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# NOTE SUR LE PALÉOLITHIQUE INFÉRIEUR EN CROATIE

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Pregledni članak / Review

*L'article présente un bref aperçu critique des sites du en Croatie avec un regard particulier sur les problèmes du contexte de découverte. Pour le moment, un seul site acheuléen a été identifié avec certitude, un autre site pourrait éventuellement être acheuléen tandis qu'un troisième site pourrait peut-être plus ancien, c'est-à-dire pré-acheuléen. Un nombre aussi faible de sites est le reflet de l'état de la recherche qui était surtout axée sur les sites du Paléolithique Moyen et supérieur, sans aucun projet visant à trouver et fouiller des sites du Paléolithique inférieur.*

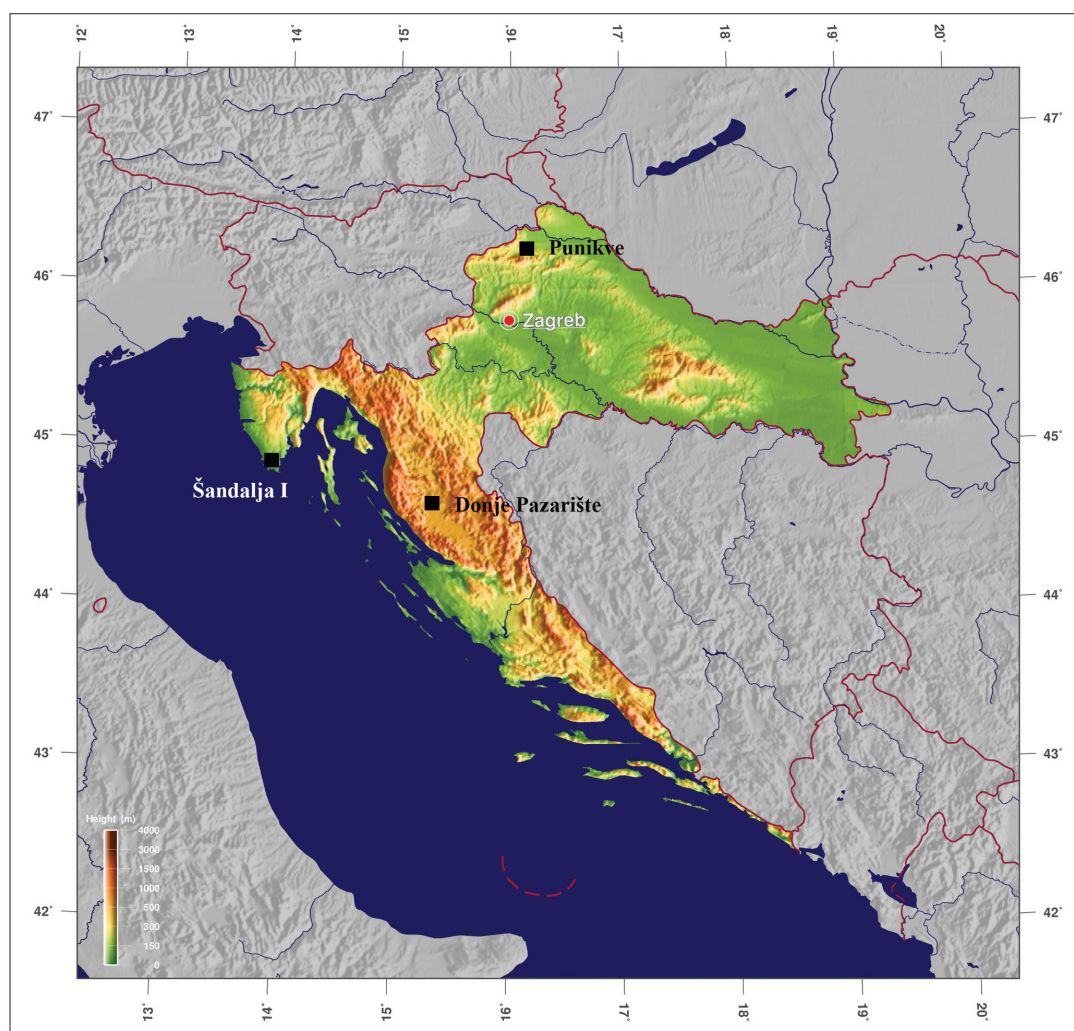
**Mots clés:**

*Paléolithique inférieur, Industries lithiques, Croatie*

**Introduction**

Les industries du Paléolithique inférieur apparaissent sur divers sites européens. Un grand nombre de ces sites ont été fouillés dans le cadre des fouilles programmées, avec une méthodologie moderne. Il existe toutefois des régions en Europe où les sites du Paléolithique inférieur n'ont pas fait l'objet de fouilles d'envergure, voire parfois des sites où, par exemple, les trouvailles

acheuléennes ont juste été ramassées sur la surface sans aucune étude du contexte archéologique et sans analyses plus poussées. Malgré ces lacunes évidentes, ces sites méritent tout de même d'être signalés. L'état de recherche des sites du Paléolithique inférieur en Croatie est ainsi loin d'être satisfaisant, l'accent sur la recherche du Paléolithique moyen et supérieur et des périodes



**FIGURE 1.** La carte des sites du Paléolithique inférieur en Croatie. Téléchargée du site GinkgoMaps-project, <http://www.ginkgo-maps.com>, licensed under CC-BY-3.0, modifiée par: N. Vukosavljević.

plus récentes au cours des 20 dernières années y étant certainement pour quelque chose. Les trouvailles dont on dispose actuellement ne nous permettent pas de reconstruire plus en détail le comportement et le mode de vie des hominidés du Paléolithique inférieur sur le territoire de l'actuelle Croatie et ne nous autorisent pas vraiment à faire des comparaisons avec d'autres sites du Paléolithique inférieur en Europe, fouillés extensivement. Néanmoins, il n'est pas inutile d'en donner un aperçu critique, aussi succinct soit-il, car les quelques données existant sur le Paléolithique inférieur en Croatie furent principalement publiées en croate et demeurent largement inaccessibles en dehors du pays.

### Les sites du Paléolithique Inférieur en Croatie et le problème du contexte de découverte

Il existe actuellement en Croatie deux sites mal connus du public scientifique étranger où l'on trouve des artefacts déterminés comme acheuléens, ainsi qu'un site plus ancien (Malez 1979) mais nettement mieux couvert dans les publications scientifiques internationales (fig. 1). Ce site est Šandalja I à côté de Pula en Istrie (nord-ouest de l'Adriatique). A l'occasion du minage de la carrière

en 1961, une cavité appelée Šandalja I fut ouverte dans le karst contenant des sédiments quaternaires (Crnolatac, Malez 1961 ; Malez 1963). La partie basale de la cavité était formée par une brèche osseuse datée à l'époque du Pléistocène inférieur (Malez 1979) tandis qu'au dessus de la brèche se trouvaient des couches contenant des artefacts du Paléolithique supérieur (Malez 1963). L'année suivante, à quelques mètres à peine de Šandalja I fut découverte une autre cavité qui reçut le nom de Šandalja II (fig. 2). Les sédiments datant du Pléistocène de Šandalja II contenaient des trouvailles du Paléolithique supérieur (Malez 1979), de l'aurnignacien et de l'épigravetien (Karavanić 2003 ; Karavanić *et al.* 2013), tandis que les sédiments datant du Holocène contenaient des tessons de poterie de l'Age du bronze. Il est fort probable que Šandalja I et Šandalja II aient appartenu au même complexe souterrain et que les sédiments du Pléistocène supérieur des deux cavités aient jadis fait partie du même contexte stratigraphique (cf. Malez 1979 ; Miracle 1995). Seulement la brèche osseuse isolée représente une unité à part dans le sens chronologique et paléontologique. De ce fait, il conviendrait d'employer le terme Šandalja I pour désigner cette brèche et non la cavité (communication orale par Darko Rukavina).

La brèche contenait des restes de faune du Pléistocène inférieur, un chopper fait d'un galet (fig. 3) et un galet qui a peut-être servi à sa fabrication (Malez 1974, 1975, 1976, 1979). Selon M. Malez (1979 : 257) certains os étaient carbonisés et des morceaux de charbon y furent aussi découverts. C'est surtout la publication d'une dent (une incisive), qui a été isolée de cette brèche, qui a attiré un grand intérêt car elle fut attribuée à un membre du genre *Homo*, voire même à un hominidé encore plus ancien (Malez 1975, 1976, 1980). Des analyses plus récentes ont réfuté cette hypothèse, identifiant cette dent comme une dent animale (Wolpoff 1996, 1999; voir aussi Cook et al. 1982).

Le chopper fait à partir d'un galet de silex oval de forme plate irrégulière présente trois grosses traces d'enlèvement ainsi qu'un bord retouché (Malez 1979; Valoch 1995). La surface est lisse et de couleur brune sauf sur les parties débitées (les traces d'enlèvement) où elle est vert de gris sombre (Malez 1979 : 256). Ce chopper reste, malheureusement, une trouvaille isolée et pour certains auteurs une découverte pas suffisamment diagnostique pour servir de preuve à l'hypothèse de l'existence des habitats du Pléistocène inférieur aussi bien sur le site même qu'en Croatie ou dans la région (Roebroeks, van Kolfschoten 1994; Valoch 1995). Toutefois, le chopper de cette brèche pourrait être comparable aux choppers découverts dans la grotte de Vallonet (communication orale par Henry de Lumley; voir Lumley et al. 1988) et de ce fait Šandalja I pourrait être contemporaine avec les sites les plus anciens découverts en Europe, comme par exemple le Vallonet en France. Cette hypothèse est d'ailleurs valable si l'on prend en compte les restes de faune de Šandalja I.

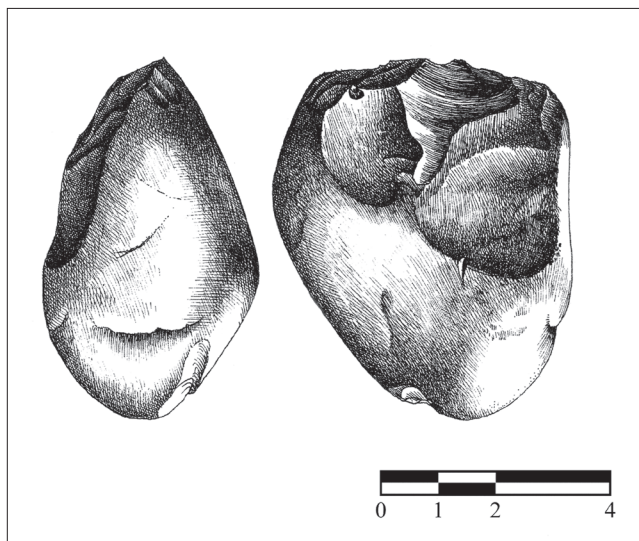


FIGURE 3. Šandalja I: 1 a, b. chopper de Šandalja I (modifié selon Malez 1979: T. XVI, 10a, b). Dessin: Sead Čerkez.

Pour cette raison, H. de Lumley (selon Mauch Lenardić et al. 2018: 131) avait avancé, se basant sur la corrélation entre le chopper et la faune, une datation entre 1.5 millions et 700.000 ans (Günz jusqu'à Günz/Mindel), tandis que M. Paunović (selon Mauch Lenardić et al. 2018: 131) avait subséquemment proposé une datation d'un million d'années (Biharian).

FIGURE 2. Photographie des sites de Šandalja I et Šandalja II à l'époque des fouilles. Archives de l'Institut de Paléontologie et de Géologie du Quaternaire de l'Académie Croate des Sciences et des Arts.





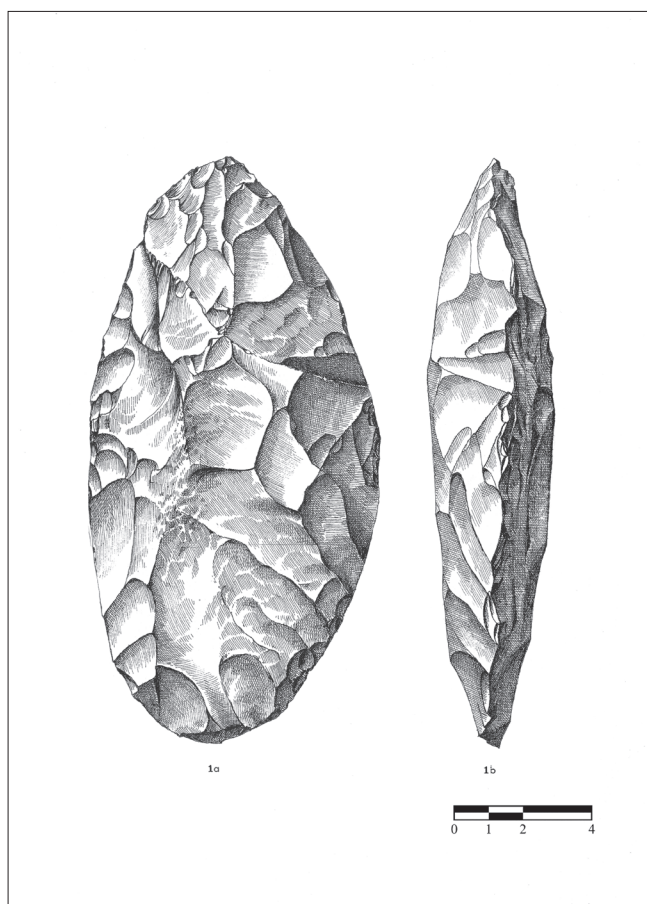


FIGURE 4. Punikve: 1a, b. limande (modifié selon Malez 1979: T. XXII). Dessin: Sead Čerkez.

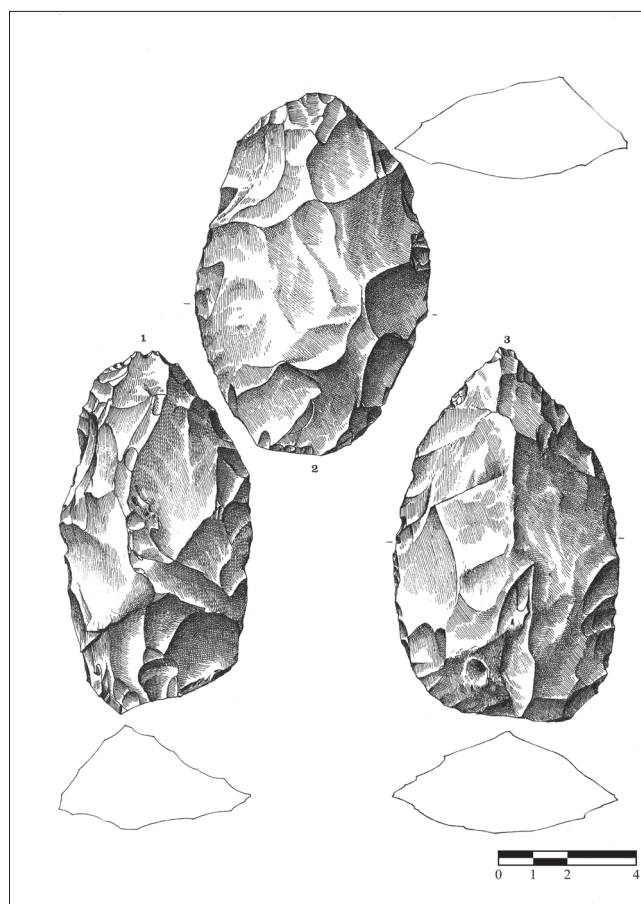


FIGURE 5. Punikve: 1, 3. bifaces amygdaloïdes ; 2 – limande de Punikva (modifié selon Malez 1979: T. XXIII). Dessin: Sead Čerkez.

Bien qu'une partie de la faune puisse pointer vers le pléistocène inférieur, c'est-à-dire vers une datation pouvant aller entre 2.6 et 1.1 millions d'années (Mauch Lenardić et al. 2018 : 131), si l'on prend en compte les estimations les plus récentes concernant la datation de la grotte du Vallonet (Michel et al. 2017), il est peu probable que le chopper puisse être antérieur à 1.2 ou 1.1 million d'années; il pourrait en fait même être considérablement postérieur à cette datation. D'ailleurs, il n'est même pas certain que le chopper dans la brèche fût directement associé à la faune typique du pléistocène inférieur, car une partie de la faune pourrait vraisemblablement être plus récente (communication orale par J. Radovčić et M. Leney). La révision taxonomique des ossements d'ours a justement démontré qu'ils appartenaient au pléistocène moyen (Wagner et al. 2017). D'ailleurs, suivant les résultats de cette révision, les auteurs (Wagner et al. 2017) ont pu attribuer toute la faune de Šandalja I au pléistocène moyen, ce qui suggère que le chopper devrait aussi être daté à cette époque et pas au pléistocène inférieur.

Il faudrait néanmoins faire une révision de tous les restes de faune afin d'obtenir plus de données pour une interprétation chronologique plus certaine (Karavanić, Janković 2008 ; Mauch Lenardić et al. 2018).

Malheureusement, un seul chopper fut trouvé et comme il n'a pas été découvert dans le contexte de l'habitat, nous ne sommes pas en mesure de distinguer un contexte plus large dans le cadre des structures de l'habitat, telles que constatées sur plusieurs sites européens datant du pléistocène inférieur.

Deux sites où l'on trouve des artefacts acheuléens sont actuellement connus en Croatie. Malheureusement, ces objets ont été récupérés sur les deux sites en dehors de tout contexte stratigraphique. De ce fait, une datation chronométrique n'est pas possible et nous ne pouvons les dater qu'en se basant sur leurs caractéristiques typologiques (Karavanić, Janković 2008). Ces sites sont Punikve près du village d'Ivanec dans la région de Hrvatsko zagorje (nord-ouest de la Croatie) et Donje Pazarište dans la Lika (la partie montagneuse de la Croatie centrale). Contrairement à Šandalja I qui se trouve actuellement dans la zone climatique méditerranéenne, ces deux sites acheuléens se trouvent dans la zone continentale pour le premier et dans la zone alpine pour le second. Les trouvailles de Punikve furent pour la première fois oubliées par Stjepan Vuković (1962-1963), qui les avait d'ailleurs découverts en surface du sol. Les artefacts les plus intéressants parmi ces trouvailles sont des bifaces acheuléens (figs. 4 et 5). En se servant de la typologie développée par François Bordes

(Bordes 1961), Vida Pohar les a déterminés respectivement comme deux limandes et comme deux bifaces amygdaloïdes (Pohar 1979). Selon S. Vuković (1962-1963 : 26), on trouve dans l'industrie lithique de Punikve encore un biface et une « pointe » (il ne la définit pas clairement).

Le nombre de trouvailles provenant du second site, Donje Pazarište, est encore plus restreint, voire même douteux. Bien que plusieurs objets y fussent à l'époque déterminés comme acheuléens (Malez 1979), il n'est question que d'un seul biface (discutable, d'ailleurs), d'un nucléus et d'un grand éclat ainsi que de quelques pièces qui ne sont probablement pas des artefacts (Karavanić, Janković 2008). Ces objets ont été retirés des profils ouverts de la terrasse. La surface de certains d'entre eux est recouverte d'une patine de couleur gris clair (Malez 1979). En plus des artefacts de ces deux sites, plusieurs autres objets ramassés en surface avaient été attribués au Paléolithique inférieur en Croatie. Toutefois, l'attribution des trouvailles de Golubovac (Hrvatsko zagorje, nord-ouest de la Croatie ; Malez 1979) demeure plus que douteuse. La même remarque est valable pour les quelques découvertes de petits objets en surface de l'île de Dugi en Dalmatie (Batović 1988), mélangés avec des trouvailles datant du Paléolithique moyen (Karavanić, Janković 2008).

## Conclusions

Un seul site préhistorique en Croatie, Šandalja I, a été associé au Pléistocène inférieur, en se basant sur la faune mais le cas du chopper reste plus douteux. Malheureusement, avec un seul artefact et le fait qu'une partie de la faune dans la brèche soit plus récente, la détermination proposée est loin d'être certaine bien que le chopper, par exemple, soit similaire aux artefacts de la grotte du Vallonet.

En réalité, seulement deux sites, Punikve et Donje Pazarište peuvent être considérés comme des sites acheuléens. Les artefacts découverts à Punikve sont indéniablement acheuléens, tandis qu'à Donje Pazarište furent trouvés, en plus des pseudo-artefacts, quelques artefacts dont un pourrait être un biface ayant subi des modifications suite aux processus naturels, à moins qu'il ne soit aussi question d'un pseudo-artefact.

Néanmoins, le nombre très réduit d'artefacts récupérés en surface ainsi que la méconnaissance du contexte ne nous autorisent pas à nous lancer dans des comparaisons plus détaillées avec les autres sites acheuléens fouillés dans le cadre des fouilles programmées. D'ailleurs, le site de Terra Amata en France, par exemple, se distingue non seulement par un riche contexte stratigraphique des trouvailles de la faune et des objets lithiques ainsi que par toute une série d'analyses modernes ayant permis l'interprétation du comportement et du mode de vie, mais aussi plus particulièrement par une interprétation de la situation archéologique qui a eu pour résultat les reconstructions de la hutte des chasseurs acheuléens (Lumley 1969, 2016).

Malheureusement, pour le moment aucun site acheuléen avec un contexte stratigraphique permettant une interprétation interdisciplinaire moderne ainsi qu'une reconstruction détaillée du comportement humain n'a été fouillé en Croatie, même si les sites mentionnés plus haut témoignent de la présence de l'Acheuléen dans cette région. Malgré une recherche relativement intense des sites paléolithiques en Croatie au cours des 20 dernières années, aucun nouveau site datant du Paléolithique inférieur n'a été mis à jour depuis un long moment. Il faut toutefois souligner que les recherches paléolithiques ne furent que sporadiques dans les régions où ces deux sites acheuléens ont été découverts. L'orientation de la recherche vers ce genre de sites devrait s'imposer à l'avenir dans les fouilles archéologiques. Il nous reste donc à espérer que des prospections et fouilles futures en Croatie et dans les pays voisins mettront à jour de nouveaux sites avec des couches datant du Paléolithique inférieur. Ce n'est que grâce à leur fouille systématique et à l'analyse méthodique du matériel que l'on pourrait y trouver qu'une comparaison plus détaillée avec d'autres importants sites européens contemporains - en plus de la reconstruction du comportement et des stratégies de subsistance des hommes de cette période - sera possible.

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# PREDILJE S GROBLJA ZVONIMIROVO-VELIKO POLJE SPINNING LADIES FROM THE ZVONIMIROVO-VELIKO POLJE CEMETERY

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Na srednjolatenskom groblju Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje otkriveni su brojni grobovi žena u kojima su pronađeni karakteristični predmeti nošnje i nakita, dok popudbini pripadaju nalazi keramičkih posuda te životinjskih kostiju. U manjem se broju grobova žena pronalaze i predmeti svakodnevne upotrebe, kao što su željezni noževi, keramički pršljeni te željezne šivaće igle koji, s predmetima nošnje i nakita, na simboličkoj razini predstavljaju različite aspekte ženskih društvenih identiteta u zajednici. Isto tako, ovi predmeti vjerojatno ukazuju i na poslove koje su žene svakodnevno obavljale u svojim domaćinstvima. S obzirom na najveću brojnost keramičkih pršljena među ovom skupinom nalaza, koji se povezuju s izradom niti za tkanje, kojima se mogu pridružiti i šivaće igle, čini se kako su žene dio svoga vremena posvećivale izradi tkanina i odjeće te njezinu održavanju. Zbog toga se keramički pršljeni promatraju kao karakterističan rodni i dobno određivi predmet budući da se najčešće pronalaze u grobovima odraslih žena. Iste su spoznaje zabilježene i na drugim grobljima latenske kulture u Karpatskoj kotlini, na kojima keramički pršljeni također ne predstavljaju brojnu skupinu nalaza i koji se isto tako najčešće pronalaze u grobovima odraslih žena.

### Ključne riječi:

keramički pršljeni, grobovi žena, latenska kultura, Karpatska kotlina, identitet, dob, domaćinstvo

Groblje Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje, koje se nalazi u srednjoj Podravini, jedino je dosad sustavno istraživano groblje latenske kulture u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj koje se, na osnovi pronađenih nalaza, može datirati u LT C2 stupanj, odnosno pretkraj 3. i u prvu polovicu 2. st. pr. Kr. U dosadašnjim su analizama izdvojeni, osim grobova ratnika opremljenih naoružanjem, grobovi žena u kojima su zabilježeni brojni karakteristični predmeti nošnje i nakita. U grobovima oba spola pronađene su i keramičke posude te životinjske kosti koji pripadaju popudbini. Posljednja je analiza nalaza iz grobova žena pokazala kako su u rodnom definiranju,

The Middle La Tène cemetery of Zvonimirovo-Veliko Polje contained numerous graves of women with characteristic costume and jewellery items and provisions for the afterlife, such as ceramic vessels and animal bones. A smaller number of graves of women included objects of everyday use, such as iron knives, ceramic spindle-whorls and iron sewing needles; on a symbolic level, together with costume and jewellery items, they represent various aspects of women's social identities in the community. Likewise, these items probably indicate the chores that women performed in their households on a daily basis. Since ceramic spindle-whorls are the most numerous items in this group of finds, associated with the making of spinning threads and accompanied by sewing needles, it seems that the women devoted part of their time to making and maintaining fabrics and clothing. Therefore, ceramic spindle-whorls are seen as characteristic gender-specific and age-specific items, as they are most often found in the graves of adult women. The same conclusions can be drawn from the other cemeteries of the La Tène culture in the Carpathian Basin, where ceramic spindle-whorls also do not represent a large group of finds, and are also most often found in the graves of adult women.

### Key words:

ceramic spindle-whorls, graves of women, La Tène culture, Carpathian Basin, identity, age, household

The Zvonimirovo-Veliko Polje cemetery, located in the Middle Drava valley, is still the only systematically-investigated cemetery of the La Tène culture in northern Croatia that can be dated to the LT C2 phase, i.e. to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC and the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, on the basis of the finds. The analyses so far have singled out not only warrior graves equipped with weaponry, but also graves of women containing numerous characteristic costume and jewellery items. The graves of both sexes also contained ceramic vessels and animal bones for the afterlife. The most recent analysis of finds from women's graves has

osim predmeta nošnje i nakita kojima pripadaju raznovrsni oblici pojasa, fibula i narukvica, važnu ulogu imali i predmeti svakodnevne upotrebe kao što su željezni noževi, keramički pršljeni te željezne šivaće igle.<sup>1</sup> Ovi predmeti, uz one nošnje i nakita, na simboličkoj razini predstavljaju važan dio u isticanju različitih aspekata ženskih društvenih identiteta u zajednici. Predmeti svakodnevne upotrebe, međutim, imaju još jedno značenje, odnosno ukazuju na poslove koje su žene svakodnevno obavljale u svojim domaćinstvima, naravno, uz spoznaju kako najveći dio takvih poslova i nije morao ostaviti neki prepoznatljiv arheološki ili fizičkoantropološki trag. S obzirom na najveću brojnost keramičkih pršljena među ovom skupinom nalaza, koji se povezuju s izradom niti za tkanje, a kojima se mogu pridružiti i šivaće igle, čini se kako su žene kao voditeljice kućanstva dio svoga vremena posvećivale izradi tkanina i odjeće te poslije njezinu održavanju.<sup>2</sup> Iste su spoznaje zabilježene i na drugim grobljima latenske kulture u Karpatskoj kotlini.

Do sada analizirani grobovi žena s groblja u Zvonimirovu, s nalazima predmeta koji se povezuju s izradom niti za tkanje i odjeće, svjedoče kako se ne radi samo o karakterističnim rodnim nego i dobnim priložima koji na simboličkoj razini prikazuju različite uloge žena u obitelji i zajednici. Ipak, za potpunije razumijevanje dobnog koncepta, kao i društvenog statusa žena koje su se bavile izradom niti za tkanje, potrebno je provesti analizu svih grobova u Zvonimirovu u kojima su zabilježeni nalazi keramičkih pršljena. Također, u analizu je potrebno uključiti i ostala groblja latenske kulture s prostora Karpatske kotline, pri čemu su dosadašnje spoznaje pokazale kako se ne radi o brojnoj skupini nalaza. Zbog toga su istraživačka pitanja usmjerena na moguće prepoznavanje pravilnosti u prilaganju keramičkih pršljena u grobove s obzirom na njihovo vremensko određenje tijekom trajanja latenske kulture te postoje li pojedina groblja koja pokazuju drugačiju sliku od one koja je dokumentirana na većini nalazišta. Isto tako, rezultati dosadašnjih istraživanja nalazišta latenske kulture na prostoru Karpatske kotline, koja su bila usmjerena na neke druge karakteristične dijelove materijalne ostavštine, pokazala su, uz mnoge prepoznate sličnosti, i određene raznolikosti, odnosno postojanje vrlo kompleksnoga kulturnog krajolika.

Za razumijevanje društvenog položaja žena–predilja, kako u obitelji, tako i u zajednici kojoj su pripadale, važna je provedba kompleksne arheološke analize cjelokupnog ansambla nalaza. Svakako, zanimljivo pitanje odnosi se na položaj nalaza keramičkih pršljena u kosturnim grobovima koji pripadaju ranom te početku srednjeg latena, a koji, zajedno s predmetima nošnje i nakita, mogu pružiti vrijedne spoznaje o idealiziranoj slici pokojnica. S druge strane, u ispitivanju mogućega dobnog koncepta u prilaganju keramičkih pršljena u grobove važan izvor podataka predstavljaju i rezultati provedenih antropoloških analiza.

shown that an important role in gender definition was played not only by costume and jewellery items, including different forms of belts, fibulae and bracelets, but also by objects of everyday use, such as iron knives, ceramic spindle-whorls and iron sewing needles.<sup>1</sup> On a symbolic level, along with costume and jewellery items, these objects represent an important element in the highlighting of various aspects of women's social identities in the community. But objects of everyday use have another meaning: they indicate the chores that women performed in their households on a daily basis – bearing in mind, of course, that it is likely that most such chores left no recognizable archaeological or material anthropological trace. Considering that ceramic spindle-whorls are the most numerous items in this group of finds, associated with the making of spinning threads and accompanied by sewing needles, it seems that women, as heads of households, devoted part of their time to making and maintaining fabrics and clothing.<sup>2</sup> The same conclusions can be drawn from other cemeteries of the La Tène culture in the Carpathian Basin.

The graves of women in the Zvonimirovo cemetery analysed so far, containing objects associated with the production of spinning threads and clothing, testify that these finds are characteristic not only of gender, but also of age, and symbolically show the various roles of women in the family and community. However, a more complete understanding of the age concept and the social status of the women that made spinning threads requires the analysis of all the graves in Zvonimirovo that contained ceramic spindle-whorls. The analysis should also include the other cemeteries of the La Tène culture in the Carpathian Basin; the insights so far have shown that it is not a large group of finds there, either. Therefore, research questions are focused on the possible identification of regularities in the laying of ceramic spindle-whorls in graves, with regard to their chronology within the period of the La Tène culture and whether certain cemeteries show a picture that differs from the one documented at most sites. Also, research results from the sites of the La Tène culture in the Carpathian Basin, which focused on other characteristic items of material legacy, have shown numerous identified similarities, but also a certain variety, i.e. the existence of a very complex cultural landscape.

To understand the social position of women spinners both in the family and in the community where they belonged, it is important to conduct a complex archaeological analysis of the entire ensemble of finds. There is the interesting question of the position of the ceramic spindle-whorls found in inhumation graves from the Early La Tène and the beginning of the Middle La Tène; together with the costume and jewellery items, they can provide valuable insights into the idealized image of these women. On the other hand, when researching a possible age concept for the ceramic spindle-whorls in the graves, the results of the anthropological analyses performed are also an important source of information.

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2 Dizdar, Ljuština 2019.

1 This paper was financed by the Croatian Science Foundation within the project (IP-06-2016-1749): Iron Age Female Identities in the Southern Carpathian Basin (FEMINE).

2 Dizdar, Ljuština 2019.



Kako je posljednja analiza predmeta svakodnevne upotrebe s groblja u Zvonimirovu pokazala, keramički su pršljeni do sada pronađeni u šest grobova.<sup>3</sup> To je manje od desetine ukupno dosad pronađenih grobova koji se mogu pripisati pokopima žena. Iste su spoznaje dokumentirane i na ostalim grobljima latenske kulture u Karpatskoj kotlini, dok je, čini se, slika nešto drugačija na susjednom jugoistočnoalpskom području, prije svega zahvaljujući spoznajama o najvećem istraženoj groblju na Kapiteljskoj njivi u Novome Mestu, gdje se keramički pršljeni pojavljuju u većem broju grobova iz mlađega željeznog doba. Spomenuta brojnost keramičkih pršljenja na Kapiteljskoj njivi vjerojatno se može smatrati snažnim utjecajem tradicije iz starijega željeznog doba, odnosno doprinosom u očuvanju lokalnog identiteta zajednice koji se također prepoznaje i u nizu drugih detalja – od kontinuiteta položaja groblja, preko korištenja određenih oblika naoružanja pa sve do dominacije lokalnih keramičkih oblika i tehnika ukrašavanja. S druge strane, možda se u pojavi manjeg broja keramičkih pršljenja u grobovima latenske kulture na jugu Karpatske kotline također može prepoznati tradicija iz prethodnog razdoblja, pri čemu svakako treba istaknuti kako je zasad poznat manji broj grobova s dokumentiranim kontekstima iz mlade faze starijeg te s prijelaza na mlade željezno doba, na jugu Karpatske kotline. Zapravo, osim u slučaju groblja u Szentlőrincu, radi se o malim grobljima sa samo nekoliko poznatih kosturnih pokopa. Izvoriste vrijednih podataka pruža i groblje u Donjoj Dolini, na kojem je dokumentiran kontinuitet pokopavanja gotovo pa tijekom cijeloga starijega željeznog doba, sve do u početak mlađega željeznog doba, pri čemu su najmlađe datirani grobovi iz LT B2. Upravo groblje u Donjoj Dolini može ponuditi vrijedne spoznaje o postojanju razlika u prilaganju keramičkih pršljenja u grobove tijekom različitih faza pokopavanja, ali i o društvenom statusu pokojnica. Zbog spomenutih pretpostavki, a prije provedbe analize grobova latenske kulture s nalazima keramičkih pršljenja, potrebno je ukratko analizirati spoznaje glede prilaganja keramičkih pršljenja u grobove tijekom mlade faze starijega željeznog doba na jugu Karpatske kotline.

### Nalazi keramičkih pršljenja u grobovima iz mlade faze starijega željeznog doba i ranoga latena

Tradicija je prilaganja keramičkih pršljenja u grobove dokumentirana u južnom dijelu Karpatske kotline još od mlade faze kulture polja sa žarama te se u kontinuitetu nastavlja tijekom starijega željeznog doba.<sup>4</sup> Ipak, tijekom ovako dugog vremenskog razdoblja, koje obuhvaća kraj 2. i veći dio 1. tis. pr. Kr., primjetne su razlike između pojedinih užih vremenskih odrednica. O tome svjedoče rezultati istraživanja na grobljima daljske grupe u Podunavlju, kao što su Batina, Sotin i Doroslovo, s kojih je poznat veći broj paljevinskih grobova datiranih u početne faze starijega željeznog doba u kojima se često nalazi jedan, a ponekad i više

As shown by the latest analysis of the objects of everyday use from the Zvonimirovo cemetery, ceramic spindle-whorls have been found in six graves so far.<sup>3</sup> This is less than a tenth of the total number of graves found that can be associated with the burials of women. The same insights have been documented in the other cemeteries of the La Tène culture in the Carpathian Basin, while the picture seems to be somewhat different in the neighbouring south-eastern Alpine area, primarily because of the insights from the largest cemetery researched, that at Kapiteljska Njiva in Novo Mesto, where there are ceramic spindle-whorls in a large number of graves from the Late Iron Age. This large number of ceramic spindle-whorls at Kapiteljska Njiva can probably be considered a strong influence of tradition from the Early Iron Age, i.e. the preservation of the local identity of the community, which can also be recognized in several other details, such as the continuity of the cemetery's location, the use of certain forms of weaponry, and the domination of local ceramic forms and decoration techniques. On the other hand, the smaller number of ceramic spindle-whorls in the graves of the La Tène culture in the southern Carpathian Basin could also indicate a tradition from an earlier period; here it should be pointed out that there is currently a small number of graves with documented contexts from the later phase of the Early Iron Age and the transition to the Late Iron Age in the southern Carpathian Basin. In fact, except for the cemetery in Szentlőrinc, these are small cemeteries with only a few known inhumation graves. Valuable information is also provided by the cemetery in Donja Dolina, where a continuity of burials has been documented over almost the entire duration of the Early Iron Age until the beginning of the Late Iron Age, with the latest graves dated to LT B2. In fact, the cemetery in Donja Dolina can offer valuable insights not only into the different placements of ceramic spindle-whorls in graves during the different phases of burial, but also into the social status of the women. Because of these assumptions, and before analysing the graves of the La Tène culture with ceramic spindle-whorls, we should briefly analyse the insights regarding the ceramic spindle-whorls placed in graves during the later phase of the Early Iron Age in the southern Carpathian Basin.

### Finds of ceramic spindle-whorls in graves from the Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène periods

The tradition of placing ceramic spindle-whorls in graves has been documented in the southern Carpathian Basin starting from the later phase of the Urnfield culture and continuing during the Early Iron Age.<sup>4</sup> Still, over such a long time period, encompassing the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium and most of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC, there are noticeable differences between individual narrower time determinants. This is evidenced by research results from the cemeteries of the Dalj group in the Danube region, such as Batina, Sotin and Doroslovo, which contain a large number of cremation graves dating to the early stages of the Early Iron Age,

3 Dizdar, Ljuština 2019, 63, fn. 92.

4 O simboličkom značenju prilaganja pršljenja u grobove žena te njihovu društvenom položaju na kraju kasnog brončanoga, a posebno tijekom starijega željeznoga doba: Eibner 1986; Teržan 1996; Primas 2007; Preložnik 2014; itd.

3 Dizdar, Ljuština 2019, 63, fn. 92.

4 For the symbolic meaning of laying spindle-whorls in the graves of women, and for their social status at the end of the Late Bronze Age and, especially, during the Early Iron Age, see: Eibner 1986; Teržan 1996; Primas 2007; Preložnik 2014; etc.

keramičkih pršljena. Provedene antropološke analize pokazuju kako se najčešće radi o grobovima odraslih žena te se keramički pršljeni promatraju kao karakterističan rodni i dobni nalaz.<sup>5</sup> Isto tako, u grobovima žena daljske grupe s početka starijega željeznog doba, osim keramičkih pršljena, zabilježeni su i drugi predmeti svakodnevne upotrebe – željezni noževi, bronzane šivaće igle – koji su zabilježeni i u grobovima u Zvonimirovu te na nekim drugim grobljima latenske kulture. Na groblju u Donjoj Dolini u kosturnim i paljevinskim grobovima, koji pripadaju ranijim fazama pokopavanja (faze 2a, 2b i 2c prema podjeli B. Čovića),<sup>6</sup> nalazi se i po više keramičkih pršljena koji su često ukrašeni. Na osnovi otkrića u kosturnim grobovima primjetno je kako se pršljeni nalaze u predjelu pojasa, pri čemu predmeti nošnje i nakita ukazuju na to kako se često radi o grobovima odraslih te bogato opremljenih pokojnica.<sup>7</sup> S druge strane, u mlađim grobovima (faze 3a i 3b), koji se mogu datirati od kraja 6. st. pr. Kr. do početne faze mlađega željeznog doba (LT B2), keramički pršljeni više nisu tako brojni te su poznati samo iz nekoliko grobova. Radi se o grobovima koji su sadržavali manji broj predmeta nošnje i nakita u usporedbi s onima iz prethodnih faza pokopavanja.<sup>8</sup> Dva su ukrašena keramička pršljena pronađena i u paljevinskom grobu 1, u tumulu XV, na nalazištu Paulje kod sela Brezjak, koji se datira u 6. st. pr. Kr., a u kojem je pokopana bogato opremljena pokojnica.<sup>9</sup> U kosturnim grobovima iz jugoistočnog dijela Karpatske kotline, koji se pripisuju najmlađoj fazi bosutske grupe, odnosno srijemskoj grupi, keramički se pršljeni također pojavljuju vrlo rijetko. Tako je na groblju Stubarlija u jugozapadnoj Bačkoj, u grobu 1, u predjelu pojasa pokojnice, pronađen bikonični pršljen. Radi se o pokopu odrasle pokojnice u dobi od 35 do 50 godina, koja je bila opremljena fibulama te ogrlicama sastavljenima od staklenih perli i kauri pužića.<sup>10</sup> Na najvećem do sada istraženom groblju s kraja starijega željeznog doba, u južnom dijelu Karpatske kotline, u Szentlőrincu, keramički su pršljeni pronađeni u nekoliko grobnih cjelina, a pripisuju se pokopima žena.<sup>11</sup> U tzv. simboličkom grobu 19, za koji se, prema ostalim nalazima, pretpostavlja kako pripada pokopu žene, pronađena su dva bikonična pršljena kod kojih je jedna polovica viša od druge. Jedan pršljen ima donju, nižu polovicu, ukrašenu nizom okomito postavljenih žljebova.<sup>12</sup> U grobu 33, u kojem je pokopana žena u dobi od 40 do 50 godina, pokraj desnog lakta pokojnice pronađen je bikonični pršljen.<sup>13</sup> Iz oštećenoga groba 39, u kojem je pokopana žena u dobi od 30 do 35 godina, potječe ulomak bikoničnog pršljena, ukrašenog oko-

often with one, and sometimes several, ceramic spindle-whorls. The anthropological analyses have shown that these are mostly the graves of adult women, so the ceramic spindle-whorls are viewed as finds characteristic of gender and age.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, the women's graves of the Dalj group from the beginning of the Early Iron Age contained not only ceramic spindle-whorls but also other objects of everyday use – iron knives, bronze sewing needles – which were also recorded in the graves in Zvonimirovo and in some other cemeteries of the La Tène culture. At the cemetery in Donja Dolina, the inhumation and cremation graves that belong to earlier stages of burial (phases 2a, 2b, 2c, after B. Čović)<sup>6</sup> contain several ceramic spindle-whorls which are often decorated. The finds in inhumation graves show that the spindle-whorls are located in the area of the waist, while costume and jewellery items indicate that they are often the graves of richly-equipped adult women.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, the ceramic spindle-whorls in later graves (phases 3a and 3b), which can be dated to the period from the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC to the initial phase of the Late Iron Age (LT B2), are no longer so numerous, and are known from only a few graves. These graves contained fewer costume and jewellery items than the graves of previous burial stages.<sup>8</sup> Also, two decorated ceramic spindle-whorls were found in cremation grave 1 in tumulus XV at the site of Paulje, near the village of Brezjak, dating from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC and containing a richly-equipped woman.<sup>9</sup> Ceramic spindle-whorls are also extremely rare in the inhumation graves of the south-eastern Carpathian Basin, which are attributed to the latest phase of the Bosut group, i.e. to the Srijem group. Thus, a biconical spindle-whorl was found in the waist area of the woman in grave 1 in the cemetery of Stubarlija, in south-western Bačka. It is the burial of an adult aged between 35 and 50, equipped with fibulae and necklaces composed of glass beads and cowrie shells.<sup>10</sup> In Szentlőrinc, which is the largest investigated cemetery of the end of the Early Iron Age in the southern Carpathian Basin, ceramic spindle-whorls were found in several grave assemblages considered to be burials of women.<sup>11</sup> The 'symbolic' grave 19, which is presumed to contain a woman on the basis of the finds, contained two biconical spindle-whorls with one half taller than the other. The shorter, bottom half of one spindle-whorl is decorated with a series of vertical grooves.<sup>12</sup> The burial of a woman of 40 to 50 years of age in grave 33 contained a biconical spindle-whorl next to her right elbow.<sup>13</sup> The burial of a woman of 30 to 35 years of

5 Bojčić, Ložnjak Dizdar, Hršak 2018, 166–167; Ložnjak Dizdar 2019, 97.

6 Čović 1987.

7 Truhelka 1904, npr. grob 3 s grede M. Petrović Jr. (90, T. XLII: 14, 20); grob 34 (97, T. XLVII: 8); grob 35 (98, T. XLVIII: 6); grob 46 (102, T. LI: 2–3); grob 59 (105, T. LIII: 14); grob 62 (105, T. LIII: 32). Grob 8 s grede N. Šokić I (113, T. LX: 9, 26–30, 35). Grob 3 s grede M. Petrović Sen. (122, T. LXVIII: 6, 11); grob 4 (122, T. LXVIII: 16–17); grob 8 (124, T. LXX: 12–13); grob 9 (125, T. LXX: 23–24); 16 (126, T. LXXIII: 19). Grob 4 s grede N. Šokić II (133–134, T. LXXVII: 11, 15); grob 7 (134, T. LXXVII: 32).

8 Truhelka 1904, uništen grob 13 s grede M. Petrović Jr. (93, T. XLIV: 12); grob 47 (103, T. LI: 17). Grob 4 s grede N. Šokić I s kalemom (112, T. LIX: 12).

9 Bulatović, Filipović, Gligorić 2017, 132–134, T. XX: 55–56.

10 Medović 2007, 10. sl. 6: 6, T. III: 4.

11 Jerem 1968, 187.

12 Jerem 1968, 163–164, Fig. 21/19: 9–10.

13 Jerem 1968, 166, Fig. 7, Fig. 24/33: 6.

5 Bojčić, Ložnjak Dizdar, Hršak 2018, 166–167; Ložnjak Dizdar 2019, 97.

6 Čović 1987.

7 Truhelka 1904, e.g. grave 3 of the ridge of M. Petrović Jr. (90, Pl. XLII: 14, 20); grave 34 (97, Pl. XLVII: 8); grave 35 (98, Pl. XLVIII: 6); grave 46 (102, Pl. LI: 2–3); grave 59 (105, Pl. LIII: 14); grave 62 (105, Pl. LIII: 32). Grave 8 of the ridge of N. Šokić I (113, Pl. LX: 9, 26–30, 35). Grave 3 of the ridge of M. Petrović Sr. (122, Pl. LXVIII: 6, 11); grave 4 (122, Pl. LXVIII: 16–17); grave 8 (124, Pl. LXX: 12–13); grave 9 (125, Pl. LXX: 23–24); 16 (126, Pl. LXXIII: 19). Grave 4 of the ridge of N. Šokić II (133–134, Pl. LXXVII: 11, 15); grave 7 (134, Pl. LXXVII: 32).

8 Truhelka 1904, destroyed grave 13 of the ridge of M. Petrović Jr. (93, Pl. XLIV: 12); grave 47 (103, Pl. LI: 17). Grave 4 of the ridge of N. Šokić I, with a spool (112, Pl. LIX: 12).

