⁰ Međutim, takvu rekonstrukciju gotovo sigurno treba odbaciti zbog prije spomenutoga podatka da su takve stele koristili isključivo auxilijari.

Prethodno navedene usporedbe u germanskoj građi pružaju kronološki okvir siscijske stele, a to je flavijevsko-trajansko razdoblje koje je, usprkos nizu pojedinačnih nedoumica, na području obiju Germanija dobro dokumentirano.⁴¹ Ostaje otvoreno pitanje gornje granice s obzirom na to da se vojničke stele s prizorom blagovanja provlače gotovo do sredine 2. stoljeća. Međutim, u dostupnoj literaturi nije mi poznat nijedan primjer stele iz toga razdoblja s ikonografskom shemom zastupljenom na siscijskome spomeniku. Naime, u 2. stoljeću prevladavaju obiteljske slike s prizorom žene koja sjedi na stolici uz pokojnika te još jednim slugom, a potom i većim brojem likova.⁴² U flavijevsko-trajanski okvir uklapa se i podatak da je 14. legija napustila Mogontijak najkasnije početkom 2. stoljeća (o tome opširnije u podnaslovu *Prozopografija*). Otprilike u to vrijeme prestaje izrada stela s prizorom gozbe u Mogontijaku, a još neko vrijeme traje u Koloniji Agripini gdje se, međutim, već od početka 2. stoljeća razvila u već spomenutome pravcu obiteljskih prizora.⁴³ Važno je napomenuti da 14. legija nije nastavila



Sl. / Fig. 5: Stela konjanika prve ale Flaviane iz Wiesbadena / Stele of a horseman of the *ala I Flaviana* from Wiesbaden (*Lupa* 7073)

featuring the motif of a servant (*calo*) leading a horse, placed below the inscription field (Fig. 5); all of such stelai belonged to active auxiliary soldiers.³⁹ The comparison of the measurements of two-niched stelai with the preserved dimensions of *Sentinus*' stele allows for the possibility that the latter also had an additional niche below the inscription field.⁴⁰ Even though, such a possibility should most probably be discarded on account of the fact that the horse-leading scene in the ad-

³⁸ Od 35 vojničkih stela flavijevskog i trajanskog razdoblja s prizorom blagovanja iz obiju Germanija, njih 25 pripadalo je djelatnim auxilijarima, a 4 umirovljenima, dok su po 3 stele bile spomenici djelatnih i umirovljenih legionara (Noelke 2005, 206).

³⁹ Gabelmann 1972, 118; Noelke 2005, 187, 211.

⁴⁰ Usp. bilj. 30 i *Lupa* 15538 (75 x 193 x 20 cm), 15874 (85 x 248 x 34 cm), i 7073 (77 x 214 x 24 cm).

⁴¹ O poteškoćama u datiranju pojedinačnih primjeraka vidi Gabelmann 1972, 118 i Noelke 2005, 185, 188, *passim*.

⁴² Gabelmann 1972, 118–122; Barkóczy 1984; Noelke 2005, 174 i dalje.

⁴³ Gabelmann 1972, 118–119; Hope 2001, 44–48; Boppert 2003, 276.

³⁹ Gabelmann 1972, 118; Noelke 2005, 187, 211.

⁴⁰ Cf. fn. 30, and *Lupa* 15538 (75 x 193 x 20 cm), 15874 (85 x 248 x 34 cm), and 7073 (77 x 214 x 24 cm).

upotrebljavati tip opisanih stela u svome novome logoru u Karnuntu (*Carnuntum*, Gornja Panonija, današnja mjesta Petronell i Bad Deutsch-Altenburg u Austriji), niti se on proširio među drugim podunavskim trupama. Naime, prizor gozbe u Panoniji se od 2. stoljeća nadalje primjenjuje na vojničkim i civilnim stelama drukčije strukture i ikonografije od kojih najveći broj potječe iz Mađarske.⁴⁴ Poznata mi je samo jedna vojnička stela iz Karnunta s prizorom gozbe datirana u trajansko razdoblje. Premda je na njoj prikazan samo jedan pokojnik, strukturalno je i ikonografski različita od germanskih primjeraka i od siscijske stele jer je sluga koji vodi konja smješten uz tronožac ispod klinē, a niže od reljefne niše nalazi se natpisno polje u arhitektonskome okviru (sl. 6).⁴⁵ Još je nekolicina stela iz gradova na Dunavskome limesu u sjevernoj Mađarskoj datiranih u 2. i 3. stoljeće i moguće načinjenih prema predlošku koji su onamo prenijeli vojnici s Rajnskoga limesa s obzirom na to da sadrže prikaz jednoga pokojnika na ležaljci. Međutim, sve se one od germanskih predložaka i Sentinove stele razlikuju i strukturalno i ikonografski, a naposljetku i kronološki, pa se mogu protumačiti jedino naknadnom preobrazbom izvornoga oblika koja više ne otkriva izravne predloške germanskih vojničkih radionica.⁴⁶ S Recijskoga limesa poznato je tek nekoliko fragmentarno sačuvanih i loše izvedenih stela koje se ne daju povezati sa stelom Gaja Antonija Sentina, pa bi ih trebalo smatrati tek lokalnim odjekom germanske proizvodnje.⁴⁷

Iz svega proizlazi da je gornja granica nastanka Sentinove stele pouzdano postavljena na početak 2. stoljeća i povezana s klesarskom radionicom u Mogontijaku. Ostaje pitanje mogu li bilo kakve ikonografske pojedinosti na tom spomeniku pomoći sužavanju ili dodatnome potvrđivanju kronologije unutar flavijevsko-trajanskoga razdoblja. Već je na prvi pogled jasno da su takve mogućnosti neznatne, prije svega zato što nedostaje dio slike s najvažnijim podacima, a to su oni koji se odnose na portret pokojnika. Prema zapažanjima H. Gabelmanna, niša sa svodom u obliku školjke

ditional niche was presumably reserved for auxiliary soldiers.

Despite some contentious chronological issues, the above-adduced parallels from the Rhineland provide a sound chronological frame for the Siscian stele: the Flavian-Trajanic period.⁴¹ Although some examples survive as late as the Antonine age, as far as my knowledge goes none of those stones features the iconography as employed on the Siscian stele. As a matter of fact, in the 2nd century, the prevailing type of the banqueting scene comprised a female companion seated on a chair, and sometimes even more banqueters and servants.⁴² The Flavian-Trajanic period for the stelai in question fits well with the fact that the Fourteenth legion left *Mogontiacum* by the beginning of the 2nd century at the latest (see subheading *Prosopography*). Approximately at that time, the production of “banquet stelai” in *Mogontiacum* stopped, only to continue for some time in *Colonia Agrippina* but with a preference for scenes with a family context.⁴³ It is important to notice that the Fourteenth legion did not use such stelai after moving to *Pannonia Superior* and settling in *Carnuntum* (the modern-day villages of Petronell and Bad Deutsch-Altenburg, Austria), nor did this type of stele spread among the Pannonian army. It is true that the banquet scene is widely applied on military and civilian stelai in *Pannonia* from the 2nd till the 4th centuries, the majority of them stemming from Hungary, but they differ from Germanic examples in terms of structure and iconography.⁴⁴ I know of only one military stele from *Carnuntum* featuring the banquet scene, dated to the Trajanic period. Although a single deceased person on a *klinē* is depicted on it, the scene is still quite different from the Germanic evidence and the Siscian example, in that the *calo* leading the horse is placed by the tripod in front of the *klinē*, while the inscription field is architectonic (Fig. 6).⁴⁵ Several more 2nd- and

⁴⁴ Barkóczy 1984.

⁴⁵ Barkóczy 1984, 123, bilj. 3; *Lupa* 88.

⁴⁶ *Lupa* 3032, 5152 (Budapest / *Aquincum*), 3056 (Dunaujváros / *Intercisa*), 3829 (Győr / *Arrabona*).

⁴⁷ *Lupa* 6303, 10355, itd.

⁴¹ On some difficulties in dating individual examples, see Gabelmann 1972, 118, and Noelke 2005, 185, 188, *passim*.

⁴² Gabelmann 1972, 118–122; Barkóczy 1984; Noelke 2005, 174 ff.

⁴³ Gabelmann 1972, 118–119; Hope 2001, 44–48; Boppert 2003, 276.

⁴⁴ Barkóczy 1984.

⁴⁵ Barkóczy 1984, 123, fn. 3; *Lupa* 88.

i arhitektonskim okvirom svojstvena je ranijim (flavijevskim) primjercima stela o kojima se ovdje raspravlja.⁴⁸ Gornji dio niše Sentinove stele nažalost je izgubljen, ali se u njezinom donjemu dijelu arhitektonski okvir jasno razabire. Nadalje, način prikazivanja tronošca iz gornje kose perspektive, a ne sa strane, dakle tako da mu se vide i noge i gornja ploha, svojstven je ranijim spomenicima iz radionice Kolonije Agripine.⁴⁹ Taj je podatak osobito zanimljiv zato što je upravo tako prikazan stol na Sentinovoj steli, premda njegova legija nije boravila u Koloniji Agripini (na to pitanje osvrnut ću se kod razmatranja o radioničkome podrijetlu Sentinove stele u podnaslovu *Datiranje i radioničko podrijetlo*). Budući da je uočeno i to da se dimenzije prikazanoga posuda na tronošcu i uz njega s vremenom smanjuju, treba primijetiti da su posude na siscijskoj steli izrazito velike u odnosu na tronožac i na ljudski lik.⁵⁰ Sve u svemu, i arhitektonski okvir i način prikazivanja tronošca govore u prilog datiranja siscijske stele u flavijevsko razdoblje, s time da zapažanje o kronološkim parametrima vezanima uz arhitektonski okvir nije tako čvrsto utemeljeno kao ono povezano s prikazom tronošca i veličinom posuda. Naime, veći je broj flavijevskih stela s arhitektonskim okvirom negoli onih bez njega, ali potonjih ima dovoljno za relativiziranje kronološke osjetljivosti toga podatka.⁵¹ Ipak, arhitektonski okvir niše ostaje pokazateljem relativne kronologije s obzirom na to da, barem prema mom uvidu, nema stela iz trajanskog razdoblja s jasno predodređenim arhitektonskim okvirom.⁵² Autori su najmanje određeni, a često i proturječni, u procjeni

⁴⁸ Gabelmann 1972, 118–122.

⁴⁹ Radionica u Mogontijaku primjenjivala je prizor stola iz bočne perspektive, tako da mu se vidi samo bočni rub gornje plohe, a takav motiv naknadno je preuzet i na stelama Kolonije Agripine (Gabelmann 1972, 119–120, bilj. 154). Pregled spomenika iz kruga radionica u Mainzu (*Lupa* 7071, 7072, 7073, 15873, 15874, 15876, itd.; Boppert 1992, 156–162, br. 51–54) i Kölnu (*Lupa* 15531, 15532, 15533, 15538, 15543, 20474, 20696, itd.; Bauchhenss 1978, 44–48, br. 29–31) potvrđuje točnost Gabelmannovog zapažanja.

⁵⁰ O smanjivanju dimenzija posuda, koje počinje već od kasnoflavijevskog vremena, vidi Noelke 2005, 189.

⁵¹ Primjeri stela flavijevskog razdoblja s arhitektonskim nišama: *Lupa* 15532, 15876, 2947, itd., i bez njih: *Lupa* 15532, 15876, 20474, itd.

⁵² Čini se da se arhitektonski okvir pojavljuje ponovo u antoninskom razdoblju: *Lupa* 15546 (Bonn), 6975 (Oberburg am Mein).



Sl. / Fig. 6: Stela konjanika treće ale Tračana iz Petronella / Stele of a horseman of the *ala III Thracum* from Petronell (*Lupa* 88)

3rd-century stelai from Pannonian towns on the Danube *limes* in Hungary were possibly made on the model of the pattern brought to *Pannonia* by the soldiers from the Rhineland, given that they feature a single reclining deceased. Nevertheless, all those stelai are later in date and are quite different from the Germanic prototype in terms of structure and iconography. Therefore, they can only be interpreted as a far cry from the original model of the Rhineland army workshops.⁴⁶ Only several fragmentary examples of fairly crudely executed steale are known from the Raetian *limes*, which cannot be meaningfully compared with the Siscian stele. Thus, at this stage they should also be considered as a far cry from the Rhineland production.⁴⁷

It transpires from all the above that the model for *Sentinus'* stele was produced in Mogontiacum at

⁴⁶ *Lupa* 3032, 5152 (Budapest / *Aquincum*), 3056 (Dunaujváros / *Intercisa*), 3829 (Győr / *Arrabona*).

⁴⁷ *Lupa* 6303, 10355, ff.

kronologije stilskih odlika razmatrane građe, što ne iznenađuje s obzirom na objektivne poteškoće u dijakronijskom sagledavanju stilema koji se teško daju uklopiti u čvrste kategorizacijske okvire. To je osobito naglašeno u primjerima necjelovitih spomenika kakva je Sentinova stela. Inače, stilski su parametri koji se spominju u opisima i analizama dubina reljefa, optički učinci, živahnost ili ukočenost pokreta i draperije, prikazivanje perspektive i prostornosti i slično, ali predočeni na spomenicima datiranima različito, tako da nije moguće razabrati jasnu i kronološki dovoljno osjetljivu koncepciju argumenata primjenjivih na siscijsku stelu.⁵³ Kako god bilo, ostaje nam provjeriti datiranje germanskih stela s prizorom jednoga pokojnika i jednoga sluga kod kojih je lik sluga podudaran s onime na Sentinovoj steli; podrazumijeva se da se to odnosi samo na izvedbu nogu i predočavanje pokreta nadesno. Svih šest meni poznatih primjera datirano je u flavijevsko razdoblje.⁵⁴ Pritom treba napomenuti da je za kasniji odsječak flavijevskoga razdoblja karakterističan pokret nogu u raskoraku, odnosno iskorak jednom nogom i oslanjanje na drugu.⁵⁵ Budući da je pokret sluga na siscijskoj steli prikazan drugačije, taj bi se detalj mogao smatrati pokazateljem za datiranje u ranije flavijevsko razdoblje. Uzmemo li obzir sve navedene pojedinosti, moguće je ustvrditi da način izvedbe nogu nije osobito pouzdan kronološki pokazatelj, ali nije ni proturječan datiranju u zadnju trećinu 1. stoljeća.

Prozopografija

Uz ikonografske elemente i podaci o kretanju pokojnikove legije mogu doprinijeti čvršćem kronološkom određenju spomenika, a onda i pretpostavljenoj rekonstrukciji vojničke karijere i životnoga puta njegova vlasnika. Gaj Antonije Sentin pokopan je u Sisciji kao veteran 14. legije (*legio XIV Gemina Martia Victrix*) o čijemu

the beginning of the 2nd century, at the latest. It remains to scrutinise whether any iconographic details on the relief can further substantiate, or perhaps refine the above-established chronology. Evidently, such a possibility is very much hindered by the fact that the most important detail in the relief – the deceased's portrait – is lacking. According to H. Gabelmann, the stelai with niches flanked by half-columns and provided with a half dome in the form of a shell, should be dated to the earlier Flavian period.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, the upper section of the niche of *Sentinus*' stela has not survived, but the column in its lower part is clearly discernible. Also, the depiction of the tripod from the above and side perspective, opening to view both its upper surface and its legs, is typical of earlier stelai from the workshop of *Colonia Agrippina*.⁴⁹ Significantly and curiously, the tripod on *Sentinus*' stela was depicted in exactly the same way, despite the fact that his legion never stayed in *Colonia Agrippina*, but in *Mogontiacum*; I shall return to this issue in more detail in the subheading *Chronology and the workshop provenance*. Given that the dimensions of the vessels on the tripod and at its sides diminished with time, it should be noted that the vessels on *Sentinus*'s stela are strikingly large if compared to the table and the human figure.⁵⁰ On balance, both the architectonic frame of the niche and the depiction of the tripod and vessels point to a date in the Flavian period, with the two latter arguments somewhat stronger than the first one. It should be observed that the niches in Flavian stelai are more often architectonic than simply framed, but quite a number of the latter are still sufficient for refuting this chronological parame-

⁵³ O stilskim elementima raspravljane građe vidi Gabelmann 1972, 118–122 i Noelke 2005, 183–205.

⁵⁴ *Lupa* 15532 (Bonn); *Lupa* 15873 (Klein-Winterheim); *Lupa* 20474 (Köln); *Lupa* 10271 (Windisch); Noelke 2005, 162–163, 185–187, sl. 7 i 34 (Köln). Ipak treba napomenuti da su na većem broju stela toga razdoblja sluga prikazani u prednjem položaju, a ne u koraku nadesno, primjerice *Lupa* 15874 (Dienheim / Oppenheim), *Lupa* 15876 (Mainz), *Lupa* 7071 (Wiesbaden), itd.

⁵⁵ Noelke 2005, 188–189.

⁴⁸ Gabelmann 1972, 118–122.

⁴⁹ The workshop in *Mogontiacum* used the tripod motif shown from the side, with only the rim of its upper surface visible. Curiously, the workshop in *Colonia Agrippina* adopted this fashion only in the later stage (Gabelmann 1972, 119–120, fn. 154). A survey of the evidence from Mainz (*Lupa* 7071, 7072, 7073, 15873, 15874, 15876, ff.; Boppert 1992, 156–162, nos. 51–54) and Köln (*Lupa* 15531, 15532, 15533, 15538, 15543, 20474, 20696, ff.; Bauchhenss 1978, 44–48, nos. 29–31) confirms the accuracy of Gabelmann's perceptions.

⁵⁰ On the gradual reduction of the vessels' measurements, starting from the later Flavian period, see Noelke 2005, 189.

se okvirnome kretanju istraživači uglavnom slažu. Postoje, međutim, i mnoge nedoumice, neusklađenosti i suprotstavljena mišljenja proizišla iz manjkavosti povijesnih i arheoloških izvora. Na ovome ću mjestu u najkraćim crtama navesti samo glavne pravce i mjesta boravka Četnaeste legije koji su važni za predmet rasprave. Legiju je ustanovio August, a ona je, po svemu sudeći, sudjelovala je u osvajanju Ilirika i gušenju Batonovoga ustanka u Panoniji 6.–9. godine. Najvjerojatnije 9. godine premještena je u Mogontijak u Gornjoj Germaniji gdje je ostala do 43., kada je odvedena u Britaniju. Ondje je, s kraćim prekidima, ostala do 70. godine. Počasni pobjednički naziv *Martia Victrix* dodijelio joj je Neron 61. godine kao nagradu za sudjelovanje u gušenju otpora britanskih plemena. Za vrijeme boravka u Britaniji (43.–70.) privremeno je 68. godine provela neko vrijeme u Panoniji ili, još vjerojatnije, u Dalmaciji. Od 70. godine ponovo je u Mogontijaku gdje je najvjerojatnije boravila do kraja vlasti Flavijejske dinastije (69.–96.) kada je sudjelovala u Domicijanovim ratovima na Dunavskome limesu u Donjoj Panoniji i Meziji. Prebacivanje Četnaeste legije u Karnunt, gdje je ostala sve do kasne antike, pripisuje se carevima Domicijanu, Nervi ili Trajanu. Smatra se da se to dogodilo između 92. i 106., po završetka Dačkih ratova, a najkasnije 113./114., ali to pitanje i dalje ostaje otvoreno.⁵⁶

Četiri su polazišta za rekonstrukciju Sentinova služenja u 14. legiji: podatak da je umro u dobi od 50 godina, zabilježeno kretanje legije, datiranje spomenika na temelju natpisa, a osobito na temelju počasnog naslova *Martia Victrix*⁵⁷ i tipološko-kronološka razrada stele. Prema prethodno izloženim podacima, okvirno datiranje stele u flavijejsko razdoblje jedino je moguće polazište,

⁵⁶ Hardy 1887, 627, *passim*; Ritterling 1924–1925, 1727–1747; Keppie 1998, 182; Brandl 1996, 225; Franke 2000; Hope 2001, 40; Radman-Livaja 2012, 163–164, 170. A. Mócsy (1959, 83) navodi da je Četnaesta legija na početku 1. stoljeća bila u Vindoboni (Gornja Panonija, današnji Beč). Kako ni jedan od preostalih navedenih autora ne barata tim podatkom, mora da je kod Mócsyja posrijedi lapsus ili zablude. Prisutnost spomenute legije uistinu je nalazima opeke posvjedočena u Vindoboni, ali na samom kraju 1. stoljeća (Ritterling 1924–1925, 1735–1736; Brandl 1996, 224, *passim*; Franke 2000, 198–199). Prema M. Mosseru (2014, 201), 14. legiju u Karnunt je doveo car Nerva 97. godine.

⁵⁷ Ritterling 1924–1925, 1371, *passim*; Keppie 1998, 182.

ter as absolutely certain.⁵¹ Nevertheless, the architectonic niche remains a fairly safe chronological indicator at least in terms of relative chronology, given the lack of Trajanic stelai with columned niches.⁵² Commentators are not very clear, and sometimes even contradict each other when it comes to the chronology of artistic styles in the discussed evidence, such as the depth and volume of the relief, optical effects, stiffness or liveliness of movements, gestures and draperies, space and perspective, and the like. This is especially relevant in regard with fragmentary pieces, such as the one discussed here. In any case, these parameters are used in different contexts of the studied evidence, ultimately failing to produce safe chronological grounds applicable to the Siscian stele.⁵³ All in all, the chronology of the Rhineland stelai depicting a single deceased person and one servant remains to be scrutinised by focusing on the pieces comparable to *Sentinus*' monument in the motif of the servant. All six examples of such stelai that I could trace in the Rhineland evidence are dated to the Flavian period.⁵⁴ It might also be useful to remind that, in the later Flavian period, servants were often shown in the frontal position and in the so-called statuary pose, with weight on one of the legs and the other leg drawn slightly back and to the side.⁵⁵ Since this is not the case with the Siscian stele, the way the servant is depicted on it may be taken as an argument in favour of its date in the earlier Flavian period. On balance, although the manner the servant is depicted in cannot be taken as a safe and precise dating criterion, it does not contradict the Flavian chronology.

⁵¹ Examples of Flavian stelai with architectural niches: *Lupa* 15532, 15876, 2947, ff., and those lacking them: *Lupa* 15532, 15876, 20474, ff.

⁵² It seems that the architectonic niche reappeared in the Antonine period: see *Lupa* 15546 (Bonn), 6975 (Oberburg am Mein).

⁵³ On the issues of artistic styles in the discussed evidence, see Gabelmann 1972, 118–122, and Noelke 2005, 183–205.

⁵⁴ *Lupa* 15532 (Bonn); *Lupa* 15873 (Klein-Winterheim); *Lupa* 20474 (Köln); *Lupa* 10271 (Windisch); Noelke 2005, 162–163, 185–187, figs. 7 and 34 (Köln). Nevertheless, it should be noted that there are many Flavian stelai depicting servant(s) in the frontal position, and not as pacing towards the right, e. g. *Lupa* 15874 (Dienheim / Oppenheim), *Lupa* 15876 (Mainz), *Lupa* 7071 (Wiesbaden), etc.

⁵⁵ Noelke 2005, 188–189.

premda, nažalost, nedovoljno precizno za nagađanje o vremenu Sentinova novačenja. Ako je stela uistinu nastala u zadnjoj četvrtini 1. stoljeća ili na samom početku 2., može se pretpostaviti da je Sentin unovačen sredinom 1. stoljeća u dobi od dvadesetak godina te da se nakon 20 – 25 godina službe skrasio u Sisciji kao veteran.⁵⁸

Rekonstrukciju Sentinove vojničke karijere razmotrit ćemo u svjetlu izbora Siscije kao mjesta njegova konačnoga boravka. Teoretski je do toga izbora moglo doći već i zato što je Siscija vjerojatno 71. za vrijeme Vespazijanove vladavine postala kolonija (*Colonia Flavia Siscia*) i doživjela svoj prvi procvat.⁵⁹ Na taj je način nesumnjivo postala gradom privlačnim za život jednoga veterana bez obzira na njegovo podrijetlo i vojničku karijeru. Inače, Sentin nije mogao biti sudionik jedinoga poznatoga naseljavanja veterana u Sisciji povezanoga upravo s njezinim podizanjem na status kolonije. Taj je datum, naime, preuran za Sentinovo umirovljenje, a usto, tada su naseljeni veterani Ravenske flote, a ne legionari.⁶⁰ Uobičajeni obrasci ponašanja veterana pri biranju mjesta u kojem će živjeti nakon časnoga otpusta (*missio honesta*) i uz dodjelu novčane potpore (*missio nummaria*) ili pak zemljišta (*missio agraria*), upućuje na dva glavna razloga za taj izbor u slučaju novčanoga otpusta. Dok je dodjela zemljišta isključivala bilo kakve vlastite želje ili sklonosti, u primjerima otpuštanja uz novčanu potporu prevladavala su dva obrasca: povratak u zavičaj ili ostanak u blizini logora u kojemu je boravila legija. Prema postojećoj (pretežno epigrafskoj) evidenciji, ostanak u blizini logora bio je najčešći izbor.⁶¹ S velikom vjerojatnošću mo-

⁵⁸ Budući da izvori nisu posve određeni u vezi s duljinom vojničkog roka, u literaturi se susreću različiti podatci koji se odnose na legionare u 1. stoljeću nakon Augusta: Watson 1969, 134; Campbell 1994, 20; Le Bohec 1994, 64, 229; Ферјанчић 2002, 10–11; Carroll 2006, 216–217; Southern 2006, 99; Gilliver 2011, 186; Wesch-Klein 2011, 436–439. Iz navedene literature proizlazi i to da je duljina vojnog roka mogla ovisiti o različitim neposrednim okolnostima povezanima s potrebama ratovanja.

⁵⁹ Hoti 1992, 143; Lolić 2003, 134.

⁶⁰ Mócsy 1959, 26; Hoti 1992, 143; Radman-Livaja 2004, 19. Do Hadrijana je naseljavanje u kolonije bilo uglavnom skupno, rijetko pojedinačno (*virritim*): Wesch-Klein 2011, 444.

⁶¹ Mócsy 1959, 92; Dušanić 1983, 21, bilj. 45; Campbell 1994, 193–221; Le Bohec 1994, 224–225; Ферјанчић 2002, 19–20, 129, *passim*; Królczik 2003, 330–331; Southern 2006, 164–168; Carroll 2006, 217–218; Wesch-Klein 2011,

Prosopography

The chronology of the Siscian stela can be further improved by establishing the movements of the deceased's legion, which, in turn, can help trace his life curriculum. *Gaius Antonius Sentinus* was buried in *Siscia* as a veteran of the Fourteenth legion (*legio XIV Gemina Martia Victrix*), whose movements are known and agreed upon in general lines, but with several lacunas and contested points in its recreation. In this context, I shall trace only its main movements and stays, relevant to the present subject matter. The Fourteenth Twin Martial Victorious legion was raised by the emperor Augustus, and it probably took part in the suppression of the uprising in *Pannonia* in AD 6–9. In AD 9, it was presumably transferred to *Mogontiacum* in *Germania Superior*, to remain there until AD 43, when it was relocated to *Britannia*. Except for the occasional absence for campaigning, it remained there until AD 70. The honorific title *Martia Victrix* was bestowed upon it by the emperor Nero in AD 61 in recognition of the victory over the rebellious Britannic tribes. During its stay in *Britannia* (43–70), the XIV legion was temporarily moved to *Pannonia* or, even more likely, to *Dalmatia*. In AD 70 it returned to *Mogontiacum*, where it probably remained until the end of the Flavian dynasty (AD 69–96), when it took part in Domitian's Danube wars in *Pannonia Inferior* and *Moësia*. Its transfer to *Pannonia Superior* (*Carnuntum*), where it remained until Late Antiquity, has been ascribed to the emperors Domitian, Nerva, or Trajan. Presumably, this happened between AD 92 and 106, after the end of the Dacian wars, or in AD 113/114 at the latest, but the question still remains contentious.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Hardy 1887, 627, *passim*; Ritterling 1924–1925, 1727–1747; Keppie 1998, 182; Brandl 1996, 225; Franke 2000; Hope 2001, 40; Radman-Livaja 2012, 163–164, 170. A. Mócsy (1959, 83) claims that at the beginning of the 1st century the XIV legion was in *Vindobona* (*Pannonia Superior*, modern-day Vienna). Given that none of the other commentators mention this hypothesis, it must have been a mistake or lapse. The presence of the XIV legion was indeed attested in *Vindobona* by stamped bricks, but this was at the end of the 1st century (Ritterling 1924–1925, 1735–1736; Brandl 1996, 224, *passim*; Franke 2000, 198–199). According to M. Mosser (2014, 201) it was the emperor Nerva who brought the XIV legion to *Carnuntum* in AD 97.

žemo pretpostaviti da je Gaj Antonije Sentin otpušten uz novčanu nagradu koja mu je omogućila naseljavanje u Sisciji.⁶² Mogućnost da je on sredinom 1. stoljeća bio unovačen u tome gradu kao novodoseljeni rimski građanin ili kao potomak još ranijih doseljenika prispjelih u prvim valovima rimskoga nadiranja na razmeđu stare i nove ere, nije velika. Naime, u sredini 1. stoljeća još uvijek su se u legije pretežno novačili rimski građani iz sjeverne Italije ili iz kolonija rano romaniziranih provincija poput Galije i Hispanije, dok je Panonija tim putem krenula tek za Flavijevaca.⁶³ Da je Sentin kojim slučajem bio unovačen u Sisciji, bilo bi realno pretpostaviti da se njegova legija ili neka njezina veksilacija u to vrijeme nalazila u blizini, ali o tome nema sačuvanih podataka. Vjerojatnije je da se on priključio Četrnaestoj legiji na bilo kojemu mjestu gdje se ona trajnije ili privremeno nalazila sredinom 1. stoljeća, primjerice u sjevernoj Italiji, južnoj Galiji, Britaniji ili Gornjoj Germaniji. Prema tome, tražimo li razlog za izbor Siscije kao konačnoga odredišta, najprije bi trebalo pomisliti na mogućnost da je upravo u tome gradu Sentin dočeka veteranski status. Teoretski se to moglo dogoditi nakon odlaska Četrnaeste legije iz Mogontijaka i njezina priključenja panonskoj vojsci u Karnuntu koje se datira u razmjerno širokome rasponu od 92. i 114. ili, prema M. Mosseru, u 97. godinu.⁶⁴ Istina je da bi početak 2. stoljeća već pomalo bio u raskoraku s datiranjem spomenika u flavijevsko razdoblje utemeljenim na ikonografiji, ali to nije presudan razlog protiv takvoga datiranja. Naime, nacrt svoga grobnoga spomenika, načinjen prema predlošku iz Germanije, Sentin je mogao u konkretnome

Four starting points can be used in the recreation of *Sentinus'* service in the XIV legion: 1 – his death at the age of 50; 2 – the movements of his legion; 3 – the date of the epitaph, especially as concerns the title *Martia Victrix* achieved in AD 61⁵⁷; 4 – a typological-chronological analysis of his funerary stone. According to the above data, the only chronological starting point (although fairly broad) in searching for the time of *Sentinus'* recruitment is the Flavian date of his stele. If it was indeed made around the turn of the 1st and 2nd century, *Sentinus* should have joined the army around the mid-1st century, aged 20 or so, to settle in *Siscia* as a veteran after 20-25 years of service.⁵⁸

A recreation of *Sentinus'* military career will be now considered in the light of his choice of *Siscia* as his place of retirement. Theoretically, such a choice could have been prompted by the fact that the Flavians (probably Vespasian in AD 71) elevated the town to the rank of *colonia*, which brought about its first period of prosperity.⁵⁹ This certainly made *Siscia* an alluring place to live in for a veteran, irrespective of his origin or his military career. It should be noted that *Sentinus* could not have participated in the only known settling of veterans in *Siscia*, connected with its newly-gained colonial status. For one thing, it was probably too early a date for him to have become a veteran, and more importantly, it was not legionary veterans that were settled in *Siscia*, but those of the Ravenna fleet.⁶⁰ The veterans' customary behaviour patterns in choosing the place to live in retirement after an honourable discharge (*missio honesta*), accompanied by the award of money (*missio nummaria*) or a piece of land (*missio agraria*), point to two prevailing reasons behind this choice in the case of *missio nummaria*. Whi-

444–445. Za razliku od prevladavajućeg obrasca, auxilijarni veterani iz Donje Mezije i Trakije, kao i oni iz plemena Batava u Donjoj Germaniji, često su se vraćali doma (Derks, Roymans 2006, 120, 133).

⁶² Car August je nakon bitke kod Akcija 31. g. stare ere veteranima podijelio i komad zemlje i novčanu nagradu (Le Bohec 1994, 224). Međutim, prema navodima u literaturi iz bilj. 61, otpust je u pravilu bio alternativan: *missio nummaria* ili *missio agraria*, s time da se potonji način primjenjivao sve rjeđe, da bi posve prestao za Hadrijana.

⁶³ O novačenju vidi Ritterling 1924–1925, 1729, 1733; Mócsy 1959, 26; Mann 1963, 145–146; Campbell 1994, 9–10; Keppie 1998, 152–153. O Sisciji za Flavijevaca vidi bilj. 59, o rimskom osvajanju Siscije, odnosno Segestike, vidi Radman-Livaja 2004, 15–19, a o naseljavanju rimskih građana u tome gradu, vidi Mócsy 1959, 25–26.

⁶⁴ Hardy 1887, 648; Ritterling 1924–1925, 1735–1736; Brandl 1996, 226; Franke 2000, 197–200; Mosser 2014, 201.

⁵⁷ Ritterling 1924–1925, 1371, *passim*; Keppie 1998, 182.

⁵⁸ Given the vagueness of the written sources, commentators give different data on the length of service for the legionary soldier in the 1st century, after Augustus: Watson 1969, 134; Campbell 1994, 20; Le Bohec 1994, 64, 229; Ферјанчић 2002, 10–11; Carroll 2006, 216–217; Southern 2006, 99; Glliver 2011, 186; Wesch-Klein 2011, 436–439. It transpires from the previous literature that the length of service could have depended on various contingencies necessitated by waging wars.

⁵⁹ Hoti 1992, 143; Lolić 2003, 134.

⁶⁰ Mócsy 1959, 26; Hoti 1992, 143; Radman-Livaja 2004, 19. Until the time of Hadrian, colonial settlement was mostly in groups and exceptionally individual (*virittim*): Wesch-Klein 2011, 444.

obliku ili kao sjećanje ponijeti sa sobom na novo odredište u Panoniji. Postoji međutim i uvjerljiviji put za povezivanje veterana 14. legije sa Siscijom u vrijeme dok mu je legija možda još uvijek bila u Germaniji. Naime, 14. legija sudjelovala je u zadnjim Domicijanovim podunavskim ratovima između 89. i 95./96. Kao moguća mjesta logora u tome kontekstu navode se *Mursella* (Petrijeveci) i *Mursa* (Osijek), ali se spominje i boravak veksilacije te legije u Sisciji ili njezinoj okolini.⁶⁵ Ta se pretpostavka dosad temeljila na razmjerno slabim posrednim argumentima; Sentinova stela donekle osnažuje takvo razmišljanje, premda to pitanje i dalje ostaje otvoreno. Bilo kako bilo, Sentinov nas nadgrobni spomenik na izvjestan način uvodi u epigrafski dobro posvjedočene prilike 2. i 3. stoljeća kada su vojnici i veterani postrojbi 14. legije boravili u Topuskom i Sisciji, kao i u susjednoj Dalmaciji.⁶⁶

U pretpostavku o prisustvu postrojbe 14. legije u južnom dijelu Gornje Panonije krajem 1. stoljeća, u vrijeme dok je trajno mjesto boravka legije još uvijek bio Mogontijak, uklapa se i nacrt Sentinove stele s obzirom na to da on odgovara predlošcima koje je koristila gornjogermanska vojska u Mogontijaku, a koji nisu potvrđeni kod 14. legije po njezinom dolasku u Karnunt.⁶⁷ Čini se da bi upravo grobni spomenici, koji u starijim radovima o 14. legiji nisu uzimani u obzir,⁶⁸ mogli otvoriti mogućnost za drukčiju rekonstrukciju kretanja 14. legije, odnosno vremena njezina odlaska iz Mogontijaka u Karnunt. Prije svega treba naglasiti da je Sentinova stela kuriozitet s obzirom na podatak da, barem prema dostupnoj literaturi, nije sačuvan nijedan spomenik takve strukture i ikonografije koji bi pripadao vojniku 14. legije. Međutim, u ovome je kontekstu važnije to što u

le the awarding of land excluded any individual wishes or preferences, the awarding of money gave impetus to the following patterns: returning home or staying near the camp. The evidence, mostly epigraphic, testifies that the latter choice was prevailing.⁶¹ It is highly probable that *Gaius Antonius Sentinus* was discharged under *missio nummaria*, which enabled him to settle in *Siscia*.⁶² The possibility that he was recruited there in the mid-1st century is very slight. This is because, at that time, legionaries were mostly recruited from north *Italia* or the colonies of the earliest and most profoundly Romanised provinces, such as south *Gallia* or *Hispania*, while *Pannonia*'s Romanisation started only under the Flavians.⁶³ If, by any chance, *Sentinus* was recruited in *Siscia* in the mid-1st century, it would perhaps be realistic to presume the presence of his legion or at least its detachment in the vicinity at that time, but any such evidence is lacking. Therefore, it is more likely that *Sentinus* joined the XIV legion in any of the provinces in which it stayed permanently or temporarily in the mid-1st century, such as north *Italia*, south *Gallia*, *Britannia*, *Germania Superior*, etc. Therefore, if we seek to establish the reason for the choice of *Siscia* as the place to live in retirement, the closest guess would be that *Sentinus* spent his last active years there. Theoretically, this could have happened after the XIV legion left *Mogontiacum* for *Carnuntum*, which happened between AD 92 and 114, or, according

⁶⁵ Dušanić 1983, 22, bilj. 45; Hoti 1992, 143; Franke 2000, 197–198; Radman-Livaja 2004, 19; Radman-Livaja 2012, 170.

⁶⁶ Ritterling 1924–1925, 1740–1741; Hoffiller, Saria 1938, 231.

⁶⁷ Usp. bilj. 45.

⁶⁸ Ovdje mislim prije svega na ključne radove E. Ritterlinga (1924–1925) i Th. Frankea (2000). Tek po dovršenju rukopisa saznala sam za raspravu M. Mossera (2014) u kojoj je taj autor do godine dolaska 14. legije u Panoniju (97.) došao uzimajući u obzir, između ostaloga, i grobne spomenike te legije iz Karnunta. Ti, inače vrijedni rezultati, ni na koji način ne proturječe zaključcima o siscijskoj steli iznesenima u ovome radu, tim više što razmatraju isključivo spomenike iz panonske faze Četrnaeste legije.

⁶¹ Mócsy 1959, 92; Dušanić 1983, 21, fn. 45; Campbell 1994, 193–221; Le Bohec 1994, 224–225; Ферјанчић 2002, 19–20, 129, *passim*; Królczik 2003, 330–331; Southern 2006, 164–168; Carroll 2006, 217–218; Wesch-Klein 2011, 444–445. Contrary to the prevailing pattern, auxiliary veterans from Moesia Inferior and Thracia, as well as the *Batavi* from *Germania Inferior*, often chose to return home (Derks, Roymans 2006, 120, 133).

⁶² In the aftermath of the Battle of *Actium* in BC 31, the emperor Augustus awarded the veterans with both a sum of money and a piece of land (Le Bohec 1994, 224). Nevertheless, according to the literature in fn. 61, the discharge was as a rule alternative, that is, accompanied either by money or land. The latter manner declined with time, until it stopped altogether during Hadrian's rule.

⁶³ On recruiting, see Ritterling 1924–1925, 1729, 1733; Mócsy 1959, 26; Mann 1963, 145–146; Campbell 1994, 9–10; Keppie 1998, 152–153. On *Siscia* during the Flavians, see fn. 59, on the Roman occupation of *Siscia*, that is *Segestica*, see Radman-Livaja 2004, 15–19, and on the settlement of Roman citizens there, see Mócsy 1959, 25–26.

Mogontijaku nije nađena nijedna stela vojnika 14. legije iz Trajanova razdoblja bez obzira na ikonografiju; sve naime potječu iz razdoblja od Augusta do Domicijana.⁶⁹ S druge strane, najranije stele vojnika te legije iz Karnunta potječu s kraja 1. stoljeća, što bi moglo upućivati na ispravnost pretpostavke o tome da je već Domicijan 14. legiju odveo u Karnunt, a odande u svoje dunavske ratove u Donjoj Panoniji i Meziji.⁷⁰ Međutim, točan datum toga događaja ne mijenja ovdje iznesenu pretpostavku da je Gaj Antonije Sentin u Sisciju dospio za vrijeme spomenutih ratova krajem 1. stoljeća kao vojnik 14. legije i to s već gotovom zamisli o svome nadgrobnome spomeniku.

Sudeći prema imenu, Gaj Antonije Sentin bio je najvjerojatnije podrijetlom Kelt iz sjeverne Italije ili južne Galije. Naime, izvorno rimski gentilicij *Antonius* bio je proširen u X regiji Italije (*Venetia et Histria*), ali i u istočnim provincijama. Od zapadnih provincija osobito je čest u Galiji i Hispaniji te Dalmaciji, a u podunavskim provincijama, uključujući i Panoniju, češći je tek od kraja 2. stoljeća.⁷¹ U našem kontekstu važan je podatak da je ime *Antonius* bilo često među vojnicima u Gornjoj Germaniji, dakle na prostoru na kojemu je najdulje boravila 14. Legija prije svoga dolaska u Panoniju.⁷² Sentinovo izvorno keltsko podrijetlo, a time vjerojatno i sjevernoitalski ili galjski zavičaj, može se naslutiti iz njegova moguće keltskoga kognomena.⁷³

Društveni kontekst

Otprilike od sredine 1. stoljeća motiv blagovanja na vojničkim stelama Rajnskog limesa zamijenio je prikaz ratnika-jahača, čest na spomenicima prve polovice 1. stoljeća. Ta se promjena doživljava kao pomicanje naglaska s vojničkih vrlina na

to M. Mosser, in AD 97 precisely.⁶⁴ It is true that the beginning of the 2nd century would be slightly too late for the established Flavian date of the stela, but this is still not the decisive reason against such reconstruction of events. There is the possibility that *Sentinus* took with him to *Pannonia* a draft of his funerary monument based on a model current previously in *Germania*. There is, however, a more plausible way that could have brought a veteran of the XIV legion to *Siscia*, possibly during the time when his legion was still stationed in *Germania*. This would have been occasioned by the last Domitian's wars on the Danube in AD 89–95/96, in which the XIV legion participated. Several places in southern *Pannonia* (such as *Mursa* / Osijek) and *Mursella* / Petrijevcu in northeast Croatia) are mentioned as possible locations of its camp during the war. Furthermore, a detachment (*vexillatio*) of the XIV legion was presumably sent to *Siscia* or its surroundings at that time.⁶⁵ This hypothesis, so far based on relatively weak indirect arguments, now gain somewhat in credibility owing to the stela discussed here, but the hypothesis still remains inconclusive. Nevertheless, *Sentinus*' funerary stone represents a good introduction to the circumstances of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, when soldiers and veterans of the XIV legion are amply evidenced in the area of *Siscia*, and at various places in *Dalmatia*.⁶⁶

The presumption that the XIV legion took part in the Danube wars of Domitian at end of the 1st century, while its permanent camp was still in *Mogontiacum*, is further bolstered by *Sentinus*' stela. This is because its structure and iconography corresponds to the models used by the legion during its stay in *Germania Superior*, but disappearing from the evidence as it moved to *Carnuntum*.⁶⁷ It is precisely funerary stones, neglected in previous works on the XIV legion,⁶⁸ which could

⁶⁹ Jedini takav spomenik, prema epitafu vjerojatno iz prve polovice 2. stoljeća, pripadao je sedamdesetogodišnjem vojniku koji je karijeru završio kao orlonoša (*aquilifer*) 30. legije (*legio XXX Ulpia Victrix*), a prije toga bio je promaknuti centurio (*promotus centurio*) u 14. legiji (*Lupa* 16466). S obzirom na godine pokojnika, u 14. legiji lako je mogao biti za flavijevskog razdoblja.

⁷⁰ O dvojbi u vezi s vremenom u kojem je 14. legija napustila Mogontiak vidi bilj. 64.

⁷¹ Mócsy 1959, 151; Lörinz, Redő 1994, 131–135.

⁷² Lörinz, Redő 1994 (karta rasprostranjenosti na str. 132).

⁷³ Delamarre 2007, 166.

⁶⁴ Hardy 1887, 648; Ritterling 1924–1925, 1735–1736; Brandl 1996, 226; Franke 2000, 197–200; Mosser 2014, 201.

⁶⁵ Dušanić 1983, 22, fn. 45; Hoti 1992, 143; Franke 2000, 197–198; Radman-Livaja 2004, 19; Radman-Livaja 2012, 170.

⁶⁶ Ritterling 1924–1925, 1740–1741; Hoffiller, Saria 1938, 231.

⁶⁷ See fn. 45.

⁶⁸ Above all those of E. Ritterling (1924–1925) and Th. Franke (2000). Only after finishing this paper did I learn of M. Mossers's study (2014) in which he established the year AD 97 as the time of the relocation of the XIV legion to *Panno-*

ugode građanske svakodnevice.⁷⁴ Prizor blagovanja koji se od početka pojavljuje i u obiteljskoj varijanti, a potom se sve više razvija u tom smjeru, upućuje na uključivanje vojnika i veterana u građanski društveni život. Sudeći po činjenici da u Sentinovu epitafu nema podataka ni o obitelji ni o ulozi vlasnika stele u upravnome ili vjerskome životu grada, naš se veteran najvjerojatnije nije uključio u život zajednice ni na obiteljskoj ni na javnoj razini, odnosno u municipalnoj upravi. Potonja uloga, praćena preuzimanjem novčanih obveza (*munera*), nije bila tipična za veterane.⁷⁵ Što se obiteljskoga života tiče, istraživanje je pokazalo da su isluženi vojnici u balkanskim provincijama u 1. stoljeću većinom bili neoženjeni.⁷⁶ Mišljenja o društvenome položaju veterana općenito nisu usuglašena, niti mogu biti s obzirom na to da je svaka generalizacija u vezi s većinom sastavnica vojničkoga života nezahvalna i na nekoj razini promašena zbog različitosti uvjeta u kojima je vojska djelovala. Ipak, nerijetko se susreće tvrdnja da su veterani od Augusta nadalje bili povlašten društveni sloj.⁷⁷ Prema A. Mócsyju, veterani u gradovima uz Dunavski limes bili su gradska elita te su uzimali udjele u upravi, za razliku od veterana u provincijama koje nisu bile granične.⁷⁸ Ako je to zapažanje točno, onda treba primijetiti da je krajem 1. stoljeća, kada je Gaj Antonije Sentin u Sisciji proživio svoj kratki veteranski vijek, taj grad radije imao status unutrašnjega negoli po-

possibly open a new perspective on the research of the legion's movements, that is, its relocation from *Mogontiacum* to *Carnuntum*. Otherwise, *Sentinus'* funerary stone is a singular occurrence in that it is the only example of its type owned by a soldier of the XIV legion. Even of greater importance for this context is the fact that no stelae of that legion from the Trajanic period, irrespective of type, have been found in *Mogontiacum*; all of them stem from the period from Augustus till Domitian.⁶⁹ On the other hand, the earliest stelae of soldiers of the XIV legion from *Carnuntum* originate from the end of the 1st century, which could possibly point to the accuracy of the presumption that it was already Domitian who brought the XIV legion to *Carnuntum*, to employ it in his Danubian wars as part of the Pannonian army.⁷⁰ However it may be, the exact year of the arrival of the XIV legion to *Carnuntum* does not in any way invalidate the claim that *Sentinus* came to *Siscia* at the end of the 1st century as a soldier of the XIV legion, with the idea of his funerary stone already shaped in his mind or on a piece of paper.

Judging from the name, *Gaius Antonius Sentinus* was probably of Celtic origin, stemming from north *Italia* or south *Gallia*. His *nomen gentile*, originally Roman, was widely distributed in the X region (*Venetia et Histria*), but also in the eastern provinces. Of the western provinces, it was very frequent in *Gallia*, *Hispania*, and *Dalmatia*, while in the Danube region, including *Pannonia*, it gained in popularity only by the end of the 2nd century.⁷¹ In the present context, it is important that the name *Antonius* was frequent among the soldiers in *Germania Superior*, the main domici-

⁷⁴ Gabelmann 1972, 117–118; Noelke 2005, 217–218. U prilog spomenutom tumačenju ide i podatak da se na nekim stelama augzilijara, na kojima je glavni prizor blagovanje, pojavljuje i dodatan »mirnodopski«⁷⁴ motiv sluga koji vodi konja, za razliku od prikaza konjanika-ratnika. Vidi. bilj. 39.

⁷⁵ Campbell 1994, 222–223; Wilkes 1999, 97–98; Éveillard, Maligorne 2005, 72; Wesch-Klein 2011, 448. Suprotno tome, S. Ферјанчић (2002, 205–206) naglašava da su veterani, barem oni u balkanskim provincijama, uzimali udjela u gradskoj upravi. O postupnoj integraciji vojnika u građansko društvo vidi Mócsy 1959, 85–88; Hope 2001, 43–49; Carroli 2006, 132; Busch 2011, 151, *passim*.

⁷⁶ Ферјанчић 2002, 206.

⁷⁷ Campbell 1994, 193, 222; Le Bohec 1994, 225; Ферјанчић 2002, 28, 62, 89, 207; Królczyk 2003, 328; Allason-Jones 2008, 46; Wesch-Klein 2011, 435. Pritom su pojmovi imovine i društvenog ugleda usko isprepleteni ne samo u vojničkim krugovima nego u rimskom društvu općenito, ali ne u tolikoj mjeri da bi načelno bili istoznačni (Migotti 2008, 66, bilj. 147).

⁷⁸ Mócsy 1959, 91. Općenito, sve do kraja 2. stoljeća malo je dokaza o znatnijem sudjelovanju veterana u razvitku lokalnih zajednica, pri čemu ipak treba imati na umu nepotpunost epigrafskih svjedočanstava (Campbell 1994, 222–223).

nia on the basis of various materials, funerary stones from *Carnuntum* included. These, otherwise very important results, do not in any meaningful way affect the conclusions on the Siscian stela studied in this paper, the more so as they scrutinise only the evidence from the Pannonian phase of the legion.

⁶⁹ The only such stela, stemming probably from the 1st half of the 2nd century on account of the epitaph, belonged to a 70-year-old eagle-bearer (*aquilifer*) of *legio XXX Ulpia Victrix*, who had previously served as a promoted centurion (*promotus centurio*) in the XIV legion (*Lupa* 16466). Given the deceased's age, it was quite possible that he served in the XIV legion during the Flavian period.

⁷⁰ On the contested period of the relocation of the XIV legion see fn. 64.

⁷¹ Mócsy 1959, 151; Lörinz, Redő 1994, 131–135.

graničnoga grada jer ga je legijska vojska napustila desetljećima prije. Sam spomenik, solidan, ali ipak ne mramoran, nije dovoljan pokazatelj imovinskih mogućnosti našega veterana. Logičnom se čini pretpostavka da se nabavka mramornoga spomenika prije svega temeljila na raspoloživim sredstvima, ali mogući su i drugi razlozi za takav postupak.⁷⁹ Cijene kamenih stela od 1. do 3. stoljeća u rimskoj Africi kretale su se od 96 do 5.000 sestercija, s time da se od 38 zabilježenih primjeraka njih 26 kretalo u cjenovnoj razini od 96 do 1.200 sestercija.⁸⁰ Iz tih podataka izveden je zaključak da je i običnom vojniku u tome dijelu Carstva bio dostupan kameni spomenik.⁸¹ Nema razloga za sumnju da su slične prilike vladale i u drugim provincijama. Ako s navedenim cijenama stela usporedimo teoretske imovinske mogućnosti siscijskoga legijskoga veterana, dopušteno je pretpostaviti da mu nabavka stele od 1.000-2.000 sestercija nije predstavljala prevelik napor. Iznese na nagadanja o mogućnostima nabavke grobnoga spomenika temelje se na općim podacima o veteranskome imutku koja uključuju nekoliko pretpostavki: novčani otpust, štednju za vrijeme aktivnoga služenja, razne mogućnosti za privređivanje i u vrijeme mirovine, ponajprije putem novčanih ulaganja, obiteljsko nasljeđe, itd.⁸² Nažalost, u literaturi se navode dva različita podatka o svoti koju je dobivao legionarski veteran u 1. stoljeću nakon Augusta: 12.000 i 20.000 sestercija.⁸³

Kao što je već rečeno, epitaf Gaja Antonija Sentina ne otkriva nikakve podatke o njegovu uključivanju u javni život grada, a po svoj je prilici ostao neoženjen pri čemu nema nikakve moguć-

le area of the XIV legion before its relocation to *Carnuntum*.⁷² *Sentinus*' Celtic origin, and probable north Italic or Gallic homeland, is further suggested by his possibly Celtic cognomen.⁷³

Social context

From roughly the mid-1st century onwards, the banqueting scene on soldier stelae of the Rhine *limes* replaced the previously popular motif of the horseman warrior. This change is perceived as a shift from a stress on military values to an emphasis on the comforts of private life.⁷⁴ The banquet scene, starting with the family version and developing more and more in that direction, points to the family and social integration of the military. Given that *Sentinus*' epitaph contains no data on family or the possible role of its owner in the administrative or religious life of the community, our veteran presumably did not become integrated at any level, such as, for example, taking the financial burdens (*munera*) of an administrative duty, the latter role apparently not being popular with the veterans in the first place.⁷⁵ As for married life, research on the veterans in the Balkan provinces has revealed that, during the 1st century, they mostly remained single.⁷⁶ Opinions on the social status of veterans are contentious, as is any generalisation on military life; such generalisations often miss the point owing to different conditions in which the army worked. Even though, it is frequently claimed that the veterans were a privileged class from the time of Augustus onwards.⁷⁷ According to A. Mócsy, ve-

⁷⁹ Primjerice, u vojničkoj obitelji iz Lobora u ageru Petovione ili Andautonije stelu su podigli majka i jedan brat, legionarski stjegonoša, preostaloj dvojici braće, odnosno sinova, od kojih je jedan bio legijski centurion a drugi pretorijanac, dakle sve vojnici višeg plaćevnog razreda, a spomenik je ipak od običnog kamena (Migotti 2011).