9 Bulatović, Filipović, Gligorić 2017, 132–134, Pl. XX: 55–56.

10 Medović 2007, 10, Fig. 6: 6, Pl. III: 4.

11 Jerem 1968, 187.

12 Jerem 1968, 163–164, Fig. 21/19: 9–10.

13 Jerem 1968, 166, Fig. 7, Fig. 24/33: 6.

mitim žljebovima.<sup>14</sup> Još je u oštećenom grobu 67, s ostacima žene u dobi oko 45 godina, te dvoje djece od 8 i 5 godina, pronađen bikonični pršljen koji je s jedne strane ukrašen radijalno raspoređenim urezanim linijama.<sup>15</sup> Zanimljivo je kako je u grobu 9, u kojem je pokopana djevojčica u dobi od 7 do 10 godina, pokraj lijeve ruke pronađen cilindrični koštani pršljen.<sup>16</sup> Jedini nalaz pršljena u grobu muškarca zabilježen je u grobu 18. Antropološka je analiza pokazala kako se radi o pokopu muškarca u dobi od 70-ak godina, u kojem je pokraj stopala pronađen bikonični pršljen ukrašen žljebovima i otiscima.<sup>17</sup> S obzirom na položaj nalaza i da se radi o grobu muškarca, E. Jerem pretpostavlja kako je pršljen u grob dospio naknadno. Na istovremenom, ali groblju s puno manje pokopa Vinkovci–Nama, nalazi keramičkih pršljena u potpunosti nedostaju.<sup>18</sup>

Keramički su pršljeni malobrojni i u kasnohalštatskim te ranolatskim grobovima na sjeveru Karpatske kotline. Tako je na groblju Csepel kod Budimpešte bikonični pršljen pronađen u oštećenom grobu 389, koji je nalazima staklenih perli datiran u LT B, odnosno u 4. st. pr. Kr.<sup>19</sup> Na kasnohalštatskom i ranolatskom groblju Bučany, keramički su pršljeni pronađeni u četiri groba koja pripadaju pokopima žena, dok je u jednom grobu pokopano dijete.<sup>20</sup> Tako se bikonični pršljen nalazio u grobu 24, pokraj desne potkoljenice žene, stare od 20 do 22 godine. U grobu su još pronađene dvije brončane narukvice, željezna pojasna kopča, zatim dva željezna noža, ulomak željeznog predmeta te ulomci dvaju lonaca i zdjele.<sup>21</sup> S druge strane, u oštećenom grobu 27, u kojem je pokopano dijete u dobi od 9 do 11 godina, pronađena su dva pršljena te ulomak još jednog. Jedan se nalazio s desne strane zdjelice kosti te je koničnog oblika i ukrašen je okomito postavljenim urezanim linijama. Drugi pršljen, bikoničnog oblika te ulomak još jednog, nalazili su se u zapuni groba i možda potječu iz starije cjeline koju je ukop groba oštetio. U grobu su još pronađeni brončana zoomorfna fibula, brončana i željezna narukvica, željezna pojasna kopča, staklene i jantarne perle, kao i dva lonca te dvije zdjele.<sup>22</sup> Grob se, na osnovi nalaza fibule i ukrašene zdjele, vjerojatno može datirati u LT A, a s obzirom na nalaze nakita, vjerojatno se radi o pokopu djevojčice. Dva su pršljena pronađena u grobu 28, u kojem je pokopana žena u dobi od 50 do 60 godina. Bikonični pršljen nalazio se u zapuni groba i ukrašen je motivom petokrake zvijezde izvedene žlijebom. Drugi se pršljen zaobljenog oblika nalazio u maloj bikoničnoj posudi. U grobu su pronađeni brončana narukvica, lonac i zdjela te tri male posude.<sup>23</sup> Još su u vrlo oštećenom grobu 29, u kojem je pokopana starija žena, pronađena dva pršljena. Jedan se nalazio uz rub grobne rake te je

age in the damaged grave 39 contained a fragment of a biconical spindle-whorl decorated with vertical grooves.<sup>24</sup> Also, a biconical spindle-whorl decorated with radially incised lines on one side was found in the damaged grave 67 together with the remains of a woman of about 45 years of age and two children aged 8 and 5.<sup>25</sup> Interestingly, grave 9 contained a girl aged between 7 and 10 with a cylindrical bone spindle-whorl next to her left arm.<sup>26</sup> The only spindle-whorl from a man's grave was recorded in grave 18. The anthropological analysis showed that it was the burial of a man of about 70 years of age; a biconical spindle-whorl decorated with grooves and prints was found near his feet.<sup>27</sup> Considering the location of the find and the fact that it was a man's grave, E. Jerem assumes that the spindle-whorl arrived in the grave later. In the contemporary cemetery of Vinkovci–Nama, which has much fewer burials, there are no finds of ceramic spindle-whorls.<sup>28</sup>

There are also few ceramic spindle-whorls in the Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène graves in the northern Carpathian Basin. In the cemetery of Csepel, near Budapest, a biconical spindle-whorl was found in the damaged grave 389, which was dated from finds to LT B, or the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>29</sup> In the Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène cemetery of Bučany, ceramic spindle-whorls were found in four graves of women and one child's grave.<sup>20</sup> A biconical spindle-whorl was found in grave 24 next to the right lower leg of a woman of 20–22 years of age. The grave also included two bronze bracelets, an iron belt buckle, two iron knives, a fragment of an iron object, and fragments of two pots and a bowl.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, the damaged grave 27, with the remains of a child aged 9–11, contained two spindle-whorls and a fragment of one more. One spindle-whorl, located on the right side of the pelvis, is conical in shape and is decorated with vertical incised lines. The other biconical spindle-whorl and the fragment were found in the grave fill and may have originated from an older complex that had been damaged by the digging of the grave. The grave also contained a bronze zoomorphic fibula, a bracelet of bronze and iron, an iron belt buckle, glass and amber beads, and two pots and two bowls.<sup>22</sup> On the basis of the finds of the fibula and a decorated bowl, the grave can probably be dated to LT A; and, considering the jewellery finds, it is probable that a girl was buried there. Two spindle-whorls were found in grave 28, where a woman of 50 or 60 years of age was buried. A biconical spindle-whorl was found in the grave fill and was decorated with a motif of a five-pointed star made of grooves. The other spindle-whorl is round and was found in a small biconical vessel. The grave

14 Jerem 1968, 168, Fig. 25/39: 2.

15 Jerem 1968, 173, Fig. 29/67: 3.

16 Jerem 1968, 162, Fig. 20/9: 6.

17 Jerem 1968, 163, Fig. 21/18: 2.

18 Majnarić-Pandžić 2003.

19 Horváth 2019, 66, cat. no. 141. Ostali nalazi u grobu: 54, cat. no. 15; 58, cat. no. 59; 59, cat. no. 63–64, 67; 61, cat. no. 86.

20 Bujna, Romsauer 1983, 301.

21 Bujna, Romsauer 1983, 287, Abb. 17, T. VIII: 3.

22 Bujna, Romsauer 1983, 288–289, Abb. 18, T. X: 15–16, 21.

23 Bujna, Romsauer 1983, 289, Abb. 19, T. IX: 13–14.

14 Jerem 1968, 168, Fig. 25/39: 2.

15 Jerem 1968, 173, Fig. 29/67: 3.

16 Jerem 1968, 162, Fig. 20/9: 6.

17 Jerem 1968, 163, Fig. 21/18: 2.

18 Majnarić-Pandžić 2003.

19 Horváth 2019, 66, cat. no. 141. Other finds in the grave: 54, cat. no. 15; 58, cat. no. 59; 59, cat. nos. 63–64, 67; 61, cat. no. 86.

20 Bujna, Romsauer 1983, 301.

21 Bujna, Romsauer 1983, 287, Fig. 17, Pl. VIII: 3.

22 Bujna, Romsauer 1983, 288–289, Fig. 18, Pl. X: 15–16, 21.





SLIKA 1. Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje, grob LT 31 (snimio Ž. Tomičić).

FIGURE 1. Zvonimirovo-Veliko Polje grave LT 31 (photo by Ž. Tomičić).



SLIKA 2. Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje, grob LT 77 (snimio M. Dizdar).

FIGURE 2. Zvonimirovo-Veliko Polje grave LT 77 (photo by M. Dizdar).

bikoničnog oblika i ukrašen je širim okomitim žljebovima, dok se drugi nalazio u rupi od stupa, a zaobljenog je oblika i ukrašen je radialno raspoređenim urezanim linijama.<sup>24</sup> U grobu 41, s lijeve strane zdjelične kosti, nalazio se niski konični pršljen koji je po širem rubu ukrašen kratkim urezima. U grobu su još pronađene tri brončane narukvice, željezna pojasna kopča, zatim željezna igla, željezna zakovica te ulomak željeznog predmeta.<sup>25</sup> Zanimljivo, grob je antropološki definiran, ali ne sa sigurnošću, kao ukop muškarca u dobi od 30 do 40 godina, iako bi nalazi brončanih narukvica i željezne kopče ukazivali kako se radi o grobu žene.

Analiza je pokazala kako se na jugu Karpatske kotline, tijekom mlađe faze starijega željeznog doba, keramički pršljeni rijetko nalaze u grobovima žena, najčešće odraslih pokojnica, posebno kada se provede usporedba sa spoznajama zabilježenim na početku starijega željeznog doba na istom prostoru. Dakle, rijetko polaganje keramičkih pršljena u grobove iz mlađega željeznog doba na jugu Karpatske kotline svoje bi izvorište moglo imati već u prethodnom razdoblju iako je s početkom mlađega željeznog doba, tijekom druge polovice 4. st. pr. Kr., obilježenog ostavštinom latenske kulture, došlo do primjetne društvene i kulturne rekonfiguracije koja se, prije svega, prepoznaje u nalazima naoružanja, ali i predmetima ženske nošnje i nakita. Potom je uslijedio kontinuirani razvoj koji je, uz primjetnu promjenu grobnog rituala te dolaskom različitih tehnoloških inovacija, dokumentiran upravo kroz rezultate istraživanja groblja, pri čemu je broj poznatih grobova u odnosu na prethodno razdoblje veći.

contained a bronze bracelet, a pot and a bowl, and three small vessels.<sup>23</sup> Also, two spindle-whorls were found in grave 29, which is the badly damaged grave of an elderly woman. One spindle-whorl lay on the edge of the grave pit; it is biconical in shape and decorated with wide vertical grooves. The other was in a post-hole; it is rounded in shape and decorated with radially incised lines.<sup>24</sup> In grave 41, on the left side of the pelvic bone, there was a low conical spindle-whorl decorated with short incisions along the wider edge. The grave also contained three bronze bracelets, an iron belt buckle, an iron needle, an iron rivet, and a fragment of an iron object.<sup>25</sup> Interestingly, the grave has been anthropologically defined, without certainty, as the burial of a man of 30 to 40 years of age, even though the bracelet and iron clasps seem to indicate a woman's grave.

Analysis has shown that ceramic spindle-whorls from the later phase of the Early Iron Age in the southern Carpathian Basin are rarely found in graves – those of women, most often adult women – especially in comparison with what has been learned about the beginning of the Early Iron Age in the same area. Thus, the rare laying of ceramic spindle-whorls in Late Iron Age graves in the southern Carpathian Basin could already have started in the previous period, but the beginning of the Late Iron Age in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, marked by the legacy of the La Tène culture, was the period of a significant social and cultural reconfiguration, which can be seen primarily from the finds of weapons, and also from women's costume and jewellery items.

24 Bujna, Romsauer 1983, 289, T. VII: 1–2.

25 Bujna, Romsauer 1983, 292, 301, Abb. 25, T. XI: 6.

23 Bujna, Romsauer 1983, 289, Fig. 19, Pl. IX: 13–14.

24 Bujna, Romsauer 1983, 289, Pl. VII: 1–2.

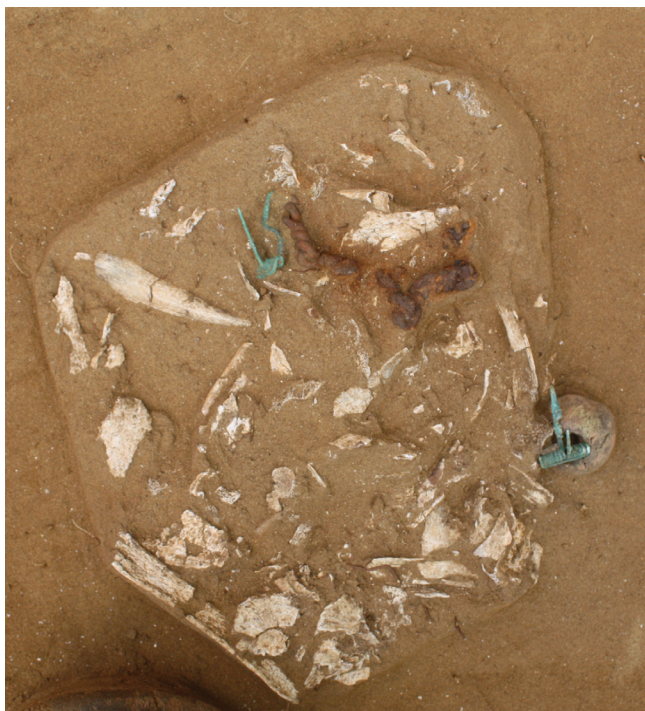
25 Bujna, Romsauer 1983, 292, 301, Fig. 25, Pl. XI: 6.

Na pojedinim grobljima iz jugoistočnog dijela Karpatske kotline, pokopavanje se provodilo tijekom nekoliko razvojnih faza latenske kulture (npr. Karaburma, Rospi Čuprija, Osijek i dr.), dok su pojedina groblja karakteristična samo za pojedine razvojne faze latenske kulture (npr. Pećine, Zvonimirovo). Analiza spomenutih groblja pokazat će mogu li se tijekom gotovo trostoljetnoga kontinuiranog razvoja latenske kulture primijetiti određene pravilnosti glede koncepta prilaganja predmeta svakodnevne upotrebe u grobove žena, u ovom slučaju keramičkih pršljena. Pitanja su usmjerena na prepoznavanje razlika i promjena u prilaganju pršljena s obzirom na prostorne i vremenske odrednice, zatim slijedi ispitivanje starosne slike predilja, odnosno u kojoj su dobi najčešće bile žene u čijim se grobovima nalaze keramički pršljeni te kakav je bio njihov društveni položaj u zajednici s obzirom na ostale nalaze u grobovima. Posebno su važni nalazi iz kosturnih grobova, kako s prostora jugoistočnog dijela Karpatske kotline tako i na ostalim promatranim područjima koja su također izvorište vrijednih spoznaja s ciljem analize *female bodily ornamentation* te u pokušaju rekonstrukcije načina njihova nošenja.

This was followed by a continuous development bringing a significant change in the funerary rites and the appearance of various technological innovations, which has been documented precisely by the results of cemetery excavations, with the number of known graves being larger than in the previous period. Some cemeteries in the south-eastern Carpathian Basin had burials during several developmental phases of the La Tène culture (e.g. Karaburma, Rospi Čuprija, Osijek etc.), while some cemeteries are characterized by particular developmental stages of the La Tène culture (e.g. Pećine, Zvonimirovo). The analysis of these cemeteries will show whether almost three centuries of continuous development of the La Tène culture show certain regularities concerning the concept of placing objects of everyday use – ceramic spindle-whorls, in this case – in the graves of women. The questions are focused on recognizing the differences and changes in spindle-whorl placement in spatial and temporal settings, followed by an examination of the age structure of the spinners, which means the most frequent age of the women in whose graves there were ceramic spindle-whorls, and their social position in the community, considering the other finds in the graves. Special importance is given to finds from inhumation graves, both from the south-eastern Carpathian Basin and from other observed areas, which are also a source of valuable knowledge, with the aim of analysing female bodily ornamentation and trying to reconstruct the way they were worn.

SLIKA 3. Zvonimirovo–Veliko polje, grob LT 90 (snimio M. Dizdar)

FIGURE 3. Zvonimirovo–Veliko Polje, grave LT 90 (photo by M. Dizdar).



SLIKA 4. Zvonimirovo–Veliko polje, grob LT 108 (snimio M. Dizdar).

FIGURE 4. Zvonimirovo–Veliko Polje, grave LT 108 (photo by M. Dizdar).





## Keramički pršljeni s groblja Zvonimirovo–Veliko polje

Kako je već istaknuto, na groblju Zvonimirovo–Veliko polje keramički su pršljeni pronađeni u šest od ukupno 130 dosad istraženih grobova – grobovi LT 5, LT 31 (sl. 1), LT 77 (sl. 2), LT 90 (sl. 3), LT 91, LT 108 (sl. 4) (Tablica 1).<sup>26</sup> S obzirom na to da otprilike polovica pronađenih grobova pripada pokopima žena, može se zaključiti kako su pršljeni pronađeni tek u oko 10% grobova. Kada im se pridodaju i nalazi željeznih šivaćih igli u četiri groba, koje se također povezuju s izradom i održavanjem odjeće,<sup>27</sup> pri čemu su u grobu LT 90 pronađeni šivaća igla i pršljen, može se pretpostaviti kako predmeti svakodnevne upotrebe ne predstavljaju uobičajen te čest prilog u grobovima žena na groblju u Zvonimirovu. U grobovima se pojavljuje prilog po jednog pršljena, osim u grobu LT 108, u kojem su pronađena čak tri pršljena (sl. 4).<sup>28</sup> Pršljeni se najčešće nalaze među spaljenim kostima pokojnica ili su položeni na njihov rub (sl. 1, sl. 3-4), odnosno do keramičkih posuda koje predstavljaju popudbinu (sl. 2). Od svih pršljena, jedino onaj iz groba LT 90 pokazuje tragove spaljivanja (sl. 5b), odnosno vjerojatno je bio spaljen s pokojnicom na pogrebnoj lomači. Ostali pršljeni ne pokazuju tragove spaljivanja te su u grob mogli biti položeni tijekom samog čina pokopa, možda kao dar ožalošćenih članova obitelji i zajednice. Rezultati su antropološke analize pokazali kako se najčešće radi o grobovima odraslih pokojnica, pri čemu su u grobu LT 5 bili pokopani žena i dijete, dok su u grobu LT 108 (sl. 4) pronađeni spaljeni ostaci djeteta<sup>29</sup> koji bi, prema ostalim nalazima, pripadali ženskom spolu. U grobovima, u kojima su pronađeni keramički pršljeni (Tablica 1) kao dio nošnje, najčešće se nalaze željezni pojasi, sastavljeni od uvijenih i spojenih članaka s kojima mogu doći i željezne kopče tipa Brežice te različiti oblici brončanih fibula. U grobu LT 31 nalazio se brončani pojas, a iz spomenutih su grobova poznati i nalazi željeznih te bimetalnih fibula. Nakitu najčešće pripadaju nalazi ulomaka spaljenih staklenih narukvica, no zabilježeni su i nalazi brončane narukvice te staklenog i željeznog prstena, dok su u grobu LT 108 pronađene i staklene perle (Tablica 1). Od predmeta svakodnevne upotrebe, u grobu LT 90 bila je željezna šivaća igla, u grobu LT 91 nalazila se željezna igla sa zoomorfnom glavicom, dok je u grobu LT 108 položen manji željezni nož. Popudbini se pripisuju prilozima keramičkih posuda, najčešće po jednog lonca, koji u dva groba dolaze u kombinaciji sa zdjelom. S obzirom na sastav grobnih priloga u spomenutih šest grobova, brojem predmeta nošnje i nakita izdvajaju se dva groba – grobovi LT 31 i LT 91, dok ostali pokazuju manje razlike u strukturi grobnih priloga te bi pokojnice pripadale najbrojnijoj skupini žena pokopanih na groblju koja

## Ceramic spindle-whorls at the Zvonimirovo–Veliko polje cemetery

As already pointed out, ceramic spindle-whorls have been found at the Zvonimirovo–Veliko Polje cemetery in six of the 130 graves explored so far: graves LT 5, LT 31 (Fig. 1), LT 77 (Fig. 2), LT 90 (Fig. 3), LT 91, and LT 108 (Fig. 4) (Table 1).<sup>26</sup> Since women are buried in approximately half of the graves, it can be concluded that the spindle-whorls have been found only in about 10% of the graves. When we add the iron sewing needles found in four graves, which are also associated with the making and maintenance of clothes,<sup>27</sup> with a sewing needle and a spindle-whorl together in grave LT 90, it can be assumed that everyday objects are not a common or frequent feature in the graves of women in the cemetery of Zvonimirovo. Each grave had a single spindle-whorl, except for grave LT 108, where no fewer than three spindle-whorls were found (Fig. 4).<sup>28</sup> The spindle-whorls are most often found among the cremated bones of the women, or placed at their edge (Fig. 1, Figs. 3-4), or next to the ceramic vessels intended for the afterlife (Fig. 2). Of all the spindle-whorls, only the one from grave LT 90 shows traces of cremation (Fig. 5b), meaning that it was probably burned together with the woman at the funeral pyre. The other spindle-whorls show no signs of cremation and could have been laid in the grave during the act of burial, perhaps as gifts from grieving family and community members. The results of the anthropological analysis have shown that most of the graves contained adult women, but grave LT 5 had a woman and a child, and grave LT 108 (Fig. 4) contained the cremated remains of a child,<sup>29</sup> which was female, as indicated by the other finds. In the graves where ceramic spindle-whorls were found as part of the costume (Table 1), there are usually iron chain belts composed of twisted and joined segments that might include the Brežice type iron buckles and various forms of bronze fibulae. There was a bronze belt in grave LT 31; iron and bimetallic fibulae were also found in these graves. The jewellery most often included fragments of cremated glass bracelets, but there were also a bronze bracelet and a glass-and-iron finger-ring, while grave LT 108 included glass beads (Table 1). The objects of everyday use were an iron sewing needle in grave LT 90, an iron pin with a zoomorphic head in grave LT 91, and a small iron knife in grave LT 108. The provisions for the afterlife include ceramic vessels, usually a single pot, which is combined with a bowl in two graves. Regarding the composition of grave goods in these six graves, two of them – LT 31 and LT 91 – stand out with their number of costume and jewellery items, while other graves show minor differences in the structure of grave goods; these women seem to belong to the

26 Do sada su objavljeni keramički pršljeni iz grobova LT 5: Dizdar 2013, 399–400, sl. 146, T. 12: 3; grob LT 90: Dizdar, Ljuština 2019, 58, T. 1: 6; grob LT 91: Dizdar, Ljuština 2019, 58, T. 2: 11.

27 U grobu LT 90 pronađena je željezna šivaća igla, koja na vrhu završava u šiljak, dok se ispod nalazi uska izdužena ušica: Dizdar, Ljuština 2019, 58, T. 1/5. Željezne šivaće igle iznimno se rijetko pojavljuju u ženskim grobovima latenske kulture, npr. grob 196 s Kapitelske njive u Novom Mestu: Križ 2001, 99, cat. no. 151; 2005, 82–83, Pl. 57: 4.

28 Dizdar 2013, 363; 2016, 83; Dizdar, Ljuština 2019, 63.

29 Dizdar 2013, 399; Dizdar, Ljuština 2019, 50. Antropološku analizu spaljenih ostataka pokojnika s groblja Zvonimirovo–Veliko polje provodi dr. sc. Mario Novak s Instituta za antropologiju.

26 Ceramic spindle-whorls have been published from graves LT 5: Dizdar 2013, 399–400, Fig. 146, Pl. 12: 3; grave LT 90: Dizdar, Ljuština 2019, 58, Pl. 1: 6; grave LT 91: Dizdar, Ljuština 2019, 58, Pl. 2: 11.

27 Grave LT 90 contained an iron sewing needle ending in a point with a narrow oblong eye: Dizdar, Ljuština 2019, 58, Pl. 1/5. Iron sewing needles are extremely rare in the graves of women of the La Tène culture, e.g. in grave 196 at Kapitelska Njiva, in Novo Mesto: Križ 2001, 99, cat. no. 151; 2005, 82–83, Pl. 57: 4.

28 Dizdar 2013, 363; 2016, 83; Dizdar, Ljuština 2019, 63.

29 Dizdar 2013, 399; Dizdar, Ljuština 2019, 50. The anthropological analysis of the cremated remains of the dead from the cemetery of Zvonimirovo–Veliko Polje is performed by dr. sc. Mario Novak of the Institute for Anthropological Research.



**SLIKA 5.** Zvonimirovo–Veliko polje: a) keramički pršljen iz groba LT 31; b) keramički pršljen iz groba LT 90 (snimio J. Škudar).

**FIGURE 5.** Zvonimirovo–Veliko Polje: a) ceramic whorl from grave LT 31; b) ceramic spindle-whorl from grave LT 90 (photo by J. Škudar).

je opremljena karakterističnim predmetima nošnje i nakita.<sup>30</sup> S druge strane, dva spomenuta, bogato opremljena ženska groba pripadaju skupini grobova za koju je karakterističan veći broj priloga predmeta nošnje i nakita, odnosno koja bi odgovarala skupini ratnika opremljenih potpunim naoružanjem. Vjerojatno se radi o najistaknutijim članovima zajednice koja je svoje pokojnike pokopavala na Velikom polju u Zvonimirovu.

U dosadašnjim su analizama izdvojena tri osnovna oblika pršljena – zaobljenog (LT 5), cilindričnog (LT 108) te bikoničnog oblika (LT 31, LT 77, LT 90, LT 91; LT 108) koji su i brojniji, pri čemu bikonični pršljen iz groba LT 90 ima jednu polovicu koja je viša od druge. Pršljeni su najčešće neukrašeni, jedino je pršljen iz groba LT 31 s jedne strane ukrašen sa šest otisnutih kružića, a s druge urezanim kosim i u obliku slova V raspoređenim linijama (sl. 5a). To pokazuje kako ukrašavanju pršljena nije pridavana neka posebna pažnja, odnosno primarna je bila njihova izvorna namjena za izradu prediva.<sup>31</sup> Isto tako, pršljeni su sličnih dimenzija i težina, uz neke određene razlike,<sup>32</sup> što bi ukazivalo na standardizaciju u izradi prediva.<sup>33</sup>

largest group of women buried in the cemetery, equipped with characteristic costume and jewellery items.<sup>30</sup> On the other hand, these two richly-equipped women's graves belong to the group of graves which is characterized by a larger number of items of costume and jewellery, i.e. which would correspond to a group of warriors fully equipped with weaponry. They are probably the most prominent members of the community that buried its dead at Veliko Polje in Zvonimirovo.

The results of the analyses conducted have singled out three basic spindle-whorl shapes: rounded (LT 5), cylindrical (LT 108) and biconical (LT 31, LT 77, LT 90, LT 91, LT 108), which are more numerous; the biconical spindle-whorl from grave LT 90 has one half that is taller than the other. The spindle-whorls are most often undecorated; only the spindle-whorl from grave LT 31 is decorated, with six printed circles on one side, and with incised V-shaped oblique lines on the other (Fig. 5a). This shows that no special attention was paid to the decoration of the spindle-whorls, i.e. primary importance was given to their original purpose of making yarn.<sup>31</sup> Also, the spindle-whorls have similar sizes and weights, with some differences,<sup>32</sup> which seems to indicate standardized yarn production.<sup>33</sup>

30 Dizdar 2013, 58–59, Tab. 2.

31 Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 13, Fig. 3.4.

32 LT 5 promjer 3,9 cm; LT 31 promjer 3,9 cm, težina 21 g; LT 77 promjer 4,3 cm, težina 34 g; LT 90 promjer 4,3 cm, težina 38 g; LT 91 promjer 4,5 cm, težina 37 g; LT 108 promjeri 4,4 cm, 2,9 cm, 2,7 cm, težine 23 i 11 g.

33 Kao osnovna funkcionalna karakteristika pršljena, smatra se njihova težina (Rahmstorf 2015, 5). O povezanosti težine pršljena i debljine niti, kao i oblika pršljena vidjeti: Grömer 2004, 179–180; 2005, 109–111, Figs. 6–7; 2012, 41, 51; 2016, 85–88, Fig. 41; Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 13; Andersson Strand *et al.* 2010, 163, Fig. 4; Belanová-Štolcová 2012, 311; Bender Jørgensen, Grömer 2013, 99, Fig. 5; Rahmstorf 2015, 5. Na ovisnost debljine niti i o vještini osobe koja prede: Kania 2010, 18; 2015, 120, 129.

30 Dizdar 2013, 58–59, Table 2.

31 Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 13, Fig. 3.4.

32 LT 5 diameter 3.9 cm; LT 31 diameter 3.9 cm, weight 21 g; LT 77 diameter 4.3 cm, weight 34 g; LT 90 diameter 4.3 cm, weight 38 g; LT 91 diameter 4.5 cm, weight 37 g; LT 108 diameters 4.4 cm, 2.9 cm, 2.7 cm, weights 23 g and 11 g.

33 The basic functional characteristic of a spindle-whorl is its weight (Rahmstorf 2015, 5). For the connection between spindle-whorl weight and thread thickness, and also spindle-whorl shape, see: Grömer 2004, 179–180; 2005, 109–111, Figs 6–7; 2012, 41, 51; 2016, 85–88, Fig. 41; Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 13; Andersson Strand *et al.* 2010, 163, Fig. 4; Belanová-Štolcová 2012, 311; Bender Jørgensen, Grömer 2013, 99, Fig. 5; Rahmstorf 2015, 5. For the dependence of thread thickness on sewing ability, see: Kania 2010, 18; 2015, 120, 129.

## Keramički pršljeni iz grobova latenske kulture

Usporedbe za nalaze keramičkih pršljenja na groblju u Zvonimirovu mogu se pronaći na grobljima diljem Karpatske kotline, kao i na jugoistočnoalpskom prostoru (Tablica 2), gdje se također smatraju jednim od karakterističnih rodni priloga, kako to pokazuju rezultati provedenih antropoloških analiza, naravno, uz poneka odstupanja. Analize su usmjerene na položaj nalaza pršljenja u kosturnim i paljevinskim grobovima, zatim na ispitivanje dobi pokojnica u čijim se grobovima nalaze keramički pršljeni te kakav je bio njihov društveni položaj u zajednici prema ansamblu ostalih nalaza.

Na grobljima mokronoške skupine keramički su pršljeni, slično Zvonimirovu, zabilježeni samo u nekoliko grobnih cjelina, pri čemu je zanimljivo kako nedostaju na groblju Slatina v Rožni dolini, koje je najvećim dijelom istovremeno groblju u Zvonimirovu. Na groblju u Brežicama, keramički su pršljeni zabilježeni u samo tri grobne cjeline. U grobu 34 na spaljene ostatke pokojnice položen je pršljen zaobljenog oblika. U grobu su još pronađeni samo spaljeni ostaci staklene narukvice.<sup>34</sup> U grobu 41 pronađen je pršljen koničnog oblika, pri čemu su u grobu još pronađeni željezni pojas, tri brončane fibule, željezna fibula, kao i ulomci brončane nanogvice na osnovi kojih se grob datira u LT C1.<sup>35</sup> U bogato opremljenom grobu 56, pronađena su dva pršljenja bikoničnog oblika. Jedan se nalazio na hrpici spaljenih kostiju, zajedno s brončanom fibulom, brončanim prstenom i ulomkom željeznog predmeta, te se pretpostavlja da se moglo raditi o daru pokojnici. Riječ je o bogato opremljenom grobu s dva pojasa te brojnim drugim predmetima nošnje i nakita, zbog čega se pretpostavlja kako se moglo raditi o dvojnog grobu s pokopima dvije žene ili muškarca i žene. Međutim, antropološka je analiza pokazala kako su u grobu pokopani samo spaljeni ostaci žene u dobi od 35 do 40 godina. Grob se, na osnovi nalaza, datira u LT C1.<sup>36</sup> Još je jedan pršljen koničnog oblika pronađen u pretpostavljenom dvojnog grobu iz Spodnje Slivnice, koji je predmetima naoružanja, brončanim fibulama i brončanim obručastim nakitom datiran u LT C1.<sup>37</sup>

S druge strane, na grobljima u Novome Mestu u Dolenjskoj, posebno na najvećem groblju na Kapiteljskoj njivi, keramički su pršljeni zabilježeni u većem broju grobova koji pripadaju svim razvojnim fazama mokronoške skupine,<sup>38</sup> a najčešće se povezuju

## Ceramic spindle-whorls from graves of the La Tène culture

Comparisons for the finds of ceramic spindle-whorls in the Zvonimirovo cemetery can be found in cemeteries throughout the Carpathian Basin and in the south-eastern Alpine area (Table 2), where they are also considered to be one of the characteristic gender goods, as shown by the results of anthropological analyses, with a few deviations, of course. The analyses focused on the position of the spindle-whorls in inhumation and cremation graves, and on examining the ages of the women in whose graves there were ceramic spindle-whorls, and their social status in the community, based on the ensemble of other finds.

In the cemeteries of the Mokronog group, ceramic spindle-whorls were found only in a few grave assemblages, just as in Zvonimirovo; interestingly, there were none in the cemetery of Slatina v Rožni Dolini, which is largely contemporary with the Zvonimirovo cemetery. At the cemetery in Brežice, ceramic spindle-whorls were found in only three grave assemblages. In grave 34, a rounded spindle-whorl was placed on the cremated remains of the woman. Besides this, the grave included only the cremated remains of a glass bracelet.<sup>34</sup> Grave 41 contained a conical spindle-whorl, and also an iron belt, three bronze fibulae, an iron fibula, and fragments of a bronze anklet, which are the basis for dating the grave to LT C1.<sup>35</sup> The richly furnished grave 56 contained two biconical spindle-whorls. One was found on a pile of cremated bones together with a bronze fibula, a bronze ring, and a fragment of an iron object, so it could have been a gift for the dead woman. This richly furnished grave included two belts and numerous other items of costume and jewellery, which is why it could have been a double grave with two women or a man and a woman. However, the anthropological analysis has shown that the grave contained only the cremated remains of a woman between 35 and 40 years of age. On the basis of the finds, the grave has been dated to LT C1.<sup>36</sup> Another conical spindle-whorl was found in the presumed double grave at Spodnja Slivnica, which has been dated to LT C1 on the basis of weapons, bronze fibulae, and bronze rings.<sup>37</sup>

On the other hand, the cemeteries in Novo Mesto in the Dolenjska region, especially the largest cemetery, in Kapiteljska Njiva, had ceramic spindle-whorls in numerous graves from all the developmental phases of the Mokronog group,<sup>38</sup> most often associated

34 Jovanović 2006, 61, 119–120, T. 38: 4; 2007, 32, 53, Fig. 26.

35 Jovanović 2006, 65, 119–120, T. 49: 6; 2007, 32, 53, Fig. 26.

36 Jovanović 2007, 32, Fig. 26, 53, cat. no. 27; 2011, 52, 54, 61–62, Fig. 3: 1, Fig. 11: 18–19.

37 Šribar 1957, 144, T. 3: 4; Guštin 1977, 71, T. 14; Božič 1987, 872, T. LXXXVI: 10–14.

38 Datiranje grobova s Kapiteljske njive provedeno je na osnovi tipološko-kronološke podjele mokronoške skupine od strane D. Božiča (1987; 1999), pri čemu je potom V. Cestnik (2014), slijedeći periodizacije R. Gebharda i J. Bujne, predložila detaljniju podjelu groblja na šest faza. S obzirom na to da je objavljen samo manji broj istraženih grobova s Kapiteljske njive, ovom prilikom koristimo se već prihvaćenom podjelom mokronoške skupine, kako je to predložio D. Božič.

34 Jovanović 2006, 61, 119–120, Pl. 38: 4; 2007, 32, 53, Fig. 26.

35 Jovanović 2006, 65, 119–120, Pl. 49: 6; 2007, 32, 53, Fig. 26.

36 Jovanović 2007, 32, Fig. 26, 53, cat. no. 27; 2011, 52, 54, 61–62, Fig. 3: 1, Fig. 11: 18–19.

37 Šribar 1957, 144, Pl. 3: 4; Guštin 1977, 71, Pl. 14; Božič 1987, 872, Pl. LXXXVI: 10–14.

38 The graves at Kapiteljska Njiva were dated by D. Božič (1987; 1999) on the basis of the typo-chronological classification of the Mokronog group; subsequently, V. Cestnik (2014), following the chronologies of R. Gebhard and J. Bujna, proposed a more detailed classification of cemeteries into six phases. Since only a small number of graves explored at Kapiteljska Njiva have been published, we use the accepted classification of the Mokronog group in this case, as proposed by D. Božič.



s pokopima žena.<sup>39</sup> Pršljeni su ponekad zabilježeni u grobovima s većim brojem predmeta nošnje i nakita te keramičkim posudama iako se češće pojavljuju u grobovima s prosječnim brojem nalaza (Tablica 3). Najčešće se nalaze među spaljenim ostacima pokojnica, zajedno s ostalim predmetima nošnje i nakita, koji su bili položeni na dno grobne rake. Međutim, pršljeni se ponekad nalaze i sa spaljenim ostacima položenim u lonac koji ima funkciju urne. U grobovima se najčešće pojavljuje prilog po jednog pršljena, ali su pronađeni i grobovi u kojima su zabilježena i po dva pršljena.<sup>40</sup> Pršljeni su zaobljenog, bikoničnog ili koničnog oblika te su najčešće bili neukrašeni, a poneki su mogli biti ukrašeni raznoliko organiziranim urezanim linijama te otisnutim kružićima.

Tako se u grobu 117, na vrhu hrpice spaljenih ostataka pokojnice, nalazio pršljen koničnog oblika. U grobu su još pronađeni lonac, oštećena željezna fibula, vjerojatno željezna narukvica te oštećen željezni predmet.<sup>41</sup> U grobu 126, bikonični pršljen nalazio se pokraj lonca koji je bio položen pokraj hrpice spaljenih kostiju. U grobu su još pronađeni brončana certosa fibula, zatim željezna fibula, kao i dvije brončane narebrene narukvice. Grob se vjerojatno može datirati u LT B2.<sup>42</sup> U grobu 130 pršljen zaobljenog oblika nalazio se pokraj hrpice spaljenih kostiju pokojnice, a u grobu su još pronađeni dva lonca, željezni pojas, ulomak staklene narukvice te pet staklenih perli. Grob se nalazima datira u LT C2.<sup>43</sup> U bogatije opremljenom grobu 132, bikonični pršljen nalazio se sa spaljenim ostacima pokojnice položenim u lonac u funkciji urne. U grobu su još pronađena dva lonca, željezni pojas, dvije željezne fibule, brončana fibula, od koje je sačuvana kuglica, zatim spaljena brončana narebrna narukvica, spaljena brončana nanogvica te željezna ručka štita. Grob se datira u LT C1.<sup>44</sup> U grobu 135 bikonični ukrašeni pršljen nalazio se pokraj hrpice spaljenih kostiju. Na gornjoj strani nalazi se urezani motiv meandra. U grob su još položeni pet lonaca i zdjela, željezna i brončana fibula, željezna narukvica te spaljena staklena narukvica. Grob vjerojatno pripada LT C1.<sup>45</sup> U bogatije opremljenom grobu 143, pršljen bikoničnog oblika nalazio se na hrpici spaljenih kostiju. S donje je strane ukrašen urezanim linijama. U grobu su još pronađeni zdjela, željezna fibula, željezni nož, dvije željezne narukvice, brončana narebrna narukvica, zatim ulomci brončane nanogvice, koštani obruč, željezni predmet te ulomci posude. Grob se vjerojatno datira u LT B2.<sup>46</sup> U grobu 159 pršljen koničnog oblika nalazio se u loncu u funkciji urne sa spaljenim kostima, pri čemu su u grobu još bili ulomci jedne posude.<sup>47</sup> U grobu 168 pršljen bikoničnog oblika nalazio se među spaljenim kostima. U grobu su još pronađeni mali lonac, tri željezne fibule i spaljena brončana narukvica,

with women's burials.<sup>39</sup> Some spindle-whorls were inside graves with many items of costume and jewellery and ceramic vessels, although they were found more frequently inside graves with an average number of finds (Table 3). They were found most often among the cremated remains of women, along with other items of costume and jewellery, which were most often laid at the bottom of the grave pit. However, spindle-whorls were sometimes found together with cremated remains placed in a pot serving as an urn. The graves most often contain a single spindle-whorl, but some graves contain two.<sup>40</sup> The spindle-whorls are rounded, biconical, or conical, and were most often undecorated, but some could be decorated with variously organized incised lines and printed circles.

Thus, grave 117 contained a conical spindle-whorl at the top of the pile of the cremated remains of a woman. The grave also included a pot, a damaged iron fibula, probably an iron bracelet, and a damaged iron object.<sup>41</sup> Grave 126 contained a biconical spindle-whorl next to a pot that was placed next to the pile of cremated bones. The grave also included a bronze Certosa fibula, an iron fibula, and two bronze ribbed bracelets. The grave can probably be dated to LT B2.<sup>42</sup> In grave 130, a rounded spindle-whorl was found next to a pile of the cremated bones of a woman; the grave also included two pots, an iron belt, a fragment of a glass bracelet, and five glass beads. The grave has been dated to LT C2 on the basis of the finds.<sup>43</sup> In the richer grave 132, a biconical spindle-whorl was found with the cremated remains of a woman placed in a pot serving as an urn. The grave also included two pots, an iron belt, two iron fibulae, a bronze fibula from which the knob has been preserved, a burnt bronze ribbed bracelet, a burnt bronze anklet, and the iron handle of a shield. The grave has been dated to LT C1.<sup>44</sup> In grave 135, a biconical decorated spindle-whorl was located next to a pile of cremated bones. Its upper side has the incised motif of a meander. The grave included five pots and bowls, an iron fibula and a bronze one, an iron bracelet and a burnt glass bracelet. The grave probably belongs to LT C1.<sup>45</sup> In the richer grave 143, there was a biconical spindle-whorl on a pile of cremated bones. The bottom side is decorated with incised lines. The grave also included a bowl, an iron fibula, an iron knife, two iron bracelets, a bronze ribbed bracelet, fragments of a bronze anklet, a bone loop, an iron object, and fragments of a vessel. The grave has been dated to probably LT B2.<sup>46</sup> In grave 159, a conical spindle-whorl was in a pot serving as an urn, with cremated bones; the grave also contained the fragments of a vessel.<sup>47</sup> In grave 168, a biconical spindle-whorl was among the

39 Križ 2001, 63; 2005, 17.

40 Dva keramička pršljena pronađena su, npr. u grobovima 228, 402 i 581: Križ 2001, 103, cat. no. 174–175; 117, cat. no. 264–265; 138, cat. no. 383–384.

41 Križ 2005, 48, T. 11: 2.

42 Križ 2001, 89, cat. no. 96; 2005, 52–53, T. 15: 2.

43 Križ 2001, 89, cat. no. 97; 2005, 54, T. 17: 3.

44 Križ 2001, 90, cat. no. 101; 2005, 55, T. 19: 4.

45 Križ 2001, 90, cat. no. 103; 2005, 57, T. 21: 7.

46 Križ 2001, 91, cat. no. 109; 2005, 60, T. 25: 2.

47 Križ 2001, 93, cat. no. 118; 2005, 67, T. 37: 3.

39 Križ 2001, 63; 2005, 17.

40 Two ceramic spindle-whorls have been found in e.g. graves 228, 402 and 581: Križ 2001, 103, cat. nos. 174–175; 117, cat. nos. 264–265; 138, cat. nos. 383–384.

41 Križ 2005, 48, Pl. 11: 2.

42 Križ 2001, 89, cat. no. 96; 2005, 52–53, Pl. 15: 2.

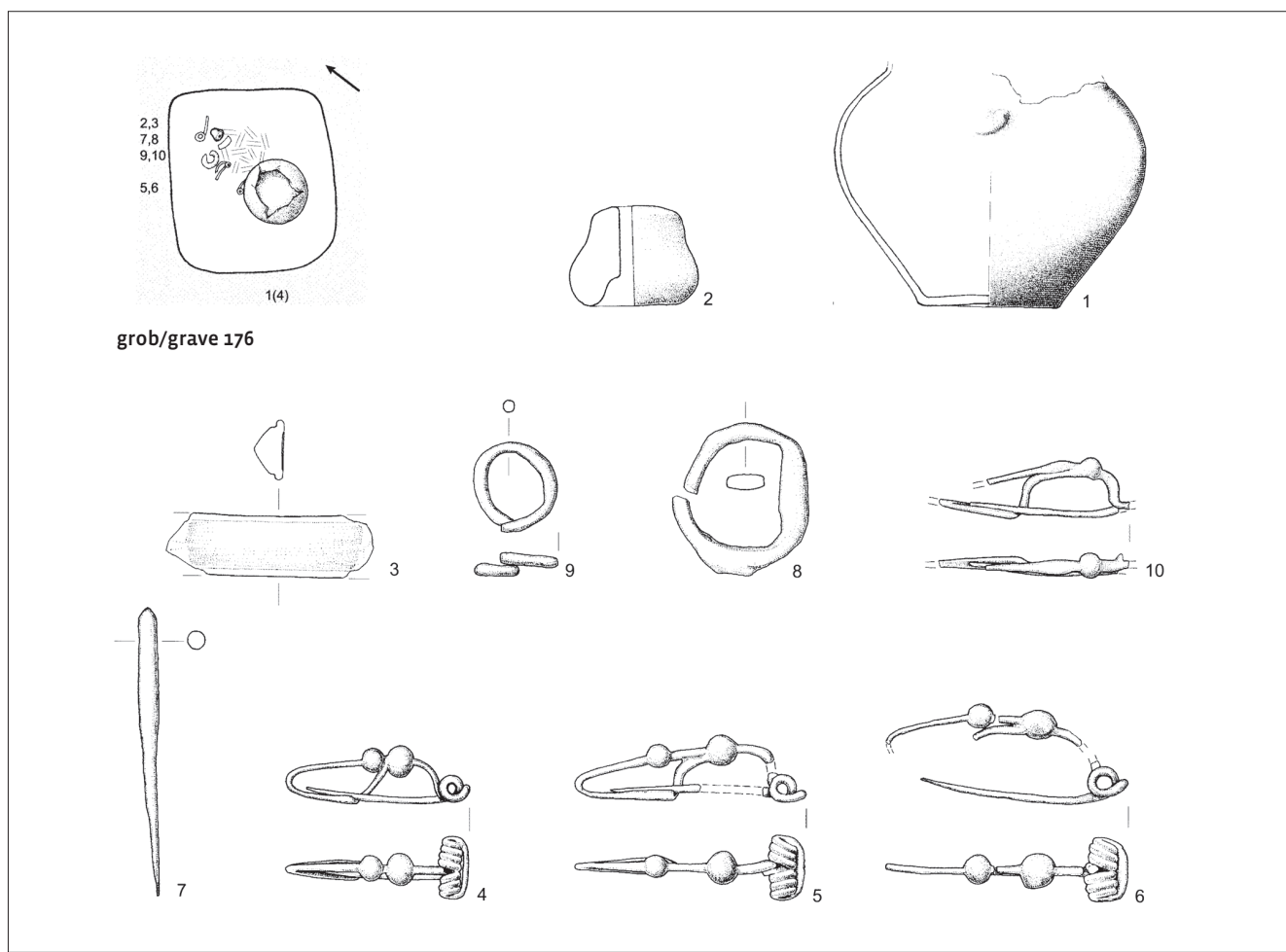
43 Križ 2001, 89, cat. no. 97; 2005, 54, Pl. 17: 3.

44 Križ 2001, 90, cat. no. 101; 2005, 55, Pl. 19: 4.

45 Križ 2001, 90, cat. no. 103; 2005, 57, Pl. 21: 7.

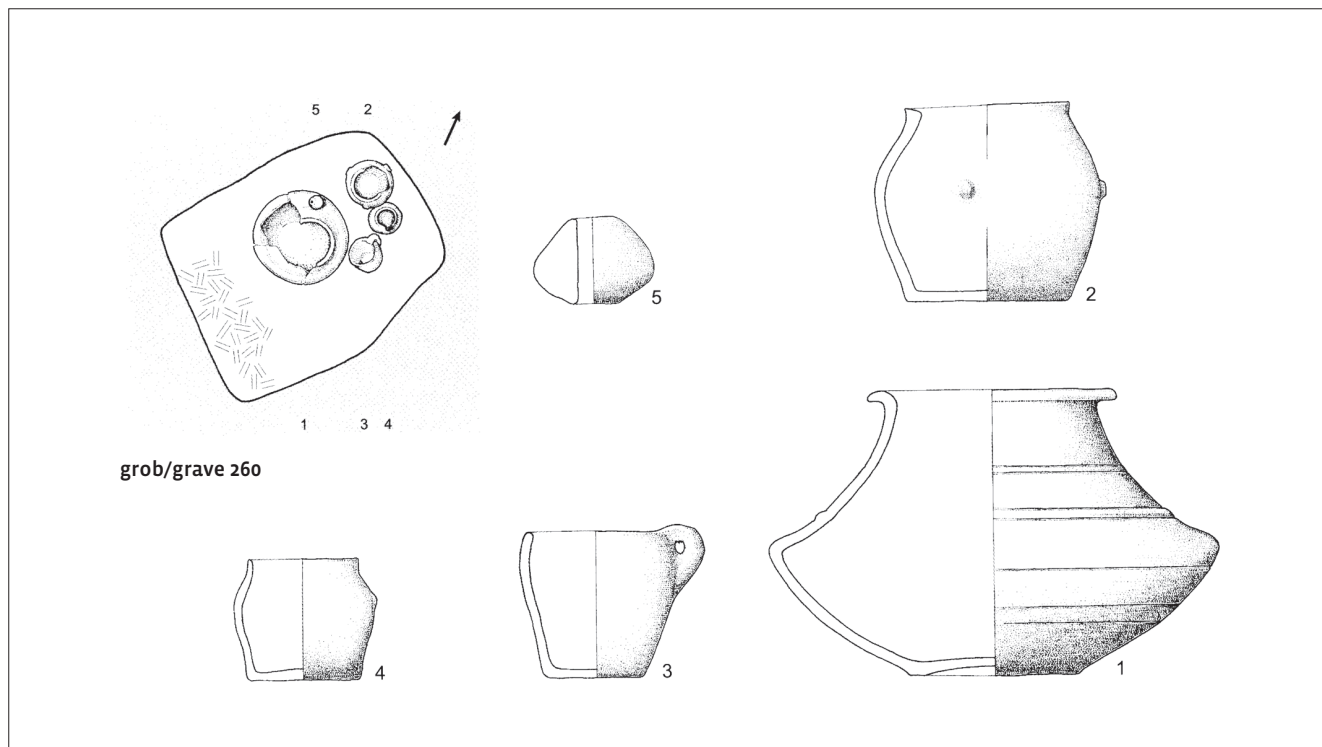
46 Križ 2001, 91, cat. no. 109; 2005, 60, Pl. 25: 2.

47 Križ 2001, 93, cat. no. 118; 2005, 67, Pl. 37: 3.



SLIKA 6. Novo Mesto–Kapiteljska njiva, grob 176 (prema: Križ 2005).

FIGURE 6. Novo Mesto–Kapiteljska Njiva, grave 176 (after: Križ 2005).



SLIKA 7. Novo Mesto–Kapiteljska njiva, grob 260 (prema: Križ 2005).

FIGURE 7. Novo Mesto–Kapiteljska Njiva, grave 260 (after: Križ 2005).

pri čemu se grob datira LT C1.<sup>48</sup> U bogatije opremljenom grobu 176, na rubu hrpice spaljenih kostiju (sl. 6) nalazio se pršljen s gornjom polovicom koja je uža od donje. U grobu su još pronađeni lonac, četiri željezne fibule, ulomak staklene narukvice, željezno šilo te dva željezna obruča koji datiraju grob u LT C2.<sup>49</sup> U grobu 179 pronađen je pršljen koničnog oblika. U grobu su još bili lonac, spaljeni ulomci staklene narukvice te željezni predmet, pri čemu grob vjerojatno pripada u LT C2.<sup>50</sup> Bikonični pršljen u grobu 196 nalazio se među spaljenim ostacima pokojnice. U grobu su još pronađeni dno lonca, brončana fibula, četiri staklene perle te željezna šivaća igla.<sup>51</sup> U grobu 260 bikonični je pršljen položen na rame lonca (sl. 7), pri čemu su u grobu pronađena dva lonca, jedan manji lonac te vrč.<sup>52</sup> U grobu 337 pršljen koničnog oblika nalazio se na hrpici spaljenih kostiju. U grobu su još pronađeni lonac, zatim željezna te dvije brončane fibule, kao i staklena perla. Grob se datira u LT C.<sup>53</sup> U grobu 458 pršljen koničnog oblika položen je na hrpicu spaljenih kostiju. U grobu su položena dva lonca, željezna sjekira, željezni umbo, željezni nož, željezna ručka štita, željezni rub štita te brončana certosa fibula. Čini se kako su spaljene kosti položene na dvije odvojene hrpice, koje se nalaze između po jednog lonca sa svake strane, pa bi se moglo raditi o dvojnog grobu iz LT B2.<sup>54</sup> Ovaj je grob presječen od groba 458A, u kojem je pronađen pršljen koničnog oblika koji je bio položen na hrpicu spaljenih kostiju, pri čemu se u grobu još nalazio lonac.<sup>55</sup> U bogatije opremljenom grobu 465, pršljen zaobljenog oblika nalazio se u većem loncu u funkciji urne, zajedno sa spaljenim kostima. U grobu su još pronađeni lonac, zdjela, zatim dvije željezne fibule, dvije brončane narukvice i dvije brončane nanogvice, pri čemu grob pripada kraju LT B2.<sup>56</sup> U grobu 608, pršljen cilindričnog oblika, koji se konično širi prema donjem dijelu, nalazio se sa spaljenim kostima u većem loncu u funkciji urne. U grobu su, osim urne, još pronađeni manji lonac, zatim brončana te željezna narukvica, pri čemu se grob datira u LT C1.<sup>57</sup>

Iznimku bi predstavljao nalaz pršljena zaobljenog oblika u paljevinskom ratničkom grobu 162, no pronađen je uz rub grobne rake, malo dalje od ostalih nalaza (sl. 8). U grobu su još pronađena dva lonca, od kojih jedan sadrži spaljene kosti i ima funkciju urne, zatim dva umba i dugo koplje.<sup>58</sup> Pitanje je radi li se o grobu muškarca, koji je također sudjelovao u procesu izrade prediva, ili je pršljen mogao biti dar nekoga od ožalošćenih članova obitelji. Isto tako, pršljen je u zapunu groba mogao dospjeti pri njegovu zatrpavanju. U grobu 173, pršljen koničnog oblika također je bio položen uz rub grobne rake, malo dalje od hrpice spaljenih kostiju. U grobu se još nalaze mali lonac, dvije željezne fibule, željezna

cremated bones. The grave, dated to LT C1, also included a small pot, three iron fibulae, and a burnt bronze bracelet.<sup>48</sup> In the richer grave 176, on the edge of a small pile of cremated bones (Fig. 6), there was a spindle-whorl with the upper half narrower than the lower half. The grave also included a pot, four iron fibulae, a fragment of a glass bracelet, an iron awl, and two iron rings, all dating the grave to LT C2.<sup>49</sup> Grave 179 contained a conical spindle-whorl. The grave also included a pot, burnt fragments of a glass bracelet, and an iron object; the grave is probably from LT C2.<sup>50</sup> The biconical spindle-whorl in grave 196 was found among the cremated remains of a woman. The grave also included the bottom of a pot, a bronze fibula, four glass beads, and an iron sewing needle.<sup>51</sup> In grave 260, a biconical spindle-whorl was placed on the shoulder of a pot (Fig. 7); the grave also included two pots, a small pot and a jug.<sup>52</sup> In grave 337, a conical spindle-whorl was found on a small pile of cremated bones. The grave also included a pot, an iron fibula and two bronze fibulae, and a glass bead. The grave has been dated to LT C.<sup>53</sup> In grave 458, a conical spindle-whorl was laid on a small pile of cremated bones. The grave also included two pots, an iron axe, an iron shield boss, an iron knife, the iron handle of a shield, the iron edge of a shield, and a bronze Certosa fibula. The cremated bones seem to have been placed in two separate piles located between a pot on each side, so it could be a double grave from LT B2.<sup>54</sup> This grave was cut from grave 458A, which contained a conical spindle-whorl placed on a small pile of cremated bones, and also a pot.<sup>55</sup> In the more richly-equipped grave 465, a rounded spindle-whorl was in a large pot serving as an urn, together with the cremated bones. The grave also included a pot, a bowl, two iron fibulae, two bronze bracelets, and two bronze anklets; the grave is from the end of LT B2.<sup>56</sup> In grave 608, a cylindrical spindle-whorl, conically widening towards the bottom, was found with the cremated bones in a large pot serving as an urn. Aside from the urn, the grave contained a smaller pot, a bronze bracelet and an iron bracelet; the grave has been dated to LT C1.<sup>57</sup>

There seems to be an exception: the rounded spindle-whorl from the warrior cremation grave 162; but it was found on the edge of the grave pit, a little away from the other finds (Fig. 8). The grave also included two pots (one of which contained cremated bones and served as an urn), two shield bosses and a long spear.<sup>58</sup> It is unknown whether this is the grave of a man who also participated in the process of making yarn or the spindle-whorl was the gift of a grieving family member. Likewise, the spindle-whorls in the grave fill could have arrived when the deceased was bur-

48 Križ 2001, 97, cat. no. 141; 2005, 72, T. 44: 2.

49 Križ 2005, 75, T. 48: 2.

50 Križ 2001, 97, cat. no. 143; 2005, 76, T. 49: 2.

51 Križ 2001, 99, cat. no. 151; 2005, 83, T. 57: 2.

52 Križ 2001, 107, cat. no. 202; 2005, 89, T. 65: 5.

53 Križ 2001, 112, cat. no. 233; 2005, 91, T. 70: 2.

54 Križ 2001, 122, cat. no. 297; 2005, 93–94, T. 77: 9.

55 Križ 2001, 123, cat. no. 298; 2005, 94, T. 76: 2.

56 Križ 2005, 94, T. 78: 4.

57 Križ 2001, 140, cat. no. 398; 2005, 99, T. 92: 3.

58 Križ 2001, 96, cat. no. 135; 2005, 63, 69, T. 40: 3.

48 Križ 2001, 97, cat. no. 141; 2005, 72, Pl. 44: 2.

49 Križ 2005, 75, Pl. 48: 2.

50 Križ 2001, 97, cat. no. 143; 2005, 76, Pl. 49: 2.

51 Križ 2001, 99, cat. no. 151; 2005, 83, Pl. 57: 2.

52 Križ 2001, 107, cat. no. 202; 2005, 89, Pl. 65: 5.

53 Križ 2001, 112, cat. no. 233; 2005, 91, Pl. 70: 2.

54 Križ 2001, 122, cat. no. 297; 2005, 93–94, Pl. 77: 9.

55 Križ 2001, 123, cat. no. 298; 2005, 94, Pl. 76: 2.

56 Križ 2005, 94, Pl. 78: 4.

57 Križ 2001, 140, cat. no. 398; 2005, 99, Pl. 92: 3.

58 Križ 2001, 96, cat. no. 135; 2005, 63, 69, Pl. 40: 3.

pojasna kopča i tri željezna obruča. Grob se može datirati u LT C2, pri čemu je jedna fibula starija. Kopče se inače nalaze u muškim grobovima te zajedno s tri obruča čine pojasnu garnituru. Ovi su nalazi pronađeni malo dalje od hrpice spaljenih kostiju, odnosno možda pripadaju nekom drugom muškome grobu.<sup>59</sup> Osim vjerojatno dvojnoga groba 458, i grob 505 s nalazom pršljena zaobljenog oblika izgleda da predstavlja dvojni grob budući da se još spominju nalazi željeznog koplja i željeznog umba.<sup>60</sup>

Pršljeni različitih oblika pronađeni su i u brojnim drugim grobnim cjelinama na Kapiteljskoj njivi s predmetima nošnje i nakita te keramičkim posudama,<sup>61</sup> a poznati su i kao slučajni nalaz izvan grobnih cjelina.<sup>62</sup> Isto tako, keramički pršljeni različitih oblika pronađeni su i na groblju na Kandiji.<sup>63</sup>

Keramički pršljeni potom su pronađeni i na kasnolatsko-rimskoj nekropoli na Beletovom vrtu tijekom obje faze pokopavanja, pri čemu se u analizi pažnja poklanja kasnolatskim grobovima (Tablica 3). Jednu od najvažnijih kasnolatskih grobnih cjelina na Beletovom vrtu predstavlja oštećeni grob 201, u kojem su pronađene srebrna fibula tipa Nauheim I.2 te brončana fibula tipa Nova Vas. U grob je položen pršljen koničnog oblika. U grobu su još pronađena četiri bradavičasta obruča, sječivo željeznog noža, staklene perle, ulomci narukvice od srebrne tordirane žice, ulomak ogledala, srebrni pleteni lančić, dva mala brončana obruča te tri lonca i pehar. Grob je datiran u LT D1b i vjerojatno predstavlja pokop žene.<sup>64</sup> U istovremenom oštećenome grobu 200 nalazio se pršljen diskoidnog oblika, zajedno s ulomkom većega želje-

ied. In grave 173, a conical spindle-whorl was also placed on the edge of the grave, a little away from the pile of cremated bones. The grave also includes a small pot, two iron fibulae, an iron belt buckle and three iron rings. The grave can be dated to LT C2, with one fibula being older. Buckles are usually found in men's graves; together with the three rings, they form a belt set. These items were found a little farther from the pile of cremated bones: that is, they may have belonged to another man's grave.<sup>59</sup> Along with grave 458, which is probably double, grave 505, with a rounded spindle-whorl, seems to be a double grave too, since it also included an iron spear and an iron shield boss.<sup>60</sup>

Spindle-whorls of various shapes were also found in numerous other grave assemblages in Kapiteljska Njiva, together with costume and jewellery items and ceramic vessels,<sup>61</sup> but are also known as chance finds outside funerary complexes.<sup>62</sup> Likewise, ceramic spindle-whorls of various shapes were found in the cemetery at Kandija.<sup>63</sup>

Ceramic spindle-whorls were then found in the Late La Tène and Roman cemetery at Beletov Vrt during both burial phases; the analysis focused on the Late La Tène graves (Table 3). One of the most important Late La Tène grave assemblages at Beletov Vrt is the damaged grave 201, with a silver fibula of the Nauheim I.2 type and a bronze fibula of the Nova Vas type. A conical spindle-whorl was placed in the grave. The grave also included four wart-like rings, an iron knife blade, glass beads, fragments of a twisted silver wire bracelet, a fragment of a mirror, a silver plaited chain,

59 Križ 2005, 74, T. 46: 8.

60 Križ 2001, 126, cat. no. 320.

61 Za ove grobove zasad nije poznat cjelokupan ansambl nalaza iako se ponekad (Križ 2001) navode i ostali nalazi iz grobne cjeline u kojoj je pronađen keramički pršljen. Npr., grob 228 s nalazima ukrašenoga koničnog i zaobljenog pršljena (103, cat. no. 174–175); grob 259 s nalazom zaobljenog pršljena koji je ukrašen s gornje strane vodoravnim nizom polumjesečastih otisaka (106, cat. no. 197); grob 317 s bikoničnim pršljenom (110, cat. no. 224); grob 319 s pršljenom koničnog oblika (110, cat. no. 225); grob 342 s pršljenom zaobljenog oblika (113, cat. no. 240); grob 398 s pršljenom bikoničnog oblika koji je ukrašen s gornje strane (116, cat. no. 261); grob 402 iz LT C1 s nalazom dva pršljena, zaobljenim i bikoničnim (117, cat. no. 264–265); grob 406 s pršljenom zaobljenog oblika (117, cat. no. 267); grob 423 s pršljenom koničnog oblika (118, cat. no. 269); grob 441 s pršljenom cilindričnog oblika, koji se konično širi prema dolje (120, cat. no. 285); grob 445 s pršljenom koničnog oblika (121, cat. no. 290); grob 455 s pršljenom bikoničnog oblika (122, cat. no. 293); grob 471 s pršljenom zaobljenog oblika (125, cat. no. 312); grob 502 s bikoničnim pršljenom, ukrašenim radijalno raspoređenim žljebovima na gornjoj polovici (126, cat. no. 319); grob 530 s pršljenom koničnog oblika (132, cat. no. 349); grob 538 iz LT C1 s ukrašenim pršljenom koničnog oblika (134, cat. no. 358); grob 550 s bikoničnim pršljenom (134, cat. no. 360); grob 559 s pršljenom zaobljenog oblika, ukrašenim nizom točkica (136, cat. no. 370); grob 563 s bikoničnim pršljenom (136, cat. no. 371); grob 581 s dva pršljena, jednim bikoničnim i drugim koničnim (138, cat. no. 383–384); grob 586 s ukrašenim zaobljenim pršljenom (138, cat. no. 386); grob 589 s ukrašenim bikoničnim pršljenom (138, cat. no. 387); grob 596 s ukrašenim bikoničnim pršljenom (139, cat. no. 391); grob 605 s koničnim pršljenom (140, cat. no. 394); grob 628 s bikoničnim pršljenom (142, cat. no. 408); grob 633 s koničnim pršljenom (143, cat. no. 410); grob 647 sa zaobljenim pršljenom (147, cat. no. 435); grob 652 s ukrašenim zaobljenim pršljenom (149, cat. no. 444); grob 653 s bikoničnim pršljenom (149, cat. no. 447).

62 Križ 2001, 154, cat. no. 471–474.

63 Križ 2001. Npr. konični pršljen u grobu 30 (Križ 2001, 162, cat. no. 527); bikonični pršljen u grobu 45 (Križ 2001, 163, cat. no. 536); bikonični pršljen, ukrašen urezanim linijama u grobu 54 (Križ 2001, 164, cat. no. 540).

64 Knez 1992, 67, T. 71: 14; Božič 2008, 50–51, sl. 23: 3.

59 Križ 2005, 74, Pl. 46: 8.

60 Križ 2001, 126, cat. no. 320.

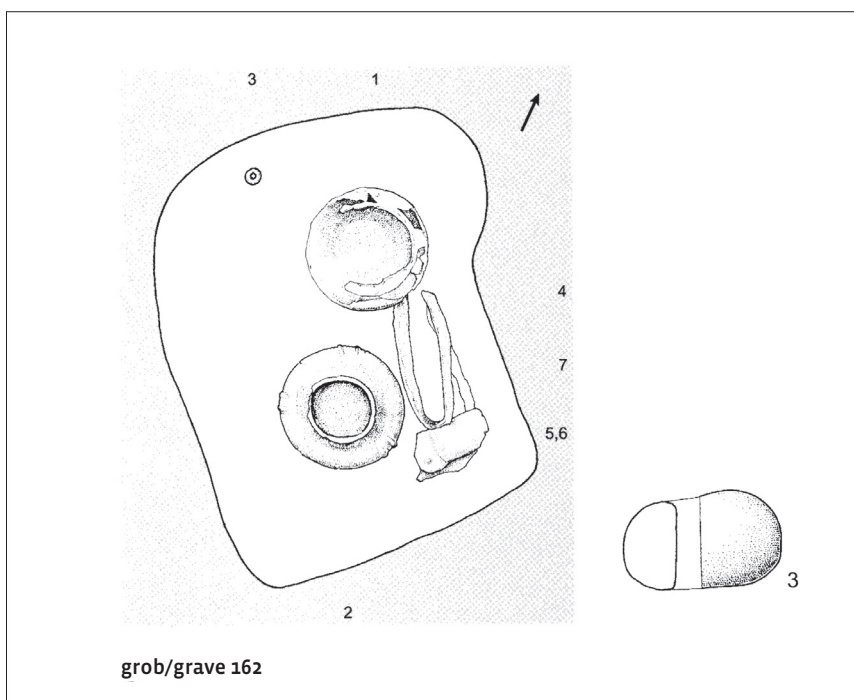
61 The entire ensemble of finds is still not known for these graves, even though some (Križ 2001) mention other finds from the grave assemblages where a ceramic spindle-whorl was found. E.g. grave 228, with a decorated conical spindle-whorl and a rounded spindle-whorl (103, cat. nos. 174–175); grave 259, with a rounded spindle-whorl decorated on top with a horizontal series of crescent-shaped prints (106, cat. no. 197); grave 317, with a biconical spindle-whorl (110, cat. no. 224); grave 319, with a conical spindle-whorl (110, cat. no. 225); grave 342, with a rounded spindle-whorl (113, cat. no. 240); grave 398, with a biconical spindle-whorl decorated on top (116, cat. no. 261); grave 402, from LT C1, with two spindle-whorls, one rounded and the other biconical (117, cat. nos. 264–265); grave 406, with a rounded spindle-whorl (117, cat. no. 267); grave 423, with a conical spindle-whorl (118, cat. no. 269); grave 441, with a cylindrical spindle-whorl widening downwards in a cone (120, cat. no. 285); grave 445, with a conical spindle-whorl (121, cat. no. 290); grave 455, with a biconical spindle-whorl (122, cat. no. 293); grave 471, with a rounded spindle-whorl (125, cat. no. 312); grave 502, with a biconical spindle-whorl decorated with radial grooves on the upper half (126, cat. no. 319); grave 530, with a conical spindle-whorl (132, cat. no. 349); grave 538, from LT C1, with a decorated conical spindle-whorl (134, cat. no. 358); grave 550, with a biconical spindle-whorl (134, cat. no. 360); grave 559, with a rounded spindle-whorl decorated with a series of dots (136, cat. no. 370); grave 563, with a biconical spindle-whorl (136, cat. no. 371); grave 581, with two spindle-whorls, one biconical and the other conical (138, cat. nos. 383–384); grave 586, with a decorated rounded spindle-whorl (138, cat. no. 386); grave 589, with a decorated biconical spindle-whorl (138, cat. no. 387); grave 596, with a decorated biconical spindle-whorl (139, cat. no. 391); grave 605, with a conical spindle-whorl (140, cat. no. 394); grave 628, with a biconical spindle-whorl (142, cat. no. 408); grave 633, with a conical spindle-whorl (143, cat. no. 410); grave 647, with a rounded spindle-whorl (147, cat. no. 435); grave 652, with a decorated rounded spindle-whorl (149, cat. no. 444); grave 653, with a biconical spindle-whorl (149, cat. no. 447).

62 Križ 2001, 154, cat. nos. 471–474.

63 Križ 2001. E.g. the conical spindle-whorl in grave 30 (Križ 2001, 162, cat. no. 527); the biconical spindle-whorl in grave 45 (Križ 2001, 163, cat. no. 536); the biconical spindle-whorl decorated with incised lines in grave 54 (Križ 2001, 164, cat. no. 540).

**SLIKA 8.** Novo Mesto–Kapiteljska njiva, plan groba 162 s položajem nalaza keramičkog pršljena (prema: Križ 2005).

**FIGURE 8.** Novo Mesto–Kapiteljska Njiva, ground plan of grave 162 with the position of the ceramic spindle-whorl (after: Križ 2005).



znog noža, loncem te ulomcima još jedne posude.<sup>65</sup> Mladi su grobovi s fibulama iz LT D2 stupnja. Tako je u oštećenom grobu 144 pronađen pršljen koničnog oblika, dok su u grobu još pronađeni ulomak brončane fibule tipa Idrija la te ulomci nekoliko keramičkih posuda.<sup>66</sup> U grobu 153 pronađen je pršljen diskoidnog oblika, zajedno s brončanom fibulom tipa Jezerine i još četiri keramičke posude. Radi se o pokopu odrasle osobe.<sup>67</sup> U grobu 179, uz brončanu fibulu tipa Idrija la te pet keramičkih posuda, nalazila su se dva pršljena. Jedan je diskoidnog oblika, dok je drugi bikoničnog, s gornjom polovicom koja je viša od donje, pri čemu je donja ukrašena s pet skupina od po tri trokutasto organizirana kružna otiska.<sup>68</sup> Pršljen bikoničnog oblika nalazio se i u dosta oštećenom grobu 188 u kojem su još pronađeni ulomci spirale brončane fibule, brončani obruč te još tri keramičke posude.<sup>69</sup>

Otkriće većeg broja ženskih grobova iz mlađega željeznog doba s priložima keramičkih pršljena na groblju Kapiteljska njiva, posebno kada se uspoređi s istovremenim grobljima na prostoru Karpatske kotline, sasvim sigurno predstavlja nastavak tradicije iz starijega željeznog doba u Dolenjskoj.<sup>70</sup> Na to bi ukazivala i sličnost oblika pršljena, što ne iznenađuje, budući da se radi o utilitarnom obliku kojemu je primarna bila svrsishodnost. Potom se ista tradicija nastavlja i na groblju na Beletovom vrtu tijekom kasnog latena pa sve do u rimsko razdoblje.

two small bronze rings, and three pots and a goblet. The grave has been dated to LT D1b and probably contains a woman.<sup>64</sup> The damaged grave 200, probably contemporary, contained a discoid spindle-whorl together with a fragment of a large iron knife, a pot, and fragments of another vessel.<sup>65</sup> The later graves with fibulae date from LT D2. Thus, the damaged grave 144 contained a conical spindle-whorl and also included a fragment of a bronze fibula of the Idrija la type, and fragments of several ceramic vessels.<sup>66</sup> Grave 153 contained a disc-shaped spindle-whorl together with a bronze fibula of the Jezerine type, and four ceramic vessels. It is the burial of an adult.<sup>67</sup> Grave 179, with a bronze fibula of the Idrija la type and five ceramic vessels, contained two spindle-whorls. One is discoid in shape, while the other is biconical with the upper half taller than the lower half, which is decorated with five groups of three circular prints arranged in triangles.<sup>68</sup> A biconical spindle-whorl was also found in the severely damaged grave 188, which also included fragments of the spiral of a bronze fibula, a bronze ring and three ceramic vessels.<sup>69</sup>

The discovery of a large number of women's graves from the Late Iron Age with ceramic spindle-whorls as grave goods in the cemetery of Kapiteljska Njiva, especially when compared to contemporary cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin, certainly represents a continuation of the tradition from the Early Iron Age in

65 Knez 1992, 65, T. 71: 2.

66 Knez 1992, 54, T. 52: 1. Spol i dob pokojnika nisu mogli biti određeni.

67 Knez 1992, 57, T. 54/6.

68 Knez 1992, 62, T. 64: 7–8. Spol i dob pokojnika nisu mogli biti određeni.

69 Knez 1992, 63, T. 68: 3.

70 Preložnik 2014.

64 Knez 1992, 67, Pl. 71: 14; Božič 2008, 50–51, Fig. 23: 3.

65 Knez 1992, 65, Pl. 71: 2.

66 Knez 1992, 54, Pl. 52: 1. The sex and age of the dead could not be determined.

67 Knez 1992, 57, Pl. 54/6.

68 Knez 1992, 62, Pl. 64: 7–8. The sex and age of the dead could not be determined.

69 Knez 1992, 63, Pl. 68: 3.



Na grobljima Skordiska, u jugoistočnom dijelu Karpatske kotline, keramički su pršljeni zabilježeni tek kao iznimka (Tablica 2). Tako je na groblju Pećine keramički pršljen zaobljenog oblika i promjera 3,9 x 4,2 cm pronađen samo u jednom grobu – paljevinskom grobu 24, koji je nalazima fibula datiran u LT B2. U grobu su pronađene četiri željezne fibule, željezna narukvica, željezni nož, dok je keramički servis sastavljen od tri lonca, kantharosa, zdjele te zdjele s poklopcem.<sup>71</sup> U kosturnom grobu 26, na groblju Osijek–Zelena polje, pronađen je pršljen bikoničnog oblika, tamnosive boje, koji je na tri mjesta ukrašen motivima koncentričnih kružnica. U grobu su pronađeni astragalni pojas te fibula s osmičastim petljama na nožici, zatim brončani obruči i privjesci, staklene perle, koštani predmet i manja keramička zdjela. Na osnovi nalaza fibule, grob je datiran u LT C1.<sup>72</sup> S istoga groblja, samo izvan grobne cjeline (iskop 21), potječe pršljen bikoničnog oblika koji je na najširem dijelu ukrašen dvama vodoravno položenim žljebovima iznad kojih su, s obje strane, okomiti žljebovi.<sup>73</sup> Na najvećem do sada istraženom groblju Skordiska, onom na Karaburmi, priloži pršljena gotovo da su nepoznati. Samo je u kasno-latenskom grobu 19 pronađen pršljen bikoničnog oblika, koji se nalazio u zdjeli S-profilacije, zajedno s brončanom narukvicom. Zanimljivo, spaljeni ostaci pokojnice u grobu nisu otkriveni.<sup>74</sup>

Slično grobljima Skordiska, keramički pršljeni dokumentirani su u kosturnim i paljevinskim grobovima latenske kulture diljem Karpatske kotline, no također se radi o malom broju grobnih cjelina (Tablica 2).

Na groblju Magyarszerdahely–Homoki Dúló u zapadnoj Mađarskoj, u oštećenom kosturnom grobu 9, u kojem je bilo pokopano dijete, pokraj kostiju zdjelice pronađen je ulomak bikoničnog pršljena promjera 3,8 cm. U grobu su još pronađeni staklena perla te dio žrvnja.<sup>75</sup> Bikonični pršljen promjera 4,6 cm, koji je s gornje strane ukrašen V-urezima, pronađen je i u oštećenom paljevinskom grobu 1 na groblju Zalaszentgrót–Aranyod. U grobu su još pronađeni brončani torkves, dvije brončane narebrene narukvice s pečatastim krajevima te ulomci manje posude. S obzirom na pronađene narukvice i njihov promjer, u grobu je vjerojatno bila pokopana odrasla žena te grob pripada LT B2.<sup>76</sup> Keramički pršljeni pronađeni su i na grobljima datiranim u LT B2-LT C1 u istočnoj Mađarskoj. Na groblju Ludas–Varjú-dúló, u paljevinskom grobu 669B, u kojem je pokopana bogato opremljena odrasla žena, pokraj zdjele je pronađen pršljen ovalnog oblika, koji je ukrašen s uskim, radijalno organiziranim kanelurama na obje polovice, dok je središnji dio između po jednog vodoravnog žljeba neukrašen. Pršljen je promjera 2,9 cm. U grobu su pronađeni brojni predmeti nošnje i nakita – dio željeznog pojasa, dvije brončane fibule, že-

the Dolenjska region.<sup>70</sup> This seems to be confirmed by the similar spindle-whorl shapes, which is not surprising, since it was a utilitarian shape with expediency as its primary purpose. The same tradition was continued in the cemetery of Beletov Vrt during the Late La Tène, all the way to the Roman period.

In the cemeteries of the Scordisci in the south-eastern Carpathian Basin, ceramic spindle-whorls have been found only exceptionally (Table 2). Thus, in the Pećine cemetery, a rounded ceramic spindle-whorl measuring 3.9 x 4.2 cm in diameter was found in only one grave: cremation grave 24, which has been dated to LT B2 on the basis of its fibulae. It contained four iron fibulae, an iron bracelet, an iron knife, and a ceramic set consisting of three pots, a kantharos, a bowl and a lidded bowl.<sup>71</sup> Inhumation grave 26 in the cemetery of Osijek–Zelena Polje contained a dark-grey biconical spindle-whorl, which is decorated in three places with motifs of concentric circles. It also included an astragal belt, a fibula with figure-of-eight loops on the foot, bronze rings and pendants, glass beads, a bone object and a small ceramic bowl. On the basis of its fibula, the grave has been dated to LT C1.<sup>72</sup> At the same cemetery, but outside the funerary complex (trench 21), there is a biconical spindle-whorl which is decorated at its widest part with two horizontal grooves that have vertical grooves above them on both sides.<sup>73</sup> At the largest explored cemetery of the Scordisci – the one at Karaburma – spindle-whorls as grave goods are virtually non-existent. Only Late La Tène grave 19 contained a biconical spindle-whorl inside an S-profile bowl together with a bronze bracelet. Interestingly, no cremated remains of a woman were found in the grave.<sup>74</sup>

As in the cemeteries of the Scordisci, ceramic spindle-whorls have been documented in inhumation and cremation graves of the La Tène culture throughout the Carpathian Basin, but it is a small number of grave assemblages (Table 2).

In the cemetery of Magyarszerdahely–Homoki Dúló, in western Hungary, there is the damaged inhumation grave 9, where a child was buried and where a fragment of a biconical spindle-whorl, 3.8 cm in diameter, was found next to the pelvic bones. The grave also included a glass bead and part of a millstone.<sup>75</sup> A biconical spindle-whorl, measuring 4.6 cm in diameter and decorated with V-incisions on the upper side, was found in the damaged cremation grave 1 in the Zalaszentgrót–Aranyod cemetery. The grave also included a bronze torc, two bronze ribbed bracelets with seal-shaped ends, and fragments of a small vessel. Given the bracelets and their diameter, it is probably the grave of an adult woman, belonging to LT B2.<sup>76</sup> Ceramic spindle-whorls have

71 Jovanović 2018, 64, 174, Pl. 28: 14.

72 Spajić 1962, 37–39; Božić 1981, 318, Fig. 3. Za podatak o nalazu keramičkog pršljena u grobu 26 zahvaljujem se Domagoju Dujmiću iz Arheološkog muzeja Osijek. E. Spajić u opisu groba (1962, 37) ne navodi nalaz pršljena.

73 Spajić 1962, 44, T. 21: 26.

74 Todorović 1972, 16, T. 7: 3.

75 Horváth 1987, 87–88, Pl. X: 13.

76 Horváth 1987, 131–132, Pl. XXXVIII: 14.

70 Preložnik 2014.

71 Jovanović 2018, 64, 174, Pl. 28: 14.

72 Spajić 1962, 37–39; Božić 1981, 318, Fig. 3. For the information on the find of a ceramic spindle-whorl in grave 26, I thank Domagoj Dujmić of Archaeological Museum Osijek in his description of the grave, Spajić (1962, 37) does not mention the find of a spindle-whorl.

73 Spajić 1962, 44, Pl. 21: 26.

74 Todorović 1972, 16, Pl. 7: 3.

75 Horváth 1987, 87–88, Pl. X: 13.

76 Horváth 1987, 131–132, Pl. XXXVIII: 14.

ljezna fibula, željezna narukvica, brončana nanogvica, ulomci brončanih predmeta, dva lonca te dvije zdjele. Grob je predmetima nošnje i nakita datiran u LT C1.<sup>77</sup> U paljevinskom grobu 1051 na istom groblju, u kojem je pokopano dijete u dobi od 1 godine, vjerojatno žensko prema ostalim pronađenim nalazima, pronađen je pršljen bikoničnog oblika promjera 4,6 cm, koji je ukrašen širokim okomitim kanelurama postavljenima na najširem dijelu. S jedne se strane na jednome mjestu nalaze tri V-ureza, smještene jedan u drugi, dok su s druge strane jedna dulja i jedna kraća valovita linija. Pršljen se nalazio na rubu hrpice spaljenih kostiju. Grob je bogato opremljen predmetima nošnje i obručastog nakita te keramičkim posudama – tri brončane fibule, pet željeznih fibula, brončana narukvica, željezna narukvica, brončana nanogvica, brončani prsten, dva željezna obruča te ulomcima još nekih predmeta, pet lonaca, djelom i vrčem – na osnovi kojih je datiran u LT B2.<sup>78</sup>

U paljevinskom grobu 20, na groblju Kistokaj–Kütelkek pronađen je sivi bikonični pršljen promjera 2,9 cm. U grobu su pronađeni lonac, zdjela, zatim još tri keramičke posude, od kojih je jedna imala ručku, željezni nož s trnom, željezna četvrtasta kopčica, spaljeni ulomci brončane narukvice, brončana narebrena narukvica s pečatistim krajevima, zatim ulomci još jedne takve narukvice, ulomci brončane Dux fibule s plastično ukrašenim lukom i kuglicom na nožici, ulomci fibule s narebrenim lukom te željezni i brončani predmeti. Grob je nalazima fibula i narukvica datiran u LT B2.<sup>79</sup> Na groblju Muhi–Kocsmadomb keramički pršljeni pronađeni su u tri paljevinska ženska groba koji nisu sačuvani u cijelosti. Pršljen zaobljenog oblika i promjera 2,5 cm iz groba 39 ukrašen je trima dvostrukim kružnicama izvedenim kaneliranjem. U grobu su još pronađeni ulomci posude izrađene rukom te ulomak brončanog predmeta koji je pronađen u zapuni groba.<sup>80</sup> U oštećenom grobu 41a, pronađeni su ulomci dvaju pršljena bikoničnog oblika, promjera 1,7 i 1,2 cm. Jedan je pršljen izrađen od gline s primjesom grafitu, a pronađen je s ulomkom brončane narebrenne nanogvice. U drugom dijelu, vjerojatno istoga groba, nalazila se brončana sljepoočničarka, obložena elektrumom, plosnati željezni obruč, spaljivanjem deformirani predmet, staklene perle, zlatna perla te ulomci posude.<sup>81</sup> U grobu 45, spaljeni ostaci pokojnice bili su položeni u veliki lonac, izrađen rukom, u funkciji urne. U urni su pronađeni pršljen bikoničnog oblika i promjera 2,6 cm, koji je ukrašen dvama vodoravnim žljebovima te ulomci dviju željeznih narukvica. Drugi je pršljen pronađen pokraj urne. Zaobljenog je oblika, promjera je 2,4 cm, te ima jednu polovicu koja je viša od druge.<sup>82</sup> Čini se kako sva tri groba predstavljaju ukope lokalnih žena.<sup>83</sup> S groblja Radostyán iz groba 7, za koji se pretpostavlja kako je bio paljevinski, potječe bikonični pršljen

also been found in cemeteries dating from LT B2–LT C1 in eastern Hungary. In the cemetery of Ludas–Varjú-dűlő, cremation grave 669B, of a richly-equipped adult woman, contained a bowl next to an oval spindle-whorl decorated with narrow radial grooves on both halves, while the central part, between single horizontal grooves, is unadorned. The spindle-whorl measures 2.9 cm in diameter. The grave included numerous items of costume and jewellery: a part from an iron belt, two bronze fibulae, an iron fibula, an iron bracelet, a bronze anklet, fragments of bronze objects, two pots and two bowls. The grave has been dated to LT C1 on the basis of the items of costume and jewellery.<sup>77</sup> Cremation grave 1051 in the same cemetery contained a child of about 1 year of age, probably female, judging by the other finds, and a biconical spindle-whorl, 4.6 cm in diameter, decorated with wide vertical grooves in the widest part. One side has a spot with three V-incisions nestled one inside another, while the other side has a longer and a shorter wavy line. The spindle-whorl lay on the edge of a pile of cremated bones. The grave was richly equipped with items of costume and ring jewellery and ceramic vessels – three bronze fibulae, five iron fibulae, a bronze bracelet, an iron bracelet, a bronze anklet, a bronze ring, two iron rings, and fragments of some other objects, five pots, a bowl and a jug – which were the basis for its dating to LT B2.<sup>78</sup>

Cremation grave 20 in the Kistokaj–Kütelkek cemetery included a grey biconical spindle-whorl measuring 2.9 cm in diameter. The grave also contained a pot, a bowl, three ceramic vessels, including one with a handle, an iron knife with a prong, an iron square buckle, burnt fragments of a bronze bracelet, a bronze ribbed bracelet with stamp-shaped ends, fragments of another such bracelet, fragments of a bronze Dux fibula with a relief-decorated bow and a knob on the foot, fragments of a fibula with a ribbed bow, and iron and bronze objects. The grave has been dated to LT B2 on the basis of the fibulae and bracelets.<sup>79</sup> At the cemetery of Muhi–Kocsmadomb, ceramic spindle-whorls were found in three women's cremation graves that have not been preserved in their entirety. The rounded spindle-whorl from grave 39, measuring 2.5 cm in diameter, is decorated with three double circles made by grooving. The grave also included fragments of a hand-made vessel and a fragment of a bronze object found in the grave fill.<sup>80</sup> The damaged grave 41a contained what seem to be fragments of two biconical spindle-whorls, 1.7 and 1.2 cm in diameter. One spindle-whorl is made of clay with an admixture of graphite, and was found with a fragment of a bronze ribbed anklet. In the other part of what was probably the same grave, there was a bronze temple ring lined with electrum, a flat iron ring, an object deformed by burning, glass beads, a gold bead,

77 Szabó, Tankó 2012, 24–25, Pl. VIII: 10.

78 Szabó, Tankó 2012, 65–66, Pl. XXXVIII: 19.

79 Hellebrandt 1999, 205, 211, Pl. LXXIV: 13.

80 Hellebrandt 1999, 224, 233, Pl. LXXXI: 6.

81 Hellebrandt 1999, 225, 233, Pl. LXXXIV: 10–11. Jedan se pršljen navodi kao keramička perla. Još se spominje nalaz pršljena u grobu II iz iskopavanja 1934. godine, zajedno sa željeznom narukvicom i keramičkom posudom: Hellebrandt 1999, 236, Fig. 193.

82 Hellebrandt 1999, 228, 233, Pl. LXXXIV: 6–7.

83 Hellebrandt 1999, 233–236.

77 Szabó, Tankó 2012, 24–25, Pl. VIII: 10.

78 Szabó, Tankó 2012, 65–66, Pl. XXXVIII: 19.

79 Hellebrandt 1999, 205, 211, Pl. LXXIV: 13.

80 Hellebrandt 1999, 224, 233, Pl. LXXXI: 6.

promjera 4,9 cm. U grobu su još pronađeni zdjela, manji lonac izrađen rukom, željezna fibula s dvije kuglice i brončanom pločicom između njih, željezna fibula s niskim i dugim lukom te kuglicom na spoju luka i nožice, kao i željezne škare. Grob je nalazima fibula datiran u LT C1.<sup>84</sup> U uništenom grobu 73, vjerojatno paljevinskom, na groblju Szentendre–Római–sáne road pronađen je keramički pršljen zaobljenog oblika. Iz groba su sačuvani ulomci keramičkih posuda, zatim ulomci željeznih predmeta, među njima i jedna fibula.<sup>85</sup>

Na groblju Tiszavasvári–Városföldje–Jegyzőtag, u kosturnom grobu 31, u kojem je pokopana žena u dobi od 23 do 40 godina, između nogu je pronađen keramički predmet koji nalikuju pršljenju zaobljenog oblika, promjera 3,2 cm, s nešto većom rupicom u sredini. Radi se o bogato opremljenom grobu, u kojem su pronađeni brojni predmeti nošnje i nakita te keramičke posude. Nošnji pripadaju pojasna ganitura, zatim dvije brončane fibule te još jedna brončana, kao i jedna željezna fibula, koje su možda bile povezane brončanim lančićem. Od nakita su pronađene dvije brončane narukvice i dvije nanogvice te lonac i zdjela. Grob je datiran na prijelaz LT B2 u LT C1, odnosno na sami početak LT C1.<sup>86</sup> Na groblju Mátraszőlős–Királydombi, u bogato opremljenom paljevinskom grobu 25, s obje strane hrpice spaljenih ostataka mlađe, odrasle pokojnice, pronađen je po jedan keramički pršljen. Jedan ima diskoidni oblik, dok je drugi bikoničan. U grobu je još pronađeno pet lonaca, od kojih je dio modeliran rukom, zatim dvije zdjele, željezni srp, pojas koji se vjerojatno sastojao od željezne kopljaste kopče, željeznih obruča i brončanoga dvostrukog lančića, zatim ostaci željezne fibule, ostaci brončanih nanogvica te brončani predmet. Grob se na osnovi nalaza datira u LT C1.<sup>87</sup> Pršljen cilindričnog oblika i promjera 3,9 cm zabilježen je i u bogato opremljenom ženskome kosturnom grobu na nalazištu Vezensy–Kisdebrecen. U grobu su još pronađeni brončani pojas s pravokutnim člancima i zoomorfnom kopčom, zatim brončana narukvica, brončani prsten i grafitirani situlati lonac, koji je ukrašen okomitim češljastim ukrasom. Grob je datiran u LT C1.<sup>88</sup>

Na grobljima u Slovačkoj, keramički su pršljeni zabilježeni u kosturnim i paljevinskim grobovima datiranima u LT B2–C1 te također nisu brojni (Tablica 2), pri čemu se izdvaja nešto stariji kosturni grob 21 s groblja Dubník. U spomenutom dvojnog grobu, u kojem su pokopani odrasla žena i novorođenče, pronađena su dva bikonična ukrašena pršljena koja su bila položena do keramičkih posuda koje su se nalazile kod nogu pokojnice. Jedan je pršljen ukrašen uskim okomitim žljebovima, dok je drugi ukrašen četiri motiva koncentrične kružnice, koje se dodiruju, a na vrhu su još četiri polumjesečasta ureza. Radi se o grobu bogato opre-

and fragments of a vessel.<sup>81</sup> In grave 45, the cremated remains of a woman were placed in a large handmade pot serving as an urn. The urn contained a biconical spindle-whorl, 2.6 cm in diameter and decorated with two horizontal grooves, and fragments of two iron bracelets. Another spindle-whorl was found next to the urn. It is rounded, 2.4 cm in diameter, and has one half taller than the other.<sup>82</sup> All three graves seem to be the resting places of local women.<sup>83</sup> Grave 7 in the Radostyán cemetery, presumed to have been a cremation grave, contained a biconical spindle-whorl, measuring 4.9 cm in diameter. The grave also included a bowl, a small handmade pot, an iron fibula with two knobs and a bronze plate between them, an iron fibula with a long, low bow and a knob at the junction of the bow and the foot, and iron scissors. The grave has been dated to LT C1 on the basis of the fibulae.<sup>84</sup> The destroyed grave 73 in the Szentendre–Római–sáne Road cemetery, probably a cremation grave, contained a rounded ceramic spindle-whorl. The grave also included fragments of ceramic vessels and fragments of iron objects including a fibula.<sup>85</sup>

Inhumation grave 31 in the Tiszavasvári–Városföldje–Jegyző tag cemetery was the resting place of a woman between 23 and 40 years of age, between whose legs a ceramic object was found that resembles a rounded spindle-whorl and measures 3.2 cm in diameter, with a somewhat large hole in the middle. It was a richly furnished grave in which numerous costume and jewelry items and ceramic vessels were found. The costume consists of a belt set, two bronze fibulae, and one bronze and one iron fibula that may have been on the same bronze chain. The jewelry consists of two bronze bracelets and two anklets, and a pot and a bowl. The grave has been dated to the transition from LT B2 to LT C1, or to the very beginning of LT C1.<sup>86</sup> The richly-equipped cremation grave 25 in the Mátraszőlős–Királydombi cemetery contained two ceramic spindle-whorls, one on each side of the pile of cremated remains of a young adult woman. One has a discoid shape, while the other is biconical. The grave also included five pots, some of them hand-modelled, then two bowls, an iron sickle, a belt – probably consisting of an iron spear-shaped buckle, iron rings and a bronze double chain – the remains of an iron fibula, the remains of bronze anklets, and a bronze object. On the basis of the finds, the grave has been dated to LT C1.<sup>87</sup> The richly-equipped woman's inhumation grave at the Vezensy–Kisdebrecen site contained a cylindrical spindle-whorl measuring 3.9 cm in diameter. The grave also included a bronze belt with rectangular segments and a zoomorphic buckle, a bronze bracelet, a bronze ring, and a graphite-coated situla pot decorated with a vertical comb-shaped ornament. The grave has been dated to LT C1.<sup>88</sup>

84 Hellebrandt 1999, 241, Pl. LXXXVII: 5.

85 Hellebrandt 1999, 37, Fig. 16.2.

86 Almássy 1998, 63, T. XXI: 1.

87 Almássy 2012, 97, T. XXXIV: 6–7.

88 Stanczik, Vaday 1971, 12, Fig. 1: 5.

81 Hellebrandt 1999, 225, 233, Pl. LXXXIV: 10–11. One spindle-whorl is listed as a ceramic bead. Also mentioned is the find of a spindle-whorl in grave II from the excavation of 1934, together with an iron bracelet and a ceramic vessel: Hellebrandt 1999, 236, Fig. 193.