⁸⁰ Duncan-Jones 1962, 62, 90–91.

⁸¹ Duncan-Jones 1962, 65; Saller, Shaw 1984, 128. Procjena se temelji na podatku o godišnjoj legionarskoj plaći od 1.200 sestercija u ranom Principatu, prema nekim autorima tek od Domicijana (Watson 1969, 91; Alston 1994, 114; Campbell 1994, 20). A. Speidel (2014, 54) navodi svotu od 900 sestercija, koja je prema prethodno citiranim autorima vrijedila samo za Augustove vlasti.

⁸² Watson 1969, 152–153; Le Bohec 1994, 223–225; Southern 2006, 166–168; Wesch-Klein 2011, 444–445.

⁸³ 12.000 sestercija: Watson 1969, 147; Wesch-Klein 2011, 444; 20.000 sestercija: Le Bohec 1994, 224; Southern 2006, 167.

⁷² Lörinz, Redó 1994 (distribution map on p. 132).

⁷³ Delamarre 2007, 166.

⁷⁴ Gabelmann 1972, 117–118; Noelke 2005, 217–218. Such an interpretation is further bolstered by the fact that, in addition to the main banquet scene, some auxiliaries' stelae feature a "peacetime" motif of the servant leading a horse (contrary to the horseman warrior), see fn. 39.

⁷⁵ Campbell 1994, 222–223; Wilkes 1999, 97–98; Éveillard, Maligorne 2005, 72; Wesch-Klein 2011, 448. Contrary to that, С. Ферјанчић (2002, 205–206) points out that the veterans, at least those in the Balkan provinces, took part in the city administration. On the gradual integration of the military into civil society, see Mócsy 1959, 85–88; Hope 2001, 43–49; Carroll 2006, 132; Busch 2011, 151, *passim*.

⁷⁶ Ферјанчић 2002, 206.

⁷⁷ Campbell 1994, 193, 222; Le Bohec 1994, 225; Ферјанчић 2002, 28, 62, 89, 207; Królczik 2003, 328; Alason-Jones 2008, 46; Wesch-Klein 2011, 435. It should be noted that the concept of social status is closely interrelated

nosti za utemeljeno nagađanje o tome kako bi ti aspekti Sentinova života izgledali da je poživio dulje. Može se pretpostaviti da je u mirovini proveo nekih 5 – 10 godina, podijelivši tako sudbinu mnogih veterana koji su bili podložniji smrtnosti nakon napuštanja vojske nego za vrijeme aktivne službe.⁸⁴ Sve u svemu, moguće je da je Gaj Antonije Sentin umro neposredno po umirovljenju i da jednostavno nije stigao razviti svoje društvene želje i namjere, ali to neminovno ostaje u području nagađanja.

Datiranje i radioničko podrijetlo

Iz svih prethodno obrazloženih kronoloških pokazatelja (epigrafskih, ikonografskih i prozopografskih) proizlazi da je spomenik najvjerojatnije nastao u flavijevskom razdoblju (69.–96.), moguće u njegovoj drugoj polovici, ili je barem tada zacrtana njegova ikonografska shema. Pritom se ne može isključiti mogućnost da je do same izvedbe spomenika i klesanja epitafa došlo na početku 2. stoljeća jer na takvu mogućnost upućuju okolnosti Sentinove vojničke karijere, a prije svega činjenica da je s veksilacijom mogao dospjeti u Sisciju tek na samome kraju 1. stoljeća i ondje poživjeti još 5 – 10 godina. Kao što je obrazloženo u podnaslovu *Tipologija i ikonografija*, Sentinova stela tipološki pripada skupini spomenika poveznih s radionicama koje su opskrbljivale vojsku na Rajnskome limesu, prije svega onima u Mogontijaku i Koloniji Agripini. S obzirom na to da je 14. legija boravila u Mogontijaku, logično bi bilo pretpostaviti da je Sentinova stela načinjena ondje ili pak negdje drugdje, ali prema predlošku tamošnje radionice. Međutim, zbog jednoga ikonografskoga detalja za našu je temu znakovita činjenica da se strukturalno-ikonografski isti tip stele izrađivao i u donjogermanskoj Koloniji Agripini kamo se bio proširio upravo iz Mogontijaka. Naime, na Sentinovoj steli tronožac je prikazan ukošeno i odozgo, a ne bočno, dakle onako kako se predočavao na stelama flavijevskog razdoblja načinjenima u radionici Kolonije Agripine;

⁸⁴ O prosječnoj smrtnosti veterana vidi Watson 1969, 151–152, a o duljini vojnog roka vidi bilj. 58. Poznati su i primjeri legionara koji su u 1. stoljeću umjesto uobičajenih 20 godina odslužili i do 30, pa čak i 40 godina, kao i onih koji su doživjeli duboku starost kao veterani; o tome vidi Le Bohec 1994, 64; Allason-Jones 2008, 47; Wesch-Klein 2011, 439.

terans in the towns along the Danube *limes* were indeed a kind of elite that participated in the city administration, in contrast to the veterans in the inner provinces.⁷⁸ If this claim is correct, it should be noted that, at the end of the 1st century, when *Gaius Antonius Sentinus* ended his short life as veteran, *Siscia*'s status was rather of an internal province's town that a border one, because the legion had left it decades before. *Sentinus*' stela, massive and attractive, but still not marble, is not indicative enough of its owner's financial resources. It seems logical to presume that the commission of the marble stone was first and foremost dependant on the money available, but other reasons could have been involved, as well.⁷⁹ The prices of stone stelai in Roman Africa from the 1st to the 3rd centuries ranged between 96 and 5,000 sesterces while, out of the 38 examples evidenced, the price of 26 ranged between 96 and 1,200 sesterces.⁸⁰ These approximations lead to the conclusion that stone funerary stelai were affordable even to a common soldier in Africa.⁸¹ There is no reason to doubt that the circumstances in other provinces of the Empire were comparable. If we now correlate the above stated prices for stelai with theoretical financial resources of *Sentinus* as a legionary veteran, it transpires that the purchase of a stela costing some 1,000 or 2,000 sesterces should not have been too much of a burden. All this conjecturing is based on the general data on a veteran's fortune, which rests on a variety of contingencies: *mission nummaria*, savings amassed during active duty, business pursuits and financial investments the retirement, family inheritance, etc.⁸² Awkwardly, two contradictory data on the

with material wealth, but not to a measure which would allow for their equation (Migotti 2008, 66, fn. 147).

⁷⁸ Mócsy 1959, 91.

⁷⁹ For example, a stela from Lobar in NW Croatia (territory of *Poetovio* or *Andautonia*) was put up by the mother and one brother, a legionary eagle-bearer, for the remaining two sons (brothers), one a legionary centurion and the other a praetorian. Thus, they were all soldiers of a higher pay scale, but the monument was still of limestone (Migotti 2011).

⁸⁰ Duncan-Jones 1962, 62, 90–91.

⁸¹ Duncan-Jones 1962, 65; Saller, Shaw 1984, 128. This claim is based on the average legionary pay of 1.200 sesterces in the early Principate, and according to some authors, starting only with *Domitianus*' rule (Watson 1969, 91; Alston 1994, 114; Campbell 1994, 20). A. Speidel (2014, 54) states the sum of 900 sesterces, which, according to the previously quoted authors, was valid only during the rule of Augustus.

⁸² Watson 1969, 152–153; Le Bohec 1994, 223–225; Southern 2006, 166–168; Wesch-Klein 2011, 444–445.

tek na kasnijim primjercima s početka 2. stoljeća radionica u Koloniji Agripini preuzela je način predočavanja tronošca iz bočne perspektive, kako je to bilo uobičajeno u Mogontijaku (sl. 7).⁸⁵ Budući da je Sentinova stela u cjelini nesumnjivo načinjena prema predlošku mogontijačke radionice, može se zaključiti da poticaji nisu išli samo iz smjera Mogontijaka prema Koloniji Agripini, nego i obratno, ako ne u općemu tipološko-kronološkome razvitku razmatranoga tipa spomenika, a ono u pojedinostima.⁸⁶ One su se mogle prenositi razmjenom klesara, kolanjem uzoraka, ali i osobnim poticajima.⁸⁷ Pitanje gdje je Sentinov spomenik uistinu isklesan ostaje otvoreno. S obzirom na to da je načinjen od pješčenjaka, a ne od mramora, nameće se logična pretpostavka o izradi u domaćoj radionici. Međutim, istraživanje trgovanja mramornim i ostalim kamenim spomenicima na noričko-panonskome prostoru pokazalo je postojanje posebne, vlastite logike koja odudara od očekivanoga pribjegavanja najmanjoj udaljenosti.⁸⁸ Prema tome, samo bi petrografska analiza pokazala sigurno radioničko podrijetlo siscijske stele. Dok ona ne bude načinjena, ostaje veoma vjerojatna pretpostavka da je spomenik isklesan u Sisciji prema predlošku germanskih vojničkih radionica jer se prijevoz od Mogontijaka do Siscije čini prezahtjevnim i preskupim pothvatom.

Zaključak

Stela Gaja Antonija Sentina višestruko je važna za poznavanje uloge vojnika i veterana u Sisciji.⁸⁹ Značajna je kao dodatni argument za pretpostavku da je postrojba 14. legije boravila u Sisciji

⁸⁵ Usp. bilj. 49.

⁸⁶ Kronološki razvoj i preuzimanje modela iz Mogontijaka u Koloniji Agripini uvjerljivo je pokazao H. Gabelmann (1972, 118–119).

⁸⁷ Podsjetimo se legionara 14. legije rođenog u Koloniji Agripini, čiji je grobni spomenik nađen u Baden-Badenu u Gornjoj Germaniji (Ritterling 1924–1925, 1734).

⁸⁸ Tako se pokazalo da su spomenici izrađeni od travertina putovali Dunavom od Akvinka (*Aquincum* / Budimpešta) do Murse (Osijek), premda su na raspolaganju bili mnogo bliži kamenolomi vapnenca na prostoru današnje sjeveroistočne Bosne i Hercegovine, koji su i bili u funkciji kamenoklesarske proizvodnje u Mursi (Djurić, Müller, Filipović 2010, 10).

⁸⁹ Y. Le Bohec (1994, 223) nazvao je veterane »misterioznom kategorijom«, jer ih je razmjerno malo ostavilo traga u epigrafskim spomenicima.

sum awarded to a legionary veteran in the 1st century, after Augustus, can be found in the literature: 12,000 and 20,000 sesterces.⁸³

As previously stated, the epitaph of *Gaius Antonius Sentinus* does not reveal any data on the possible involvement of its owner in civilian public life, and he probably did not even marry; there is no knowing whether all this would have been different had *Sentinus* lived longer in retirement. A plausible guess is that he spent some 5 or 10 years as a veteran, sharing thus the destiny of many companions whose life expectations were worse in retirement than on active duty.⁸⁴ Thus, it is possible that *Gaius Antonius Sentinus* died very shortly after the retirement, and was just not given a chance to fulfil his social expectations, but this inevitably remains in the realm of speculation.

Chronology and workshop origin

If taken together, all the above chronologically sensitive data (epigraphic, iconographic, and prosopographical) support the chronology of the stela in the Flavian period (AD 69–96), possibly in its second part. It is also possible that, at that time, the stela was actually only drafted, to be carved at the beginning of the 2nd century. This is suggested by *Sentinus*' career, and especially the fact that he most probably could not have reached *Siscia* as an active soldier before the very end of the 1st century, to live there for some 5 or 10 years. As was explained in the subheading *Typology and iconography*, *Sentinus*' stela belongs to the type produced in the army workshops on the Rhine *limes*, above all in *Mogontiacum* and *Colonia Agrippina*. Since the XIV legion stayed only in *Mogontiacum*, it should be assumed that either the stela was produced there or somewhere else, but on a model of *Mogontiacum* origin. However, owing to one iconographic detail, we need to remember that the same type of stela was produced also in *Colonia Agrippina*, where it had spread under the influence of the *Mogontiacum* workshop. The

⁸³ 12.000 sesterces: Watson 1969, 147; Wesch-Klein 2011, 444; 20.000 sesterces: Le Bohec 1994, 224; Southern 2006, 167.

⁸⁴ On the average death rate of veterans, see Watson 1969, 151–152, and on the length of active service, see fn. 58. However, we know of 1st-century veterans whose active duty lasted not 20, but 30 or even 40 years, as well as of long-lived veterans; see Le Bohec 1994, 64; Allason-Jones 2008, 47; Wesch-Klein 2011, 439.



Sl. / Fig. 7: Reljefna niša stele veterana ale Skubula iz Wiesbadena / Relief niche of the stele of a veteran of the *ala Scubulorum* from Wiesbaden (Lupa 7071)

već u 1. stoljeću. Nadalje, to je jedini spomenik takvoga tipa u zapadnim provincijama nađen na području istočno od crte koju je činio Dunavski limes u Reciji i Rajnski u Germanijama.⁹⁰ Taj je podatak u skladu s činjenicom da je izvor novčenja sredinom 1. stoljeća, kad pretpostavljamo Sentinovo pristupanje vojsci, bio u sjevernoj Italiji i najsnažnije romaniziranim provincijama, odnosno rano ustanovljenim kolonijama zapadnoga dijela Carstva, što Panonija u to vrijeme nije bila.⁹¹ Najraniji grobni spomenik iz Siscije, datiran

⁹⁰ Tvrdnja se temelji na literaturi navedenoj u popisu, te na internetskoj bazi podataka *Lupi*.

⁹¹ Usp. bilj. 63.

detail in question is the manner of depicting the tripod, which is on *Sentinus*' stele shown from a slanting perspective from above, exactly as in the earlier stage of the production in *Colonia Agrippina* (Fig. 7).⁸⁵ Because of the fact that *Sentinus*' stele was, as a whole, undoubtedly carved on the model of the *Mogontiacum* workshop, it remains to conclude that, despite *Mogontiacum*'s dominance, influences between those two production centres still went both ways. Presumably, the impact of *Colonia Agrippina* on *Mogontiacum* did not pertain to its general typological-chronological development, but to certain iconographical details.⁸⁶ These could have been transmitted through exchange of stonecutters, sketch-books, or individual purchases.⁸⁷ The exact location where *Sentinus*' stele was carved remains an open question. The fact that it was made of sandstone and not marble suggests it was manufactured locally. On the other hand, research of the production and trade in marble and other stone monuments in the Norico-Pannonian region has revealed an inner logic of this process, in which the presumed preference for the shortest distance cannot always be taken for granted.⁸⁸ Therefore, only a petrographic analysis could provide a final answer to the question of the origin of stone. Until then, the most plausible assumption is that the stele was made in *Siscia*, but on the model of Germanic army stonemasons' workshops, as the transportation from *Mogontiacum* to *Siscia* appears to be over-demanding and too expensive.

Concluding remarks

The stele of *Gaius Antonius Sentinus* is quite relevant for the insight into the role of the military in *Siscia* and is important as a further (though not conclusive) argument in favour of the hypothesis

⁸⁵ See fn. 49.

⁸⁶ The chronological development and the influence of the production of *Mogontiacum*'s workshop on that of *Colonia Agrippina* were convincingly demonstrated by H. Gabelmann (1972, 118–119).

⁸⁷ A legionary of the XIV legion comes to mind, who was born in *Colonia Agrippina* and whose funerary stone was found in Baden-Baden in *Germania Superior* (Ritterling 1924–1925, 1734).

⁸⁸ For example, travertine monuments travelled from *Aquincum* (Budapest) via the Danube all the way to *Mursa* (Osijek), despite the fact that much closer limestone quarries were at disposal, which indeed were used in the stonemasons' production of *Mursa* (Djurić, Müller, Filipović 2010, 10).

u prvu polovicu 1. stoljeća, pripadao je civilu Titu Tuliju Terciju iz Tergesta (Trst).⁹² Ostali epigrafski spomenici uglavnom svjedoče o stanovnicima Siscije od druge polovice 1. stoljeća nadalje; većinom su to bili Italici, ali i doseljenici iz Dalmacije, Galije, Hispanije te istočnih provincija.⁹³ Osim Sentinove stele, jedini siscijski vojnički grobni spomenik, stela Marka Mucija Hegetora, liječnika XXXII dobrovoljne kohorte rimskih građana (*cohors XXXII voluntariorum civium Romanorum*) datirana je u sredinu 1. stoljeća.⁹⁴ Spomenute dvije stele dragocjen su izvor za uvid u vojnički život Siscije s obzirom na izrazito siromašan vojnički epigrafski korpus toga grada. I dalje nam nedostaju nalazi iz prve polovice 1. stoljeća koje bi trebalo očekivati s obzirom na izraženu prisutnost vojske u Sisciji upravo u to vrijeme.⁹⁵

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Popis kratica / List of abbreviations

CIL – Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum

Lupa – *Ubi Erat Lupa* – <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org> (27.2.2015.)

that a detachment of the XIV legion stayed in *Siscia* as early as the end of the 1st century.⁸⁹ Also, it is curious as the only example of its type found to the southeast of the Rhine and Danube *limes* in the *Germanias* and *Raetia*.⁹⁰ This corresponds to the fact that recruiting areas in the mid-1st century, when *Sentinus* presumably joined the army, were north *Italia* and the highly Romanised provinces of the western part of the Empire, with *Pannonia* still beyond that circle.⁹¹ The earliest funerary stone from *Siscia*, that of one *Titus Tullius Tertius* from *Tergeste* (Trieste), dates from the 1st half of the 1st century.⁹² The remainder of the inscribed stones largely witness to the inhabitants of *Siscia* from the 2nd half of the 1st century onwards, who mostly arrived from north *Italia*, *Dalmatia*, *Gallia*, *Hispania*, and the eastern provinces.⁹³ The only other soldier's funerary monument from *Siscia*, that of *Marcus Mucius Hegetor*, a physician of *cohors XXXII voluntariorum civium Romanorum*, dates from the mid-1st century.⁹⁴ In view of the exceptionally meagre epigraphic corpus of the Siscian military, these two stelae represent a precious source of the insight into the military life of *Siscia*. Still, sorely missing are soldiers' inscribed stones from the 1st half of the 1st century, which should be expected in the light of the massive presence of the army in *Siscia* at that time.⁹⁵

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⁹² Klemenc 1935.

⁹³ Mócsy 1959, 25–26.

⁹⁴ Mócsy 1959, 211, br. 57/3; Lörinz 2001, 297, br. 479. Lörinzovo datiranje osporio je J. Spaul (2000, 47–48), predloživši kraj 2. stoljeće, ali nedovoljno uvjerljivo. U prilog datiranju u sredinu 1. stoljeća govori i tip stele (Djurić 2008, 161–162).

⁹⁵ Radman-Livaja 2004, 18.

⁸⁹ Y. Le Bohec (1994, 223) named veterans “a mysterious category” on account of the scarceness of the epigraphic evidence.

⁹⁰ This claim rests on the evidence from the list of literature attached, and the *Lupa* Internet database.

⁹¹ See fn. 63.

⁹² Klemenc 1935.

⁹³ Mócsy 1959, 25–26.

⁹⁴ Mócsy 1959, 211, no. 57/3; Lörinz 2001, 297, no. 479. Lörinz's chronology was challenged by J. Spaul (2000, 47–48), who suggested the end of the 2nd c. for the stele in question, but his arguments are not convincing enough. The type of stele further speaks in favour of its earlier date (cf. Djurić 2008, 161–162).

⁹⁵ Radman-Livaja 2004, 18.

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Jednostavne tkanine i žigosana koža: organski nalazi s avarodobnog groblja u Nuštru (istočna Hrvatska)

Simple cloth and stamped leather: organic finds from the Avar graveyard in Nuštar (Eastern Croatia)

UDK: 904:726.821(497.5 Nuštar)''653''

Izvorni znanstveni rad/Original scientific paper

U arheološkom kontekstu organski nalazi su prilično rijetki, posebice u umjerenim klimama. Usprkos tome, oni oblikuju važan dio načina života arheoloških populacija i mogu pružiti informacije o svakodnevnom životu, uzgoju životinja, umjetnosti, trgovini, gospodarstvu, tehnološkom razvoju itd. Jedan od načina pronalaska organskih nalaza, u ovom slučaju ostataka tkanina, slučajevi su kada se oni odupru vremenu ostajući pričvršćeni za metalne nalaze. U procesu korodiranja metal oko tekstilnih niti oblikuje produkte korozije zadržavajući tako oblik tekstila. Mali broj takvih nalaza (osam) nađen je u sedam kasnoavarodobnih grobova na lokalitetu Nuštar/Dvorac. S obzirom na druge nalaze iz tih grobova, možemo ih datirati u razdoblje između 750. i

Organic finds are rather rare in an archaeological context, especially in moderate climate zones. Nevertheless, they form an important part of the way of life of archaeological populations and can provide information about everyday life, farming, art, trade, economy, technological development... One way of discovering organic finds, in this case textile remains, are those cases when they withstand the test of time by remaining attached to metal finds. As part of the corrosion process, metal forms corrosion products around textile fibres, thus preserving the shape of the textile. A small number of such finds – 8 – was found in 7 Late Avar Period graves at the Nuštar/Dvorac site. According to other finds from these graves, they can be dated in period between 750 and 800 AD.

800. godine. Metalni nalazi sa očuvanim tekstilom iz Nuštra uključuju dijelove pokojnikove odjeće (pređice, okove, spojke) i oruđa (nož). Analize tekstila pokazale su kako se radi o jednostavnim tkaninama napravljenima od jednostavnog tkanja s nitima pređenim u Z-smjeru. Analiza tkanina pokazala je kako se radi o dijelovima odjeće raznih funkcija i o mrtvačkim pokrovima. Unatoč tome što u usporedbi s ostalim avarodobnim nalazištima iz istog razdoblja nije uočeno ništa novo, ovaj je rad važan jer arheološki tekstil ima veliku vrijednost koja se može iskoristiti i u drugim znanstvenim poljima.

Ključne riječi: organski nalazi, avarodobni grobovi, analiza tkanine, Nuštar, rani srednji vijek

Uvod

Istočna Hrvatska, smještena na rubu svjetova u razdoblju od prapovijesti do danas, često je mjesto nalaza predmeta koji su uobičajeni za istočni ili zapadni kulturni krug, što se uočava i na kasnoavarodobnim nalazima koji su sami po sebi mješavina različitih utjecaja. Iako takvi nalazi imaju određen stupanj nezavisnosti i mogu se zasebno promatrati, imaju i analogije izvan područja koje su naseljavali Avari.¹ U posljednje je vrijeme dokazano kako veliki utjecaj na kasnoavarodobnu materijalnu kulturu (npr. nakit, skupoćeno posuđe) dolazi s područja Mediterana i Bizanta, a također su uočljive i veze s ostalim kulturama istoga razdoblja.² Jedna od mogućih ruta prenošenja ideja s istoka na zapad mogla je prolaziti i kroz istočnu Hrvatsku.

Lokacija u Nuštru odgovara hipotetskoj južnoj i jugoistočnoj granici Avarske države (kaganata) od kasnog 7. do kraja 8. stoljeća (karta 1) koja se pružala uz lijevu obalu rijeke Save.³ U istraženom dijelu groblja nije potvrđena pretpostavka da je nuštarsko groblje korišteno za ukop vojne posade s granice. Vjerojatnije je da su groblje koristili stanovnici miroljubivog sela.

¹ Szenthe 2013, 317–318.

² Szenthe 2013a, 195.

³ Filipec 2003, 126.

Metal finds with preserved textiles from Nuštar include parts of the garments of the deceased (belt buckles, hinges, and clasps) and tools (knives). Textile analyses have revealed simple textiles made of tabby with Z-spun yarns. Analyses of these textiles have identified their function as different parts of garments and as shrouds. Compared to other contemporary Avar period sites, nothing new has been noticed, but the importance of this work lies in awareness of the great value of archaeological textiles, which can be put to use in many different fields of science.

Key words: organic finds, Avar graves, textile analysis, Nuštar, Early Middle Ages

Introduction

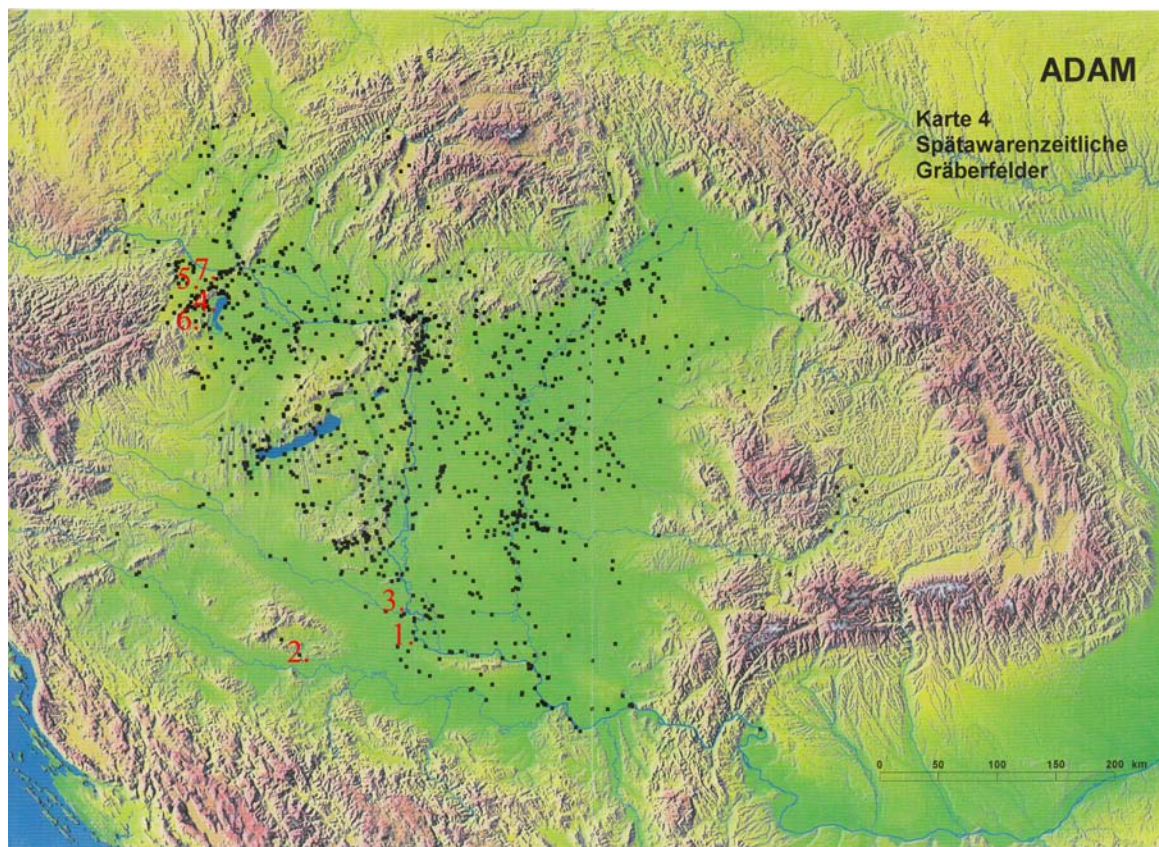
Eastern Croatia has been located at the intersection of two worlds from prehistory to modern day, and thus commonly acts as a source of finds that are typical for both the “Eastern” and “Western” cultural spheres. This can be also observed in Late Avar period artefacts, which are themselves a hint for the blending of different influences. Although such finds have some degree of independence (and can be observed as self-contained), they have analogies outside beyond the areas settled by Avar people.¹ Recently, it has been proven the areas of the Byzantine Empire and the Mediterranean exerted a great influence on Late Avar period material culture (e.g. jewellery, highly valuable vessels), though contact with other concurrent cultures and regions is also evident.² One of the possible routes for transmitting ideas from the east to the west could have passed through Eastern Croatia.

The location in Nuštar fits the hypothetical southern and south-eastern border of the Avar state (*Khaganate*) between the late 7th and the late 8th century AD (map 1), which stretched along the left bank of the river Sava.³ The presumption that the graveyard at Nuštar site could have been used as a burial site for military personnel was not proven at the excavated area. It is more likely that the graveyard was used by inhabitants of a peaceful village.

¹ Szenthe 2013, 317–318.

² Szenthe 2013a, 195.

³ Filipec 2003, 126.



Karta / Map 1: Kasnoavarodobna groblja / Late Avar period cemeteries: 1. Nuštar, 2. Brodski Drenovac, 3. Bijelo Brdo, 4. Sommerein, 5. Leobersdorf, 6. Frohsdorf, 7. Zwölfaxing (Szentpéteri 2002, Karte 4; prilagodila / adapted by A. Rapan Papeša, 2015.)

Kasnoavarodobno groblje u Nuštru

Selo Nuštar nalazi se 6 km sjeverno od Vinkovaca u središtu Vukovarsko-srijemske županije. Lokalitet Dvorac nalazi se 1 km jugozapadno od centra sela na njegovu rubu. Lokalitet se ne ističe u prostoru – smješten je na lesnoj gredi koja se pruža u smjeru istok-zapad između rijeke Vuke i potoka Ervenice i sastavni je dio geološke cjeline koju čine đakovačko-vinkovački ravnjak i zapadni obronci Fruške gore.

Prvi grobovi na lokalitetu otkriveni su u siječnju 2011. godine tijekom građevinskih radova za izgradnju nogometnog stadiona. Građevinski radnici prekopali su najmanje sedam grobova. Lokalni povjerenik i suradnik muzeja o nalazima je dojavio Gradskom muzeju Vinkovci.⁴

⁴ Rapan Papeša 2012, 4.

The Late Avar Period graveyard in Nuštar

The village of Nuštar lies at a distance of 6 km north of the town of Vinkovci, in the centre of Vukovar-Srijem County. The site Dvorac (Castle) lies 1 km southwest from the centre of the village, on outskirts of the village. The site does not stand out visually; it is located on a loess ridge that stretches from east to west between the river Vuka and the stream Ervenica.

The first graves on this site came to light in January 2011, during construction works for a football field. At least seven graves were disturbed by workers on the site. The finds were reported to Vinkovci Municipal Museum by an associate of the museum.⁴

⁴ Rapan Papeša 2012, 4.



Sl. / Fig. 1: Zračna slika lokaliteta nakon istraživanja / Aerial photo of the site after excavation (snimio / photo by Z. Tanocki, 2011.)

Površina koju groblje zauzima unutar građevinskog iskopa definirana je u svibnju, a istraživanja su provedena od 2. rujna do 18. listopada 2011. godine. Istraženo je približno 2/3 groblja, odnosno svi grobovi koji su bili ugroženi građevinskim radovima. Otvorena je površina od oko 140 x 100 m, ali grobovi su bili koncentrirani u jugoistočnom dijelu iskopa na površini od oko 60 x 40 m.⁵

Tijekom istraživanja imenovan je 201 grob, a istraženo ih je 196 (u trima se slučajevima nije radilo o grobovima, a dva su groba većim dijelom izlazila izvan iskopne površine). Nalazi su bili uglavnom u jako dobrom stanju, dok su koštani ostatci vrlo loše očuvani.

Istraženo je ukupno deset prilično regularnih ukopnih redova (sl. 1). Grobovi su orijentirani u smjeru zapad-istok. Uglavnom su pravilna oblika, a u većini su uočeni tragovi drvenih konstrukcija.⁶ Svaki je grob u principu iskopan za jednog pokojnika, a višestrukih je ukopa svega sedam.

The area that graveyard occupies was determined in May 2011 and excavated between 2 September and 18 October 2011. About 2/3 of the graveyard has been excavated – all the graves that were endangered by construction works. The area opened measured about 140 x 100 m, but the graves were concentrated in south-east part, covering an area of approximately 60 x 40 m.⁵

During the excavations, 201 graves were named and 196 were excavated (3 were not graves, while 2 were largely located beyond the excavation area). The finds were found in a very good condition, but the skeletal remains were in a very poor state of preservation.

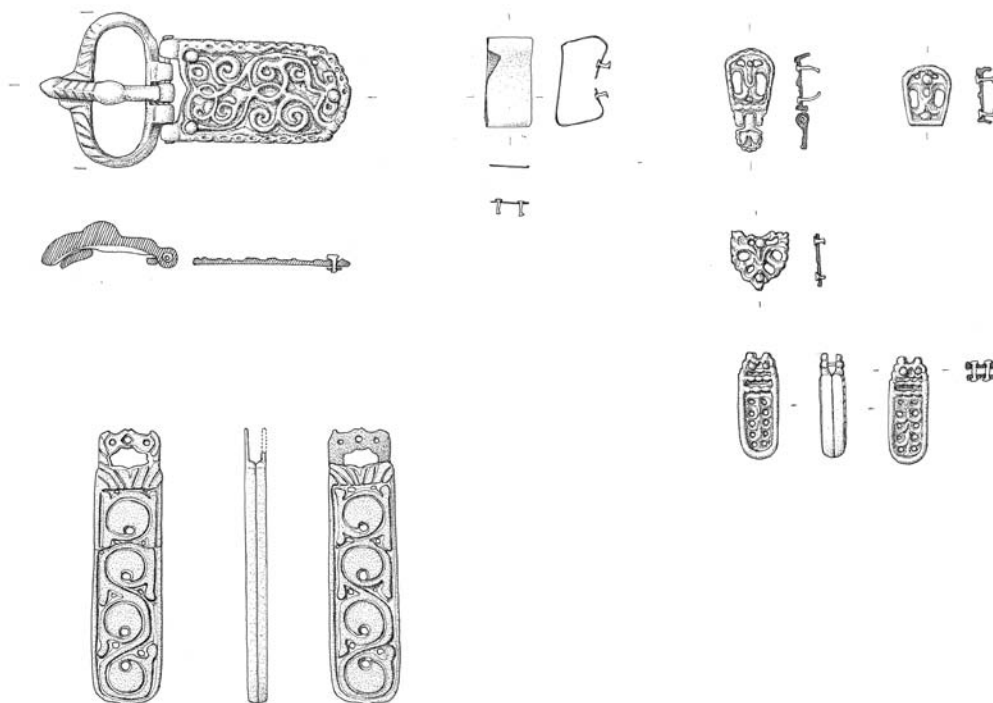
A total of 10 fairly regular burial rows have been excavated (Fig. 1). The orientation of the graves was west-east. The graves are mostly of a regular shape, and the remains of wooden structures were observed in the vast majority of graves.⁶ Generally, each grave was dug for one deceased person, and there were only seven multiple burials.

⁵ Rapan Papeša 2012a.

⁶ Rapan Papeša 2013.

⁵ Rapan Papeša 2012a.

⁶ Rapan Papeša 2013.



Sl. / Fig. 2: Tipični nalazi iz muških grobova / Typical finds from male graves (crtež / drawing by M. Galić, 2012/2013; uredila / edited by A. Rapan Papeša, 2015.)

Antropološke analize pokazale su da je na groblju ukopano ukupno 188 osoba⁷: 65 muškaraca, 44 žene, 35 odraslih neodrediva spola, 42 djece i dvije osobe nepoznata spola i dobi.⁸ Zabilježena su i dva ukopa konjanika s konjem.⁹ Nalazi su nađeni u 175 grobova. Najčešći nalazi kod svih spolnih i dobnih skupina keramičke su posude i željezni noževi. U muškim je grobovima (sl. 2) čest nalaz ukrasna pojasna brončana garnitura (ali i jednostavni, svakodnevni pojasi), dok se u ženskim grobovima (sl. 3) često nalazi nakit (naušnice, perle ogrlice, narukvice i prstenje) ili oruđe (iglenice, pršljenci). Ukopi djece često su samo umanjene slike grobova odraslih s jako sličnim nalazima. Groblje u Nuštru u prosjeku predstavlja društvo koje bi se moglo opisati kao viša srednja klasa.

Sudeći prema nalazima iz grobova (pojasne garniture, nakit, oruđe i keramika), većina ukopa može se smjestiti u kasnoavarsko razdoblje. To se razdoblje apsolutno kronološki smješta u 8. i početak 9. stoljeća.

Anthropological analyses have shown that a total of 188 individuals⁷ were buried at the graveyard: 65 males, 44 females, 35 adults (indeterminate sex), 42 children and 2 people of indeterminate age and sex.⁸ In addition, 2 burials of a horseman with his horse were recorded.⁹ Grave goods were found in 175 of the graves. The most common finds for all age and sex groups were pottery vessels and iron knives. Male graves (Fig. 2) often featured decorative bronze belt sets (but also simple, everyday belts), while female graves (Fig. 3) usually contained some kind of jewellery (earrings, necklace beads, bracelets, and finger-rings) or tools (needle cases, spindle whorls). The burial sites of children were frequently smaller versions of adult graves, with very similar finds. On average, the burial site at Nuštar represents a society that could be described as upper middle class.

Based on the finds from the graves (belt sets, jewellery, tools and pottery), most of the burial sites belong to the Late Avar Period. In an absolutely

⁷ U preostalim 8 grobova nisu nađeni ljudski ostatci.

⁸ Premužić, Rajić Šikanjić, Rapan Papeša 2013.

⁹ Premužić *et al.* 2012.

⁷ The remaining 8 graves contained no human skeletal remains.

⁸ Premužić, Rajić Šikanjić, Rapan Papeša 2013.

⁹ Premužić *et al.* 2012.



Sl. / Fig. 3: Tipični nalazi iz ženskih grobova / Typical finds from female graves (crtež / drawing by M. Galić, 2012/2013; uredila / edited by A. Rapan Papeša, 2015.)

U usporedbi s ostalim istovremenim kasnoavardobnim grobljima u Hrvatskoj, lokalitet Nuštar/Dvorac izdvaja se jedinstvenim konstrukcijama u grobnim rakama i nalazima. U usporedbi s kasnoavardobnim grobljima općenito, arheološki nalazi iz Nuštra imaju više ili manje slične nalaze, a jedinstvenima ih čini zbir različitih utjecaja (zapadnih i istočnih) na jednom mjestu.

chronological sense, we can define this time period as somewhere between the late 8th and beginning of the 9th century.

Compared to other contemporaneous Late Avar period cemeteries in Croatia, the Nuštar/Dvorac site stands out for its unique grave pit constructions, as well as its finds. In comparison with other Late Avar period cemeteries, the finds from Nuštar have more or less comparable finds, but what makes them unique is their blending of different influences (Western and Eastern) at one site.

This paper shall present the organic finds, namely textiles, preserved on several of the metal objects found in the graves.

Methodology – textile analysis

Textiles are organic materials and disintegrate easily, especially if buried in the ground. The great majority of archaeological textiles are tiny fragments, preserved in connection with metal artefacts made of bronze, iron or silver. Although often mineralised, and better described as pseudomorphs than textiles, it is nonetheless possible to extract information from them based on the quality of the weave and yarn, as well as identifying whether they had been made of plant fibre or wool.¹⁰

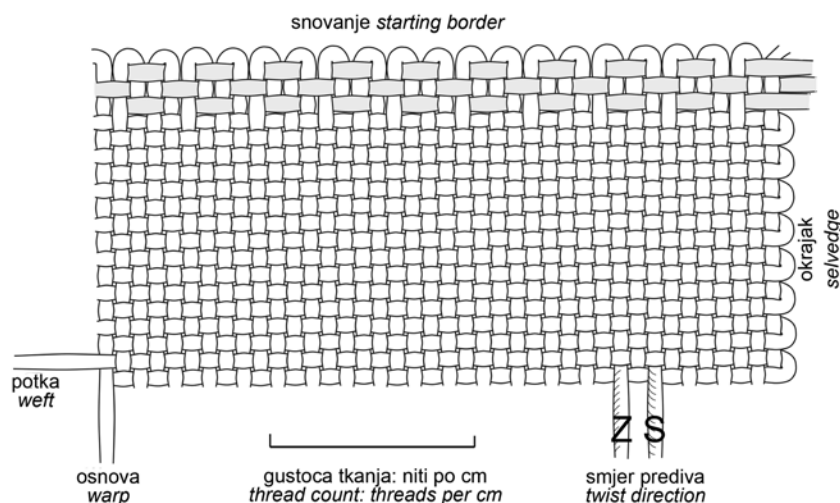
In the case of the mineralised grave finds, weave type and technical details (Fig. 4) such as thread count, yarn diameter, use of plied or single yarn, twist direction (*S* or *Z*), weaving errors, specific pattern types and seams can be studied.¹¹ The stratigraphic position of textile remain(s) holds important potential for interpreting their function. This step of the analysis is called “microstratigraphy”.¹²

For the Avar textiles from Nuštar, measurements of technical details were carried out with the DinoLite Digital Microscope and light microscope (Zeiss SteREO Discovery.V20). In this, the thread diameter and the fine structures of the weave were documented. Fibre analyses were conducted with

¹⁰ Nowak-Böck 2010.

¹¹ Walton, Eastwood 1988.

¹² Hägg 1989.



Sl. / Fig. 4: Tehnički detalji tkanine / Technical details of a textile (autorica / author K. Grömer, 2012.)

U ovom će radu biti predstavljena organska materija, odnosno tkanina očuvana na nekolicini metalnih nalaza iz grobova.

Metodologija – analiza tkanine

Tkanina je organski materijal i lako se raspada, posebno kada je ukopana u zemlju. Velika većina arheološkog tekstila u biti su mali fragmenti povezani s metalnim artefaktima izrađenima od bronce, željeza ili srebra. Iako često mineralizirani i bolje određivi kao pseudomorfi nego kao tkanina, iz njih se ipak mogu izvući podatci o tkanju i vrsti niti te odrediti jesu li izrađeni od biljnih vlakana ili vune.¹⁰

U slučaju mineraliziranih nalaza iz grobova moguće je promatrati vrstu tkanja i tehničke detalje (sl. 4) kao što su broj niti, promjer pređe, uporaba nanosila ili jednostavnog tkanja, smjer pređenja (S ili Z) i greške u tkanju.¹¹ Stratigrafski smještaj ostat(a)ka tkanine sadrži potencijalno važne informacije za interpretaciju njihove funkcije. Ovaj se korak analize naziva mikrostratigrafija.¹²

Za avarske tkanine iz Nuštra mjerenja i tehnički detalji obavljani su digitalnim mikroskopom DinoLite i svjetlosnim mikroskopom Zeiss SteREO

the Scanning Electron Microscope (JEOL, JSM-6610LV) at the Central Research Laboratories, located at the Natural History Museum Vienna. Electron microscopy is applied to study objects down to a micro- and even nanometre scale (0.000001 mm) in a structural or analytical manner. There are some problems inherent to the fibre analysis of material, the Nustar finds are covered with consolidation products (attached by restorers to stabilise the artefact). In most cases, the surface of the fibres cannot be viewed without removing the consolidant and/or taking samples.

Catalogue of the graves with textile remains

Out of the 196 graves excavated in Nuštar, only 7 (3.57 %) of them yielded scarce finds of textile remains (Tab. 1). The position of the graves in question, which are scattered throughout the excavated area, confirms that the only possible reason for the preservation of the textiles was their proximity to metal. However, special conditions must have played a great part in preserving the textiles, since over 1260 metal items originated from the graves at Nuštar – yet only 0.6 % of that number showed traces of preserved textile.

Textile fragments were observed on both bronze (3) and iron (5) items originating from the graves of all sex and age groups, but male burials aged

¹⁰ Nowak-Böck 2010.

¹¹ Walton, Eastwood 1988.

¹² Hägg 1989.

Discovery.V20. Na ovaj su način dokumentirane debljina pređe i fine strukture tkanja. Analiza vlakana obavljena je elektronskim mikroskopom JEOL, JSM-6610LV u Centralnom istraživačkom laboratoriju smještenom u Prirodoslovnom muzeju u Beču. Elektronska mikroskopija koristi se za proučavanje predmeta u mikro i nanometarskoj skali (0,000001 mm), u strukturnom ili analitičkom pristupu. Postoje određeni problemi svojstveni vlaknima na analiziranom materijalu jer su ona prekrivena proizvodima za konsolidaciju (stavljenima od konzervatora radi stabilizacije predmeta). U većini se slučajeva površina vlakana ne može vidjeti bez uklanjanja konsolidanta ili/i uzimanja uzoraka.

Katalog grobova s ostacima tkanine

U samo sedam (3,57 %) od 196 istraženih grobova u Nuštru nađeni su oskudni nalazi tekstilnih ostataka (tab. 1). Razmještaj dotičnih grobova raštrkanih širom istraživane površine potvrđuje da je blizina metala jedini mogući razlog očuvanja tekstila. Veliku ulogu u očuvanju tekstila ipak su morali igrati posebni uvjeti jer od preko 1260 metalnih nalaza koji potječu iz Nuštra svega 0,6 % pokazuje tragove očuvane tkanine.

35 to 50 years dominate. Most of these items (6) can be associated with the belt: buckles, hinges and rings. The remaining two are a knife and a breast clasp, another form of fastening garment. Finds with attached textiles come from graves with wooden constructions, very often a combination of several grave pit modifications. This fact is not very telling due to the predominance of these types of grave pits in Nuštar, but it could be one of reasons why the textiles were preserved. According to other finds from the graves, they can be dated to the second half of 8th century.

Find No. PN 87 / Grave 9 (Pl. 1)

Short description of the grave: Rectangular grave pit with hollows under the head and feet (2.57 m x 0.73 m x 0.87 m), orientation W-E. Skeleton in extended supine position, arms stretched next to the body, extremely badly preserved. Anthropological determination: probably female (20–35 years old). Finds: On the knees there is a vessel, bronze finger-rings on each hand and iron bracelets on the left and right arm; 2 breast clasps under the chin. Clasp PN 87 has preserved textile; it was found face down in the grave.

Tablica / Table 1: Grobovi s nalazima tekstila / Graves with textile finds

Broj groba / Grave number	Spol/Dob / Sex/Age	Vrsta rake / Type of grave	Datacija / Dated
5	M/35-50; Horse, M/5-7	udubljenja na dnu, 3 vodoravne grede / bottom depression, 3 horizontal beams	Sredina 8. st. / Middle 8 th century
9	?*F/20-35	udubljenja na dnu, sužavanje stepenicama / bottom depression, vertical walls modified by steps	Kraj 8. st. / Late 8 th century
10	C/0-5	udubljenja na dnu / bottom depression	Druga polovina 8. st. / Second half of 8 th century
46	M/35-50	udubljenja na dnu, utor za drvenu dasku / bottom depression, fillister for wooden top	8. st. / 8 th century
58	M/35-50	udubljenja na dnu, sužavanje stepenicama / bottom depression, vertical walls modified by steps	8. st. / 8 th century
69	Odrasli / Adult	udubljenja na dnu / bottom depression	Sredina 8. st. / Middle 8 th century
126	M/35-50	udubljenja na dnu, sužavanje stepenicama, 3 vodoravne grede / bottom depression, vertical walls modified by steps, 3 horizontal beams	Sredina 8. st. / Middle 8 th century

*Zbog slabe očuvanosti antropološki pretpostavljen spol / Due to poor state of bones sex is assumed

Ulomci tkanine uočeni su na brončanim (tri) i željeznim (pet) predmetima koji potječu iz grobova svih dobnih i spolnih skupina, ali dominiraju ukopi muškaraca u starosti od 35 do 50 godina. Pređice, okovi i alke koji predstavljaju većinu nalaza (šest) mogu se vezati uz pojas. Preostala dva predmeta su nož i spojka koja se koristila kao alternativni način kopčanja odjeće. Nalazi tekstila pojavljuju se u grobovima s drvenim konstrukcijama, pri čemu je vrlo često riječ o nekoliko modifikacija grobne rake. Budući da ovakvi tipovi raka prevladavaju u Nuštru, to i ne govori previše, ali možda je ovo jedan od razloga zašto je tkanina očuvana. S obzirom na ostale nalaze iz grobova, može ih se datirati u drugu polovinu 8. stoljeća.

Nalaz PN 87 / Grob 9 (T. 1)

Kratki opis groba: Pravokutna raka s doglavnim i donožnim udubljenjima (2,57 m x 0,73 m x 0,87 m), orijentacija Z-I. Kosturni ukop ispružen na leđima, ruke pružene uz tijelo, iznimno loše očuvan. Antropološki vjerojatno žena (od 20 do 35 godina). Prilozi: posuda nađena na koljenima, brončano prstenje na prstima obje ruke, željezne narukvice na obje ruke, ispod brade dvije spojke. Spojka PN 87 ima očuvanu tkaninu, a u grobu je nađena licem prema dolje.

Opis tekstila: Očuvan organski fragment tkanine na prednjoj strani spojke s umetnutim staklima. Tkanina je srednje fino tkanje.

Vrsta tkanja: obično tkanje

Veličina tkanine: 2,00 x 0,7 cm

Materijal: analiza niti nije moguća

Boja: zelenkasto smeđa, izvorno vjerojatno *prirodno bijela*

Tehnički detalji (nije identificirana osnova i potka):

Sustav niti 1: 0,3–0,4 mm jednostavna Z pređa, kut uvijanja 30°, gustoća od 18 do 20 niti po cm

Sustav niti 1: 0,3–0,4 mm jednostavna Z pređa, kut uvijanja 30°, gustoća od 16 do 18 niti po cm

Površina: glatka i ravna

Interpretacija: Spojka je nađena licem prema dolje u smjeru tijela, srednje fino tkanje na prednjoj strani je dio odjevnog predmeta gornjeg dijela tijela.

Description of the textile: Organic preserved textile fragment on the face side of a breast clasp with glass inserts. The textile is a medium fine tabby.

Weave type: tabby

Size of the textile: 2.00 x 0.7 cm

Material: no fibre analysis possible

Colour: greenish-brown, original colour presumably "natural white"

Technical details (no identification warp and weft):

Thread system 1: 0.3–0.4 mm z-single yarn, twist angle 30°, density 18–20 threads per cm

Thread system 1: 0.3 mm z-single yarn, twist angle 30°, density 16–18 threads per cm

Surface: even and flat

Interpretation: The clasp was found with the face side down (facing the body); the medium fine tabby on the face side is a part of the garment on the upper body.

Find No. PN 200 / Grave 10 (Pl. 2)

Short description of the grave: Rectangular grave pit with hollows under the head and feet (1.50 m x 0.55 m x 0.57 m), orientation W-E. Skeleton in extended supine position, extremely badly preserved. Anthropological determination: child (0–5 years old). Finds: Bronze items belonging to a belt were found in the stomach area, among them an iron ring with attached textiles and a pot in the hollow under the feet. The iron ring PN 200 was found next to the hips (right side). It was used to fix an iron knife to the belt.

Description of the textile: At least two layers of a medium fine tabby textile on the iron ring PN 200.

Weave type: tabby

Size of the textile: 1.8 x 1.1 cm

Material: SEM fibre analysis: bast fibre (plant fibre, no specific characteristics visible)

Colour: reddish brown due to corrosion products

Technical details (no identification warp and weft):

Thread system 1: 0.3 mm z-single yarn, twist angle 20–30°, density 12 threads per cm

Thread system 1: 0.3–0.4 mm z-single yarn, twist angle 20–30°, density 12 threads per cm

Surface: open weave, flexible fabric

Nalaz PN 200 / grob 10 (T. 2)

Kratki opis groba: Pravokutna raka s doglavnim i donožnim udubljenjima (1,50 m x 0,55 m x 0,57 m), orijentacija Z-I. Kosturni ukop ispružen na leđima, iznimno loše očuvan. Antropološki određen kao dijete (do pet godina). Prilozi: na području trbuha nađeni dijelovi brončane pojasne garniture, među njima i željezna alka s pričvršćenom tkaninom, a u donožnom udubljenju lonac. Željezna alka PN 200 nađena je uz kuk (desna strana). Korištena je za vješanje noža s pojasa.

Opis tekstila: Najmanje dva sloja tkanine srednje finog tkanja na željeznoj alki PN 200.

Vrsta tkanja: obično tkanje

Veličina tkanine: 1,80 x 1,1 cm

Materijal: SEM analiza niti – niti lika (biljna vlakana, nisu vidljiva posebna obilježja)

Boja: crvenkasto smeđa zbog procesa korozije

Tehnički detalji (nije identificirana osnova i potka):

Sustav niti 1: 0,3 mm jednostavna Z pređa, kut uvijanja od 20° do 30°, gustoća 12 niti po cm

Sustav niti 1: od 0,3 do 0,4 mm jednostavna Z pređa, kut uvijanja od 20° do 30°, gustoća 12 niti po cm

Površina: otvoreno tkanje, fleksibilna tkanina

Interpretacija: Željezna alka nađena je s desne strane uz kuk. Tkanina na alci mogla bi biti dio odjeće ili mrtvačkog pokrova.