82 Hellebrandt 1999, 228, 233, Pl. LXXXIV: 6–7.

83 Hellebrandt 1999, 233–236.

84 Hellebrandt 1999, 241, Pl. LXXXVII: 5.

85 Hellebrandt 1999, 37, Fig. 16.2.

86 Almássy 1998, 63, Pl. XXI: 1.

87 Almássy 2012, 97, Pl. XXXIV: 6–7.

88 Stanczik, Vaday 1971, 12, Fig. 1: 5.



mljene pokojnice s četiri željezne fibule, brončanom narukvicom, zatim koraljnim, jantarnim i staklenim (bikonične, ovalne i amforaste) perlama te osam keramičkih posuda.<sup>89</sup> Još je u oštećenom grobu 29, u kojem je pokopana mlađa žena, u uglu grobne rake pronađen kuglasti pršljen, dok su u grobu pronađeni i željezna fibula te tri keramičke posude.<sup>90</sup> Na groblju Horný Jatov-Trnovec nad Váhom, u oštećenom, ali bogato opremljenome ženskome kosturnom grobu 401, pronađen je manji pršljen promjera 2,7 cm s vodoravnim žljebom na najširem dijelu te okomitim žljebovima na svakoj polovici. Radi se o pokopu mlađe ženske osobe, pri čemu je pršljen definiran kao perla. Grob je datiran predmetima nošnje i nakita – željezni pojas, željezna fibula, brončana fibula, dvije brončane narukvice, ulomak jantara, tri lonca, posuda – u LT B2.<sup>91</sup> U kosturnom grobu 9, na groblju Hurbanovo-Bacherov majer, koji pripada pokopu odrasle ženske osobe, pronađen je konični pršljen promjera 3,4 cm. U grobu su još samo pronađeni keramička perla i brončani privjesak.<sup>92</sup> U paljevinskom grobu 1/55, s groblja Dvory nad Žitavou, nalazio se zaobljeni pršljen promjera 4,0 cm, koji je pronađen sa spaljenim ostacima pokojnika, vjerojatno djeteta, u loncu koji ima funkciju urne. Grob je nalazima predmeta nošnje i nakita – željezni pojas, željezna fibula, ulomci staklene narukvice, željezni nož, lonac, zdjela – datiran u LT C1.<sup>93</sup> Na groblju Kamenín, u paljevinskom grobu 15, u sloju paljevine na dnu grobne rake, pronađeni su manji zaobljeni pršljen, promjera 2,2 cm, te još samo dva lonca, dok se za spaljene ostatke pokojnika navodi kako nisu pronađeni.<sup>94</sup> U bogato opremljenom kosturnom grobu 129, na groblju Maňa, kod desne ruke pokojnice u dobi od 17 do 22 godine, pronađen je pršljen bikoničnog oblika, promjera 2,5 cm. Iznad lijeve strane prsa pokojnice pronađeni su i ostaci djeteta starog oko 5 godina, no nije sasvim sigurno radi li se o naknadnom ukopu. U grobu su pronađeni predmeti nošnje i nakita te keramičke posude – željezna fibula, brončani lančić, na kojem je vjerojatno bila jantarna perla, dvije brončane narukvice, željezna narukvica, dvije brončane nanogvice, brončani prsten te dva lonca. Grob je datiran u LT B2.<sup>95</sup> U paljevinskom grobu 477, na groblju Malé Kosihy, koji predstavlja pokop odrasle osobe, uz brus se nalazio veći bikonični pršljen, promjera 6,0 cm, koji je ukrašen s pet okomitih kanelura. U grobu, datiranom u LT C1, nalaze se dijelovi savijenog mača u koricama, željezni pojas, ulomci škara i britve, ili noža, zatim željezna fibula, brus, lonac, zdjela te ulomci posuda, kao i životinjske kosti. Zanimljivo, karakterističnih predmeta ženske nošnje i nakita u grobu nije bilo.<sup>96</sup>

Niti na groblju Mannersdorf u istočnoj Austriji nije pronađen veći broj grobova žena s prilogom pršljena, odnosno poznata su samo tri groba (Tablica 2).<sup>97</sup> U grobu 95, u kojem ostaci pokojnika nisu pronađeni, nalazio se pršljen zaobljenog oblika, promjera

In cemeteries in Slovakia, ceramic spindle-whorls have been found in inhumation and cremation graves dated to LT B2–LT C1, and they are also not numerous (Table 2); what stands out is the older inhumation grave 21 of the Dubník cemetery. This double grave, of an adult woman and a new-born, contained two decorated biconical spindle-whorls, which were placed next to the ceramic vessels located at the feet of the woman. One spindle-whorl is decorated with narrow vertical grooves, while the other is decorated with four touching concentric-circle motifs and with four crescent-shaped incisions at the top. It is the grave of a richly-equipped woman with four iron fibulae, a bronze bracelet, beads of coral, amber and glass (biconical, oval and amphora-shaped), and eight ceramic vessels.<sup>89</sup> Also, grave 29, which is the damaged grave of a young woman, contained a spherical spindle-whorl in the corner of the grave pit; the grave also included an iron fibula and three ceramic vessels.<sup>90</sup> At the cemetery of Horný Jatov-Trnovec nad Váhom, in the damaged but richly-equipped woman's inhumation grave 401, there was a small spindle-whorl, 2.7 cm in diameter, with a horizontal groove at its widest part and vertical grooves on each half. It is the grave of a young woman, with the spindle-whorl defined as a bead. On the basis of its costume and jewellery items – iron belt, iron fibula, bronze fibula, two bronze bracelets, an amber fragment, three pots and a vessel – the grave has been dated to LT B2.<sup>91</sup> Inhumation grave 9 in the cemetery of Hurbanovo-Bacherov Majer, which is the grave of an adult woman, contained a conical spindle-whorl with a diameter of 3.4 cm. The only other objects in the grave were a ceramic bead and a bronze pendant.<sup>92</sup> In cremation grave 1/55 of the cemetery of Dvory nad Žitavou, there was a rounded spindle-whorl measuring 4.0 cm in diameter, found with the cremated remains of what was probably a child, in a pot serving as an urn. On the basis of its costume and jewellery items – an iron belt, an iron fibula, fragments of a glass bracelet, an iron knife, a pot and a bowl – the grave has been dated to LT C1.<sup>93</sup> At the Kamenín cemetery, in cremation grave 15, in the cremated layer at the bottom of the grave pit, there was a small rounded spindle-whorl measuring 2.2 cm in diameter and just two pots, while the cremated remains of the deceased have apparently not been found.<sup>94</sup> Grave 129 in the Maňa cemetery, a richly furnished inhumation grave, included a biconical spindle-whorl measuring 2.5 cm in diameter near the right hand of a woman aged 17 to 22. The remains of a 5-year-old child were found above the left side of the woman's chest, but it is not entirely certain whether this was a subsequent burial. The grave also contained costume and jewellery items and ceramic vessels: an iron fibula, a bronze chain which probably used to have an amber bead, two bronze bracelets, an iron bracelet, two bronze anklets, a bronze

89 Bujna 1989, 271, Abb. 26. T. XXIV: 11–12; Bujna 1991, 235.

90 Bujna 1989, 279, Abb. 37, T. XXXVIA: 2.

91 Benadík, Vlček, Ambros 1957, 30–31, Pl. IX: 2.

92 Benadík, Vlček, Ambros 1957, 65, Pl. XXIII: 11.

93 Benadík, Vlček, Ambros 1957, 83, Pl. XXIX: 11.

94 Benadík, Vlček, Ambros 1957, 110, Pl. XLI: 13.

95 Benadík 1983, 60, Abb. 14, Pl. LII: 10.

96 Bujna 1995, 96–97, Pl. 49B: 3.

97 Ramsel 2011, 147.

89 Bujna 1989, 271, Fig. 26. Pl. XXIV: 11–12; Bujna 1991, 235.

90 Bujna 1989, 279, Fig. 37, Pl. XXXVIA: 2.

91 Benadík, Vlček, Ambros 1957, 30–31, Pl. IX: 2.

92 Benadík, Vlček, Ambros 1957, 65, Pl. XXIII: 11.

93 Benadík, Vlček, Ambros 1957, 83, Pl. XXIX: 11.

94 Benadík, Vlček, Ambros 1957, 110, Pl. XLI: 13.

2,9 cm, te tri male posude izrađene rukom.<sup>98</sup> S druge strane, u kosturnom grobu 212, s kamenom arhitekturom, u kojem je pokopana bogato opremljena žena u dobi od 19 do 25 godina, pokraj lijeve ruke pokojnice pronađen je bikonični pršljen, koji je ukrašen trima skupinama sastavljenima od po tri usporedna žlijeba, promjera 3,5 cm. Od predmeta nošnje i nakita pronađene su tri željezne fibule, željezna narukvica, brončana narukvica, dvije brončane nanogvice i dva brončana obruča. U grobu su još zabilježeni nalazi željezne sjekire, željeznih škara, željeznog noža te keramički servis sastavljen od četiri lonca i dvije zdjele. Grob je nalazima datiran u kraj LT B2.<sup>99</sup> U grobu 216, u kojem ostaci pokojnika također nisu pronađeni, zabilježeni su samo nalazi pršljena i malog lonca.<sup>100</sup> U kosturnom grobu 38, na groblju Pottenbrunn, u kojem je pokopana žena u dobi oko 30 godina, između desnog lakta i rebra pronađen je pršljen zaobljenog oblika. Na desnoj je podlaktici bila brončana narebrena narukvica. U grobu su još pronađeni željezna fibula srednjolatske sheme te situlasti lonac. Grob je datiran u LT B2b.<sup>101</sup> Posebno je zanimljiv kosturni grob 565 u kojem je, uz lijevo stopalo pokojnika, pronađen pršljen bikoničnog oblika kojemu je jedna polovica viša od druge. Radi se o grobu u kojem je navodno pokopan muškarac u dobi od 55 do 65, odnosno 65 do 70 godina. U grobu je pronađen veći broj keramičkih posuda (lonci i zdjele), četiri željezne fibule, zatim ulomci željeznih predmeta i dva prstena – brončani D-presjeka i srebrni sedlasto oblikovan. Grob je datiran u LT B.<sup>102</sup> Na groblju Manching–Steinbichel, u kosturnom grobu 28, kod desne je podlaktice pokojnice pronađen pršljen zaobljenog oblika, koji je s gornje strane ukrašen urezanim linijama. U grobu su još pronađeni brončana fibula, jantarne perle, brončana narukvica, narukvica od sapropelita, brončani zvonoliki privjesak, brončani prsten i brončani ukrašeni okov. Grob se datira u LT B2.<sup>103</sup>

Na biritualnom groblju Pişcolt sa 185 grobova, u sjeverozapadnoj Rumunjskoj, u kosturnom je grobu 16, u kojem je pokopana odrasla žena, u predjelu pojasa pronađen je pršljen bikoničnog oblika. Radi se o grobu bogato opremljene pokojnice s predmetima nošnje i nakita te zdjelom iz LT B2. Nošnji pripada pet brončanih fibula, zatim jedna vjerojatno željezna fibula i željezna kopča, dok su od nakita pronađene staklene i jantarne perle, brončana narukvica i dvije brončane nanogvice.<sup>104</sup> U paljevinskom grobu 140 nalazio se pršljen bikoničnog oblika. Radi se također o bogato opremljenom grobu žene u kojem su pronađeni željezna pojasna kopča pravokutnog oblika, dvije željezne fibule, brončani lančić, vjerojatno četiri brončane narukvice s pečatastim krajevima, brus, zatim šest lonaca različitih oblika, dva vrča te još dvije posude. Grob je nalazima predmeta nošnje i nakita također datiran u LT B2.<sup>105</sup> Na groblju Curtiuşeni, u kosturnom grobu 6, u

ring, and two pots. The grave has been dated to LT B2.<sup>95</sup> In cremation grave 477 in the Malé Kosihy cemetery, which is the grave of an adult, there was a large biconical spindle-whorl next to the whetstone; it had a diameter of 6.0 cm and was decorated with five vertical flutes. The grave, dated to LT C1, contained parts of a bent sword in a scabbard, an iron belt, fragments of scissors and a razor or knife, an iron fibula, a whetstone, a pot, a bowl, and fragments of vessels and animal bones. Interestingly, there were no characteristic items of women's costume and jewellery in the grave.<sup>96</sup>

Mannersdorf, in eastern Austria, is another cemetery with few graves of women with spindle-whorls: only three such graves are known (Table 2).<sup>97</sup> In grave 95, in which no remains of the dead were found, there was a rounded spindle-whorl with a diameter of 2.9 cm, and three small vessels made by hand.<sup>98</sup> On the other hand, in inhumation grave 212, with stone architecture, where a richly-equipped woman aged 19–25 was buried, there was a biconical spindle-whorl 3.5 cm in diameter, decorated with three groups composed of three parallel grooves, placed next to the left hand of the woman. The costume and jewellery items consisted of three iron fibulae, an iron bracelet, a bronze bracelet, two bronze anklets, and two bronze rings. The grave also contained an iron axe, iron scissors, an iron knife, and a ceramic set consisting of four pots and two bowls. On the basis of the finds, the grave has been dated to the end of LT B2.<sup>99</sup> Grave 216, where the remains of the dead were not found either, contained only a spindle-whorl and a small pot.<sup>100</sup> In inhumation grave 38 in the Pottenbrunn cemetery, where a woman of about 30 years of age was buried, a rounded spindle-whorl was found between the right elbow and the ribs. There was a bronze ribbed bracelet on the right forearm. The grave also included an iron fibula of the Middle La Tène scheme and a situla pot. The grave has been dated to LT B2b.<sup>101</sup> Inhumation grave 565 is of particular interest: next to the left foot of the dead there was a biconical spindle-whorl with one half taller than the other. It is a grave in which a man aged 55–65 or 65–70 is reportedly buried. It contained a large number of ceramic vessels (pots and bowls), four iron fibulae, fragments of iron objects, and two rings: a bronze D-sectioned ring and a silver saddle-shaped ring. The grave has been dated to LT B.<sup>102</sup> In inhumation grave 28 of the Manching–Steinbichel cemetery, a rounded spindle-whorl, decorated with incised lines on the upper side, was found next to the right forearm of the woman. The grave also included a bronze fibula, amber beads, a bronze bracelet, a sapropelite bracelet, a bronze bell-shaped pendant, a bronze ring and a bronze decorated fitting. The grave has been dated to LT B2.<sup>103</sup>

98 Ramsel 2011, 63, Abb. 118, T. 103: 1.

99 Ramsel 2011, 95, Abb. 117, T. 202: 3.

100 Ramsel 2011, 98.

101 Ramsel 2002, 30, 90, 139, Fig. 18, T. 35: 3.

102 Ramsel 2002, 48–49, 90, 145–146, Fig. 44, T. 67: 13; Grömer 2016, 273. Primjetna je razlika u dobi pokojnika u dijelu u kojem se opisuje grob s nalazima te u rezultatima antropološke analize.

103 Krämer 1985, 84, T. 14: 3.

104 Németi 1989, 79, 109, Fig. 2: 8.

95 Benadik 1983, 60, Fig. 14, Pl. LII: 10.

96 Bujna 1995, 96–97, Pl. 49B: 3.

97 Ramsel 2011, 147.

98 Ramsel 2011, 63, Fig. 118, Pl. 103: 1.

99 Ramsel 2011, 95, Fig. 117, Pl. 202: 3.

100 Ramsel 2011, 98.

101 Ramsel 2002, 30, 90, 139, Fig. 18, Pl. 35: 3.

102 Ramsel 2002, 48–49, 90, 145–146, Fig. 44, Pl. 67: 13; Grömer 2016, 273. There is a noticeable difference in the age of the dead between the part describing the grave with the finds and the results of the anthropological analysis.

103 Krämer 1985, 84, Pl. 14: 3.

kojem je pokopana starija žena, pronađen je pršljen zaobljenog oblika promjera 6,0 cm. Pršljen se nalazio u predjelu pojasa pa se pretpostavlja kako je bio obješen na pojas koji se zatvarao željeznom kopljastom kopčom i obručem. Radi se o bogato opremljenom grobu, s čak pet brončanih fibula, zatim jednom željeznom fibulom, tri brončane narukvice i dvije brončane nanogvice, dok su od keramičkih posuda pronađeni lonac i zdjela. Grob je datiran nalazima predmeta nošnje i nakita, prije svega fibulama, u kraj LT B2.<sup>106</sup>

Inhumation grave 16, of an adult woman, in Pișcolt, a biritual cemetery with 185 graves in north-western Romania, contained a biconical spindle-whorl in the area of the waist. It is the grave of a richly furnished woman with costume and jewellery items and a bowl from LT B2. The costume includes five bronze fibulae, what is probably an iron fibula, and an iron buckle; the jewellery includes glass and amber beads, a bronze bracelet, and two bronze anklets.<sup>104</sup> Cremation grave 140 contained a biconical spindle-whorl. It is another richly furnished grave of a woman; it included a rectangular iron belt buckle, two iron fibulae, a bronze chain, probably four bronze bracelets with seal-shaped ends, a whetstone, six pots of various shapes, two jugs, and two vessels. On the basis of the costume and jewellery items, the grave has been dated to LT B2, too.<sup>105</sup> Inhumation grave 6, of an elderly woman, in the cemetery of Curtuiușeni, contained a rounded spindle-whorl measuring 6.0 cm in diameter. The spindle-whorl was located in the area of the waist and is presumed to have been hung on a belt with an iron spear-shaped buckle and ring. It is a richly furnished grave with no fewer than five bronze fibulae, one iron fibula, three bronze bracelets and two bronze anklets, while the ceramic vessels were a pot and a bowl. On the basis of the costume and jewellery items, primarily the fibulae, the grave has been dated to the end of LT B2.<sup>106</sup>

## Zaključak

O svakodnevnim aktivnostima, koje su žene tijekom mlađega željeznog doba obavljale u svojim domaćinstvima, svjedoče karakteristični nalazi koji su položeni u njihove grobove i na simboličkoj razini predstavljaju njihovu ulogu u domaćinstvu. Ovoj skupini predmeta pripadaju nalazi željeznih noževa, dok se željezne šivaće igle i keramički pršljeni mogu povezati s izradom niti za tkanje i odjeće. Analize pokazuju kako se radi o skupini predmeta koja je na groblju u Zvonimirovu, ali i na ostalim grobljima latenske kulture u Karpatskoj kotlini, znatno slabije zastupljena u odnosu na predmete nošnje i nakita, no koja je također rodno karakteristična i predstavlja vrlo važan izvor spoznaja u proučavanjima različitih aspekata ženskih društvenih identiteta. Ovi predmeti na simboličkoj razini vjerojatno pokazuju kako su svakodnevne aktivnosti žena, uz brigu o odgoju djece, bile usmjerene na pripremanje hrane te izradu i održavanje odjeće. Upravo su ovi poslovi u domaćinstvima zahtijevali njihovu svakodnevnu posvećenost, zbog čega su potom vjerojatno i bili položeni u grobove.

Među predmetima svakodnevne uporabe, koji su položeni u grobove žena tijekom mlađega željeznog doba, najbrojniji su nalazi keramičkih pršljenja koji su služili za izradu niti, dok ostali dijelovi procesa (*chaîne opératoire*) izrade tkanina za sada nisu prikazani kroz prilaganje karakterističnih nalaza u grobove u Zvoni-

## Conclusion

The daily activities that women performed in their households during the Late Iron Age are evidenced by the characteristic finds that were laid in their graves, representing their role in the household on a symbolic level. This group of objects includes the finds of iron knives, while iron sewing needles and ceramic spindle-whorls can be associated with the production of weaving threads and clothing. The analyses show that this is a group of objects which is much less well-represented not only in the cemetery in Zvonimirovo, but also in other cemeteries of the La Tène culture in the Carpathian Basin, compared to the items of costume and jewellery, but which is also gender-specific and is a very important source of knowledge for the studies of various aspects of the social identities of women. On a symbolic level, these items probably show how the daily activities of women, in addition to bringing up children, were focused on preparing food and making and maintaining clothes. In fact, these household chores required daily dedication, which is probably why they were laid in graves later.

Among the objects of everyday use that were laid in the graves of women during the Late Iron Age, the most numerous finds are ceramic spindle-whorls used for making threads, while other parts of the process (*chaîne opératoire*) of making fabrics have not yet been revealed by characteristic finds laid in the graves, either in

105 Némethi 1988, 58, 68, Fig. 6: 12.

106 Teleagă 2008, 132–133, T. 5: 6, 12.

104 Némethi 1989, 79, 109, Fig. 2: 8.

105 Némethi 1988, 58, 68, Fig. 6: 12.

106 Teleagă 2008, 132–133, Pl. 5: 6, 12.

mirovu, ali niti na drugim latenskim grobljima.<sup>107</sup> S druge strane, nalazi šivaćih igli odnosili bi se vjerojatno na procese izrade i popravka odjeće, ali, također, ne radi se o brojnoj vrsti nalaza koja je bila položena u grobove.<sup>108</sup> Svakako, potrebno je istaknuti kako su nalazi keramičkih pršljena, pa čak i šivaćih igli, često zabilježeni u istraživanjima naselja latenske kulture, kada se pretpostavlja i postojanje radionica u kojima se odvijala izrada tkanina, ne samo za potrebe vlastitog domaćinstva.<sup>109</sup> Međutim, spomenuti nalazi s naselja ne mogu ponuditi odgovor na pitanje tko su zapravo bili članovi zajednice koji su aktivno sudjelovali u procesima izrade niti i tkanina, a potom i odjeće.

Nalazi keramičkih pršljena na groblju Zvonimirovo–Veliko polje pokazali su kako se radi o karakterističnom rodnom te dobno odredivom predmetu, koji se nalazi u malom broju grobova u kojima su pokopani spaljeni ostaci najčešće odraslih žena. Uobičajeno je polaganje po jednog pršljena u grob, pri čemu se za sada izdvaja samo grob LT 108 s pokopom djeteta, vjerojatno ženskog roda prema ostalim pronađenim nalazima, s čak tri pršljena (sl. 4). Isto tako, samo je pršljen iz groba LT 31 ukrašen (sl. 5a), što pokazuje kako im je osnovna namjena bila i najvažnija. Tragovi spaljivanja dokumentirani su samo na pršljenu iz groba LT 90 (sl. 5b), što vjerojatno pokazuje kako je pršljen bio položen na lomaču s pokojnicom. Da se vjerojatno radilo o osobnim predmetima pokojnica, ukazivalo bi i polaganje pršljena među njihove spaljene ostatke (sl. 1–4), zajedno s predmetima nošnje i nakita, što je dokumentirano i na drugim grobljima na kojima je također zabilježeno i polaganje pršljena u urne. Većina grobova s nalazom pršljena na groblju u Zvonimirovu sadrži uobičajene predmete nošnje i nakita, odnosno radi se o prosječno opremljenim pokojnicama. Brojem nalaza izdvajaju se dva groba – LT 31 i LT 91 – u kojima je dokumentiran nešto veći broj nalaza predmeta nošnje i nakita, a kojima se može pridružiti i grob 56, s groblja Brežice, u kojem su pronađena dva pršljena.

Slične su spoznaje dokumentirane i na ostalim grobljima latenske kulture u Karpatskoj kotlini na kojima se keramički pršljeni pronalaze u malom broju grobova u kojima su najčešće bile pokopane odrasle žene, vjerojatno one koje su bile u braku stoga i voditeljice domaćinstva. Tako su nalazi pršljena prepoznatljiva rodna, ali i dobna oznaka. Mali broj nalaza pršljena u grobovima žena tijekom mlađega željeznog doba na prostoru Karpatske kotline svoju tradiciju vjerojatno ima u prethodnom razdoblju mlađe faze starijega željeznog doba, kada su također rijetki grobovi žena s nalazima pršljena, posebno ako se ove spoznaje usporede s grobljima s početka starijega željeznog doba, kada keramički pršljeni predstavljaju čest nalaz u grobovima žena. S druge strane, primjetna je brojnost pršljena na grobljima mlađe-

Zvonimirovo or in other La Tène cemeteries.<sup>107</sup> On the other hand, the finds of sewing needles seem to indicate the processes of making and repairing clothes, but this kind of finds from graves is also rare.<sup>108</sup> It is certainly necessary to point out that finds of ceramic spindle-whorls, and even sewing needles, are frequent in the excavations of the settlements of the La Tène culture, and it is assumed that the period included workshops where fabrics were made for needs that went beyond a single household.<sup>109</sup> However, these finds from settlements cannot offer an answer to the question of who were the members of the community that actively participated in the processes of making threads and fabrics, and then clothes.

The finds at the cemetery of Zvonimirovo–Veliko Polje have shown that the ceramic spindle-whorl was a characteristic gender-specific and age-specific object, which has been found in a small number of graves with the cremated remains of mostly adult women. It was common to place a single spindle-whorl in the grave, as the only grave standing out for now is LT 108, where a child – probably female, judging by other finds – was buried with no fewer than three spindle-whorls (Fig. 4). Likewise, only the spindle-whorl from grave LT 31 is decorated (Fig. 5a), which shows that their basic purpose was also the most important one. Traces of burning have been recorded only for the spindle-whorl from grave LT 90 (Fig. 5b), which probably shows that the spindle-whorl was laid on the pyre with the dead. They were probably personal items of the dead women, as seemingly indicated by the fact that the spindle-whorl was laid among the cremated remains (Figs. 1–4), together with costume and jewellery items, which has been documented in other cemeteries too, where the putting of spindle-whorls inside urns has also been recorded. Most of the graves with spindle-whorls in the cemetery in Zvonimirovo contain the usual items of costume and jewellery, which means that the dead women were equipped in an average way. Two graves – LT 31 and LT 91 – stand out because of the larger number of finds of costume and jewellery items; here we can add grave 56 of the Brežice cemetery, where two spindle-whorls were found.

Similar insights have been reached in other La Tène cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin, where ceramic spindle-whorls have been found in a small number of graves, mostly of adult women, probably those who were married and managed their households. Therefore, the finds of spindle-whorls are a recognizable gender and age indication. The small number of spindle-whorls found in the graves of women from the Late Iron Age in the Carpathian Basin probably continues the tradition from the earlier period – the later phase of the Early Iron Age – when women's graves with

107 Nalazi utega za tkanje, koji bi ukazivali na postojanje tkalačkog stana na naseljima iz mlađega željeznog doba, za sada su rijetki: Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 16–17; Grömer 2010, 17; 2013, 36; 2016, 245. Zvonimirovu najbliži nalazi utega za tkanje, koji pripadaju ostacima tkalačkog stana, potječu sa srednjolatenskog naselja Virje–Sušine kod Koprivnice: Sekelj Ivančan, Karavidović 2016.

108 Grömer 2012, 55, Fig. 1.26: b, c; 2016, 218–222, Fig. 129; Dizdar, Ljuština 2019, 66–70.

109 Kurzynski 1996, 36; Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 13–15, 18; Grömer 2010, 17, 19; 2012, 44, 47, 58, 60–61; 2013, 38; 2014, 9; 2016, 247–248, 258, 260, Fig. 141.

107 Finds of loom-weights indicating the existence of a loom in Late Iron Age settlements are still rare: Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 16–17; Grömer 2010, 17; 2013, 36; 2016, 245. The finds of loom-weights belonging to the remains of a loom that are closest to Zvonimirovo come from the Middle La Tène settlement of Virje–Sušine, near Koprivnica: Sekelj Ivančan, Karavidović 2016.

108 Grömer 2012, 55, Fig. 1.26: b, c; 2016, 218–222, Fig. 129; Dizdar, Ljuština 2019, 66–70.

109 Kurzynski 1996, 36; Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 13–15, 18; Grömer 2010, 17, 19; 2012, 44, 47, 58, 60–61; 2013, 38; 2014, 9; 2016, 247–248, 258, 260, Fig. 141.

ga željeznog doba u Novome Mestu, posebno na Kapiteljskoj nji-  
vi (Tablica 3). Sasvim sigurno se radi o tradiciji polaganja pršljena  
u grobove koja se nastavlja iz starijega željeznog doba. Slično se  
može primijetiti, samo ne s takvom brojnošću pršljena, na gro-  
bljima mlađega željeznog doba u istočnoj Mađarskoj, gdje se u  
grobovima s pršljenima često nalaze keramičke posude izrađene  
rukom u tradicijama Szentes–Vekerzug grupe koja predstavlja  
materijalnu ostavštinu prethodne faze razvoja.

Samo rijetko se pršljeni nalaze u grobovima djece, kao što je  
grob LT 108 na groblju u Zvonimirovu (sl. 4). Usporedbu donekle  
predstavlja bogato opremljeni grob 1051 na groblju Ludas–Varjú-  
dűlő u kojem je pokopano dijete staro oko 1 godinu za koje  
se, na osnovi ostalih nalaza, može pretpostaviti kako predstavlja  
pokop osobe ženskog roda. Brojni nalazi predmeta nošnje i naki-  
ta u spomenutom grobu vjerojatno su odraz statusa i bogatstva  
obitelji kojoj je dijete pripadalo. Isto tako, pršljen u ovom grobu  
možda predstavlja simbolički dar majke koja je svoju kćer, da je  
odrasla, namjeravala naučiti presti budući da se znanje pređenja  
i tkanja vjerojatno prenosilo s majke na kćer još od djetinjstva.<sup>110</sup>  
Slično bi se možda moglo objasniti i polaganje triju pršljena u  
grob LT 108 u Zvonimirovu, pri čemu veći broj pršljena može uk-  
azivati kako se radilo o darovima pojedinih, vjerojatno ženskih  
članica obitelji.

Zanimljiva je rijetko i zabilježena pojava polaganja keramičkih  
pršljena u grobove koji su antropološkim analizama, ili prema  
sastavu ostalih grobnih nalaza, određeni kao grobovi muškaraca.  
Tako su u kosturnom grobu 19, s groblja Szentlőrinc, datiranom  
u kraj starijega željeznog doba, te u grobu 565, s groblja Potten-  
brunn, pršljeni bili položeni pokraj nogu pokojnika. Njima se  
može pridružiti i paljevinski grob 162, s groblja Kapiteljska njiva  
u Novome Mestu (sl. 8) u kojem je pršljen pronađen uz rub grobne  
rake. Iako postoji mogućnost kako su se tijekom mlađega želje-  
znog doba i muškarci bavili pređenjem,<sup>111</sup> prije se moglo raditi o  
daru pokojniku, možda ožalošćene supruge ili nekog drugog čla-  
na obitelji. Nalazi keramičkih pršljena na grobljima latenske kul-  
ture tako pokazuju kako su pređenje, a vjerojatno potom i tkanje,  
prvenstveno obavljale žene, što je također dokumentirano i u  
starijim te mlađim razdobljima.<sup>112</sup>

U grobovima latenske kulture na prostoru Karpatske kotline,  
slično Zvonimirovu, uobičajeno se nalazi prilog po jednog pršlje-  
na koji su često sličnih dimenzija, težina i oblika, što bi ukazivalo  
na standardizaciju u izradi niti.<sup>113</sup> U pokušaju rekonstrukcije nači-  
na kako su žene mogle nositi pršljen tijekom mlađega željeznog  
doba, važni su nalazi iz kosturnih grobova koji pokazuju kako  
se radilo o predmetu koji se vjerojatno nosio oko pojasa. Zani-  
mljivo, u istraživanjima istovremenih naselja keramički pršljeni  
predstavljaju uobičajen i brojan nalaz, što otvara zanimljivo pi-  
tanje zašto se obavljanje svakodnevnih poslova u domaćinstvu,

spindle-whorls were also rare, especially when these insights  
are compared with the cemeteries of the beginning of the Early  
Iron Age, where ceramic spindle-whorls have been a frequent  
find in women's graves. On the other hand, spindle-whorls are  
numerous in the cemeteries of the Late Iron Age in Novo Mesto,  
especially in Kapiteljska Njiva (Table 3). It is definitely a tradition  
of laying spindle-whorls in graves that was continued from the  
Early Iron Age. Something similar can be observed, but not with  
such a large number of spindle-whorls, in the Late Iron Age cem-  
eteries in eastern Hungary, where graves with spindle-whorls  
often contain handmade ceramic vessels in the tradition of the  
Szentes–Vekerzug group, which represents the material legacy  
of the previous stage of development.

Only rarely are spindle-whorls found in the graves of children,  
such as grave LT 108 in the cemetery in Zvonimirovo (Fig. 4). A par-  
tial parallel is the richly furnished grave 1051 in the Ludas–Varjú-  
dűlő cemetery, which contains a child of about 1 year of age  
that can be assumed to be female on the basis of the other finds.  
Numerous finds of costume and jewellery items in this grave  
probably reflect the status and wealth of the family to which  
the child belonged. Likewise, the spindle-whorl in this grave may  
represent a symbolic gift from a mother who would have taught  
her daughter to spin if she had grown up, since the knowledge  
of spinning and weaving was probably passed from mother to  
daughter from childhood.<sup>110</sup> A similar explanation might apply to  
the laying of three spindle-whorls in grave LT 108 in Zvonimirovo,  
where the large number of whorls may indicate that they were  
gifts from particular family members, probably women.

Another interesting thing is the rare laying of ceramic spindle-  
whorls in graves that have been identified as men's graves by  
anthropological analyses or the composition of other grave  
goods. Thus, the spindle-whorls in inhumation grave 19 of the  
Szentlőrinc cemetery, dated to the end of the Early Iron Age, and  
in grave 565 of the Pottenbrunn cemetery, were laid at the feet  
of the deceased. Here we can add cremation grave 162 of the  
Kapiteljska Njiva cemetery in Novo Mesto (Fig. 8), in which the  
spindle-whorl was found on the edge of the grave pit. Although  
there is a possibility that men also engaged in spinning during  
the Late Iron Age,<sup>111</sup> it was more probably a gift for the dead,  
perhaps from a grieving wife or some other family member.  
Therefore, the finds of ceramic spindle-whorls in the cemeteries  
of the La Tène culture show that spinning, and probably weav-  
ing too, was primarily performed by women, which has also been  
documented in earlier and later periods.<sup>112</sup>

The graves of the La Tène culture in the Carpathian Basin, as in  
Zvonimirovo, usually contain single spindle-whorls, which are  
often of similar dimensions, weight and shape, indicating stand-  
ardized thread making.<sup>113</sup> When trying to reconstruct the way

110 Bender Jørgensen 2012, 129–130; Lipkin 2013, 25; Costin 2013, 195.

111 O mogućem sudjelovanju muškaraca, kao i drugih članova obitelji, u poje-  
dinim fazama pripreme sirovine: Bender Jørgensen 2012, 129; Costin 2013, 188.

112 Bender Jørgensen 2012, 129; Costin 2013, 183; Grömer 2013, 43; 2016, 262–  
265.

113 Belanová–Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 11–15, Fig. 3.4.

110 Bender Jørgensen 2012, 129–130; Lipkin 2013, 25; Costin 2013, 195.

111 The possible participation of men and other family members in the par-  
ticular phases of preparing the raw material: Bender Jørgensen 2012, 129; Costin  
2013, 188.

112 Bender Jørgensen 2012, 129; Costin 2013, 183; Grömer 2013, 43; 2016, 262–  
265.

113 Belanová–Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 11–15, Fig. 3.4.





za koje se pretpostavlja da su bile obaveza svake žene u obitelji, nije uvijek zrcalilo u grobnom ritualu. Jesu li onda takvi predmeti bili položeni u grobove samo onih žena koje su bile posebno vješte u obavljanju svojih kućanskih poslova ili su dijelom u pitanju bile i određene ritualne norme? U svakom slučaju, polaganje keramičkih pršljena u grobove žena tijekom mlađega željeznog doba na prostoru Karpatske kotline vjerojatno pokazuje njihovu važnost u ekonomiji domaćinstva, dok na simboličkoj razini prikazuju različite aspekte prepoznatljivoga ženskog identiteta, zbog čega su ih potom ožalošćeni članovi obitelji i zajednice polagali u grobove svojih pokojnica.

women could have carried a spindle-whorl in the Early Iron Age, the finds from inhumation graves are important, as they show that this item was probably worn around the waist. Interestingly, the excavations of contemporary settlements include ceramic spindle-whorls as common and numerous finds, which raises an interesting question: it is assumed that the daily household chores were the responsibility of every woman in the family, so why are they not always reflected in the funerary rite? Were such items placed only in the graves of those women who were particularly skilled in performing their household chores, or is this partly a matter of certain ritual norms? In any case, the laying of ceramic spindle-whorls in the graves of women during the Late Iron Age in the Carpathian Basin probably shows their importance for the economy of the household, while on a symbolic level they show different aspects of recognizable female identity, which is why bereaved family and community members laid them in the graves of women.

GROBLJE / CEMETERY	ROD DOB / GENDER AGE	BROJ PRŠLJENA / No. OF SPINDLE-WHORLS	PREDMETI NOŠNJE / COSTUME ITEMS	PREDMETI NAKITA / JEWELLERY ITEMS	KERAMIČKE POSUDE / CERAMIC VESSELS	OSTALI NALAZI / OTHER FINDS	DATACIJA / DATING	LITERATURA / REFERENCES
Zvonimirovo grob / grave LT 5	Ž+D / F+Ch 20-35/5-8	1	željezni pojas, brončana fibula (3) / iron chain belt, bronze fibula (3)	staklena narukvica / glass bracelet	lonac, zdjela / pot, bowl		LT C2	Dizdar 2013, 363, 399-400, sl. / Fig. 146, T. / Pl. 12: 3
Zvonimirovo grob / grave LT 31	Ž / F 20-35	1	brončani pojas, željezna kopča, brončana fibula (5) / bronze belt, iron buckle, bronze fibula (5)	brončana narukvica, stakleni prsten (2) / bronze bracelet, glass finger-ring (2)	lonac / pot		LT C2	
Zvonimirovo grob / grave LT 77	Ž / F	1	željezni pojas, željezna kopča, željezna fibula / iron chain belt, iron buckle, iron fibula	staklena narukvica / glass bracelet	lonac / pot		LT C2	
Zvonimirovo grob / grave LT 90	Ž / F > 20	1	željezni pojas, brončana fibula (2) / iron chain belt, bronze fibula (2)	staklena narukvica / glass bracelet	lonac, zdjela, ulomak lonca / pot, bowl, fragment of pot	željezna šivaća igla / iron sewing needle	LT C2	Dizdar, Ljuština 2019, 58, T. / Pl. 1: 6
Zvonimirovo grob / grave LT 91	Ž / F 30-50	1	željezni pojas, željezna kopča, željezna fibula, bimetalna fibula (2), brončana fibula (3) / iron chain belt, iron buckle, iron fibula, bimetal fibula (2), bronze fibula (3)	staklena narukvica, željezni prsten / glass bracelet, iron finger-ring	lonac / pot	željezna igla / iron needle	LT C2	Dizdar, Ljuština 2019, 58, T. / Pl. 2: 21
Zvonimirovo grob / grave LT 108	D / Ch	3	željezni pojas, željezna fibula (2), brončana fibula / iron chain belt, iron fibula (2), bronze fibula	staklene perle / glass beads	lonac / pot	željezni nož, željezna spojnica / iron knife, iron clasp	LT C2	Dizdar 2016, 83

**TABLICA 1:** Grobovi s groblja Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje, u kojima se nalaze keramički pršljeni s nalazima predmeta nošnje i nakita te keramičkim posudama.

**TABLE 1:** Graves from the cemetery of Zvonimirovo-Veliko Polje containing ceramic spindle-whorls with finds of costume and jewellery items and ceramic vessels.

GROBLJE / CEMETERY	ROD DOB / GENDER AGE	BROJ PRŠLJENA / No. OF SPINDLE- WHORLS	PREDMETI NOŠNJE / COSTUME ITEMS	PREDMETI NAKITA / JEWELLERY ITEMS	KERAMIČKE POSUDE / CERAMIC VESSELS	OSTALI NALAZI / OTHER FINDS	DATAČIJA / DATING	LITERATURA / REFERENCES
Brežice grob / grave 34	Ž / F	1		staklena naru- kvice / glass bracelet			LT C1	Jovanović 2006, 61, 119–120, T. / Pl. 38: 4; 2007, 32, 53, sl. / Fig. 26
Brežice grob / grave 41	Ž / F	1	željezni pojas, brončana fibula (3), željezna fibula / iron chain belt, bronzne fibula (3), iron fibula	brončana nanogvica / bronze anklet			LT C1	Jovanović 2006, 65, 119–120, T. / Pl. 49: 6; 2007, 32, 53, sl. / Fig. 26
Brežice grob / grave 56	Ž / F 35-40	2	željezni pojas (2), željezna kopča, brončana fibula, željezna fibula (3) / iron chain belt (2), iron buckle, bronzne fibula, iron fibula (3)	željezna naručnica (3), brončana naručnica, brončana nanogvica, brončani prsten, stakle- na perla / iron bracelet (3), bronzne bra- celet, bronzne anklet, bronz- ne finger-ring, glass bead		željezni srp, želje- zna spojni- ca, željezna kutijica, željezni obruč, ulomci željezne žice / iron sickle, iron clasp, iron box, iron ring, frag- ments of iron wire	LT C1	Jovanović 2007, 32, sl. / Fig. 26, 53, kat. br. / cat. no. 27; 2011, 52, 54, 61–62, sl. / Fig. 3: 1, sl. / Fig. 11: 18–19
Spodnja Slivnica grob / grave 1	M+Ž? / M+F?	1	brončana fibula (2) / bronzne fibula (2)	brončana naručnica (2), brončana nanogvica (2), staklena perla / bronzne bracelet (2), bronzne anklet (2), glass bead			LT C1	Šribar 1957, 144, Sl. / Pl. 3: 4; Guštin 1977, 77, T. / Pl. 14; Bo- žič 1987, 872, T. / Pl. LXXXVI: 10–14
Pećine grob / grave 24	Ž / F	1	željezna fibula (4) / iron fibula (4)	željezna naru- čnica / iron bracelet	lonac (3), kantharos, zdjela, zdjela s poklopcem / pot (3), kant- haros, bowl, bowl with lid	željezni nož / iron knife	LT B2	Jovanović 2018, 64, 174, T. / Pl. 28: 14
Osiijek grob / grave 26	Ž / F	1	brončani astragal- ni pojas, brončana fibula / bronzne astragal belt, bronzne fibula	brončani privjesci, staklene perle / bronzne pen- dants, glass beads	posuda / vessel	brončani obruč (2), koštani predmet / bronzne ring (2), bone item	LT C1	Spajić 1962, 37–39; Božič 1981, 318, sl. / Fig. 3
Karaburma grob / grave 19	Ž / F	1		brončana naručnica / bronzne bra- celet	zdjela / bowl		LT D1	Todorović 1972, 16, T. / Pl. VII: 3
Magyarszerda- hely–Homoki dűlő grob / grave 9	D / Ch	1		staklena perla / glass bead		dio žrvnja / fragment of millstone		Horváth 1987, 87–88, T. / Pl. X: 13

GROBLJE / CEMETERY	ROD DOB / GENDER AGE	BROJ PRŠLJENA / No. OF SPINDLE-WHORLS	PREDMETI NOŠNJE / COSTUME ITEMS	PREDMETI NAKITA / JEWELLERY ITEMS	KERAMIČKE POSUDE / CERAMIC VESSELS	OSTALI NALAZI / OTHER FINDS	DATACIJA / DATING	LITERATURA / REFERENCES
Zalaszentgrót-Aranyod grob / grave 1	Ž / F odrasla / adult	1		brončani torques, brončana narukvica (2) / bronze torc, bronze bracelet (2)	ulomci manje posude / fragments of smallish vessel		LT B2	Horváth 1987, 131–132, T. / Pl. XXXVIII: 14
Ludas-Varjú-dűlő grob / grave 669B	Ž / F odrasla / adult	1	željezni pojas, brončana fibula (2), željezna fibula / iron chain belt, bronze fibula (2), iron fibula	željezna narukvica, brončana nanogvica / iron bracelet, bronze anklet	lonac (2), zdjela (2) / pot (2), bowl (2)	ulomci predmeta / fragments of item	LT C1	Szabó, Tankó 2012, 24–25, T. / Pl. VIII: 10
Ludas-Varjú-dűlő grob / grave 1051	D / Ch oko 1 / around 1	1	brončana fibula (3), željezna fibula (5) / bronze fibula (3), iron fibula (5)	brončana narukvica, željezna narukvica, brončana nanogvica, brončani prsten / bronze bracelet, iron bracelet, bronze anklet, bronze finger-ring	lonac (5), zdjela, vrč / pot (5), bowl, jug	željezni obruč (2), ulomci predmeta / iron ring (2), fragments of item	LT B2	Szabó, Tankó 2012, 65–66, T. / Pl. XXXVII: 19
Kistokaj-Kültelkek grob / grave 20	Ž / F	1	željezna kopča, brončane fibule (2) / iron belt buckle, bronze fibula (2)	brončana narukvica (2), ulomci brončane narukvice / bronze bracelet (2), fragments of bronze bracelet	lonac, zdjela, keramičke posude (3) / pot, bowl, ceramic vessels (3)	željezni nož, željezni i brončani predmeti / iron knife, iron and bronze items	LT B2	Hellebrandt 1999, 205, 211, T. / Pl. LXXIV: 13
Muhi-Kocsma-domb grob / grave 39	Ž / F	1			ulomci posude / fragments of vessel	brončani predmet / bronze item		Hellebrandt 1999, 224, 233, T. / Pl. LXXXI: 6
Muhi-Kocsma-domb grob / grave 41a	Ž / F	2		ulomak brončane nanogvice, brončana sljepoočničarka obložena elektrumom, staklene perle (2), zlatna perla / fragment of bronze anklet, bronze temple ring plated with electrum, glass bead (2), gold bead	ulomci posude / fragments of vessel	željezni obruč, deformirani predmet / iron ring, deformed item	LT B2	Hellebrandt 1999, 225, 233, T. / Pl. LXXXIX: 10–11
Muhi-Kocsma-domb grob / grave 45	Ž / F	2		željezna narukvica (2) / iron bracelet (2)	lonac u funkciji urne / pot functioning as an urn		LT B2-C1	Hellebrandt 1999, 228, 233, T. / Pl. LXXXIV: 6–7
Radostyán grob / grave 7		1	željezna fibula (2) / iron fibula (2)		zdjela, lonac / bowl, pot	željezne škare / iron scissors	LT C1	Hellebrandt 1999, 241, T. / Pl. LXXXVII: 5

GROBLJE / CEMETERY	ROD DOB / GENDER AGE	BROJ PRŠLJENA / No. OF SPINDLE-WHORLS	PREDMETI NOŠNJE / COSTUME ITEMS	PREDMETI NAKITA / JEWELLERY ITEMS	KERAMIČKE POSUDE / CERAMIC VESSELS	OSTALI NALAZI / OTHER FINDS	DATACIJA / DATING	LITERATURA / REFERENCES
Szentendre - Római sánc Road grob / grave 73	Ž? / F?	1	željezna fibula / iron fibula		ulomci posuda / fragments of vessels	željezni obruč / iron ring		Hellebrandt 1999, 37, sl. / Fig. 16.2
Tiszavasvári -Városföldje - Jegyzőtag grob / grave 31	Ž / F 23-40	1	pojasna ganitura, brončana fibula (3), željezna fibula brončani lančić / belt set, bronze fibula (3), iron fibula, bronze chain	brončana narukvica (2), brončana nanogvica (2) / bronze bracelet (2), bronze anklet (2)			LTB2/LT C1	Almássy 1998, 63, T. / Pl. XXI: 1
Mátraszőlős -Királydombi grob / grave 25	Ž / F mlada, odrasla / young-adult	2	pojasna garnitura - željezna kopljasta kopča, željezni obruči, brončani lančić, željezna fibula / belt set- iron spear-shaped belt buckle, iron rings, bronze chain, iron fibula	brončane nanogvice / bronze anklets	lonac (5), zdjela (2) / pot (5), bowl (2)	željezni srp, brončani predmet / iron sickle, bronze item	LT C1	Almássy 2012, 97, T. / Pl. XXXIV: 6-7
Vezeny-Kisdebrecen	Ž / F odrasla / adult	1	brončani pojas / bronze belt	brončana narukvica, brončani prsten / bronze bracelet, bronze finger-ring	lonac / pot		LT C1	Stanczik, Vaday 1971, 12, sl. / Fig. 1: 5
Dubník grob / grave 21	Ž+D / F+Ch? odrasla / adult 0-1	2	željezna fibula (4) / iron fibula (4)	brončana narukvica, koraljne, jantarne i staklene perle / bronze bracelet, coral, amber and glass beads	lonac (4), zdjela, šalica, žlica (2) / pot (4), bowl, cup, spoon (2)		LT B1/2	Bujna 1989, 271, sl. / Fig. 26. T. / Pl. XXIV: 11-12; 1991: 235
Dubník grob / grave 29	Ž / F mlada / youngish	1	željezna fibula / iron fibula		lonac (2), zdjela / pot (2), bowl		LT B2	Bujna 1989, 279, sl. / Fig. 37, T. / Pl. XXXVIA: 2
Horný Jatov-Trnovec nad Váhom grob / grave 401	Ž / F mlada / youngish	1	željezni pojas, željezna fibula, brončana fibula / iron belt, iron fibula, bronze fibula	brončana narukvica (2) / bronze bracelet (2)	lonac (3), posuda / pot (3), vessel	ulomak jantara / amber fragment	LT B2	Benadík, Vlček, Ambros 1957, 30-31, T. / Pl. IX: 2
Hurbanovo -Bacherov majer grob / grave 9	Ž / F odrasla / adult	1				keramička perla, brončani privjesak / ceramic bead, bronze pendant		Benadík, Vlček, Ambros 1957, 65, T. / Pl. XXIII: 11



GROBLJE / CEMETERY	ROD DOB / GENDER AGE	BROJ PRŠLJENA / No. OF SPINDLE-WHORLS	PREDMETI NOŠNJE / COSTUME ITEMS	PREDMETI NAKITA / JEWELLERY ITEMS	KERAMIČKE POSUDE / CERAMIC VESSELS	OSTALI NALAZI / OTHER FINDS	DATACIJA / DATING	LITERATURA / REFERENCES
Dvory nad Žitavou grob / grave 1/55	D? / Ch?	1	željezni pojas, željezna fibula / iron belt, iron fibula	staklena narukvica / glass bracelet	lonac, zdjela / pot, bowl	željezni nož / iron knife	LT C1	Benadić, Vlček, Ambros 1957, 83, T. / Pl. XXIX: 11
Kamenin grob / grave 15	/	1			lonac (2) / pot (2)			Benadić, Vlček, Ambros 1957, 110, T. / Pl. XLI: 13
Maňa grob / grave 129	Ž+D / F+Ch 17-22/5	1	željezna fibula / iron fibula	brončani lančić i jantarna perla, brončana narukvica (2), željezna narukvica, brončana nanogvica (2), brončani prsten / bronze chain and amber bead, bronze bracelet (2), iron bracelet, bronze anklet (2), bronze finger-ring	lonac (2) / pot (2)		LT B2	Benadić 1983, 60, sl. / Fig. 14, T. / Pl. 52: 10
Malé Kosihy grob / grave 477	M? / M? odrasli / adult	1	željezna fibula / iron fibula		lonac, zdjela, ulomci posuda / pot, bowl, fragments of vessels	mač u koricama, željezni pojas, ulomak škara, ulomak britve ili noža, brus / sword in scabbard, iron belt, fragment of scissor, fragment of razor or knife, whetstone	LT C1	Bujna 1995, 96-97, T. / Pl. 49B: 3
Mannersdorf grob / grave 95	/	1				posuda (3) / vessel (3)		Ramsl 2011, 63, sl. / Fig. 118, T. / Pl. 103: 1
Mannersdorf grob / grave 212	Ž / F 19-25	1	željezna fibula (3) / iron fibula (3)	željezna narukvica, brončana narukvica, brončana nanogvica (2), brončani obruč (2) / iron bracelet, bronze bracelet, bronze anklet (2), bronze ring (2)	lonac (4), zdjela (2) / pot (4), bowl (2)	željezna sjekira, željezne škare, željezni nož / iron axe, iron scissor, iron knife	LT B2	Ramsl 2011, 95, sl. / Fig. 117, T. / Pl. 202: 3

GROBLJE / CEMETERY	ROD DOB / GENDER AGE	BROJ PRŠLJENA / No. OF SPINDLE-WHORLS	PREDMETI NOŠNJE / COSTUME ITEMS	PREDMETI NAKITA / JEWELLERY ITEMS	KERAMIČKE POSUDE / CERAMIC VESSELS	OSTALI NALAZI / OTHER FINDS	DATAČIJA / DATING	LITERATURA / REFERENCES
Mannersdorf grob / grave 216	/	1			lonac / pot			Ramsl 2011, 98
Pottenbrunn grob / grave 38	Ž / F 30	1	željezna fibula / iron fibula	brončana narukvica / bronze bracelet	lonac / pot		LT B2	Ramsl 2002, 30, 90, 139, sl. / Fig. 18, T. / Pl. 35: 3
Pottenbrunn grob / grave 565	M? / M? 55-65 (65-70)	1	željezna fibula (4) / iron fibula (4)	brončani prsten, srebrni prsten / bronze finger-ring, silver finger-ring	lonac (4), zdjela (3) / pot (4), bowl (3)	željezni predmeti / iron items	LT B	Ramsl 2002, 48-49, 90, 145-146, sl. / Fig. 44, T. / Pl. 67: 13
Manching-Steinbichel grob / grave 28	Ž / F		brončana fibula / bronze fibula	brončana narukvica, narukvica od sapropelita, brončani prsten, jantarne perle, brončani zvonoliki privjesak / bronze bracelet, sapropelite bracelet, bronze finger-ring, amber beads, bronze bell-shaped pendant		brončani okov / bronze mount	LT B2	Krämer 1985, 84, T. / Pl. 14: 3
Pišcolt grob / grave 16	Ž / F odrasla / adult	1	željezna kopča, brončana fibula (5), željezna fibula / iron belt buckle, bronze fibula (5), iron fibula	brončana narukvica, brončana nanogvica (2), staklene i jantarne perle / bronze bracelet, bronze anklet (2), glass and amber beads	zdjela / bowl		LT B2	Németi 1989, 79, 109, sl. / Fig. 2: 8
Pišcolt grob / grave 140	Ž / F	1	željezna pojasna kopča, željezna fibula (2), brončani lančić / iron belt buckle, iron fibula (2), bronze chain	brončana narukvica (4) / bronze bracelet (4)	lonac (6), vrč (2), keramička posuda (2) / pot (6), jug (2), ceramic vessel (2)		LT B2	Németi 1988, 58, 68, sl. / Fig. 6: 12
Curtuiuşeni grob / grave 6	Ž / F starija / senior	1	željezna kopljasta kopča s obručem, brončana fibula (5), željezna fibula (1) / iron spear-shaped belt buckle with ring, bronze fibula (5), iron fibula	brončana narukvica (3), brončana nanogvica (2) / bronze bracelet (3), bronze anklet (2)	lonac, zdjela / pot, bowl		LT B2	Teleagă 2008, 132-133, T. / Pl. 5: 6.12

**TABLICA 2:** Grobovi s groblja u Karpatskoj kotlini i na jugoistočnoalpskom prostoru, u kojima se nalaze keramički pršljeni s nalazima predmeta nošnje i nakita te keramičkim posudama.

**TABLE 2:** Graves from cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin and the south-eastern Alpine area containing ceramic spindle-whorls with finds of costume and jewellery items and ceramic vessels.

GROBLJE / CEMETERY	ROD DOB / GENDER AGE	BROJ PRŠLJENA / No. OF SPINDLE-WHORLS	PREDMETI NOŠNJE / COSTUME ITEMS	PREDMETI NAKITA / JEWELLERY ITEMS	KERAMIČKE POSUDE / CERAMIC VESSELS	OSTALI NALAZI / OTHER FINDS	DATACIJA / DATING	LITERATURA / REFERENCES
Novo Mesto–Kapeljska njiva grob / grave 117	Ž / F	1	željezna fibula / iron fibula	željezna narukvica / iron bracelet	lonac / pot	željezni predmet / iron item		Križ 2005, 48, T. / Pl. 11: 2
Novo Mesto–Kapeljska njiva grob / grave 126	Ž / F	1	brončana fibula, željezna fibula / bronze fibula, iron fibula	brončana narukvica (2) / bronze bracelet (2)	lonac / pot		LT B2	Križ 2001, 89, kat. br. / cat. no. 96; 2005, 52–53, T. / Pl. 15: 2
Novo Mesto–Kapeljska njiva grob / grave 130	Ž / F	1	željezni pojas / iron chain belt	ulomak staklene narukvice, staklene perle (5) / fragment of glass bracelet, glass beads (5)	lonac (2) / pot (2)		LT C2	Križ 2001, 89, kat. br. / cat. no. 97; 2005, 54, T. / Pl. 17: 3
Novo Mesto–Kapeljska njiva grob / grave 132	Ž / F	1	željezni pojas, željezna fibula (2), brončana fibula / iron chain belt, iron fibula (2), bronze fibula	brončana narukvica, brončana nanogvica / bronze bracelet, bronze anklet	lonac (2) / pot (2)	željezna ručka štita / iron shield-handle	LT C1	Križ 2001, 90, kat. br. / cat. no. 101; 2005, 55, T. / Pl. 19: 4
Novo Mesto–Kapeljska njiva grob / grave 135	Ž / F	1	željezna fibula, brončana fibula / iron fibula, bronze fibula	željezna narukvica, staklena narukvica / iron bracelet, glass bracelet	lonac (5), zdjela / pot (5), bowl		LT C1	Križ 2001, 90, kat. br. / cat. no. 103; 2005, 57, T. / Pl. 21: 7
Novo Mesto–Kapeljska njiva grob / grave 143	Ž / F	1	željezna fibula / iron fibula	željezna narukvica (2), brončana narukvica, brončana nanogvica (2) / iron bracelet (2), bronze bracelet, bronze anklet (2)	zdjela, posuda / bowl, vessel	željezni nož, koštani obuči, željezni predmet / iron knife, bone ring, iron item	LT B2	Križ 2001, 91, kat. br. / cat. no. 109; 2005, 60, T. / Pl. 25: 2
Novo Mesto–Kapeljska njiva grob / grave 159		1			lonac, posuda / pot, vessel			Križ 2001, 93, kat. br. / cat. no. 118; 2005, 67, T. / Pl. 37: 3
Novo Mesto–Kapeljska njiva grob / grave 162	M / M	1			lonac (2) / pot (2)	željezni umbo (2), željezno koplje / iron shield-boss (2), iron spear	LT C2	Križ 2001, 96, kat. br. / cat. no. 135; 2005, 63, 69, T. / Pl. 40: 3
Novo Mesto–Kapeljska njiva grob / grave 168	Ž / F	1	željezna fibula (3) / iron fibula (3)	brončana narukvica / bronze bracelet	lonac / pot		LT C1	Križ 2001, 97, kat. br. / cat. no. 141; 2005, 72, T. / Pl. 44: 2
Novo Mesto–Kapeljska njiva grob / grave 173	M? / M?	1	željezna fibula (2), željezna kopča, željezni obruč (3) / iron fibula (2), iron belt buckle, iron ring (3)		lonac / pot		LT C2	Križ 2005, 74, T. / Pl. 46: 8

GROBLJE / CEMETERY	ROD DOB / GENDER AGE	BROJ PRŠLJENA / No. OF SPINDLE- WHORLS	PREDMETI NOŠNJE / COSTUME ITEMS	PREDMETI NAKITA / JEWELLERY ITEMS	KERAMIČKE POSUDE / CERAMIC VESSELS	OSTALI NALAZI / OTHER FINDS	DATACIJA / DATING	LITERATURA / REFERENCES
Novo Mesto–Kapi- teljska njiva grob / grave 176	Ž / F	1	željezna fibula (4) / iron fibula (4)	staklena na- rukavica / glass bracelet	lonac / pot	željezno šilo, želje- zni obruč (2) / iron awl, iron ring (2)	LT C2	Križ 2005, 75, T. / Pl. 48: 2
Novo Mesto–Kapi- teljska njiva grob / grave 179	Ž / F	1		staklena narukavica / glass bracelet	lonac / pot	željezni predmet / iron item	LT C2	Križ 2001, 97, kat. br. / cat. no. 143; 2005, 76, T./Pl. 49: 2
Novo Mesto–Kapi- teljska njiva grob / grave 196	Ž / F	1	brončana fibula / bronze fibula	staklena perla (4) / glass bead (4)	lonac / pot	željezna šivača igla / iron sewing needle	LT C	Križ 2001, 99, kat. br. / cat. no. 151; 2005, 83, T. / Pl. 57: 2
Novo Mesto–Kapi- teljska njiva grob / grave 228	Ž / F	2			lonac (2), zdjela, čaša / pot (2), bowl, cup			Križ 2001, 103, kat. br. / cat. no. 174–175
Novo Mesto–Kapi- teljska njiva grob / grave 260	Ž / F	1			lonac (3), vrč / pot (3), jug			Križ 2001, 107, kat. br. / cat. no. 202; 2005, 89, T. / Pl. 65: 5
Novo Mesto–Kapi- teljska njiva grob / grave 337	Ž / F	1	željezna fibula, brončana fibula (2) / iron fibula, bron- ze fibula (2)	staklena perla / glass bead	lonac / pot		LT C	Križ 2001, 112, kat. br. / cat. no. 233; 2005, 91, T. / Pl. 70: 2
Novo Mesto–Kapi- teljska njiva grob / grave 402	Ž / F	2		brončana narukavica / bronze bra- celet	lonac / pot		LT C1	Križ 2001, 117, kat. br. / cat. no. 264–265
Novo Mesto–Kapi- teljska njiva grob / grave 458	M+Ž / M+F	1	brončana fibula / bronze fibula		lonac (2) / pot (2)	željezna sjekira, željezni umbo, že- ljezni nož, željezna ručka štita, željezni rub štita / iron axe, iron shield- boss, iron knife, iron shield-han- dle, iron shield-edge reinforce- ment	LT B2	Križ 2001, 122, kat. br. / cat. no. 297; 2005, 93–94, T. / Pl. 77: 9
Novo Mesto–Kapi- teljska njiva grob / grave 458A		1			lonac / pot			Križ 2001, 123, kat. br. / cat. no. 298; 2005, 94, T. / Pl. 76: 2
Novo Mesto–Kapi- teljska njiva grob / grave 465	Ž / F	1	željezna fibula (2) / iron fibula (2)	brončana narukavica (2), brončana na- nogvica (2) / bronze bra- celet (2), bronze anklet (2)	lonac (2), zdjela / pot (2), bowl		LT B2	Križ 2005, 94, T. / Pl. 78: 4

GROBLJE / CEMETERY	ROD DOB / GENDER AGE	BROJ PRŠLJENA / No. OF SPINDLE-WHORLS	PREDMETI NOŠNJE / COSTUME ITEMS	PREDMETI NAKITA / JEWELLERY ITEMS	KERAMIČKE POSUDE / CERAMIC VESSELS	OSTALI NALAZI / OTHER FINDS	DATACIJA / DATING	LITERATURA / REFERENCES
Novo Mesto–Kapiteljska njiva grob / grave 505	M+Ž? / M+F?	1				željezno koplje, željezni umbo / iron spear, iron shield-boss		Križ 2001, 126, kat. br. / cat. no. 320
Novo Mesto–Kapiteljska njiva grob / grave 581	Ž / F	2		srebrni prsten / silver finger-ring				Križ 2005, 138, kat. br. / cat. no. 383–384
Novo Mesto–Kapiteljska njiva grob / grave 608				brončana narukvica, željezna narukvica / bronze bracelet, iron bracelet	lonac (2) / pot (2)		LT C1	Križ 2001, 140, kat. br. / cat. no. 398; 2005, 99, T. / Pl. 92: 3
Novo Mesto–Beletov vrt grob / grave 144	?	1	brončana fibula tipa Idrija Ia / bronze fibula of Idrija Ia type		lonac (3), čaša, vrč / pot (3), cup, jug		LT D2	Knez 1992, 54, T. / Pl. 52: 1
Novo Mesto–Beletov vrt grob / grave 153	? odrasla / adult	1	brončana fibula tipa Jezerine / bronze fibula of Jezerine type		lonac (2), čaša, pehar / pot (2), cup, goblet		LT D2	Knez 1992, 57, T. / Pl. 54: 6
Novo Mesto–Beletov vrt grob / grave 179	?	2	brončana fibula tipa Idrija Ia / bronze fibula of Idrija Ia type		lonac (3), zdjela, pehar / pot (3), bowl, goblet		LT D2	Knez 1992, 62, T. / Pl. 64: 7–8
Novo Mesto–Beletov vrt grob / grave 188	?	1	brončana fibula / bronze fibula		lonac (2), zdjela / pot (2), bowl	brončani obruč / bronze ring	LT D	Knez 1992, 63, T. / Pl. 68: 3
Novo Mesto–Beletov vrt grob / grave 200		1			lonac, posuda / pot, vessel	željezni nož / iron knife	LT D1b	Knez 1992, 65, T. / Pl. 71: 2
Novo Mesto–Beletov vrt grob / grave 201	Ž? / F?	1	srebrna fibula tipa Nauheim I.2, brončana fibula tipa Nova vas / silver fibula of Nauheim I.2-type, bronze fibula of Nova Vas type	ulomci narukvice od srebrne tordirane žice, četiri bradavičasta obruča, staklene perle, srebrni pleteni lančić / fragments of bracelet made of twisted silver wire, four rings with wart protrusions, glass beads, silver chain	lonac (3), pehar / pot (3), goblet	željezni nož, ulomak ogledala, brončani obruč (2) / iron knife, fragment of mirror, bronze ring (2)	LT D1b	Knez 1992, 67, T. / Pl. 71: 14; Božič 2008, 550–51, sl. / Fig. 23: 3

**TABLICA 3:** Grobovi s groblja u Novom Mestu–Kapiteljska njiva i Beletov vrt, u kojima se nalaze keramički pršljeni s nalazima predmeta nošnje i nakita te keramičkim posudama.

**TABLE 3:** Graves from the cemeteries of Novo Mesto–Kapiteljska Njiva and Beletov Vrt containing ceramic spindle-whorls with finds of costume and jewellery items and ceramic vessels.



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# DIE OSTKELTISCHEN SPÄTLATÈNEZEITLICHEN WAGENGRÄBER IM BURGMUSEUM DEUTSCHLANDSBERG UND AUS HRTKOVCI-VUKODER IN SYRMIEN

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*Eines der Phänomene der kontinentalen Eisenzeit ist der Brauch, die Elite nach mediterranem Vorbild mit zwei- oder vierrädrigen Wagen zu bestatten. Die Beigabe eines Wagens ist vor allem dann gut erkennbar, wenn die Wagen mit Elementen aus Metall, ob technische Elemente oder Zierteile, versehen waren. Innerhalb der Spätlatènezivilisation kommen Bestattungen mit vierrädrigen Wagen nur vereinzelt vor. Der elitäre Tote bzw. vornehme Krieger wurde auf den Kasten des vierrädrigen Wagens gelegt und samt Waffen und beigelegtem Trink- und Speiseservice am Scheiterhaufen verbrannt. Neben verschiedenen eisernen Wagenelementen wird an dieser Stelle auch ins Grab beigelegtes Herdgerät besprochen.*

*Den weit verstreuten Gräbern mit vierrädrigem Wagen sind unter anderem technische Details zum Wagenbau, das Pferdegeschirr und die häufige Beigabe von italischem Bronzegegeschirr gemeinsam. Wie es zu diesem Bestattungsphänomen innerhalb der weit entfernten Gebiete gekommen ist, muss offenbleiben. Der Fund aus Hrtkovci-Vukoder ist eindeutig mit der nächstgelegenen keltischen Siedlung der Skordisker auf der Gomolava zu verbinden. Für die östliche Herkunft des Bestatteten aus dem Wagengrab im Burgmuseum Archeo Norico Deutschlandsberg sprechen die Eisenfibeln vom Typ Gura Padinii und das Girlandemuster auf den Eisenplatten.*

**Stichwörter:**

Ostkeltien, Spätlatènezeit, Wagengräber, vierrädrige Wagen, Fleischgabeln

Bereits im Rahmen der Aufarbeitung des berühmten Grabes aus Boé in Südfrankreich legte Martin Schönfelder gut vergleichbare „fürstliche“ (Wagen-)Bestattungen der Spätlatènezeit bzw. vorrömischen Eisenzeit vor.<sup>1</sup> Zum damaligen Forschungsstand und zu seiner Fundliste können nunmehr das hier vorgelegte Grab im Burgmuseum Archeo Norico Deutschlandsberg (kurz: Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg) und ein Befund aus Hrtkovci-Vukoder hinzugefügt werden (Abb. 10).

Mit seiner gründlichen Analyse von Wagengräbern und ihrer zwei- und vierrädrigen Wagen schuf M. Schönfelder eine gute Basis, um die Bestattungssitte jener Zeit wie auch die Vielfältigkeit der verschiedenen Wagenteile zu verstehen. Im Rahmen unserer Vorlage der Befunde aus dem Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg und aus Hrtkovci-Vukoder lehnen wir uns an seine Auswertung und Terminologie an und legen etwaige neue Vergleichsfunde vor allem aus der späten vorrömischen Eisenzeit vor.

1 Schönfelder 2002.

## Das Wagengrab im Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg

Das in den Beständen des Burgmuseums Deutschlandsberg verwahrte Inventar eines unbekanntes Wagengrabes enthielt unter den verschiedenen eisernen Gegenständen vor allem charakteristische eiserne Wagenelemente. Da es sich um eine unerwartete und einmalige Entdeckung handelt, möchte ich das Wagengrab mit Genehmigung der Gebrüder Steffan-Stiftung der Fachwelt vorlegen.

Das Wagengrab verdient, obwohl es im Museum ohne begleitende Dokumentation aufbewahrt wird, schon wegen des relativ guten Zustands der Objekte entsprechende Beachtung und ist als erstklassiger archäologischer Fund ein guter Anlass, den Bau und die Bedeutung spätlaténezeitlicher Wagengräber erneut zusammenzufassen.

Das Inventar des Wagengrabes wurde nach Aussage der Überbringer dem Museum als zusammengehöriges Ensemble vermittelt; hierfür spricht auch der identische Kalksinterüberzug an allen Fundstücken. Das Inventar beinhaltet zwei eiserne, intentionell zusammengebundene Trensen und weitere eiserne Teile, die von einem vierrädrigen Wagen stammen. Zudem umfasst es weitere eiserne Objekte, wie ein Gürtelblech, eine Fibel und drei Sporen, die zur Bekleidung und Reiterausrüstung gezählt werden können. Dazu kommt die Beigabe von eisernem Essgeschirr, das als dem Toten mitgegebene Bankettutensilie zu erklären ist, sowie ein mit Eisen beschlagenes Kästchen. Inwieweit dieser interessante Befund vollständig ins Museum gelangt ist, muss offenbleiben.

## Trachtbestandteile und Bankettutensilien

Aus dem überlieferten Fundbestand können dem Toten mehrere eiserne Trachtbestandteile wie ein Gürtelblech, ein Armring und ebenso einige Bronze- und Eisenringe zugewiesen werden. Auffallend sind jene Beigaben, die zur Ausstattung eines Reiters zählen, wie die drei eisernen Sporen und die beiden Ringtrensen, die den Zugpferden des Wagens zuzurechnen sind. Der Rang der bestatteten Person wird zudem durch die Beigabe von Essgeschirr, wie einer großen Schöpfkelle mit Fleischhaken und Fleischgabel, eines Messerchens, aber auch durch ein hölzernes Kästchen betont.

Eine eiserne Fibel (Taf. 1: 1; Abb. 1: 1) vom Mittellatèneschema mit breiter Sehne mit 23 Windungen. Der Nadelhalter ist mit kleinen Kerben verziert. Länge: 14,7 cm.

Ein eiserner Armring (Taf. 1: 2; Abb. 1: 2) mit überlappenden Enden. Die Außenseite ist mit gleichmäßigen Rillen, die Enden sind mit Wulsten verziert. In der Mitte ist eine Halbrosette mit Punkten. Innendurchm. 7,5 cm.

Ein eisernes Gürtelblech (Taf. 1: 3; Abb. 3) mit erhaltenem verziertem Endbeschlag aus Silber, der mit drei silbernen Ziernieten befestigt wurde, deren halbkugelige Köpfe mit tiefen Einkerbungen verziert sind. Im Eisenblech stecken am Rand Reste einiger silberner Nieten, mit denen die fehlende (silberne) Zierplatte be-

festigt war. Zwei dickere silberne Nietreste sprechen dafür, dass es im Inneren der Platte auch größere Ziernägel gab. Länge 20 cm, Breite 5 cm.

Drei eiserne Sporen mit Knopfenden (Taf. 1: 4–6). Breite 5 bis 6,8 cm.

Eine eiserne Schöpfkelle (Taf. 2: 1). Der Griff endet in einem zurückgebogenem Haken. Durchm. 18 cm, Gesamtlänge ca. 80 cm.

Ein eiserner, im Querschnitt quadratischer Fleischhaken (Taf. 2: 2; Abb. 9: 1). Der Griff ist am Rücken durch feine parallele Linien verziert und endet mit einer kleinen Schlaufe, die wie die Endspirale mit kleinen Kerben verziert ist. Die Krümmung des Langschaftes scheint original zu sein. Die Spitze des Hakens ist abgebrochen; Länge 22 cm und 10,5 cm.

Eine eiserne Fleischgabel mit hülsenförmigem Befestigungselement (Taf. 2: 3). Länge 12,1 cm.

Ein bronzenes Attaschenfragment (Taf. 2: 4). Breite: 2,5 cm.

Ein eisernes Klingensfragment mit Nietloch (Taf. 2: 5). Breite: 3, 8 cm, Stärke: 3 mm, Länge: 5, 3 cm.

Eine eiserne Messerklinge (Taf. 2: 6). Spitze und Griff sind alt abgebrochen. Länge 9 cm.

Ein dreiseitiger Rahmen (Taf. 3: 3; Abb. 4: 1) aus im Querschnitt U-förmigem, sanft abgerundetem, kantigem Eisenblech mit je drei Nagellöchern an jeder Seite, in welchen zum Teil Pilzkopfnägel erhalten sind. Abstand zwischen den Nagellöchern von 5 bis 5,5 cm, Breite 3 cm, Höhe der Seitenteile 1,3 und 0,8 cm, Stärke 1,2 mm, Länge 16,1 cm (rechts), 15,1 cm (oben) und 7,4 cm (Fragment).

Ein fragmentiertes eisernes Zierblech (Taf. 3: 3; Abb. 4: 3), verziert mit mehreren Bogenreihen. Die Bögen, die beiderseits von Stichpunktzeilen flankiert sind, besitzen an den Enden herausgetriebene, mit Stichpunktzeilen umrahmte Buckel. In der Mitte ist ein mindestens 3 x 1,5 cm großes rechteckiges Loch. Auf der unteren Seite sind zwei Nagellöcher. Rekonstruierte Größe ca. 14 x 13 cm, Stärke 1 bis 0,5 mm.

Ein dreiseitiger Rahmen (Taf. 3: 2) mit je zwei Nagellöchern an jeder Seite, in denen zum Teil Pilzkopfnägel erhalten sind. Der Abstand zwischen den Nagellöchern beträgt 7 cm; Breite 3 cm, Höhe der Seitenteile 1 cm, Stärke 0,7 mm, Länge 12 cm (rechts), 9,9 cm (oben) und 3,7 cm (Fragment).

Ein stark fragmentiertes eisernes Zierblech (Taf. 3: 2). Auf dem erhaltenen Fragment ist kein Loch in der Mitte erkennbar. Etwas dünneres Blech. Wahrscheinliche Größe ca. 11 x 11 cm, Stärke 1 bis 0,3 mm.

Ein eiserner, achtkantig geschmiedeter Henkel mit langem Band-eisen (Taf. 4: 1; Abb. 4: 2). Breite zwischen den Henkelösen 5 cm, rekonstruierte Breite ca. 9,5 cm. Der Henkel hat an einer Öse noch den Ring, der den Henkel mit einem ca. 1,50 m langen Eisenband verband. Das 2 cm breite und 0,7 cm starke Band ist an beiden Rändern mit einer feinen Rille verziert. Unter den zerstückelten



Fragmenten sind der Teil einer Halterungsöse, ein Endstück eines Bandes mit Eisennagel mit quadratischem Querschnitt, an dem ein pilzförmiger Kopf aus Bronze angegossen ist, und ein absichtlich zusammengedrücktes Bandfragment erhalten.

Ein eisernes Bandeisen (Taf. 4: 2) mit einer Gesamtlänge von ca. 1,50 m. Breite: 2,2 bis 2,4 cm, Stärke: 1 bis 1,2 mm.

Ein dreifach gefaltetes eisernes Bandeisen (Taf. 4: 3) mit einer Gesamtlänge von ca. 80 cm. Zwei Nagellöcher mit 3 mm Durchmesser. Das Endstück des Bandes hat einen Eisennagel mit einem Bronzekopf in Pilzform. Breite: 2,2 cm, Stärke: 0,8 bis 1 mm.

Ein dreifach gefaltetes eisernes Bandeisen mit Nagellöchern (Taf. 8: 2). Breite 2,1 bis 2,2 cm, Stärke 1,5 bis 2 mm, Länge 27,7 cm.

### Der Wagen

Dem Wagen und dem Pferdegeschirr können eine ganze Reihe eiserner Gegenstände und Konstruktionselemente zugezählt werden. Intentionell zusammengebundene, einfache Ringtrensen sprechen für ein Doppelgespann mit zwei Pferden. Die Anzahl der Radbestandteile macht die Niederlegung eines vierrädrigen Wagens wahrscheinlich. Bei der Bestimmung der einzelnen Wagenteile lehnen wir uns vor allem an die schon erwähnte Studie über den Wagen aus Boé von M. Schönfelder an.

### Trensen

Zwei eiserne Ringtrensen (Taf. 5: 1), mit einem profilierten Bronzeband zu einem Bündel gebunden; Mundstücke und Zügelringe sind achtkantig geschmiedet. Gesamtlänge der Mundstücke 16 cm, Außendurchm. der Zügelringe 5,9 cm, Stärke 9 bis 10 mm; Länge des Bündels 13,5 cm.

### Räder und Achsen

Ein siebenbahmig gefalteter eiserner Radreifen (Taf. 6: 1). Breite 4,6 cm, Stärke 3 mm, Länge 291,5 cm.

Ein elfbahmig gefalteter eiserner Radreifen (Taf. 6: 2). Breite 4,5 cm, Stärke 3 mm, Länge 379,5 cm.

Ein neunbahmig gefalteter eiserner Radreifen (Taf. 6: 3). Breite 4,7 cm, Stärke 3 mm, Länge 411 cm. Durchm. des Radreifens 1,30 m.

Ein zweibahmig gefalteter eiserner Radreifen (Taf. 6: 4). Breite 4,6 cm, Stärke 3 mm, Länge 75,5 cm.

Ein Bruchstück eines eisernen Radreifens (Taf. 6: 5). Breite 4,7, Stärke 3 mm, Länge 50,5 cm.

Vier eiserne Achsnägel (Taf. 5: 2–5, Abb. 2: 1) mit brillenförmigem Kopf und geradem Stift. In der mit Kerben verzierten, vorspringenden Öse stecken Nieten mit Pilzkopf. Die innere Seite zeigt Spuren intensiver Abnutzung. Länge 11,4 cm.

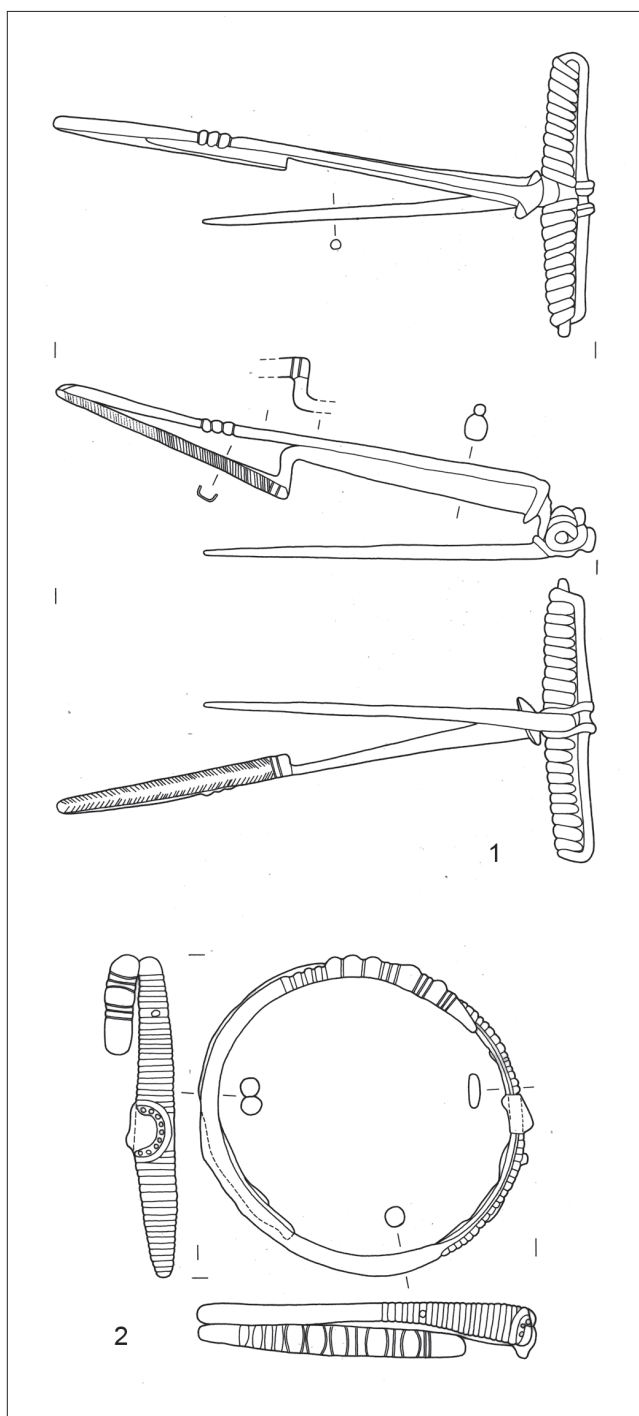
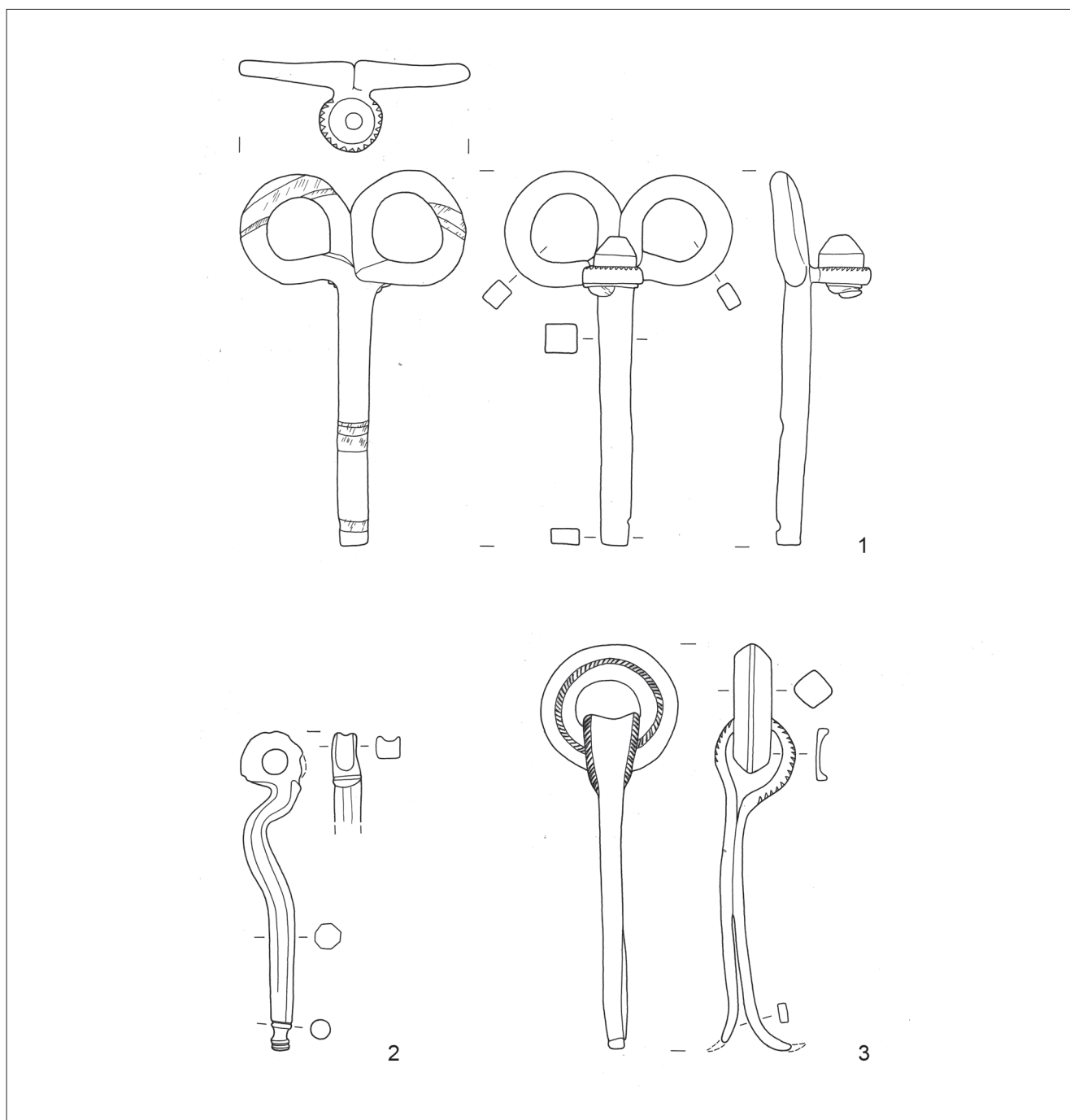


ABBILDUNG 1. Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg, Wagengrab: 1 Fibel; 2 Armring. Eisen, M= 1:2 (Zeichnung E. Haspl, J. Tratnik Šumi).

Sechs eiserne, flügelartige Stockringe (Taf. 6: 5–10). Breite 2,8 cm, Durchm. 7,5 cm.

Acht eiserne Nabenringe mit hohem Wulst (Taf. 6: 12–18), zwei davon zusammengesteckt (Nr. 13). Breite 7 cm, zwei mit Durchm. 12 cm, fünf mit Durchm. 13,5 cm, Innendurchm. 11,5 cm.



**ABBILDUNG 2.** Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg, Wagengrab: 1 Achsnagel (Taf. 5: 3), 2 Ösenstift (Taf. 5: 11), 3 Ring mit Doppelstift (Taf. 7: 9). Eisen, M = 1:2 (Zeichnung E. Haspl, J. Tratnik Šumi).

### Wagenkasten, Unterwagen

Eine eiserne Deichsel- oder Langfuhrmanschette mit hohem Mittelwulst (Taf. 5: 6). Länge 15,5 cm (unten), 14,7 cm (oben), Breite 5,2 bis 5,3 cm.

Drei eiserne Klammern (Taf. 7: 3–5), außen rundlich, innen flach, mit Verbindungsstift. Brettstärke demnach 2,4 bis 2,6 cm. Durchm. des rundlichen Teils: 5,9 bis 6,7 cm; Breite: 0,9 bis 1,1 cm; Stärke: 4,14 mm, 4,28 mm, 5,32 mm, Länge 10,2 bis 11 cm.

Acht eiserne Ringe mit Doppelstift (Taf. 7: 8–15, Abb. 2: 3), beide Teile sind mit Kerben verziert. Länge 13,7 cm.

Zwei eiserne, gekröpfte Ösenstifte (Taf. 7: 1–2, Abb. 2: 2) mit einer Kerbenzier. Länge 10,2 bis 10,4 cm.

Ein eiserner Ösenstift (Taf. 7: 7) mit zwei, im Ansatz gebrochenen Ösen an beiden Seiten, unten abgebrochen. Länge 11,2 cm.

Ein eiserner Doppelösenbügel (Taf. 3: 1). Länge 31,2 cm.

Ein Reibnagel/Federstift (Taf. 7: 6). Stärke des Stiftes 0,9 x 2,3 mm, Länge 29 cm.

Mehrere gefaltete (Taf. 8: 2). Bandeisen mit Längshohlbahn (Taf. 9). Alle Teilstücke weisen einen antiken Bruch auf, ein geschmiedetes Ende ist nicht zu erkennen. Breite 2 bis 2,3 cm, Stärke 10 bis 12 mm, Hohlbahntiefe 2 bis 4 mm, Gesamtlänge 10,57 m.

Ein zehnfach gefaltetes Bandeisen (Taf. 8: 3). Oberfläche mit Längshohlbahn. Breite 2,7 bis 2,8 cm, Stärke 5 bis 6 mm, Gesamtlänge 3,29 m.

### Nicht zuweisbar

Vier Bronzeringe (Taf. 1: 8–11). Durchm. 1,7–2,8 cm.

Ein Ring aus Blei (Taf. 1: 7). Durchm. 2,5 cm.

Vier Eisenringe (Taf. 1: 13–15). Durchm. 2,7 bis 3,4 cm.

Acht verschiedene eiserne Nägel (Taf. 1: 16–21; 22–24), sieben davon mit Pilzkopf. Länge von 2,9 bis 6,2 cm.

Ein eiserner Nagel mit breitem Rundkopf (Taf. 1: 22). Länge 4,1 cm.

Ein Eisenfragment nicht abgebildet. Breite: 3,8 cm, Stärke 3 mm, Länge 5,3 cm.

Ein Abschlussblech mit zwei Nagellöchern (Taf. 8: 1). Breite 2,6 cm, Stärke 1 mm, Länge 4,1 cm.

### Kommentar

Der Fund aus dem Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg scheint in weitgehend vollständigem Zustand ins Museum gelangt zu sein. Obwohl der Satz an persönlichen Beigaben nicht mit zeitgleichen Wagengräbern vergleichbar ist und Teile der Waffenausrüstung – wie Schwert, Lanze und Schild – gänzlich fehlen oder nicht ins Museum gelangt sind, machen das herausragende eiserne Gürtelblech mit kostbarem silbernem Beschlag, das Holzkästchen, das Essgeschirr und die drei Sporen sowie die dem Toten mitgegebenen Wagenreste eine Interpretation des Konvolutes als Grablage einer gut ausgestatteten, starken und zur Elite gehörenden Person wahrscheinlich.

Die eiserne Fibel (Abb. 1: 1, Taf. 1: 1) ist noch in der Tradition des Mittellatèneschemas hergestellt, die aber in dieser Ausführung mit ausgeprägtem Knopf am Bügelknick und drei Knöpfchen am Fuß als spätlaténezeitliches Erzeugnis einzuschätzen ist. Einen guten Vergleich zu dieser eisernen Fibel stellt die altbekannte Fibel aus Gura Padinii in Oltenien dar, die von Jovan Todorović unter dem falschen Fundort Aiud in Siebenbürgen publiziert worden war.<sup>2</sup> Sie wurde zusammen mit einigen wenigen ähnlichen Fibeln von Aurel Rustoiu als Typ 2b2 bzw. Typ Gura Padinii definiert.<sup>3</sup> Die Vertreter dieses Typs sind aus Eisen hergestellt und haben einen langgestreckten, gegen die Spirale hin leicht verdickten Bügel, mit starkem Knick zum Nadelhalter und zum Fibelkopf hin sowie einer breiten Spirale mit 12 bis 22 Windungen. Der zarte, zurückgebogene Fuß ist über dem Nadelhalter

meist mit drei kleinen Knöpfen, seltener mit einem großen profilierten Knopf versehen; am vorderen Knick bindet der Fuß mit einer einfachen, im Querschnitt manchmal kantigen Manschette an den Bügel an.

Unserer Fibel mit den drei kleinen Knöpfen auf dem Fuß und der 23 Windungen breiten Spirale sowie starkem Bügelknick zur Spirale hin entsprechen außer der Fibel aus Gura Padinii insbesondere die Fibel aus Dobrești (früher bezeichnet als Căciulătești) in Oltenien sowie zwei Exemplare mit etwas breiterem Bügel aus Sofronievo nördlich von Vraca in Bulgarien.

Die Verbreitung des Fibeltyps Gura Padinii ist auf das südliche Oltenien und nordwestliche Thrakien konzentriert. Aufgrund der Reitergräber Nr. 5 von Sofronievo und von Plevan datiert dieser Fibeltyp wie das Inventar des Wagengrabes im Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg eindeutig in die Stufe LT D1.<sup>4</sup> Dieser Fibeltyp ähnelt der Gruppe der repräsentativen langgestreckten Fibeln aus Silber und Bronze, jedoch mit mehr fließendem Übergang zur Spirale mit acht Windungen, die in der gleichen Zeit wie der Fibeltyp Gura Padinii existierten; jedoch mit einer Verbreitung, die sich räumlich vom Ostalpenrand, mit dem Exemplar von Zbeľovska Gora in der Štajerska, bis zum Donau-Knie mit einer Fibel aus Budapest-Budaszentlőrinc und weit nach Osten bis nach Oltenien mit der Fibel aus Corlate, die jedoch aus Eisen hergestellt wurde, erstreckt.<sup>5</sup>

Ein entsprechender Vergleich zum Armring (Abb. 1: 2; Taf. 1: 2) fehlt. Glatte eiserne massive Armringe mit oder ohne überlappende Enden finden sich häufig als Einzelstücke in mittel- und spätlaténezeitlichen Männergräbern der Taurischer und der Skordischer.<sup>6</sup> Verzierte Exemplare – wie in unserem Fall mit Rillen oder mit dicken Wulsten<sup>7</sup> – bleiben vereinzelt, noch seltener sind jene mit Mittelrosette.<sup>8</sup>

Zum eisernen Gürtelblech, von dem sich von dem Zierblech nur der silberne Randbeschlag (Abb. 3; Taf. 1: 3) erhalten hat, ist uns kein Vergleichsstück bekannt. Die Zierknöpfe mit tiefen Einkerbungen waren möglicherweise mit Email ausgefüllt. Ähnliche Zierniete, hergestellt in spätlaténezeitlicher Manier, kann man beispielsweise in der Regel an Helmen und Gürtelblechen beobachten.<sup>9</sup>

Zahlreiche Eisenteile können vielleicht einem Kästchen zugeschrieben werden, das aus den hölzernen Brettern hergestellt wurde und mit eisernen Bandrahmen und Zierblechen verstärkt wurde.

2 Todorović 1968, 99, sl. 27: 1.

3 Rustoiu 1997, 35, 97–98, 124; Fig. 20: 2–5.

4 Grab 5 von Sofronievo 5 wurde vorsichtig in die Stufe LT D1 datiert (Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2010, 190, Abb. 28: 1; Spănu 2019, 182–186).

5 Laharnar, Šmit, Šemrov 2017, 129, Fig. 9; Hanny 2017, 90, Fig. 14: 3; Spănu 2019, 185, Fig. 8: 2, siehe auch das lange silberne Exemplar aus unbekanntem Fundort in Transsylvanien (Fig. 8: 1).

6 Dizdar 2013, 203–207.

7 Z. B. ist ein Armring mit überlappenden Enden, verziert mit Ritzlinien in Bändern und einem Durchm. von 7,5 cm, aus dem spätlaténezeitlichen Gräberfeld aus Rospici Čuprija bekannt (Todorović 1971, 157, T. LXXII: 1).

8 Z. B. aus dem LT C1-datierten Grab 7 von Mokronog ein sehr massiver, geschlossener bronzener Armring (Guštin 1977, 82, T. 12: 8).

9 Zum Vorkommen solcher Zierknöpfe in der Region von Srem siehe Guštin, Koledin 2020, 195–196.

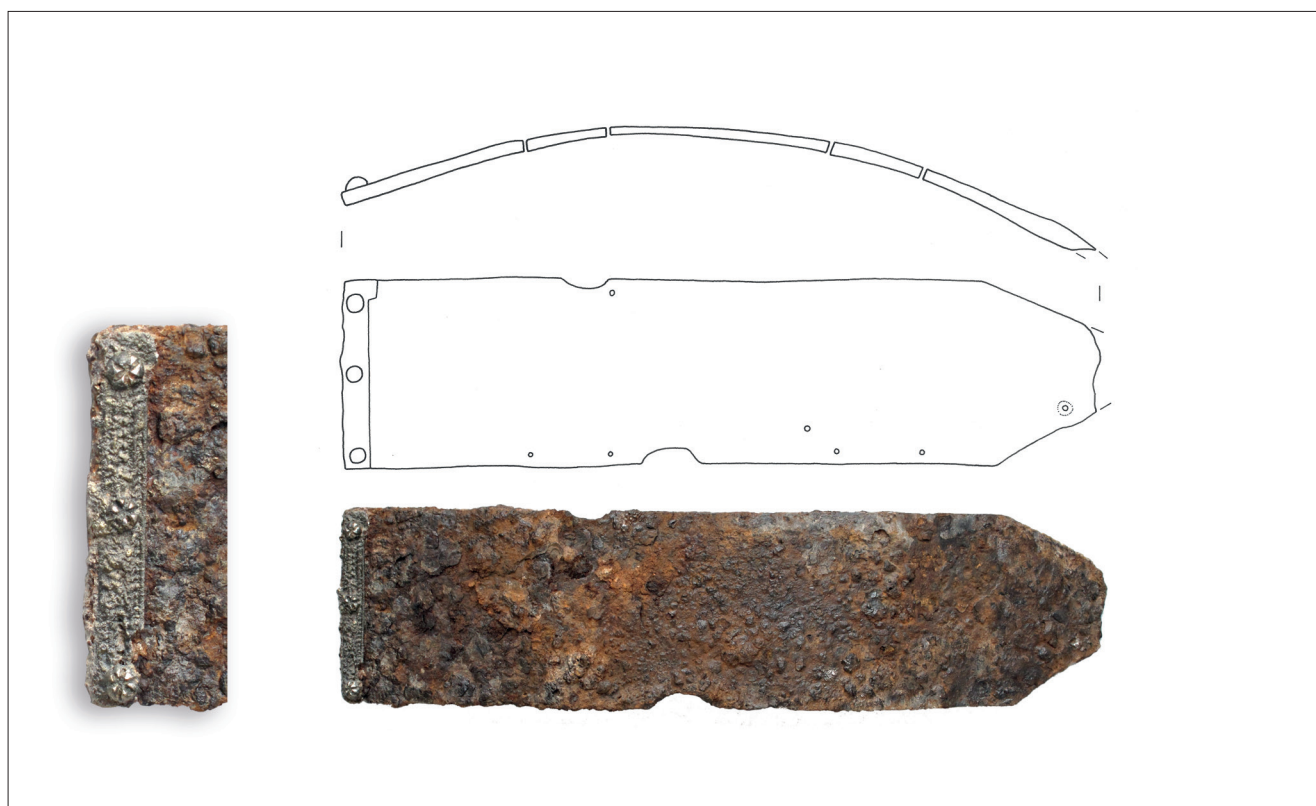


ABBILDUNG 3. Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg, Wagengrab: Eisernes Gürtelblech mit erhaltenem silbernem Randbeschlag (Zeichnung A. Steffan; Foto M. Guštin).

Die im Querschnitt U-förmigen, kantigen Blechfragmente können zwei verschiedenen großen, dreiseitigen Rahmen zugeteilt werden, einem größeren mit den Maßen 16 x 15 cm und einem kleineren mit den Maßen 12 x 12 cm (Abb. 4: 1; Taf. 3: 2–3). In beiden Fällen ist nur der rechte Winkel ganz erhalten geblieben, weil dort die Bruchstellen der Blechfragmente zusammenpassen. Die Seiten des größeren Rahmens sind mit je drei, jene des kleineren mit je zwei Vernagelungen versehen. Die geraden unteren Enden der linken und der rechten Seite beweisen, dass die Rahmen keine untere bzw. vierte Seite aufwiesen.

Zu diesen Rahmen passen zahlreiche schlecht erhaltene, kleine Eisenblechfragmente, aus denen man zwei Zierbleche (Abb. 4: 1; Taf. 3: 2–3) rekonstruieren kann. Den Dimensionen nach lassen sie sich gut ins Innere der beiden Rahmen einfügen. Das große Blech hatte in der Mitte ein rechteckiges, mindestens 3 x 1,5 cm großes Loch. Die Bleche sind im Inneren stärker (bis zu 1 mm), am Rand dünner (0,5 bzw. 0,3 mm), was bedeutet, dass die Ränder in den, im Querschnitt U-förmigen Rahmen eingefügt waren. In beiden Fällen sind je zwei Nietlöcher an der offenen unteren Seite des Rahmens zu vermerken. Die Zierbleche sind an drei Seiten entlang des Randes mit Reihen aus herausgetriebenen Bögen verziert. An den Enden der Bögen sind kleine Buckel. Sowohl die Bögen wie auch die Buckel sind von Stichpunktzeilen umrahmt. Auch die Mitte um das rechteckige Loch wurde mit dem gleichen Ornament versehen.

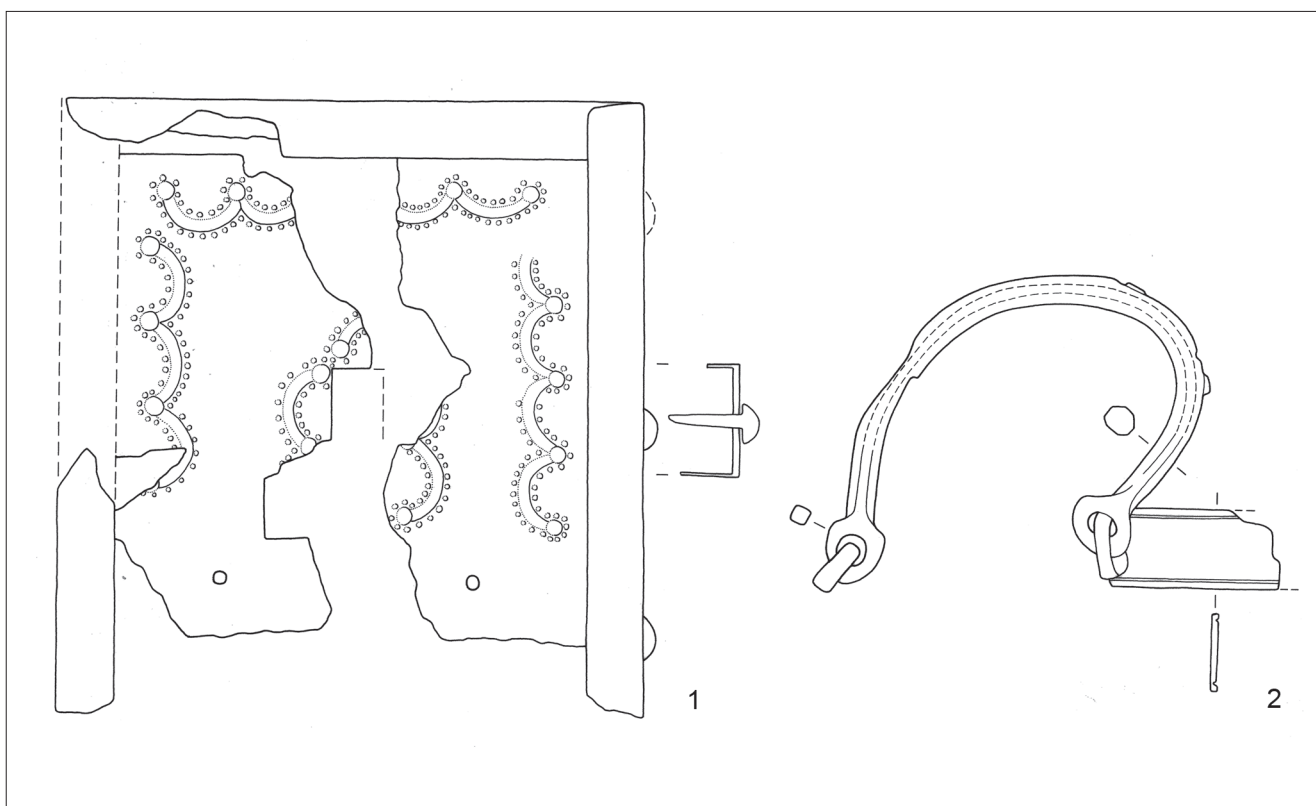
Ornamente aus einlinigem Girlandenmuster mit Einzelstempel an den Bogenenden finden sich im keltischen Raum seit der Frühlatènezeit und waren auch während der Mittellatènezeit beliebt.<sup>10</sup> Sie sind auch bei den Skordiskern und Tauriskern als girlandenartig umlaufende Halbmond-Stempel bzw. als Glättmuster auf der Schulter früh- und mittellatènezeitlicher Keramik zu finden.<sup>11</sup> Zeitlich gesehen ist die Verzierung der Zierbleche mit Bögen und Kreisen am besten mit dem Girlandenmotiv auf spätlatènezeitlichen Gürtelblechen vom Typ Laminci zu vergleichen.<sup>12</sup>

Zur Kästchenverstärkung sollten zwei, möglicherweise sogar drei Bandeisen gehören, die anscheinend mindestens an zwei Stellen an Holzbrettchen befestigt waren. Der Henkel mit geschlossenen Endösen wurde an einem langen Band mit seitlicher Rillenzier befestigt. Dieses Band mit einer Gesamtlänge von ca. 1,50 m wurde wahrscheinlich am oberen Teil oder sogar am oberen Rand des Kästchens befestigt. Mit dem zweiten Band wurde wohl der untere Rand des Kästchens verstärkt. Dazu ist jedoch zu bemerken, dass unter den zahlreichen Bandfragmenten keine Ecken zu erkennen sind (Abb. 4: 2; Taf. 4: 2–3).