Nalaz PN 309 i 316 / Grob 5 (T. 3)

Kratki opis groba: Pravokutna raka s doglavnim i donožnim udubljenjima (2,50 m x 1,45 m x 1,27 m) i tri para rupa za vodoravne grede, orijentacija Z-I. Ukop konja i čovjeka, konj je položen čovjeku s lijeva. Arheozoološki određen kao pastuh star sedam godina. Kosturni ukop ispružen na leđima, ruke pružene uz tijelo; kosti disclocirane uslijed pada grobne konstrukcije. Antropološki određen kao muškarac (od 35 do 50 godina). Prilozi: izmiješani su nalazi pojasne garniture i konjske opreme. Na području trbuha nađeni dijelovi brončane pojasne garniture, među njima i željezna alka s pričvršćenom tkaninom. Brončani okov PN 309 nađena je *in situ* na trbuhu pokojnika. Na području zdjelice nađen je i jedan željezni predmet nepoznate namjene (PN 316).

Interpretation: The iron ring with the textile was situated on the right side of the hips. The textile on the ring may have belonged to a garment or a shroud.

Find No. PN 309 and 316 / Grave 5 (Pl. 3)

Short description of the grave: Rectangular grave pit with hollows under the head and feet (2.50 m x 1.45 m x 1.27 m) and 3 pairs of holes that once held horizontal beams, orientation W-E. Burial of a horse and a man, horse laid to the left of the man. Zooarchaeological determination: male horse, 7 years old. Skeleton in extended supine position, arms stretched out next to the body, bones dislocated due to the collapse of the grave construction. Anthropological determination: male (35–50 years old). Finds: admixed belt set and horse harness. The belt fitting PN 309 was still situated *in situ* at the stomach of the deceased. An iron object of unknown function (PN 316) was found at the pelvic region.

PN 309: Description of the textile: Small fragment of a fine tabby textile on the face side of a belt fitting (PN 309).

Weave type: tabby

Size of the textile: 0.7 x 0.9 cm

Material: fibre analysis was not possible due to the adhering consolidation products

Colour: reddish brown due to corrosion products, original colour presumably “natural white”

Technical details (no identification warp and weft):

Thread system 1: 0.2–0.3 mm z-single yarn, twist angle 40°, density 16 threads per cm

Thread system 1: 0.3 mm z-single yarn, twist angle 40°, density 16 threads per cm

Surface: flat and even

Interpretation: the textile on the outer side of the belt fitting could have belonged to a garment situated in this region (upper garment or trousers), but could also have belonged to a shroud.

PN 316: Description of the textile: Iron object of unknown purpose with several layers of fine tabby textiles, 6 layers could be counted.

Weave type: tabby

Size of the textile: 2.5 x 1.0 cm

PN 309: Opis tekstila: Mali fragment finog tkanja na naličju pojasnog okova (PN 309).

Vrsta tkanja: obično tkanje

Veličina tkanine: 0,7 x 0,9 cm

Materijal: analiza niti nije moguća zbog pričvršćenih proizvoda za konsolidaciju

Boja: crvenkasto smeđa zbog procesa korozije, izvorno vjerojatno *prirodno bijela*

Tehnički detalji (nije identificirana osnova i potka):

Sustav niti 1: od 0,2 do 0,3 mm jednostavna Z pređa, kut uvijanja 40°, gustoća 16 niti po cm

Sustav niti 1: 0,3 mm jednostavna Z pređa, kut uvijanja 40°, gustoća 16 niti po cm

Površina: ravna i glatka

Interpretacija: tkanina na vanjskoj strani pojasnog okova može pripadati odjeći ovog područja (gornja odjeća ili hlače), ali može pripadati i mrtvačkom pokrovu.

PN 316: Opis tekstila: željezni predmet nepoznate namjene s nekoliko slojeva tkanine finog tkanja, moglo se izbrojati šest slojeva.

Vrsta tkanja: obično tkanje

Veličina tkanine: 2,5 x 1,0 cm

Materijal: SEM analiza niti – niti lika

Boja: crvenkasto smeđa zbog procesa korozije

Tehnički detalji (nije identificirana osnova i potka):

Sustav niti 1: od 0,2 do 0,3 mm jednostavna Z pređa, kut uvijanja od 30° do 40°, gustoća od 14 do 16 niti po cm

Sustav niti 1: 0,2 mm jednostavna Z pređa, kut uvijanja od 30° do 40°, gustoća od 14 do 16 niti po cm

Površina: glatka

Napomena: tkanina je višestruko preklapana ili skupljana.

Interpretacija: kontekst usporediv s PN 309, možda također pripada odjeći. Ako je predmet ulomak pređice, tkanina bi mogla biti gornja odjeća koju drži i skuplja pojas.

Nalaz PN 423 / Grob 46 (T. 4)

Kratki opis groba: Pravokutna raka s doglavnim i donožnim udubljenjima (2,41 m x 1,03 m x 1,19 m), orijentacija Z-I (otklon 2° prema S). Kosturni ukop ispružen na leđima, iznimno loše očuvan. Antropološki određen kao muškarac (od 35 do 50

Material: SEM fibre analysis: bast fibre

Colour: reddish brown due to corrosion products

Technical details (no identification warp and weft):

Thread system 1: 0.2–0.3 mm z-single yarn, twist angle 30–40°, density 14–16 threads per cm

Thread system 1: 0.2 mm z-single yarn, twist angle 30–40°, density 14–16 threads per cm

Surface: even

Remark: The textile was folded or gathered several times.

Interpretation: Context comparable to PN 309, possibly also a part of a garment. If the object was a fragment of a belt buckle, the textile could be an upper garment that was held and gathered by the belt.

Find No. PN 423 / Grave 46 (Pl. 4)

Short description of the grave: Rectangular grave pit with hollows under the head and feet (2.41 m x 1.03 m x 1.19 m), orientation W-E (deviation 2° N). Skeleton in extended supine position, extremely badly preserved. Anthropological determination: male (35–50 years old). Finds: A pot was found in the grave, together with an iron knife next to the right hand and the iron belt buckle PN 423. The belt buckle was situated at the pelvic region of the deceased.

Description of the organic remains: On the belt buckle there are two different textiles (Fig. 8; a coarser textile 423–1; and a finer textile 423–2) and a leather fragment (see micro-stratigraphy). Entomological remains were also found.

Coarser textile PN 423-1

Weave type: tabby

Size of the textile: 1.2 x 0.6 cm

Material: SEM fibre analysis: perhaps of animal origin

Colour: reddish brown due to corrosion products

Technical details (no identification warp and weft):

Thread system 1: 0.4 mm z-single yarn, twist angle 30–40°, density 12 threads per cm

Thread system 1: 0.4 mm z-single yarn, twist angle 40°, density 10–12 threads per cm

Surface: open weave

godina). Prilozi: u grobu je nađen lonac, a uz desnu ruku željezni nož i željezna pređica PN 423. Pređica je nađena na području zdjelice pokojnika.

Opis organskih ostataka: Na pređici su dvije različite tkanine (sl. 8; grublja tkanina 423–1 i finija tkanina 423–2) i komadić kože (pogledaj mikrostratigrafiju). Nađeni su i entomološki ostatci.

Grublja tkanina PN 423-1

Vrsta tkanja: obično tkanje

Veličina tkanine: 1,2 x 0,6 cm

Materijal: SEM analiza niti – možda životinjskog podrijetla

Boja: crvenkasto smeđa zbog procesa korozije

Tehnički detalji (nije identificirana osnova i potka):

Sustav niti 1: 0,4 mm jednostavna Z pređa, kut uvijanja od 30° do 40°, gustoća 12 niti po cm

Sustav niti 1: 0,4 mm jednostavna Z pređa, kut uvijanja 40°, gustoća od 10 do 12 niti po cm

Površina: otvoreno tkanje

Finija tkanina PN 423-2

Vrsta tkanja: obično tkanje

Veličina tkanine: 1,0 x 1,8 cm; 1,6 x 1,2 cm

Materijal: analiza niti nije moguća zbog pričvršćenih proizvoda za konsolidaciju

Boja: crvenkasto smeđa zbog procesa korozije

Tehnički detalji (nije identificirana osnova i potka):

Sustav niti 1: 0,2 mm jednostavna Z pređa, kut uvijanja 30°, gustoća od 18 do 20 niti po cm

Sustav niti 1: 0,2 mm jednostavna Z pređa, kut uvijanja 30°, gustoća neprebrojiva

Napomena: tkanina je jako uništena

Ostatci kože: Koža je jasno vidljiva, ali se zbog nedostatka identifikacijskih obilježja (uzorak zrnatosti, tekstura) nije mogla odrediti vrsta životinje ni vrsta štavljenja. Usprkos tome površina kože pokazuje zanimljive ukrase: reljef s trokutastim ili kapljastim žigovima (*Prägung*; žigosana koža), po tri u nizu.

Entomološki ostatci: Na pređici je nađena ličinka muhe (*diptera pupa*).

Interpretacija: kontekst pređice nađene na području zdjelice jasno određuju ulogu kože koja je prethodno je pripadala pojasu kopčanom pređicom. Koža je presavijena i u njoj je otkriven neidentificiran organski materijal.

Finer textile PN 423-2

Weave type: tabby

Size of the textile: 1.0 x 1.8; 1.6 x 1.2 cm

Material: fibre analysis not possible due to the adhering consolidation products

Colour: reddish brown due to corrosion products

Technical details (no identification warp and weft):

Thread system 1: 0.2 mm z-single yarn, twist angle 30°, density 18–20 threads per cm

Thread system 1: 0.2 mm z-single yarn, twist angle 30°, density not countable

Remark: the textile is in a very bad condition

Leather remains: The leather is clearly visible, but the type of animal and the type of tanning cannot be identified because clear identifying characteristics (grain pattern, texture) are missing. Nevertheless, the surface of the leather shows interesting decorations: triangular or drop-shaped embossments (*Prägung*; leather with stamping), three in a line.

Entomological remain: A fly larva was found on the buckle (*diptera pupa*).

Interpretation: As the belt buckle was found at the pelvic region, this context gives the leather a clear function: it formerly belonged to the belt that was closed by the buckle. The leather was folded and unidentified organic material was detected in it.

There are two layers of textiles on the belt buckle: on the face side a fine tabby (423–2), which is in a very bad condition. This textile bends over the edge of the buckle and can be seen on the back side, as well. Next to the body of the deceased person, a coarser wool tabby (423-1) was found.

It can be deduced that the fine tabby face and back side of the belt buckle are the remains of a “belted” garment (e.g. tunic). The wool cloth between the belted garment and the body could have belonged to a pair of trousers.

Find No. PN 707 / Grave 58 (Pl. 5)

Short description of the grave: Rectangular grave pit with hollows under the head and feet (2.32 m x 0.92 m x 1.28 m), orientation W-E. Skeleton in extended supine position, arms stretched out next

Na predici su dva sloja tkanine: na prednjici jako uništeno fino tkanje (423-2) koje se savija preko ruba predice i uočljivo je i na poledini, a prema tijelu pokojnika nalazimo grublje vuneno tkanje (423-1).

Možemo zaključiti da finija tkanina s prednje i stražnje strane predice pripada ostatcima opojasane odjeće, tj. odjeće skupljene pojasom (npr. tunici). Vuneno sukno između obavijene odjeće i tijela možda su hlače.

Nalaz PN 707 / Grob 58 (T. 5)

Kratki opis groba: Pravokutna raka s doglavnim i donožnim udubljenjima (2,32 m x 0,92 m x 1,28 m), orijentacija Z-I. Kosturni ukop ispružen na leđima, ruke pružene uz tijelo, u dobrom stanju. Antropološki određen kao muškarac (od 35 do 50 godina). Prilozi: željezna predica i brončana kopča, lonac uz desno koljeno i uz desni kuk željezni nož (PN 707). Očuvani su i dijelovi drvene ručke noža.

Opis tekstila: željezni nož PN 707 s jednim slojem srednje grubog tkanja na jednoj strani.

Vrsta tkanja: obično tkanje

Veličina tkanine: 6,00 x 1,8 cm i 1,7 x 0,7 cm

Materijal: analiza niti nije moguća

Boja: crvenkasto-smeđa zbog procesa korozije

Tehnički detalji (nije identificirana osnova i potka):

Sustav niti 1: od 0,4 do 0,5 mm jednostavna Z pređa, kut uvijanja od 20° do 30°, gustoća od 10 do 12 niti po cm

Sustav niti 1: od 0,4 do 0,5 mm jednostavna Z pređa, kut uvijanja od 20° do 30°, gustoća od 10 do 12 niti po cm

Površina: ravna i glatka, otvoreno tkanje

Interpretacija: Tkanina je nađena na oštrici noža, ali uz ruku pokojnika. Značajno je što je tkanina nađena samo s jedne strane artefakta i što ne prelazi rub. Postoje tri moguća objašnjenja za ove ostatke:

- a) moguće je da tkanina pripada odjeći ovog dijela tijela pokojnika (gornja odjeća, hlače ili pogrebna odjeća),
- b) tkanina predstavlja pokrov ili omot noža,
- c) tkanina je dio mrtvačkog pokrova koji je prekrivao pokojnika i njegove nalaze.

to the body, well preserved. Anthropological determination: male (35–50 years old). Finds: iron belt buckle and a bronze clasp, a pot next to the right knee and an iron knife (PN 707) next to the right hip an iron knife. Remains of the wooden knife handle are also preserved.

Description of the textile: Iron knife PN 707 with one layer of medium coarse tabby on one side.

Weave type: tabby

Size of the textile: 6.00 x 1.8 cm and 1.7 x 0.7 cm

Material: fibre analysis not possible

Colour: reddish brown due to corrosion products

Technical details (no identification warp and weft):

Thread system 1: 0.4–0.5 mm z-single yarn, twist angle 20–30°, density 10–12 threads per cm

Thread system 1: 0.4–0.5 mm z-single yarn, twist angle 20–30°, density 10–12 threads per cm

Surface: flat and even, open weave

Remark: The textile covers about 50 % of the knife blade. The thread direction of the fabric is parallel to the edges of the blade.

Interpretation: The textile was found on a knife blade, but situated next to the hip of the deceased. It is remarkable that the textile was found only on one side of the artefact, without bending over the edge. There are three different possibilities for interpreting such remains:

- a) Perhaps the textile belonged to a garment that was situated in this region of the deceased (upper garment, trousers or funeral dress),
- b) The textile could have represented a covering or wrapping for the knife,
- c) The textile was a fragment of a shroud that covered the deceased and his grave goods.

Find No. PN 815 / Grave 69 (Pl. 6)

Short description of the grave: Rectangular grave pit with hollows under the head and feet (2.30 m x 0.83 m x 1.40 m), orientation W-E (deviation 4° N). Skeletal burial, only leg bones preserved. Anthropological determination: adult, neither gender nor age can be determined. Finds: Several belt fittings were found in the pelvic region, and part of a belt set and a knife were found in the hollow

Nalaz PN 815 / Grob 69 (T. 6)

Kratki opis groba: Pravokutna raka s doglavnim i donožnim udubljenjima (2,30 m x 0,83 m x 1,40 m), orijentacija Z-I (otklon 4° prema S). Kosturni ukop, očuvane samo kosti nogu. Antropološki određen kao odrasla osoba nepoznata spola i dobi. Prilozi: u području zdjelice nađeno više posjanih okova, a dio garniture i nož nađeni u doglavnom udubljenju. Predica PN 815 nađena je na području desnog kuka.

Opis tekstila: Tkanina srednje grubog tkanja na obje strane pređice s područja kuka.

Vrsta tkanja: obično tkanje

Veličina tkanine: 1,5 x 0,7 cm

Materijal: analiza niti nije moguća zbog dodanih konsolidacijskih proizvoda

Boja: crvenkasto smeđa zbog procesa korozije

Tehnički detalji (nije identificirana osnova i potka):

Sustav niti 1: od 0,4 do 0,5 mm jednostavna Z pređa, kut uvijanja od 30° do 40°, gustoća od 14 do 16 niti po cm

Sustav niti 1: 0,5 mm jednostavna Z pređa, kut uvijanja od 30° do 40°, gustoća od 14 do 16 niti po cm

Površina: jednostavna i glatka

Napomena: tkanina ima nabore, vidljivo je pet slojeva

Interpretacija: Tkanina je nađena s prednje i stražnje strane pređice i savija se preko ruba. Mjesto nalaza pređice *in situ* i tkanina pričvršćena za nju upućuje na opojasanu odjeću. To potvrđuje nekoliko nabora i višeslojnost tkanine. Obavijena odjeća može biti hlače ili gornja odjeća. Pod pretpostavkom da razni lijepo ukrašeni pojasi okovi koji pripadaju avarskom pojasi trebaju biti vidljivi, vjerojatnije je da tkanina pripada gornjoj odjeći koja je bila opasana pojansom i skupljena.

Nalaz PN 975 / Grob 126 (T. 7)

Kratki opis groba: Pravokutna raka s doglavnim i donožnim udubljenjima (2,25 m x 0,79 m x 1,05 m), orijentacija Z-I (otklon 4° prema J). Kosturni ukop ispružen na leđima, loše očuvan. Antropološki određen kao muškarac (od 35 do 50 godina). Prilozi: u grobu nađen lonac, željezni nož i pojasna garnitura koju čine razni jezičci i okovi, brončana kopča i željezna pređica PN 975.

under the head. Belt buckle PN 815 was found in the right hip region.

Description of the textile: Medium coarse tabby textile on both sides of a belt buckle in the hip region.

Weave type: tabby

Size of the textile: 1.5 x 0.7 cm

Material: fibre analysis not possible due to the adhering consolidation products

Colour: reddish brown due to corrosion products

Technical details (no identification warp and weft):

Thread system 1: 0.4–0.5 mm z-single yarn, twist angle 30–40°, density 14–16 threads per cm

Thread system 1: 0.5 mm z-single yarn, twist angle 30–40°, density 14 threads per cm

Surface: plain and even

Remark: the textile has folds, 5 layers are visible

Interpretation: The textile was found on both the face and the back side of the belt buckle and it bends over one edge. The *in situ* position of the belt buckle and the textile attached to it indicates that the fabric belonged to the “belted garment”. This is confirmed by several folds and the multi-layering of the fabric. This belted garment could have been a pair of trousers or an upper garment. Presuming that the various beautifully decorated belt fittings belonging to the Avar belt were meant to be visible, it seems likely that the fabric belonged to an upper garment that was belted and gathered.

Find No. PN 975 / Grave 126 (Pl. 7)

Short description of the grave: Rectangular grave pit with hollows under the head and feet (2.25 m x 0.79 m x 1.05 m), orientation W-E (deviation 4° S). Skeleton in extended supine position, badly preserved. Anthropological determination: male (35–50 years old). Finds: a pot, an iron knife and a belt composed of various strap ends and bronze belt fittings, a bronze clasp and the iron belt buckle PN 975.

Description of the textile: Medium fine tabby on various parts of the back side of the belt buckle PN 975. The textile bends over one edge, and fragments of it are also visible on the face side.

Opis tekstila: Srednje grubog tkanje na različitim dijelovima stražnje strane pređice PN 975. Tkani-na se savija preko ruba i fragmentarno je također vidljiva na prednjoj strani.

Vrsta tkanja: obično tkanje

Veličina tkanine: 1,7 x 0,5 cm; 2,00 x 1,5 cm

Materijal: SEM analiza vlakna – vuna

Boja: crvenkasto smeđa zbog procesa korozije

Tehnički detalji (nije identificirana osnova i potka):

Sustav niti 1: 0,3 mm jednostavna Z pređa, kut uvijanja 30°, gustoća od 14 do 16 niti po cm

Sustav niti 1: 0,3 mm jednostavna Z pređa, kut uvijanja 30°, gustoća od 14 do 16 niti po cm

Napomena: tkanina se savija preko ruba i vidljiva je na prednjoj i stražnjoj strani pređice

Interpretacija: Tkanina je nađena s prednje i stražnje strane pređice i savija se preko ruba. Mjesto nalaza pređice *in situ* i tkanina pričvršćena za nju upućuje na opojasanu odjeću.

RASPRAVA

Nalazi iz Nuštra u usporedbi s avarskim tkaninama s drugih groblja

Sva tkanina pronađena u Nuštru ima istu vrstu tkanja i jednaku kvalitetu. Sastoji se od 0,2 do 0,4 mm (ponekad 0,5 mm) debelih pređa, predenih u Z uvoju. Nađena se tkanina jedino razlikuje u broju niti. Neke tkanine su nešto gušće od ostalih, što je vidljivo u broju od 20 niti po cm. Više otvorena tkanja imaju broj od 12 niti po cm, što ih čini više elastičnijima. Zbog dodavanja proizvoda za konsolidaciju, u većini slučajeva nije bila moguća analiza vlakana. Rijetki su slučajevi identifikacije vune ili biljnih vlakana.

Kvalitete tkanine i tehničke osobine nalaza iz Nuštra mogu se naći i na drugim avarskim grobljima. Analizirane tkanine iz avarodobnih grobova u Hrvatskoj dolaze s lokaliteta Bijelo brdo I. Radi se o simetričnim tkanjima okrenute osnove s debljim nitima u jednom sustavu niti izrađenima od biljnih vlakana.¹³ Ostatci tekstila zabilježeni su i na kasnoavarodobno/ranoslavenskom groblju Brodski Drenovac, opisani kao tkanja od životinjskih vlakana.¹⁴

¹³ Ivaniček 1949, 134–135.

¹⁴ Vinski-Gasparini, Ercegović 1958, 140.

Weave type: tabby

Size of the textile: 1.7 x 0.5; 2.0 x 1.5 cm

Material: SEM fibre analysis: wool

Colour: reddish brown due to corrosion products

Technical details (no identification warp and weft):

Thread system 1: 0.3 mm z-single yarn, twist angle 30°, density 14–16 threads per cm

Thread system 1: 0.3 mm z-single yarn, twist angle 30°, density 14–16 threads per cm

Remark: the textile bends over the edge and is visible on the back and face side of the belt buckle

Interpretation: The textile was found on both the face and the back side of the belt buckle and bends over one edge. The *in situ* position of the belt buckle and the textile attached to it indicates that the fabric belonged to the “belted garment”.

DISCUSSION

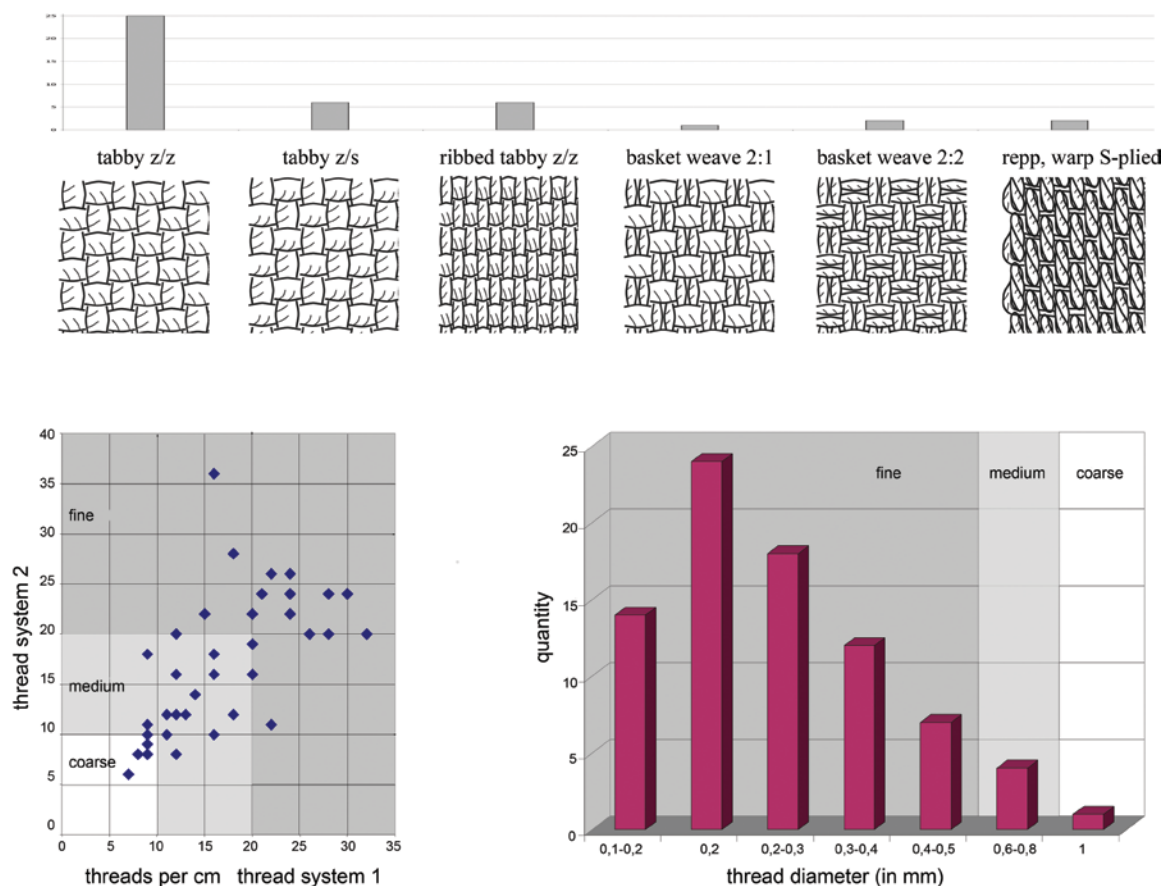
The Nuštar finds in comparison with Avar textiles from other graveyards

All of the textiles found in Nuštar have the same weave type and are nearly of the same quality. They consist of tabbies with 0.2–0.4 mm (sometimes 0.5 mm) thick yarns, spun in z-twist. Only the thread counts vary somewhat. Some of the textiles are somewhat denser than the others. This can be seen by a thread count of 20 threads per cm. More open weaves have a thread count of 12 threads per cm, which makes them somewhat more elastic. In most cases, fibre analysis was not possible due to the adhering consolidation products. There are rare cases of identification of wool and plant fibre.

The textile quality and technical characteristics of the finds from Nuštar can be found in other Avar graveyards, as well. Analysed textiles from Avar period graves in Croatia come from the Bijelo brdo I site. These are balanced tabbies and warp-faced items with thicker threads in one thread system made of plant fabrics.¹³ Textile remains have been recorded at the Late Avar/Early Slav period graveyard at Brodski Drenovac, described as tabby made of animal fibres.¹⁴

¹³ Ivaniček 1949, 134–135.

¹⁴ Vinski-Gasparini, Ercegović 1958, 140.



Sl. / Fig. 5: Usporedba: tipovi tkanja i kvalitete tkanine s avarskog groblja Zwölfaxing / Comparison: Weave types and cloth qualities from the Avar graveyard in Zwölfaxing, Austria (autorica / author K. Grömer, 2008.)

Tkanine nađene u avarskim grobovima u Austriji i Mađarskoj također pokazuju jednostavnost:¹⁵ u njima prevladavaju jednostavna tkanja, a rijetko se pronalaze košarasta i parana tkanja. Od više od 120 analiziranih avarskih tkanina iz Austrije (Sommerein, Leobersdorf, Frohsdorf i Zwölfaxing),¹⁶ samo su dvije izrađene unakrsnim tkanjem. Te sutkanine prilično fine, što pokazuju analize materijala iz Zwölfaxinga (sl. 5).¹⁷ Slična je slika tekstila poznata iz grobova rimskog razdoblja u Austriji. Ipak, avarske se tkanine uvelike razlikuju od istovremenih alamanskih i bajuvarskih tkanina¹⁸ na kojima se češće uočava unakrsno tkanje u nekoliko kitnjastih varijanti kao što

The fabrics found in Avar graves in Austria and Hungary also show a very simple range:¹⁵ plain tabby dominates, while basket weave and rep is rarely found. Only two of over 120 analysed Avar textiles from Austria (Sommerein, Leobersdorf, Frohsdorf and Zwölfaxing)¹⁶ have been made in twill. As demonstrated by the analyses of the materials from Zwölfaxing (Fig. 5),¹⁷ the textiles are quite fine. Textiles of a similar appearance have been found in graves from the Austrian Roman Period, 4th and 5th century AD. However, the Avar textiles differ markedly from the Alamannic and Bajuvarian textiles, 5th till 8th cent. AD,¹⁸ which more frequently feature twill fab-

¹⁵ Grömer 2010.

¹⁶ Hundt 1984; Hundt 1987; Klatz 2010; Grömer, Müller 2008.

¹⁷ Grömer, Müller 2008.

¹⁸ Vidi npr. Bender Jørgensen 1992, 68 i dalje, 110 i dalje; Brather, Krausse 2013; Peek 2013; Rast-Eicher 2002.

¹⁵ Grömer 2010.

¹⁶ Hundt 1984; Hundt 1987; Klatz 2010; Grömer, Müller 2008.

¹⁷ Grömer, Müller 2008.

¹⁸ e.g. Bender Jørgensen 1992, 68 ff., 110 ff.; Brather, Krausse 2013; Peek 2013; Rast-Eicher 2002.

su *Rippenköper* (rebrasti keper) ili *Kreuzköper* (križni keper).

Iz kasnijeg razdoblja, između 9. i 11. stoljeća, analizirano je nekoliko nalaza tkanina iz primorske Hrvatske. Na ranohrvatskom groblju Stranče (u blizini Crikvenice, jadranska obala) ostatci tkanina nađeni su u sedam grobova. Tkanine su jednostavne, izrađene od lana.¹⁹ Nešto složenija opažanja napravljena su na ostacima tkanina iz ranohrvatskog groblja Crkvine-Biskupija, pri čemu je uočeno kako je poseban način tkanja dvostrukih niti rezultirao mrežastom tkaninom (*macramé*) s motivima romba.²⁰ Slični ostatci tkanina nađeni su i grobovima na Sv. Spasu, koji su, doduše, još složeniji, ukrašeni vezom i vjerojatno uvezeni s Orijenta.²¹ Neanalizirani ostatci tekstila nađeni su i u devet grobova na ranohrvatskom groblju Nin-Ždrijac.²² Ukratko, možemo reći da u razdoblju između 8. i 11. stoljeća na prostoru današnje Hrvatske ostatke tkanina jednostavna tkanja nalazimo na dijelovima nošnje ili grobnim priložima.

Vratimo se 8. stoljeću. Kao objašnjenje razlike između avarskih i tkanina drugih plemena iz istog razdoblja u Podunavlju mogu se ponuditi dva različita objašnjenja:

Osim što se tkanja tekstila avarskih tkanina razlikuju od tkanja drugih plemena iz istog razdoblja (od 7. do 9. st.), činjenica je da u avarskim naseljima nisu nađeni utezi za razboje. S jedne strane Avari možda imaju drugačije tehnike proizvodnje temeljene na razboju s dvjema gredama. Ovakav jednostavan razboj za tkanje jednostavnih tkanja sa samo jednim čunkom lakše je prenosiv i stoga pogodan za nomadski način života Avara u trenutku kad su pokorili istočnu Europu.

Detaljna analiza pršljenaka za vreteno iz Nuštra²³ (sl. 6) pokazala je kako su avarski stanovnici Nuštra imali znanja o proizvodnji niti. Različiti tipovi (okrugli, bikonični) i težina²⁴ pršljenaka sugeriraju da su pršljenici korišteni za izradu različitih

rics in different elaborate variants, such as *Rippenköper* or *Kreuzköper*.

Several textile finds from coastal Croatia dating from the period between the 9th and the 11th century AD have been analysed. For example, textile remains from 7 graves were found at an Early Croatian graveyard at the Stranče site (near Crikvenica, Adriatic coast). These textiles were simple tabby and made of linen.¹⁹ Somewhat more complex observations were made for the textile remains from the Early Croatian graveyard at the Crkvine – Biskupija site; a specific way of weaving double yarns resulted in net-like textile (*macramé*) with rhomboid motifs.²⁰ Similar textile remains were found in graves at the Sv. Spas site; those were even more complex, with embroidery, and had possibly been imported from the Orient.²¹ Unanalysed textile remains were found in 9 graves at Early Croatian graveyard Nin-Ždrijac.²² To sum up, we can state that textile remains from the territory of modern Croatia that were found attached on dress adornments and grave goods dating between the 8th and 11th century are simple tabbies, addad by some more complex fabrics.

Back to the 8th century: for the differences between the textiles of the Avars and those from other contemporary tribes in the Danube Area (e.g. Bajuvarian), two different interpretations can be offered:

It is a fact that not only do the Avar tabby textiles differ from those of the contemporary (7th – 9th century AD) tribes in the west and north, but that we can also find almost no loom weights in these Avar settlements. On one hand, perhaps the Avars had different manufacturing techniques based on a two-beam loom. This kind of loom, which can easily be used for weaving simple weaves with one heddle rod, is more transportable and therefore suitable for the nomadic lifestyle of the Avars during the period while they were conquering Eastern Europe.

¹⁹ Cetinić 2011, 238.

²⁰ Dragičević 1981, 193, 195.

²¹ Dragičević 1982, 163–164, 170.

²² Belošević 2007, 427.

²³ Rapan Papeša 2014.

²⁴ Prosječna težina pršljenaka iz Nuštra je 22,76 g, u rasponu od 13,48 do 35,14 g.

¹⁹ Cetinić 2011, 238.

²⁰ Dragičević 1981, 193, 195.

²¹ Dragičević 1982, 163–164, 170.

²² Belošević 2007, 427.



Sl. / Fig. 6: Izabrani nalazi pršljenaka za vretena iz Nuštra / Selected finds of spindle whorls from Nuštar (autorica / author A. Rapan Papeša, 2015.)

vrsta niti i posljedično tkanina različitih kvaliteta.²⁵ Tragovi razboja nisu nađeni jer pozicija naselja kojem groblje pripada nije istraživana.

Drugo objašnjenje za sklonost k jednostavnim tkanjima može biti to što je istočna Austrija činila zapadnu granicu velikog avarskog carstva na kojoj su se Avari pomiješali sa starosjediocima. Prevaga jednostavnih tkanja možda predstavlja preživljavanje tradicije stanovnika rimske provincije Norik²⁶ koju su Avari naslijedili.

Namjena tkanine u grobovima

Možemo utvrditi različite svrhe nalaza tkanina iz Nuštra. Oni su prije svega služili kao odjeća preminulih osoba, no čini se da možemo utvrditi i neke njihove ritualne svrhe, kao što su umotavanje/prekrivanje ili mrtvački pokrovi. Prvo tumačenje tkanine kao odjeće čini se jasnim u onim slučajevima kada su ostatci tkanine pričvršćeni na dijelove nošnje *in situ* (npr. predice nađene na truhu/zdjelici), posebno ako se ostatci tkanine nalaze sa stražnje strane. To je strana predmeta koja se nalazi uz mrtvaca.

Odjeća u muškim grobovima

Tkanina očuvana na razmatranim predicama pretežno je nalažena u grobovima odraslih muškaraca. Nalaz PN 975 može se odrediti kao tipičan primjer. Ovdje je srednje fino tkanje bilo povezano sa stražnjom stranom željezne predice u grobu 126 koji pripada muškarcu starom od 35 do 50 godina. *In situ* lokacija predice i povezana tkanina

A detailed analysis of spindle whorls from the Nuštar site²³ (Fig. 6) has shown that Avar settlers had knowledge of producing thread. The different types (round, biconical) and their weight²⁴ suggest that spindle whorls were used for the production of different kinds of threads and, consequently, textiles of different quality.²⁵ No traces of loom elements were found because the position of the settlement that graveyard belongs to have not been excavated.

Another explanation for the preference of tabbies could be that Eastern Austria and Hungary as well as Croatia forms the (south-)western border of the vast Avar Empire, where Avars mixed with local populations. The predominance of tabby and its variants may reflect the survival of the traditions of the inhabitants of the Roman Province Noricum and Pannonia,²⁶ which were inherited later by the Avar people.

Function of the textiles in the graves

For the textile finds from Nuštar, we are able to identify different functions. First of all, they served as garments of the deceased persons. It seems as if we also can deduce some ritual function, such as shrouds or wrappings/coverings of grave goods. The first interpretation of textiles as garments seems clear in those cases in which the cloth remains are attached to dress fittings *in situ* (e.g. belt buckles found in the stomach/pelvic area), especially on the back side. This would be the side of the item facing the deceased person.

²³ Rapan Papeša 2014.

²⁴ Average weight is 22.76 g, span from 13.48–35.14 g.

²⁵ Grömer 2015, 85–90, fig. 41.

²⁶ Grömer 2014, 33–35, fig. 17–19.

²⁵ Grömer 2015, 85–90, sl. 41.

²⁶ Grömer 2014, 33–35, sl. 17–19.



Sl. / Fig. 7: Rekonstrukcija Avarina / Reconstruction of an Avar (snimila / photo by H. Rösler-Mautendorfer, 2007.)

upućuju na to da je tkanina pripadala opojasanoj odjeći. Isto se može reći za predicu i tkaninu PN 815 iz groba 69. Kao i kod drugih primjera (PN 423, PN 975), tkanina nije bila vidljiva samo na stražnjoj strani okrenutoj prema pokojniku, nego i na prednjoj strani predice. U posebnim slučajevima kada tkanina ima nabore, vidljivo je nekoliko slojeva (PN 316, PN 423, PN 815). Iz toga zaključujemo da je opojasana odjeća u ovom slučaju bila skupljena i nabrana remenom. Kako bismo shvatili te slojeve, moramo razmišljati o principima avarskog odijevanja. Nažalost, antropomorfno ukrašavanje nije jako često u avarskoj umjetnosti, oskudni primjeri ikonografije s ljudskim likovima zlatne su posude iz blaga Sînnicolaul Mare (Nagyszentmiklós),²⁷ spojke iz Mödling-

²⁷ Friesinger, Vacha 1988, 94.

Garments in male graves

Fabrics preserved on the examined belt buckles were mainly found in the graves of adult men. The find PN 975 can be named as characteristic example. There, a medium fine tabby was attached to the back side of an iron belt buckle in grave 126, the grave of a man aged between 35 and 50. The *in situ* position of the belt buckle and the textile attached to it indicates that the fabric belonged to the “belted garment”. The same can be said for the belt buckle and textile PN 815 from grave 69. As with other examples (PN 423, PN 975), the textile was not only visible on the back side facing the deceased person, but also on the face side of the belt buckle. In certain cases, the textile has folds with several layers visible (PN 316, PN 423, PN 815). Therefore, we can deduce that the “belted garment” in this case was gathered and folded by the belt. To understand these layers, we must bear in mind the principles of Avar clothing. Unfortunately, anthropomorphic decoration was not very common in Avar art, and some of the rare examples of iconography with human figures are the golden vessels of the Sînnicolaul Mare (=Nagyszentmiklós) treasure from nowadays Romania²⁷ or the agrafes from Mödling-Goldene Stiege²⁸ in Austria and various strap-ends from Hungarian sites.²⁹ The garment covering the upper body was a kaffan-like overcloth extending past the waist to the knee (Sînnicolaul Mare, vessel no. 7; Hungarian strap-ends e.g. Egyházaskér).

It is important to note that the belts were objects of prestige, sometimes elaborately decorated with ornamented belt fittings.³⁰ In the case of PN 423, we were able to even identify decoration on the leather surface of the belt itself in the form of embossments with triangular or drop-shaped stamping. Therefore, it is clear that Avar period belts were worn to be seen. We can also assume that the upper garment, which was belted, was one of the outer layers of the costume. Perhaps nothing was worn over it.

Find No. PN 423, the belt buckle from the grave of a 35–50 year old man (grave 46), has a more

²⁷ Friesinger, Vacha 1988, 94.

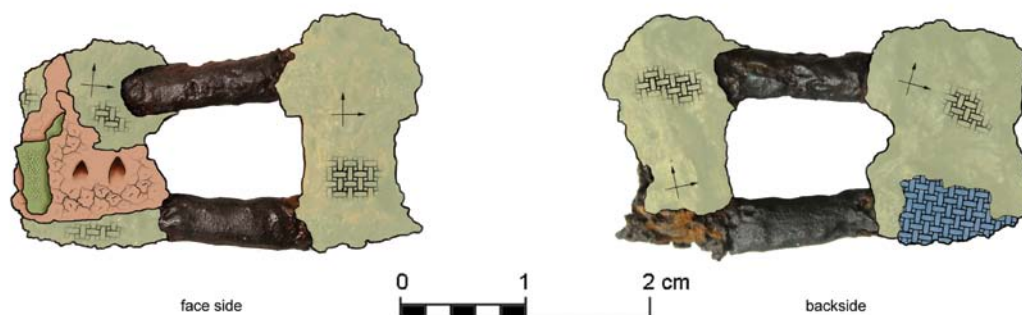
²⁸ Daim 1996, 300.

²⁹ Fettich 1937; Erdélyi 1966, tab. 9.

³⁰ Rapan Papeša 2012, 5, 20.

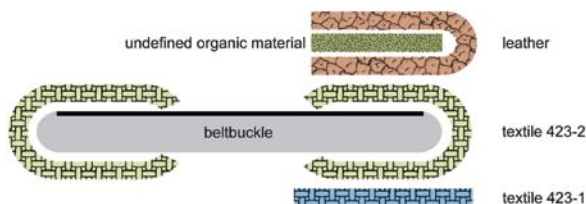
Mapping of organic layers

Nuštar 2011, Grave 46, Fdnr. PN 423



Microstratigraphy

Nuštar 2011, Grave 46, Fdnr. PN 423



Sl. / Fig. 8: Organski slojevi na PN 423: mapiranje i mikro-stratigrafija / Organic layers on PN 423: mapping and microstratigraphy (autorica / author A. Rudelics, 2014.)

GoldeneStiege²⁸ i razni jezičci s mađarskih lokaliteta.²⁹ Odjeća koja pokriva gornji dio tijela ogrtač je nalik kaftanu koji prelazi preko struka do koljena (Sinnicolaul Mare, posuda br. 7; mađarski jezičci, npr. Egyházaskér).

Važno je naglasiti da su pojasi kao predmeti prestiža ponekad jako ukrašeni pojasnim okovima s uzorkom i ornamentom.³⁰ U slučaju PN 423 bili smo u mogućnosti odrediti čak i ukrase na površini kože remena, reljefe s trokutastim ili kapljastim žigosanjem. Dakle, jasno je da su avarski pojasi nošeni kako bi bili viđeni. Zbog toga možemo pretpostaviti da je gornja odjeća koja je bila povezana pojansom bila jedan od vanjskih slojeva nošnje, a preko nje možda ništa nije nošeno.

Nalaz PN 423, predica iz groba muškarca starog od 35 do 50 godina (grob 46) ima složenu mikrostratigrafiju (sl. 8): na vrhu je nađena reljefna koža remena koja je bila nabrana, a između na-

complex micro-stratigraphy (Fig. 8): embossed belt leather was found on the top. The leather was folded, and an unidentified organic material of unknown purpose was found between the folds. Directly on both sides of the buckle, a finer but decayed textile (423–2) was found. Between the body and the buckle we found two textiles, and a coarser textile (423–1) of animal fibre next to the skeleton. The finer cloth 423–2 can be identified as the “belted garment” described before, but the wool cloth between the belted garment and the body needs more interpretation. Is it possible that it represents the fragments of a pair of trousers, or perhaps a second layer of an upper garment?

Iconographic sources sometimes indicate that Avar male clothing was multi-layered, with an undertunic and a kaftan-like overcloth; while depictions of men with trousers, or leg-wrappers (e.g. Mödling, grave 114) are also known. For PN 423 from Nuštar, this problem cannot be resolved on the basis of the small fragments available to us.

²⁸ Daim 1996, 300.

²⁹ Fettich 1937; Erdélyi 1966, tab. 9.

³⁰ Rapan Papeša 2012, 5, 20.

bora uočen je neidentificirani organski materijal nepoznate namjene. Finija, ali uništena tkanina 423–2 nađena je neposredno na predici s obje strane. Između tijela i predice nađene su dvije tkanine. Grublja tkanina 423-1 nađena uz kostur izrađena je od životinjskih vlakana, dok se finija tkanina 423-2 može odrediti kao prethodno opisana opojasana odjeća. Za vunenu su tkaninu između odjeće stegnute pojasom i tijela potrebna dodatna objašnjenja. Je li moguće da imamo komad hlača ili se radi o drugom sloju gornje odjeće?

Ikonografski izvori ponekad upućuju na to da je avarska muška odjeća bila višeslojna, s podtunikom i ogrtačem nalik na kaftan, ali poznati su i prikazi muškaraca s hlačama ili obojcima (npr. grob 114 u Mödlingu). Za PN 423 iz Nuštra ovaj se problem ne može riješiti na osnovi malih fragmenata koje vidimo.

Odjeća u ženskim grobovima

Samo je jedan komad tkanine u ženskom grobu koji možemo odrediti kao dio nošnje. U grobu 9 pokopana je žena stara od 20 do 35 godina koja je uz ostale predmete imala i dvije spojke ispod brade. Spojka PN 87 nađena je u grobu naopako, a na prednjoj je strani nađeno srednje fino tkanje. Na ovom je predmetu vidljivo da je tkanina glatke i ravne površine vjerojatno bila prirodno bijele boje u trenutku kada je stavljena u grob. Smještaj spojke u grobu i tkanina na njoj upućuju na to da se radi o dijelu odijela za gornji dio tijela. Ne znamo kako je točno izgledala odjeća avarskih žena jer su na rijetkim prikazima obično prikazani muškarci. U ranosrednjovjekovnoj središnjoj Europi otkuda imamo puno ikonografskih i pisanih izvora,³¹ uobičajena je odjeća 8. i 9. stoljeća bila dugačka tunika, ponekad nošena s plaštom, kako je prikazano u Brevijaru iz Stuttgarta (820. – 830.). Udane žene obično su pokrivala glavu velom ili nečim sličnim. Ne znamo jesu li i avarske žene slijedile opisane odjevne stilske karakteristike.

Odjeća ili pokrov u dječjem grobu

Komad tkanine nađen je također i u grobu 10 u kojem je ukopano malo djeteta. Djeteta je bilo staro između 0 i 5 godina, a u grobu su na području

Garments in female graves

There exists only one case of a textile fragment in the grave of a woman that can be identified as part of clothing. In grave 9, a 20–35 year old woman was buried; in addition to other items she also had 2 breast clasps under her chin. The clasp PN 87 was situated upside down in the grave and on the face side there was a medium fine tabby attached. From this item it is visible that this cloth with a flat and even surface presumably was of a “natural white” colour when it was put in the grave. The position of the clasp and the textile on it indicates that the fabric was a part of the garment worn on the upper body. We do not know exactly what the garments of Avar women looked like because the few Avar representations that exist usually depict men. In the Early Middle Ages in Central Europe, of which there exist numerous iconographic and written sources.³¹ The “common” garment in the 8th and 9th centuries AD was a longer tunic, sometimes worn with a mantle, as depicted on the “Psalter of Stuttgart” (AD 820–830). Married women usually covered their head with a veil or a similar covering. It is unknown whether Avar women also followed the described fashion trends.

Garment or shroud in a child's grave

A textile fragment was also found in grave 10, where a small child was buried. The child was only 0–5 years old, but the grave contained bronze belt items, in the stomach region, similar to those of male adults. Next to the hips, the iron ring PN 200 with attached textiles was identified. Such a ring was normally used to fix an iron knife to the belt. The medium fine tabby fabric found there was folded or gathered, and at least two layers can be observed.

We do not know if the belt was worn by the small child or if it was laid down over the buried person as a grave good – a marker of a high status. The textile attached might have belonged to a garment – if so, then it should be viewed as analogous to the other “belted garments”. But it could have also been a shroud that was used to cover the child.

³¹ Müller 2003, 96–97.

³¹ Müller 2003, 96–97.

trbuha nađeni brončani dijelovi pojasne garniture slični onima kod odraslih muškaraca. Uz kuk je nađena i željezna alka PN 200, povezana s tkaninom. Takva se alka u principu koristila za vješanje noža s pojasa. Srednje fino tkanje nađeno na alci bilo je presavijeno ili skupljeno, a uočena su najmanje dva sloja.

Ne znamo je li dijete uistinu nosilo pojasnu garnituru ili je ona u grob položena kao grobni prilog – oznaka višeg statusa. Povezana tkanina možda pripada odjeći, a tada je treba promatrati u analogiji s ostalom opojasanom odjećom. Osim toga, moguće je da se radi o mrtvačkom pokrovu koji je pokrivaio dijete.

Umotavanje predmeta ili mrtvački pokrov?

Tkanina na nožu PN 707 iz groba 58 jasno se može sagledati u ritualnom kontekstu. Nož je smješten je uz desni kuk muškarca starosti od 35 do 50 godina, a srednje gruba tkanina prekriva oko 50 % oštrice noža s nitima usmjerenima paralelno s oštricom noža. Moguće je da se radi o slučaju kada tkanina povezana s nožem pripada odjeći ovog dijela tijela ili da je tkanina dio mrtvačkog pokrova koji je pokrivaio pokojnika i njegove priloge, ali vjerojatnije je da je sam nož bio prekriven ili omotan tkaninom.

Takav običaj poznat je u srednjoj Europi još od prapovijesti i predstavlja poseban pogrebni ritual. Uz mrtvačke pokrove, umotane urne za kremaciju i te u tkaninu umotane ostatke s lomače, uočeni su i specifični omatani objekti poput oružja i kola koji su bili pažljivo prekriveni tkaninom prije polaganja u ukop. Objašnjenja vezana uz ove običaje su višestruka su.³² Moguće je razmišljati o zaštiti tih predmeta, a možda je umotavanje bilo namijenjeno tome da njihov sadržaj bude vidljiv ili nevidljiv. Postoji i sugestija da je čin umotavanja bio sredstvo crtanja granica između živih i mrtvih ili način komunikacije između živih i mrtvih.

ZAKLJUČAK

Nalazi tkanina iz Nuštra pripadaju vrlo jednostavnim oblicima, slično ostalim tkaninama poznati-

Wrapping items or shroud?

The textile on knife PN 707 from grave 58 clearly can be viewed in a ritual context. It is situated next to the right hip of a 35–50 year old man, and the medium coarse tabby fabric covers about 50% of the knife blade with a thread direction parallel to the edges of the blade. It might be the case that the textile attached to the knife blade belonged to a garment which was situated in this region of the body, or that the fabric was a part of a shroud that covered the deceased and his grave goods; but it is more likely that the knife itself was covered or wrapped by the cloth.

Such a habit has been recorded in Central Europe since prehistory and is the expression of specific burial rites. In addition to funeral shrouds, wrapped cremation urns, and cloth-wrapped cremation bundles, specific wrapped objects such as weapons and wagons that were carefully covered in fabric before being laid in the burial have also been found. There are many possible explanations for this custom.³² Perhaps the wrapping was intended to protect the items inside, or to make the contents invisible. The suggestion also exists that the act of wrapping may have been either a means of drawing boundaries between the living and the dead, or a way of establishing communication between the living and the dead.

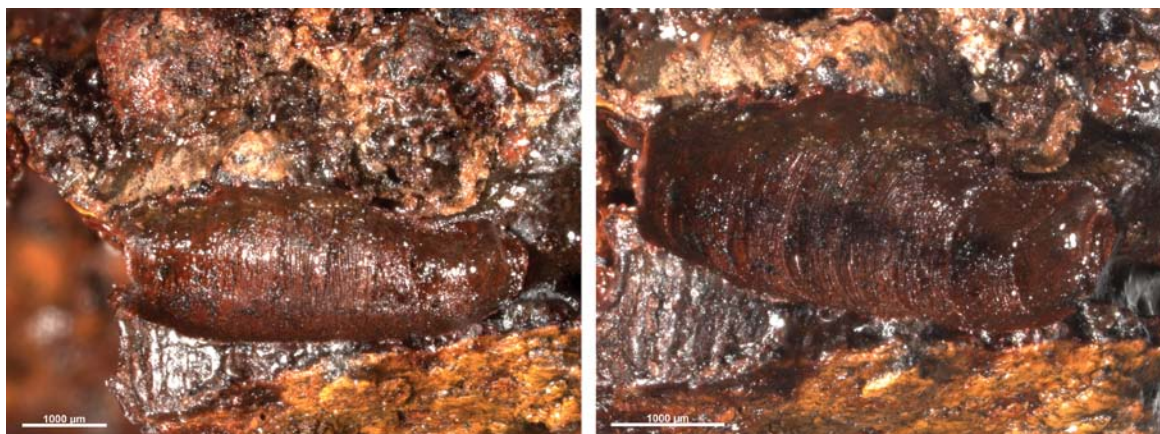
CONCLUSION

The textile finds from Nuštar are of a very simple kind, similar to other fabrics discovered in the western Avar region (i.e. Eastern Austria, Western Hungary) that date back to the 7th till 9th centuries AD. These finds are dominated by tabby and z-spun yarns. If we compare this situation with contemporary Central Europe (extensive research is being carried out in Southern Germany and Switzerland),³³ there is a huge difference. The “textile culture” known from the Merovingian graves is much more complex and of a higher quality. The reason why such simple fabrics can be found in Avar graves is difficult to determine.

³² Usporedi Banck-Burgess 2012; Gleba 2014; Grömer, Müller 2008.

³² Compare Banck-Burgess 2012; Gleba 2014; Grömer, Müller 2008.

³³ E.g. Nowak-Böck 2010; Peek 2013; Rast-Eicher 2002.



Sl. / Fig. 9: *Diptera pupa* na PN 423. Svjetlosni mikroskop / *Diptera pupa* on PN 423. Light microscope (autrica / author A. Rudelics, 2014.)

ma s područja avarskog zapadnog prostora (istočna Austrija, zapadna Mađarska) u 8. i 9. stoljeću. Tkanja koja tamo prevladavaju prediva su predena u Z-smjeru. Ako ovu sliku usporedimo sa srednjom Europom iz istoga vremena (opsežna istraživanja vrše se u južnoj Njemačkoj i Švicarskoj),³³ postoji velika razlika. Kultura tkanina poznata iz merovinških grobova puno je složenija i kvalitetnija. Razlog zašto u avarskim grobovima nalazimo takve jednostavne tkanine teško je odrediti.