10 Zeiler 2010, 10, 27–29.

11 Dizdar 2013, 352–262.

12 Arsenijević 2013, T. IV; V: 1, 5–10; VI: 1–5; Tab. 3; Plantos 2009, 47, Pl. III: 1.



**ABBILDUNG 4.** Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg, Wagengrab: 1 zeichnerische Darstellung der eisenbeschlagenen Holzplatte; 2 Henkel mit dem Umfassungsband mit seitlicher Rillenzier. Eisen, M = 1:2 (Zeichnung E. Haspl, J. Tratnik Šumi).

Eine Erklärung, wie das Kästchen nach den vorgelegten Eisenteilen wirklich aussah, lässt sich nicht geben.<sup>13</sup> Der größere Rahmen mit Zierblech mit rechteckigem Mittelloch könnte die stärker gearbeitete Fassung eines Schlüssellochs sein.

Eine Vorstellung, wie solche Kästchen aussahen, wurde von Emilie Riha bei der Aufarbeitung ähnlicher Metallgegenstände aus der römischer Siedlung Augusta Raurica gegeben. Die beiden verzierten Platten (Abb. 4: 1; Taf. 4: 2–3) sind gewissermaßen vergleichbar mit den römischen Verstärkungen für Schlüssellocher, obwohl sie im Detail davon abweichen; anders ist auch die Fertigung des Henkels, die bei den römischen Exemplaren in der Regel in zurückgebogenen Enden auslaufen.<sup>14</sup>

Die zur Reiterausrüstung zählenden, einfachen Bügelsporen mit flachen Knöpfen und kurzem Stachel sind überraschenderweise mit drei Exemplaren vertreten (Taf. 1: 4–6). Es handelt sich um

einen, in der gesamten keltischen Welt der spätlatènezeitlichen Stufe LT D1 verbreiteten Typ.<sup>15</sup>

Die hier zur Anwendung kommende Sitte, hochgestellte Persönlichkeiten auf einem vierrädrigen Wagen mit der Beigabe von Trachtgegenständen und Essgeschirr zu bestatten, spricht den Typen zufolge für eine Datierung der Niederlegung des Grabes während der Stufe LT D1.

13 Eiserne breitere Bänder und größere Nägel mit eisernem Stift und Bronzekopf aus dem Wagengrab von Boé wurden aufgrund kaiserzeitlicher Kästchen, die von Eisenbändern zusammengehalten und mit Bronzeköpfen verziert sind, als zusammengehörig erkannt und einem Kasten zugeordnet (Schönfelder 2002, 75–77).

14 Riha 2001, 16–33.

15 Filipović 2009; Sievers 2010, 38–39, Taf 60: 38, 39; Pieta 2010, 303–306.



## Die Wagengräber (?) aus Hrtkovci, Vojvodina

Tijana Stanković-Pešterac

Aus dem Dorf Hrtkovci, Flur Vukoder, unweit der berühmten Gornolava – besiedelt in prähistorischer und römischer Zeit, auf der abgesehen von anderen Perioden auch eine starke latènezeitliche Schicht erforscht wurde<sup>16</sup> –, stammen zahlreiche archäologische Funde. So gelangten aus dem bereits ab prähistorischer Zeit besiedelten Gebiet zahlreiche latène- und römerzeitliche Funde in das Regionalmuseum (Muzej Vojvodine, Novi Sad).

Die intentionell verbogenen und stark verbrannten spätlatènezeitlichen Funde aus dem Dorf Hrtkovci, Flur Vukoder, deuten nicht nur auf den Fundreichtum für diese Zeitperiode hin, sondern sprechen auch für ein, in diesem Gebiet liegendes, spätlatènezeitliches Gräberfeld. Jedoch sind die näheren Fundumstände nicht bekannt. Eine Publikation von Funden aus diesem zerstörten Gräberfeld erfolgte nur in einzelnen Fällen. Als Beispiel sind die Gürtelbleche vom Typ Laminci zu nennen.<sup>17</sup>

Im Ausstellungskatalog *Roman army in Srem* von Velika Dautova-Ruševljan und Miroslav Vujović wurden aus diesem Fundensemble vom Fundort Hrtkovci-Vukoder lediglich zahlreiche spätlatènezeitliche Gefäße aus Bronze und Eisen, Werkzeug und Gerät, Waffen, Pferdetransportmittel und Wagenteile katalogartig aufgezählt und vereinzelt abgebildet. Von 22 angeführten eisernen Waffen wurden nur ein Langschwert, zwei Hiebmesser und zwei Lanzen spitzen abgebildet. Der bei dieser Gelegenheit aufgezählte Gesamtfund besteht aus den folgenden Gegenständen:<sup>18</sup>

Drei Schwerter (Kat. Nr. 14–16, Länge 1,05–0,90 m, Breite 5–5,5 cm); ein Rundschildbuckel (Kat. Nr. 17, Durchm. 24 cm, Höhe 6 cm); 14 Lanzen spitzen (Kat. Nr. 18–31, Länge von 20,5 bis 73 cm); ein Hiebmesser, absichtlich verbogen, mit Ringgriff und bronzenem Wulst; der Rücken der Klinge ist mit zwei parallelen Querlinien und mit zwei doppelten Dreiecken verziert (Kat. Nr. 32, Länge 46 cm, Breite der Klinge 6 cm); drei Hiebmesser mit Ringgriff (Kat. Nr. 33–35, Länge von 22,5 bis 37 cm, Breite der Klinge von 4 bis 5 cm).

Dazu gehören zahlreiche fragmentierte Bronze- und Eisengefäße, wie z. B. eiserne Eimerhenkel und Schöpfkellen, ein Bronzekessel, mehrere Bronzefannen und ein Bronzeeimer (Kat. Nr. 36–43, 46–55, 57), zwei eiserne Bratspieße (Kat. Nr. 44), eine Schere (Kat. Nr. 45), ein Bronzeknopf (Kat. Nr. 56), sieben Messer (Kat. Nr. 58–64), ein Bohrer (Kat. Nr. 66), drei Meißel (Kat. Nr. 67, 69, 70), ein Werkzeug mit beinernen Griffplatten (Kat. Nr. 68) und vier tordierte Eisenstäbe (Kat. Nr. 65).

Eine zusammenfassende Auswertung des gesamten Fundgutes steht aus. In diesem Beitrag sollen die Wagenteile im Vordergrund stehen, während die restlichen Funde an anderer Stelle vollständig dokumentiert und ausgewertet werden müssen.

## Trensen und Wagenteile

Der Fund enthält Trensen aus Eisen, davon drei Exemplare, die zu den Hebelstangentrensen/Kandaren (Taf. 10: 1–3) gezählt werden können, und mindestens acht Exemplare einfacher Ringtrensen (Taf. 10: 4–10, 13). Zahlreiche Wagenteile und Eisenbeschläge können mehreren Wagen zugewiesen werden. Es handelt sich ausschließlich um relativ gut erhaltene Eisengeräte, die eindeutig als Wagenteile zu identifizieren sind. Als Wagenteile wurden von V. Dautova-Ruševljan und M. Vujović insgesamt 14 Reifen, 13 Nabenringe, 6 Achsnägel und verschiedene andere Kleinteile interpretiert.<sup>19</sup>

### Trensen

Eine eiserne Hebelstangentrense/Kandare (Taf. 10: 1), Typ XVI/4. Länge 22,6 cm.

Eine eiserne Hebelstangentrense/Kandare (Taf. 10: 2), Typ XVI/4; Länge 20,7 cm.

Eine fragmentierte eiserne Hebelstangentrense/Kandare (Taf. 10: 3), Typ XVI/4. Länge 24,7 cm.

Eine eiserne Ringtrense mit glattem Mundstück (Taf. 10: 4), Typ XIV/A. Länge des Mundstücks 13,7 cm, Durchm. der Zügelringe 8,8 cm.

Eine eiserne Ringtrense mit glattem Mundstück (Taf. 10: 5, Abb. 5: 2), Typ XIV/A. Länge 29,9 cm. Durchm. der Zügelringe 8,6 cm.

Eine eiserne Ringtrense mit tordiertem Mundstück (Taf. 10: 6, Abb. 5: 1), Typ XIV/D. Länge des Mundstücks 27,8 und 10 cm, Durchm. der Zügelringe 6,6 cm.

Eine eiserne Ringtrense? mit glattem einteiligem Mundstück (Taf. 10: 7), Typ XIV/A. Länge 19,7 cm, Durchm. der Zügelringe 6,2 cm.

Eine eiserne Ringtrense mit glattem Mundstück (Taf. 10: 8), Typ XIV/A. Länge 17,8 cm. Durchm. der Zügelringe 6,2 und 6,7 cm

Eisernes Mundstück (Taf. 10: 9), Typ XIV? Länge 16,5 cm.

Eisernes Mundstück (Taf. 10: 10), Typ XIV? Länge: 19,3 cm.

Eisernes Mundstück (Taf. 10: 13), Typ XIV?

Eisenfragmente einer Hebelstangentrense (Taf. 10: 11, 12, 14–17), Typ XVI/4.

16 Jovanović, Jovanović 1988.

17 Jovanović M. 2010.

18 Dautova-Ruševljan, Vujović 2006, 85–90, 93–95, fig. 24, 29b, 50–53, 61–64.

19 Dautova-Ruševljan, Vujović 2006, 85, 86, Kat. Nr. 1–8. Die angegebene Zahl der Radreifen ist heute nicht mehr feststellbar.

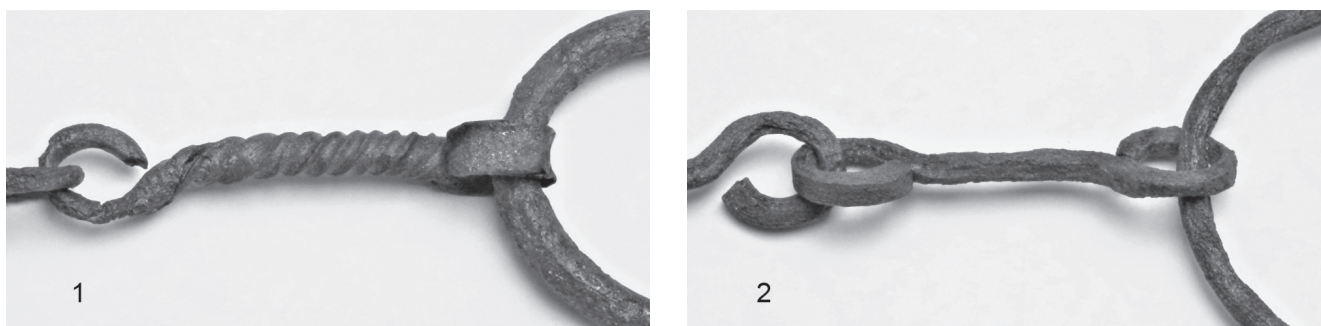


ABBILDUNG 5. Hrtkovci–Vukoder: Detailansicht von Ringtrensen mit tordiertem (1) bzw. glattem, vierkantigem (2) Mundstück. Eisen (Foto M. Guštin).

## Wagenteile

Mehrere eiserne Radreifen (Taf. 11: 1–3) und deren Fragmente mit glatten Außenflächen und profilierten Rändern; abgebildet sind nur zwei Reifen. Breite 2 cm, Stärke 0,8 cm.

Vier eiserne Radreifen (Taf. 11: 4), einer im originalen Zustand, die anderen in Fragmenten mit außenseitiger tiefer, wellenartiger Oberfläche mit profiliertem Rand. Durchm. zwischen 95 und 99 cm, Breite 2,6 cm, Stärke 0,77 cm.

Sieben Nabenringe (Taf. 12: 1–7) leicht zylindrischer Form, mit profilierten Rändern und Mittelrippe. Zwei mit Durchm. 12,5 cm, Breite 4,7 – 5 cm.

Sechs Nabenringe (Taf. 12: 8–13) leicht zylindrischer, glatter Form mit profilierten Rändern; Durchm. zwischen 11 und 13,5 cm, Breite 6,8 cm.

Zwei eiserne rundliche Klammern mit Befestigungsdornen (Taf. 12: 4–5). Einfassungselemente von länglichen Brettern? Länge 13 cm, Breite 3,5 cm.

Drei eiserne rundliche Klammern mit Bindestift (Taf. 13: 1–3). Einfassungselemente von länglichen Brettern? Länge: 1 – 8,6 cm; 3 – 10,5 cm; 4 – 12,9 cm, Breite zwischen 3 und 4,5 cm.

Fünf eiserne Achsnägel mit brillenförmigem Kopf und geradem Stift (Taf. 13: 7–11); Länge: 6 – 11,4 cm; 7 – 12,3 cm; 8 – 13,7 cm; 9 – 12,1 cm; 10 – 13,7 cm.

Ein eiserner Achsnagel mit einfachem Schlaufenkopf und geradem Stift (Taf. 13: 6). Länge 11,8 cm.

Verschiedene eiserne Kleinteile (Taf. 13: 12–16) von einem Wagen: 12 – 4,7 x 11 x 0,2 cm; 13 – 10,2 x 1,3 x 0,4 cm; 14 – 5,85 x 1,15 x 0,2 cm; 15 – 6,8 x 1,1 x 0,25 cm; 16 – 5,5 x 1,2 x 0,25 cm.

## Kommentar

Die genannten Funde gelangten als Satz von Einzelstücken ins Museum, ohne dass eine differenzierte Zusammenstellung von Inventaren erfolgte. Es scheint, dass es sich um Funde aus einem zerstörten Brandgräberfeld handelt. Dafür sprechen sowohl die deutlichen Brandspuren an den Gegenständen wie auch die zum Teil sekundär verbogenen und zerstörten Waffen und Wagenteile. Hierbei handelt es sich um einen Brauch, der mit der Bestattungssitte der keltischen Bevölkerung dieser Zeitperiode in Verbindung steht. In jedem Fall fügen sich die Funde in das Bild der regionalen spätlatènezeitlichen Bestattungssitten ein, was vor allem mit den keltischen Skordiskern in Verbindung gebracht werden soll.

Auffallend ist, dass dem Museum ausschließlich die in den Augen der Finder minderwertigen Funde vermittelt wurden. Gänzlich fehlt beispielsweise der Frauenschmuck (abgesehen von einem schwer beschädigten Gürtelblech vom Typ Laminci).<sup>20</sup>

Es fällt ins Auge, dass im gesamten Material drei Schwerter vom Spätlatèneschema vorhanden sind, was für mindestens drei Schwerträgerbestattungen sprechen dürfte. Zu denen könnte man auch die drei Hebelstangentrensen (Taf. 10: 1–3) rechnen, die wohl zur Schirring eines Reitpferdes gehören sollten. Die Lanzenspitzen sind in einem Fall als Paar gleicher Form vorhanden, was nahelegt, dass sie paarweise ins Grab mitgegeben wurden. Die übrigen Lanzenspitzen machen deutlich, dass in dieser Zeitstufe eine Vielzahl von Einzelformen in Gebrauch war, von denen einige den Toten möglicherweise als Einzelstück mit ins Grab gegeben worden sind.

Die Wagenteile entsprechen nach den vorliegenden Objekten, der Anzahl der Radreifen, Nabenringe, Achsnägel und den verschiedenen Kleinteilen mindestens einem wohl vierrädrigen Wagen; die angegebene Zahl von 14 Radreifen spricht dafür, dass wir es mit mehreren Wagen zu tun haben, wobei möglicherweise nicht alle über metallische Elemente an den Naben verfügten oder diese – wahrscheinlicher – nicht ins Museum gelangten.

20 Jovanović M. 2010, 84, Taf. II: 1; zu diesen Gürtelblechen aus der Gegend siehe zuletzt Guštin, Koledin 2020.

## Zu spätlatènezeitlichen Wagenrädern

Im kontinentalen Europa stellten vierrädrige Wagen bereits während der älteren Eisenzeit ein wichtiges Element im Bestattungsbrauch der sozial hervorgehobenen hallstattischen Elite dar.<sup>21</sup> In der Späthallstattzeit gelangen im Mittelrheingebiet und Nordgallien und später, ab dem 5. Jh. v. Chr., im Kerngebiet der Frühlatènekultur zweirädrige Wagen in den Vordergrund. Sie wurden im alltäglichen Leben als Streitwagen verwendet und in verschiedenen Ausführungen den verstorbenen Anführern bzw. Kriegern und deren Frauen mitgegeben. Der Brauch, einen zweirädrigen Wagen ins Grab mitzugeben, verbreitete sich während der Mittellatènezeit einerseits nach Nordgallien und andererseits zu den Ostkelten hin. Vierrädrige Toten- bzw. Zeremonialwagen sind im Rahmen des Bestattungsrituals der Elite seit der ausgehenden Mittellatènezeit wieder vereinzelt in weiter räumlicher Streuung als Randerscheinung nachgewiesen (Abb. 10).<sup>22</sup>

Vollständig vorliegende Wagen wie auch metallene Einzelteile vor allem aus Bestattungs-, aber auch Siedlungskontexten vermitteln ein relativ klares Bild über die einzelnen Konstruktionselemente und den Wagenaufbau in der Blütezeit der spätlatènezeitlichen Stufe LT D1. Es ist schon lange bekannt, dass es sich um einen Wagenaufbau handelt, der mit bestimmten Elementen ebenso beim Bau der jüngeren, frühkaiserzeitlichen Wagen Verwendung fand.

In der Übersicht über den Wagen und seine einzelnen Konstruktionsteile sowie zur Sitte, Wagen im Bestattungsbrauch zu verwenden, sind die beiden Wagenräder von S. Maria di Zevio-Lazisetta, Grab 7, und das Grab von Vigasio-Ciringhelli aus der Poebene am Südrand der Alpen für uns von höchster Wichtigkeit. Sie liegen südlich der Alpen, isoliert und in der Mitte des gesamten Verbreitungsgebietes der Wagenräder (Abb. 10) und gehörten mit Waffen, Pferdegeschirr und Wagenteilen wie auch mit bronzenem und keramischem Geschirr sowie mit Herd- und Grillgerät, zu den innerhalb deren Grabfelder reich ausgestatteten Gräbern.

Von den Wagenteilen sind aus dem Altfund von Vigasio-Ciringhelli nur ein Nabenring und zwei Stockringe erhalten;<sup>23</sup> im Grab von S. Maria di Zevio-Lazisetta sind außer einem Radreifen, zu vier Naben passende Nabenringe, Stockringe wie auch Blechbänder mit Bindestift zu finden (Abb. 6).<sup>24</sup> In beiden Fällen wurde auch eine italische Hebelstangentrense gefunden. Im Grab von S. Maria di Zevio-Lazisetta wurde zudem eine einfache Ringtrense beigelegt. Die Einheitlichkeit der Grabinventare reflektiert das

gemeinsame Totenbrauchtum der Elite sowie die Fähigkeit der Wagner der keltischen Cenomani. Diese beiden Gräber sind für die Stufe LT D1 charakteristisch. Einen *terminus post quem* für das Grab von S. Maria di Zevio-Lazisetta liefert die jüngste Münze des beigegebenen „Schatzes“ aus 34 Bronze- und Silbermünzen, ein Silberdenar des P. Maenius Antiacus, geprägt im Jahre 132 v. Chr.

### Die Wagen und ihre Bestandteile

Die Wagenteile, als auch die persönlichen Beigaben des Grabinventars aus dem Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg und aus den zerstörten Gräbern aus Hrtkovci-Vukoder reihen diese Befunde in die Koiné der Zivilisation der Spätlatènezeit mit ihrem räumlich weit gestreuten, vereinzelt Vorkommen vierrädriger Wagen (Abb. 10).

Die vorgelegten Wagenteile entsprechen im Detail den vierrädrigen Wagen ohne Metallzier jener Zeit. Charakteristisch sind vor allem gut ausgearbeitete, standardisierte, zu Rad und Nabe gehörende Eisenteile, unter anderem typische Achsnägel, Stockringe mit umgebogenen Flügeln sowie glatte bzw. mit Rippen oder Wülsten verzierte Nabenringe.

### Die Räder

Die eisernen Radreifen wurden in diesen Fällen glühend auf die hölzernen Felgen aufgezogen; man benutzte keine Nägel, um die Reifen am Holz zu befestigen. Die Radreifen wurden im Rahmen des Bestattungsrituals nach der Verbrennung mehrmals rituell verbogen. Von den acht Radreifen mit vierkantigem Querschnitt aus Hrtkovci-Vukoder ist lediglich einer komplett erhalten, jedoch verbogen. Er weist einen Durchmesser von ca. 1,00 m auf (Taf. 11: 1–3). Von den Radreifen mit wellenartiger Oberfläche ist einer intakt erhalten geblieben, mit einem vergleichbaren Durchmesser zwischen 95 und 99 cm. Die vielen Teile stammen wohl von insgesamt vier Rädern (Taf. 11: 4).

Die regelrecht stark in fünf Bündel zusammengefalteten Radreifen des Wagens im Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg besitzen eine Breite von 4,5 bis 4,8 cm, eine Stärke von 3 mm und sind innen flach; die Außenkanten sind leicht aufgebogen. Der 4,11 m lange Reifen spricht für ein Rad mit 1,30 m Durchmesser (Taf. 6: 3). Die restlichen Bündel entsprechen zwei weiteren Rädern gleichen Durchmessers (Taf. 6: 1–2, 4–5).

Die Durchmesser der Radreifen aus Hrtkovci-Vukoder fügen sich in den Rahmen der meisten latènezeitlichen Wagen ein, der zwischen 95 cm und 1,06 m beträgt. Die Räder aus dem Grabinventar im Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg hingegen fallen in eine relativ seltene Gruppe mit einem Raddurchmesser zwischen 1,20 m und 1,30 m, wie z. B.: bei den Wagen von Attichy (Dép. Oise), Nanterre (Dép. Hauts-de-Seine) oder Marcilly-sur-Eure (Dép. Eure).<sup>25</sup>

Die hölzerne Nabe wurde an der Achse mit einem Achsnagel gesichert, die Nabe selbst mit verschiedenen Ringen gefestigt. Die

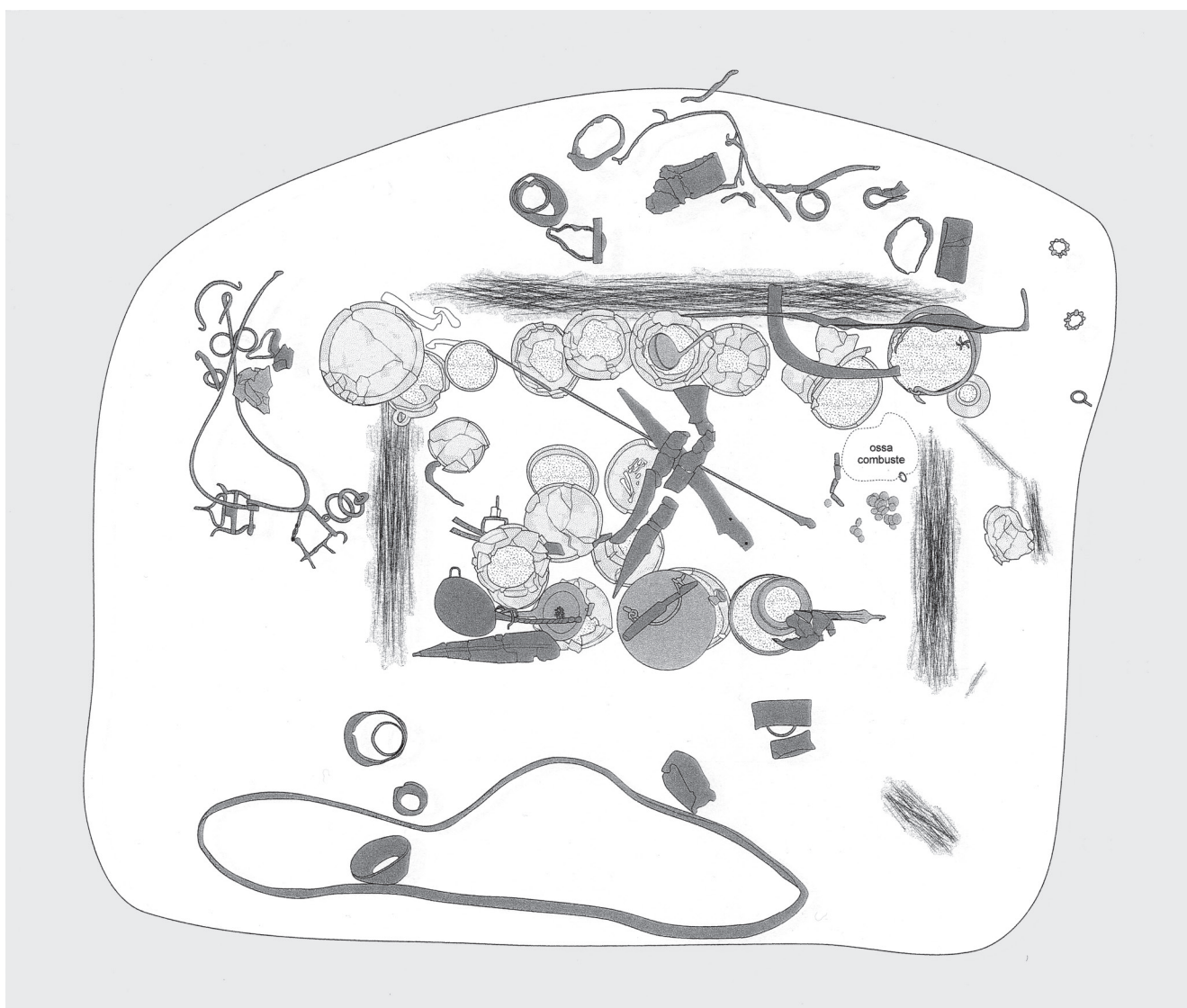
21 Barth et al. 1987; Pare 1992.

22 Zusammenfassend siehe Schönfelder 2002, 300–305.

23 Das Grab von Vigasio-Ciringhelli wurde als Altfund komplett vorgelegt: Salzani 1983–1984, 353–383; siehe auch Schönfelder 2002, 155–157, 387, Abb. 97: 1–3.

24 Dieses Wagenrad wurde bisher nur in kurzen Vorberichten veröffentlicht: Salzani 2002; 2004; 2015; siehe auch Schönfelder 2002, 387. Das Grab wurde im Jahre 2012 in einer Sonderausstellung in Zevio (Verona) der Öffentlichkeit präsentiert (<https://ambatii.wordpress.com/2012/05/02/15-22-29-aprile-2012-mostra-le-ricchezza-del-principe-bambino-zevio/>; <http://www.carrozzecevalli.net/2014/12/il-carro-celtico-del-principe-bambino/>).

25 Schönfelder 2002, 134–135, Tab. 9–10.



**ABBILDUNG 6.** S. Maria di Zevio-Lazisetta, Grab 7: Plan des Wagengrabes. In der Mitte befinden sich die Reste des hölzernen Wagenkastens mit den Waffen- und Gefäßbeigaben, umgeben von Wagenteilen, Pferdetranssen, Feuerböcken und der Bratspießgarnitur (nach Salzani 2002, fig. 2).

Achsnägel mit brillenförmigem Kopf, langem geradem Stift und vorspringender Öse, in die ein Niet mit Pilzkopf eingesteckt ist (wie Abb. 2: 1; Taf. 6: 1–4 und 13: 6–10), haben in der Stufe LT D1 eine Verbreitung vor allem nördlich des Alpenbogens in der sog. Oppidazone Mitteleuropas bis zum Zusammenfluss von Donau und Save.

Mit Einzelstücken erstreckt sich die Verbreitung dieser Achsnagelform von Argentat/Puy du Tour im Westen bis Cugir im Osten und in deren Varianten weit nach Norden bis zur Kimbrischen bzw. Jütischen Halbinsel.<sup>26</sup> Die hier vorgelegten Achsnägel aus Hrtkovci-Vukoder und die zwei aus dem Gräberfeld von Beograd-Karaburma machen deutlich, dass sie auch bei den Skordiskern

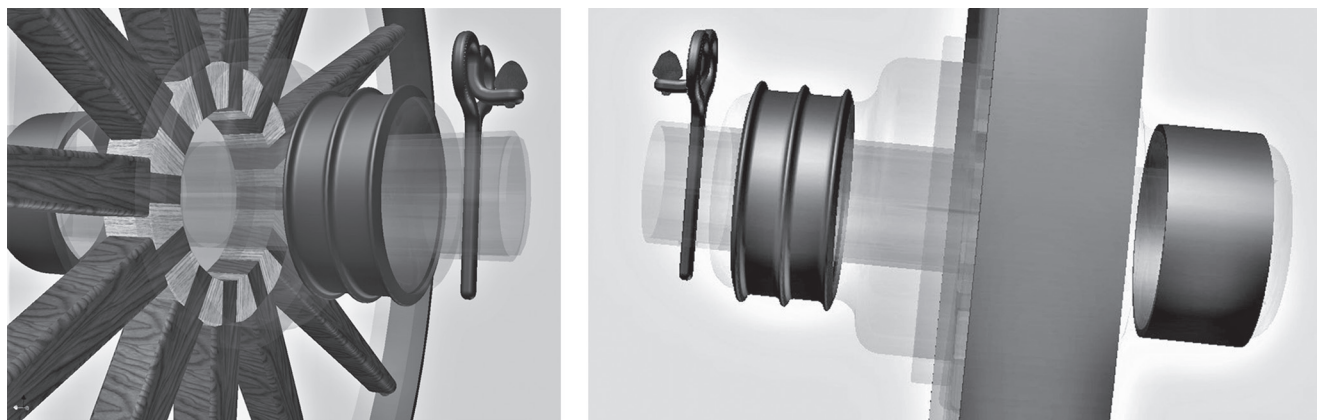
in Gebrauch waren. Die drei Achsnägel mit brillenförmigem Kopf im Hort von Plavecké Podhradie und das Exemplar aus dem Hort von Kolín bezeugen die Bedeutung der Achsnägel auch bei der Deponierung von eisernem Gerät und Werkzeug.<sup>27</sup>

Der eine Achsnagel aus Hrtkovci-Vukoder (Taf. 13: 6) ähnelt dem aus dem naheliegenden Grab von Gardoš bei Zemun.<sup>28</sup> Er steht ganz außerhalb der standardisierten Achsnagelformen, wie der Gruppe der einfachen Achsnägel mit Schlaufenkopf,<sup>29</sup> was mit dem sekundären Ersatz eines verlorenen Achsnagels durch einen lokalen Schmied zusammenhängen könnte.

26 Schönfelder 2002, 171–176, Abb. 103–105, Tab. 19.

27 Pieta 2010, 259, Abb. 115: 7, 9, 13; Rybová, Motyková 1983, 110, Abb. 12: 3.





**ABBILDUNG 7.** Hrtkovci-Vukoder: Idealrekonstruktion der eisernen Konstruktionselemente des Rades mit Achsnagel, äußerem Nabenring mit hohen Rippen, Radreifen und innerem glattem Nabenring (Muzej Vojvodine Novi Sad).

Die Nabe ist das Herz des Rades und damit des Wagens. Sie ist aus Holz hergestellt und oft mit metallenen Ringen (Nabenringen und Stockringen) verstärkt.

Die Nabenringe können nur an der Seite zum Achsnagel hin oder an beiden Seiten angesetzt sein. Oft sind sie an der Außenseite mit Rippen bzw. Wülsten verstärkt. Diese Nabenringe dienten mit ihrer Breite und den Rippen zugleich als ein fester und auffälliger Teil der Radnaben. Ähnliche Nabenringe mit drei ausgeprägten dreieckigen Rippen (wie diejenigen aus Hrtkovci-Vukoder auf Taf. 12: 1–7) wurden gefunden z. B. in Eisen in Sanzeno<sup>30</sup> und angeblich auf dem Braunsberg bei Hainburg<sup>31</sup>; bei einigen Wagen wie z. B. denen aus Verna<sup>32</sup>, Cugir<sup>33</sup> und Ahlsburg<sup>34</sup> sind sie sogar aus Bronze. Diejenigen aus dem Wagengrab im Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg gehören in die Gruppe mit einem Wulst in der Mitte und aufgekanteten Rändern (Taf. 6: 12–18); sie finden Vergleiche z. B. in Bern-Tiefenau und Bezdědovice.<sup>35</sup>

Zu den breiten, glatten Nabenringen mit aufgekantetem Rand aus Hrtkovci-Vukoder (Taf. 12: 8–13) ist ein guter Vergleich in einem Nabenfragment aus dem räumlich benachbarten spätmittelaltzeitlichen (LT C2) Wagengrab aus Odžaci vorhanden.<sup>36</sup> Dieser Typ von Nabenringen ist z. B. auch in einem der vielen Hortfunde von Plavecké Podhradie vertreten, und vielleicht gehören auch die Nabenringe aus Grab 7 von S. Maria di Zevio-Lazisetta zu diesem Typ.<sup>37</sup>

Die sechs massiven, bandförmigen, eisernen Stockringe im Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg (Taf. 6: 6–11) stammen von drei Rädern mit je zwei Stockringen pro Nabe. Zwei weitere Stockringe wie auch die Radreifen für ein komplettes vierrädriges Wagengestell fehlen demnach, obwohl Nabenringe von einem vierten Rad vorhanden sind (Taf. 6: 12–18). Die Stockringe kleiden die Nabe innen aus. Sie wurden meist als offene Ringe mit umgebogenen Flügeln gefertigt. Die Öffnung ermöglicht eine gewisse Federung des Ringes. Die abstehenden Flügel verhindern, dass sich der Ring löst, der im ausgedrehten Nabenstock mitdreht.<sup>38</sup> Die dicke Verbreiterung der Stockringe im mittleren alpinen Raum mit einer reichen Palette in der Ausführung der Flügel – bis Ciringhelli und Lazisetta im Süden und Ausläufern in Bern-Tiefenau im Westen und Staré Hradisko im Nordosten – hat schon M. Schönfelder zusammengestellt und vermerkt, dass sich die Verwendung von Stockringen in der keltischen Welt wohl nicht durchgesetzt hat.<sup>39</sup> In bescheidenerer Ausführung der Flügel sind sie aber in einem der spätlatènezeitlichen Hortfunde von Plavecké Podhradie weit nordöstlich der Alpen inmitten anderer Wagenteile belegt, was auch das von Schönfelder mit Fragezeichen versehene Exemplar aus Staré Hradisko<sup>40</sup> wie auch der Stockring aus der Siedlung von Berching-Pollanten<sup>41</sup> bestätigen würden.

28 Guštin 1984, 128, sl. 5: 3.

29 Schönfelder 2002, 176, 177, Abb. 106.

30 Schönfelder 2002, 150–155, Tab. 13.

31 Sammlung Irza 2016, Fund Nr. 9, 10.

32 Schönfelder 2003, 87–90, fig. 53.

33 Teleaga 2018, 97, 99, Abb. 166; 171.

34 Reepen 2011, 36, Abb. 2: 2-4.

35 Müller 1990, 148, Taf. 18: 126; Michálek 1999, obr. 8.

36 Guštin 1984, 121–127, sl. 3: 12, 13; T. 5: 4.

37 Plavecké Podhradie: Pieta 2010, 259, Abb. 115: 16; 116: 11; S. Maria di Zevio-Lazisetta: Abb. 3; Salzani 2002, 204, fig. 2.

38 Nothdurfter 1979, 54–57, Nr. 432–469.

39 Schönfelder 2002, 155–158, Abb. 97–99.

40 Pieta 2010, 259, Abb. 115: 16; 116: 11.

41 Schäfer 2010, 122–123, Abb. 83: 1747.

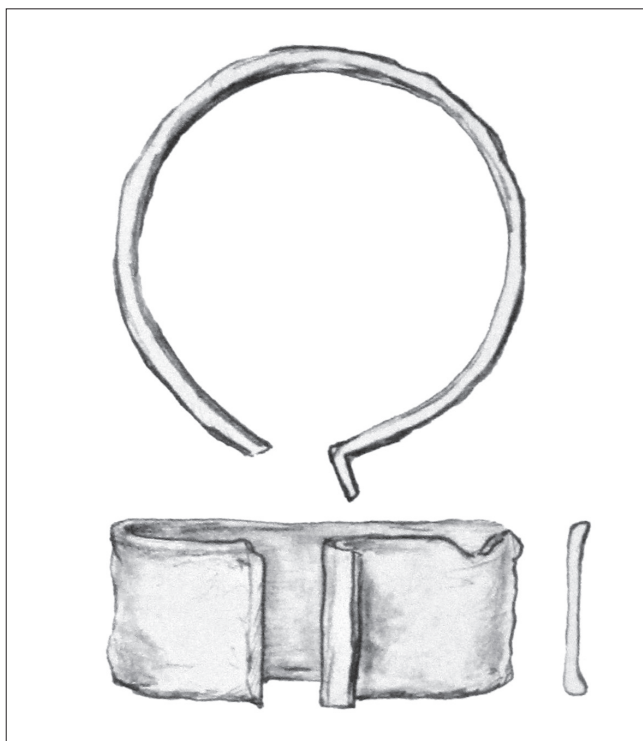


ABBILDUNG 8. Sajópetri/Homoki-szólóskert: Stockring aus Grab 2/2 (nach Szabó, Czajlik, Tankó 2018, 22, 159, fig. 157, pl. I: 7).

Der Einsatz von Stockringen mit umgebogenen, sich verengenden Flügelenden in der Nabenkonstruktion bei keltischen Wagen ist mindestens seit der Stufe LT B2 belegt. Dafür spricht der Stockring aus dem Kriegergrab 2/2 aus Sajópetri/Homoki-szólóskert, einem Brandgrab, mit einem Durchmesser von 7,9 cm und einer Breite von 3,6 cm (Abb. 8), zusammen mit anderen Eisenteilen wohl von einem zweirädrigen Wagen.<sup>42</sup> Zur Zeit steht dieser Fund noch einsam da, doch wird sich dieses Bild mit Neufunden von Wagenteilen sicher ändern, was z. B. die Stockringe von dem vierrädrigen Wagen aus dem thrakischen Fürstengrab von Peretu aus der Mitte des 4. Jhs. v. Chr., die aber keine Flügel besitzen, andeuten.<sup>43</sup>

Die beiden Wagengräber aus S. Maria di Zevio-Lazisetta und Viggasio-Ciringhelli sind noch immer die besten Beispiele für die Datierung in die Stufe LT D1 der vorrömischen/spätlaténezeitlichen Stockringe.<sup>44</sup> Die flügelartigen Stockringe sind vor allem in der Römischen Kaiserzeit gut belegt und wurden beim Wagenbau häufig verwendet.<sup>45</sup>

42 Szabó, Czajlik, Tankó 2018, 22, 159, fig. 157, pl. I: 7.

43 Teleaga 2015; 130–131, 133, Taf. 15: 3–5; 16: 4–6; 17: 4.

44 Schönfelder 2002, 155–157, 387; Abb. 97–98, Nachweise zur Karte an Tab. 14.

45 Anm. 18 mit Literaturhinweisen. – Übersicht zu römerzeitlichen Wagen mit Stockringen aus Thracien: Ignatov 2018, 138, T. 1.3.1. – Siehe z. B. auch den Stockring aus dem Wagengrab von Tarinci: Guštin 1984, 129; gut rekonstruierte zweirädrige Wagen aus Staničenje (Serbien): Milanović *et al.* 2015, 71, 105, Kat. Nr. 30–31.

## Der Wagenkasten und die Deichsel

Zum Kasten des Wagens im Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg gehörige Teile – wie verschiedene Eisenbänder, Ösenstifte, Ringe und Klammern – entsprechen den Formen jener Zeit. Zum Kastenbau gehören wohl auch die unterschiedlich geschmiedeten Bänder aus Eisenblech.

Als Verstärkung der Bretter des Wagenkastens sind wohl eiserne Bänder unterschiedlicher Breite und Stärke zu deuten, wie das 10 bis 12 mm starke Eisenband mit Längshohlbahn mit einer Länge von 10,57 m (Taf. 8: 3) und das breitere, 3,29 m lange Exemplar (Taf. 8: 1). Da im gefalteten und stark korrodierten Zustand etwaige Ecken nicht sichtbar sind, ist eine Rekonstruktion der Größe des Wagenkastens nicht möglich.

Vielleicht dienten rundliche breite Klammern mit Bindestift (Taf. 7: 3–5; 13: 1–3) oder mit Dornen (Taf. 13: 4–5) zur Einfassung der Längsbretter mit den runden Stützen vom Wagenkasten?<sup>46</sup> Zum ersten Typ, der im Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg und in Vukoder-Hrtkovci vertreten ist, finden sich gerade im Wagen aus Grab 7 von S. Maria di Zevio-Lazisetta gute Parallelen.<sup>47</sup> Zum zweiten Typ ist ein Vergleichsstück z. B. in dem Massenfund von der Tiefenau belegt.<sup>48</sup> Gute Vergleiche zu diesen breiten Klammern finden sich zwischen den angeblichen Funden vom Braunsberg bei Hainburg; bei einigen davon wird ein Arm durch eine Zierplatte verlängert.<sup>49</sup>

Sorgfältig hergestellte, massive eiserne Ringe mit rhomboidem Querschnitt sind am oberen Rand mit kurzen Schräglinien verziert. Der Stift ist aus einem langen Eisenblech, das sich in der Mitte mit einer schön herausgearbeiteten Schlinge um den Ring legt, herausgearbeitet und war als Doppelstift an der ca. 6 bis 7,6 cm dicken Holzunterlage befestigt (Taf. 7: 8–15). In gleicher Zahl sind solche Ringe mit langem Stift und zusätzlicher Schutz- bzw. Dekorplatte beim Wagen aus Verna bekannt.<sup>50</sup>

Eiserne gekröpfte Ösenstifte (Abb. 2: 2; Taf. 7: 1–2) sind ein sehr charakteristischer Teil der keltischen Wagen. Sie dienten während der gesamten Laténezeit als eine Art beweglicher, in bronzenener Ausführung auch qualitativ ausgearbeiteter Verschluss.<sup>51</sup>

46 Siehe zum Beispiel den Wagen aus Dejbjerg: Schönfelder 2002, 118, Abb. 7.

47 Siehe Anm. 19.

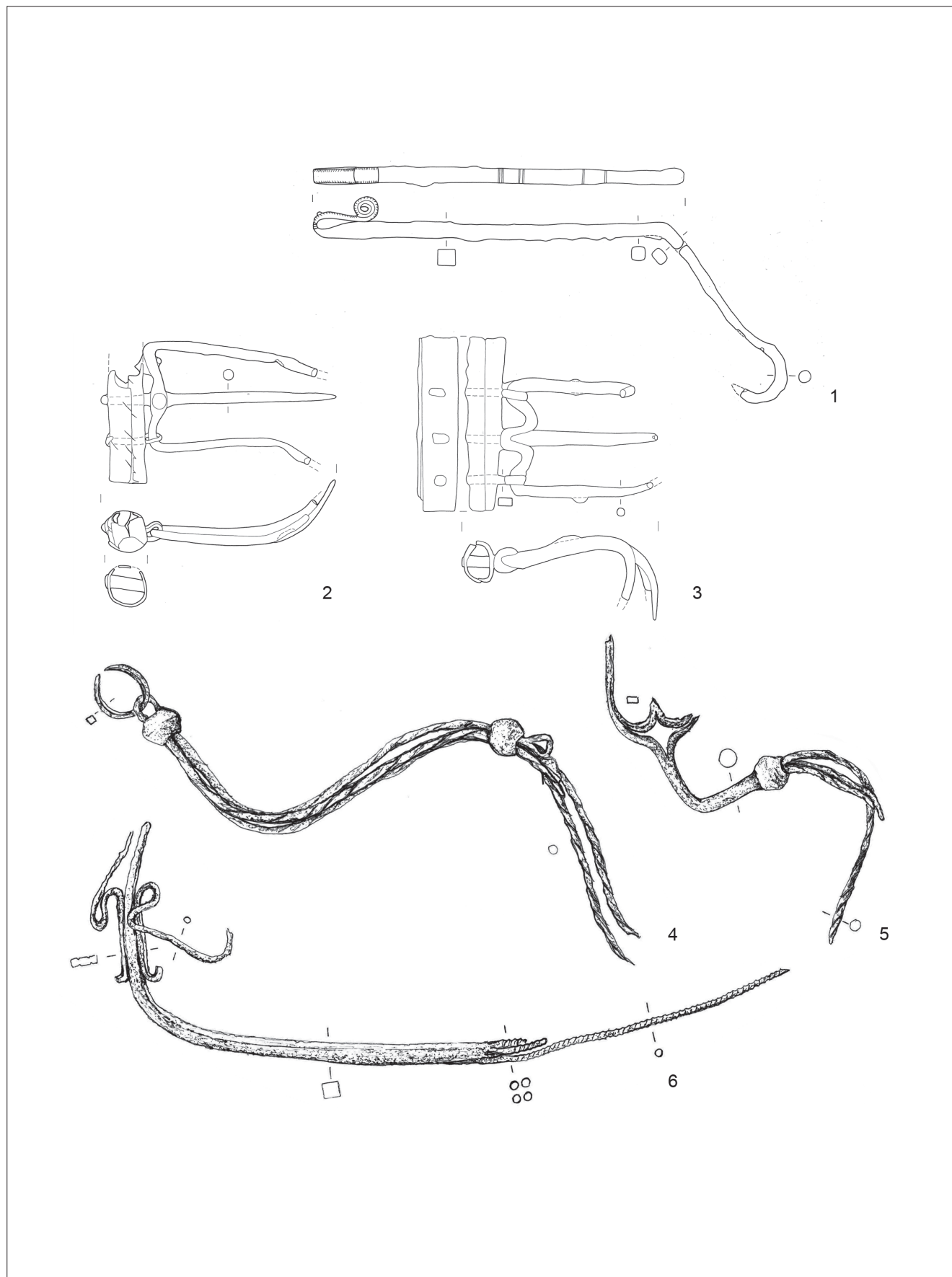
48 Müller 1990, 197, Abb. 86: 7.

49 Sammlung Irza 2016, Fund Nr. 14.

50 Schönfelder 2003, 95–97, fig. 66; 67.

51 Schönfelder 2002, 200–204. Siehe auch die eisernen gekröpfen Ösenstifte aus Berching-Pollanten (Schäfer 2010, 126–127, Abb. 86), die zahlreichen Beispiele, die angeblich vom Braunsberg bei Hainburg stammen (Sammlung Irza 2016, Fund Nr. 14, 31), das massenhafte Vorkommen auf dem Staré Hradisko sowie die Exemplare aus Lukov „Ostroh“, Provodov 1 „Rysov“ (Mirová 2020, tab. 3: 9, 12–13; 4: 2–6, 10, 12–13; 7: 1–3) und Cugir (Teleaga 2018, 97, Abb. 166). Ähnliche eiserne Ösenstifte sind auch aus der Höhensiedlung Kraubathgraben bei Kraubath an der Mur, Steiermark, bekannt (Verbleib: Burgmuseum Archo Norico Deutschlandsberg).





**ABBILDUNG 9.** 1 Fleischhaken (Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg, Wagengrab); 2–3 Fleischgabeln mit senkrechter eiserner Blechhülse (Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg, aus Gräbern ohne nähere Fundangaben; Zeichnung E. Haspl, J. Tratnik Šumi); 4–6 Hrtkovci-Vukoder: Fleischgabeln mit Schaft aus gedrehten Eisendrähten (Zeichnung V. Vojt). Eisen, M. = 1:3.

Der ovale, gewulstete, eiserne Klemmring (Taf. 5: 6) hat vermutlich als Deichsel- oder Langfuhrmanschette gedient. Solche Ringe, die am hinteren gegabelten Ende der Deichsel drei Hölzer zusammenschlossen, wurden bei spätlatènezeitlichen (Boé, Husby, Dejbjerg)<sup>52</sup> wie auch bei römerzeitlichen<sup>53</sup> vierrädrigen Wagen verwendet.

Zum Wagen sollten auch noch der massive eiserne Doppelösenbügel mit einer Breite von 31,2 cm (Taf. 3: 1), der Reibnagel mit einer Länge von 29 cm (Taf. 7: 6) und der eiserne, 11,2 cm lange Ösenstift mit zwei seitlichen Ösen (Taf. 7: 7) gehören.

Der schwere, 25 cm lange Reibnagel (Taf. 7: 6) zeigt an der abgesetzten Spitze die Reste von zwei angeschmiedeten, flachen, rechteckigen Federn, die ihn zusätzlich verankerten. Vergleichbare Federn besitzen entsprechende Stifte von Federschlossern.<sup>54</sup> Kleinere und einfachere eiserne Ösenstifte mit großer Öse und abgesetzter Spitze, die wohl eine ähnliche Funktion wie der Reibnagel im Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg hatten, sind z. B. aus Slatina nad Bepravou oder Plavecké Podhradie bekannt geworden.<sup>55</sup>

### Pferdetrensen

Die Hebelstangentrensen/Kandaren mit Seitenteilen aus Hrtkovci-Vukoder (Taf. 10: 1–3, 11–12, 14–17) gehören zu Werners Typ XVI/4, der in der engeren Umgebung auch aus Novi Banovci und Veliki Vetren bekannt wurde.<sup>56</sup> Kandaren mit ähnlichen Seitenteilen kommen z. B. auch in Altimir, Ihtiman, Bjala Slatina, Plavecké Podhradie und Veliki Vetren vor.<sup>57</sup> Kandaren der Typen XVI und ähnliche Stücke, wie z. B. die aus Beograd-Karaburma, Grab 16,<sup>58</sup> waren im skordiskisch-thrakischen Raum sehr beliebt, wo sie vor allem in Reitergräbern zahlreich belegt sind.<sup>59</sup>

Einfache Ringtrensen mit glatten quadratischen Mundstücken im Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg (Taf. 5: 1) und aus Hrtkovci-Vukoder – hier auch einige mit tordierten Mundstücken (Taf. 10: 4–10, 13; Abb. 5) – haben eine langlebige Herstellungszeit während der gesamten Eisenzeit und auch eine weite Verbreitung. Sie gehören zu Werners Typ XIV und sind aus der Nachbarschaft aus Morović und Veliki Vetren, in tordierter Variante aus Ćirikovac bekannt.<sup>60</sup> In Falle des Grabinventars im Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg würde man sie wegen der beigelegten Sporen zur Reiterausrüstung zählen können. Doch weil wir es hier mit zwei Trensen zu tun haben, sollten sie zum Gespann des Wagens gehören. Auch diejenigen aus Hrtkovci-Vukoder in einer Gesamtzahl von acht Ringtrensen wird man eher zu den Pferden des Wagenspanns zählen müssen.

52 Schönfelder 2002, 208–209, Abb. 129.

53 Mráv 2005.

54 Manching: Jacobi 1974, 162, Abb. 41: 1; Taf. 45: 729; Stradonice: Píč 1903, Tab. XXXVIII: 38; Rýsov: Čížmář, Langová, Kohoutek 2014, 646, Abb. 4: 7, 8.

55 Pieta 2010, 28, 261, Abb. 6: 4; 116: 13.

### Schöpfkellen und Fleischgabeln

Man darf mit Recht annehmen, dass die gut ausgerüstete Elite jener Zeit in den vorgestellten Wagengräbern mit Trink-, Ess- und Herd-/Grillgeschirr bestattet wurde. Als Geschirrtile findet man in den spätlatènezeitlichen Siedlungsschichten und Gräbern außer wertvollen vorrömischen bronzenen italischen Pfannen vom Typ Aylesford, Kannen vom Typ Kelheim, Henkelbecher vom Typ Idrija und Schöpfer vom Typ Pescate<sup>61</sup> sowie lokal erzeugte, einfache bronzene Kessel mit eisernen Henkeln und auch große eiserne Schöpfkellen unterschiedlichen Typs. Schöpfkellen wie die des Grabinventars im Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg (Taf. 2: 1) findet man z. B. auch unter den oben erwähnten, nicht publizierten Grabfunden aus Hrtkovci-Vukoder und im Wagengrab von S. Maria di Zevio-Lazisetta (Abb. 6).<sup>62</sup>

Eisernes Herd- und Grillgerät – in der Keltiké waren aus Stangengliedern zusammengesetzte Bratroste und massive Feuerböcke mit Stierkopfen beliebt – war ein wichtiger Bestandteil auch der skordiskischen Grabinventare der Spätlatènezeit. Vor allem in Beograd-Karaburma kann man in reich ausgestatteten Gräbern relativ oft ganze Sets von Fleisch- und Herdgerät beobachten.<sup>63</sup> Als Teil des Essgeschirrs ist manchmal auch ein einfacher Bratspieß ins Grab mitgegeben worden, wie in zwei Gräbern aus Sotin-Zmajevac mit einem 87, 5 cm bzw. 98 cm langen Spieß.<sup>64</sup> Bratspieße erscheinen im keltischen Bereich selten und waren demnach bei der Zubereitung von Fleisch anscheinend nicht von größerer Bedeutung.<sup>65</sup>

Zum Fleischhaken mit offensichtlich nur einem Zinken und schönem Griffende mit Aufhängeschlaufe und Spiralen als Abschluss (Abb. 9: 1; Taf. 2: 2) sind uns keine Vergleiche bekannt. Ein ähnlich gekrümmter Zinken, jedoch am Ende eines 24 cm langen Schaftes mit angesetztem Griff aus Knochen, ist aus Stradonice bekannt.<sup>66</sup> Im Gräberfeld Beograd-Karaburma wurde in Grab 60 aus der Stufe LT B2 ein 7,5 cm langer, massiver Eisendraht beigegeben, der an einer Seite einen Haken hat; an der anderen Seite ist mittels Nieten eine Blechhülse befestigt, die an einen hölzernen

56 Werner 1988, 92, Kat. Nr. 298; Stojić 2003, 189, 191, 196.

57 Altimir, Bjala Slatina und Ihtiman: Werner 1988, 90–91, Kat. Nr. 284, 287, 293; Plavecké Podhradie: Pieta 2010, 256, Abb. 113: 24, 26, 29; Veliki Vetren: Stojić 2003, Kat. Nr. 197.

58 Todorović 1972, 15–16, T. VI: 16, 2.

59 Filipović 2009.

60 Morović, Ćirikovac: Werner 1988, 65, 69–70, Kat. Nr. 216 und 239; Veliki Vetren: Stojić 2003, 67, Kat. Nr. 202.

61 Werner 1979; Bolla, Castoldi 2016.

62 Zu großen eisernen Schöpfkellen siehe z. B. auch Larina: Perrin 1990, 105, Nu. 424–425; Sainte-Blandine: Chapotat 1970, Pl. XXII: 12; Unterach am Attersee: Moosleitner 1998–1999, Abb. 7: 2; Rajecké Teplice und Plavecké Podhradie: Pieta 2010, 247, Abb. 111: 11–12, F 27; Idrija pri Bači, Grab 5: Guštin 1991, 109, Taf. 7: 2.

63 Die Gräber 12, 50, 92, 97, 172 und 222 (Todorović 1972).

64 Majnarić Pandžić 1972–73, 57–58, T. III: 3; IV: 1. – Zu den Bratspießen gehören möglicherweise auch die langen „Eisengeräte“ aus den Gräbern 92 und 97 von Beograd-Karaburma (Todorović 1972, 16–17, 32, XXVIII: 17–18; XXX: 10).

65 Rybová, Motyková 1983, 161.

66 Píč 1903, Tab. XLII: 18.

Längsschaft ansetzt, der eigentlich zum gleichen Zweck gedient haben könnte.<sup>67</sup>

Langschäftige Fleischgabeln wurden als wichtiger Bestandteil des Grillgeräts in verschiedenen Detailausführungen oft in spätlaténezeitlichen Siedlungsschichten und Grabinventaren gefunden, und zwar mit drei, ausnahmsweise aber mit zwei oder vier Zinken auf dem Gabelkopf und einem eisernen Langschaft bzw. einer eisernen Tülle<sup>68</sup> oder Blechhülse zur Befestigung an einem Holzschaft.<sup>69</sup>

Die Fleischgabel des Grabinventars im Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg (Taf. 2: 3) gehört zu einem gut definierten Typ, dessen Gabelkopf mit Hilfe einer Blechhülse seitwärts am Holzschaft befestigt wurde. Aus unbekanntem, nicht lokalisierten Gräberfeldern, angeblich aus der Oststeiermark, werden zwei weitere ähnliche Stücke ohne Fundzusammenhang im Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg aufbewahrt (Abb. 9: 2–3). Der Gabelkopf dieses Typs hat meistens drei, ausnahmsweise zwei bzw. vier glatte oder tordierte gekrümmte Zinken und ist in der Mitte mit einem Griffdorn versehen. Mit Hilfe des Griffdornes und der zwei zusätzlichen Ösenstifte mit umgeschlagenen oder flachgehämmerten Enden ist der Gabelkopf an der Blechhülse und am Holzschaft befestigt. In vielen Fällen sind ähnlich gebildete vereinfachte Gabelköpfe mit Griffdorn, aber ohne Blechhülse und Ösenstifte, in spätlaténezeitlichen Siedlungen und Gräbern belegt.<sup>70</sup>

Die Verbreitung dieser Fleischgabeln mit Blechhülse deckt sich einigermaßen mit der der reichen Wagengräber mit vierrädrigem Wagen in Gallien und im südlichen Pannonien (Abb. 10). Obwohl sie als einer der Leittypen der Spätlaténezeit gelten, bezeugt die Fleischgabel mit Hülse aus Zvonimirovo, Grab 13<sup>71</sup> (entsprechend zu den Beispielen auf Abb. 9: 2–3), dass sie schon in der Stufe LTC2 in Gebrauch waren. Falls die Fleischgabel mit Hülse aus Slatina v Rožni dolini tatsächlich aus diesem spät-mittelaténezeitlichen Gräberfeld stammt,<sup>72</sup> würde sie samt Gerät und Waffen aus dem Hortfund von Lozna in Moldawien<sup>73</sup> die frühe Datierung unterstützen.

Zwei besonders gefertigte, eiserne Fleischgabeln mit Gabelkopf aus drei dünnen Zinken und einem langgestreckten vierkantigen bzw. tordierten Eisenschaft stammen aus den Gräbern von Hrtkovci-Vukoder (Abb. 9: 4–6). Sie sind nicht ganz erhalten, doch

messen die längeren Teile ohne Endring noch immer 38 cm bzw. 30,5 cm. In ihrer Grundform weichen sie vom oben vorgestellten Fleischgabeltyp deutlich ab.

Die besser erhaltene Gabel (Abb. 9: 4–5) zeichnet sich durch die Herstellung aus drei tordierten Drähten aus, die vor dem Gabelkopf, in der Mitte und am Griffende mit einem bikonischen Knopf verbunden sind. Ab dem vorderen Knopf sind die Drähte rundlich zusammenschmiedet und gehen in den Gabelkopf über, der in drei scharfe vierkantige Zinken gespalten ist. Der Schaft endet in einem Aufhänger. Zu dieser Fleischgabel kennen wir ein entsprechendes, gut und vollständig erhaltenes, 68 cm langes Vergleichsstück aus dem Dorf Kalište (Gem. Malo Crnice in der Region Braničevo), der als Einzelstück an der Fundstelle Grad ans Licht kam. Der lange Schaft besteht aus zwei tordierten Drähten, verbunden mit drei Klammern, und endet mit einem Ring. Hinter der vorderen Klammer wurden die Drähte zusammenschmiedet und das so entstandene Band wurde mit zwei Nieten verstärkt. Das Band ist rechtwinklig umgebogen und geht in eine lange Mittelzinke über, die von zwei langen und zwei kurzen Zinken flankiert wird.<sup>74</sup> Überraschenderweise findet die Ausführung des Schaftes aus tordierten, mit Klammern verbundenen Drahten gute Vergleiche in der inneralpinen Siedlung von Sanzeno.<sup>75</sup>

Die zweite Fleischgabel hat einen langen Schaft, der hinten aus vier tordierten Drähten besteht und vorne als ein im Querschnitt quadratischer Stab gefertigt ist (Abb. 9: 6). Der Gabelkopf besteht aus einer starken Mittelzinke und vier seitlichen, an sie angeschmiedete Drahtzinken, wobei die Inneren erhalten, die Äußeren aber abgebrochen sind. Die seitlichen Zinken sind durch eine Zierschleife gekennzeichnet. Einen identischen Gabelkopf mit Zierschleifen und einen ähnlichen Schaft aus zwei tordierten, vorne zusammenschmiedeten Drähten besitzt eine gut erhaltene, 96 cm lange Fleischgabel aus Lunčani-„Piatra Roșie“.<sup>76</sup>

## Schlusswort

Weder zum Wagenfund im Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg noch zu den Wagenfunden aus Hrtkovci-Vukoder liegt eine Grabungsdokumentation vor. Nach den vorgelegten Daten und Analysen setzen wir für diese Funde voraus, dass es sich um Reste von Grabinventaren handelt.

Die Wagenteile und andere mit ihnen entdeckte Gegenstände im Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg wurden mit dem Hinweis erworben, dass sie aus einer Grube stammen, und als Fundensemble entsprechen sie einer Bestattung mit vierrädrigem Wagen (Abb. 1–3; Taf. 1–9). Es fehlen Fragmente eines Radreifens und zwei Stockringe. Der Fund wurde mit der Information erworben, „dass in der Grube keine Waffen lagen“.

67 Todorović 1972, 25, T. XXI: 7; XXXVI: 3.

68 In Grab 18 von Somme-Tourbe befindet sich neben einer kleinen Lanzenspitze und einem großen Messer eine Fleischgabel mit zwei Seitenzinken und Tüllenansatz für einen Holzschaft. Aus dem gleichen Abschnitt der Frühlaténezeit stammt auch die eiserne Fleischgabel aus Grab 194 aus Bucy-le-Long mit tordierten Schaft (Lambot 2018, 364–365, Fig. 483).

69 Jacobi 1974, 126–129; Gaspari, Krempuš, Brišnik 2004, 285–286.

70 Z. B. Beograd-Karaburma: Todorović 1972, 39, T. 39: 8; Ritopek-Dalekovod: Todorović 1971, T. 60: 7; Čurug, Grab 45: Trifunović 2019, 272, 279, ris. 15: 5; 22: 7; Manching: Jacobi 1974, Taf. 32: 575–576; Stradonice: Plč 1903, T. 35: 6, 11–12; Staré Hradisko: Meduna 1961, T. 22: 1–2; Larina: Perrin 1990, 67, Nr. 234; Sainte-Blandine: Chapotat 1970, Pl. XXI: 1–8, 10–11, 17–19.

71 Hinweis Marko Dizdar, Archäologisches Institut Zagreb.

72 Gaspari, Krempuš, Brišnik 2004, 266–267, 285–286, t. 2: 7.

73 Teodor 1980.

74 Tapavički-Ilić 2011, 17–19, sl. 11.

75 Nothdurfter 1979, 135, Taf. 43: 611–612.

76 Iaroslavschi 2018, 125, Kat. Nr. 209.



**ABBILDUNG 10.** Gräber mit vierrädriem Wagen (Kreise): 1–5, 7, 9–10, 14–15, 19 im kontinentalen Europa in der Zeit der Latèneustufen LT C2 bis LT D2 (nach Schönfelder 2002, Abb. 187) mit dem frühromischen Wagengrab in Tarinci (18) und der Verbreitung zeitgleicher Fleischgabeln mit Hülse (wie Abb. 9: 2–3; Dreiecke): 6, 8, 11–13, 15 und 17 und Fleischgabeln mit einem Schaft aus gedrehten Eisendrähten (wie Abb. 9: 4–5; Dreiecke): 14, 16 und 20.

1 – Langå, Grab 1; 2 – Kraghede, Grab A; 3 – Husby, Grab 1033; 4 – Brzeźniak; 5 – Boé; 6 – Vienne-Sainte-Blandine; 7 – Verna; 8 – Larina bei Lyon; 9 – Vigasio-Ciringhelli; 10 – S. Maria di Zevio-Lazisetta, Grab 7; 11 – Slatina v Rožni dolini?; 12 – Zvonimirovo, Grab 13; 13 – Sotin-Zmajevac, Grab?; 14 – Hrtkovci-Vukoder; 15 – Beograd-Karaburma, Gräber 11382 und 172; 16 – Kalište; 17 – Lozna; 18 – Tarinci; 19 – Cugir; 20 – Luncani, Piatra Roșie (die Karte wurde von Andrej Preložnik, Koper hergestellt).

Für ein Doppelgespann des Wagens spricht das Bündel zweier einfacher Ringtrensens. Die drei Sporen sind für einen Bestatteten ungewöhnlich. Ob sie auf einen Reiter weisen oder ihre Beigabe etwas anderes widerspiegelt, ist unklar. Das eiserne Gürtelblech mit Silberbeschlag, das Essgeschirr, ein (leeres?) hölzernes Kästchen und der Wagen selbst bezeugen, dass wir es bei dieser Bestattung der Stufe LT D1 mit einer herausragenden Person zu tun haben, deren Grabinventar den Rang und Status des Verstorbenen eindeutig widerspiegelt.

Dagegen ist der Fundkomplex von Hrtkovci-Vukoder mit angeblich 14 Radreifen, 13 Nabenringen und 6 Achsnägeln (Taf. 13: 10–13) mindestens drei, eher vier vierrädriem Wagen zuzuschreiben, zu denen die 7 bzw. 8 einfachen Ringtrensens (Taf. 10: 4–10, 13) für vier Doppelgespanne von Zugpferden passen würden. Die drei Hebelstangentrensens (Taf. 10: 1–3) sind den Reitpferden von drei Reitern zuzuweisen, die mit Waffen, einem Schwert und mehreren Lanzenspitzen, ausgerüstet waren und wohl mit einem vierrädriem Wagen bestattet wurden.<sup>77</sup> Wie das Inventar des vierten Grabes aussah, ist heute nicht mehr feststellbar.

Der Befund mit teilweise (rituell) zerstörten Gegenständen von Hrtkovci-Vukoder ist in Bezug auf Totenbrauchtum in Randgebieten des keltischen Raumes in dieser Zeit mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit doch mit einem Gräberfeld der Einwohner von Gomolava, einer der wichtigsten Siedlungen des keltischen Stammes der Skordisker, zu verbinden. Falls es sich mit der Zeit herausstellt, dass neue Daten über die wirklichen Fundumstände im Dorf Hrtkovci bekannt werden, bieten sich auch andere Spekulationen über die Niederlegung dieser Funde an. Eine ist der Vergleich mit den Umständen auf dem Berg Veliki Vetren, wo eine Menge zeitgleicher Pferdeausrüstungen und Waffen geopfert wurde.<sup>78</sup> Dass wir mit Kultplätzen / Brandopferplätzen in dieser Zeit bei den Skordiskern zu rechnen haben, ist z. B. auch durch den nicht so weit entfernten Befund aus Osijek nachgewiesen.<sup>79</sup>

Das Fundmaterial aus der Flur Vukoder im Dorf Hrtkovci reiht sich in die Stufe LT D1, nur einige ins Museum gekommene Gegenstände gehören in die römische Epoche. Vornehme Kriegerbestattungen mit beigelegtem Essgeschirr sind bei den Skordiskern längst bekannt, aus dem Gräberfeld Karaburma in Belgrad

77 Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2008; Teleagă et al. 2014, 328.

78 Stojić 2003.

79 Dizdar, Filipović 2020.



und von anderen Fundorten.<sup>80</sup> Auch die in Karaburma entdeckten Wagenteile ergänzen die vorgelegten Wagenfunde aus Hrtkovci. Dass wir es mit einer reichen Elite zu tun haben, bezeugen auch einige zeitgleiche vornehme Frauenbestattungen, die sich durch schwere silberne Fibeln vom Typ Jarak und große silberne Gürtelbleche vom Typ Laminci auszeichnen, wie auch der umfangreiche Silberhortfund von Židovar erhellt.<sup>81</sup>

Die Sitte, einen Wagen ins Grab beizulegen, war bei den keltischen Stämmen weit verbreitet. Wagen mit zwei Rädern wurden seit der Späthallstattzeit durchlaufend bis ans Ende der Latènezeit im Pariser Becken, in der angrenzenden Normandie und Champagne sowie im Mittelrheingebiet ins Grab gelegt. Mit der Ausbreitung der Kelten finden sich keltische Wagengräber bis zur Küste des Schwarzen Meeres. Ganz anders ist das Bild der Grabbeigabe vierrädriger Wagen. Nach dem hallstattischen Brauch der Elite, mit einem vierrädrigen (Toten-)Wagen bestattet zu werden, tritt dieses Phänomen erst einige Jahrhunderte später wieder auf. Das Wiederaufleben der Sitte lässt sich auch an einem wichtigen Teil des Rades beobachten: der charakteristische Achsnägel mit brillenförmigem Kopf bzw. mit mehrfachem Schlaufenkopf und geradem Stift der Hallstattzeit wurde während der Spätlatènezeit erneut hergestellt.<sup>83</sup>

Wie es zu diesem, auf Abbildung 10 gut erkennbaren, spätlatènezeitlichen Bestattungsphänomen in sehr weit entfernten Gebieten gekommen ist, muss derweil offenbleiben. Ins Auge fallen das über weite Teile Europas verstreute Vorkommen der Wagengräber, sogar ihre territoriale Gruppierungen. Offensichtlich ist aber auch deren Fehlen im klassischen Oppida-Bereich, was man gut mit Hilfe dortiger Bestattungssitten erklären kann, die durch den Mangel an Gräbern gekennzeichnet sind.

Dieses lückenhafte Bild weit voneinander entfernter, im Grab niedergelegter vierrädriger Wagen füllt sich jedoch, wenn wir bei der Suche nach Vergleichen zu wichtigen Eisenteilen im Wagenbau auch die in latènezeitlichen Siedlungen verlorenen oder absichtlich deponierten Metallteile zufügen. Damit bekommen wir auch eine gute Übersicht über die technischen Details des Wagenbaus jener Zeit sowie eine Vorstellung des Wagenmodells der Spätlatènezeit.

Dabei springen Achsnägel mit brillenförmigem Kopf und geradem Stift, Achsnägel mit geradem Stift und mehrfachem bzw. einfachem Schlaufenkopf oder bronzene bzw. eiserne gekröpfte Ösenstifte mit Einkerbung, alles Leitformen der Spätlatènezeit und der keltischen Koiné, in

den Vordergrund.<sup>84</sup> Auch die acht Ringe mit Stiften vom Wagen im Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg haben z. B. den besten Vergleich im entfernten Wagengrab von Verna am westlichen Rand der Alpen.

Die aufgezählten Wagenteile, samt Nabenringen, Stockringen und anderen Einzelteilen, sind z. Zt. noch als ein allgemeines spätlatènezeitliches Fundgut dieses Wagenmodells anzusehen, das nach seinen typologischen Charakteristika noch nicht näher geographisch abgrenzbar ist. Der Wagenbau verdankt seine Entwicklung der Einzelteile den zweirädrigen Streitwagen der älteren Perioden; die wirklich klaren Unterschiede zwischen den spätlatènezeitlichen Wagen zeigen sich vor allem bei der reichen Ausführung der Totenwagen mit Zierelementen aus Metall, wie es z. B. bei Dejbjerg, Boé und Verna der Fall ist.

Auch das in den behandelten Wagengräbern nachgewiesene Pferdegeschirr und das häufige Vorkommen von italischem Bronze- und lokalem Trink- und Essgeschirr aus Bronze oder Eisen fügt sich sehr gut in den spätlatènezeitlichen Formenschatz ein. Ähnlich wie die Wagenteile sind auch die behandelten Fleischgabeln mit senkrechter eiserner Blechhülse, langschäftige Fleischhaken und große eiserne Schöpfkellen, alle ein häufiger Bestandteil von Grabinventaren, in gleichzeitigen Siedlungen und Hortfunden gut vertreten.

Im Bereich der Ostkelten verdichtet sich das Bild (Abb. 10) der über ganz Europa streuenden spätlatènezeitlichen Bestattungen mit vierrädrigem Wagen auch durch die beiden hier vorgestellten Fundkomplexe. Nicht nur der Wagen selbst, auch das Essgeschirr spielte in den vergleichbaren Wagengräbern eine wichtige Rolle. Die Fleischgabeln internationaler Form mit Blechhülse wurden im Raum Südpannonien – Karpatenbecken um eine eigene Variante bereichert (Abb. 9: 4–6).

Mit diesem östlichen Gebiet ist das Wagengrab im Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg zu verbinden. Die beigelegte Fibel vom Typ Gura Padinii verbindet den Verstorbenen mit dem dakisch-thrakischen Raum, wo solche Fibeln eindeutig beheimatet sind. Auch die Verzierung der Eisenplatten mit Girlandenmuster unterstützt den östlichen Ursprung des Grabinventars, dessen Lokalisierung nach der Auskunft der Vermittler möglicherweise sogar im Siedlungsgebiet der Skordisker zu suchen ist.<sup>85</sup> Auf jeden Fall handelt es sich um einen Angehörigen einer Gemeinschaft des Ostens im mittleren Donaugebiet, dessen außerordentliches Vermögen wohl in dem Kästchen verwahrt war.

80 Todorović 1972; siehe auch die Gräberreste aus Syrien: Tapavički-Ilić, Filipović 2012.

81 Guštin, Koledin 2020; Jevtić, Lazić, Sladić 2006.

82 Aus dem Gräberfeldbereich von Beograd-Karaburma stammen zwei eiserne Achsnägel mit brillenförmigem Kopf und aus Grab 113 einige Bronzeobjekte, die zu einem (vierrädrigen?) Wagen gehören könnten (Ignjatović 2005, 16–19, 28–30, Tab. I: 3–5).

83 Pare 1992, 91; Schönfelder 2002, 171.

84 Schönfelder 2002: Listen zu den Achsnägeln 175–176, Tab. 19–21; Listen zu Ösenstiften 200–205, Abb. 124.

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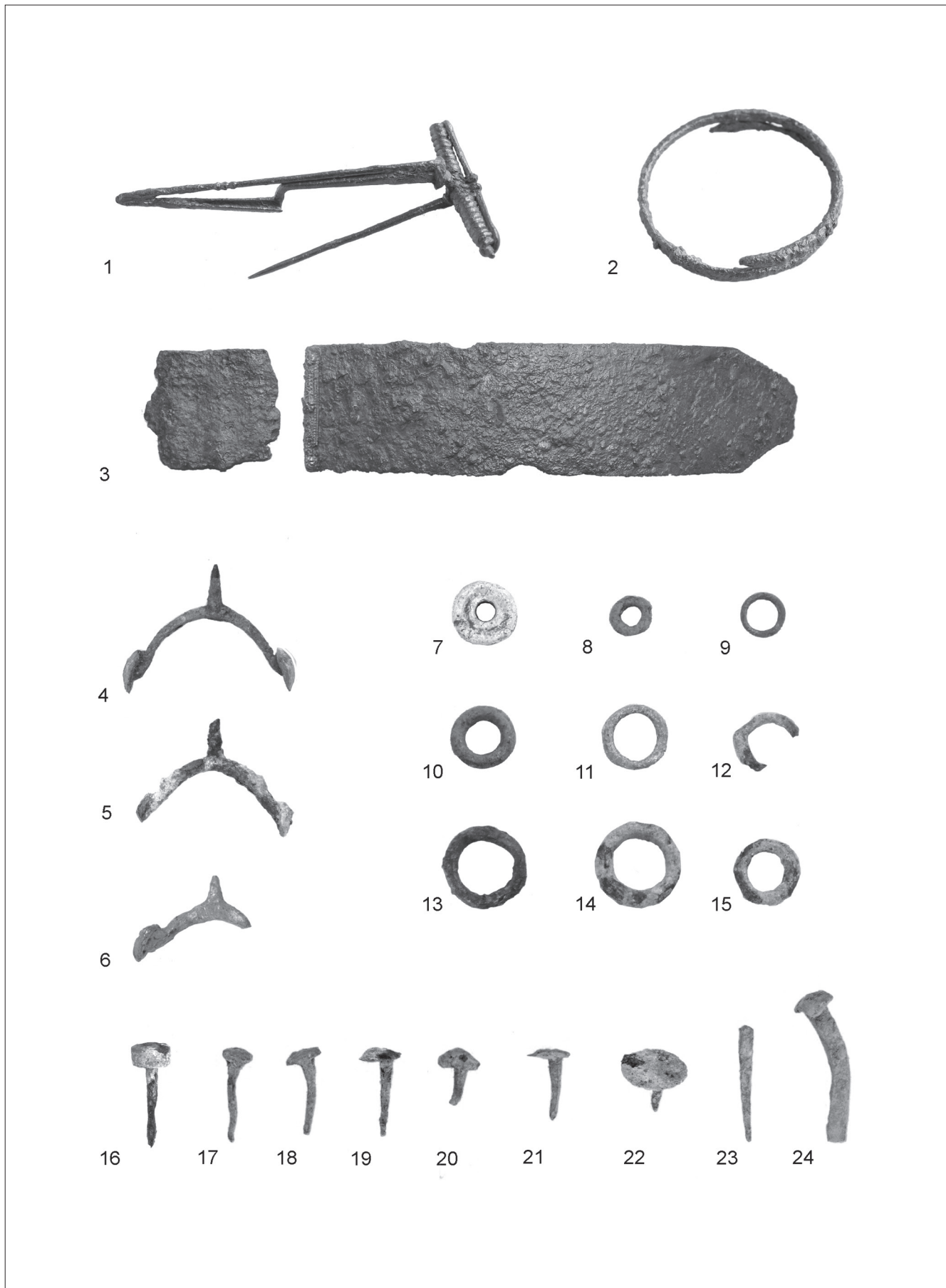
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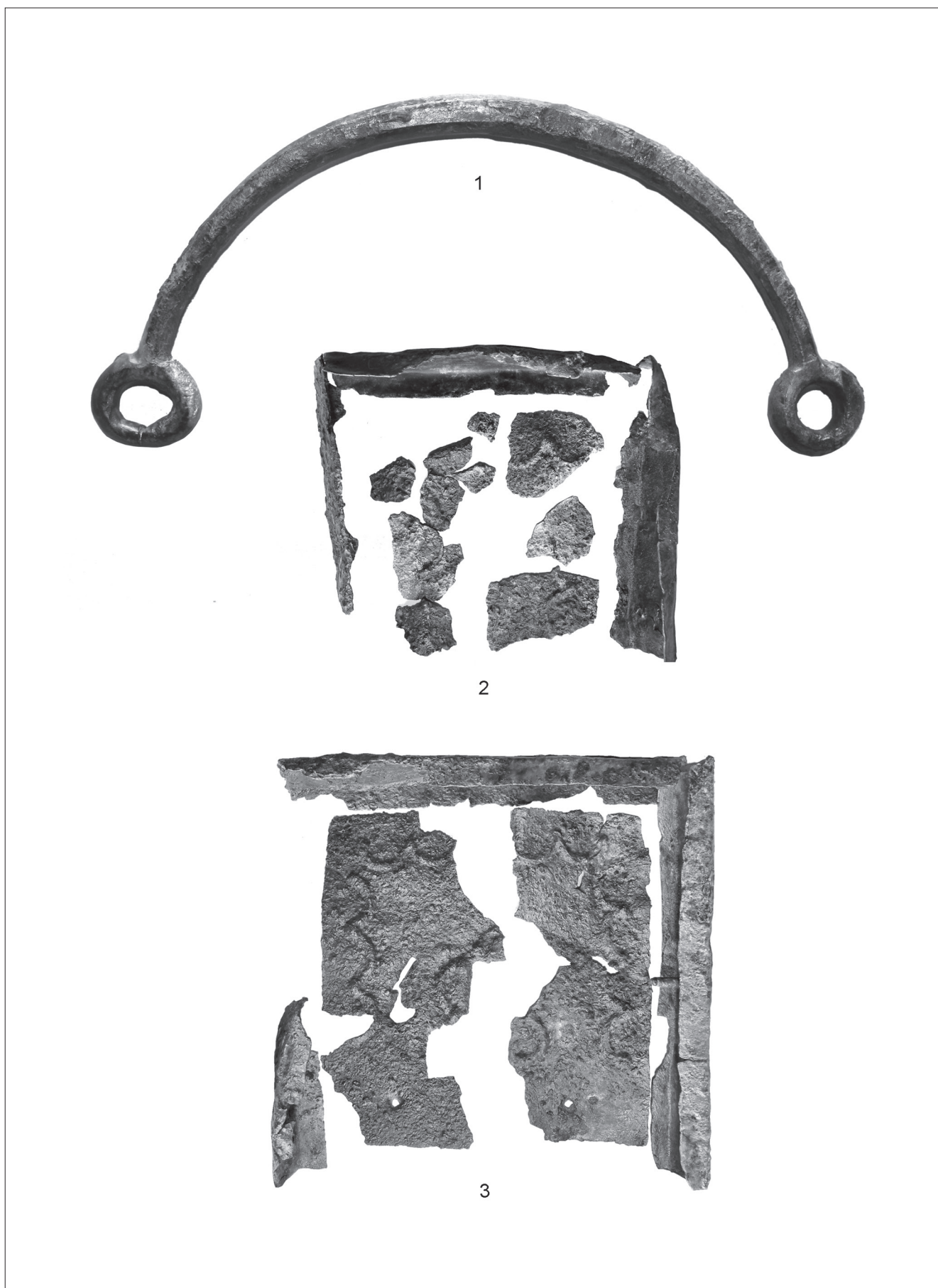
**TAFEL 1.** Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg, Wagengrab. Persönliche Grabbeigaben: 1 Fibel, 2 Armring; 3 Gürtelblech; 4–6 Sporen; 7–24 Verschiedenes; 3 Eisen mit Silber; 7 Blei; 8–11 Bronze; Rest Eisen, M. 1: 2 (Foto A. Bernhard, M. Guštin).





TAFEL 2. Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg, Wagengrab. Essgeschirr: 1 Schöpfkelle; 2 Fleischhaken, 3 Fleischgabel, 4 Henkelöse, 5 Messerklinge, 6 Messer. 4 Bronze; Rest Eisen, M. 1:2 (Foto A. Bernhard, M. Guštin).

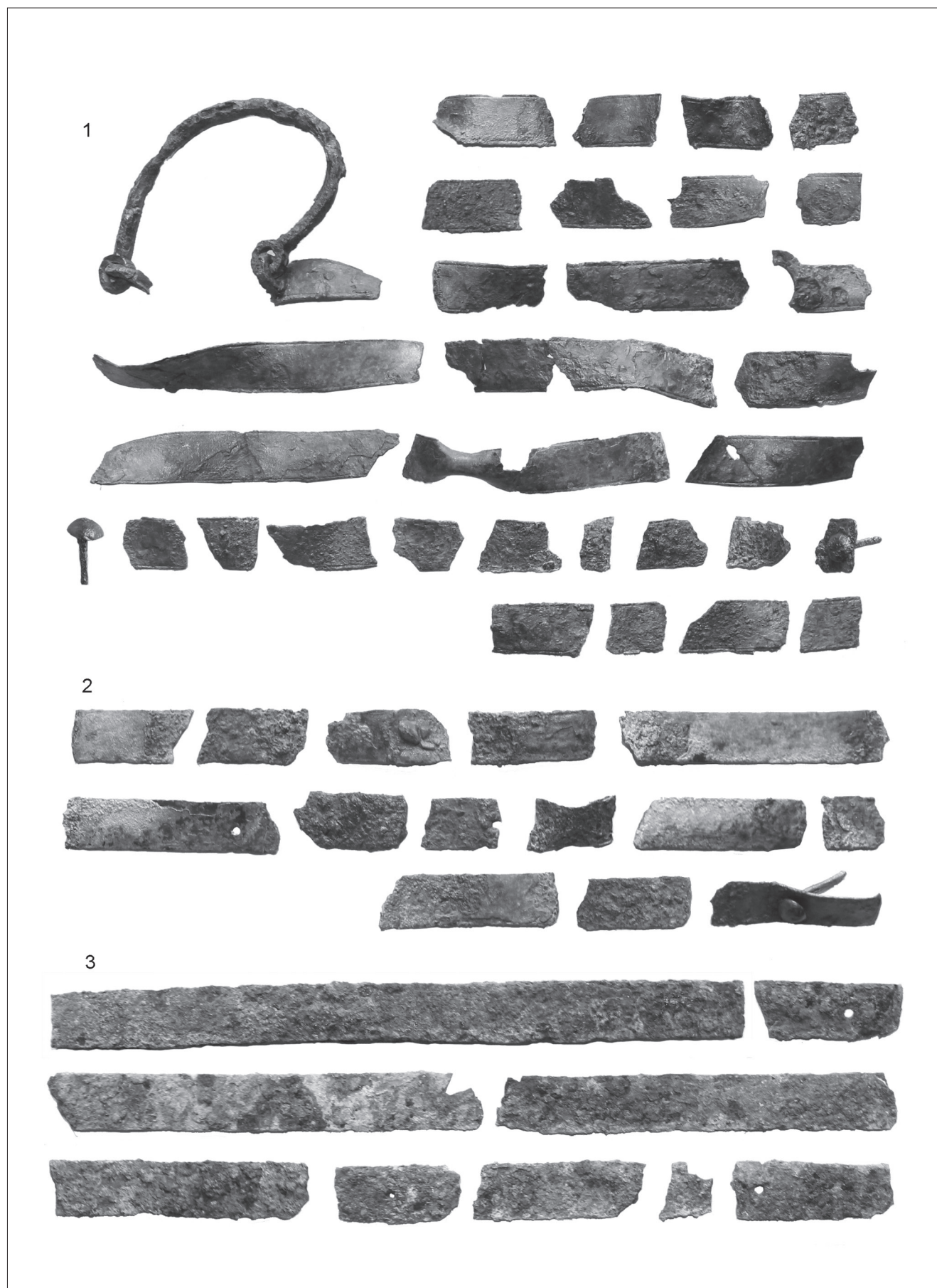




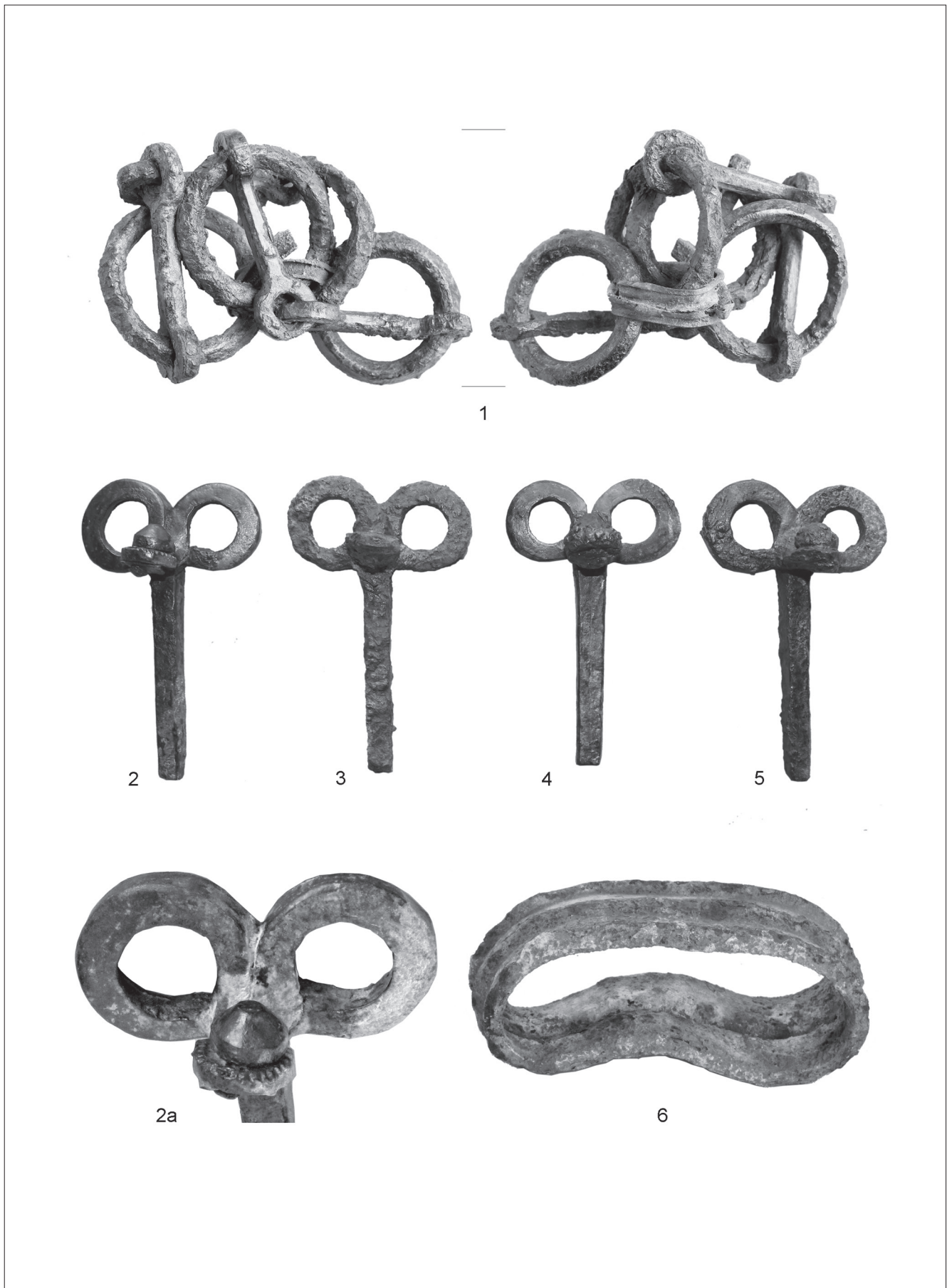
TAFEL 3. Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg, Wagengrab: 1 Dopellösenbügel aus Eisen M. 1:2; 2–3 Eisenbeschlagene Holzplatten M. 2:3 (Foto A. Bernhard).







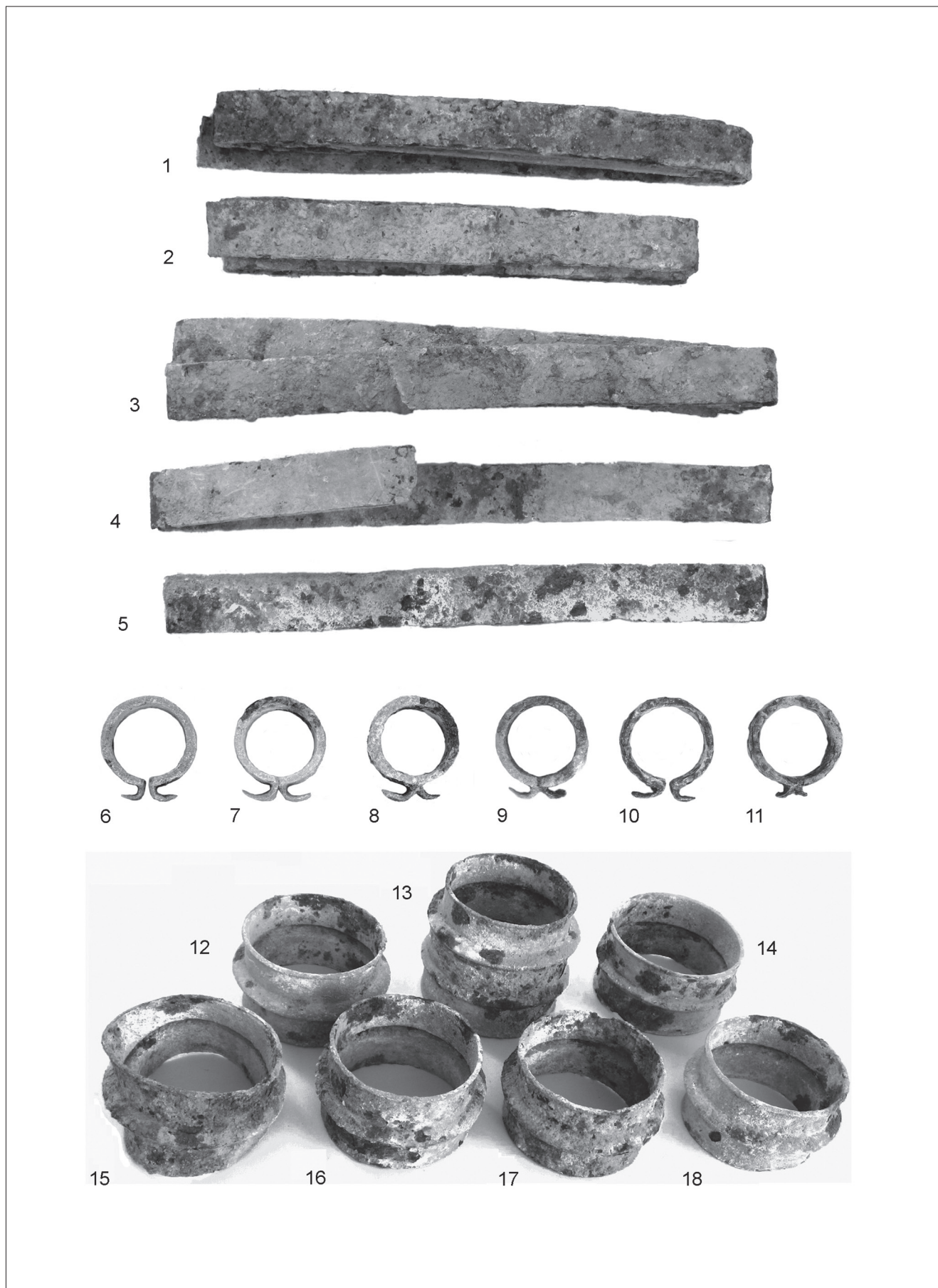
TAFEL 4. Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg, Wagengrab: Kästcheneisenbänder mit Henkel, Nagel mit Bronzekopf, M. 1:2 (Foto A. Bernhard, M. Guštin).



TAFEL 5. Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg, Wagengrab: 1 Ringtrens; 2-5 Achsnägel mit Brillenkopf; 6 Deichsel- oder Langfuhrmanschette. Eisen, M. 1:2 (Foto A. Bernhard, M. Guštin).







TAFEL 6. Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg, Wagengrab: 1–5 Radreifen; 6–11 Stockringe; 12–18 Nabenringe. Eisen, M. 1:3 (Foto M. Guštin).



TAFEL 7. Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg, Wagengrab: 1–2 gekröpfte Ösenstifte; 3–5 breite Klammern mit Bindenstift; 6 Reibnagel/Federstift; 7 Ösenstift mit zwei Ösen an den beiden Seiten; 8–15 Ringe mit Doppelstift. Eisen, M. 1:2 (Foto A. Bernhard, M. Guštin).





TAFEL 8. Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg, Wagengrab: 1 Abschlussblech; 2–3 Bänder. Eisen, M. 1: 2 (Foto A. Bernhard).

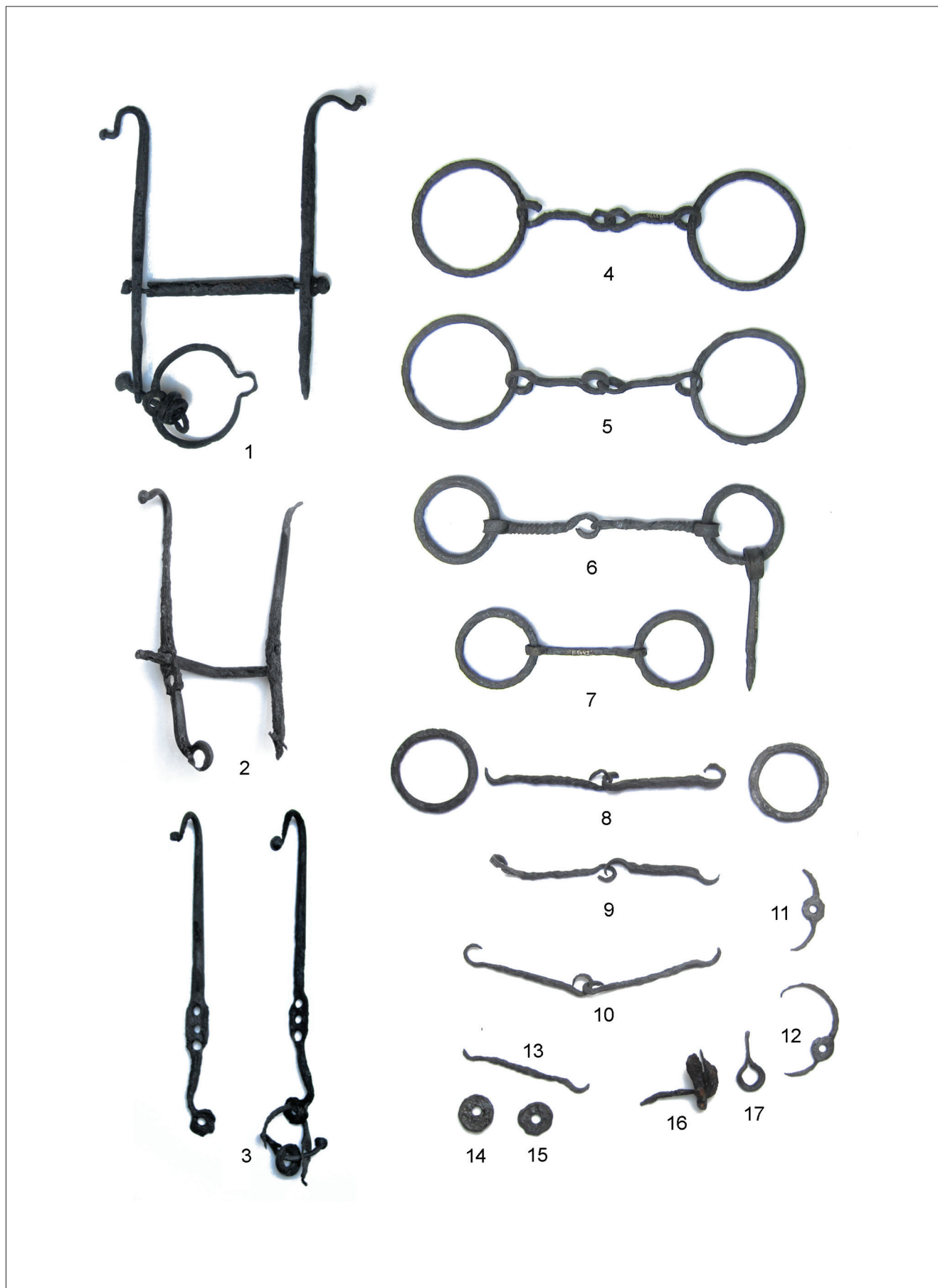




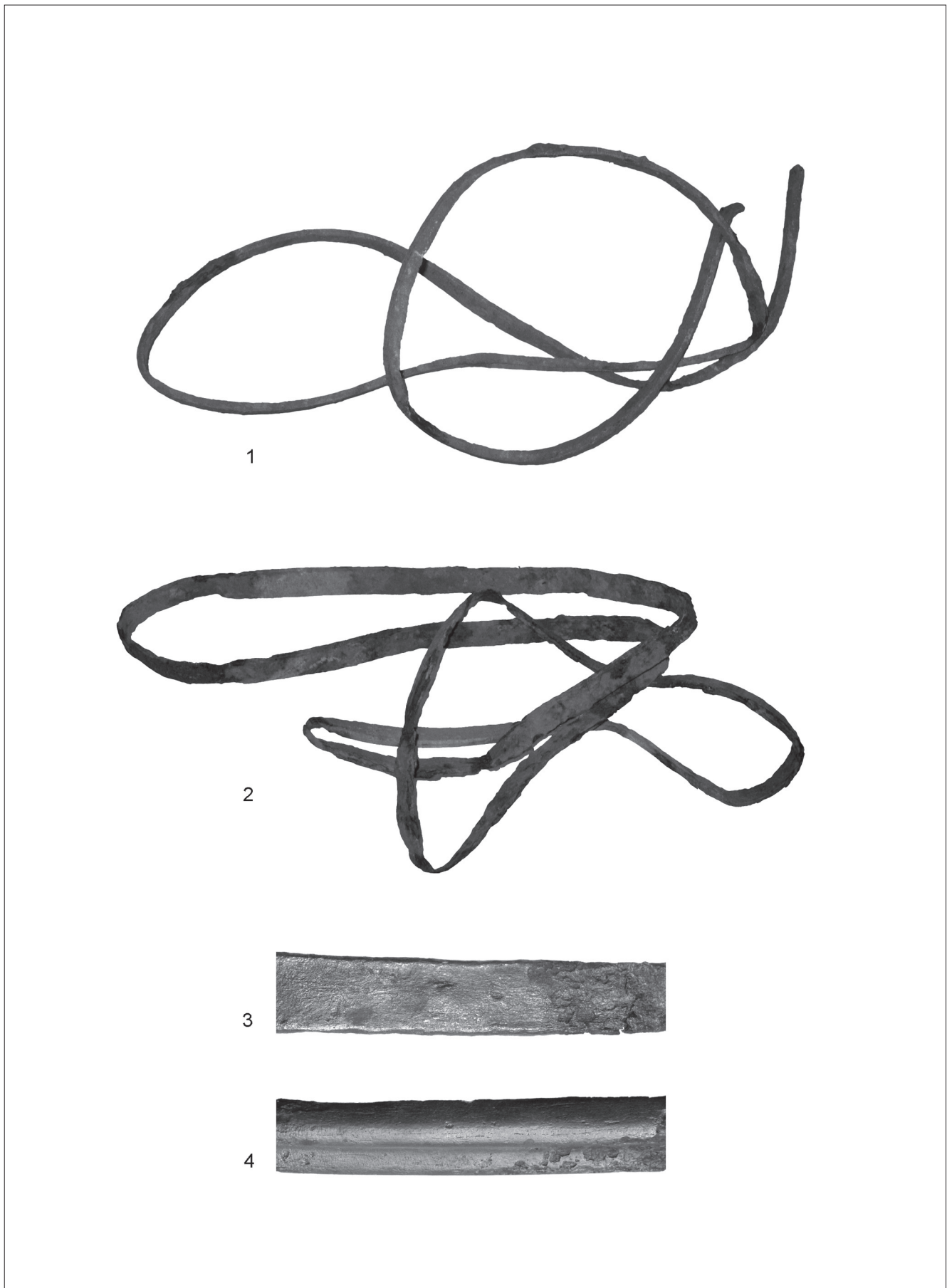


TAFEL 9. Burgmuseum Deutschlandsberg, Wagengrab: Eisenband mit Längshohlbahn. M. 1: 2 (Foto M. Guštin).