Iz mikrostratigrafskog *in situ* položaja predmeta mogu se odrediti različite namjene tkanine. Ostaci opojasane odjeće (kaftana) i možda hlača nađeni su u muškim grobovima, dok je neka vrsta gornje odjeće nađena u ženskom grobu. Dio odjeće možda potječe i iz dječjeg groba. U ovim je nalazima kvaliteta tkanine odjeće jako slična.

U preostalim se slučajevima čini da je tkanina korištena za umotavanje ili prekrivanje predmeta u grobu, npr. noža.

Kao zanimljivost ističemo da su na predici PN 423 osim ostataka tkanine i kože uočeni i identificirani entomološki ostatci. Na predici je nađena larva muhe (*diptera pupa*) (sl. 9). Moguće je da se radi o jednoj od muha (npr. muha mesara, zujara, muhe lešinarka) koje preferiraju vlažna trupla za hranjenje svojeg potomstva (larvi). One su jedan od čimbenika zbog kojih tijelo trune.³⁴

From the microstratigraphy and *in situ* position of the items, different functions of the textiles could be identified. The remains of belted garments (“kaftans”) and perhaps trousers were found in male graves, while some kind of upper garment was found in the female grave. The grave of the child may also contain fragments of clothing. In each of these cases, the cloth quality of the garments is very similar.

In other cases, it appears that textiles were used for wrapping or covering items in the grave, e.g. a knife.

As a curiosity, let us note that not only textile and leather remains were attached to the belt buckle PN 423, but also entomological remains, as a fly larva (*diptera pupa*) was found on the buckle (Fig. 9). This could be one of the species of fly (e.g. flesh flies, blow flies or coffin flies) that prefer a moist corpse for their offspring (maggots) to feed on. They represent one of the factors that are responsible for the decay of the body.³⁴

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³³ Npr. Nowak-Böck 2010; Peek 2013; Rast-Eicher 2002.

³⁴ Schoenen 2013.

³⁴ Schoenen 2013.

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Tabla / Plate 1: Nalaz PN 87/Grob 9: 1 – plan groba, fotografija detalja, 2 – spojka s detaljem, svjetlosni mikroskop / Find Nr. PN 87/Grave 9: 1 – grave plan and detail photo, 2 – clasp with detail, light microscopy (1 – Arhiva GMV / Vinkovci Municipal Museum Archive, 2 – snimila / photo by A. Rudelics, 2014.)



Tabla / Plate 2: Nalaz PN 200/Grob 10: 1 – plan groba, fotografija detalja, 2–3 – alka s detaljem, svjetlosni mikroskop, DinoLite mikroskop, 4 – SEM, vlakna / Find Nr. PN 200/Grave 10:1 – grave plan and detail photo, 2–3 – ring with detail, light microscopy, DinoLite microscope, 4 – SEM, fibres (1 – Arhiva GMV / Vinkovci Municipal Museum Archive, 2–3 – snimila / photo by K. Grömer, 2014., 4 – snimio / photo by A. Kroh, 2014.)

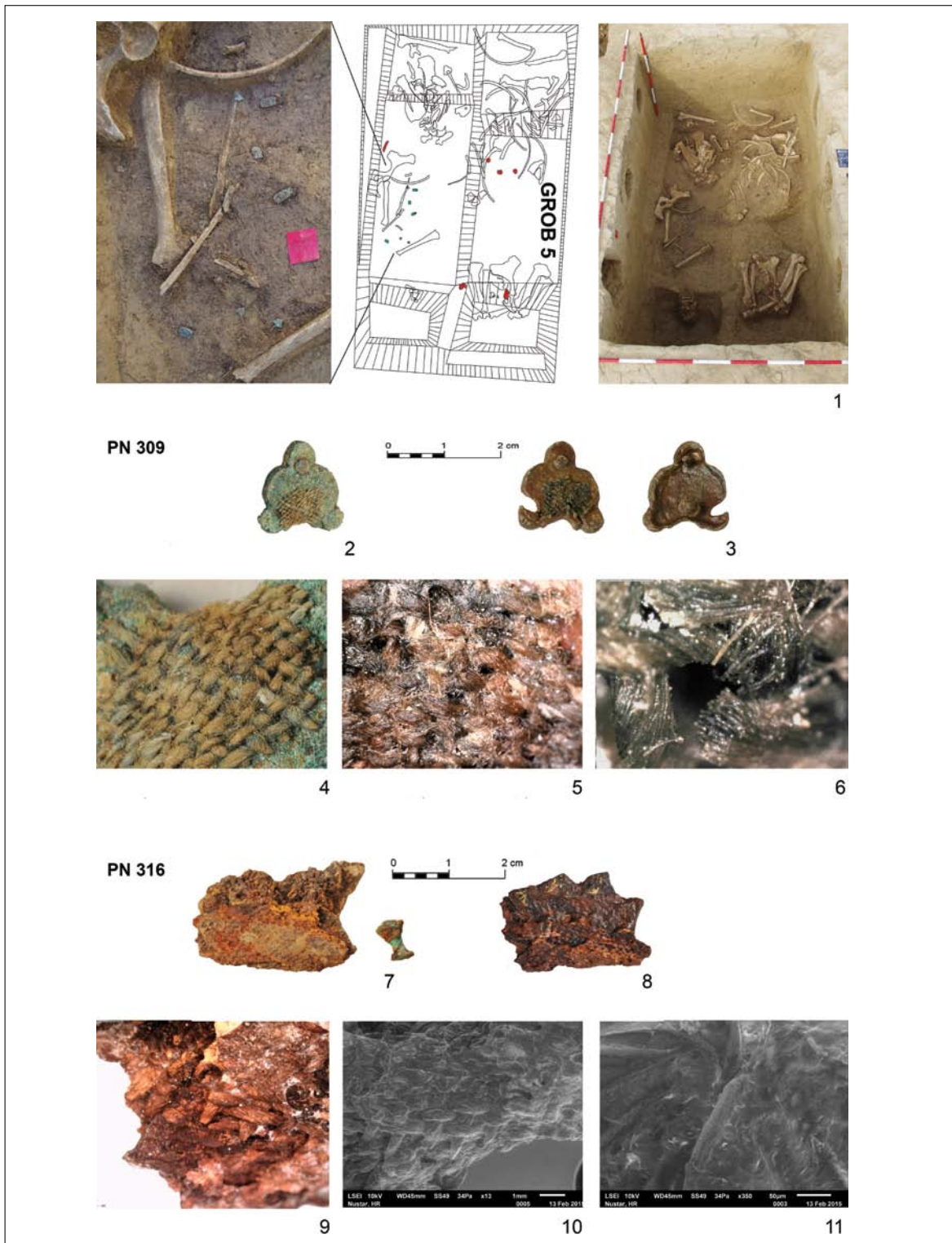


Tabla / Plate 3: Nalaz PN 309 i 316/Grob 5: 1 – plan groba, fotografija detalja, 2–6 – pojasni okov PN 309 (2, 4 prije restauracije; 3, 5, 6 poslije restauracije), detalji DinoLite mikroskop, 7–11 – željezni predmet PN 316 (7 prije restauracije, 8 poslije restauracije, 9 tkanina DinoLite mikroskop, 10–11 SEM, tkanina i vlakna) / Find Nr. PN 309 and 316/Grave 5: 1 – grave plan and detail photo, 2–6 – belt fitting PN 309 (2, 4 before restoration; 3, 5, 6 after restoration), details DinoLite microscope, 7–11 – iron object PN 316 (7 before restoration, 8 after restoration, 9 fabric DinoLite microscope, 10–11 SEM, fabric and fibres) (1 – Arhiva GMVk / Vinkovci Municipal Museum Archive, 2–4, 7–8 – Arhiva HRZ / Croatian Conservation Institute Archive, 5–6, 9 – snimila / photo by K. Grömer, 2014., 10–11 – snimio / photo by A. Kroh, 2014.)

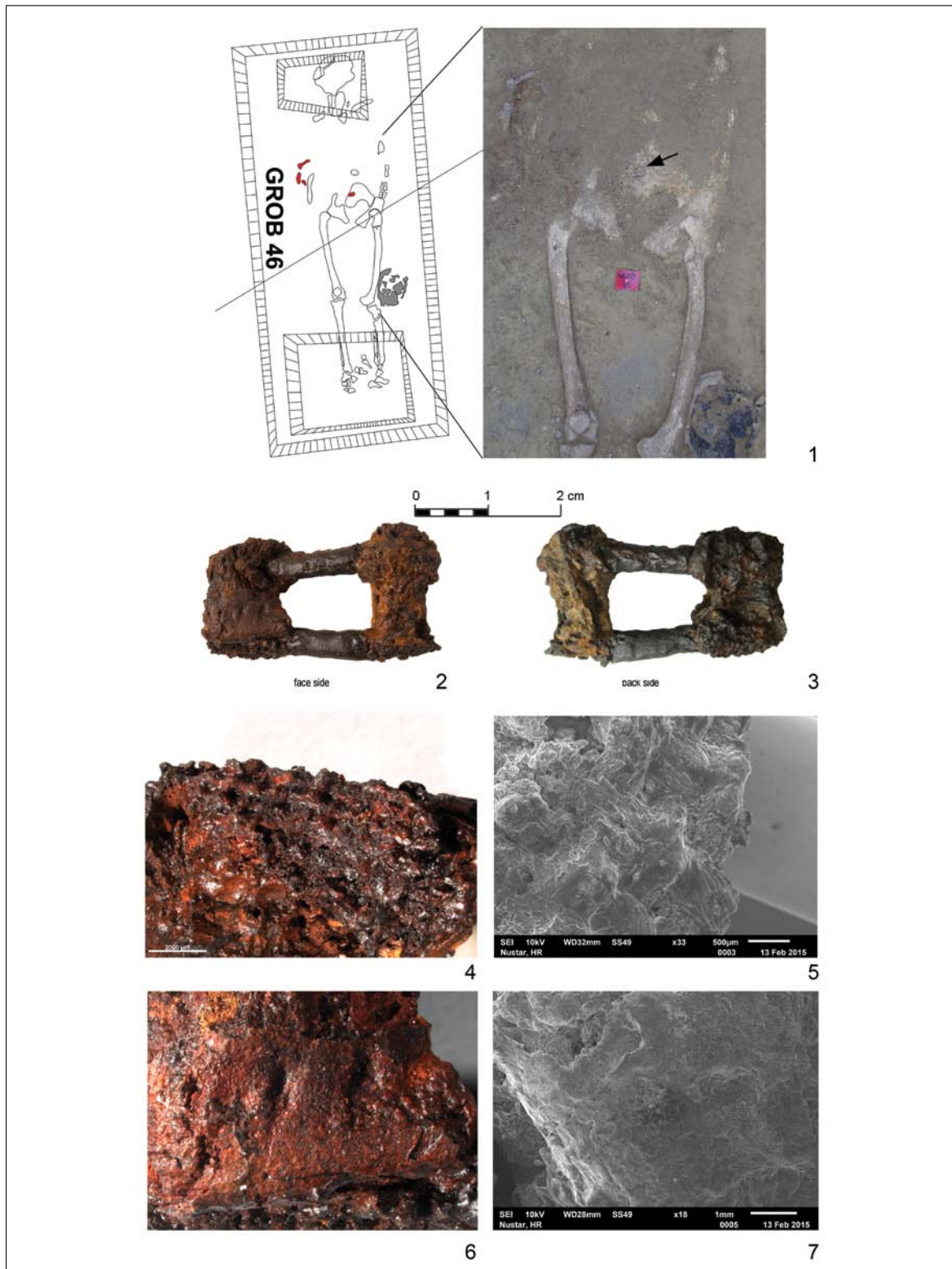


Tabla / Plate 4: Nalaz PN 423/Grob 46: 1 – plan groba, fotografija detalja, 2–3 – predica, prednja i stražnja strana, 4–5 – grublja tkanina 423–1, svjetlosni mikroskop i SEM, 6–7 – žigosana koža, svjetlosni mikroskop i SEM / Find Nr. PN 423/Grave 46: 1 – grave plan and detail photo, 2–3 – belt buckle, face and back side, 4–5 – coarser textile 423–1, light microscope and SEM, 6–7 – stamped leather, light microscope and SEM (1 – Arhiva GMVkc / Vinkovci Municipal Museum Archive, 2–3 – snimila / photo by K. Grömer, 2014., 4, 6 – snimila / photo by A. Rudelics, 2014., 5, 7 – snimio / photo by A. Kroh, 2014.)

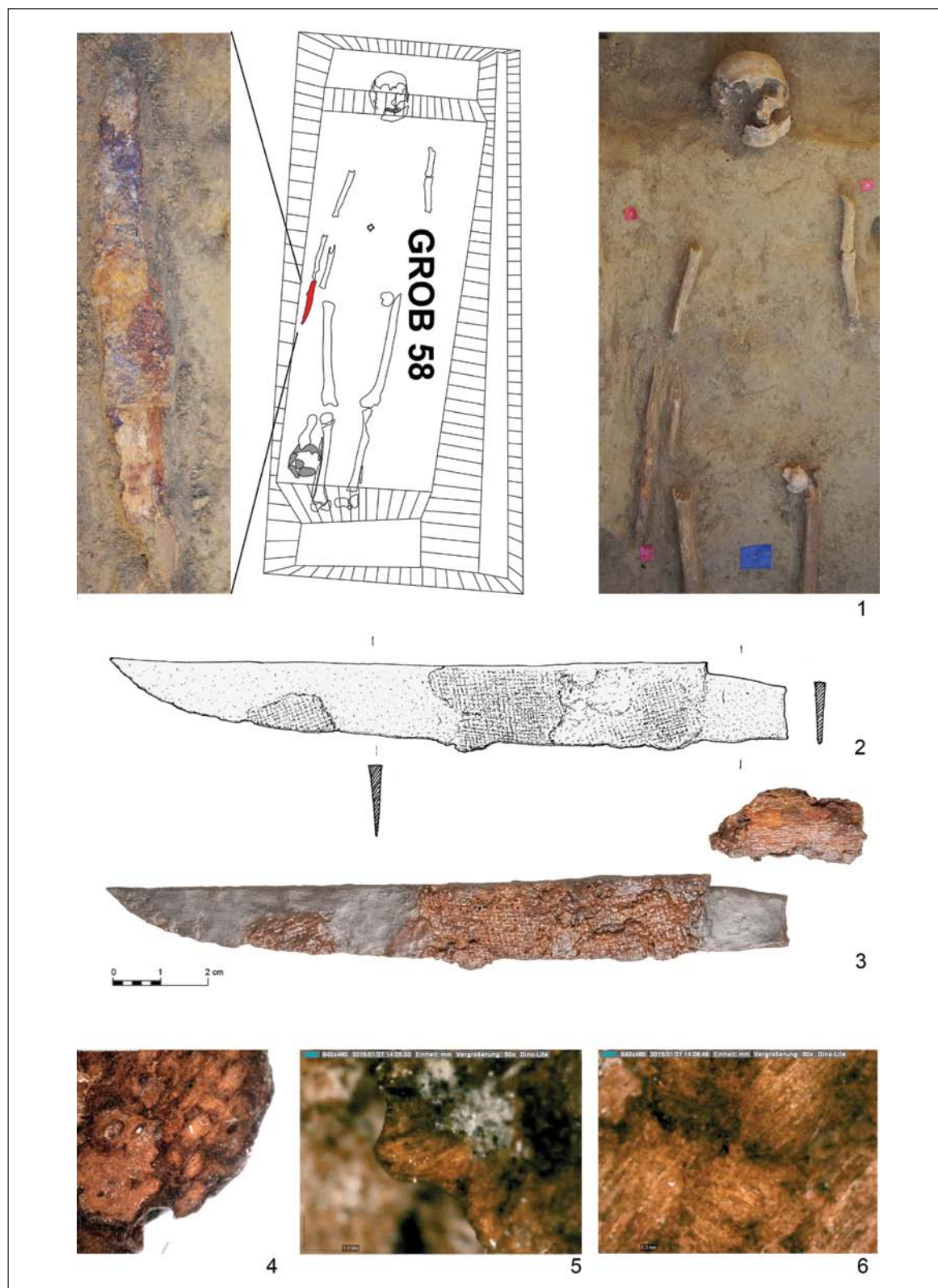


Tabla / Plate 5: Nalaz PN 707/Grob 58: 1 – plan groba, fotografija detalja, 2–3 – crtež i fotografija noža, 4–6 – detalji tkanine, DinoLite mikroskop / Find Nr. PN 707/Grave 58: 1 – grave plan and detail photos, 2–3 – knife with drawing, 4–6 – details of the textile, DinoLite microscope (1 – Arhiva GMVK / Vinkovci Municipal Museum Archive, 2 – crtež / drawing by M. Galić, 2013., 3 – Arhiva HRZ / Croatian Conservation Institute Archive, 4–6 – snimila / photo by K. Grömer, 2014.)

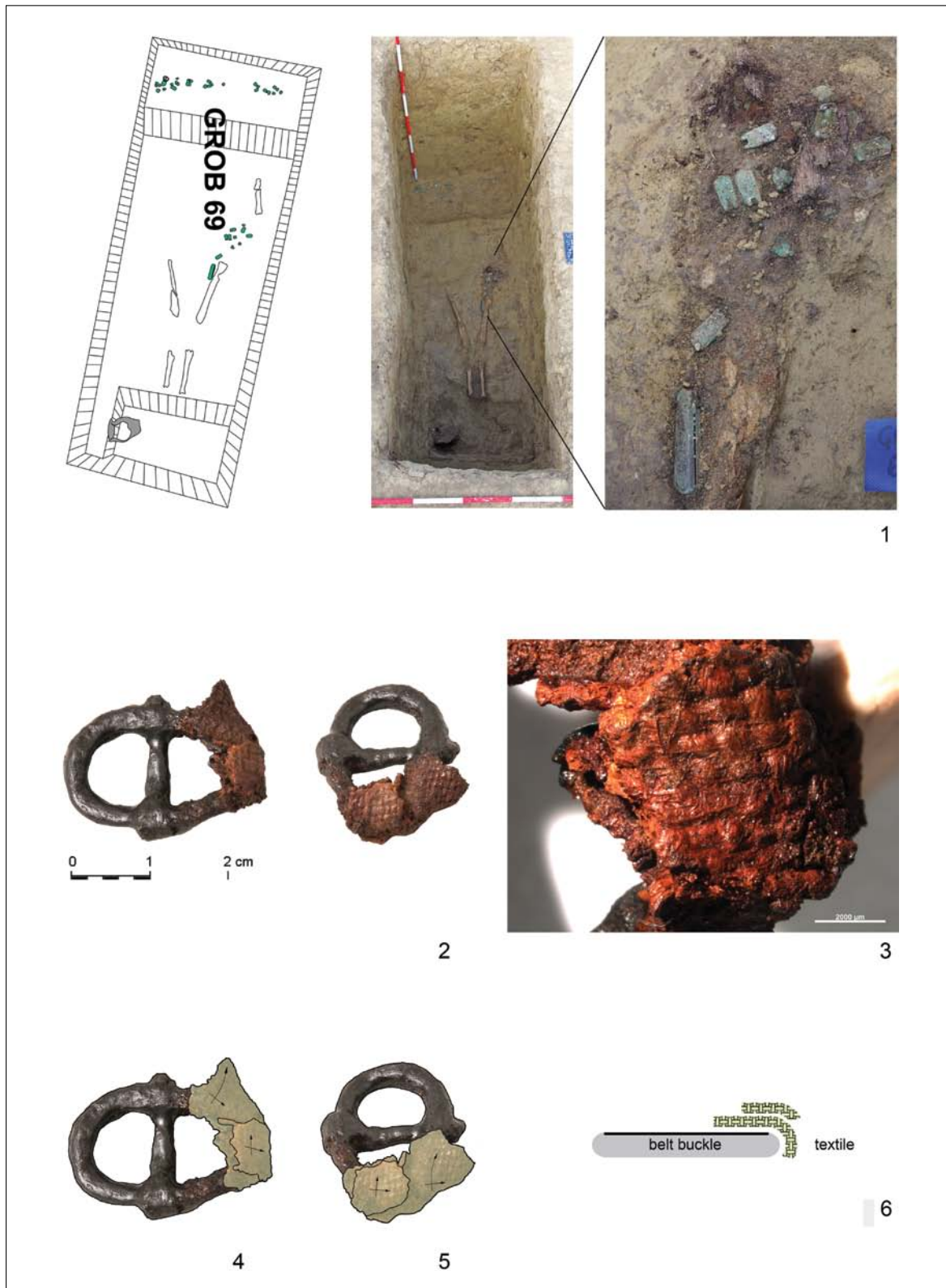


Tabla / Plate 6: Nalaz PN 815/Grob 69: 1 – plan groba, fotografija detalja, 2 – predica, stražnja strana i pogled s boka, 3 – detalj tkanine, svjetlosni mikroskop, 4–5 – mapiranje slojeva tkanine, 6 – mikro-stratigrafija / Find Nr. PN 815/Grave 69: 1 – grave plan and detail photos, 2 – belt buckle, back side and side view, 3 – detail textile, light microscope, 4–5 – mapping of textile layers, 6 – micro-stratigraphy (1 – Arhiva GMVik / Vinkovci Municipal Museum Archive, 2 – snimila / photo by K. Grömer, 2014., 3–6 – snimila / photo by A. Rudelics, 2014.)

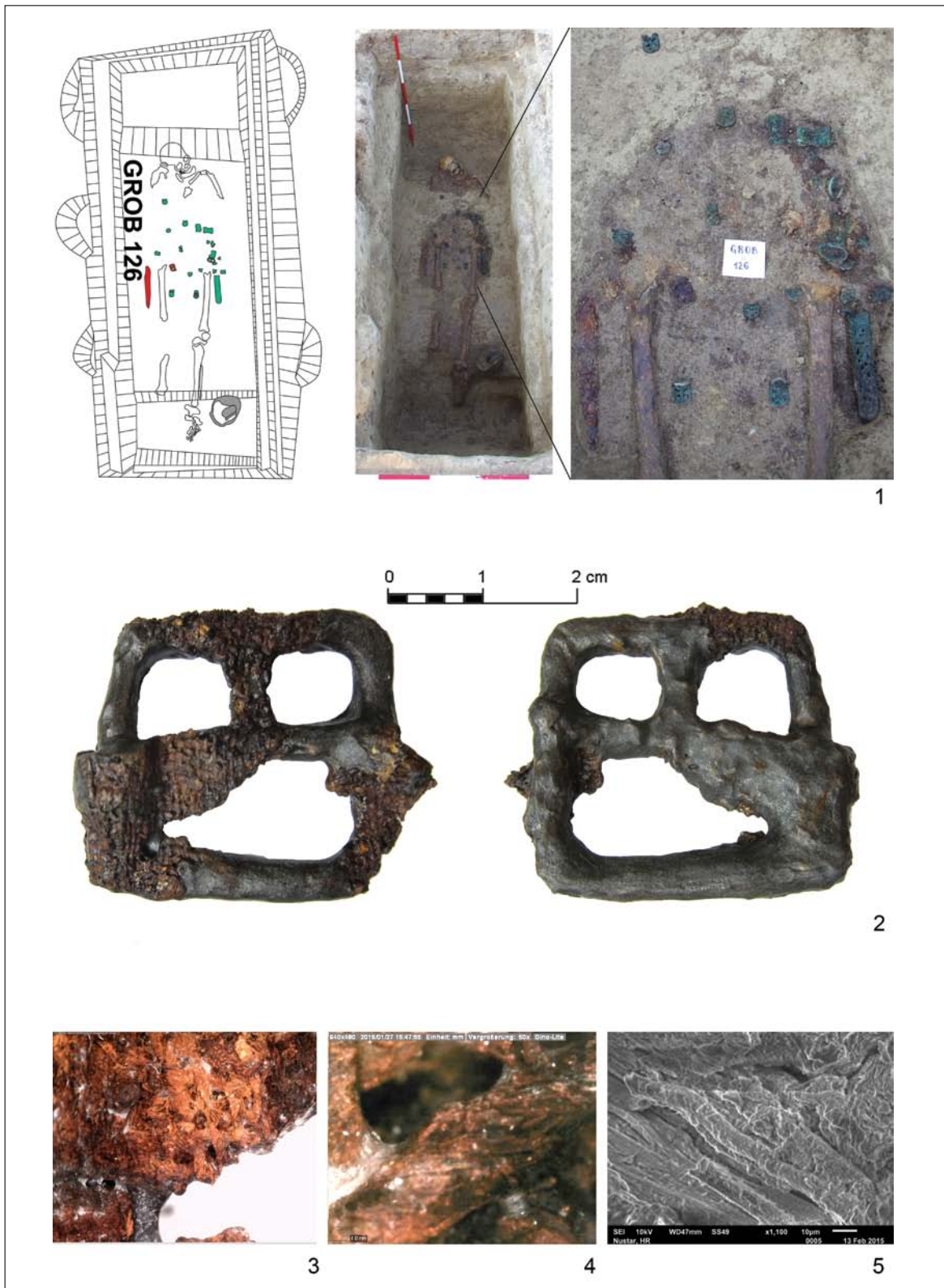


Tabla / Plate 7: Nalaz PN 975/Grob 126: 1 – plan groba, fotografija detalja, 2 – predica, prednja i stražnja strana, 3–4 – detalji tkanine, DinoLite mikroskop, 5 – vlakna, SEM / Find Nr. PN 975/Grave 126: 1 – grave plan and detail photos, 2 – belt buckle, back and face side, 3–4 – fabric details, DinoLite microscope, 5 – fibres, SEM (1 – Arhiva GMV / Vinkovci Municipal Museum Archive, 2–4 – snimila / photo by K. Grömer, 2014., 5 – snimio / photo by A. Kroh, 2014.)

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The 'westernisation' of the Transylvanian Basin: Migration and/or acculturation?: Wearing hairpins in the 12th century Transylvanian Basin

»Pozapadnjivanje« Transilvanske kotline: migracija ili
akulturacija?: Nošenje ukosnica u Transilvanskoj kotlini
u 12. stoljeću

UDC: 739.8:904(498)''10/12''

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In our research, we tried to reconstruct the hairdress of this period based on the archaeological artefacts that were found in the Arpadian age churchyards in the Transylvanian Basin. These hairpins, which were in use throughout the 5–9th centuries in Western Europe in the Anglo-Saxon speech-area, were part of a hairdress fashion trend that, later in the 12th century, spread throughout all of Christian Europe. Taking in account the Transylvanian artefacts and their context, we can notice that copper alloy hairpins with a gilded globular head often appear with S-ending lock rings. Their appearance is in strong rela-

Ovim smo radom željeli rekonstruirati nakit za kosu iz navedenog razdoblja na temelju arheoloških artefakata pronađenih na crkvenim grobljima arpadovskog razdoblja u Transilvanskoj kotlini. Ukosnice koje su se nosile između 5. i 9. stoljeća na anglosaksonskom govornom području zapadne Europe predstavljale su aspekt modnoga trenda koji se kasnije, u 12. stoljeću, proširio diljem kršćanske Europe. Ako u obzir uzmemo transilvanske artefakte i njihov kontekst, možemo primijetiti kako se ukosnice od bakrene slitine s okruglim glavama često pojavljuju zajedno s prstenastim zatvaračima sa S završetkom. Izgled ovih ukosnica

tion with the Christian mentality and the western fashions of this period, which are obviously connected with the 'westernisation' of the Hungarian state institutions.

Going into a thorough and in-depth analysis of the archaeological artefacts yields a number of questions, some of which we have found the answers to only after other conducting (especially anthropological) research work. We can announce with certainty that artefacts of this type are not the heritage of any group of foreign people. The expanding of this study and the excavation of the earliest cemeteries should complete our knowledge on this topic in the future.

In the 12th century, the archaeological signs of 'westernisation' appear in all segments of life in the Transylvanian Basin. This can only mean one thing: besides the migrations mentioned by the written sources, the eastern half of the Hungarian Kingdom was integrated into western culture.

Key words: Kingdom of Hungary, Transylvanian Basin, 11–13th centuries, 'westernisation', hairpins, anthropomorphic grave

1. Introduction. Notes on 'westernisation': (personal, in small groups) phenomena of migrations and acculturation on the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom

It is common-place knowledge that, in the second half of the 10th century, with the ascension of Géza and the coronation of King Stephen I, the institutionalised westernisation of the Carpathian Basin was started. But what does this expression exactly mean?

The Carolingian Empire under Charles the Great, king of the Franks (768–814) was the first to spread the influence of its political, economic and military power across Western Europe and towards the eastern part of the continent, reaching the borders of the Avar Khaganate in the late 8th and early 9th centuries. In close connection with this, we can refer to the Carolingian renaissance, which meant the establishment of an edu-

usko je vezan uz kršćanski mentalitet i zapadnu modu tog razdoblja koji su očito povezani s »pozapadnjivanjem« mađarskih državnih institucija.

Iz pomno provedene i detaljne analize arheoloških artefakata rađaju se brojna pitanja, a odgovore na neke od njih našli smo tek nakon niza provedenih (posebice arheoloških) istraživanja. Sa sigurnošću možemo ustvrditi da artefakti ovog tipa nisu naslijeđe jedne grupe doseljenika. Buduća iskopavanja najranijih grobalja i opsežnija istraživanja trebala bi proširiti naša saznanja o ovoj temi.

Arheološki znakovi »pozapadnjivanja« u 12. se stoljeću pojavljuju u svim segmentima života u Transilvanskoj kotlini. To nas dovodi do zaključka da je unatoč migracijama koje spominju pisani izvori, istočna polovina Ugarskog Kraljevstva bila integrirana u zapadnu kulturu.

Ključne riječi: Ugarsko Kraljevstvo, Transilvanska kotlina, 11.–13. stoljeće, »pozapadnjivanje«, ukosnice, antropomorfna grobnica

ational system operated by the church and the spread of the Carolingian culture. Christian Western Europe began to boost its political, cultural, religious and economic influence under the banner of Christian religion and the vested system of values based upon the philosophy of Augustinus. On the other hand, concerning the political divisions of the Carpathian Basin in the 9th century, the Carolingian initiative was not successful.¹

This western advancement towards the east played an important role in the formation of the Hungarian Kingdom, among other things. The es-

¹ The initial step of 'westernisation' in the Carpathian Basin was the time period following the disintegration of the Avar Khaganate. The works of Miklós Béla Szöke are indispensable for discussing this issue (Szöke 2000, 133–135; Szöke 2011, 265–294; Szöke 2014). On the survival of the people of the Avar era and the political entities of this region see also Szádeczky-Kardoss 1993, 227–236; Tomka 1997, 68–75; Olaus 2004; Szentpéteri 2006, 455–496; Szentpéteri 2008, 325–346; Katona-Kiss 2010, 168–214; Szabados 2012, 219–235.

tablishment of the Christian Hungarian state was also influenced by the holy Roman emperor and the pope and was a result of the spread of the *imperium christianum*, or the western institutional system (not underestimating the earlier local forerunners).² This process can be called *system integration*, and it aimed to fit together and organise the mutual relations of institutions and communities (both politically and structurally). The integration requires a forced adaptation and a capacity, which in turn modifies the cultural characteristics of the particular entity,³ however, in our opinion, it is closely connected to acculturation. This relation can be interpreted within the frames of *asymmetric dependence*, which is characterised by defencelessness, which cannot be stopped by the suffering community (or mainly their elite) in an uneven power structure. One characteristic feature of asymmetric dependence is *threat* and *obedience* as its result, through this result has a clearly negative effect on the self-view of the community as 'we'. As a result of the political developments in Europe in the second half of the 10th century, the Christian western world continuously brought the leaders of the Hungarian Principality in a situation where they were forced to come closer to the western powers, i.e. the emperor and the pope. This process of defining the future of the Carpathian Basin was completed after 997. 'Westernisation' was a one-way transformation: one-way because the political and cultural effects coming from the west were not met by counter-effects from the east, and it was a transformation and as a result of it, the 'steppe imperial' system of institutions of eastern origin brought and planted in the Carpathian Basin by the Hungarian Principality for a short period of 100 years, disappeared.⁴

The first phase of 'westernisation' mainly affected the institutional systems, meaning a forced switch from the eastern, Asian type structure. In view of foreign and internal affairs, the most important aspect of the westernisation of the power structure was the assuming of the *royal* title as opposed to

the old title of the (*Great*) *Prince (künde)*,⁵ which was the biggest diplomatic achievement of Vajk/Stephen I (997/1001–1038).⁶ These changes, as are reflected by the laws of King Stephen I and, subsequently, those of King Ladislaus and King Coloman,⁷ affected the value system and clothing of the elite who retained their power.

Certainly, the western political institutions could not have been adopted in the Carpathian Basin without importing western human resources (clerical staff promoting Christian interests and the army defending them)⁸ and western political philosophy.⁹

In connection with western human resources, we are aware of a whole series of migratory phenomena on the territory of Saint Stephen's Hungarian Kingdom (as can be observed continuously in the army and the church in the 11th century),¹⁰ as is known from the first Hungarian treatise on the theory of state. However, these are not group or mass migrations in the late 10th and early 11th centuries, but the settlement of newly-arrived persons and families in the new Christian kingdom. Therefore, the process known as acculturation or change of culture is a combination of cultural interactions when two or more traditions meet and, as a result of their assimilation or mingling, a new reality is created. This holds to a greater extent for the Hungarian Kingdom in the 11th and 12th centuries, because the western foreigners (though not only them) brought about many changes that brought a new culture into this country, and at the same time they were successfully integrated into the new system established by King Stephen. It

⁵ Márton 1994, 389 (with bibliography).

⁶ Since, according to the conception of the period, the archbishop of Rome appeared as Christ's worldly representative (*vicarius Christi*), as a result of the fact that the crown was sent by the pope, his royal power was defined as deriving from God in his first book of laws (Székely 1984, 908; Makk 2000, 323).

⁷ Závodszy 1904; ÍF 2006.

⁸ The violent reign of Prince Géza and his favouring Christian newcomers are recorded in a similar way by both Hungarian and foreign sources (ÁKÍF 1999, 112–113, 271–275, 362).

⁹ The most recent critical edition of Saint Stephen's theory of state and an in-depth study of the wide European cultural and historical background were written by László Havas (Intelmek 2004; Havas 2012, 363–379).

¹⁰ Székely 1984, 905–949.

² To mention some of the innumerable works on the topic, see Deér 1938; Hóman 1938; SZIE 1938; Györffy 1977; Görich 1993; Kristó 1995; Riché 1999; Szabados 2011; Havas 2013, 9–46.

³ AEKK 2010, 182.

⁴ Pohl 2003, 572–573; Stepanov 2010; Szabados 2011.

is important to note that this integration was expressed by a sovereign royal will. According to the introduction of the royal law, 'since all the people use their own laws, therefore we, governing our state by God's will, like the emperors of old and new, have prescribed likewise, after this reasoning has taken the shape of law, our people how to lead a respectful and peaceful life...' ¹¹ King Stephen's key point in integrating foreigners can be found in Article VI of *Admonitions*. '*As the guests are coming from all parts and provinces of the world, they bring various languages and traditions and different educational writings and weapons. These serve as decorations for all Kingdoms, making the Court glamorous, daunting foreigners who act in a challenging way.*' ¹²

Apparently, the great pagan movements (1046, 1060) are testimony to the fact that the integration and acceptance of the people and small groups who mainly arrived from the west was not successful. On the other hand, the 'westernisation' of the country could only have affected the elite or some parts of them in the first half of the 11th century. According to some, the uprising led by Vata may have terminated a major part of both the higher and the lower ranked priests, who were substituted with similar clerical staff from the west by Andrew I (mainly from Vallon regions, due to the bad Hungarian-German relations). ¹³ The foreign groups continued to settle down in the second half of the 11th century and in the 12th century.

At the same time, 'westernisation' also involved acculturation. It was not only the political institutions of the kingdom that were altered – everyday life, mentality and traditions (such the burial customs, as can be gleaned by archaeological means) and fashions were also affected. This is clearly shown by the spreading of churchyard cemeteries. Laws were written by Ladislaus I (1077–1095) and Coloman (1095–1116) that required the deceased to be buried in a Christian way, with the ceremony controlled and performed by priests. ¹⁴ Based upon coin finds, archaeologi-

cal studies concluded that, by the early 12th century, churchyard graves outnumbered pagan style final rites. ¹⁵ In fact, this is the phenomenon that changed the kingdom, making it 'western type'. Political and religious centres, clerical staff and the clerical infrastructure were the 'importers' of these phenomena of acculturation, whose appearance was later imitated by the lower segments of society handing down these values. This can be observed geographically, as well, as the various fashions spread from the political centres towards the political and geographical peripheries. It has already been observed by Gabriel Tarde that fashion always advances from the centre of a society (both geographically and socially) towards its periphery, ¹⁶ so that is what must have happened within this *acculturation*. Nevertheless, from the aspect of the archaeology of cemeteries, one can hardly talk about any 'westernisation' in the case of the various segments of society – this is clearly proven by the analyses of the various regions. ¹⁷

Our paper shall attempt to analyse a very narrow segment of this issue, namely a fashion element that obviously comes from the western culture. In our opinion, it would be a mistake to study the spread of the elements of material culture on a macro scale or on the level of the Carpathian Basin, therefore our paper only analyses the finds excavated in the Transylvanian Basin, which was situated in the eastern part of the kingdom. Based upon the finds excavated in the cemeteries, the question may arise whether we can talk about a 'westernisation' on an everyday level in the eastern part of the kingdom, and if so since when and to what extent. Can it be detected together with the adopted institutions in the different layers of society or, in the case of fashion which can be detected by archaeological means, did the assimilation to western fashion only affect the elite or did it also catch on in regions far from the cen-

of penitence on water and bread. The first decree of King Coloman provides that Christians may only be buried in the graveyard (I/73.), and the first Esztergom Synod held under his rule generally prohibits pagan practices (Article 7) (ÍF 2004, 155, 189, 220; Makk 2011, 135–136).

¹⁵ Bálint 1976, 230; Révész 2003, 338–343; Gáll 2013a, 135–250.

¹⁶ Tarde 1902, 13–15.

¹⁷ Kiss 1983; Kiss 2000; Istvánovits 2003; Révész 2008; Demo 2009; Gáll 2013, Vol. I–II; Tóth 2014; Horváth 2014.

¹¹ ÁKÍF 1999, 48.

¹² Intelmek 2004, 37.

¹³ Makk 2000, 343.

¹⁴ Article I/25 of Saint Ladislaus provides that all who do not bury their dead near a church are subject to twelve days

tres? We shall attempt to analyse this matter on the example of a well-defined geographical and cultural area.

First of all, it should be noted that the early Hungarian Kingdom covered the Carpathian Basin at the level of power, and not in terms of its population or settlements. As has been indicated in other papers,¹⁸ in the first half of the 11th century the eastern or Transylvanian border of the Hungarian Kingdom was a little further to the east of the valleys of the Rivers Mureş and the Someşul Mic, at least according to the relative archaeological data (cemeteries and castles),¹⁹ therefore we might suppose that the 'westernisation' of the eastern parts of the Transylvanian Basin at an institutional level cannot be dated earlier than the middle or the second half of the 11th century. Concerning the remains of everyday life which can be observed in the cemeteries and graves, the situation is even more obvious, as this type of artefact and the fashion connected to it is completely unknown in the Transylvanian Basin in the 10th–11th centuries.

Secondly, when discussing the issues of acculturation and the western migrations towards the Hungarian Kingdom, we think it is necessary to analyse this type of object since archaeologists in Romania (and elsewhere) tend to connect every western tradition (constructed or dug grave pits with head alcoves) or fashion to a migration, namely the immigration of German-speaking (?) people (as the ancestors of the Saxons), whereas several social phenomena (various fashions of any kind) are not necessarily connected to waves of mass migrations.²⁰ We are far from stating that such migrations did not take place, and would only like to advocate a more critical approach towards archaeological sources, which should by no means should be interpreted mechanically (e. g. *anthropomorphic graves* = German-speaking). By interpreting the wearing of hairpins, we wish to both indicate this strange problem in interpretation, but first we wish to provide a short introduction on the Western European fashion of hairpins.

¹⁸ Gáll 2013, Vol. I, 826–837.

¹⁹ Gáll 2013, Vol. I, 826–842, 905–922.

²⁰ A similar criticism on this: Benkő 2012, Vol. I., 63.

2. Western European hairpin fashions (Pl. 1.)

Western and south-western European female attire during the early Middle Ages was mostly influenced by the Romanesque spirit, which still bore many traces of antiquity, but mostly emphasised transcendence subordinate to the church's view of the world. Women in this period wore long dresses, long and wide shirts that covered the hands, while the robe worn above these also completely covered the feet.²¹ Hair styles also fitted this same spirit. During this period, hair styles were also strongly influenced by religious spirituality. Saint Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians is remarkable in this respect,²² as it forbids women to pray or to enter a church with their heads uncovered.²³ As such, early Christian women covered their heads, or at least this is how they are depicted in frescoes found on the walls of Roman catacombs, dating back to the period between 100–300 AD.²⁴

By the 10th – 11th centuries, a distinct type of hood called a *wimple* had developed in England. This typically English headgear spread across all of Christian Europe by the 12th century, and it remained fashionable up until the 14th century.²⁵ This hood was a piece of linen or hemp cloth, which was wrapped around the head. It also covered the neck and was fastened under the veil.²⁶ Women wore the veil in several different ways, and it was made of light materials such as silk, batiste, or fine linen cloth. The veils were normally elongated, rectangular shaped, with a hole cut out in the middle for the head to be slid through.²⁷ (Pl. 1: 1–3)

²¹ Snyder 2002, 85–101.

²² Edwards 1979, 272; Barclay 1956, 108.

²³ 'Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonours his head. But every woman praying or prophesying with her head unveiled dishonours her head. For it is one and the same thing as if she were shaven. For if a woman is not veiled, let her also be shorn. But if it is a shame to a woman to be shorn or shaven, let her be veiled. For a man indeed ought not to have his head veiled, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God. But the woman is the glory of the man.' (Saint Paul: First Epistle to the Corinthians 11.5–11.7).

²⁴ Schaff 1885, 132.

²⁵ Houston 1996, 40, 226.

²⁶ Payne 1965, 168, 175.

²⁷ Laver 1969, 52–67.

During the 11th century, the round veil was the most popular. This kind of veil had a hole cut through the middle for the face, with a circle worn on top and a rectangular veil tucked underneath its back. According to a different style, a rectangular veil would be fastened on the left side of the head and left loose to flow down to the chin.

The headgear of young adolescents was considerably different from that worn by married women, and this also served to distinguish them from each other. While young girls wore their shoulder-length hair uncovered, married women could only appear in public with their hair covered. The hair styles of young women also indicated if they were ready for marriage.²⁸ Female hairstyles also indicated different life stages and particularities. As such, in Christian Europe, only unmarried women could wear their hair uncovered (the Hungarian word for this, *hajadonfő*, is used today meaning a person who is single), women acknowledged their subordination toward their husbands and openly displayed their marital status by covering their heads.

The 11th century hood was later completed with several other elements. One of these was the *barbette*, which was made fashionable by Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122–1204), queen of England. (Pl. 1: 4) It consisted of two parts: the rigid canvas forehead band and a strip of canvas, which was worn wrapped underneath the chin and fastened on top of the head.²⁹ Its top had an oval or round veil, covered by an approximately 60 cm high, round, fabric cover: this covered the head like a hat. Initially, only royalty wore this with a circlet or a diadem, but this was later adopted by every social strata.

The *fillet* was another headgear accessory, which was a rigid canvas or silk band worn around the head, on top of the *barbette*. During the 13th century, women could have one or the other with a round veil on top, which was folded in two and fastened by its edges to the front of the *fillet*. (Pl. 1: 5)

This style later led to the canvas hat, as the height of the forehead band was increased and stiff-

ened in such a way that it would rise a bit above the head. The hood, however, instead of hanging down from it, was sewed on from the inside, and when worn, it was slid over the top of the head. Later on, the hat was sewn in a wrinkled pattern.

The *barbette* and the *fillet* were both worn by young girls with their hair loose though, in most cases, their hair was braided. Gradually, the *barbette* and the *fillet* became narrower and both of them remained fashionable until the 14th century.³⁰ The richer, noble ladies used hair nets from the 13th century on, which were worn fastened to the *barbette* and the *fillet*, and this was called a *crispine* or a *crispinette*. In many cases, it was made of silk and decorated with jewels and ornaments.

During this period, a woman's hair would be prepared prior to putting on the hood. This began with the combing of the hair, after which it was split in two, braided, folded around the top of the head and fastened above the forehead. After this, the hair was arranged so as to clearly reveal the forehead, and the canvas band was folded under the chin, brought over the head and fastened on the top. After this, another band was placed across the head and fastened in the back. The headband was a piece of white canvas which was fastened around the neck. Its ends were folded up in order to reach a couple of locks of hair above the ears and were fastened to these, framing the face.³¹ A fine linen cloth was placed on top of it in such a way that it would cover the forehead and flow down on the shoulders. This last item was fastened to the chin and forehead band with the help of pins.³²

The history of women's hair decorations stretches back several thousands of years. We know of several types used in ancient Egypt and we find traces of hairpins being used by ancient Etruscans, Greeks as well as Romans. During the 12th century, short bone or bronze pins were used for fastening hair, while longer ones were used to fasten veils and clothes.³³ Similar short pins were found in England in Norwich, Winchester and York.³⁴

²⁸ Gilchrist 2012, 124–134.

²⁹ Schultz 1965, 237–240.

³⁰ Cunnington, Cunnington 1973, 40, 74.

³¹ Davenport 1948, 151.

³² Gilchrist 2012, 84–85.

³³ Margeson 1993, 9–10.

³⁴ Gilchrist 2012, 85.

Bronze pins tipped with flat endings were often used to fasten veils, some versions of which also turned up in finds dating back several centuries before the discussed period and in certain cases these were made of gold or silver. Some of these were found in France in the very rich tomb of Aregonde – 49 (dating back to 584),³⁵ and Brécláv-Pohánsko – 131, dating back to the 9th century.³⁶ Another example, also dating back to the 9th century, which was recovered from the Thames, can be found in the collection of the *British Museum*. This has a gilded, slightly dented, ball-end tip, with a diameter of 1.6 cm, with three holes observable in it, and decorated with an S-shaped spiralled filigree in the middle. The stem of the pin is roughly polished and has a length of 10.8 cm.³⁷

2–3% of the excavated graves in medieval cemeteries in England contain some information indicating clothing,³⁸ and because of this we have very few archaeological artefacts at our disposal to shed more light on hair styles. In almost every case, the only items preserved are hairpins. These often had round and sometimes ball-end tips, and only very rarely, in cases dating back to the 14th century, were their endings decorated.³⁹ One such example was excavated between 1966–1979 and can be found in the collection of the *British Museum*. Its ball-end was made of green glass, its diameter is 0.6 cm and its full length is 4.2 cm, and it dates back to the period between 940–1070.⁴⁰

In most cases, the graves contained one or two hairpins, but there are a few exceptions such as the case of the St. James and St. Mary Magdalene leper hospital, where the 12th century stone crypt contained the remains of an elderly woman. Eight hairpins were documented around her skull. The woman had presumably been the hospital's

patron.⁴¹ In another such case, one of the graves of St. Bartholomew's almshouse contained a female skeleton along with five hairpins with rolled up endings.⁴²

Ball-end hairpins were also found in this manner in France, as accompanying artefacts, during the excavations of the churches Saint-Romain and Saint-Denis.⁴³ Besides these, we also know of similar finds recovered from the Lot-et-Garonne area.⁴⁴

Western hairstyles came to the Hungarian Kingdom through the Holy Roman Empire, as these were already widely spread during the 12th century.⁴⁵ They already appear in 1152, in a Hungarian document, when a woman named Margit mentioned a hood in her will.⁴⁶ In 1231, the wife of *comes (ispán)* Bors already mentions two hoods in her will.⁴⁷ The wife of Demeter (1236–1269), son of Bezter, in her will, mentions a gilded hood decorated with pearls as well as a corolla, also gilded and decorated with pearls.⁴⁸

A couple of ragged fragments from archaeological excavation sites are also known, such as the ones discovered in 1931 in Kunkerekegyháza and Bocsán, where the remains of hoods woven with golden wire were identified in 12th–13th century graves.⁴⁹ However, one of the most outstanding artefacts was recovered from the grave of Agnes of Antioch, the wife of Béla III, King of the Hungarian Kingdom (1172–1196). Three thin undu-

⁴¹ Magilton, Lee, Boylston 2008, 128, 264.

⁴² Gilchrist 2012, 85.

⁴³ Meyer, Bourgeau, Coxall 1980, 271–308.

⁴⁴ Fages 1995, 263.

⁴⁵ Weinhold 1897, 295–300. It is necessary to mention the fact that this influence was initially of French origin because, during the reign of King Géza II of Hungary (1141–1162), from 1146 onward, Hungarian–German relations were hostile, while in 1147 Louis VII of France (1131–1180), while passing through Hungary on his way to the Holy Land, befriended Géza II, who continued his anti-German policies. About this see Makk 1996, 184–197. However, considering the fact that, during the middle of the 12th century, German crusaders – for example bishop Otto of Freising, the uncle of Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (1152–1190) – also passed through Hungary, the theory that the style was introduced due to German cultural influence, also holds its ground.

⁴⁶ Árpádkori okmánytár I. 1860, 62–63.

⁴⁷ Kormos 2010, 19.

⁴⁸ Nemes, Nagy 1900, 219.

⁴⁹ Szabó 1938, 35.

³⁵ Périn, Calligaro 2005, 190, Fig. 17.

³⁶ Kalousek 1971, 87, 133. Table 1.

³⁷ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=750388&objectId=85083&partId=1 (29.10.2015.)

³⁸ Gilchrist 2012, 70.

³⁹ Gilchrist 2012, 85.

⁴⁰ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3139522&partId=1&searchText=glass+pin&sortBy=imageName&page=2 (29.10.2015.)

lating hems hid the remains of the queen's veil, and these small fragments with edging hems were presumably part of a hairnet, thus representing the earliest example of this kind of style found in Hungary.⁵⁰

By the 13th century, garments in the Hungarian Kingdom had become entirely 'westernised', but in some cases we can also find traces of Byzantine fashion. This also implies a significant difference in hairstyles. The hairstyle of Gertrude of Merania is an interesting example, as her head was adorned with a wide hoop diadem decorated with jewels, which had strings of pearls flowing down from it, the hair itself being covered by a light, net-like hood made of red cloth.⁵¹

Starting with the 14th century, heavy hoods started being replaced by lighter, thinner veils, with their edges decorated with numerous rows of braided or sewn ruffles. This signalled the beginning of a new age.

3. Hairpins in Transylvania

During our analyses, we tried to determine the scope of use: the sex and age of the individuals from the graves containing hairpins, their use, position and quantity in the graves. Finally, we tried to make a possible reconstruction of the hairpin fashions using the archaeological evidence (Fig. 1–2) (Pl. 2–10) (map 1)

The appearance of the type of hairpin made by fitting together two hemispheres shows us the gradual instalment of western fashion in Transylvania. As we already mentioned, during this period, women in the western part of Europe would wear their hair split in two and coiled up, wrapped around with a hood, which was fastened in the back. After this they would place a fine canvas kerchief of top of this, in such a way that it would cover the forehead and flow down to the shoulders. For fastening this canvas to the chin and the forehead band, they would use hairpins. Among the cemeteries excavated in Transylvania, we have not discovered any cases where small, short pins were used for the prior adjustment of the hair.

Based on the hairpins found in 27 graves at 13 funerary sites⁵² we can conclude that the graves containing the hairpins belonged mainly to adults, but we can also find this tradition in the case of four *infans* and *juvenis* aged skeletons. Anthropological analyses would be required in order to clarify distribution by age.

Among the examples found in Transylvania, we only have a single case of its use for secondary function. The disk head hairpin found in Grave 172 in Dăbâca did not get there with its originally intended function. As seen in the grave sketch (Pl. 3), the hairpin was found on the right side, near the upper lateral rib, so it could not have been part of the corolla. The use of a jewel is connected with psychological and social, not to mention with funerary rituals, and because of this it is important to observe the position of artefacts in the archaeological excavation area. The hairpin found in this unusual position became bent or was deliberately bent at an angle of almost 90°, so in this case it is imaginable that it was used to decorate the outerwear of a woven shirt.

In contrast with the previous one, there is no question about the purpose of the simple hairpin recovered from Grave 322 (Pl. 3), from near the edge of the cemetery: a lock ring with an S-shaped ending was found on the left side of the skull with a simple bronze hairpin (Pl. 3) on its exact opposite side. In this case, it was certainly pinned in the hair or on the textile material in which the hair was wrapped. Based on its position within the cemetery (Grave 39 was found not topographically far from here and can be dated with the help of a coin of type *H91*) it dates back to the first half of the 12th century.⁵³

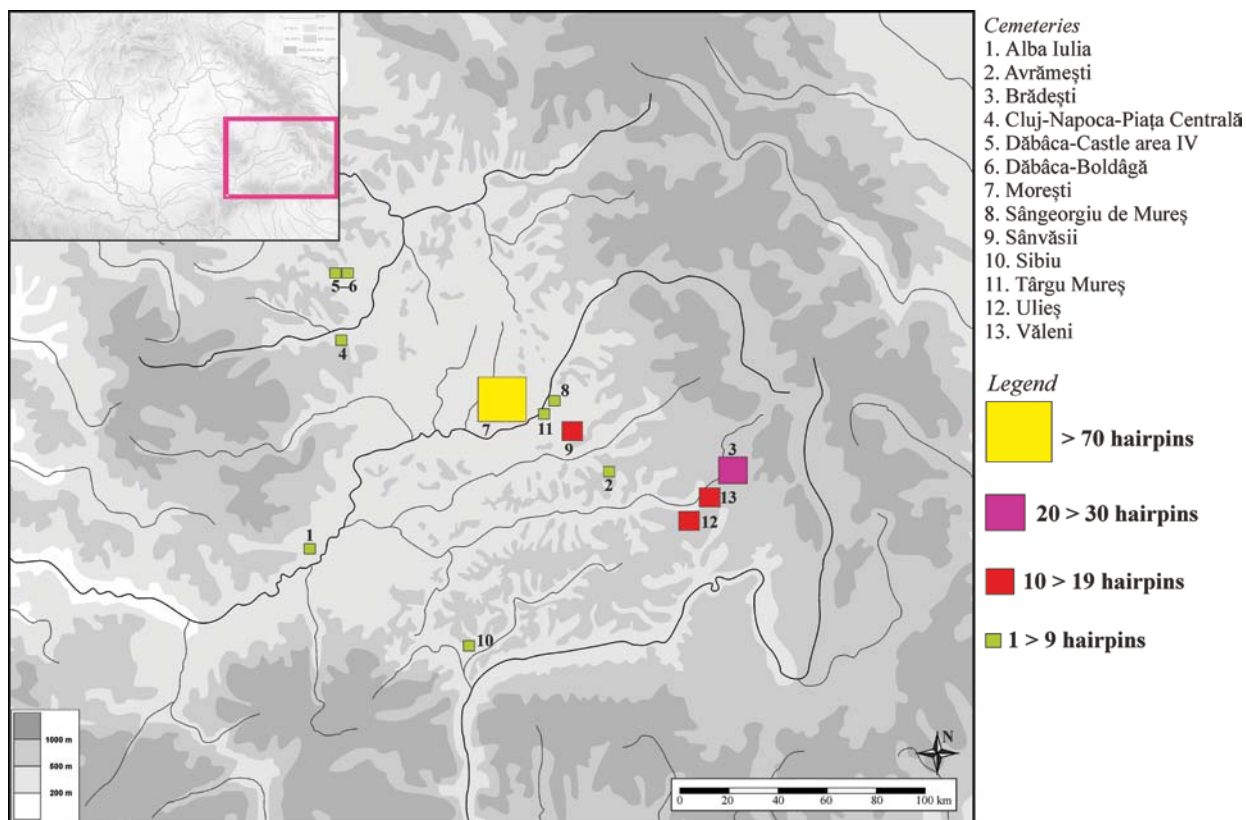
The hairpins found in the four graves in the cemetery in Brădești are characterised by a high degree of diversity both in terms of their function and use, as well as their number. This indicates that the use of hairpins was not strictly regulated by tradition. Graves 4 and 37 contained all but one example, while Grave 5 of a *iuvenis* yielded 6 examples and

⁵⁰ Sipos 1999, 64.

⁵¹ Nemes, Nagy 1900, 75.

⁵² If we also count the artefacts found in secondary positions, recovered from the cemetery in Morești, which were found together, we most likely have 30 graves.

⁵³ Chronological dating of 10–11th century simple hairpins from the Transylvanian Basin, Partium and Banat (Gáll 2013, vol. I, 661).



Map 1: The changes of the quantitative variables of the hairpins per site of the Transylvanian Basin

Grave S-40 yielded 20 examples. (Pl. 4; Pl. 5: 1–4; Pl. 6: 1–2) Some of the pins recovered from Grave 5 had traces of light woven linen, some small fragments of which we have managed to restore. (Pl. 5: 2; Pl. 6: 3–4) The examples discovered in Grave 40 in Brădești also had visible marks of several manufacturing techniques. The contact surface of the hemispheres had traces of some type of glue in several cases, running in a circle around the inner ridge of the contact surface, embedded in corrosion products. The pin was fastened in the lower hemisphere by flattening its end.

In order to additionally decorate hair styles, small glass beads were fixed to the ends of the pins in some cases. These cases were, however, quite rare. In Transylvania, only a single such case is known – in Ulieș, Grave 43, which yielded a hairpin with a dark blue glass bead, with a diameter of 0.5 cm, fixed to its end. (Pl. 5: 5; Pl. 6: 1–2; Pl. 7: 2/18) Similarly decorated pins were recovered during the excavation of the medieval church in Kaposvár, inside Grave 99, where 12 bronze hairpins

were found around the skull, which all had blue glass beads decorating their ends. A further 6 graves from inside the cemetery contained hairpins, but with just one or two per grave. Another element of hair decoration found in Grave 99 was two pins with lead beads in their ends, which were found on either side of the skull.⁵⁴ These lead beads are very similar to the decorations found in Grave 407 in Kaszaper.⁵⁵

In Morești, inside Grave 13 (*Fläche 31/B*), the skull was almost completely surrounded by such hairpins, but sadly, there exist no additional information offered by Kurt Horedt about other artefacts or their exact positions inside the grave (Pl. 9). Inside Grave 18, (Pl. 8) alongside the hairpins, an iron pin is also mentioned among the artefacts, but we sadly do not have any further information about its parameters.

⁵⁴ Bárdos 1978, 195.

⁵⁵ Bálint 1938, 139–184.

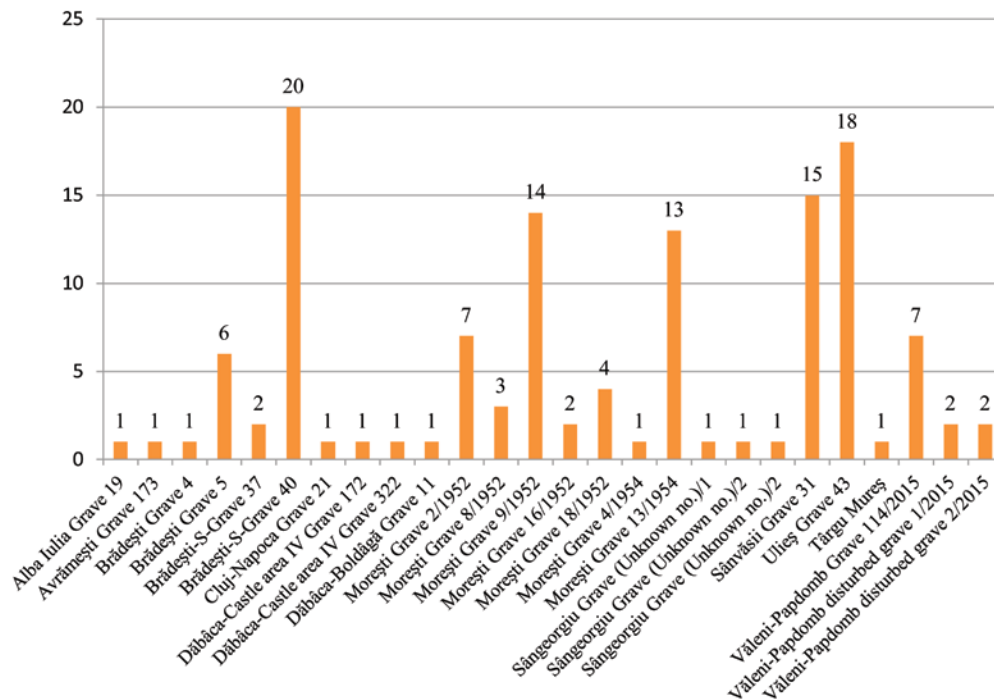


Fig. 1: The number of hairpins recovered from graves in the Transylvanian Basin

The single hairpin was found in Avrămești during the excavation of the church.⁵⁶

Sadly, we do not have any information about the positions of the artefacts found in Alba Iulia, Sibiu, Cluj-Napoca, Sângeorgiu de Mureș, Sânvășii or Văleni.

We have displayed the quantitative statistical situation of the hairpins discovered in the Transylvanian Basin in the following chart:

In Transylvania, there must have been numerous different versions of hair styles adopted from Western Europe. The scarce and incomplete archaeological remains only allow a partial reconstruction as of yet, but it is almost certain that increasingly thorough church and cemetery excavations will reveal new examples that will enrich the researched subject with further details.

Until then, we can confirm that hairpins, and especially ball-end hairpins, fulfilled a variety of functions. The number of hairpins recovered from the graves varied between just one and up to 18–

20, and this indicates the tradition or fashion in which kerchiefs were fastened. Hairpins could have already been used for fastening the hood strip. In this case, it was not only the two ends of the strip that were fastened but also the already prepared, curled-up hair, which was fastened to the head band. (Fig. 2: 2) The preparation of the third kerchief, which was left to flow down to the shoulders, was also done using hairpins in the headband. In this case, several hairpins could be placed in it for decorative purposes which, due to their ball-ends with diameters of 0.95–1 cm, gave the impression of a corolla (Fig. 2: 3). The size of the ball-end of the pin also indicated its place and role in decorating the hair. In the case of Grave 43 at the old church in Ulieș, we have found pins with small ball-ends (0.75–0.8 cm) alongside larger ones (0.95–1 cm). The smaller ones were also used for fastening the forehead band since it was completely covered. In most cases, however, there is no considerable difference between the sizes of the ball-ends of the pins discovered in one specific grave.

Based on these data, we illustrate possible reconstruction in the following figure:

⁵⁶ Benkő 1992, 220.

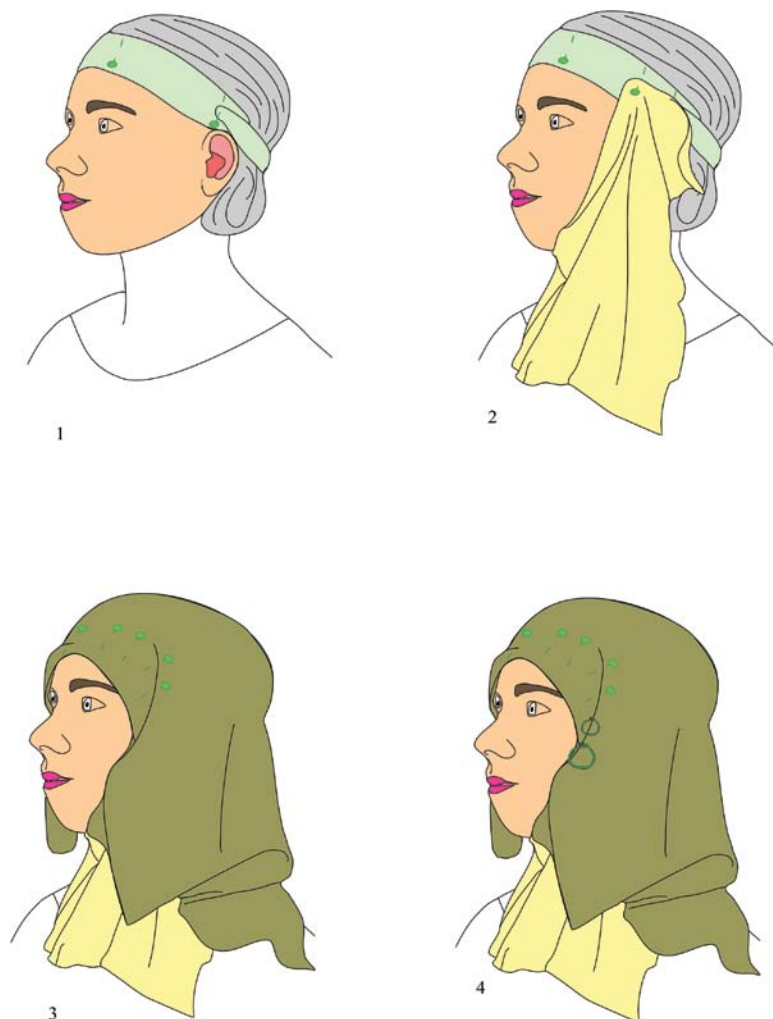


Fig. 2: Reconstruction of a Transylvanian hair style. 1. covering the hair and fastening it using a headband and hairpins; 2. fastening the canvas kerchief to the headband; 3. placing the shoulder-length kerchief and decorating it with ball-end hairpins; 4. fitting the lock rings

4. The analysis of the chronological context of the artefacts in the Transylvanian Basin (Fig. 3) (Pl. 2–10) (maps 1–4)

The first important feature regarding the discovered hairpins is the fact that each one of the approximately 25 artefacts collected from the graves from the 12 sites came from the cemetery surrounding the church, but no example was found in the so-called grouped or row cemetery. We cannot say anything more about this even after analysing the cemetery map, the result of the single significant excavation done in Dăbâca-Castle Area IV. The three lock rings (plain, very large lock ring and a ribbed lock ring with an S-shaped

ending) found in Grave 172, belonging an adult of unconfirmed sex, were found in the middle of the cemetery. The middle layer containing the lock rings was disturbed by the pit of Grave 174, which in turn had also been disturbed by another grave. Sadly, no coins were found in any of the surrounding graves. In contrast, Grave 322 (a lock ring with an S-shaped ending was also found alongside the hairpin) was found in an area near the edge of the cemetery, where the necropolis had become single-layered. A grave containing a *H91* coin was found almost in its immediate vicinity. It is a fact, however, that both graves date back to the 12th century, same as the rest of the entire cemetery (its earliest coins are types *H41*

and *H42a*, minted under Coloman).⁵⁷ (Pl. 2; Pl. 3: Graves 172: 1–5, Graves 322: 1–2)

Sadly, nothing is known about the other site in Dăbâca. With regard to the example found in Boldăgă's Grave 11, we can only speculate that it was found in the earliest part of the cemetery.⁵⁸

With the excavation of the medieval church in Brădești, we managed to identify the traces of 52 graves. The cemetery was in use from the Árpádi-an age up until the middle of the 17th century. Due to modern age disturbances, soil slips and agricultural activity, most of the graves were found in very poor condition. According to the orientation of the graves, three categories are distinguishable. In addition, considering the depth of the graves, their filling, furnishing items and the state of the bones, the north-south oriented graves (between 192–218°) proved to date back to the Árpádi-an age, while most of the later graves (30 graves) date back to the 14th – 17th centuries. Four of the graves had east–west orientations and these date back to the 16th century. (Pl. 4)

We can distinguish two categories among the Árpádi-an age graves, the ones with earlier 11th–12th century furnishings and late Árpádi-an age graves without furnishing items, containing debris from earlier graves. A total of five graves belonged to the earlier group and in which, during the excavation of Grave 6, a fragment of a very corroded 12th century, anonymous silver denar (*H164*) was recovered. Besides this, fragments of ball-end hairpins were found in Graves 4 and 37, and lock rings with S-shaped endings were found along with ball-end hairpins in Graves 5 and 40. In order to achieve a more precise dating, we conducted a radio carbon analysis of the find from Grave 40,⁵⁹ and following the calibration the dating revealed that the grave dates back to the period between 1040–1160. (Pl. 4)

The earliest graves in Brădești were most likely buried in the vicinity of a church made of brick,

because the filling of Graves 4, 6, 37, 40 was slightly mixed with clay and contained chunks of mortar and brick. In spite of the fact that during the excavation (thanks to the very high degree in which the soil had been disturbed), the base of the walls of the early church could not be located, we can conclude from the archaeological finds that it was built of brick, similarly to the neighbouring church in Satu Mare, which had a foundation of rammed earth.⁶⁰ The first churches in Ulieș and Avrămești, where hairpins were also found, also had foundations of rammed earth. (Pl. 5: 1–4; Pl. 6: 1–4; Pl. 7: Grave 5 and 40)

We discovered the traces of the first church in Brădești in excavation trench 15, (Pl.4) where a locked layer (R-3) contained large quantities of brick debris (brick size: 25 × 4 × 17 cm), Árpádi-an age pottery fragments as well as a rhombus S-shaped arrow head.⁶¹ Similar bricks were also found in the walls of the later phase, as well as in later layers.

During the excavation of the medieval church in Ulieș, 56 graves were discovered, a significant number of which were placed around church 1, used up until the end of the Árpádi-an age. The earliest church had a semi-circular shaped foundation of rammed earth. It is important to mention that even this earliest foundation had already disturbed some graves.⁶² It is not clear whether Grave 43 (containing hairpins and lock rings),⁶³ was placed near the already existing church or if this was one of the graves predating the church. What is clear is that the grave's filling was clean, without any traces of construction debris and that it was found outside, east of the rammed earth foundation of the sanctuary. The grave was intersected by Graves 40 and 41, as well as the 2nd semi-circular sanctuary (Wall-5). (Pl. 5: 5; Pl. 6: 1–2; Pl. 7: Grave 43)

The state of the grave containing the example from Cluj-Napoca is unknown, as a single grave was excavated in 1958, found in a pit that was

⁵⁷ Gáll 2011, 41–42.

⁵⁸ Gáll, Laczkó 2013, 96–98, 6. kép.

⁵⁹ The samples were processed by Mihály Molnár from the Isotoptech Zrt. in Debrecen, the calibration was done with the help of the Calic 6.1.1, the number of the analysis register was I/839. For this see: Molnár *et al.* 2013, 338–344; Molnár *et al.* 2013a, 665–676.

⁶⁰ Demjén, Sófalvi 2009, 16–18.

⁶¹ The analysis of 10th–11th century arrowheads found in the Transylvanian Basin, see: Gáll 2013, vol. I., 725–731, 890, vol. II, Pl. 318.

⁶² Derzsi, Sófalvi 2008, 268.

⁶³ Benkő 2012, Vol. I, 161.

meant for a light pole, between the public toilet and the parish church. (Pl. 3: 1–2) This cemetery had already been disturbed in several different locations in 1927, in 1943 as well as later in 1948, 1968 and in 2007. Excavations were carried out and some materials were recovered, but mostly the manner in which they were buried indicated a necropolis surrounding a church. However, something that went unnoticed by everyone, including us, was that there was no trace of grave clustering or graves appearing in different layers (none of the excavations made by Méri István, or Gyulai Pál, or Cosmin Rusu, found any trace of this), which means, based on observations made in other cemeteries surrounding churches (ex.: Dăbâca-Castle Area IV, Dăbâca-A. Tâmaș's garden, etc.), that the church is not found near these excavated areas.⁶⁴ Based on the materials found so far, this piece of jewellery from the cemetery in Cluj-Napoca is most likely a product of the 12th century cultural sphere.

The cemetery surrounding the church in Morești enriches the literature on the subject with numerous questions, starting with the problem of its size,⁶⁵ and continuing with details such as orientation and the dating of the cemetery. Kurt Ho-

⁶⁴ Due to the lack of archaeological data, we currently have no idea about the whereabouts of the 12th–13th century church. Also, based on the relative great distances between the excavations (there is a 225 metre distance between the excavations made by I. Méri and S. Cociș), as well as the rarity of the grave excavated by Gyulai and based on the topographical situation of the graves saved in 1992 by Sorin Cociș, we can count two churches in early Cluj-Napoca (it may be a similar situation to that in Mănăstur or as proved in Dăbâca). Meanwhile, we must also consider another possible scenario, according to which the grave containing the ribbed hair ring with an S-shaped ending and square cross-section, discovered by S. Cociș, dates to a later period, the second half of the 13th century and that it is not linked in any way to the earlier cemetery. As such, it is very important that the so far excavated grave clusters that date back to the 12th century are single-layered, as typical for those found on the edges of cemeteries surrounding churches, so we cannot look for a church in their vicinity.

⁶⁵ *'...Der Friedhof reichte also von der Kirche nach Nordosten etwa 3035 m und erstreckte sich nicht über die Fläche A und den Hügel hinaus.'* (Horedt 1984, 60).

redt made excavations in two spots in the cemetery – supposedly its north-eastern and western sides – and first found 24 graves north-west of the later church, and then 31 graves north-east of it. While all five of the graves (2, 8, 9, 16, and 18) in the first area excavated were undisturbed and, based on their furnishing items, most likely date back to the 12th century (and this is also confirmed by a 12th century coin, which, according to Kurt Horedt, can be associated with Béla II), the other 31 graves discovered at the end of the so-called *Fläche 31/B* excavation trench were visibly layered. The result of this is that, with the exception of Grave 13, which had a west-east orientation (only the skull was left untouched),⁶⁶ the rest of the hairpins found here were discovered in secondary positions from disturbed graves. This also means that the individuals buried with the hairpins belong to an earlier phase of the cemetery. The dating of this phase is questionable, but the fact that the south-western corner of the area yielded a *H29* coin minted by Ladislaus I of Hungary (1077–1095), is thought-provoking.⁶⁷ Of course, this by itself cannot be considered sufficient proof of the earlier chronology of the hairpins, and especially cannot generalise the presumption on all the artefacts in the Transylvanian Basin, but overlooking this would also be a mistake. (Pl. 8–10)

If we take a look at the accompanying grave inventory items, with the exception of one, we will find a very rich diversity of different lock ring types. We find among them a very large sized plain lock ring (Dăbâca-Castle Area IV Grave 172), a pear shaped silver lock ring (Ulieș Grave 43), the plain, large and small lock rings with S-shaped endings (Dăbâca-Castle Area IV – Graves 172 and 322, Cluj-Napoca-Piața Centrală Grave 21, Morești-Citfalău Grave 2/1952 and Grave 9/1952, Văleni-Papdomb Grave 114/2015 and the

⁶⁶ On the surface of *Fläche 31/B*, we can observe two types of orientation: west-east and south west – north east. Graves 3, 13, 17 and 24 had been placed with a west-east orientation, while Graves 1/A-C, 2, 7–12, 15, 21, 27, 28 and 29 (but we may also distinguish two separate categories among these) were placed with a south west – north east orientation.

⁶⁷ Kurt Horedt incorrectly mentions this a Ladislau II's coin (Horedt 1984, notes 62, 92).

destroyed grave 1/2015),⁶⁸ as well as the ribbed, small and medium size lock rings with S-shaped endings, dating back approximately to the second third/half of the 11th century (Dăbâca-Castle Area IV Grave 172, Brădești-Grave 5, -S-Grave 40, Morești-Citfalău Grave 9/1952, -Grave 18/1952, Avrămești Grave 173).⁶⁹ The number of lock rings found in these graves also varies considerably. Generally, only a single lock ring would be discovered in graves containing hairpins (Dăbâca-Castle Area IV Grave 322, Brădești-S-Grave 40, Ulieș Grave 43, Cluj-Napoca-Piața Centrală Grave 21, Morești-Citfalău Grave 18/1952), but there are also cases known with 2 (Alba Iulia-Roman Catholic Cathedral Grave 19), 3 (Dăbâca-Castle Area IV Grave 172), 4 (Morești-Citfalău Grave 2/1952) or even 5 lock rings (Morești-Citfalău Grave 9/1952). The new hair style fashion excludes the possibility that these types of artefacts were used as earrings since the ears were completely covered, and the possibility that they were attached to the hair is also unlikely as the hair was also entirely covered. Supposedly, these hair rings were attached to the headgear, which hung down decorating the temple area. (Pl. 3; Pl. 7; Pl. 10) These rather homogeneous finds include one single exceptional item, a ring with a square cross-section (Morești-Citfalău Grave 16/1952). Similarly, although with an imperfect square cross-section, a closed ring is also known from Grave 116 in Dăbâca-Castle Area IV, which dates back to the 12th century.⁷⁰

In six cases, there no other furnishing items found beside the hairpins, which we attempted to illustrate in the following table:

Considering all the data, we can conclude that we do not know of a single case in the Transylvanian Basin which can be dated to the first half of the 11th century, which yet again confirms the fact that the appearance of this type of item in Transylvania occurs mainly in the 12th century, although in the cases of the Brădești (¹⁴C anal-

ysis) and Morești-Citfalău (based on the H29 coin type), it is possible to date it back to the end of the 11th century. This type of hair style was ranked among the typical features of the material culture of the 12th century Hungarian Kingdom by István Bóna,⁷¹ which is linked with the change of hair styles.⁷² However, during the 12th century, they are far from being present in every cemetery, which also indicates or may indicate that their use did not spread or was simply not reflected (the textile corolla was not left on the head) in burial rituals.

5. Their geographical range: migration and/or acculturation? Methodological questions (maps 1–4)

Classic archaeology based upon its 19th century foundation explained the change and dynamics of fashion and funerary customs with historical records, and adjusted explanations to these sources. In this, cultural changes were usually analysed as the archaeological indicators of new peoples and migrations, which practically corresponds to 'historic' Level 3 of event history set up by Sebastian Brather.⁷³

As can be seen on our maps showing their geographical range (maps 1–4), only a relatively small amount of these hairpins is known from the graves dating from the 12th century in the Transylvanian Basin, but what is more important, the places where the hairpins of this kind have been excavated are clustered like islands where the hills along the Mureș and the Târnava meet the fore posts of the Carpathians, practically in two micro-regions (map 4). It is an important fact that Ulieș, where hairpins were found in a significant number in Grave S-43, is situated in a side valley of the Great Târnava, indicating that the settlement area also covered the areas of the side rivers in the 12th century.

And then the question arises concerning how this concentration of finds can be interpreted in Central-Eastern Transylvania (95.31% of the Transylvanian finds were excavated here, see Fig. 1),

⁶⁸ Similar examples are also known from the cemetery in the Castle Area IV in Dăbâca, which have been dated with reasonable certainty to the 12th–13th centuries (Gáll 2011, 40).

⁶⁹ Szőke, Vándor 1987, 51–52; Gáll 2013, Vol. I, 657–658.

⁷⁰ Gáll 2011, 43.

⁷¹ Bóna 1978, 140–141.

⁷² Bárdos 1978, 194.

⁷³ Brather 2006, 27, 1. ábra.

Grave	Sex	Age	Inventories of the graves
Alba Iulia-Roman Catholic Cathedral Grave 19	?	?	1 bronze hairpin, 2 lock rings with S-shaped endings
Avrămești-Templomföld Grave 173	female	20–39 years old	1 bronze hairpin, ribbed silver lock ring with an S-shaped ending
Brădești-Csonkatemplom Grave 4	?	adultus	1 ball-end of a pin
Brădești-Csonkatemplom Grave 5	?	juvenis	6 bronze ball-end hairpins, 1 small ribbed silver lock ring with an S-shaped ending
Brădești-Csonkatemplom Grave S-37	?	adultus	1 bronze hairpin
Brădești-Csonkatemplom Grave S-40	?		20 bronze hairpins, 1 large, ribbed, silver lock ring with an S-shaped ending
Cluj-Napoca-Piața Centrală Grave 21	?	?	1 bronze hairpin, small bronze lock ring with an S-shaped ending
Dăbâca-Castle Area IV Grave 172	?	adult?	1 bronze hairpin, 1 ribbed with an S-shaped ending, 1 medium sized lock ring with an S-shaped ending, 1 plain bronze very large lock ring
Dăbâca-Castle Area IV Grave 322	?	adult?	1 bronze hairpin, 1 plain small lock ring with an S-shaped ending
Dăbâca-Boldâgă/Boldogasszony Grave 11	?	?	?
Morești-Citfalău Grave 2/1952	?	adultus-maturus?	7 hairpins, 3 smaller lock rings with S-shaped endings, 1 large lock ring with an S-shaped ending
Morești-Citfalău Grave 8/1952	?	adultus-maturus?	3 hairpins
Morești-Citfalău Grave 9/1952	?	adultus-maturus?	14 bronze hairpins, 2 small lock rings with S-shaped endings, 1 large, ribbed, bronze lock ring with an S-shaped ending, 2 plain large lock rings with S-shaped endings
Morești-Citfalău Grave 16/1952	?	adultus-maturus?	2 hairpins, plain, square cross-sectioned, rounded finger ring
Morești-Citfalău Grave 18/1952	?	adultus-maturus?	3 bronze hairpins, 1 iron hairpin, 1 bronze, ribbed lock ring with an S-shaped ending
Morești-Citfalău Grave 4/1954	?	infans	1 bronze hairpin
Morești-Citfalău Grave 13/1954	?	?	13 bronze hairpins
Morești-Citfalău Grave 20/1954	?	?	Unknown number of hairpins
Sângeorgiu-Roman Catholic Church Unknown no. of the grave/1	?	?	1 bronze hairpin
Sângeorgiu-Roman Catholic Church Unknown no. of the grave/2	?	?	1 bronze hairpin
Sângeorgiu-Roman Catholic Church Unknown no. of the grave/3	?	?	1 bronze hairpin
Sânvășii-Reformat Church Grave 31	?	?	15 bronze hairpins, 3 lock rings with S-shaped endings
Ulieș-Régi templom Grave 43	female	20–59 years old	18 bronze hairpins, pear shaped lock ring
Târgu-Mureș	?	?	?
Văleni-Papdomb Grave 114/2015	?	?	6 or 7 hairpins, 1 small-lock ring with an S-shaped ending, anonym denar – <i>H139</i> type
Văleni-Papdomb disturbed grave 1/2015	?	?	1 or 2 hairpins, 1 small-lock ring with an S-shaped ending
Văleni-Papdomb disturbed grave 2/2015	?	?	2 hairpins

Fig. 3: Graves containing hairpins along with other inventories

(maps 1–2). In the vast number of churchyard cemeteries excavated in the big Transylvanian centres so far, only an insignificant number of hairpins have been found (e. g. in Dăbâca, three pieces were only found in three graves apiece among more than 800 graves). To put it in other words, how can the appearance of this type of object be interpreted in the case of a micro-region or area, as this clothing element can be considered 'alien' to the 12th century Transylvanian material culture? Older archaeological explanations usually interpreted them as indications of group or personal migrations but, in our opinion, the situation is somewhat more complicated.

First, the finds containing the 12th century hairpins that were excavated in the Pre-Carpathian sites in Eastern-Transylvania cannot be set parallel, so in this case we cannot talk about the members of a group immigrating in a given period of the 12th century, since the finds at our disposal only increase the probability of their use in the 12th century in general whereas, in the case of the graves in Morești-Citfalău, the first decades of the century seem to be probable. Consequently, as these finds can only be dated to a wider chronological era, in our view they cannot be interpreted as signs of group migrations.

Secondly, the following represents a methodological issue – what can be considered 'foreign' in a set of finds (in this case in a cemetery)? The position of this jewel in the grave begs the question whether we can see foreign people or foreign objects. Is it the result of migration or exchange?

Apart from the fact that this jewel can be found only in some clustered sites in the entire Transylvanian Basin (maps 1–4), in the cemeteries in the area next to the Carpathian range they cannot be considered 'foreign', as they are known from the cemetery in Morești-Citfalău (if it is included here) in as great a number as the hairpins with lock rings with S-shaped endings (in 14.81% of the graves including four stray finds excavated in graves), and they were found in almost all the graves, and also in the cemetery in Brădești (among the five graves dating from the 12th century there are only four in which hairpins were found!).

As a consequence, at the moment there is no evidence supporting the assumption that this type of jewellery was brought to Transylvania through a group migration, and it can be excluded once and

for all that this jewel belongs to the same chronological period (Grave S-40 in Brădești is dated to 1040–1160, while Grave 31 in Sânvășii is dated to the second half of the 12th century by the ¹⁴C analysis and the grave 114 in Văleni is similarly dated by a coin of Type *H139* to the second half of the 12th century)⁷⁴.

Certainly, it would be most interesting to carry out a comparative anthropological analysis of the skeletons in the graves with hairpins, broken down to micro-regions, but at the moment this cannot be done either due to the poor condition of the anthropological remains (in Brădești) or due to the lack of them (Morești).

How can we interpret this phenomenon? It has already been stated that the overwhelming majority of the finds in the Transylvanian Basin are concentrated in two micro-regions, elsewhere, in the centres of the western part of the Transylvanian Basin they seldom occur. One micro-region is the area surrounding Morești–Târgu Mureș where, based on the existence of a case-construction fortress, we can count with a centre of power from the second half of the 11th century.⁷⁵ The geographical-topographical connection of this micro-region with the upper reaches of the Târnavă Mare is quite obvious, so the presence of this jewel in this area can be connected to the area of Morești–Târgu Mureș. In general, a western workshop tradition can be assumed to have existed in Eastern-Transylvania and it could be traced back to many reasons. The spread of western fashion in this region seems to be the most logical explanation. (map 4)

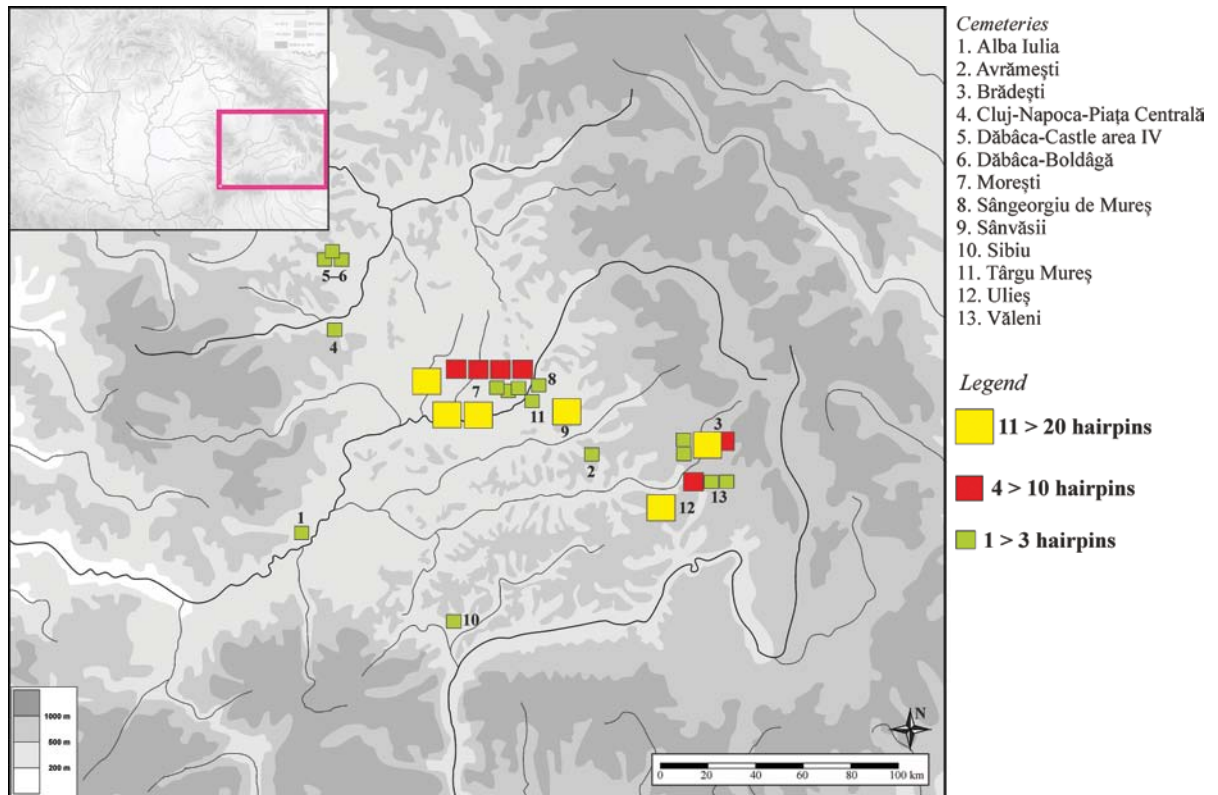
6. Consequences: hairpins and cultural factors in the Transylvanian Basin in the 12th century (Fig. 4) (map 3)

As has been mentioned, the hairpins with sphere-shaped ends turned out to have been characteristic fashion items of the 12th century, but they were new elements contrary to the material culture of earlier times,⁷⁶ coming to the territory of the

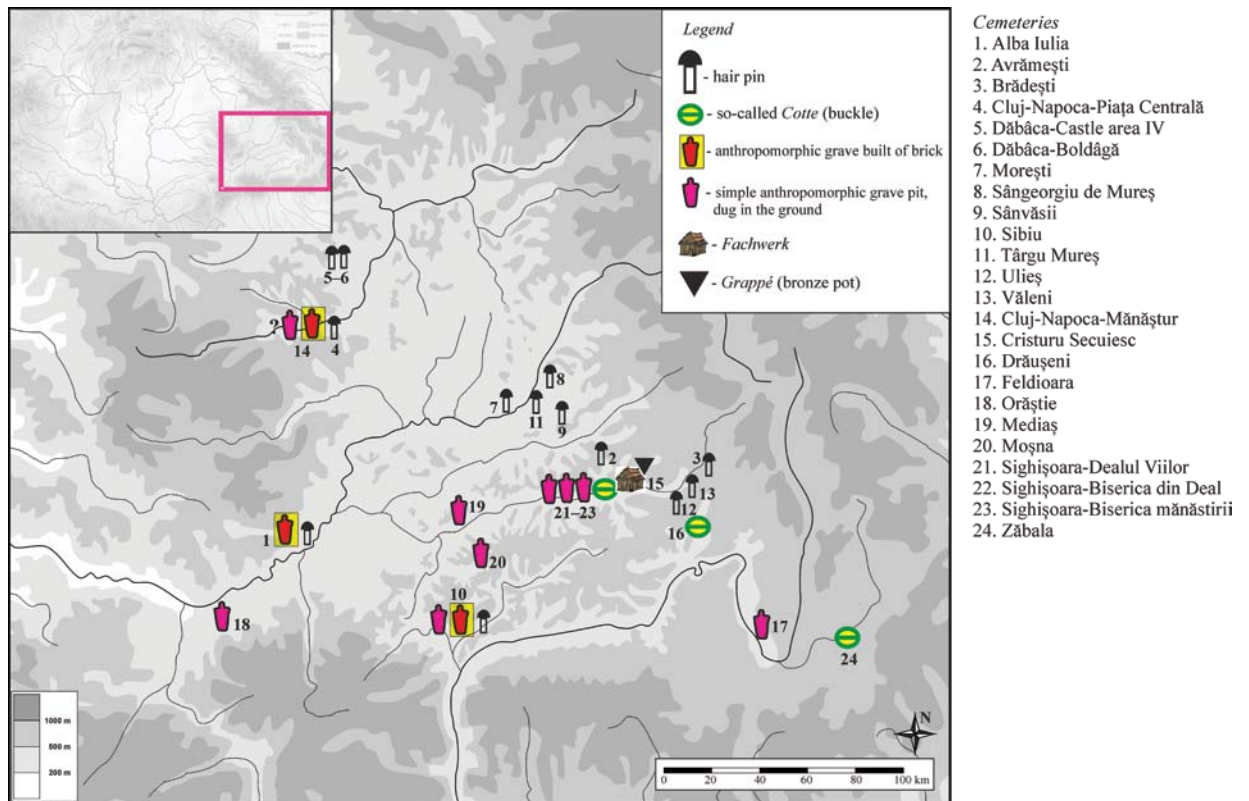
⁷⁴ The excavation of the cemetery is unfinished and it is unpublished.

⁷⁵ Bóna 1998, 47.

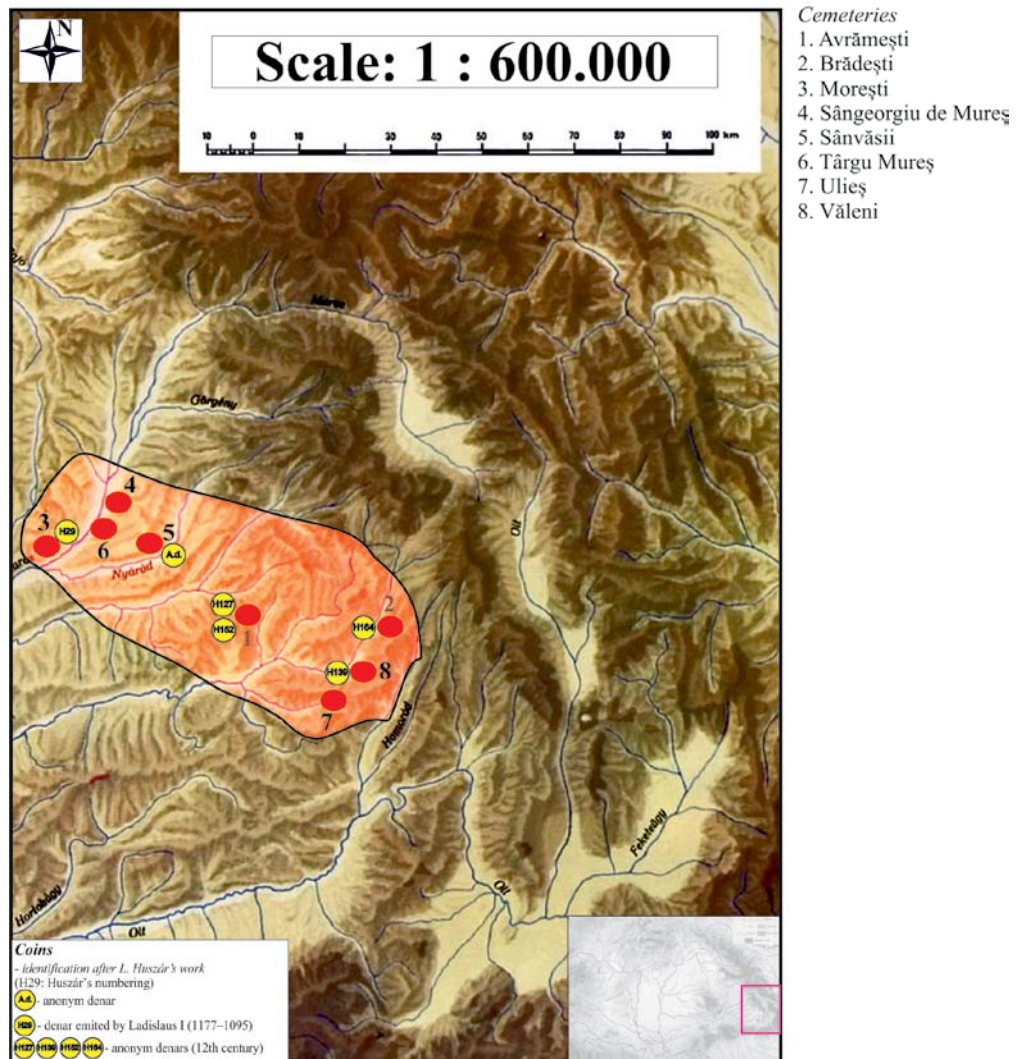
⁷⁶ Bóna 1978, 140–141; Protase 1956, 35.



Map 2: The changes of the quantity of hairpins in the graves of the Transylvanian Basin



Map 3: The spread of western fashion styles among material finds and in the burial traditions in the Transylvanian Basin during the 12th century



Map 4: Sites which yielded hairpins in the eastern half of the Transylvanian Basin

Hungarian Kingdom through cultural transfers. All this was closely connected to the more and more concrete western integration of the Hungarian Kingdom affecting everyday life, which is shown by other elements and traditions, as well.

As can be seen on Map 3, a series of archaeological phenomena dating from the 12th century can be detected in the Transylvanian Basin that had no precursor in the 11th century, ranging from material culture to funerary customs. Besides hairpins, there was the *cotte*, a long, straight-tailored shirt-like garment on which the neck slit was clamped by a metal buckle (Sighișoara-Dealul Viilor Grave 119/D (?), Zăbala Grave 130, Drăușeni).⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Benkő 2012, Vol. I, 121–122, Fig. 28.

In Cristuru Secuiesc, Elek Benkő excavated the remains of a *Fachwerk*-like beam house dug in the ground, in which an imported western bronze pot (*grappé*) was found.⁷⁸

Apart from these, in the 12th century Transylvanian Basin a funerary custom can be registered unknown in the cemeteries of earlier eras,⁷⁹ which was connected to a 'Germanic' (Saxon⁸⁰) migration by some of the Romanian archaeological lit-

⁷⁸ Benkő 2012, Vol. I, 93.

⁷⁹ The analysis of the 10th–11th century funerary customs, see: Gáll 2013, Vol. I, 593–640, 869–881.

⁸⁰ For example: Heitel 1985, 229; Ioniță *et al.* 2004, 46–59; Marcu Istrate 2008, 111–112; Ioniță 2010, 389–401; Crângaci Țiplic 2011, 121–135.

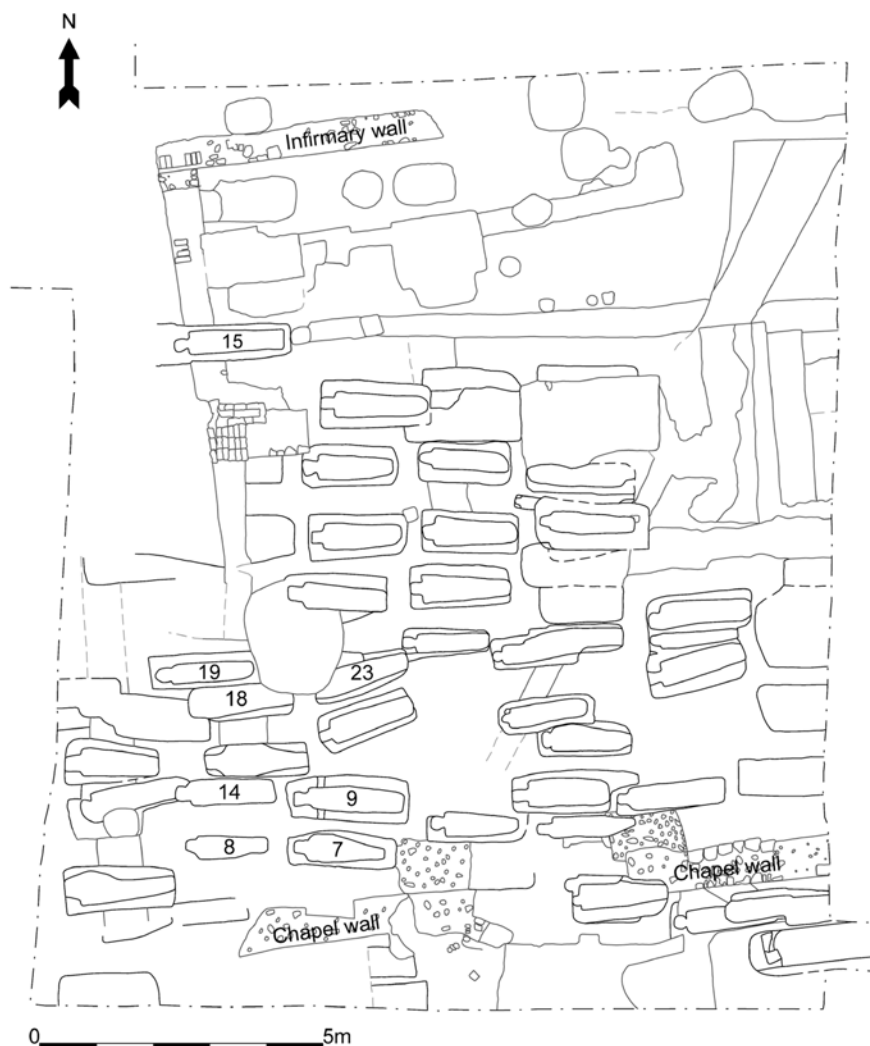


Fig. 4: Winchester-Saint Maria Magdalene's cemetery with numerous anthropomorphic grave pits (Roffey, Tucker 2012, Fig. 2)

erature, but it was rejected by Ágnes Ritoók and Elek Benkő,⁸¹ quoting international literature (too) but without elaborating the theoretical basis of this rejection.

One cannot reject completely the *migration theory* appearing in Romanian archaeology as one of the possible (but not the only) interpretations of these graves. However, we would like to draw attention to some problems and possibilities concerning their methodological interpretation:

1.1. The *migration* theory is methodologically questionable because it relies on *retrospective* and

mixed argumentation.⁸² The theory starts from the assumption that the origin of a person, based upon the grave furnishings or the funerary rites, is a reflection of the '*cultural processes*' in the grave.⁸³ It is also important that those who worked out this theory adjusted the archaeological material to the historical records (the western migration known from written sources) and proved this theory by these sources, following the pattern of a *typical mixed argumentation*.

1.2. Another methodological issue of great significance is that ethnic self-interpretation as the at-

⁸¹ Benkő 2012, Vol. I, 63.

⁸² As Sebastian Brather also warned the defects of research lead to results affected by preconceptions in many cases (Brather 2006, 42–43).

⁸³ Binnford 1962, 222.

titude towards others cannot be inferred from the way one treats their own deceased.⁸⁴ It is important to note that personal and group identifications and customs/fashions are very changeable, as the material culture and the cultural regions never coincide with groups of common identity and therefore never cover the same identification field.⁸⁵ In a cultural region, several identification field can be found.⁸⁶ Cultural areas are not homogeneous by any means, and their identification depends on the archaeological indicators chosen, so human subjectivity plays an important role in the classification. Another very important aspect is the fact that neighbouring communities are not radically different from one another in most cases, as they are connected by various complicated systems of multiple relations and trade contacts (both material and spiritual), so the closer two communities are to each other, the greater their chances of influencing each other are, therefore the neighbourhood enables and facilitates acculturation processes. It is quite logical that cultural relations are the most intensive between neighbours.

1.3. The spread of funerary fashions even on a continental scale (like burials with horses) could not mean deep changes; they appeared and vanished due to new impacts so they must have been adopted very quickly. The adoption of funerary customs or fashions could have been difficult only in those cases when there was a wide gap between the religious beliefs and traditions of these groups (such as the Christians and Jews or Muslims).

1.4. If a particular custom remained isolated, it means that it had an insignificant effect on society,⁸⁷ but this cannot be concluded in connection with graves with head alcoves. Therefore, there is no point in seeking ethnic differences in the case of anthropomorphic grave pits – instead, we should study the economic, social, cultural and mental background that helped propagate this funerary custom in this vast geographical area from Lisbon to Lund.

⁸⁴ Brather 2004, 519.

⁸⁵ 'Cultural field' as an explanation instead of 'tribal territory' is only advantageous methodologically if 'cultural area' is not considered homogeneous and they can be clearly separated (Brather 2004, 519).

⁸⁶ Brather 2004, 519.

⁸⁷ Brather 2006, 62.

1.5. In many cases, as Miklós Takács has also drawn attention to, spatial and economic factors may separate settlement communities that have been interpreted as 'ethnic communities' by the experts.⁸⁸

1.6. We have no information on whether the *hospes* communities lived according to the rules of endogamy in the second half of the 12th century, i.e. whether this funerary custom remained 'Germanic' as was supposed by those working out the theory.

2.1. This simplifying theory is also methodologically doubtful because the archaeological data base is quite scanty as no cemetery has been completely excavated: so the questions concerning when these cemeteries were started to be used and chronologically when this funerary custom appeared in the Transylvanian Basin cannot be answered. The anthropomorphic brick covered grave in the cemetery in Cluj-Napoca-Mănăștur seems to date from the first half of the 12th century (a skeleton with a braided ring was found beside it in Grave 86), which makes it possible to state that this custom was known in the Transylvanian Basin before the mass immigration of western, German and Neolatin, Vallon and French speaking people.⁸⁹

3.1. If we consider the written sources known to us, which were thoroughly analysed by Gyula Kristó, the fact cannot be neglected that there are 6 written sources mentioning *Székelys* in Southern Transyl-

⁸⁸ 'At the level of the topographic structure, the excavated finds are not so much apt to be used to register ethnic differences but the differences resulting from the natural environment such as in the 10th–11th century section of the excavations in Sárvár–Faképi-dűlők, Lébény–Bille-domb, Visegrád–várkert-dűlő, Vecsés, Kecskemét, Solt–Erdélyitanya, Nyíregyháza–Rozsrésztől or in Malomfalva/Morești, Transylvania, the differences cannot necessarily be explained by the different ethnic origin of the people but the micro-environment of the particular sites.' We agree with Takács, noting that the settlement in Morești should rather be dated to the 11th–12th centuries. Takács. http://www.btk.mta.hu/images/05_Tak%C3%A1cs_Mikl%C3%B3s.pdf. However, we would like to specify, that according to Sebastian Brather, archaeology cannot be used to identify 'ethnic' groups, which opinion the authors of these lines can only agree with (Brather 2002, 152–156).

⁸⁹ It was Gyula Kristó, who pointed out that some settlers sporadically came from Western Europe to the Transylvanian Basin already in the 11th century and in the first half of the 12th century. The best example of this is *Bayersdorf* in Bistrița county (Kristó 2002, 157).

vania in the second half of the 12th century.⁹⁰ On the other hand, according to the toponyms adopted by the German language, there were also Slavonic people, Hungarians and Pechenegs living here,⁹¹ so in this region we cannot talk about a *cultural homogeneity* which would allow us to interpret this funerary custom as *Germanic*. As has been mentioned, contacts are the most intensive between neighbours, so if a custom or fashion remained isolated, it soon disappeared, but in the case of this custom we can say the contrary.

3.2. Hospes communities settled down in other regions of the Carpathian Basin, as well, such as in the Transdanubian region and Spišská župa/Zips/Szepes. However, we do not know of a single anthropomorphic grave in Székesfehérvár (although the Germanic name of the town was mentioned back in the 11th century). It would be very interesting to research Spišská župa/Zips/Szepes (*comitatus Scepusiensis*) from this point of view, where mainly German-speaking people settled down, like in Transylvania.

Based on these mainly methodological observations, the following statements can be made:

A. According to the written sources, the western hospes were present in the Transylvanian Basin, but this does not necessarily mean that each anthropomorphic grave pit should be identified as 'Germanic' in the whole Carpathian or the Transylvanian Basin, since this funerary fashion can be considered as an identification element of *Christianity*. By this we do not want to mean that the *anthropomorphic* grave pits cannot be connected to the immigrant hospes too, but from a methodological point of view, it is not correct to use them as the only archaeological element (others were not mentioned) in defining the *western hospes with varied cultural origins*! As it has been proven by historical documents and toponyms alike, there were other groups of populations living in Transylvania in the 12th century (besides German-speaking people, Italians/Latins and Vallons who were also settled there⁹²). If we want to assume a migration based upon one element of the archaeological finds, then we should insist on the theory of *cultural homo-*

geneity. It cannot be supposed in connection with the appearance of *anthropomorphic* grave pits in South Transylvania as we do not see any problem with their popularity in Christian communities as this was a *Christian symbol*, so there could not have been a wide legal, cultural or religious gap between these *hospes* settlements and the other communities. As there is no sign indicating that the communities lived separately from one another in the 12th century, it is careless to bestow ethnicity on the cultural 'networks' in the Transylvanian Basin from a 21st century perspective.

B. The European rise of this fashion does not highlight migrations, but cultural (Christian) transfers. We could cite that the funerary fashion that became popular in Great Britain⁹³ and Scandinavia (in Denmark,⁹⁴ and in Sweden⁹⁵) has not been explained with migrations by anybody, and it also underscores the fact that the interpretation of the appearance of *anthropomorphic* grave pits in Transylvania was influenced by the written sources to a great extent.

C. In our opinion, in the future we should not focus our research on the issue of which anthropomorphic grave pit can be connected to the *hospes* and which cannot, but on what conditions and circumstances helped to propagate this custom, as (funerary) customs/fashions are (usually) not to be connected to 'ethnic' features or origins.

As can be seen in the 12th century, the archaeological signs of 'westernisation' appear in all segments of life in the Transylvanian Basin. This can only mean one thing: besides the migrations mentioned by the written sources, the eastern half of the Hungarian Kingdom was integrated into western culture, which can be best described with Erik Fügedi's words: *'..e folyamatban két partner vett részt: Magyarország és Nyugat-Európa. Európa kitágult, magához vonzotta a Kárpát-medencét* ('..there were two participants in this process: Hungary and Western Europe. Europe has expanded attracting the Carpathian Basin to itself..').⁹⁶

⁹⁰ Kristó 2002, 180–182.

⁹¹ Kristó 2002, 163–164, 195.

⁹² In more detail see Benkő 2012, Vol. I, 63; Kristó 2002, 157–172.

⁹³ Roffey, Tucker 2012, 170–180.

⁹⁴ Kieffer-Olsen 1997, 185–189.

⁹⁵ Cinthio 2002.

⁹⁶ Fügedi 1981, 401. On the history of the 12th century, see also Berend, Urbańczyk, Wiszewski 2014.

The current names used by the official Romanian administration followed by the German and Hungarian names of these sites mentioned in the text of the article

1. Alba Iulia (h.: Gyulafehérvár; g. Karlsburg, Weissenburg) (Alba county)
2. Avrâmești (h.: Szentábrahám) (Harghita county)
3. Brădești (h.: Fenyéd (r.: Brădești) (Harghita county)
4. Cluj-Napoca (g.: Klausenburg-Hauptplatz; h.: Kolozsvár) (Cluj county)
5. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur (g.: Klausenburg-Abtsdorf; h.: Kolozsvár-Kolozsmonostor) (Cluj county)
6. Cristuru Secuiesc (g.: Szeklerkreuz; h.: Székely-Keresztúr) (Harghita county)
7. Dăbâca (g.: Dobeschdorf; h.: Doboka) (Cluj county)
8. Drăușeni (g.: Draas; h.: Homoróddaróc) (Brașov county)
9. Feldioara (g.: Marienburg; h.: Földvár) (Brașov county)
10. Mediaș (g.: Mediasch; h.: Medgyes) (Sibiu county)
11. Morești (g.: Mühlendorf; h.: Malomfalva) (Mureș county)
12. Moșna (g.: Meschen; h.: Szászmuzsna) (Sibiu county)
13. Orăștie (g.: Broos; h.: Szászváros) (Hunedoara county)
14. Sângeorgiu de Mureș (g.: Sankt Georgen; h.: Marosszentgyörgy) (Mureș county)
15. Sânvășii (h.: Nyárádszentlászló) (Mureș county)
16. Sighișoara (g.: Schässburg; h.: Segesvár-Monostordomb) (Mureș county)
17. Sibiu (g.: Hermannstadt; h.: Nagyszeben) (Sibiu county)
18. Târgu Mureș (g.: Neumarkt-Burg; h.: Marosvásárhely) (Mureș county)
19. Ulieș (h.: Kányád-Régitemplom) (Harghita county)
20. Văleni (h.: Patakfalva) (Harghita county)
21. Zăbala (h.: Zabola) (Covasna county)

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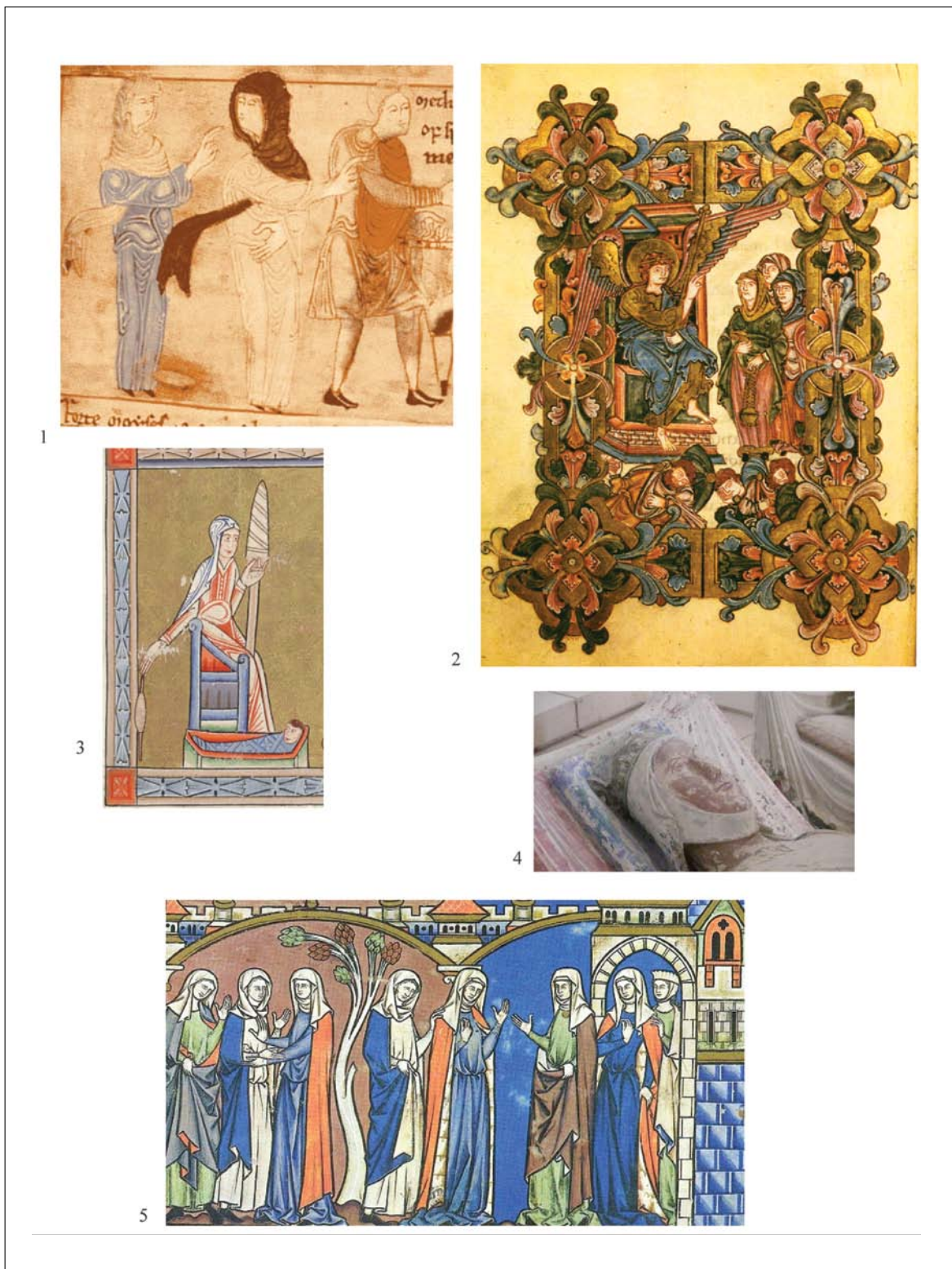


Plate 1: Western European hairstyles: 1. Female figures, Cotton Claudius B IV, folio 10, 11th century (Coatsworth, Pinder 2002, 196); 2. The anointing of bishop Robert, the end of the 10th century (Backhouse, Turner, Webster 1984, 60); 3. Hunterian psalter, folio 8, 12th century (Glasgow University Library, 229, U.3.2.); 4. The grave of Eleanor of Aquitaine, beginning of the 13th century (Frontevault Abbey, France); 5. Maciejowski's bible miniatures, 17 folio middle of the 13th century (Paris, France)

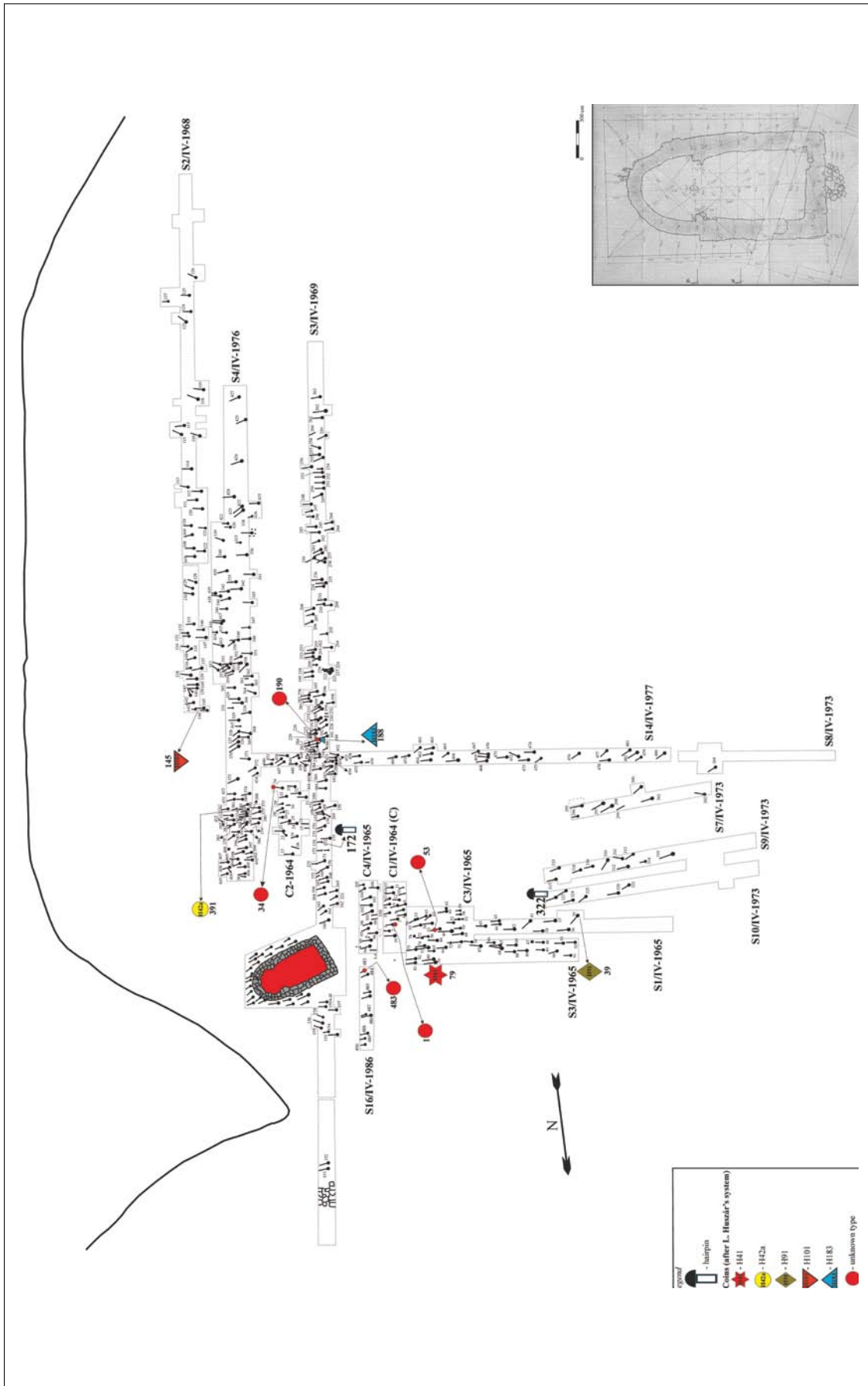


Plate 2: Dăbâca-Castle area IV, map of the cemetery found near the castle (Gáll 2011, Appendix)

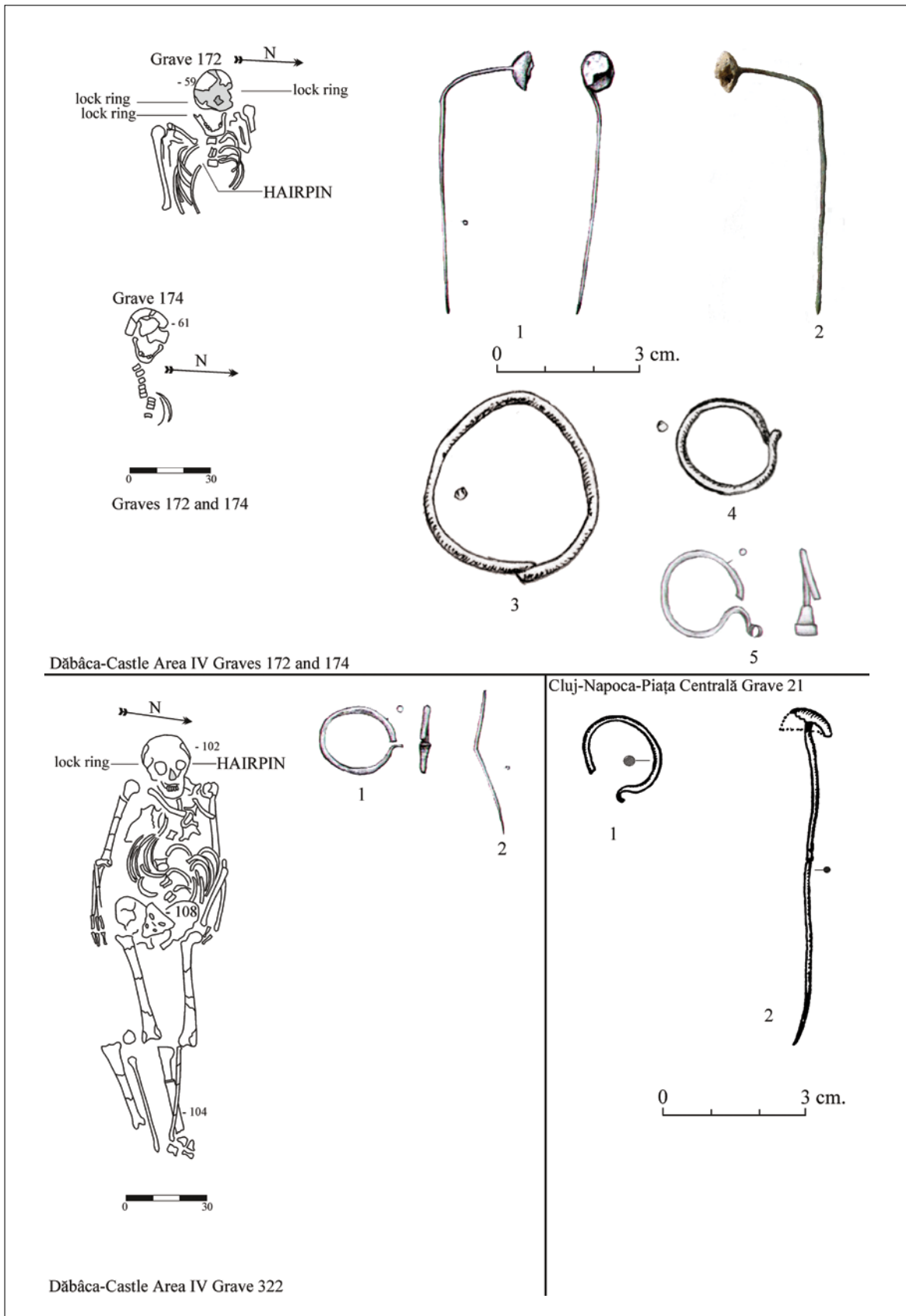


Plate 3: Dăbâca-Castle area IV Grave 172: 1-5; Dăbâca-Castle area IV Grave 322: 1-2; Cluj-Napoca-Piața Centrală Grave 21: 1-2.

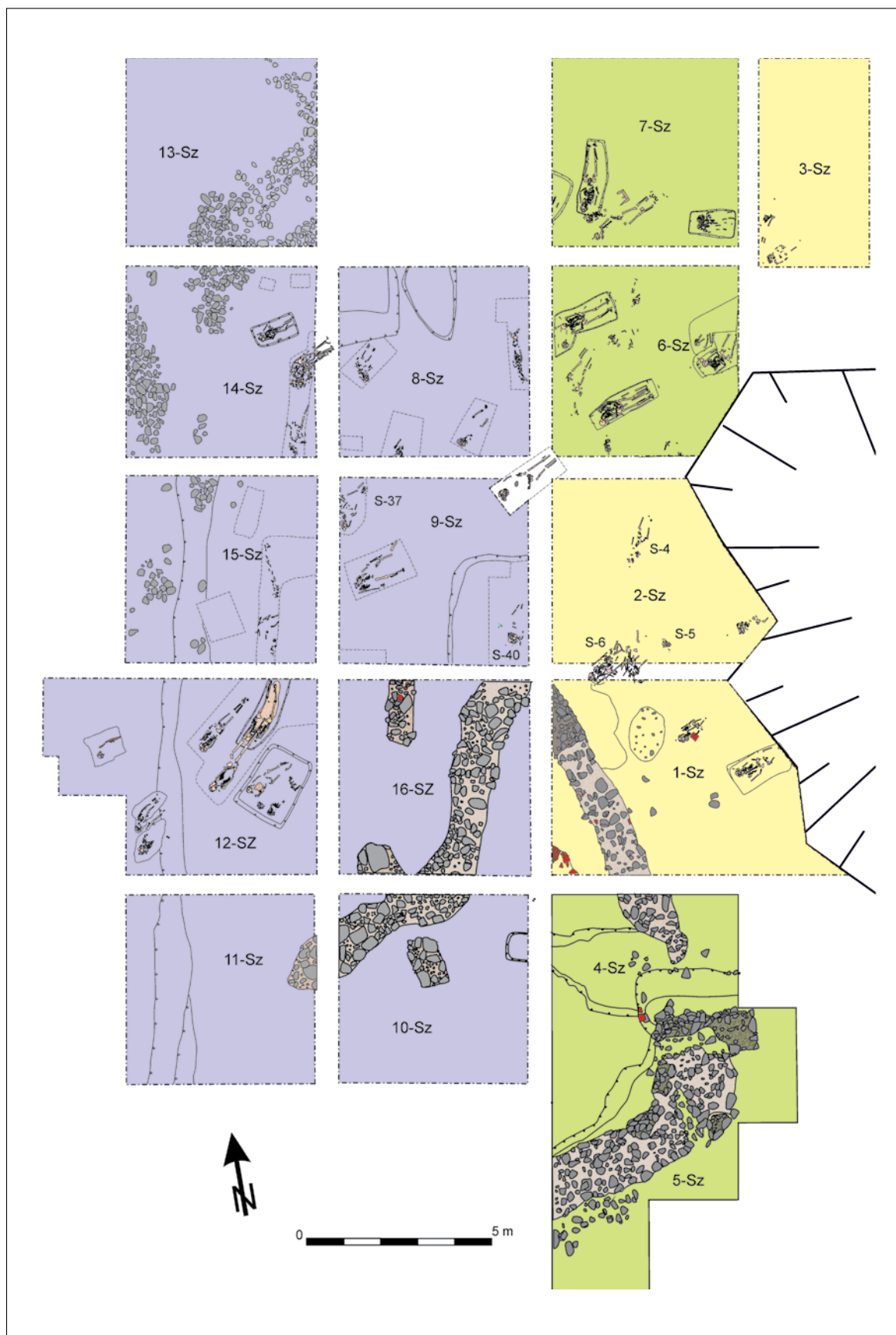


Plate 4: Brădești-Csonkatemplom, the surface sketch of the excavation and the cemetery

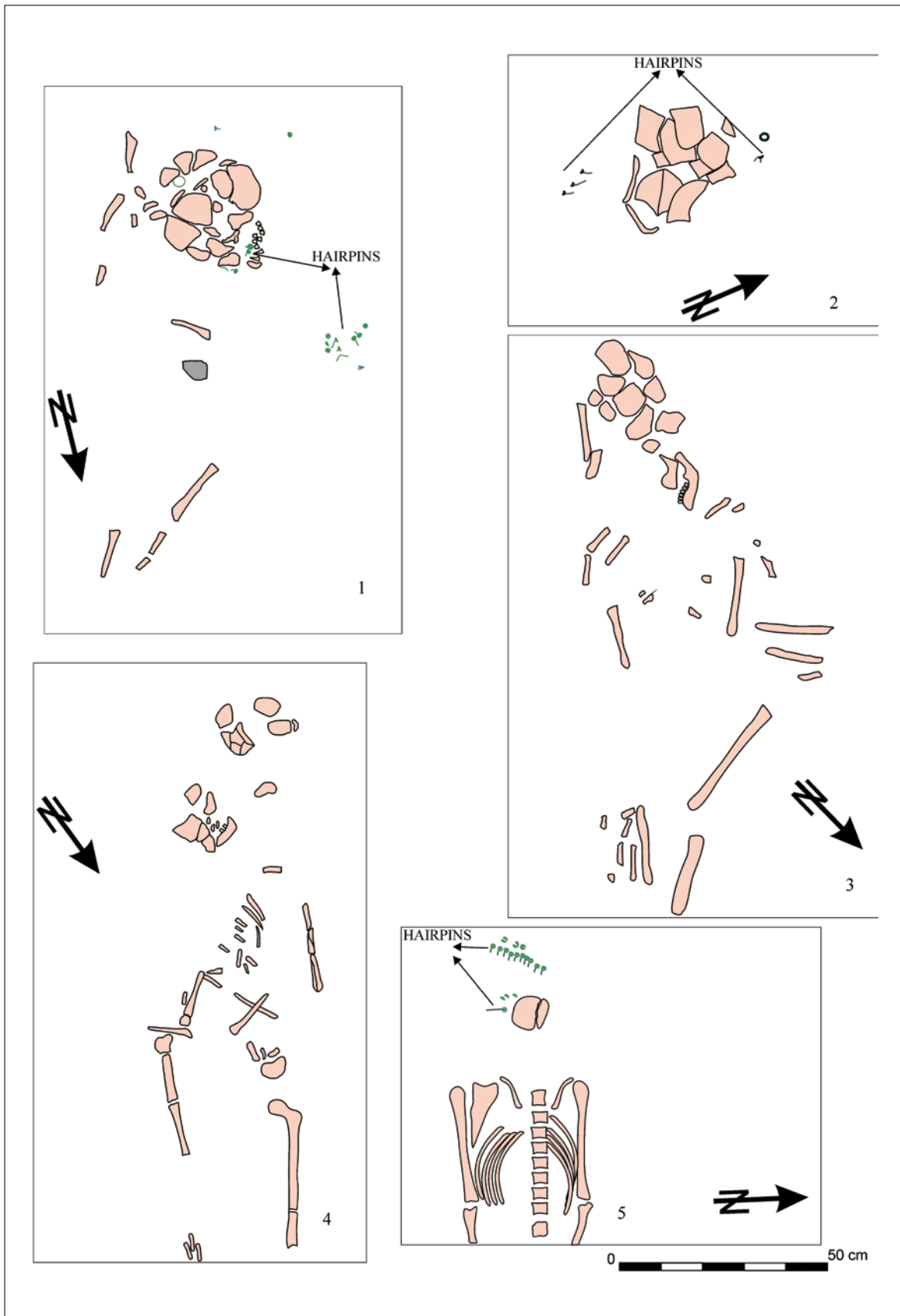


Plate 5: Brădești-Csonkatemplom: 1. Grave 40: 1; Grave 5: 2; Grave 37: 3; Grave 4: 4; Uliș-Régitemplom Grave 43: 5.



1



2

Brădești-Csonkatemplom Grave 40



3



4

Brădești-Csonkatemplom Grave 5



1



2

Ulies-Régi templom Grave 43

Plate 6: Graves containing hairpins during excavation, Brădești-Csonkatemplom: Grave 40: 1–2; Grave 5: 3–4; Ulies-Régi templom: Grave 43: 1–2.

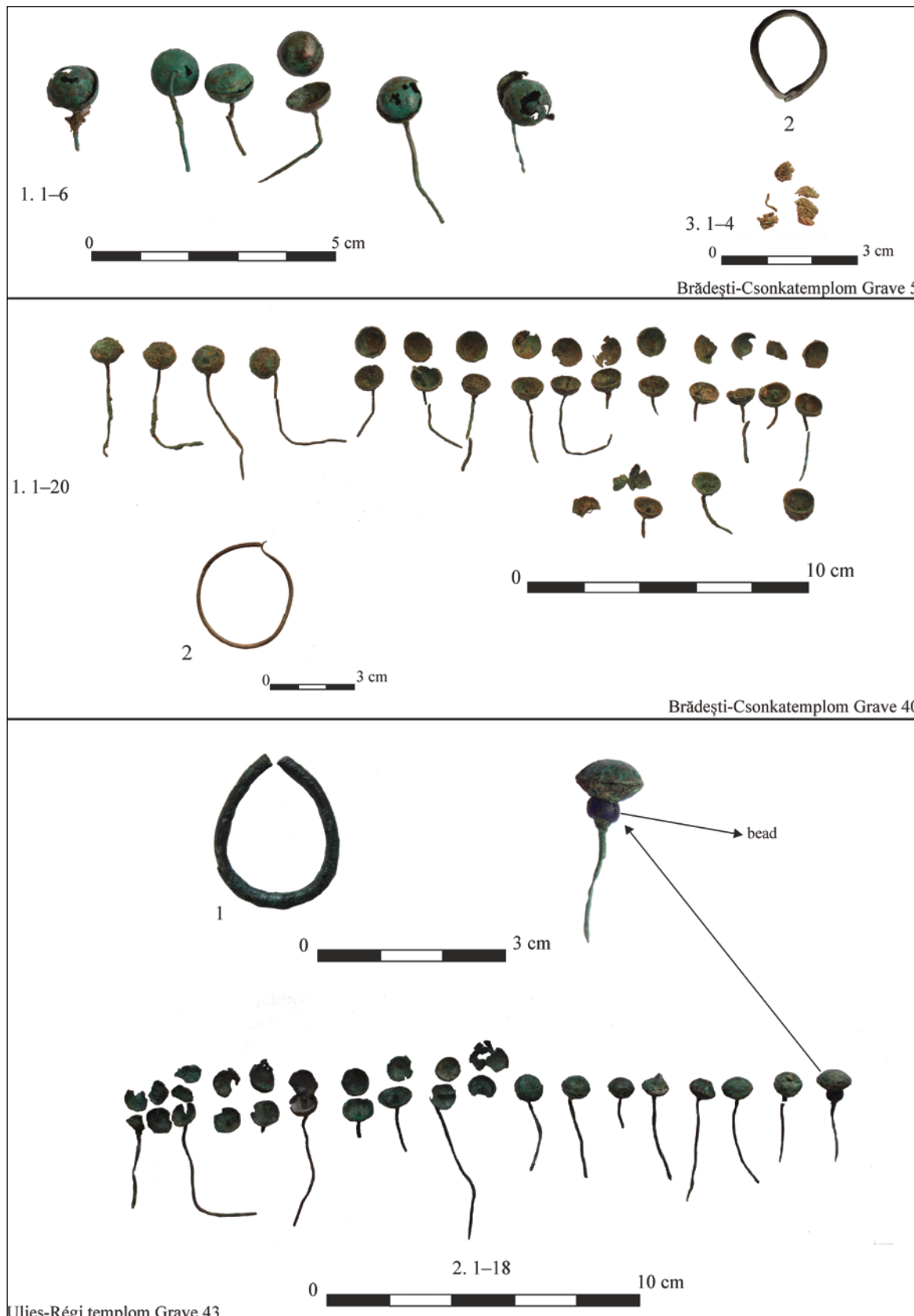


Plate 7: Brădești-Csonkatemplom: Grave 5: 1-3; Grave 40: 1-3; Ulies-Régi templom: 1-3.

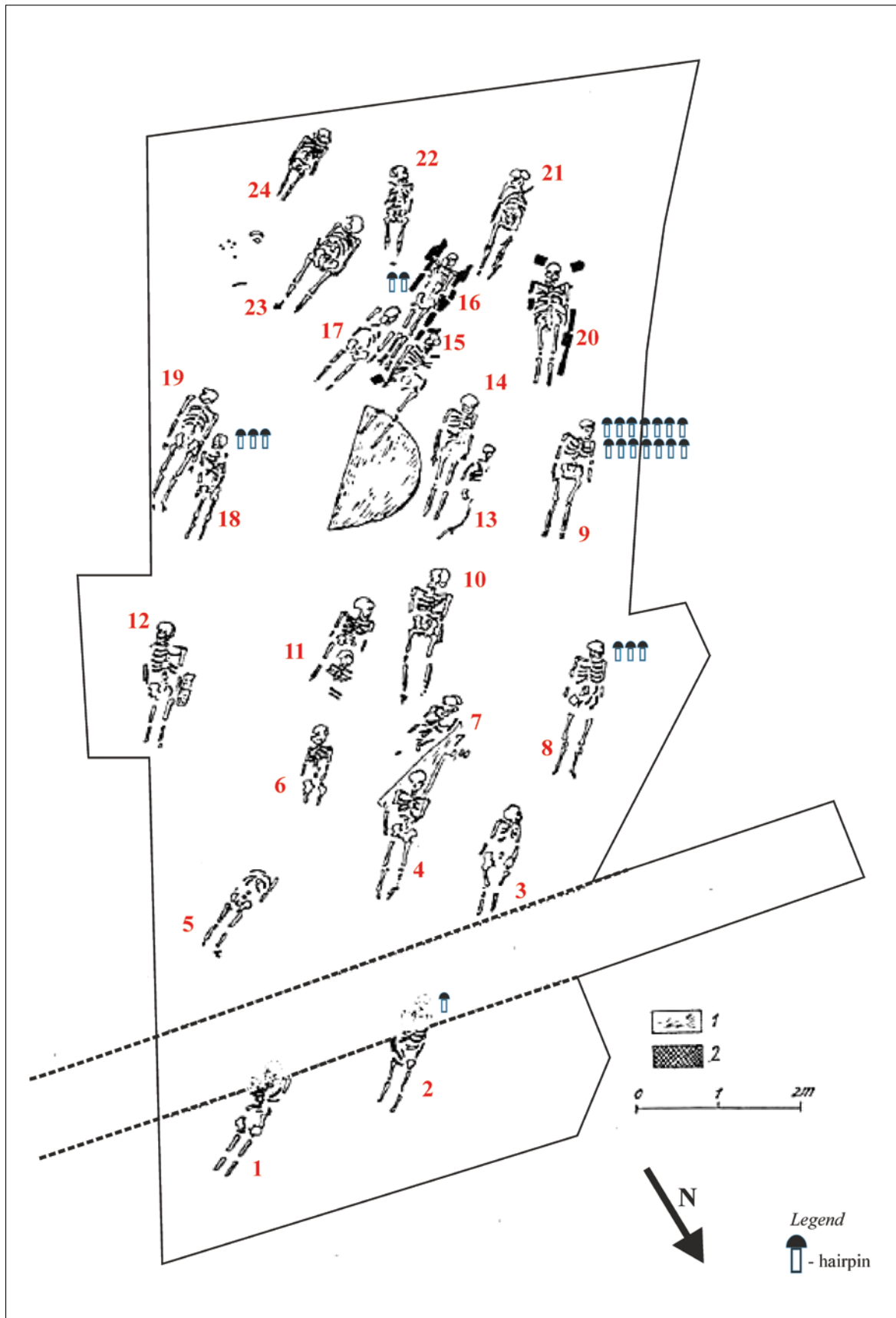


Plate 8: Surface map of the burials in Morești-Citfalău in 1952 (Horedt 1984, Abb. 31)

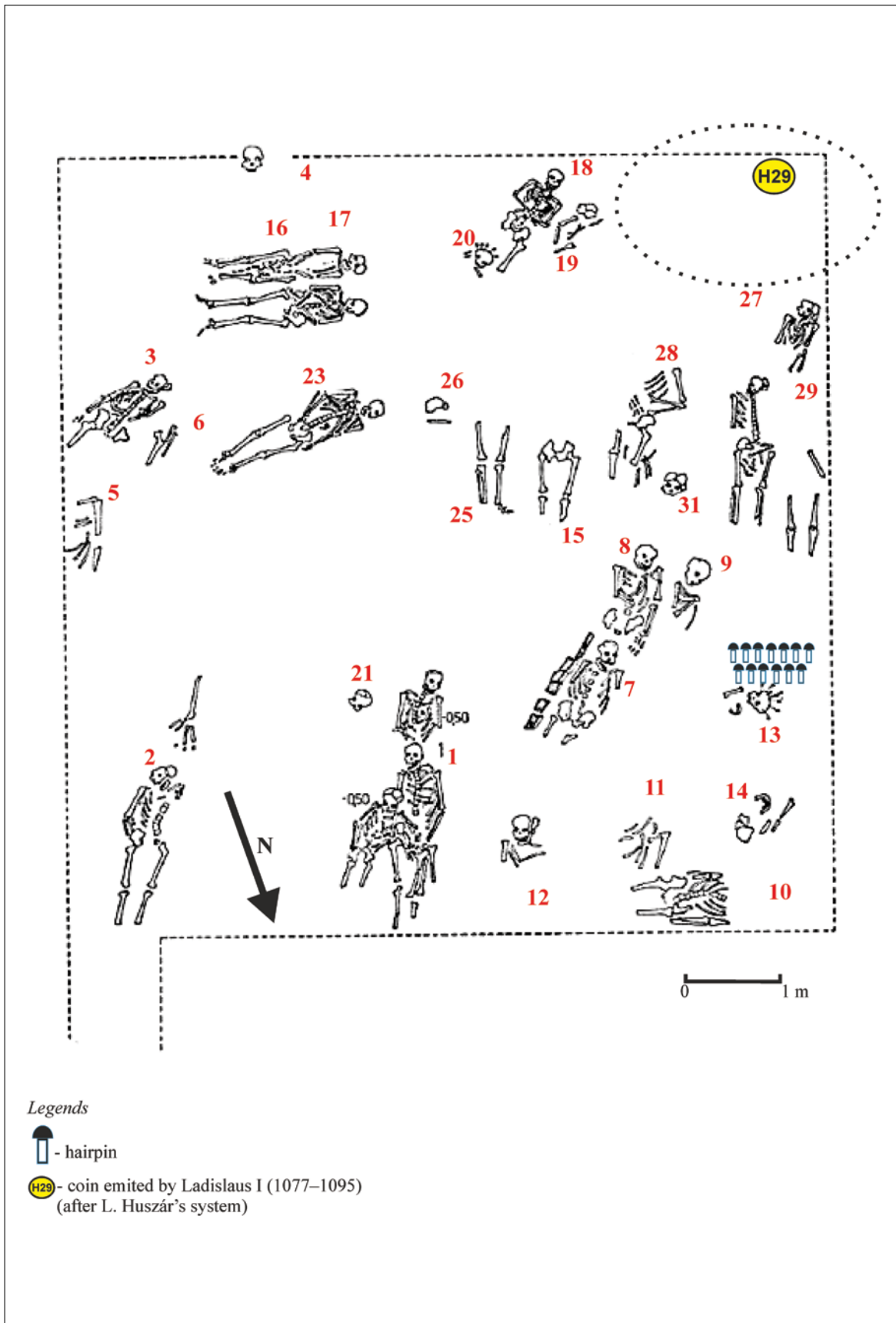


Plate 9: Surface map ('Fläche B') of the burials in Morești-Citfalău in 1954 (Horedt 1984, Abb. 32)



Plate 10: Morești-Cițfalău: hairpins that could not be connected to any specific graves, found in the Romanian National Museum in Bucharest

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Sondažna istraživanja crkve sv. Marka u Širokoj luci kod Plitvica Sela

Sondage excavations of St. Mark's church in Široka luka near Plitvica Selo

UDK: 904:726.54(497.5 Plitvica Selo)

Izvorni znanstveni rad/Original scientific paper

Tijekom razdoblja 2011.–2013. g. AMZ je vršio rekognosciranja i manja sondažna istraživanja na užem i širem području Nacionalnog parka Plitvička jezera. Sondažna istraživanja poduzeta su i u Širokoj luci kod Plitvica Sela, na lokaciji crkve sv. Marko. Djelomično su otkriveni temelji crkve, kao i dio pratećeg groblja. Ustanovljeno je da je crkva spomenuta na habsburškim, a i drugim geografskim kartama kao »stara crkva«.

Ključne riječi: Plitvička jezera, Plitvica Selo, Rodić Poljana, crkva sv. Marka, srednji vijek

Between 2011 and 2013, the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb carried out reconnaissance surveys and small-scale sondage excavations in the inner and broader area of the Plitvice Lakes National Park. The sondage excavation at the church of St. Mark in Široka luka near Plitvica Selo yielded the remains of a part of the foundations of a church and a part of the adjoining graveyard. It was established that the church was marked on maps from the Habsburg period, as well as other geographic maps, as "old church".

Key words: Plitvice Lakes, Plitvica Selo, Rodić Poljana, St. Mark's church, Middle Ages

Uvod

U okviru projekta *Istraživanje, prezentacija i turistička valorizacija arheološke baštine Nacionalnog parka Plitvička jezera 2011.–2013. g.*¹ izvršena su rekognosciranja i manja sondažna istraživanja na užem i širem području Nacionalnoga parka Plitvička jezera (u daljnjem tekstu Park).² Sondažna istraživanja poduzeta su i u Širokoj luci kod Plitvica Sela, na pretpostavljenoj lokaciji crkve sv. Marka.³

Plitvička jezera proglašena su 1949. g. nacionalnim parkom, a 1979. g. uvrštena su na UNESCO-v popis svjetske kulturne i prirodne baštine. U tih 60 i više godina dogodile su se mnoge promjene u životu toga područja. Da bi se sačuvao ekosustav jezera, preusmjeren je promet vozila s ceste na samim jezerima na primjereniju lokaciju. Sav promet smanjen je na minimum, šume i livade, odnosno biljni pokrov, preuzeo je većinu površine Parka, zabranjena je upotreba pesticida i bilo kakvih kemikalija na obradivim površinama zemljišta, djelomično je zabranjen i uzgoj

¹ Nositelji projekta su Lidija Bakarić i Sanjin Mihelić, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu. Ekipu su sačinjavali: Iva Kostešić, Nera Šegvić, Ana Franjić, Ana Đukić, Paula Androić, studenti arheologije i diplomirani arheolozi. Projekt je u cijelosti financirao Nacionalni park Plitvička jezera.

² U pripremama za rekognosciranje Parka korištena je brojna literatura, izvještaji, prostorni plan, te razne geografske karte. Svojim savjetima pomogli su od strane Parka stručna voditeljica Antonija Dujmović, stručni voditelj Anđelko Novosel, te dipl. arh. Katica Teklić, kao i rendžeri, koji poznaju teren i uvijek su bili spremni pomoći. Kolega Amelio Vekić iz Konzervatorskog odjela u Zagrebu, Uprave za zaštitu kulturne baštine Ministarstva kulture, ustupio nam je njemu dostupnu dokumentaciju o Parku, koju je koristio prilikom izrade Prostornog plana. Vrijedni su nam bili i savjeti Tajane Pleše iz Odjela za kopnenu arheologiju Hrvatskog restauratorskog zavoda, a dio literature ustupila nam je Martina Ivanuš iz Konzervatorskog odjela u Gospiću. Posebno bi se zahvalili obitelji Rodić iz Rodić Poljane, vlasnicima zemljišta u Širokoj luci, na susretljivosti, korisnim savjetima, te na dozvoli za istraživanje. Obitelj Sertić iz Sertić Poljane, također vlasnici zemljišta u Širokoj luci, dala nam je korisne informacije o svojem zemljištu, na čemu im najljepše zahvaljujemo. Zahvaljujemo i brojnim kolegama koje smo konzultirali prilikom rekognosciranja terena. Zahvaljujemo i Jannie Rapaić Jonker, koja odlično poznaje sve puteljke koji vode kroz Park, i koja je zaslužna na uvijek dobroj atmosferi cijele ekipe.

³ Stručni arheološki nadzor obavili su Dalibor Šušnjić iz Konzervatorskog odjela u Gospiću, a od strane Parka dipl. arh. Katica Teklić.

Introduction

As part of the project *Research, Presentation and Tourist Evaluation of the Archaeological Heritage of the Plitvice Lakes National Park 2011–2013*,¹ reconnaissance surveys and small-scale sondage excavations were carried out in the inner and broader area of the Plitvice Lakes National Park (referred to as the Park further in the text).² One such sondage excavation was carried out in Široka luka near Plitvica Selo, at the presumed site of St. Mark's church.³

In 1949, the Plitvice Lakes were designated a national park, and in 1979 the Lakes were included on UNESCO's World Cultural and Natural Heritage List. A number of changes took place in the life of this area during the past 60 years. In order to preserve the ecosystem of the Lakes, vehicle traffic was redirected from the Lakes to a more

¹ The project was managed by Lidija Bakarić and Sanjin Mihelić from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. The team consisted of Iva Kostešić, Nera Šegvić, Ana Franjić, Ana Đukić, Paula Androić, students and graduate archaeologists. The project was funded by the Plitvice Lakes National Park.

² In preparing for the reconnaissance surveys in the Park, we made an extensive use of the available literature, reports, spatial plans and a variety of geographical maps. We received helpful advice from the staff of the Park, the Service Heads Antonija Dujmović and Anđelko Novosel, and the Head of the Department for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Katica Teklić, as well as from the rangers, who are familiar with the terrain and were always ready to help. Our colleague Amelio Vekić from the Zagreb Conservation Department of the Service for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of the Ministry of Culture shared with us the documentation available about the Park, which he used to create the spatial plan. We also received valuable advice from Tajana Pleše from the Department for Land Archaeology of the Croatian Conservation Institute, while Martina Ivanuš from the Conservation Department in Gospić gave us a part of the relevant literature. We wish to express our special gratitude to the Rodić family from Rodić Poljana, the owners of the land in Široka luka, for their friendliness, helpful advice and permission to excavate. The Sertić family from Sertić Poljana, the other owners of the land in Široka luka, provided valuable information about their plot, for which we are very grateful. We would also like to thank a number of our colleagues whom we consulted during our reconnaissance surveys of the area, as well as Jannie Rapaić Jonker, who is extremely knowledgeable about all the paths through the Park and to whom we are grateful for the permanent good atmosphere in the team.

³ The archaeological supervisors were Dalibor Šušnjić from the Conservation Department in Gospić, and the architect Katica Teklić from the Park.

domaćih životinja (poglavito goveda), što je kao posljedicu imalo veliko raseljavanje stanovništva. U konačnici, preostalo stanovništvo bavi se pretežno turizmom, a minimalno obradom zemljišta i poljoprivredom. Uslijed navedenog, ekipa Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu imala je brojne probleme u prepoznavanju arheoloških lokaliteta na području Parka. Većina šireg područja Parka prekrivena je šumom, u kojoj otpalo lišće čini do 0,60–0,70 cm dubine zemljanog pokrova. U takvim okolnostima, vizualnim pregledom zemljišta vrlo je teško otkriti eventualne pokretne i nepokretne arheološke nalaze kao dokaz prošle ljudske djelatnosti. Malobrojno stanovništvo, koje je nakon 1949. godine nastavilo živjeti na širem području Parka, raspolaže s vrlo malo saznanja o životu u tom kraju prije turskih osvajanja, te u vrijeme i nakon osvajanja do danas. Prekid tradicije i usmene predaje može se protumačiti burnom prošlošću ovoga područja, kao i naseljavanjem izbjeglog stanovništva za vrijeme i nakon turske okupacije. Većina lokacija i naselja u Parku nose rodovska imena (npr. Rodić Poljana), dok neka nose imena prema karakteristikama kraja (npr. Plitvica Selo),⁴ a toponimi, kao npr. *Gradina*, *Gradac* i slično, koji bi upućivali na moguće povijesne lokalitete, gotovo u potpunosti nedostaju.⁵ To ukazuje na nestanak takozvanoga kolektivnoga sjećanja u tom kraju, a uzrok tome je učestalo povijesno raseljavanje lokalnoga stanovništva.

U srednjovjekovnom razdoblju područje Parka nalazilo se u sklopu Drežničke županije. Krajem 15. st. počinju upadi i pljačke tog područja od strane Turaka, a 1527. g. Liku i Krbavu u potpunosti osvajaju te one padaju pod Osmansko Carstvo. Sama Jezera, kao i dio Korane, neko su vrijeme bila granica između Habsburške Monarhije i Osmanskog Carstva. Na povijesnim zemljovidima obilježeni su brojni čardaci duž te granice.⁶ Dolaskom Turaka te uslijed stalne opasnosti, stanovništvo je izbjeglo, područje su naselili razbojnici, a područje su prekrile guste šume.

Područje je oslobođeno 1689. g., nakon čega je 1699. mirom u Srijemskim Karlovcima utvrđena granica između Habsburške Monarhije i Osman-

appropriate location. Traffic has been limited to a minimum, while forests and meadows, i.e. vegetation has taken over most of the territory of the Park. The use of pesticides and any other chemical substances on cultivated land was forbidden, and the breeding of domestic animals (cattle in particular) was also prohibited in part, which resulted in the mass relocation of the population. As the end result of all this, the remaining population mainly engages in tourism, while land cultivation and agriculture play a very minor role. Due to this, the team of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb encountered a number of problems in its search for archaeological sites in the Park. Most of the broader area of the Park is covered with forest, in which fallen leaves make up 0.60–0.70 cm of the topsoil. In such circumstances, it is very difficult to spot any movable or immovable archaeological finds as evidence of past human activity through visual inspection of the environment. The scanty population that remained living in the broader area of the Park after 1949 has very limited knowledge about life in that area prior to the Turkish conquest, as well as of the time during and after the conquest to present day. The break in tradition and oral tradition may be interpreted as a result of the turbulent history of this area, as well as of the immigration of refugees during and after the Ottoman occupation. Most of the locations and settlements in the Park bear family names (e.g. Rodić Poljana), while some were named after the features of the land (e.g. Plitvica Selo),⁴ while toponyms such as e.g. *Gradina*, *Gradac* and similar names that might indicate potential historical sites are almost entirely absent.⁵ This points to the disappearance of so-called collective memory in this area, caused by the frequent emigration of local residents through history.

During the Middle Ages, the territory of the Park formed part of the Drežnik County. The end of the 15th century marks the beginning of Turkish incursions and raids in this area, and the Lika and Krbava regions were completely conquered in 1527, whereupon they were incorporated into the Ottoman Empire. The Lakes themselves, as well as a part of the Korana river, for some time marked the border between the Habsburg Monar-

⁴ Čulinović-Konstantinović 1974, 177.

⁵ Izuzev Gradine Krčingrad i Gradinskog jezera.

⁶ Horbec 2008, 11.

⁴ Čulinović-Konstantinović 1974, 177.

⁵ Except the Krčingrad hillfort and the Gradina Lake.

skog Carstva. Tada je cijeli plitvički kraj ostao na hrvatskoj strani.⁷

Krajem 17. st. područje je bilo prekriveno gustim šumama, koje su doseljenici (pravoslavci i katolici⁸), radi ispaše stoke počeli krčiti, a kasnije su formirali i svoja naselja. Novi doseljenici nisu poznavali povijest i predaje kraja, te je kolektivno sjećanje zauvijek izgubljeno. Od predaja se sačuvala samo ona o Krčingradu ili Plišu iznad Gradinskog jezera i Crnoj kraljici, te o ruševinama »grčke« crkve kod Plitvica Sela.

Povijest istraživanja

Prostor današnjeg Parka slabo je obrađen u arheološkoj literaturi. Pregled terena od strane arheologa vršen je u nekoliko navrata, u novije vrijeme povodom izrade prostornog plana Parka.⁹

U posljednjih nekoliko godina arheološki je djelomično istražen lokalitet Gradina, poluotok kod Gradinskog jezera. Istražena je trokutasta branič kula te dio ograde – bedema, koji su datirani u 13.–14. st.¹⁰ Druga istraživanja na području Parka nisu poduzimana.

Ekipe Muzeja provjerila je registrirane lokalitete iz Prostornog plana, te otkrila i nekoliko novih.

Dosadašnja saznanja o crkvi sv. Marka

Prilikom izvršavanja plana projekta *Istraživanja, prezentacija i turistička valorizacija arheološke baštine Nacionalnog parka Plitvička jezera 2011.–2013. g.* veći dio vremena posvećen je istraživanju crkve sv. Marka u Širokoj luci kod Rodić Poljane, koja je u sastavu Plitvica Sela.

Prvi spomen crkve nalazimo na karti koju je na-

chy and the Ottoman Empire. A number of blockhouses are marked on historical maps along this border.⁶ Upon the arrival of the Turks and due to the constant danger, the residents fled, the area was settled by outlaws, and the entire territory was covered with dense forests.

This area was liberated in 1689, whereupon the border between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire was established by the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, leaving the entire area of Plištvice on the Croatian side.⁷

At the end of the 17th century, the area was covered in dense forests, which the new population (both Orthodox and Catholic⁸) started clearing to create pastures for their cattle, and where later they formed their settlements. The immigrants did not know the history and traditions of the land, and the collective memory was lost forever. Only the tradition about Krčingrad or Pliš above the Gradina Lake and the Black Queen remained preserved, as well as the tradition about the ruins of the “Greek” church near Plitvica Selo.

Research history

The territory of the present-day Park is not very well represented in the archaeological literature. Archaeologists surveyed the area on several occasions, the latest of which took place recently, during the creation of a spatial plan of the Park.⁹

Over the last several years, archaeological investigations were carried out on a part of the Gradina site on the peninsula at the Gradina Lake. A triangular keep and a part of the fortifying wall

⁷ Horbec 2008, 11.

⁸ Franić 1910, 300.

⁹ Vekić 2011. Ružica Drechsler Bižić bila je nositelj znanstvenog projekta Centra za povijesna istraživanja Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Odjel za arheologiju »Istraživanja naselja i kultura prethistorijskog, antičkog i srednjovjekovnog razdoblja u SR Hrvatskoj i izrada Arheološke karte Hrvatske« od 1986. – 1990. (Projekt br. 78.). Tijekom 1988. g. u okviru projekta vršeno je rekognosciranje Parka. Rezultati rekognosciranja nisu objavljeni, a izvještaj o radu (Arhiv AMZ-a) korišten je za vrijeme pisanja ovog rada. Projekt je spomenut u radu Kolak, Šušnjić 2008, 209–210.

¹⁰ Pleše 2010, 2011.

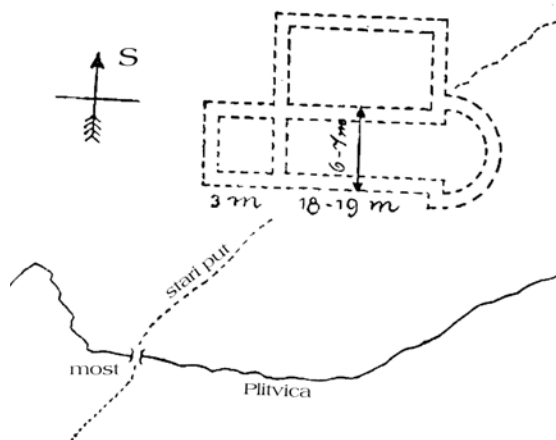
⁶ Horbec 2008, 11.

⁷ Horbec 2008, 11.

⁸ Franić 1910, 300.

⁹ Vekić 2011. Ružica Drechsler Bižić was the head of the research project of the Centre for Historical Research of the University of Zagreb, Department of Archaeology, “Study of Settlements and Cultures of the Prehistoric, Antique and Mediaeval Periods in SR Croatia and the Creation of the Archaeological Map of Croatia” between 1986 and 1990 (Project no. 78). The area of the Park was surveyed in 1988 as part of the work on the project. The results of the survey were not published, and the report (Archives of the AMZ) was used for the creation of this paper. The Project was mentioned in the article by Kolak, Šušnjić 2008, 209–210.

pravila Habsburška Monarhija prilikom prve topografske i vojne izmjere, pod nazivom *Karlovac u vremenu od 1774. –1775.*¹¹ Crkva je obilježena kao »*Alte Kirch*«. Na Jeney-Božićevoj karti iz 1780. godine, kod izvora potoka Plitvice, ubilježena je kao »*alte Kirche*«. ¹² Karlovački školski nadzornik, Franjo Julije Fras, 1835. g. piše da kod potoka Plitvice postoje još tragovi nekadašnjeg grčkog hrama. ¹³ Kamenko Delić, autor knjige »*Plitvička jezera i njihova okolina*«, 1899. piše da se nedaleko od izvora potoka Plitvice, a ispod kuća Rodićevih, u dolini vidi temelj jedne crkve, te da je tu blizu i pećina. ¹⁴ Nadalje, Kamenko Delić piše da mještani Plitvica Sela, prezimena Grbić, govore da je tu doista bila »*grčka crkva*«, jer da je i ovaj cijeli kraj po kazivanju njihovih starih – nekada bio »*grčki*«. Oni crkvu zovu *Crkvina Luke*¹⁵ kod Plitvice. U knjizi je priložen i (vrlo neobičajan) tlocrt crkve s dimenzijama (sl. 1). »*Ja sam našao, da je ona imala ovaj položaj. Južni se temelj dobro raspoznaje; dug je između 18–19 m. Istočni je dio zaokružen i dobro se sačuvao; tu je bio oltar, a širina mu je 6–7 m. Sjeveroistočni se temelj ne vidi, jer je mnogo kamenje ondje naslagano; ali mislim da je išao paralelno s jugoistočnim krajem. Ujedno se vidi ovdje, ali se teško razabira, da je još nekakva zida bilo, može biti da su to bile sobe ili ćelije za svećenike. Zapadni se kraj ne razaznaje, ali se čini kao da je stajao tu toranj. ...U samoj okolini nađe se otesana sedrena kamenja; a taki je i u temelju.... Odmah je tu uz Crkvinu ozidan most preko potoka Plitvice, pa načinjen je stari put na Prijeku Kosu i dalje u Babin Potok. Kad se ovdje krčilo, nalazili su ljudi uz ovaj put noževa, sabalja i različitih gvozdarija....*«, »*Oko crkve nalazilo se i grčkih natpisa na kamenu, ali je to sve propalo. Uz Crkvinu je, istočno od nje, mjesto, gdje su novci bili zakopani, ali su te novce neki Grci poslije odnijeli. Jugoistočno od Crkvine bila je jedna pećina, a sada je već gotovo sasvim zatrpana. O njoj priča ovaj Dane, da je slušao od pokojnog djeda Alekse, da kad su Grci odavde pobjegli, da su odežde [=mi-*



Sl. / Fig. 1: Tlocrt crkve / Plan of the church (Delić 1899, 110; obradio / processed by Srećko Škrinjarić)

were excavated, dated to the 13th–14th centuries.¹⁰ No other excavations apart from this one were carried out within the Park.

The Museum team examined the registered sites from the spatial plan and, in addition to those, discovered several new ones.

The state of knowledge about St. Mark's church

During work on the project *Research, Presentation and Tourist Evaluation of the Archaeological Heritage of the Plitvice Lakes National Park 2011–2013* a significant amount of time was dedicated to the excavation of the church of St. Mark in Široka luka near Rodić Poljana, which belongs to the Plitvica Selo village.

The church was first mentioned on the map entitled *Karlovac in the Period between 1774 and 1775* that was made by the Habsburg Monarchy as part of the first topographic and military survey.¹¹ It was marked as the "Alte Kirch". On the 1780 Jeney-Božić map, it was marked near the source of the Plitvica brook as the "alte Kirche".¹² A school supervisor from Karlovac, Franjo Julije Fras, wrote in 1835 that there still existed visible remains of a former Greek temple near the Pli-

¹¹ Dostupno na: <http://mapire.eu/en/map/fms-karlovac/?zooom=15&lat=44.9069&lon=15.57579> (15.2.2015.)

¹² Franić 1910, 311.

¹³ Fras 1835, 67.

¹⁴ Delić 1899, 94.

¹⁵ Delić piše Luka velikim slovom, što upućuje na ime, a ne na lokaciju (Delić 1899, 109).

¹⁰ Pleše 2010, 2011.

¹¹ Available at: <http://mapire.eu/en/map/fms-karlovac/?zooom=15&lat=44.9069&lon=15.57579> (15. 2. 2015.)

¹² Franić 1910, 311.

sna svećenička odjeća] i crkvene stvari, pa i nešto novaca, sakrili u nju.«¹⁶ Osim tlocrta crkve postavljenog u odnos prema potoku Plitvica, Kamenko Delić daje i geografsku kartu s oznakom položaja crkve, kao i pećine (karta 1).

Muzejski povjerenik, Cvjetko Vurster, 1902. g. piše da se »u selu govori da kod vrela potoka Plitvice izoravaju ploče i hrbine, da ima ostanaka stare crkve, da se tu nalazi velika neistražena špijla puna kojekakvih kostiju.«¹⁷ Kako navodi Vurster, tih godina cijela Široka luka je prekopana u potrazi za »blagom«.

Profesor Dragutin Franić 1910. za crkvu piše: »Vele, da je pred 100 godina bio još cio »toranj« (zvonik) crkve sv. Marka, na koji se bila smreka naslonila, ali zvona nije bilo, jer su zvona iz nje prodali u Drežniku. Sedru od te crkve bacali su mnogo u duboki vir spram crkvine. Na crkvi je bilo i napisa (glagoljskih), ali ih pastiri izodbijali.« Dalje piše da je na sv. Marka (po Jurjevu) u mjesecu travnju bila velika suša te da je trebalo moliti za kišu. Tako su se 1880. g. dogovorili da povedu procesiju za kišu kod crkve sv. Marka na Plitvici. Za tu priliku sagradili su oltar »na istom mjestu gdje je, Bog zna koga stoljeća, pop glagoljaš Bogu žrtvu prinosio.«

Dalje piše da je blizu razvaline stare crkve pećina, u kojoj je pred 50 godina neki Stojan Grbić našao zvona, »odeždu« (misnu svećeničku odjeću) i sve što svećeniku treba za službu božju. To je on sve odnio u Drežnik i prodao.¹⁸

I konzervator, Zorislav Horvat, 2003. spominje ovu crkvu, te je smješta u doba mađarsko-hrvatskih kraljeva i romanike s kraja 12. st. Napominje da su nam romanički objekti Krbavsko-modruške biskupije većinom poznati po svojim tlocrtima, ne i po elevacijama i detaljima ili sigurnim povijesnim podacima. U isti vremenski period smješta i pretpostavljenu crkvu i pavlinski samostan na gradini Krčingrad nad Gradinskim jezerom na Plitvičkim jezerima, čiji je tipični romanički tlocrt nastao tijekom 12.–13. st., nakon 1185. g. kad je osnovana Krbavska biskupija. Uz tlocrte drugih crkava, daje i mogući tlocrt crkve sv. Marka, s tim da je kod završetka apside stavio upitnik (sl. 2).¹⁹

tvica brook.¹³ Kamenko Delić, the author of the book "Plitvice Lakes and Their Environment" in 1899 wrote that the foundations of a church were located near the source of the Plitvica brook, below the houses of the Rodić family, and that there was also a cave nearby.¹⁴ Kamenko Delić further writes that the residents of Plitvica Selo, whose surname was Grbić, said that there had indeed been a "Greek church" there, because this entire area, in the words of their forefathers, had been a "Greek" land. They call this church *Crkvina Luke*¹⁵ near Plitvica. The book features a (very unusual) layout of the church, with indicated dimensions (Fig. 1). "I found out that the church was positioned as follows. The southern foundation is clearly discernible; its length is between 18–19 m. The eastern part is rounded and well-preserved; here was the altar, and it was 6–7 m wide. The north-eastern foundation cannot be seen due to all the stones that are heaped there; but I think that it ran parallel with the south-eastern end. Here one can also see, although it is hard to tell, that there was another wall there, possibly rooms or cells for priests. The western end is not discernible, although it seems that a tower may have stood there. ...In the vicinity, one can find dressed travertine stone, and this same stone is found also in the foundations... Right here next to *Crkvina*, a bridge over the Plitvica brook has been built, and there is an old path leading towards *Prijeka Kosa* and further to *Babin Potok*. When this land was cleared, people found knives, sabres and various ironware along this path ...", "Around the church, people had also encountered Greek inscriptions on stone, but all of this has perished. Next to *Crkvina*, to the east, there was a place where coins were buried, however, some Greeks took these coins away. South-east of *Crkvina* there was a cave, but now it has been almost entirely filled. About this cave, one man named *Dane* relates that he heard his late grandfather *Aleksa* say that, when the Greeks fled this land, they hid the mass vestments and church objects, as well as some money, inside the cave."¹⁶ In addition to the ground plan of the church, positioned relative to the Plitvica brook, Kamenko Delić

¹⁶ Delić 1899, 109–110.

¹⁷ Arhiv AMZ, 06.02.1902.

¹⁸ Franić 1910, 311–312.

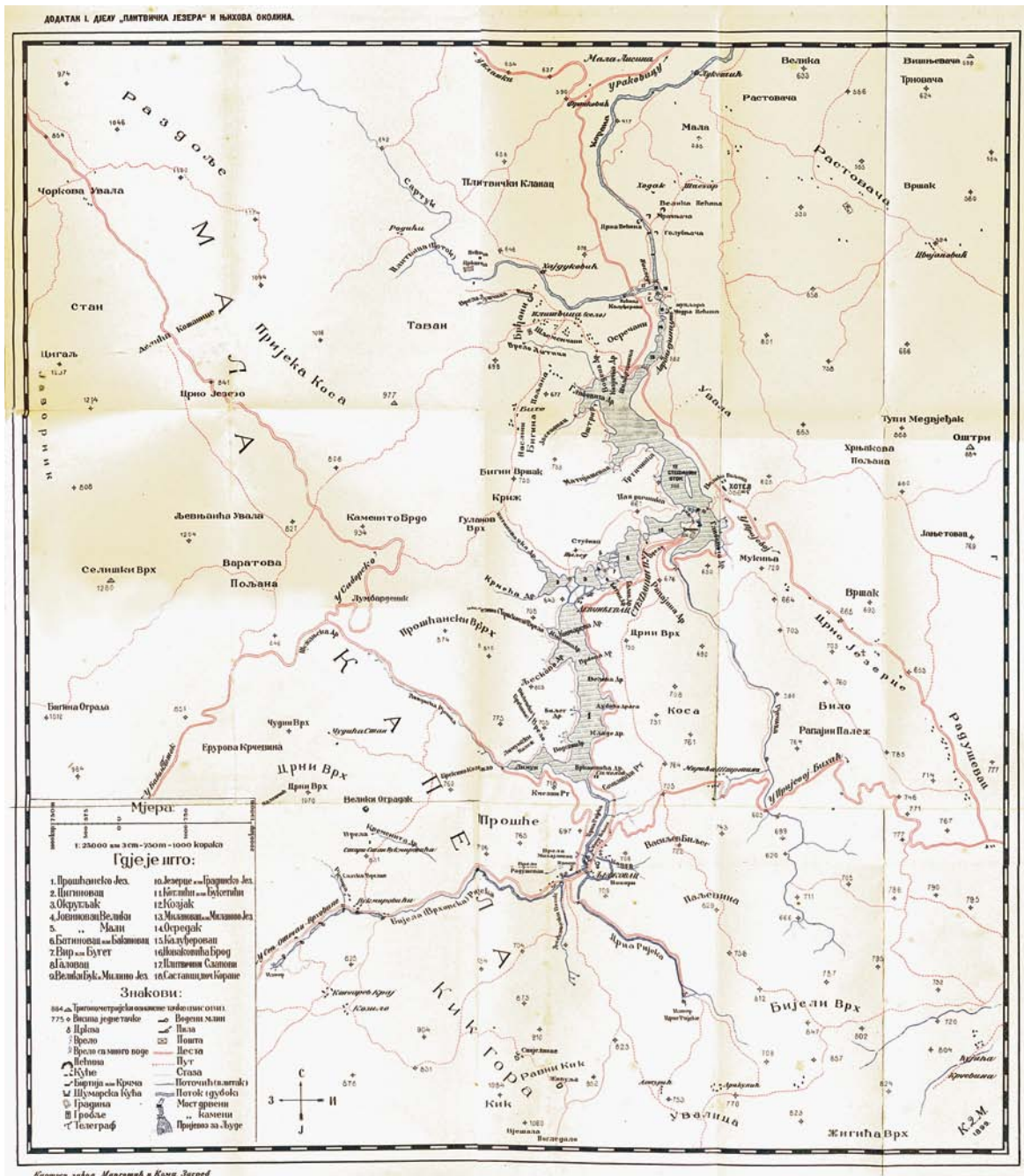
¹⁹ Horvat 2003, 22–24.

¹³ Fras 1835, 67.

¹⁴ Delić 1899, 94.

¹⁵ Delić wrote *Luka* with a capital letter, which points to a name, not a location (Delić 1899, 109).

¹⁶ Delić 1899, 109–110.



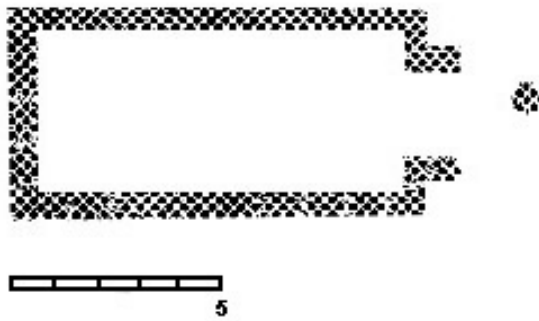
Karta / Map 1: Nacionalni park Plitvička jezera (Delić 1899, 184). Na karti je označen položaj crkve i jame-pećine / Plitvice Lakes National Park (Delić 1899, 184). The position of the church and the pit-cave is marked on the map (obradio / processed by Srećko Škrinjarčić).

Opis lokacije

Potok Plitvica dužine 4 km dio je Plitvičkog sustava, a njegove vode tvore najveći Plitvički slap visine 76 m, što se iznad Sastavaka na kraju jezera Novakovića brod ruši u kameno udubljenje tvoreći početak rijeke Korane. Potok Plitvica izvire kao jako krško vrelo ispod strmih stijena na visi-

also provided a geographical map with the marked position of the church and the cave (map 1).

Cvjetko Vurster, a Museum commissioner, wrote in 1902 that “it is said in the village that people were ploughing out slabs and shards near the source of the Plitvica brook, that there exist the remains of an old church, and that there is a large unexplored



Sl. / Fig. 2: Tlocrt crkve sv. Marka / Plan of St. Mark's church (Horvat 2003, 24; obradio / processed by Srećko Škrinjarić)

ni od 606 m.n.v. Oko 800 m nizvodno od izvora, ispod zaselka Rodić Poljana (u Karabajinoj luci) u Plitvicu se ulijeva potok Sartuk (sl. 3). Od izvora do utoka potoka Sartuk, otprilike u dužini od 800 m, Plitvica je usječena u klanac. Prvo proširenje s kućama i oranicom nalazi se kod utoka potoka Sartuk u Plitvicu, tzv. Karabajine luke, a u produžetku je drugo proširenje, Široka luka, na geografskoj karti označenoj kao Prkežinka. Na Karabajinoj luci nalaze se danas porušene kuće obitelji prezimena Rodić (nadimka Karabajaja) (sl. 4). Prema pričanju lokalnih žitelja, Karabajina luka rijetko kad je plavna. Na istočnoj strani Karabajine luke, kroz uski prolaz između potoka Plitvica i početka uzbrdice, ulazi se u Široku luku kojoj su vlasnici Rodići i Sertići. Široka luka često je poplavljena, u jesen i proljeće, te zbog toga u njoj nema kuća. Prema pričanju Anke Rodić, vlasnice zemljišta, na njihovoj njivi nalazila se hrpa kamenja i sedre, što je njezin muž upotrijebio za gradnju zidića (lokalni naziv – bajer) uz potok Plitvicu, ne bi li na taj način smanjio poplave (sl. 5). Kamenje i sedra koje su uzimali, nalazili su se na nešto povišenom dijelu Široke luke, odnosno na početku uzbrdice. To je lokacija ruševine crkve sv. Marka koja je danas prekrivena zemljom. Gospođa Anka Rodić zna da je tu nekada, prema predaji, bila crkva, no ona tvrdi da nikada nije vidjela njezine ostatke (sl. 6). Prilikom oranja našli su desetak potkova, kao i željeznih čavala, koje nisu sačuvali. Cijelu livadu i povišeni dio iznad livade čistili su od kamenja radi lakšeg oranja. Gospođa Rodić kaže da je cijelo brdo iznad livade nekad bilo pašnjak. Danas je to gusta šuma. Na otprilike polovici brda nalazi se i ruševni pastirski stan obitelji Sertić, koji je danas u dubokoj šumi,

cave full of all kinds of bones there".¹⁷ In Vurster's words, all of Široka luka was dug through and through in search of *treasure* during those years.

In 1910, prof. Dragutin Franić wrote the following about the church: "*They say that the (bell) "tower" of St. Mark's church was still standing 100 years ago. A spruce leaned against the tower, but the bells were missing, because they had been sold in Drežnik. A lot of travertine stones from the church were thrown into the deep whirlpool opposite the church. There were a number of glagolitic inscriptions on the church, but the shepherds chiselled them away*". He further writes that, on St. Mark's day (after St. George's day) in April, there had been a big drought and people needed to pray for rain. Thus in 1880 they agreed to organise a procession for rain at the church of St. Mark in Plitvica. For that occasion, they built an altar "*at the same place where, God knows in which century, a glagolitic priest made a sacrifice*".

He then mentions a cave near the ruins of the old church in which, 50 years ago, one Stojan Grbić had found bells, a mass vestment and everything a priest needs for the holy service. This he took to Drežnik and sold it there.¹⁸

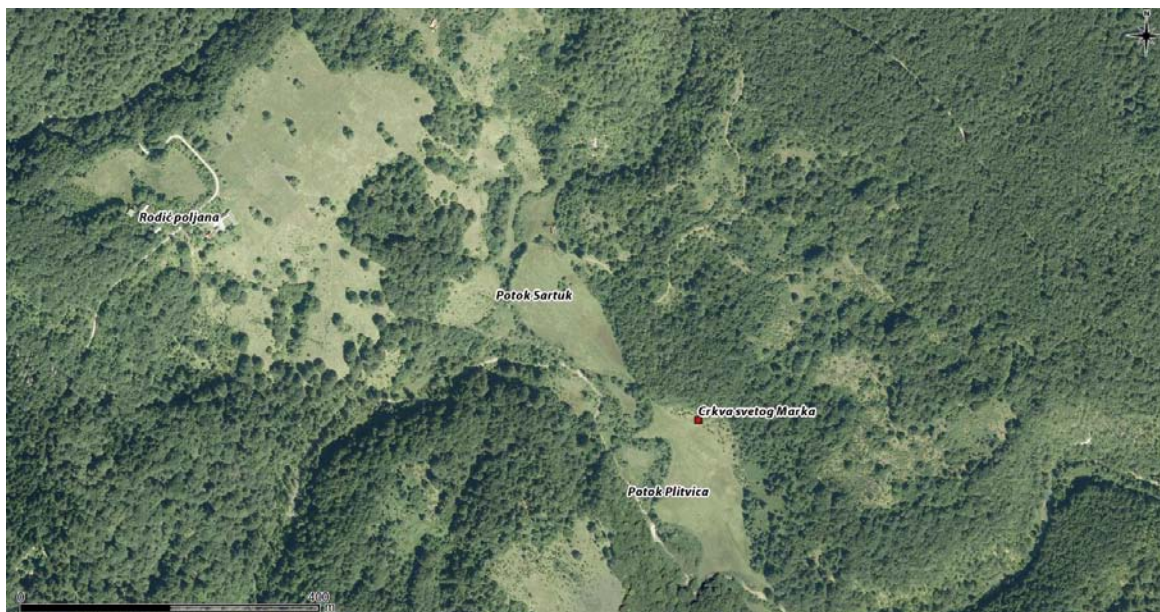
This church is mentioned also by the conservator Zvonimir Horvat in 2003, who dated it to the time of the Hungarian-Croatian kings and the Romanesque period at the end of the 12th century. He stated that the Romanesque buildings of the Krbava-Modruš Diocese are known to us mainly by their ground plans, not by the elevations and details or credible historical data. He also dated the presumed church and the Pauline monastery on the Krčingrad hill above the Gradina Lake in the Plitvice Lakes to the same period, whose typical Romanesque plan was formed during the 12th–13th century, after the foundation of the Krbava Diocese in 1185. In addition to the plans of other churches, he offered also a possible plan of St. Mark's church, beside whose apse he placed a question mark (Fig. 2).¹⁹

Description of the location

¹⁷ Archives of the AMZ, 6th February 1902.

¹⁸ Franić 1910, 311–312.

¹⁹ Horvat 2003, 22–24.



Sl. / Fig. 3: Označeni položaji Rodić poljana, potoka Sartuk na Luci (Karabaja) i potoka Plitvica u odnosu na crkvu sv. Marka (Široka luka) / Marked positions of Rodić poljana, the Sartuk brook at Luka (Karabaja) and the Plitvica brook relative to St. Mark's church (Široka luka) (© Google maps, obradila / processed by Nera Šegvić)



Sl. / Fig. 4: Karabajina luka, razrušena kuća Rodić (Karabaja). Iza kuće na brdu smještena je Rodić poljana / Karabajina luka, the ruined house of the Rodić family (Karabaja). Rodić poljana is located behind the house on the hill (snimila / photo by Iva Kostešić, 2011.)



Sl. / Fig. 5: Kamenom ograden potok Plitvica u Širokoj luci / Stone-lined Plitvica brook in Širokoj luci (snimila / photo by Iva Kostešić, 2012.)

a prema riječima jedne od vlasnica, Marice Sertić, stan je bio u funkciji do 1990 g., kad je napušten uslijed ratnih zbivanja (Domovinski rat). Stan se sam od sebe urušio tijekom vremena. Zanimljivo je da nitko od njih (Rodići, Sertići, rendžeri Parka, mještani...) nije znao niti čuo za pećinu u kojoj su, prema predaji, bile sakrivene »crkvene stvari i nešto novaca«.

Od mještana smo saznali za tri moguće lokacije crkve. Pregledom terena ustanovili smo da su dva

The 4-km long Plitvica brook is a part of the Plitvice Lakes system. Its waters form the biggest waterfall in the Lakes, 76 m high, falling into a rocky depression above the Sastavci at the end of the Novakovića brod Lake, thus forming the beginning of the Korana river. The Plitvica brook springs out as a powerful karst source below the steep cliffs at the altitude of 606 m.a.s.l. Around 800 m downstream, below the Rodić Poljana hamlet (in Karabajina luka), the Sartuk brook

položaja na samim rubovima Široke luke, istočnom i zapadnom, gdje je potok Plitvica vrlo blizu početku uzbrdice. Na uskom prolazu između Karabajine i Široke luke, u neposrednoj blizini suhog korita potoka Plitvice, na nešto povišenom terenu postavili smo sondu 4 dimenzija – 1,5 x 1,5 m. Ustanovljeno je da je riječ o seoskom puteljku, koji vodi prema istoku, a trag mu se gubi već nakon 30-ak metara. Lokacija puta označena je kamenim stupićem (lokalni naziv – unka), na kojoj je crvenom bojom napisan broj 245, te strelica prema istoku. Na samom putu na bočnom kamenu gdje je put usječen u padinu, 2–3 m udaljen od kamenog stupića, sa sjeverne strane napisan je crvenom bojom troznamenasti broj, od kojih su prve dvije znamenke 22, a treća znamenka je slabo vidljiva.

Na istočnom završetku Široke luke, kod početka staze koja vodi prema Hajdukovića pili, u neposrednoj blizini potoka Plitvica, na nešto povišenom terenu, u gustom žbunju pronađena je hrpa kamenja, te još jedan kameni stupić – unka, bez oznaka (sl. 7). Kako je današnji put prema Hajdukovića pili, u pravcu Velikog slapa, jedini mogući put, pretpostavka je da je stari put išao po istoj trasi, a bio je obilježen stupićima.

Arheološka istraživanja crkve sv. Marka

Na povišenom terenu Široke luke započeli smo iskopavanja crkve sv. Marka (sl. 8).



Sl. / Fig. 6: Gospođa Anka Rodić i njezin unuk stoje na položaju crkve sv. Marka. Na uzvisini bijeli se krov njezine kuće na Rodić poljani / Mrs Anka Rodić (and her grandson) standing at the position of St. Mark's church. The white roof of her house can be seen on the elevated position at Rodić poljana (snimila / photo by Iva Kostešić, 2011.)

flows into the Plitvica brook (Fig. 3). From the source to the mouth of the Sartuk brook, the Plitvica flows through a canyon. The first open area with houses and a field, the so-called Karabajina luka, is found at the mouth of the Sartuk brook, from which extends another field, Široka luka, marked on the geographic map as Prkežinka. Located in Karabajina luka are the now-decrepit houses of the Rodić family (nicknamed Karabajina) (Fig. 4). In the words of local residents, Karabajina luka is seldom flooded. In the eastern side of Karabajina luka, through a narrow passage between the Plitvica brook and the beginning of the slope, one enters Široka luka, owned by the Rodić and Sertić families. Široka luka is often flooded in autumn and spring, due to which there are no houses there. In the words of Anka Rodić, the owner of the land, there were piles of stone and travertine on their field, which her husband used to build a small wall (which the locals call a *bajer*) along the Plitvica brook, in order to reduce flooding (Fig. 5). Stones and travertine that he took lay on a slightly raised part of Široka luka, that is, at the beginning of the upward slope. This is the position of the ruins of the church of St. Mark, which is now covered with earth. Mrs Anka Rodić is aware of the tradition that says that a church once stood there, but she claims never to have seen its remains (Fig. 6). They ploughed out a dozen horseshoes, as well as iron nails, which they did not keep. They cleared the



Sl. / Fig. 7: Cestovna oznaka – kameni stup na istočnom ulazu u Široku luku / Road mark – stone pillar at the eastern entrance to Široka luka (snimila / photo by Nera Šegvić, 2012.)



Sl. / Fig. 8: Pogled na lokaciju crkve sv. Marka u Širokoj luci, prije iskopavanja / A view of the position of St. Mark's church in Široka luka prior to the excavation (snimila / photo by Nera Šegvić, 2011.)

Sonda 1 nije odmah dala rezultat (naknadno smo ustanovili da je postavljena u unutrašnjosti crkve), te smo otvorili sondu 2, dimenzija 2 x 2 m, koju smo proširivali. Ukupna površina sonde 2 je 28 m², u njoj su otkriveni dijelovi zapadnog i južnog temelja zida crkve, te tri groba. Jedan grob (grob 3) nalazio se unutar zidova crkve, uz južni zid, a dva paralelno s južnim zidom s vanjske strane crkve (grob 1 i 2) (T. 1).

Zbog nedostatka vremena daljnja iskopavanja svela su se na otkopavanje zida, da bismo dobili tlocrt crkve, a zaobišli (eventualne) grobove. Osim manjeg dijela jugozapadnog kraja unutrašnjost crkve nije istražena. Pratili smo zid crkve u širini od 0,30 m sa svake strane (širina lopate). Uz manja preskakanja otkopavanja temelja (sonda 2, 5, 6), dobiveni tlocrt crkve je sljedeći: orijentacija je istok – zapad s odklonom 24° prema jugoistoku. Četvrtasta apsida, uža od broda crkve, nalazi se na istoku. Duljina apside 4,31 m, širina apside 5,32 m, duljina broda 15 m, širina broda nije ustanovljena. Ako se pretpostavi da je crkva imala pravilan tlocrt, širina broda iznosila bi 7,85 m (T. 2 i T. 3).

Temelj zida cijelog otkopanog dijela crkve je širine 0,75–0,90 m, visine 0,30 m. Površina otkopanog temelja zida prilično je ravna i bez utora. Temelj crkve rađen je od priklesanog kamenja povezanoga žbukom. Zapadni zid crkve, gdje je, pretpostavljamo, bio ulaz, polukružno se urušio. Urušenje je od neobrađenog i poluobrađenog kamenja, a u njemu se nalazi i nešto sedrenih gru-

stones from the entire meadow and the elevated part above it to facilitate ploughing. Mrs Rodić says that the entire hill above the meadow was once pasture land, but today it is covered with dense forest. Approximately at the mid-height of the hill stands the decaying shepherd dwelling of the Sertić family, which is now deep in a forest, although, in the words of one of the owners, Marica Sertić, it was in use until 1990, when it was abandoned due to the war (Croatian War of Independence). Over time, the dwelling collapsed into itself. Interestingly, none of them (the Rodić and Sertić families, Park rangers, local residents...) had ever heard anything or had any knowledge about the cave in which, according to the tradition, “church objects and some money” were hidden.

Local residents told us about three possible locations for the church. Our reconnaissance survey documented two positions at the very edges of Široka luka, the eastern and western, where the Plitvica brook comes very near to the beginning of the upward slope. In the narrow passage between Karabajina luka and Široka luka, adjacent to the dry bed of the Plitvica brook, on a slightly elevated terrain, we excavated Sonda 4, the dimensions of which are 1.5 x 1.5 m. The excavation uncovered an eastbound village path whose trace is lost after 30 or so metres. The location of the path is marked with an upright stone (which the locals call *unka*), on which the number 245 is written in red, accompanied by an arrow pointing east. On a lateral stone on the path, where it cuts into the slope, 2–3 metres from the stone pillar, written in red is a three-digit number whose first two digits are 22, while the third one is poorly visible.

At the eastern end of Široka luka, near the beginning of the path leading to Hajdukovića pila, adjacent to the Plitvica brook, a pile of stones was found in a dense thicket on slightly elevated terrain, together with another stone pillar (*unka*), this one without any marks (Fig. 7). Since the present-day path towards Hajdukovića pila, in the direction of the Big Waterfall, is the only possible path, the old path presumably led along the same route, and it was marked with stone pillars.

mena. Budući da je sedra građevni materijal koji je lak za obrađivanje i koji je u prvom redu lagan, vrlo je vjerojatno da je njime crkva bila presvođena. Ujedno je to jedino kamenje koje je nađeno u okolini iskopanog dijela temelja. Površinsko kamenje, kako je već rečeno, razneseno je radi obrade zemljišta. Sjeverni temelj apside nakon manje od 2 m naglo prestaje, vidljivo je da je kamen izvađen i odnesen. Sonda 7 imala je za cilj naći nastavak sjevernog zida, te je ustanovljeno da zid nedostaje.

Sonda 3 imala je za cilj provjeriti Delićev crtež pomoćne prostorije na sjevernoj strani crkve. Osim kamenja odmah ispod površinskog sloja, na zapadnom dijelu sonde, uočen je nešto pravilnije slagani kamen, za koji nije ustanovljeno je li dio zida, ili je kamen tako složen uslijed oranja. Na žalost, nije bilo više vremena za proširenje sonde.

Grobovi

U sondi 2 otkriveni su dijelovi zapadnog i južnog zida i ugao, te su pronađena i tri groba (sl. 9).

Grob 1 (dijete?) nalazio se s vanjske strane južnog zida. Kostur očuvan, položen na leđa s glavom na zapadu. Noge su ispružene, potkoljenice nedostaju. Ruke – desna podlaktica podignuta na sredinu toraksa, a lijeva položena na trbuh (sl. 10).

Grob 2 (žena?) nalazio se s vanjske strane južnog zida. Kostur dobro očuvan, s glavom na zapadu.



Sl. / Fig. 9: Kameno urušenje zapadnog zida, s vidljivim ostacima tri istražena groba / Stone debris of the western wall with visible remains of three excavated graves (snimila / photo by Nera Šegvić, 2012.)

Archaeological excavation of St. Mark's church

We started excavating the church of St. Mark at the elevated ground of Široka luka (Fig. 8).

Since Sondage 1 did not immediately yield anything (we later discovered that it was positioned in the interior of the church), we started excavating in Sondage 2, measuring 2 x 2 m, which we later enlarged. The total area of Sondage 2 is 28 m², and it yielded parts of the western and southern foundation walls of the church, as well as three graves. One of the graves (grave 3) lay inside the church walls, next to the southern wall, while the other two lay parallel to the southern wall on the outside of the church (graves 1 and 2) (Pl. 1).

Due to lack of time, the excavation was limited to the uncovering of the wall, with the aim of revealing the plan of the church while bypassing (potential) graves. Apart from a minor part of the south-western end, the church interior was not investigated. We followed the wall of the church in the width of 0.30 m at either side (the width of a shovel). With minor omissions in the excavation of the foundations (Sondages 2, 5, 6), we obtained the following plan: the church is oriented east-west with a 24° tilt towards south-east. The rectangular apse, narrower than the church aisle, is located in the east. The apse is 4.31 m long by 5.32 m wide, the aisle is 15 m long, but its width has not been ascertained. If we assume that the church had a regular plan, it would have been 7.85 m wide (Pl. 2 and Pl. 3).



Sl. / Fig. 10: Grob 1, nađen s vanjske strane južnog zida crkve / Grave 1 was discovered outside the southern wall of the church (snimila / photo by Iva Kostešić, 2012.)



Sl. / Fig. 11: Grob 2, nađen s vanjske strane južnog zida crkve / Grave 2 was discovered on the outside of the southern church wall (snimila / photo by Iva Kostešić, 2012.)



Sl. / Fig. 12: Grob 3, nađen u unutrašnjosti crkve / Grave 3 was found inside the church (snimila / photo by Iva Kostešić, 2012.)

Pokojnica je položena na lijevi bok, lijeva noga je ispružena, a desna zgrčena. Pokojnica ima desnu podlakticu položenu na trbuhu (sl. 11).

Grob 3 (muškarac?) nalazio se unutar crkve, uz južni zid. Kostur dobro očuvan, položen na leđa paralelno uz zid, s glavom na zapadu. Noge su ispružene, a ruke položene kao i u grobu 1. (sl. 12).

Svi grobovi su bez priloga i bez nalaza.

Naziv crkve

Kamenko Delić 1899. crkvu naziva *Crkvina Luke kod Plitvice*, dok Dragutin Franić 1910. crkvu naziva sv. Marko, prema evanđelistu. Najčešći izraz je »Crkvina«, ili »Crkvište«, bez oznake sveca kojem je posvećena. Cvjetko Vurster 1902. g. spominje staru crkvu, ali bez naziva. Na povijesnim kartama crkva je obilježena kao »alte Kirche«, također bez naziva.

Kako je povijesno sjećanje izbrisano u tom kraju, čini se da su doseljenici krajem 17. st. i početkom 18. st. dali Crkvini vlastite nazive, ali da nisu obnavljali samu crkvu. Titular sv. Marko podsjeća na nekadašnje trgovačke veze s Mletačkom Republikom, ili kako je uz druge i Gušić zove, Republikom sv. Marka iz vremena prije Turaka.²⁰

²⁰ Gušić 1974, 72.

The foundation of the wall of the entire excavated part of the church is 0.75–0.90 m wide and 0.30 m high. The surface of the excavated foundation wall is fairly flat, without grooves. The church foundations were built of roughly dressed stones bound with mortar. The western wall of the church, where the entrance was probably located, collapsed in a semi-circular manner. The debris consists of undressed and semi-dressed stones, as well as a few lumps of travertine. Since travertine is easily worked and above all light, it was probably used as a building material for the church vault. This is also the only type of stone found around the excavated portion of the foundation wall. Surface stones, as already stated, were removed to clear the land for cultivation. The northern foundation wall of the apse abruptly stops after less than 2 m, clearly because the stones were taken away. The purpose of Sondage 7 was to find the continuation of the northern wall, and it was revealed that it was missing.

Sondage 3 was excavated to verify Delić's drawing of the accessory room at the northern side of the church. In addition to the stones lying immediately below the topsoil, the excavation in the western portion of the sondage uncovered a rather regular course of stones, although it is unclear whether they belonged to a wall, or if the stones were set in this manner because of farming. Unfortunately, there was not enough time to expand the sondage.

Jama – pećina

Cvjetko Vurster piše da se u okolici crkve nalazi i pećina *puna kojekakvih kostiju*.²¹ Položaj pećine ucrtan je na karti koju daje Kamenko Delić 1899. g. Nalazi se na sjevernoj strani zašumljenog starog puteljka, koji vodi do (danas) ruševnog pastirskog stana Sertić (sl. 13). Puteljak nema početak ni kraj jer je cijeli taj dio zarastao u šumu i paprat. Puteljak je mjestimično podzidan, a s južne strane nalazi se veliko, neobrađeno kamenje. Moguće je da je početak puteljka kod ulaza u Široku luku, gdje je pronađen stupić s brojčanom oznakom. Zapadno od pastirskog stana, uz navedeni put, nalazi se veća jama. Njene su dimenzije 3,60 cm x 4,70 cm, a dubina joj je 2,80 m. Stranice jame čini živa stijena četverokutnog oblika, prilično zaglađenog lica. Dno jame je zatrpano debelim slojem lišća i trulog granja (sl. 14). Pristupili smo čišćenju jame od trulog lišća i granja, te ustanovili da je ispod nataloženog sloja jama zapunjena većim komadima kamenja koje nismo mogli dizati bez dodatne opreme. Uz istočne stijenke jame, na dubini od 3 m, otkrivena je manja rupa, odnosno prolaz, kroz koju bi se (teško) mogao provući čovjek (sl. 15). Dizanjem većeg kamenja kojim je jama zapunjena, taj bi se otvor mogao proširiti. Pretpostavka je da je kroz tu rupu prolaz prema pećinskom dijelu tog objekta (ukoliko pećinski dio postoji). S obzirom na to da prilikom čišćenja jame nismo naišli na nikakve tragove ljudske intervencije, završili smo s istraživanjem. Eventualnim dizanjem sloja većih kamenih blokova možda bi se moglo naići na tragove ljudske prošlosti.

Ni lokalno stanovništvo ni vlasnici zemljišta nisu znali za jamu, te su je prvi puta vidjeli kada smo im je pokazali. Nisu znali ni za predaje vezane uz pećinu. Prema literaturi,²² zvona crkve sv. Marka su bila sakrivena u jami-pećini, te kad su nađena, prodana su u Drežniku. U vrijeme pisanja knjiga Delića i Franića, te izvještaja muzejskog povjerenika Cvjetka Vurster, ²³ jama je već bila zatrpana kamenjem, te se izvještaj zapravo odnosi na usmenu predaju.

Jamu bi trebalo očistiti od kamenja, te istražiti.

²¹ Arhiv AMZ, 06.02.1902.

²² Delić 1899, 94; Franić 1910, 311–312.

²³ Arhiv AMZ, 1902.

Graves

Sondage 2 yielded the remains of the corner portion of the western and southern walls, as well as three graves (Fig. 9).

Grave 1 (child?) was located on the outside of the southern wall. The skeleton is preserved and was found in a supine position with its head towards the west. The legs are extended, and the lower legs are missing. Arms – the right forearm is placed at the middle of the thorax, the left forearm is placed on the abdomen (Fig. 10)

Grave 2 (woman?) lay on the outside of the southern wall. The skeleton is well preserved, with its head towards the west. The deceased woman was placed on the left side, with her left leg extended and her right leg flexed. The right forearm is placed on the abdomen (Fig. 11).

Grave 3 (man?) was located inside the church, next to the southern wall. The skeleton is well preserved, in a supine position parallel with the wall, with the head towards the west. The legs are extended and the arms were placed the same as in grave 1 (Fig. 12).

None of the graves contained any goods or other finds.

The name of the church

Kamenko Delić in 1899 called the church *Crkvina Luke near Plitvica*, while Dragutin Franić in 1910 referred to it as St. Mark's church, after the Evangelist. The most common term is "Crkvina" or "Crkvište", without the name of the patron saint. Cvjetko Vurster mentions an old church in 1902, but did not mention its name. On historical maps, it is marked as the "alte Kirche", likewise without any name.

Since the historical memory in that area was lost, it seems that the new settlers at the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century gave their own names to *Crkvina*, but did not restore the building itself. The patron, St. Mark, reminds of former commercial ties with the Venetian Republic, or, in the words of Gušić and others, the Republic of St. Mark, from the time before the Turks.²⁰

²⁰ Gušić 1974, 72.



Sl. / Fig. 13: Porušena kuća, »stan« od Sertića, nedaleko od jame – pećine / The collapsed house, "dwelling" of the Sertić family, near the pit-cave (snimila / photo by Iva Kostešić, 2012.)



Sl. / Fig. 14: Spuštanje u jamu-pećinu kod crkve sv. Marka (na slici Bojan Grbić, mještanin) / Descent into the pit-cave near St. Mark's church (Bojan Grbić, a local resident, is pictured in the photo) (snimila / photo by Iva Kostešić, 2012.)



Sl. / Fig. 15: Pokušaj ulaza u uski prolaz koji (moguće) vodi u dubinu pećine (na slici Bojan Grbić, mještanin) / Attempt to pass through the narrow passage that (might) lead into the cave (Bojan Grbić is shown in the photo) (snimila / photo by Nera Šegvić, 2012.)

The pit – cave

Cvjetko Vurster writes that there is a cave in the vicinity of the church, *full of all kinds of bones*.²¹ The position of the cave is marked on the map provided by Kamenko Delić in 1899. It is situated on the northern side of the wooded old trail leading to the (presently) crumbling shepherd dwelling of the Sertić family (Fig. 13). The trail has no beginning or end because the entire land had been covered by forest and ferns. The trail is partly supported by a wall, and on the southern side there are massive undressed stones. It is possible that the trail begins at the entrance to Široka luka, where the numbered stone pillar was found. West of the shepherd dwelling, next to the trail, there is a large pit, measuring 3.60 x 4.70 m, 2.80 m deep. Its walls consist of rectangular bedrock with fairly smooth sides. The bottom of the pit is filled with a thick layer of leaves and rotting branches (Fig. 14). We cleaned the pit of leaves and branches, whereupon we found out that, beneath this layer, the pit was filled with large stones, which we were not able to move without additional equipment. At the depth of 3 metres, along the eastern wall of the pit, we uncovered a small hole, or a passageway, through which a man might be able to pass, although with difficulty (Fig. 15). This opening could be expanded by removing the large stones that fill the pit. In case there is indeed a cave there, it is possible that this passage leads into it. However, considering that, during the clearing of the cave, we did not find any traces of human activity, our exploration stopped there, keeping in mind that traces of human history might perhaps be found if the massive stone blocks were to be removed.

Neither the local population nor the land owners knew anything about the pit, and they first saw it when we showed it to them. They were also unaware of the traditions connected with the cave. According to the literature²², the bells of St. Mark's church were hidden in the pit-cave and, when they were found, they were sold in Drežnik. At the time when Delić and Franić wrote their books and the Museum commissioner Cvjet-

²¹ Archives of the AMZ, 6th February 1902.

²² Delić 1899, 94; Franić 1910, 311–312.

Most

Na Delićevom crtežu prikazan je most preko Plitvice, te on opisuje da je »uz Crkvinu ozidan most preko potoka Plitvice, pa načinjen je stari put na Prijeku Kosu i dalje u Babin Potok. Kad se ovdje krčilo, nalazili su ljudi uz ovaj put noževa, sabalja i različitih gvožđarija...«.²⁴ Obišli smo cijeli tok potoka Plitvice na području Široke luke, te ustanovili da je lijeva, sjeverna strana potoka, ograđena kamenjem, a desna, južna, slabije prohodna te se odmah uz njezin tok nalazi gusto pošumljena brina – padina brijega. Tragove puta, kao ni mosta, nismo našli.

Zaključak

Specifičnost ličkog kraja je gradnja crkvi uz izvore žive vode, obično u podnožju brda, na malo izdignutom terenu. Taj običaj govori o važnosti koja se pridavala vodi, ali i kao jednoj od predispozicija za okupljanje većeg broja ljudi.²⁵ Kako je uobičajeno, crkva je bila smještena izvan naselja.

Crkva sv. Marka je jednobrodna crkva s četvrtastom apsidom – duljina broda iznosi 15 m, (pretpostavljena) širina broda oko 7,5 m, duljina apside 4,31 m, a širina apside 5,32 m.

Naselje kojemu je pripadala crkva bilo je izdvojeno od crkve, a nalazilo se (vjerojatno) na Rodić Poljani. Na Rodić Poljani nalazi se danas samo jedna naseljena kuća, u kojoj živi gđa Anka Rodić, vlasnica zemljišta u Širokoj luci, na kojem je crkva sv. Marka. Međutim, na Rodić Poljani postoje vidljivi ostaci razrušenih kuća, nekad manjeg zaseoka. Cijela Rodić Poljana je umjetno zaravnata uzvisina okružena potocima Plitvica i Sartuk, te je idealna za naseljavanje. Rekognosciranjem poljane u krtičnjacima je nađeno nekoliko ulomaka pretpovijesne keramike. Smatramo da je Rodić Poljana bila naseljena od pretpovijesti, te da je vjerojatno netko iz tog naselja zakopao srednjebrončanodobnu ostavu koja je pronađena u blizini. Od ostave, za koju se ne zna točna lokacija nalazišta, već je poznat samo podatak da je nađena »kod izvora Plitvice«, sačuvan je samo

ko Vurster wrote his report²³, the pit had already been filled with stones, so the report in fact refers to the oral tradition.

The pit should preferably be cleared of stone and explored.

The bridge

Delić's drawing depicts a bridge across the Plitvica brook, accompanied by his description that "right here next to Crkvina, a bridge over the Plitvica brook has been built, and there is also an old path leading toward Prijeka Kosa and further to Babin Potok. When this land was cleared, people found knives, sabres and various ironware along this path ...".²⁴ We explored the entire course of the Plitvica brook in the Široka luka area, and found out that the left, northern bank of the brook was lined with stones, while the right, southern side was less accessible, since the bank lies at the foot of a densely wooded upward slope. We did not find any traces of the path or bridge.

Conclusion

A specific feature of the Lika region is that churches are built near water springs, usually at the foot of a hill, on slightly elevated ground. This custom speaks about the importance that people attached to water, while it also served as one of the predispositions for the gathering of a mass of people.²⁵ As usual, the church was located outside the settlement.

St. Mark's is a single-nave church with a rectangular apse – the nave is 15 m long by (presumably) around 7.5 m wide. The length of the apse is 4.31 m and the width is 5.32 m.

The settlement to which the church belonged was situated at a distance, probably at Rodić Poljana. Today, there is only a single inhabited house at Rodić Poljana, in which lives Anka Rodić, the owner of the land in Široka luka, the site of St. Mark's church. However, there are visible rema-

²⁴ Delić 1899, 110.

²⁵ Horvat 2003, 15.

²³ Archives of the AMZ, 1902.

²⁴ Delić 1899, 110.

²⁵ Horvat 2003, 15.

mač koji je pohranjen u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu.²⁶

Prostor južno od ostataka crkve sv. Marka zauzima groblje. Bilo bi zanimljivo istražiti veličinu i širinu groblja, za koje se do sada nije znalo da postoji. Na tom području nalaze se ulomci keramike (pretpovijesni i kasnosrednjovjekovni) koji su na to područje vjerojatno dospjeli ili poplavom potoka Plitvice, ili s brda iznad crkve.

Cijelu lokaciju (Rodić Poljanu – pretpovijesno i povijesno naselje, crkvu sv. Marka s pripadajućim grobljem u Širokoj luci, Prkežinku) trebalo bi cjelovitije istražiti. Jedino na taj način mogli bismo dobiti egzaktnije podatke o prošlosti toga kraja.

ins of decaying houses at Rodić Poljana, which once belonged to a small hamlet. The entire Rodić Poljana is an artificial flat elevation surrounded by the Plitvica and Sartuk brooks, ideal for settlement. Reconnaissance surveys of the Poljana area yielded several shards of prehistoric pottery from molehills in the field. We believe that Rodić Poljana was inhabited in prehistory and that probably somebody from the prehistoric settlement buried the Middle Bronze Age hoard that was found in the vicinity. We do not know the exact position where the hoard was found, except that it was “at the source of the Plitvica brook”. The only preserved object from the hoard is a sword that is kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.²⁶

The area south of the remains of St. Mark’s church is occupied by a graveyard. It would be interesting to explore the length and width of the graveyard, which we previously did not know existed. The potshards found in this area (prehistoric and mediaeval) probably arrived there either by the flooding of the Plitvica brook, or from the hill above the church.

The entire zone (Rodić Poljana with its prehistoric and historical settlements, St. Mark’s church with its adjoining graveyard in Široka luka, Prkežinka) ought to be more thoroughly researched, because this is the only way to obtain more precise data about the history of that area.

²⁶ Drechsler-Bižić 1983, 243, 252.

²⁶ Drechsler-Bižić 1983, 243, 252.

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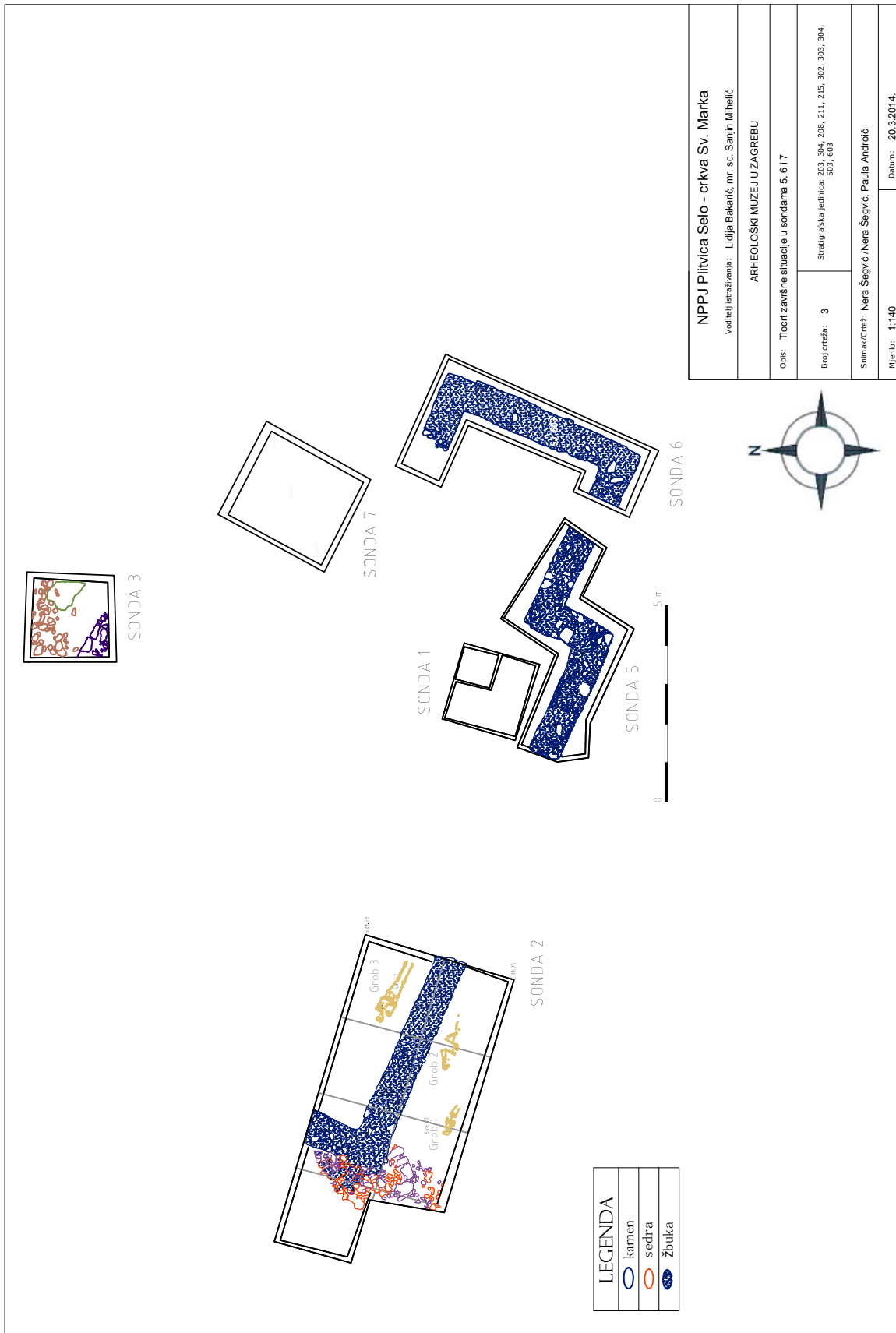


Tabla / Plate 1: Crkva sv. Marka – učitane su sondage 1, 2, 5, 6, 7 / St. Mark's church – Sondages 1, 2, 5, 6, 7 are marked (crtež / drawing by Nera Šegvić, Paula Androić, Iva Kostešić; priredila za tisak / design by Iva Kostešić, 2014.)

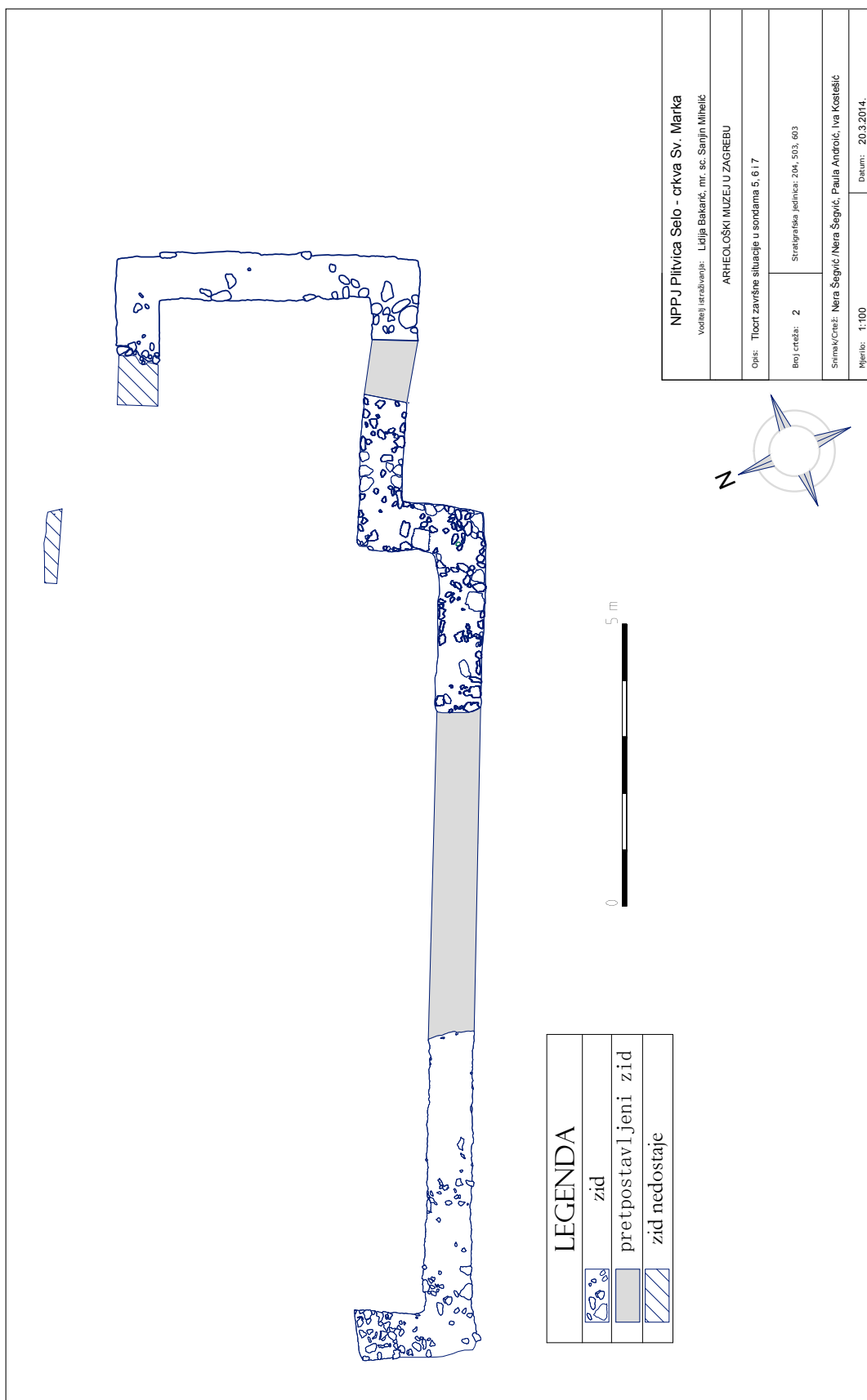


Tabla / Plate 2: Crtež otkopanih dijelova temelja zida crkve sv. Marka / A drawing of the excavated parts of the foundation walls of St. Mark's church (crtež / drawing by Nera Šegvić, Paula Androić, Iva Kostešić; priredila za tisak / design by Iva Kostešić, 2014.)

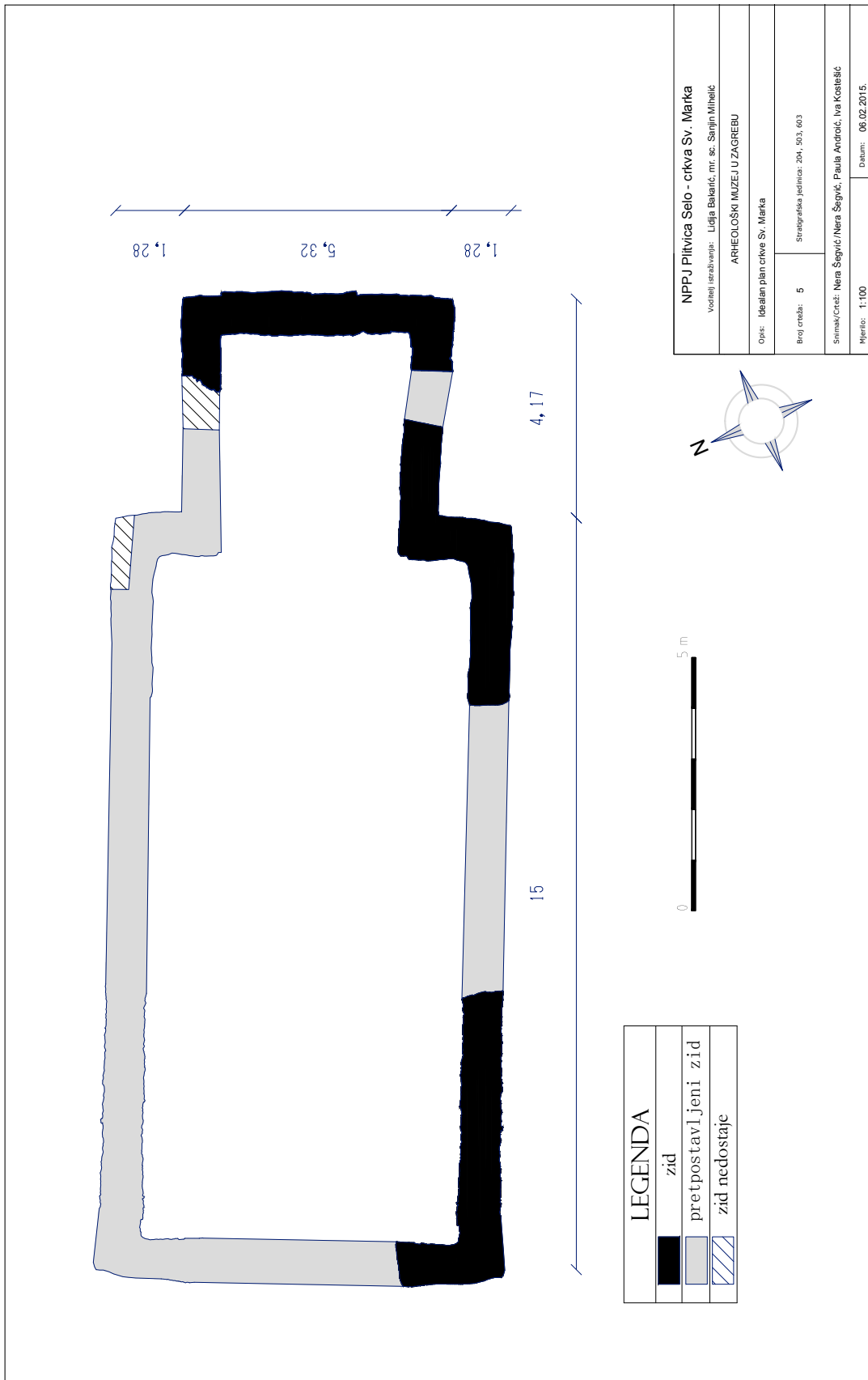


Tabla / Plate 3: Crtěž idealne rekonstrukcije crkve sv. Marka. Naznačeni su otkopani dijelovi zida temelja, pretpostavljeni dijelovi, kao i dijelovi zida koji nedostaju / A reconstruction drawing of St. Mark's church. The excavated portions of the foundation walls are marked, as well as presumed portions and the missing portions of the wall (crtěž / drawing by Nera Šegvić, Paula Androić, Iva Kostešić; priredila za tisak / design by Iva Kostešić, 2015.)

The Beginning of the Late Bronze Age between the Eastern Alps and the Danube: Proceedings of the International conference in Osijek, October 20–22, 2011, Herausgegeben von Daria Ložnjak Dizdar, Marko Dizdar, Zbornik Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu/Serta Instituti Archeologici 1, Archäologisches Institut, Zagreb, 2014, ISBN 978-953-6064-16-8, 293 S., zahlreiche schwarz-weiß aber auch farbige Illustrationen, Auflage 400 Exemplare.

Der rezensierte Band enthält Vorträge der Internationalen Tagung, die zwischen 20. und 22. Oktober 2011 in Osijek stattgefunden hat, und wurde als erster Band einer neuen Schriftenreihe des Archäologischen Instituts Zagreb publiziert. Das Management übernahm Frau Daria Ložnjak Dizdar, Mitarbeiterin des Instituts und Organisatorin der Tagung.

Das Thema der Tagung war *Der Beginn des Endes der Spätbronzezeit zwischen den Ostalpen und der Donau*, ein derzeit sehr aktuelles Thema. Der Ort der Tagung, das slawonische, multikulturelle Osijek/Eszék/Esseg wurde auch glücklich gewählt: Eine ehemals römische Stadt Colonia Aelia Mursa mit reichen archäologischen Funden auch aus der Vorgeschichte, Museum für Slawonien, eigene Publikation Osječki zbornik und vielfältige archäologische Forschungen, in der letzten Zeit insbesondere durch Frau Jasna Šimić.

Aufgrund des geographischen Raumes der Tagung kommen die meisten Referenten aus dem ehemaligen Jugoslawien: Kroatien 4 (Daria Ložnjak Dizdar, Jasna Šimić, Snježana Karavanić, Boško Marijan – in zwischen verstorben), Serbien 3 (Marija Ljuština, Aleksandar Kapuran, Katarina Dimitrović), Slowenien 5 (Ida Murgelj, Primož Pavlin, Marija Lubšina Tušek/Boris Kavur/Martina Blečić Kavur), Bosnien-Herzegowina 1 (Mario Gavranović), aus dem Nachbarland Ungarn 4 (Gábor Ilon, Katalin Jankovits, Gábor Váczi, Péter Polgár) und aus Deutschland 2 (Daniel Neumann, Sabine Papst). Insgesamt 16 Beiträge von 19 Autoren. Von den 16 Artikeln wurden 11 in englischer und 5 in deutscher Sprache veröf-

The Beginning of the Late Bronze Age between the Eastern Alps and the Danube: Proceedings of the International conference in Osijek, October 20–22, 2011, glavni urednici: Daria Ložnjak Dizdar, Marko Dizdar, Zbornik Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu/Serta Instituti Archeologici 1, Institut za arheologiju, Zagreb, 2014., ISBN 978-953-6064-16-8, 293 str., mnogobrojne crno-bijele ali i ilustracije u boji, naklada: 400 primjerala.

Recenzirana publikacija sadrži predavanja s međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa održanog 20. i 22. listopada 2011. godine u Osijeku, a objavljuje se kao prvi svezak nove serije izdanja Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu. Uređivanje ovog djela preuzela je djelatnica Instituta i organizatorica skupa, Daria Ložnjak Dizdar.

Tema skupa bila je *Početak kasnog brončanog doba između istočnih Alpi i Dunava*, danas vrlo aktualna problematika. Mjesto održavanja skupa, slavonski multikulturalni Osijek/Eszék/Esseg, bio je sretan odabir – nekoć rimski grad, *Colonia Aelia Mursa*, s mnogobrojnim arheološkim nalazima, još od prapovijesti, sjedište Muzeja Slavonije s bogatom izdavačkom djelatnošću, poput Osječkog zbornika, kao i mjesto gdje se provode različita arheološka istraživanja, u posljednje vrijeme posebice pod vodstvom gospođe Jasne Šimić.

U skladu s geografskim smještajem skupa, najveći broj predavača došao je iz bivše Jugoslavije: četiri iz Hrvatske (Daria Ložnjak Dizdar, Jasna Šimić, Snježana Karavanić, Boško Marijan – u međuvremenu preminuo), tri iz Srbije (Marija Ljuština, Aleksandar Kapuran, Katarina Dimitrović), pet iz Slovenije (Ida Murgelj, Primož Pavlin, Marija Lubšina Tušek/Boris Kavur/Martina Blečić Kavur), jedan iz Bosne i Hercegovine (Mario Gavranović), četiri iz susjedne Mađarske (Gábor Ilon, Katalin Jankovits, Gábor Váczi, Péter Polgár) te dva iz Njemačke (Daniel Neumann, Sabine Pabst). Ukupno 16 priloga i 19 autora. Od 16 članaka, njih 11 objavljeno je na engleskom, a pet na njemačkom jeziku. Neki prilozima nadila-

fentlicht. Einige sind überregionale Beiträge, wie von D. Neumann über die Hortfundlandschaft, Pr. Pavlin, die Griffzungensicheln und von S. Pabst, über die Violinbogenfibeln, die meisten anderen bleiben innerhalb der nationalen Grenzen.

Im Rahmen dieser kurzen Rezension können wir uns nicht mit allen Beiträgen beschäftigen, deswegen wählen wir die, die konzeptionell einen monographischen Charakter haben und das Thema so ausführlich wie möglich behandeln.

Eine ausführliche Bearbeitung der sog. »*terramare*« Sichel, deutsch Griffzungensicheln, aus der Bronzezeit-Urnenfelderzeit in Italien, am Westbalkan und im Karpatenbecken, deren Typologie, Chronologie und Verbreitung hat Pr. Pavlin vom Archäologischen Institut Slowenien, in einem umfassenden Beitrag (S. 29–70) unternommen. Die ältesten Exemplare erschienen bereits in der mittleren Bronzezeit (Bz C2) und sie blieben bis zur späten Stufe der Urnenfelderzeit (Ha B1) im Gebrauch. Die Griffzungensicheln in Südosteuropa sind das Thema seiner noch nicht veröffentlichten Dissertation (P. PAVLIN, *Bronastodobni jezičastoročajni v jugovzhodni Evropi / Bronze Age tanged sickles in southeastern Europe*, Ljubljana, 2010). Der Ausgangspunkt für den Verfasser waren diesbezügliche Forschungen von A. Mozsolics (A. MOZSOLICS, *Some remarks on 'Peschiera' fronzes in Hungary*, in: *The European Community in Later Prehistory: Studies in honour of C. F. C. Hawkes*, London, 1971, 57–76; Dies., *Beziehungen zwischen Italien und Ungarn während »Bronzo Recente« und »Bronzo Finale«*, *Rivista di scienze preistoriche* 27/2, Firenze, 1972, 373–401) sowie die Sichelkataloge der PBF für Rumänien, Slowakei, Österreich/Schweiz/Süddeutschland, Mähren, Zentralbalkan und Polen. Im Zentrum der Arbeit steht die Typologie. Im Vergleich zu den anderen typologischen Gliederungen ist das System des Verfassers sehr ausführlich, sogar zu minutiös und kompliziert (S. 29–51, 6 Typentafeln mit Fundorten!). Weniger behandelt sind die Chronologie und die Verbreitung (S. 51–53), dazu aber gibt es mehrere Verbreitungskarten (15).

An der Freien Universität Berlin, als Schülerin von Biba Teržan, und an der Universität Wien befasste sich Frau Sabine Pabst in der ersten Hälfte der 1990er Jahren mit Brillenfibeln in verschiedenen Kulturräumen Mittel- und Südeuropas.

ze regionalne okvire, poput članka D. Neumanna o nalazištima ostava, P. Pavlina o srpovima s jezičcem i S. Pabst o fibulama u obliku violinsko-gudala, dok većina ostalih ostaje unutar nacionalnih granica.

U okviru ove kratke recenzije ne možemo se baviti svim priložima, zbog čega biramo one koji konceptijski imaju monografski karakter i u kojima je tema obrađena na naj iscrpniji mogući način.

Detaljnju obradu tzv. *terramare* srpova, tj. srpova s jezičcem iz brončanog doba iz kulture polja sa žarama u Italiji, Zapadnom Balkanu, Panonskoj nizini, to jest njihovu tipologiju, kronologiju i rasprostranjenost u opsežnom je prilogu predstavio P. Pavlin iz Instituta za arheologiju u Sloveniji (str. 29–70). Najstariji primjerci pojavili su se već sredinom brončanog doba (Br C2), a koristili su se sve do mlađe faze kulture polja sa žarama (Ha B1). Srpovi s drškom u obliku jezička u Jugoiistočnoj Europi bili su tema njegove još neobjavljene disertacije (P. PAVLIN, *Bronastodobni jezičastoročajni srpi v jugovzhodni Evropi / Bronze Age tanged sickles in southeastern Europe*, Ljubljana, 2010). Autorova polazišna točka bila su istraživanja A. Mozsolics (A. MOZSOLICS, *Some remarks on 'Peschiera' fronzes in Hungary*, u: *The European Community in Later Prehistory: Studies in honour of C. F. C. Hawkes*, London, 1971, 57–76; A. MOZSOLICS, *Beziehungen zwischen Italien und Ungarn während »Bronzo Recente« und »Bronzo Finale«*, *Rivista di scienze preistoriche* 27/2, Firenze, 1972, 373–401), kao i svesci o srpovima objavljeni u seriji PBF za Rumunjsku, Slovačku, Austriju/Švicarsku/južnu Njemačku, Moravsku, središnji Balkan i Poljsku. Rad se temelji na tipologiji. U usporedbi s drugim tipološkim podjelama, sustav ovoga autora vrlo je iscrpan, čak i suviše minuciozan i kompliciran (str. 29–51, šest tabli s navedenim nalazištima!). Manje se bavi kronologijom i rasprostranjenošću (str. 51–53), no s druge strane, priložio je više karata rasprostranjenosti (njih 15).

Gospođa Sabine Pabst se u prvoj polovici 90-ih godina prošlog stoljeća, najprije na Slobodnom sveučilištu u Berlinu, kao učenica Bibe Teržan, a kasnije na Sveučilištu u Beču, bavila naočalastim fibulama u različitim kulturama Srednje i Južne Europe. Kao prvi dio njezina istraživanja

Als erster Teil ihrer Untersuchungen erschien ihre Berliner Magisterarbeit aus dem Jahr 1996 nach geringfügiger Überarbeitung in Marburg (S. PABST-DÖRRER, Untersuchungen zu hallstattzeitlichen Frauentrachten mit Spiralbrillenfibeln zwischen Alpen, Karpaten und Ostsee, Internationale Archäologie 51, Rahden/Westf., 2000). Gegenstand dieser Arbeit waren Trachtausstattungen in der Hallstattzeit zwischen Alpen, Karpaten und Ostsee in Zusammenhang mit den Brillenfibeln. Für die anschließende Promotionsarbeit wurden zunächst sämtliche Fundkomplexe mit Brillenfibeln aus der Fachliteratur aufgenommen. Dann folgten zwischen 1993 und 1999 Materialstudien an den Originalfunden während mehrerer Studienreisen in Österreich, in Ungarn sowie in Italien und Griechenland nahezu flächendeckend. Wichtige Verbreitungsgebiete der Brillenfibeln wie der Nordbalkanraum (Serbien, Kroatien und Slowenien) wurden nach Abschluss der Dissertation 2007–2009 nachgeholt; in Rumänien, insbesondere Siebenbürgen, weiter in Tschechien und in der Slowakei wurden die Brillenfibeln nur anhand von Literatur, ohne Autopsie, behandelt. In der Festschrift für Biba Teržan unterschied sie im bekannten Hügelgräberfeld von Vergina (Makedonien) in den Frauengräbern mit Brillenfibeln vier Trachtgruppen und fünf Kombinationsgruppen, datiert vom 11./10. Jahrhundert bis zum 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Auch gelang ihr die soziale Trennung von Frauen und Kindern, sowie in einer Doppelbestattung, die Differenzierung eines reich ausgestatteten Mannes, der zusammen mit seiner Gemahlin, einer Brillenfibelführerin, bestattet wurde (S. PABST-DÖRRER, Zur sozialen Implikation der früheisenzeitlichen Frauentrachten von Vergina in Zentralmakedonien, in: M. Blečić *et al.* (Hrsg.), *Scripta praehistorica in honorem Biba Teržan*, Situla 44, Ljubljana, 2007, 643–656). In einem ausführlichen Beitrag hat sie anhand ihrer Promotionsarbeit die absolute Datierung des ersten früheisenzeitlichen Horizontes auf dem nördlichen Zentralbalkan analysiert (S. PABST, Zur absoluten Datierung des ersten früheisenzeitlichen Horizontes auf dem nördlichen Zentralbalkan, *Germania* 86/2, 2008, 591–654). Ausgangspunkt war nach der Terminologie von R. Vasić (R. VASIĆ, *The chronology of the Early Iron Age in the Socialist Republic of Serbia*, BAR supplementary series 31, Oxford, 1977). Nach einer detaillierten Analyse des Fundstoffes, d.h. der Hortfunde und der Grä-

u Marburgu joj je objavljen berlinski magistarski rad iz 1996. godine, uz neznatne dopune (S. PABST-DÖRRER, Untersuchungen zu hallstattzeitlichen Frauentrachten mit Spiralbrillenfibeln zwischen Alpen, Karpaten und Ostsee, Internationale Archäologie 51, Rahden/Westf., 2000). Predmet rada bili su dijelovi nošnje i njihov odnos s naočalastim fibulama tijekom razdoblja halštatske kulture na prostoru između Alpa, Karpata i Baltičkog mora. Za potonji disertacijski rad iz stručne su literature prvo popisana sva nalazišta naočalastih fibula. Nakon toga, između 1993. i 1999. godine, slijedila je obrada izvornih nalaza prilikom više studijskih boravaka u Austriji, Mađarskoj, Italiji i Grčkoj. Važna područja rasprostranjenosti naočalastih fibula, poput prostora sjevernog Balkana (Srbija, Hrvatska i Slovenija), obrađena su naknadno, po završetku disertacije, od 2007. do 2009. godine. U Rumunjskoj, posebice u Transilvaniji, i nadalje u Češkoj i Slovačkoj, naočalaste fibule obrađene su samo temeljem literature, bez izravnog uvida u materijal. U Zborniku u čast Bibe Teržan autorica na poznatoj nekropoli s tumulima u Vergini (Makedonija) u grobnicama žena s naočalastim fibulama razlikuje četiri skupine nošnji i pet kombinacija koje datiraju od 11.–10. stoljeća do 7. stoljeća pr. Kr. Razlučila je i socijalnu podjelu žena i djece, a u slučaju jednog dvostrukog ukopa, i diferencijaciju muškarca sahranjenog s bogatom opremom, zajedno sa suprugom, nositeljicom naočalaste fibule (S. PABST-DÖRRER, Zur sozialen Implikation der früheisenzeitlichen Frauentrachten von Vergina in Zentralmakedonien, u: M. Blečić *et al.* (ur.), *Scripta praehistorica in honorem Biba Teržan*, Situla 44, Ljubljana, 2007, 643–656). Na temelju svog doktorskog rada u opsežnom je prilogu analizirala apsolutno datiranje prvog horizonta ranog željeznog doba na sjevernom dijelu središnjeg Balkana (S. PABST, Zur absoluten Datierung des ersten früheisenzeitlichen Horizontes auf dem nördlichen Zentralbalkan, *Germania* 86/2, 2008, 591–654). Polazište joj je bila terminologija R. Vasića (R. VASIĆ, *The chronology of the Early Iron Age in the Socialist Republic of Serbia*, BAR supplementary series 31, Oxford, 1977). Nakon detaljne analize nalaza, tj. ostava i grobišta, i nošnji s naočalastim fibulama, torquesima i spiralnim narukvicama, došla je do zaključka da razdoblje prvog horizonta ranog željeznog doba na sjevernom središnjem Balkanu

berfelder und der Brillenfibel-Torques-Armspiral-Trachten, kam sie zur Schlussfolgerung, dass die Laufzeit des ersten früheisenzeitlichen Horizontes auf dem nördlichen Zentralbalkan mindestens etwa 150 Jahre, von 850 bis 700 v. Chr., umspannt (PABST a.a.O. 2008). In einem weiteren Beitrag betrachtete sie die früheisenzeitliche Brillenfibel-Torques-Armspiral-Trachten-Kombination in Makedonien und im Nordwestbalkan als Zeugnisse der Wanderbewegungen auf der Balkanhalbinsel – die »dorische Wanderung« – und analysierte die verschiedenen Komponenten bei der Herkunft der Makedonen (S. PABST, Bevölkerungsbewegungen auf der Balkanhalbinsel am Beginn der Früheisenzeit und die Frage der Ethnogenese der Makedonen, *Jahrb. DAI* 124, 2009, 1–74). Schließlich fasste sie ihre Forschung zu Verbreitung, Herkunft, Typologie, Chronologie, Kontaktwegen und sozialen Hintergründen in einem Vortrag in Münster 2008 hervorragend zusammen, der Verfasser dieser Rezension war dabei (S. PABST, Die großräumige Ausbreitung der Brillenfibeln am Übergang von der Bronze- zur Eisenzeit – Kommunikationswege und soziale Hintergründe, in: U. L. Dietz, A. Jockenhövel (Hrsg.), *Bronzen im Spannungsfeld zwischen praktischer Nutzung und symbolischer Bedeutung: Beiträge zum internationalen Kolloquium Münster 2008*, PBF XX/13, Stuttgart, 2011, 199–234). Ihre Forschungen und Untersuchungen fasste sie dann in ihrer im Jahre 2012 veröffentlichten Promotionsarbeit zusammen (S. PABST, *Die Brillenfibeln. Untersuchungen zu spätbronze- und ältereisenzeitlichen Frauentrachten zwischen Ostsee und Mittelmeer*, Marburger Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 25, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden/Westf., 2012).

Nach der Veröffentlichung der Dissertation hat Frau Pabst noch weitere Beiträge über Fibeln publiziert, wie z.B. *Transalpine Verbindungen im typologischen Beziehungsgeflecht ältereisenzeitlicher Brillenfibeln* (S. PABST, *Transalpine Verbindungen im typologischen Beziehungsgeflecht ältereisenzeitlicher Brillenfibeln*, *Arch. Austr.* 94, 2010 (2013), 27–56).

Über den Beginn der Fibeltracht im Karpatenbeken und das Verhältnis der Bz D/Ha A1 – zeitlichen Hortfundhorizonte, über die Violinbogenfibeln, bzw. Achterschleifenfibeln vom Typ Čaka und Drahtbügelfibeltyp Unter-Radl referierte

obuhvaća najmanje 150 godina, od 850. do 700. g. pr. Kr. (PABST *ibid.* 2008.). U daljnjem prilogu proučava kombinacije nošnji s naočalastim fibulama, torkvesima i spiralnim narukvicama iz ranog željeznog doba u Makedoniji i na sjeverozapadnom Balkanu kao svjedočanstva o seobama na Balkanskom poluotoku, tj. o dorskoj najezdi, te analizira različite komponente podrijetla Makedonaca (S. PABST, *Bevölkerungsbewegungen auf der Balkanhalbinsel am Beginn der Früheisenzeit und die Frage der Ethnogenese der Makedonen*, *Jahrb. DAI* 124, 2009, 1–74). Svoja istraživanja o rasprostranjenosti, podrijetlu, tipologiji, kronologiji, komunikacijama i socijalnim pozadinama konačno je sažela u jednom predavanju u Münsteru 2008. godine, tijekom skupa na kojem je sudjelovao i autor ove recenzije (S. PABST, *Die großräumige Ausbreitung der Brillenfibeln am Übergang von der Bronze- zur Eisenzeit – Kommunikationswege und soziale Hintergründe*, u: U. L. Dietz, A. Jockenhövel (ur.), *Bronzen im Spannungsfeld zwischen praktischer Nutzung und symbolischer Bedeutung: Beiträge zum internationalen Kolloquium Münster 2008*, PBF XX/13, Stuttgart, 2011, 199–234). Svoja istraživanja i proučavanja sažela je u doktorskom radu objavljenom 2012. godine (S. PABST, *Die Brillenfibeln. Untersuchungen zu spätbronze- und ältereisenzeitlichen Frauentrachten zwischen Ostsee und Mittelmeer*, *Marburger Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 25, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden/Westf., 2012).

Nakon objave disertacije, gospođa Pabst objavljivala je i druge priloge o fibulama, kao npr. o prekoalpskim vezama u tipološkom sklopu naočalastih fibula iz kasnijeg željeznog doba (S. PABST, *Transalpine Verbindungen im typologischen Beziehungsgeflecht ältereisenzeitlicher Brillenfibeln*, *Arch. Austr.* 94, 2010 (2013), 27–56).

O početku uporabe fibula u Karpatskoj kotlini i o odnosu vremenskih horizonata ostava – Br D/Ha A1 – to jest o fibulama u obliku violinskog gudača, odnosno fibulama s lukom od prepleta osmica tipa Čaka i lučnim fibulama od žice tipa Unter-Radl, gospođa Pabst održala je predavanje u Osijeku 2011. godine, objavljeno u ovoj publikaciji (str. 83–99). Prema nalazima iz grobova u sjeverozapadnom području Karpata i susjednoj Donjoj Austriji, početak korištenja nošnji s fibulama svrstala je već u fazu Br D/Baierdorf/Čaka, u 13. st.

Frau Pabst in Osijek, 2011, veröffentlicht im rezensierten Band (S. 83–99). Den Anfang der Fibeltracht setzte sie nach den Grabfunden im nord-westlichen Karpatenraum und im anschließenden Niederösterreich bereits in die Stufe Bz D/Baierdorf/Čaka, 13. Jh. v. Chr., anstatt nach den Hortfunden in Hortfundstufe II/Horizontal Kurd/Stufe Suseni, 12. Jh. v. Chr. Die chronologisch so wichtigen Violinbogenfibeln haben ihre Herkunft und ihren Verbreitungsschwerpunkt im Karpatenbecken. Sie behandelt die Typen Čaka und Unter-Radl und bei den ersteren unterscheidet sie nach dem Querschnitt des Bügels drei Varianten, nämlich rundstabig, rhombisch und rhombisch/tordiert. Gründlich wurde die Zeitstellung, 12. Jh. v. Chr., und die Verbreitung dieses Fibeltypus im Karpatenbecken und in den angrenzenden Gebieten analysiert.

Den Drahtbügelfibeltyp Unter-Radl gliederte sie in zwei Varianten: Variante Unter-Radl, der Bügel aus einfachem Draht und Variante Podumci, der Bügel aus tordiertem Draht, die Variante Cernatu aus Siebenbürgen hat sie »unberücksichtigt« gelassen, aber diese gehört ebenfalls zum Typ Unter-Radl.

Eingehend beschäftigt sie sich mit den zwei Unter-Radl Fibeln aus einem Kammergrab von Mykene, mit ihrer Beziehung zu Italien und zum Norden, insbesondere zum Karpatenbecken und mit der Art und Weise wie die beiden Fibeln getragen wurden. Auffallend ist ihre Bemerkung über die zeitliche Position, »... das Einsetzen der Horte der Stufe II/Kurd/Suseni noch im 13. Jh. v. Chr. bzw. während des süddeutschen Riegsee/Bz D-Horizontes« (S. 93–95). Es ist zu überlegen, wie weit, insbesondere in der Zukunft, ihre Schlussfolgerung akzeptiert werden kann: »Die Deponierung der komplexen Horte des »Horizontes« II/Kurd/Suseni stellte somit kulturgeschichtlich gesehen offenbar kein kurzzeitiges Phänomen des 12. Jh. v. Chr. dar, sondern umspannte während des 13. bis 12./11. Jh. v. Chr. einen Zeitraum von etwa zwei bis drei Jahrhunderten« (S. 96).

Drei Artikel behandeln die UK-Zeit in Transdanubien, in Ungarn. Der umfangreichste Beitrag des Bandes stammt von dem bekannten Bronzezeitforscher Gábor Ilon, der den Anfang der Urnenfelderkultur im Bakony-Gebiet und das Gräberfeld und die Siedlung von Némethánya ausführlich analysiert (S. 101–177). Ziel des Au-

pr. Kr., umjesto u fazu II/Horizontal Kurd/faza Suseni iz 12. st. pr. Kr. prema ostavama. Prema tome, kronološki važne fibule u obliku violinskog gudala potječu iz Karpatske kotline u kojoj imaju svoje težište rasprostranjenosti. Autorica obrađuje tipove Čaka i Unter-Radl, pri čemu kod prvog tipa prema poprečnom presjeku luka razlikuje tri varijante – okrugli, rombični i rombični/tordirani oblik. Detaljno je analiziran vremenski okvir, tj. 12. st. pr. Kr., i rasprostranjenost tog tipa fibula u Karpatskoj kotlini te graničnim područjima.

Tip lučne fibule od žice Unter-Radl raščlanila je na dvije varijante: varijanta Unter-Radl, luk od jednostavne žice, i varijanta Podumci, luk od tordirane žice, dok varijantu Cernatu iz Transilvanije nije uzela u obzir, s time što ista također pripada tipu Unter-Radl.

Autorica se iscrpno bavi dvjema fibulama Unter-Radl iz jedne grobnice s komorom iz Mike, njihovom povezanošću s Italijom i sjeverom, posebice s Karpatskom kotlinom i načinom nošenja obiju fibula. Posebno je istaknuta njezina opaska o kronološkom određenju, »... početak ostava stupnja II/Kurd/Suseni još u 13. st. pr. Kr., odnosno tijekom južnonjemačkog Riegsee/Br D horizonta« (str. 93–95). Valja promisliti u kojoj se mjeri, posebice u budućnosti, može prihvatiti njezin zaključak: »Odlaganje kompleksne ostave »Horizonta« II/Kurd/Suseni prema tome s kulturno-povijesnog aspekta očigledno nije bio kratkotrajni fenomen 12. st. pr. Kr., nego je obuhvaćalo razdoblje od 13. do 12.–11. st. pr. Kr., odnosno period od oko dva do tri stoljeća« (str. 96).

Tri se članka bave razdobljem kulture polja sa žarama u Transdanubiji u Mađarskoj. Najopsežniji prilog sveska potječe od poznatog istraživača brončanog doba Gábora Ilona koji detaljno analizira početak kulture polja sa žarama na području Bakony-a te groblje i naselje Némethánya (str. 101–177). Autorov cilj bio je »međunarodnoj istraživačkoj javnosti« na raspolaganje staviti rezultate koji su već objavljeni u mađarskoj stručnoj literaturi. U prvom dijelu priloga sazeo je istraživanja o kulturi polja sa žarama u Transdanubiji i na planini Bakony (i to sljedećih autora: Fr. Kószegi, E. Patek, J. Paulík, T. Kemenczei, V. Kiss, M. Nagy itd.) kao i rezultate istraživanja i iskapanja na lokalitetu Némethánya. Zanimljivo je kako je na relativno malom području poznato

tors war, die in der ungarischen Fachliteratur bereits veröffentlichten Ergebnisse »für die internationale Forschung« zur Verfügung zu stellen. Im ersten Teil des Beitrags fasste er Forschungen über die UK-Zeit in Transdanubien und im Bakony-Gebirge von Fr. Kószegi, E. Patek, J. Paulík, T. Kemenczei, V. Kiss, M. Nagy usw. zusammen, ebenso die Ergebnisse der Forschungen und Grabungen am Fundplatz von Némethánya. Es ist auffallend, dass in diesem relativ kleinen Gebiet über 60 Fundstellen und insgesamt 1373 Hügelgräber bekannt sind, diese Gegend demnach in der UK-Zeit mehr besiedelt war, als in späteren, modernen Zeiten. Folgende Themen hat G. Ilon eingehend, *in extenso*, bearbeitet: Auswertung der anthropologischen Daten der Hügelgräber, Grabritus und Fundkombinationen sowohl im Bakony-Gebiet als auch im Hügelgräberfeld von Némethánya (Einzelbegräbnis, Verbrennung war einwandfrei, einige Hügel mit Kreisgraben, Steinkonstruktionen, Waffenbestattungen, Schwert-Lanzen Kombination, Tracht); Analyse der Beigaben, Keramik und Bronzen, wie Fibeln, Diademe, Nadeln, Perlen usw. Ausführlich sind die Ergebnisse der Grabungen in der »Kleinsiedlung«, ihre relative und absolute Datierung ausgewertet (S. 124–131); zum ersten Mal wurde in der Literatur »ihre mögliche sakrale Funktion« erwähnt und die Feststellung gemacht, sie als »dem Gräberfeld (heiligem Gebiet) zugeordnete Versorgungszentrale zu erklären, die dadurch auch selbst zu einem heiligen Gebiet, zum sakralen Ort wurde« (S. 125), was mit Vorsicht zu betrachten ist.

Der zweite Beitrag aus Ungarn von Katalin Jankovits und Gábor Váczi beschäftigt sich mit spätbronzezeitlichen Gräbern von Sárbogárd, ausgegraben von Alán Kralovánszky im Jahr 1960. Von den 13 bekannten Gräbern sind drei veröffentlicht (Nr. 5, 6, 8). Zu erwähnen ist, dass Tibor Kovács bereits nach der Grabung (nach ihm im März 1961) einige Beigaben aus diesen Gräbern veröffentlicht hat (2 Nadeln, 2 Ringanhänger, 1 lanzettförmiger Anhänger) (T. KOVÁCS, Bericht über die Ausgrabungen des spätbronzezeitlichen Gräberfeldes von Sárbogárd im Jahre 1961, *Alba Regia* 4/5, (1963–64) 1965, 201–203). Da das Grabungsjournal verloren gegangen ist, wie die Autoren erwähnen, wäre es sinnvoll gewesen, im Nachlass von T. Kovács, und zwar nicht nur im Museum sondern auch zu Hause,

preko 60 nalazišta i ukupno 1373 tumula, pa je prema tome to područje bilo naseljenije za vrijeme kulture polja sa žarama nego u kasnijim, modernim vremenima. G. Ilon sljedeće je teme obradio opsežno, *in extenso*: Evaluacija antropoloških podataka o tumulima, grobnim ritualima i kombinacijama nalaza na području Bakony-a i na groblju pod tumulima u naselju Némethánya (pojedinačni ukopi, besprijeckorno izvedeno kremiranje, nekoliko tumula s kamenim vijencem, kamene konstrukcije, ukopi s oružjem, kombinacija mača i koplja, nošnja); analiza grobnih priloga, keramika i bronca, kao fibule, dijadi, igle, perlice, itd. Detaljno su razmotreni rezultati iskopavanja u »malom naselju«, njegovo relativno i apsolutno datiranje (str. 124–131), a po prvi puta u literaturi je spomenuta »njegova moguća sakralna funkcija« te se konstatira »da se isto može objasniti kao opskrbno središte dodijeljeno »grobištu« (svetom području) koje je zbog toga i samo postalo sakralno područje« (str. 125), što se treba prihvatiti s oprezom.

Drugi prilog iz Mađarske Kataline Jankovits i Gábora Váczi bavi se grobovima u Sárbogárdu iz kasnog brončanog doba koje je 1960. iskopao Alán Kralovánszky. Od 13 poznatih grobova objavljena su tri (br. 5, 6, 8). Treba napomenuti kako je Tibor Kovács već nakon iskopavanja (u ožujku 1961.) objavio nekoliko grobnih priloga iz tih grobnica (2 igle, 2 privjeska za prsten, 1 privjesak u obliku lancete) (T. KOVÁCS, Bericht über die Ausgrabungen des spätbronzezeitlichen Gräberfeldes von Sárbogárd im Jahre 1961, *Alba Regia* 4/5, (1963–64) 1965, 201–203). S obzirom na to da je dnevnik iskopavanja izgubljen, bilo bi, kao što autori navode, svrsishodno pregledati ostavštinu T. Kovácsa, ne samo u muzeju, nego i u kući njegove udovice te pregledati što je napismeno dobio od Kralovánszky, s obzirom na to da je on na Kovácsa prenio prava objave nalaza iz kasnog brončanog doba. Autori su objavili svih 13 grobova (K. Jankovits, G. Váczi, Spätbronzezeitliches Gräberfeld von Sárbogárd-Tringer-tanya (Komitat Fejér) in Ost-Transdanubien, *Acta Arch. Hung.* 64, 2013, 33–74). Gospođa Jankovits pažljivo je analizirala pogrebne običaje i brončane nalaze, a G. Váczi keramiku, datiranje i kulturne veze korisnika nekropole, što nije potrebno posebno komentirati.

U kratkom izvještaju Péter Polgár iz Soprona objavljuje jedan poseban oblik iz kasnog bron-

bei der Witwe nachzuschauen, was er damals schriftlich von Kralovánszky erhalten hatte, da dieser die Rechte auf die Veröffentlichung der spätbronzezeitlichen Funde auf Kovács übertragen hat. Übrigens wurden alle 13 Gräber bereits von diesen zwei Autoren veröffentlicht (K. Jankovits, G. Váczi, Spätbronzezeitliches Gräberfeld von Sárbogárd-Tringer-tanya (Komitat Fejér) in Ost-Transdanubien, *Acta Arch. Hung.* 64, 2013, 33–74). Sorgfältig wurden von Frau Jankovits die Bestattungssitten und die Bronzen, und von G. Váczi die Keramik, die Zeitstellung und die Kontakte des Gräberfeldes analysiert, was keinen Kommentar benötigt.

In einem kurzen Bericht veröffentlicht Péter Polgár von Sopron eine spätbronzezeitliche Sonderform, doppelhenkelige Tasse mit Knöpfen, deren Verbreitung stark begrenzt ist (S. 201–208).

Vier relativ kurze Beiträge beschäftigen sich mit verschiedenen Aspekten der Urnenfelderzeit des Gastgeberlandes der Tagung, Kroatien. Frau Snježana Karavanić, vom Archäologischen Institut Zagreb, veröffentlichte die Ergebnisse der Grabungen in den Jahren 1987–1990 in einer Siedlung der Urnenfelderkultur im Ort Kalnik. Sorgfältig sind die Funde, Keramik und Bronzen analysiert, die Siedlung in Ha A datiert und der Virovitica-Gruppe zugeschrieben (S. 209–217).

Einen zusammenfassenden Bericht lesen wir von der ausgezeichneten Kennerin der Bronzezeit Slawoniens, Frau Jasna Šimić, früher Museum Osijek, heute Uni Osijek, über den Anfang der Spätbronzezeit in Ost-Slawonien, in Baranya, Siedlungen und Gräberfeldes der Belegiš II-Kultur. Um die Ereignisse dieser Zeit besser zu verstehen, soll der Leser auch die zahlreichen Veröffentlichungen der Autorin über diese Zeit berücksichtigen, bzw. zur Kenntnis nehmen (S. 219–224).

Ebenfalls sind, kurz zusammengefasst, die »substrate Elements« der Kulturgruppe Barice-Gredani in Slawonien, südlich von Osijek und in Nordbosnien, von dem inzwischen verstorbenen Boško Marijan analysiert worden (S. 225–233).

Mehr Umfang widmet der Problematik der nordkroatischen Urnenfeldkultur die Organisatorin der Tagung von Osijek Frau Daria Ložnjak Dizdar. Besprochen wurden eingehend die Geschichte der Forschung, von dem bekannten Werk von K. Vinski-Gasparini – »Die Urnenfelderkul-

čanog doba, odnosno šalicu s dvjema ručkama s plastičnim izdankom, čija je rasprostranjenost izrazito ograničena (str. 201–208).

Četiri relativno kratka priloga bave se različitim aspektima razdoblja kulture polja sa žarama u Hrvatskoj, državi domaćinu skupa. Gospođa Snježana Karavanić iz Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu objavila je rezultate iskapanja provedenog u razdoblju od 1987. do 1990. godine u naselju iz doba kulture polja sa žarama, na Kalniku. Pažljivo su analizirani nalazi, keramika i bronca, naselje se datira u razdoblje Ha A i pripisuje se virovitičkoj skupini (str. 209–217).

Jasna Šimić, nekoć zaposlenica Muzeja Slavonije, danas na Sveučilištu u Osijeku, odlična poznavateljica brončanog doba u Slavoniji, sastavila je sažeti prilog o početku kasnog brončanog doba u istočnoj Slavoniji, Baranji, tj. o naseljima i nekropolama kulture Belegiš II. Kako bi se događanja toga doba bolje razumjela, valja uzeti u obzir i bolje se upoznati s mnogobrojnim publikacijama autorice vezanima uz to razdoblje (str. 219–224).

Nadalje, kratko je i sažeto analiziran supstrat kulturne skupine Barice-Gredani u Slavoniji, južno od Osijeka i u sjevernoj Bosni, u članku u međuvremenu preminulog autora Boška Marijana (str. 225–233).

Problematici sjevernohrvatske kulture polja sa žarama više se posvetila organizatorica skupa u Osijeku, gospođa Daria Ložnjak Dizdar. Detaljno raspravlja o povijesti istraživanja, od poznatog djela K. Vinski-Gasparini, *Kultura polja sa žarama u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj*, 1973, sve do svojih istraživanja, kao i o naseljima i nekropolama kulturne skupine Virovitica-Barice-Gredani i Belegiš II, te vrlo iscrpno i o ostavama (str. 235–247).

Jedan prilog obrađuje kasnije razdoblje kulture polja sa žarama u Bosni, tj. na području rijeke Bosne. Taj je prilog napisao Mario Gavranović koji trenutno radi u Berlinu. Kao temelj raspravi služila je njegova monografija o brončanom i željeznom dobu u Bosni (M. GAVRANOVIĆ, *Die Spätbronze- und Frühisenzeit in Bosnien*, UPA 195, Bonn, 2011). Srž rasprave čine naselja i nekropole skupine Barice-Gredani, visinska naselja te ostave. U vezi s time treba napomenuti kako kod pregleda nalaza ove skupine (sl. 2) predmeti pod brojevima od 10 do 12 ne predstavljaju

tur in Nordkroatien, 1973« – bis hin zu den eigenen Forschungen, sowie die Siedlungen und Gräberfelder der Virovitica- Barice-Gredani- und Belegiš II-Kulturgruppen und – sehr ausführlich – die Hortfunde (S. 235–247).

Ein Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit der älteren Urnenfelderzeit aus Bosnien, nämlich im Flussgebiet Bosna, redigiert von dem derzeit in Berlin arbeitenden Mario Gavranović. Als Grundlage für die Erörterungen diente seine Monographie über die Bronze- und Eisenzeit Bosniens (M. GAVRANOVIĆ, Die Spätbronze- und Früheisenzeit in Bosnien, UPA 195, Bonn, 2011). Im Mittelpunkt stehen die Siedlungen und Gräberfelder der Barice-Gredani Gruppe, die Höhensiedlungen und die Hortfunde. Eine Bemerkung dazu: bei dem Fundspektrum der Gruppe (Abb. 2): die Gegenstände unter den Nummern 10–12 sind keine »Bronzenadelformen«, sondern ähneln der Form von Lanzenschuh oder eventuell der Form anderer Objekte (S. T. BADER, Bemerkungen über ein wenig bekanntes Artefakt: Der bronzezeitliche Lanzenschuh im Karpaten-Donau-Raum, Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu 42, 2009, 129–156).

Mit der Urnenfelderzeit in Serbien beschäftigen sich drei kurze Beiträge von Katarina Dimitrović, Marija Ljuština und Aleksandar Kapuran. K. Dimitrović fasste die befestigten und unbefestigten Siedlungen, Gräberfelder und Hortfunde in der Čačak Region, in Zentral- und Westserbien (S. 262–266+5 Tafeln mit Keramik und Bronzegegenstände) zusammen.

Ebenfalls sehr kurz, nur auf fünf Seiten, präsentierte Frau M. Ljuština den Anfang der Spätbronzezeit im südlichen Banat, Ende der Vatina Kultur, anhand der Forschungen in der bekannten Siedlung von Židovar, wo sie zusammen mit Prof. M. Jevtić jahrelang Grabungen durchführte.

Mittlere und spätbronzezeitliche Siedlungen und Gräberfelder im Hinterland des Eisernen Tores auf der serbischen Seite analysierte A. Kapuran in einem zusammenfassenden Artikel (S. 286–293).

Ein Wort noch über die exzellente graphische Ausstattung des Bandes, Druckqualität und über die sorgfältige redaktionelle Betreuung von Daria Ložnjak Dizdar. Die UK-Forschung im Karpatenbecken hat ein wichtiges Instrument bekommen.

Tiberius Bader

»oblike brončanih igli«, nego su slični peticama kopalja ili eventualno nekom drugom obliku (S. T. BADER, Bemerkungen über ein wenig bekanntes Artefakt: Der bronzezeitliche Lanzenschuh im Karpaten-Donau-Raum, Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu 42, 2009, 129–156).

Razdobljem kulture polja sa žarama u Srbiji bave se tri kratka priloga Katarine Dimitrović, Marije Ljuštine i Aleksandra Kapurana. K. Dimitrović sažela je spoznaje o utvrđenim i neutvrđenim naseljima, nekropolama i ostavama u području Čačka, odnosno središnjoj i zapadnoj Srbiji (str. 262–266+5 tabli s keramikom i brončanim predmetima).

Jednako sažeto, na samo pet stranica teksta, gospođa M. Ljuština predstavlja početak kasnog brončanog doba u južnom Banatu, to jest kraj vatinke kulture, na temelju istraživanja u poznatom naselju Židovar, gdje je iskopavanja godina-ma provodila zajedno s prof. M. Jevtićem.

Naselja i nekropole iz srednjeg i kasnog brončanog doba u zaleđu Đerdapske klisure na srpskoj strani sažeto je analizirao A. Kapuran (str. 286–293).

Na kraju želim još pohvaliti sjajnu grafičku pripremu sveska, kvalitetu tiska i pažljivo uređivanje Darije Ložnjak Dizdar. Istraživanje kulture polja sa žarama u Karpatskoj kotlini ovim je djelom dobilo važan doprinos.

Tiberius Bader

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Starac 1999, 84.

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Bilić 2011, 451.

Bilić 2011a, 47.

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Starac 1999, 84.

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Collins English Dictionary: complete and Unabridged, 6th edn., Glasgow, Harper Collins, 2003.

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Book – more than three authors

Migotti 1998 – B. Migotti *et al.*, *Accede ad Certissiam: antički i ranokršćanski horizont arheološkog nalazišta Štrbinci kod Đakova*, katalog izložbe, Zagreb, Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Odsjek za arheologiju, 1998.

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Collins English Dictionary: complete and Unabridged, 6th edn., Glasgow, Harper Collins, 2003.

Book – editor

Migotti 2012 – B. Migotti (ed.), *The archaeology of Roman southern Pannonia: the state of research and selected problems in the Croatian part of the Roman province of Pannonia*, BAR international series 2393, Oxford, Archaeopress, 2012.

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Članak u elektroničkom časopisu – pristup preko web stranice

Attack 2012 – C. Attack, »How to be a good king in Athens – manipulating monarchy in the democratic political imaginary«, *Rosetta*, no. 12, summer 2012, 1-19, <http://www.rosetta.bham.ac.uk>, (3.1.2013.)

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Janković 2006 – I. Janković, »Mala stopala, veliki koraci«, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, Zagreb, 3. s., XXXVIII, 2005 [2006], 93–110.

Book – a chapter in a book with several authors

Turk, Dimkaroski 2011 – M. Turk i Lj. Dimkaroski, "Neandertalska piščal iz Divjih bab I: stara in nova spoznaja", in Toškan, B. (ur.), *Drobci ledenodobnega okolja: zbornik ob življenjskem jubileju Ivana Turka*, Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 21, Ljubljana, Institut za arheologijo ZRC SAZU, Založba ZRC, 2011, 251-265.

Book – corporate author

Anadolu Medeniyetleri Muzesi, *The Museum of Anatolian Civilizations*, Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Muzesi, 1997.

Book – online access

Blum 1992 – P. Z. Blum, *Early Gothic Saint-Denis: Restorations and Survivals*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1992, <http://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft5h4nb330&brand=ucpress> (6.1.2013.)

One should use paragraph numbers in notes if no pagination is available.

Book – dissertation (hard copy)

Leleković 2011 – T. Leleković, *Antičke nekropole Siscije i Murse*, doktorska disertacija, Zagreb, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Filozofski fakultet, 2011.

Book – dissertation (online)

Radman-Livaja 2010 – I. Radman-Livaja, *Les plombs inscrits de Siscia*, doctorat, Paris, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, 2010, http://www.academia.edu/513800/Les_plombs_inscrits_de_Siscia, (3.1.2013.)

Journal article – single author

Glogović 2011 – D. Glogović, "Nekoliko prethistorijskih metalnih nalaza s Visa", *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, Zagreb, 3. s., XLIV, 2011, 7-16.

In case of two, three or more authors, the corresponding rule for books should be applied.

Ukoliko se rukopis nalazi u pripremi ili u tisku, potrebno je to spomenuti u uglatoj zagradi na kraju.

Uranić 2013 – I. Uranić, »Nova saznanja nakon radioloških istraživanja mumija Egipatske zbirke AMZ-a«, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, Zagreb, 3. s., XLV [u tisku].

Članak u zborniku radova kongresa ili znanstvenog skupa

Kovacs 2005 – P. Kovacs, »Beneficiarius lances and ring-pommel swords in Pannonia«, in Visy, Z. (ed.), *Limes XIX: Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Pécs, Hungary, September 2003*, Pécs, University of Pécs, 2005, 955-970.

Novinski članak – tiskana verzija

Majnarić-Pandžić 2012 – N. Majnarić- Pandžić, »Brojna svjedočanstva iz ledenoga doba«, *Vijenac*, Zagreb, 13. prosinac 2012., broj 490-491, 31.

Novinski članak – pristup preko web stranice

Majnarić-Pandžić 2012 – N. Majnarić- Pandžić, »Brojna svjedočanstva iz ledenoga doba«, *Vijenac*, Zagreb, 13. prosinac 2012, http://www.matica.hr/Vijenac/vijenac490.nsf/AllWebDocs/Brojna_svjedocanstva_iz_ledenoga_doba, (6.1.2013.)

Citiranje antičkih izvora u bibliografskim bilješkama i bibliografiji

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Janković 2006 – I. Janković, "Mala stopala, veliki koraci", *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, Zagreb, 3. s., XXXVIII, 2005 [2006], 93-110.

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Uranić 2013 – I. Uranić, "Nova saznanja nakon radioloških istraživanja mumija Egipatske zbirke AMZ-a", *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, Zagreb, 3. s., XLV [forthcoming].

Article in congress proceedings

Kovacs 2005 – P. Kovacs, "Beneficiarius lances and ring-pommel swords in Pannonia", in Visy, Z. (ed.), *Limes XIX: Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Pécs, Hungary, September 2003*, Pécs, University of Pécs, 2005, 955-970.

Newspaper article – printed

Majnarić-Pandžić 2012 – N. Majnarić- Pandžić, "Brojna svjedočanstva iz ledenoga doba", *Vijenac*, Zagreb, 13. prosinac 2012., broj 490-491, 31.

Newspaper article – online

Majnarić-Pandžić 2012 – N. Majnarić- Pandžić, "Brojna svjedočanstva iz ledenoga doba", *Vijenac*, Zagreb, 13. prosinac 2012, http://www.matica.hr/Vijenac/vijenac490.nsf/AllWebDocs/Brojna_svjedocanstva_iz_ledenoga_doba, (6.1.2013.)

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Slika 1. Zdjela s figuralnim ukrasom (Gregl 2008, 58)

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Slika 1. Pismo L. Maruna Š. Ljubiću, Knin, 21.03.1891. (HPM, Dokumentarna zbirka I., inv. br. 14934/24)

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Figure 1. Bowl with figural ornament (Gregl 2008, 58)

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