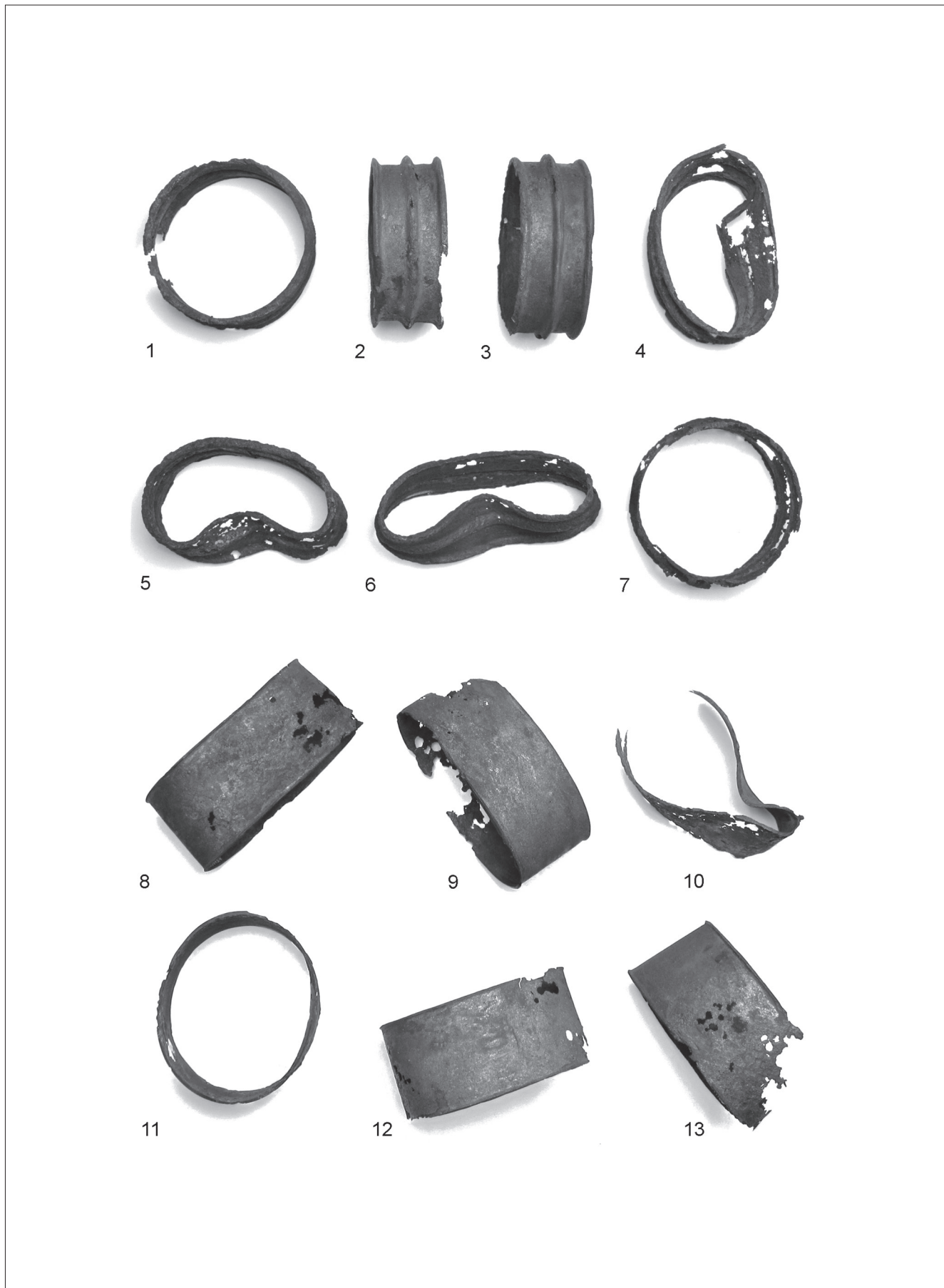
TAFEL 10. Hrtkovci-Vukoder, aus Gräbern: 1-3, 11-12, 14-17 Hebelstangentrensen; 4-10, 13 Ringtrensen. Eisen (Foto M. Guštin).



TAFEL 11. Hrtkovci-Vukoder, aus Gräbern: Radreifen. Eisen (Foto M. Guštin).

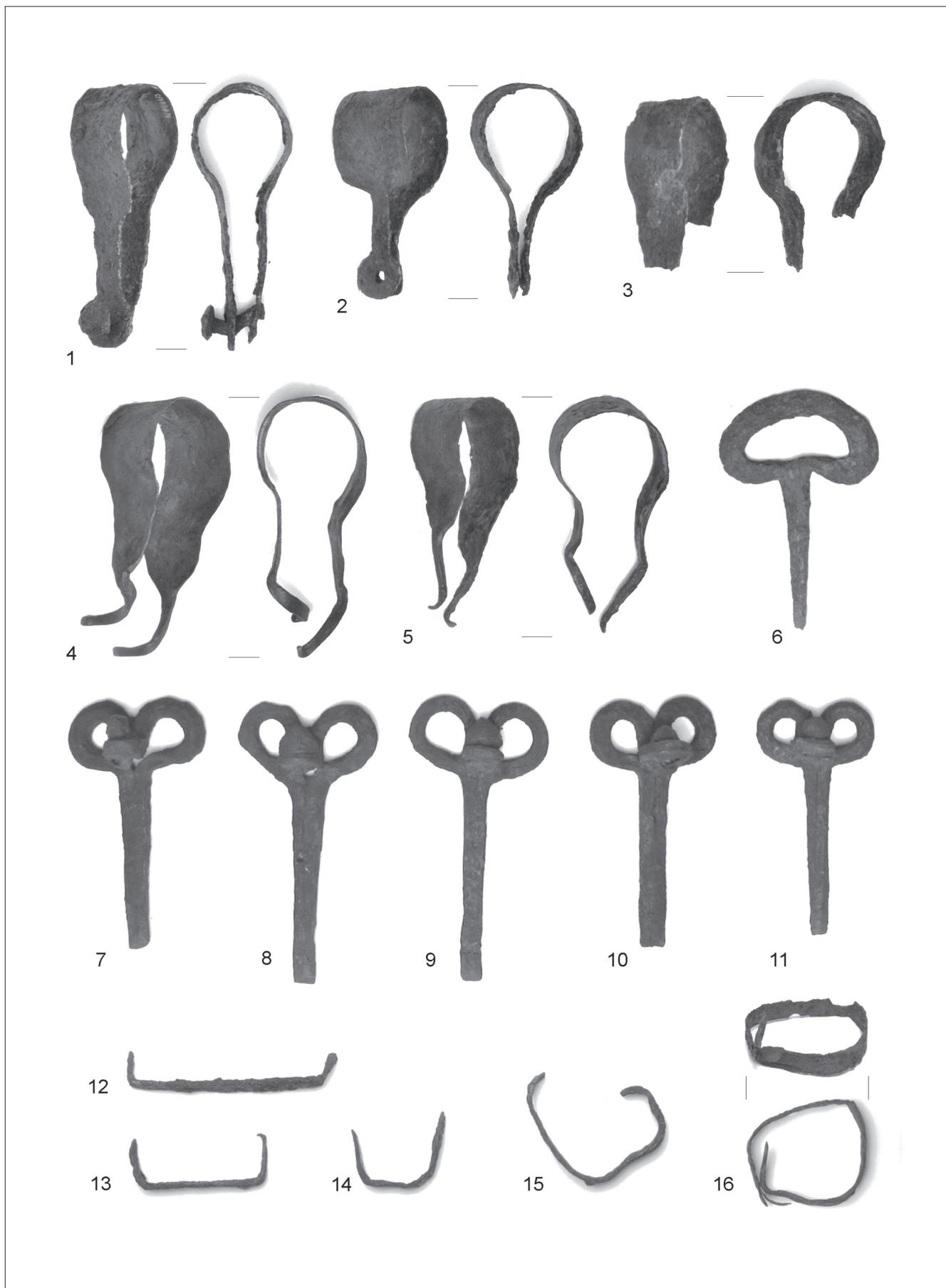






TAFEL 12. Hrtkovci-Vukoder, aus Gräbern: Nabenringe. Eisen (Foto M. Guštin).





**TAFEL 13.** Hrtkovci-Vukoder, aus Gräbern: 1–3 rundliche Blechklammern mit Bindestift; 4–5 rundliche Blechklammern mit Befestigungsdornen; 6 Achsnagel mit Schlaufenkopf; 7–11 Achsnägel mit brillenförmigem Kopf; 12–16 Klammern. Eisen (Foto M. Guštin).



# SUB TESTU: PREPARATION OF ROMAN FOOD UNDER A CLAY DOME<sup>1</sup>

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Pregledni članak / Review

*Among the multitude of ceramic fragments, there occasionally appear handles of unusual shapes, or the remains of large dome-shaped lids. Such vessels were used for food preparation in kitchens with open hearths. Ever since prehistory, they have represented a kitchen appliance in daily use to the present day, and they appear in Roman kitchens as well. Various sources refer*

*to this method of food preparation as sub testu. These vessels' segments have also been archaeologically confirmed on Roman sites in Pannonia Inferior and Moesia Superior. There is a type of dish called patina in Roman cuisine, similar to modern-day soufflé, which was presumably prepared on plates with a flat bottom and curved, convex, or concave walls.*

## Key words:

Roman ceramic, Roman food, sub testu, sač, peka, patina, plates, Vinkovci, Atovac, Viminacium

## Introduction

There are dozens of different terms<sup>2</sup> for a dome-shaped lid used for food preparation on an open hearth.<sup>3</sup> The origins of such lids date back to prehistory: that is, the Bronze Age – the earliest period in which they have been documented so far.<sup>4</sup> It is maintained that the practice of covering food with a lid during cooking originated from an even older culinary practice of covering meat or fish with a thin layer of clay. The prehistoric dome-shaped lid developed into two basic shapes. The first one resembles the shape of a bowl and has two handles, while the other one is closer to the forms still in use today: a hemisphere with one handle at the top. It was used in both the Roman and Medieval periods, while, with the arrival of the Turks, a metal – i.e. iron – lid (*peka* or *sač*)

comes into use.<sup>5</sup> Until a century ago, it was extensively used in the area from Prekmurje to southwest Hungary, in Baranja, the entirety of Bosnia, on the Adriatic coast and throughout Serbia. Potters in the Adriatic and Dinaric areas manually spun *čripnja* / *peka* on the potter's wheel, while *poljuka*, from Slavonia, was made in a cast mould. In the continental regions, these vessels are typically used for baking bread and meat dishes. In the coastal regions, fish and seafood (octopus etc.) are added to the repertoire. The extensive use of this type of vessel ceases with the disappearance of the open hearth.<sup>6</sup> Nowadays, it is used mainly in the traditional cuisine of Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and South Serbia.<sup>7</sup>

1 The article results from the project *Life on the Roman road: communications, trade and identities on Roman roads in Croatia from 1<sup>st</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> CE*, supported by the Croatian Science Foundation (UIP-05-2017-9768).

2 *Peka, pekva, sač, sače, crepnja, cripnja, cigla, krijepnja, crepulja, črešnja, čripnja, lopiž, pokljuka, vršnik or sansija.*

3 Ivanišević 2015, 87.

4 Vinski Gasparini 1954, 119–122; Gavazzi 1978, 122; Stipčević 1991, 62; Mihovilić 2013, 312; Karavanić et al. 2015, 121–122.

5 Čimin 2017, 280–284.

6 Gavazzi 1978, 122.

7 Barišić 2010, 188–201.

## Historical sources

The traditional methods of baking bread and other kinds of food applied even today were most likely used during the Roman period, too. Until the 70s of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, bakers and bakeries did not exist,<sup>8</sup> instead, people produced the required amounts of bread within their own homes. This was predominantly a women's task, so the production of these vessels is attributed to them. Cato documents data about baking loaves of bread *sub testu* and preparation of desserts under a lid. According to these data, bread was baked under a lid,<sup>9</sup> while *savillum* was baked in an oiled and covered bowl.<sup>10</sup> Columella gives a description of the way the lid – *sač* – can be used for faster fruit drying and baking unleavened bread.<sup>11</sup> In Petronius' *Satyricon*, too, there is a description of a feast at which meat was served on a decorated plate covered by the lid under which it was baked.<sup>12</sup> Pliny the Elder, in the section of his *Natural History* devoted to Roman bread and bakers, notes that there existed a wide repertoire of types of bread named after the dish they were intended to be eaten with (bread for oysters), by the taste (cake bread), or by the manner of baking (bread from the oven, pan bread).<sup>13</sup> There is another source which contains the descriptions of various types of Roman bread and the manner of their preparation. In his *Ety-mologiae*, Isidore explains the procedure of putting the lid over unleavened bread or a pancake, covering it with live coals and baking the dish that way.<sup>14</sup>

## Archaeological confirmation

Numerous specimens of lids have been found on Roman sites throughout Italy (*testa dei clibani*), dated to the period from the late Republic to late Antiquity. Dome-shaped lids, dated mostly to the period of Republican Rome and further on, until the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, represent frequent finds in central Italy.<sup>15</sup> The practice of *sub testu* baking continued until late Antiquity.<sup>16</sup> In the same time frame, lids were found in Slovenia.<sup>17</sup>



FIGURE 1. The handle of a peka, Vinkovci.

On the site of Vinkovci-Šokadija<sup>18</sup> a handle from a *peka* was discovered, placed aside on the recipient (Pl. 2: 1; Fig. 1). It was made of grey clay with a small number of inclusions and dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century. A similar handle and a fragment of the recipient were found on the site of Kuzmin (Bregovi-Atovac) in Srijem during research on a settlement dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>19</sup>

Many hearths belonging to individual households have been discovered in Viminacium, but most of them are severely damaged. A multitude of ceramic vessel finds discovered not only in the crafts centre, but also at other locations, enables us to confirm the thesis that unleavened bread prepared under the *peka* was a staple in the diet of Viminacium's population. Broad, deep lids with knob-shaped handles (Pl. 2: 2; Fig. 3) have been discovered; certain authors identify them as baking lids – *sač*,<sup>20</sup> but, since there are no traces of burning on these objects, we have to remain reserved when it comes to the confirmation of this thesis.

Similarly, lids with thickened edges that could have served to hold the live coals during baking have been found, mostly with no traces of burning. They might have been used simply to keep the dish warm after baking, not placed on the hearth directly

8 Plin. Nat. 18. 107.

9 "Bread recipe: wash your hands and the bowl meticulously. Pour the flour into the bowl, gradually adding water, and knead vigorously. When the dough is well-kneaded, take it out and bake under earthenware lid." (Cato Agr. 74. 84, translated from the Latin by I. Ožanić Roguljić).

10 "Savillum was made this way: half a pound of flour, two and a half pounds of cheese are to be mixed as when preparing libum; a pound of honey and an egg. Season the clay bowl with oil. When you have kneaded the mixture well, put it in the bowl and cover it with a lid. Make sure it is well baked in the middle, which is the highest. When baked, take it out of the bowl, sprinkle with poppy seeds, leave under the bowl for a while, then take out." (Cato Agr. 84, translation by I. Ožanić Roguljić).

11 Col. 12. 3.

12 Petr. 35.

13 Plin. Nat. 18. 27. 105.

14 Isid. Orig. 20. 2. 15.

15 Cipriano, Fabrizio 1996, 192.

16 Cubberley et al. 1988, 210; Dalby 2003, 101; Paulas 2016, 580–581.

17 Istenič 1999, 145; Giesler, Mackensen 1981, 108–120.

18 Ožanić Roguljić 2016, Pl. 55: 10.

19 Brukner 1995, 95, Pl. VII: 64.

20 Vida 2011, 721.





FIGURE 2. A specimen of a large Pompeiian plate, Viminacium.

during the baking process. Naturally, we should bear in mind the kind of thermal shock these lids endured and the fact that they could not remain unimpaired for a long time. In all likelihood, after a certain period of usage, they cracked or broke due to the sudden temperature changes, and had to be discarded.

Forms of shallow plates with flat bottoms were discovered in the rubbish pits near the kilns in Viminacium; these vessels could have served as the recipients of the *sač*, over which a deep lid was placed, or were used for the preparation of *patina*. They were made of medium-refined or sand clay and found in the entire colour palette resulting from the firing. Some of these specimens measure up to 60 cm in diameter, and they are 6 to 10 cm deep (Fig. 2). The absence of lids to match these vessels represents an obstacle in their interpretation. Lids of these dimensions simply do not appear among the finds.

### Function and usage

Dishes (primarily meat, fish and bread) were baked on a plate. The food was covered with a *sač* (a dome-shaped lid), which in turn was covered with live coals held in place by fluted rims. The best embers were obtained by burning firewood of high calorific value: e.g. beech or hornbeam, which retain the optimal temperature necessary for baking under the lid for a long time. The fire was commonly kindled on a large, flat disc – the firebed. The firebed would be heated for up to an hour and a half before the dome was put onto it. Baking could begin once enough embers were produced. The lower part of the *sač* (a large round vessel), which goes directly onto the embers, was seasoned with a small quantity of oil or lard, and then meat was placed on it, in one or several large pieces. The food was then covered with the up-

per part of the *sač* (the lid). The dome-shaped lid had a modelled edge – plastic horizontal and curved flutings which hold the embers. The open flame should not be allowed on the lid – only slow burning embers or ashes – since, in that case, the meat would burn on the outside and remain uncooked in the middle, or the ceramic vessel could crack due to the high temperature. Bread could be baked without the lower part of the vessel, on the heated baking stone directly. Bay, cabbage or fig leaves were commonly placed under the bread dough; however, this was not a rule.<sup>21</sup> T. Vida has given an exceptionally detailed description of these dome lids' shapes for food preparation on an open hearth in the Roman period and the Middle Ages; he determined their typology and produced their distribution map relying on the results of the research obtained so far.<sup>22</sup>

### Vessels for baking under a lid

In the traditional preparation of *sač*, as well as in Cato's writings (*savillum*), there is a vessel or bowl in which food is prepared under a lid. It is open to question what such vessel looked like in the Roman period. There is no evidence of a vessel which could be connected with the finds of *sač*. Possibly, a large lid – *peka* – was used only for baking bread, while dishes such as *savillum* required another combination of plate and lid. Vessels with a flat bottom and curving walls of the recipient, either convex or concave, are connected with baking bread and a few other dish types. They are covered with a red slip both on the inside and on the outside; this coating is actually another layer of clay applied onto the modelled and dried vessel, and the red colour results from the presence of air in the kiln. If they do exist, the lids of such vessels are commonly slightly raised. Such a set of vessels often has traces of burning on the outer areas; their names vary among the various written sources, while the form itself originates from the Pompeiian plates.<sup>23</sup> They belong to the most common type of vessels discovered on the majority of Pannonian and Moesian sites from the 1<sup>st</sup> century to the 4<sup>th</sup>, and the sites where they do not appear are rare. The dimensions of these plates range from 10 to 60 cm in diameter, and they are 5 to 12 cm deep.<sup>24</sup> A special type of dish was named after these simple plates (*patina*) that could be covered by lids, which could have been used for baking bread. This dish is called *patina*, and an entire chapter of Apicius is devoted to it.<sup>25</sup> *Patina* can be prepared by combining various ingredients: chopped meat, fish, entrails, fruit and vegetables. Eggs are present as an ingredient in the majority of these recipes, and it could be either a sweet or a savoury dish, very much like soufflé. *Patina* can be baked in a beehive oven or on an open hearth. If baked in the beehive oven, it is not necessary to cover it with a lid, since enough heat is generated and the ingredients are easily cooked through. Such preparation proce-

21 Ožanić 2004, 29, 32; Vojnović-Traživuk 2009, 104.

22 Vida 2011.

23 Olcese 2003, 126, Pl. XV: 1–4.

24 Brukner 1981, 85–86; Nikolić-Đorđević 2000, 112; Raičković 2007, 23; Ožanić Roguljić 2016, 49–51.

25 Apicius, 4. 2. 128–143.



FIGURE 3. Deep lids, Viminacium.

ture is followed in modern ovens, too, and was also confirmed in the replica of a beehive oven in Andautonia Archaeological Park in 2004. The Apicius cookbook describes the way *patina* is prepared: embers are placed around the dish itself and atop the lid.<sup>26</sup> This method of cooking is similar to the preparation of dishes under the *sač* and suitable for application on an open hearth. The lids that complement this type of plate have a ring-shaped or curved rim which could hold the embers in place.<sup>27</sup> The statistical predominance of the plates on the vast majority of sites shows that they were multi-functional and practical, so they could be used both for serving food and for its consumption. It seldom happens that the ancient sources and ethnology describe a certain procedure in almost identical ways.<sup>28</sup> The procedure of using the ceramic *peka*, or a vessel for baking on an open hearth, has remained the same from prehistory until today.

According to the data deduced from the archaeological context, it is observed that the remains of dome-shaped lids have been found in Roman urban areas (*Cibalae*, *Viminacium*) and rural ones (Atovac). A form of *peka* with two handles has been documented in Pannonia Inferior, and if we interpret the large lids from Viminacium as lids for *sač*, then they represent another

type of large, deep lid with wide knob-shaped handle. In all likelihood, they are far more numerous than the limited scope of this paper could demonstrate. The ceramic baking lids were affordable and easily manufactured, but they were frequently cracked due to their extensive use. The small size of their fragments, and possibly their secondary use, could be the reason they are so rarely identified during the analyses of pottery ware. Since no vessels which could be connected with *peka* have been discovered so far, there is a high probability that they were used for baking bread, or perhaps other kinds of dishes made of compact dough and baked on a baking stone, which could have been covered with bay or other kinds of leaves. The bread and desserts which had to be prepared in a dish seasoned with oil were most likely baked in the plates with convex or concave walls, after which another type of dish (*patina*) was named. Such plates usually had lids, and in various forms they appear on the majority of Roman sites from the 1<sup>st</sup> century to the 4<sup>th</sup>. Like the *peka* (Fig. 4), they were covered with embers, too. The method of baking under a lid, *i.e. sub testu*, was a common way of preparing food on an open hearth in the Roman period,<sup>29</sup> so this paper focuses specifically on the presence of such method in the areas of *Pannonia Inferior* and *Moesia Superior*.

26 Apicius, 4. 2. 33; Plesničar-Gec, Kuhar 1996; Grainger 2006, 77.

27 Grainger 2006, 77.

28 Dalby 2003, 101.

29 Olcese 2003, 13, 24–26, Pl. XVII–XVIII.



FIGURE 4. A reconstruction of a peka, island of Iž (The Ethnographic Museum, Zagreb).

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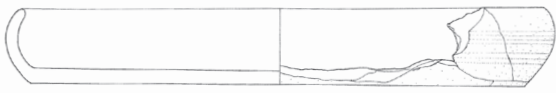
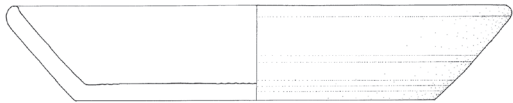
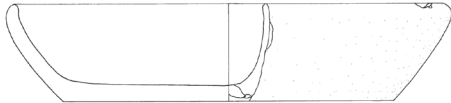
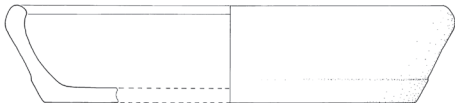
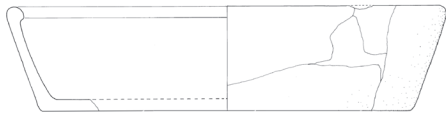
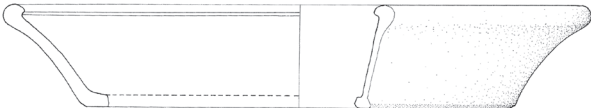
SHAPE	DATATION	FINDING PLACE
 <p>Pl 1</p>	2 <sup>nd</sup> – 3 <sup>rd</sup> century	Museum Varteks Šokadija Komercijalna banka
 <p>Pl 1</p>	2 <sup>nd</sup> – 3 <sup>rd</sup> century	Museum Varteks Komercijalna banka
 <p>Pl 3</p>	2 <sup>nd</sup> – 3 <sup>rd</sup> century	Museum Varteks Komercijalna banka
 <p>Pl 4</p>	2 <sup>nd</sup> – 3 <sup>rd</sup> century	Varteks Šokadija
 <p>Pl 5</p>	2 <sup>nd</sup> – 3 <sup>rd</sup> century	Museum Šokadija Komercijalna banka
 <p>Pl 6</p>	4 <sup>th</sup> century	Museum

PLATE 1. The most frequent shapes of plates with a flat bottom, Vinkovci (Ožanić Roguljić 2016, 50).

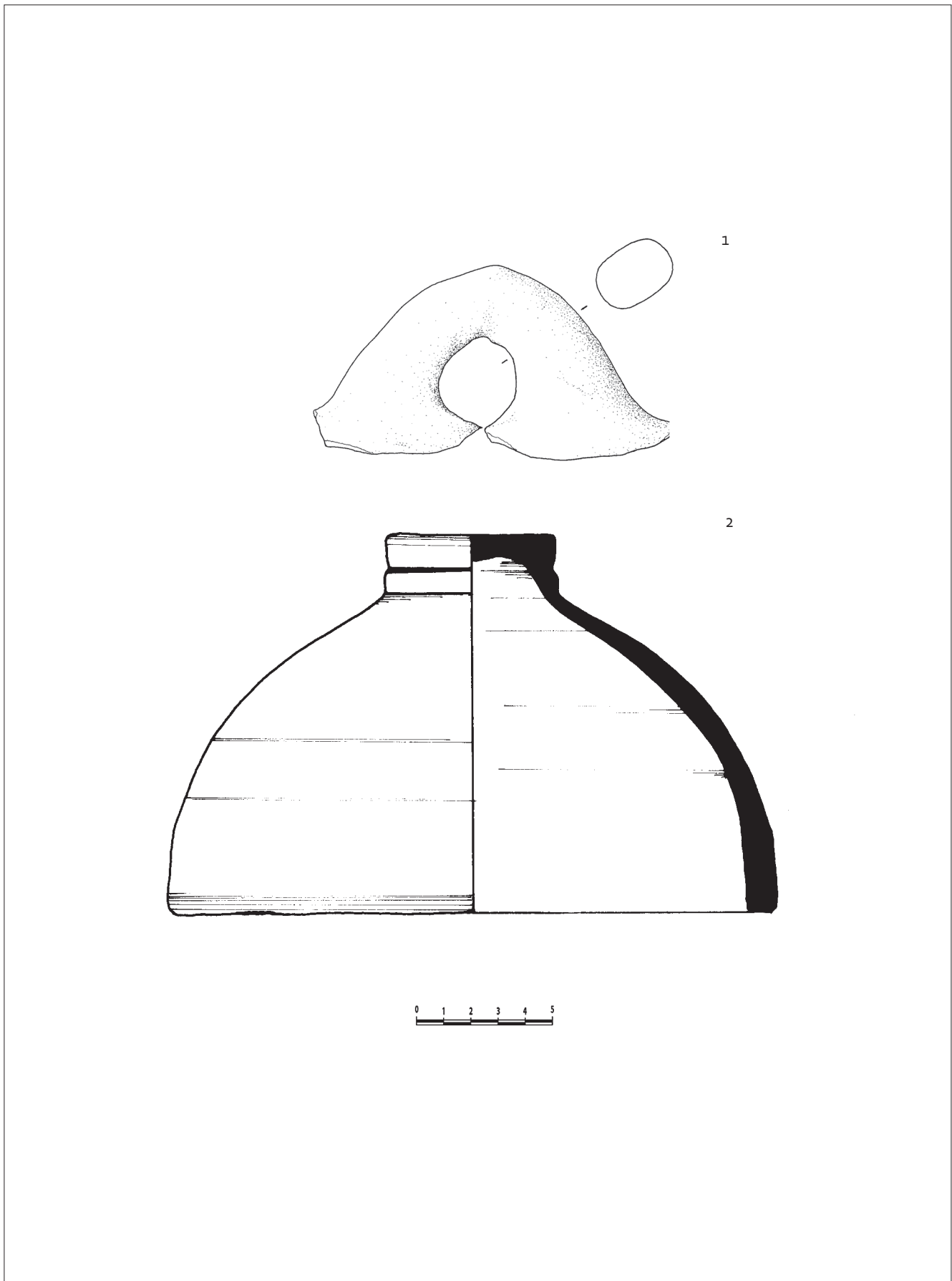


PLATE 2. 1. The handle of a peka, Vinkovci; 2. Bell-shaped lid (peka), Viminacium.







# ARHIVSKI PODACI, MINERALOŠKO-PETROGRAFSKA I IKONOGRAFSKA ANALIZA KIPA IZIDE IZ ENONE\*

## THE ARCHIVAL DATA ON, AND PETROGRAPHIC, MINERAL AND ICONOGRAPHIC ANALYSES OF THE STATUE OF ISIS FROM ENONA\*

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Izvorni znanstveni članak / Original scientific paper

*U odnosu na razilaženja u stavovima historiografa, modernih i suvremenih istraživača vezano uz identifikaciju kipa u izidinskoj nošnji iz Nina (Aenona), u radu će se analizirati arhivski izvori i muzejska dokumentacija o mjestu, okolnostima nalaza i povijesti kipa; definirat će se područje na kojemu je kip pronađen i utvrditi postoji li u „topografskom“ pogledu poveznica s julijevsko-klaudijevskom grupom carskih kipova; vezano uz to, predstaviti će se i analizirati rezultati petrografsko-mineraloške i kemijske analize kamena ženskoga kipa koja je recentno učinjena te, uz ikonografsku, formalnu i stilsku analizu, donijeti vlastite stavove o tome radi li se o kipu Izide ili njezine sljedbenice, kada je i gdje kip mogao nastati te kako se njegova pojava smješta u kontekstu municipija Enone u razdoblju principata.*

*Given the contrasting views that historiographers and modern and contemporary researchers hold regarding the identification of the statue in the dress of Isis from Nin (Aenona), this paper will analyse the archival sources and museum documentation on the site, circumstances of the find, and history of the statue; it will define the area where the statue was found and determine whether there is a “topographic” link with the Julio-Claudian group of imperial statues; in this regard, the results of petrographic, mineral and chemical analyses of the female stone statue, which have recently been completed, will also be discussed, and, along with iconographic, formal and stylistic analyses, our own views will be presented on whether the statue is of Isis or her devotee, when and where the statue might have originated, and how its occurrence fits into the context of the Municipium Aenona in the Principate.*

#### Ključne riječi:

*Izida, izijački kultovi, rimske svećenice, rimske carice, Enona, Aenona, Nin, antički mramor, Tasos, Vathy*

#### Keywords:

*Isis, Isiac cults, Roman priestesses, Roman empresses, Enona, Aenona, Nin, antique marble, Thassos, Vathy*

U Lapidariju Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu predstavljen je ženski kip u izidinskoj nošnji koji potječe iz Nina (sl. 1–4).<sup>2</sup> Riječ je o jednoj od najstarijih akvizicija ovoga muzeja, poznatom i često

A female statue in the dress of Isis, originating from Nin, (Fig. 1–4) is on display in the Lapidarium of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.<sup>2</sup> This is one of the earliest acquisitions of this museum, a

\* Iako se kroz rad provlači pitanje radi li se o prikazu Izide ili njezine sljedbenice, iz praktičnih se razloga od početka koristi termin „kip Izide.“ Ovaj rad je sufinanciralo Sveučilište u Rijeci projektom MIK uniri-human-18-31.

2 Inv. br. AMZ KS-34.

\* Although the paper focuses on the question whether it is a statue of Isis or her devotee, for practical reasons the term “statue of Isis” is used throughout. This paper is co-funded by the University of Rijeka via the MIK uniri-human-18-31 project.

2 Inv. no. AMZ KS-34.



SLIKA 1. Kip Izide, *Aenona*, 1. polovina 1. st., Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, inv. br. AMZ KS-34 (snimio I. Krajcar).

FIGURE 1. Statue of Isis, *Aenona*, 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. AMZ KS-34 (photo by I. Krajcar).



SLIKA 2. Kip Izide, *Aenona*, 1. polovina 1. st., Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, inv. br. AMZ KS-34 (snimio I. Krajcar).

FIGURE 2. Statue of Isis, *Aenona*, 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. AMZ KS-34 (photo by I. Krajcar).

citiranom kipu o kojem bi se, gotovo dva stoljeća nakon pronalaska, i 168 godina provedenih u „zagrebačkoj“ zbirci, kroz ovaj rad iznijelo još nekoliko novih podataka. „Životni put“ ovoga kipa usko je vezan uz djelatnost Mijata Sabljara, muzealca, putopisca, prvog kustosa Muzeja Nugent na Trsatu (Rijeka) i jednog od utemeljitelja zbirke Narodnog muzeja u Zagrebu.<sup>3</sup> Sudeći prema biografskim podacima, Sabljara je tijekom svoga boravka na Kvarneru prikupljao uzorke mramora i slao ih u Beč na analizu.<sup>4</sup> Možemo samo pretpostaviti da je riječ o uzorcima spomenika sa širega riječkog područja, odnosno o umjetninama koje su pripadale Nugentovoj zbirci. U slučaju kipa Izide iz Enone nema podataka o tome je li ga uzorkovao i analizirao pa ćemo ovim radom na određeni način nadomjestiti taj „nedostatak.“

famous and oft-cited statue on which, almost two centuries after the find and 168 years in the “Zagreb” collection, this paper will shed new light. “The life path” of this statue is closely connected with the activity of Mijat Sabljara – a curator, travel writer, the first curator of the Nugent museum in Trsat (Rijeka), and one of the founders of the collections of the National Museum in Zagreb.<sup>3</sup> According to the biographical data, Sabljara collected samples of marble during his stay in Kvarner and sent them to Vienna for analysis.<sup>4</sup> We can only assume that these were samples of monuments from the wider Rijeka area, *i.e.* artwork that belonged to the Nugent collection. As far as the statue of Isis from Enona is concerned, there is no data about whether it was sampled and analysed, so this paper will, in a way, compensate for that “lack.”

3 O životu i radu Mijata Sabljara vidi: Mirnik 1991, 14–18; Linke 2011, 219–260.

4 Mirnik 1991, 15.

3 On the life and work of Mijat Sabljara, see: Mirnik 1991, 14–18; Linke 2011, 219–260.

4 Mirnik 1991, 15.



**SLIKA 3.** Kip Izide, *Aenona*, 1. polovina 1. st., Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, inv. br. AMZ KS-34 (snimio I. Krajcar).

**FIGURE 3.** Statue of Isis, *Aenona*, 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. AMZ KS-34 (photo by I. Krajcar).



**SLIKA 4.** Kip Izide, *Aenona*, 1. polovina 1. st., Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, inv. br. AMZ KS-34 (snimio I. Krajcar).

**FIGURE 4.** Statue of Isis, *Aenona*, 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. AMZ KS-34 (photo by I. Krajcar).

Kip iz Enone izrađen je u bijelome mramoru, visine 136 cm s bazom. Očuvano je tijelo ženske figure bez glave i podlaktica, s nekoliko oštećenja na području stopala i baze. Figura nosi dugačku tuniku, zakopčanu nizom dugmadi na nadlakticama (jonski hiton) preko koje je tzv. izidinski plašt i još jedan plašt koji prekriva leđa i pada do tla. Izidinski plašt prepoznaje se po resicama i karakterističnom čvoru svezanom na sredini prsa.<sup>5</sup> Na mjestu vrata je polukružni utor za glavu, koja je bila napravljena odvojeno, i koja, na žalost, do sada nije pronađena / identificirana (sl. 5). Pored utora za vrat, na ramenima se sa svake strane vidi vrh blago valovitog pramena kose. Lijevi je pramen nešto duži od desnoga, što ukazuje na to da je figura najvjerojatnije gledala udesno. Nadlaktice su priljubljene uz tijelo. Na bokovima su nabori haljine lijepo izrađeni pa postoji mogućnost da su ruke imale spoj, odnosno da su podlaktice dodane nakon što je izveden trup i donji dio tijela (iako mjesta loma danas ne pokazuju

The statue from Enona is made of white marble and 136 cm high, including the base. The body of the female figure, without head and forearms, is preserved, with some damage to the feet and base. The figure is wearing a long tunic fastened with a series of buttons on the upper arms (the Ionic chiton), over which lies the so-called mantle of Isis and another cloak draped on the back of the figure, reaching to the ground. The mantle of Isis is identified by the fringe and the typical knot tied at the chest.<sup>5</sup> A semi-circular slot in place of the neck is intended for a head that was worked separately, but which, unfortunately, has not yet been found / identified (Fig. 5). On each side of the neck slot, the tips of slightly wavy strands of hair are visible. The left strand is slightly longer than the right, indicating that the figure was most likely looking to the right. The upper arms are attached to the body. On the hips, the folds of the dress are finely made, making it very possible that the arms had joints, that is, that the forearms were

<sup>5</sup> O tzv. izidinskom plaštu vidi: Walters 1988, 4, sl. 1; Bianchi 2007, 470 *et passim*; Albersmeier 2018, 448 *et passim*.

<sup>5</sup> On the so-called mantle of Isis, see: Walters 1988, 4, Fig. 1; Bianchi 2007, 470 *et passim*; Albersmeier 2018, 448 *et passim*.





SLIKA 5. Kip Izide, Aenona, 1. polovina 1. st., Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, inv. br. AMZ KS-34 (snimio I. Krajcar).

FIGURE 5. Statue of Isis, Aenona, 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. AMZ KS-34 (photo by I. Krajcar).

ostatke spojeva). Na lijevom boku uočava se i nekoliko oštećenja nabora. Možda se na toj strani nalazio trn koji je pridržavao lijevu ruku, izvorno spuštenu niz tijelo. U tom kontekstu, važno je uočiti da na desnom boku takvih oštećenja nema. Lijepa izvedba nabora s te strane mogla bi upućivati na to da je desna nadlaktica bila podignuta. Poznati su, naime, brojni izijački kipovi s jednom rukom položenom uz tijelo, u kojoj se najčešće nalazi situla, a drugom podignutom u laktu, u kojoj je najčešće sistrum (sl. 6) pa pretpostavljamo da je i ninska figura mogla imati lijevu ruku spuštenu niz tijelo, a desnu podignutu.<sup>6</sup> Ovoj interpretaciji doprinosi i naša pretpostavka da je pogled figure bio usmjeren u desnu stranu, odnosno prema desnoj podignutoj ruci. Na desnu je nogu prenesena i težina figure dok je lijeva noga opuštena, što također ostavlja dojam kretnje cijele figure u smjeru prema naprijed i udesno. Stopala su gotovo u potpunosti uništena pa se ne može reći što je figura imala na nogama.

Prema opisanome stavu i ikonografiji – prisustvu izidinskoga plašta i pramenova kose koji padaju na ramena, zaključujemo da kip odgovara raširenim prikazima Izide i njezinih sljedbenica, poput drugostoljetnog kipa Izide iz izeja u Stobima (sl. 7) ili njezinih sljedbenica Aleksandre i Agatemeris, prikazanih na antičkim nadgrobnim spomenicima datiranim u 2. st. (sl. 8).<sup>7</sup> Na temelju toga, prisustva nošnje grčke tradicije (jonski hiton), te na temelju stilskih obilježja pretpostavljamo da se u našoj literaturi formiralo mišljenje kako kip nastaje u rimskom razdoblju, u „klasicističkoj maniri.“<sup>8</sup>

6 I u izostanku atributa mnoštvo je detalja koji upućuju na to kojem bi ikonografskome modelu/tipu kip mogao pripadati, odnosno kojemu ne pripada. Može se, primjerice, uočiti da kipovi Izide, koja nosi kornukopiju, imaju gornji plašt prebačen preko donjeg dijela tijela u smjeru prema kornukopiji koja je u lijevoj ruci (npr. Tran tam Tinh 1990, kat. br. 22, 23, 28), odnosno da kipovi Izide, koja se naslanja na skeptar, imaju jednu ruku podignutu već u ramenom zglobu te nešto istaknutiji položaj boka sa strane na kojoj je ta ruka i sl. (npr. Tran tam Tinh 1990, kat. br. 32, 33).

7 Walters 1988, 36 *et passim*.

8 Selem 1997, 54; Kolega 2004, 58–61, kat. br. II.1.1.18; Selem, Vilogorac Brčić 2015, 31–32, kat. br. 23.

added after the torso and the lower body were carved (although the places of fractures today do not indicate any traces of joints). Some damage to the folds is also visible on the left hip. There might have been a thorn on that side supporting the left arm, originally lowered to the side of the body. In this context, it is important to note that no such damage is visible on the right hip. Fine folds on that side could indicate that the right upper arm was lifted. In fact, there are numerous statues of Isis with one arm at the side of the body, in which usually a situla was placed,



SLIKA 6. Kip Izide (tzv. Kapitolinska Izida), pronađen u Rimu ili njegovoj okolini, 40 – 50. g., Roma, Musei Capitolini, inv. br. MC 744/S, © Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali (snimila P. Karković Takalić).

FIGURE 6. Statue of Isis (so-called Capitoline Isis), found in Rome or its surroundings, 40 – 50 AD, Roma, Musei Capitolini, inv. no. MC 744/S, © Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali (photo by P. Karković Takalić).





**SLIKA 8.** Tzv. Aleksandrina stela, Atena, 1. st., *New Acropolis museum*, Atena (Bitrakova Grozdanova 2015, 61).

**FIGURE 8.** The so-called stela of Alexandra, Athens, 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, *New Acropolis museum*, Athens (Bitrakova Grozdanova 2015, 61).



**SLIKA 7.** Kip Izide, pronađen u Stobiju (Sjeverna Makedonija) uz hram Izide, 2. st., Stobi (Bitrakova Grozdanova 2015, 60).

**FIGURE 7.** Statue of Isis, found in Stobi (Northern Macedonia) next to the temple of Osos, 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, Stobi (Bitrakova Grozdanova 2015, 60).

and the other lifted at the elbow, which usually held a sistrum (Fig. 6): therefore we assume that the figure from Nin could have had the left arm lowered along the side of the body and the right arm raised.<sup>6</sup> This interpretation is also supported by our assumption that the gaze of the figure was directed to the right, that is, to its right raised arm. Furthermore, the right leg also bears the figure's weight, while the left leg is relaxed, which also indicates movement of the figure in a forward direction and to the right. The feet are almost completely destroyed, so there is no knowing what the figure had on its feet.

According to the posture described and its iconography – the mantle of Isis and strands of hair falling on the shoulders – we conclude that the statue corresponds to the widespread depic-

<sup>6</sup> Despite the absence of attributes, there are many details indicating which iconographic model/type the statue might or might not belong to. It can be observed, for example, that the statues of Isis bearing a cornucopia have the upper mantle draped over the lower body in the direction of the cornucopia in her left hand (e.g. Tran tam Tinh 1990, cat. no. 22, 23, 28) or that the statues of Isis leaning on the sceptre have one arm raised already in the shoulder joint and a slightly more prominent position of the hip on the side of that arm, etc. (e.g. Tran tam Tinh 1990, cat. no. 32, 33).

Vežano uz to, prisutno je nekoliko prijedloga njegove interpretacije i datacije. Pisci i historiografi s kraja 19. stoljeća, koji su prvi izvjestili o postojanju kipa u Ninu, kao što su Mijat Sabljari i don Luka Jelić, smatrali su da je riječ o rimskome kipu božice Izide.<sup>9</sup> Mate Suić također je identificirao kip kao Izidu, predloživši njezinu poveznicu s „domaćim glavnim ženskim božanstvima“.<sup>10</sup> Petar Selem je smatrao da se radi o kulturnoj statui Izide koja se veže ili uz enonski *augusteum* i mjesto službenoga kulta u Enoni ili uz jedno ekstraurbano svetište uz more, poput onoga Venere Anzotike, referirajući se na karakter Izide kao zaštitnice pomorstva.<sup>11</sup> Selem je datirao kip isprva u kraj, a potom, s Ingom Vilogorac Brčić, u drugu polovinu 1. st.<sup>12</sup> Autori poput Nenada Cambija i Brune Kuntić-Makvić razmatraju moguću poveznicu kipa s enonskom grupom carskih portreta i identifikaciju lika kao Kleopatre, koja se javlja uz posmrtni kip Cezara, jednim od četiriju muških kipova enonske carske skupine nastale, najvjerojatnije, u Tiberijevu razdoblju.<sup>13</sup> Cambi smatra da je vjerojatnije riječ o prikazu carice ili članice carske obitelji, što zbog mjesta nalaza, što zbog toga jer su portreti češće nego prikazi božanstava imali zasebno izrađivane glave.<sup>14</sup> Definira kip kao slabiji rad u odnosu na ostatak carske grupe iz Enone i datira ga u prvu polovicu 1. stoljeća.<sup>15</sup> Marija Kolega donosi nešto detaljniji opis kipa i pregled njegovih dotadašnjih istraživanja na temelju kojeg se stječe dojam njezina priklanjanja Cambijevim razmišljanjima.<sup>16</sup> Kornelia A. Giunio smatra da je riječ o kipu Izide koji je pripadao nekom izeju čiji smještaj, do daljnjega, ostaje nepoznat.<sup>17</sup> Svoj stav argumentira time da se u Enoni krajem 1. stoljeća nikako nije mogao izložiti jedan tako monumentalni kip Izidine svećenice. Od stranih, suvremenih autora, spomenut ćemo Johannesa Eingartnera, koji smatra da se radi o prikazu Izide iz razdoblja između 80. i 100. godine,<sup>18</sup> te Michaela Malaisea, koji smatra da je kip među onima za koje je teško odrediti prikazuje li božicu ili njezinu sljedbenicu.<sup>19</sup>

U odnosu na razilaženja u stavovima historiografa, modernih i suvremenih istraživača vezanih uz navedeni kip, nekoliko je ciljeva ovoga rada: iz arhivskih izvora i muzejske dokumentacije objediniti podatke koji su poznati o mjestu, okolnostima nalaza i povijesti kipa; pokušati definirati područje na kojemu je kip pronađen i utvrditi postoji li u „topografskom“ pogledu poveznica s grupom carskih kipova; analizirati i rezultate petrografsko-mineraloške i kemijske analize kamena kipa koja je recentno učinjena

tions of Isis and her devotees, such as the sculpture of Isis from the Iseion in Stobi dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD (Fig. 7) or her devotees Alexandra and Agatemeris on the Attic gravestones dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD (Fig. 8).<sup>7</sup> On this basis, as well as that of the Greek traditional costume (the Ionic chiton) and the stylistic features, we assume that the opinion was formed in our literature that the statue was created in the Roman period, in the “Classical manner.”<sup>8</sup>

In this regard, there are several suggestions of its interpretation and dating. Authors and historians from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, who first reported the existence of the statue in Nin, such as Mijat Sabljari and don Luka Jelić, claimed that it was a Roman statue of the goddess Isis.<sup>9</sup> Mate Suić also identified it as Isis, suggesting it to be linked to “major local female deities.”<sup>10</sup> Petar Selem also considered it to be a cult statue of Isis, linked with either the Enonian *Augusteum* and the site of the official cult in Enona, or with an extra-urban temple by the sea, similar to that of Venus Anzotica, referring thus to the character of Isis as the patron of seafaring.<sup>11</sup> Selem dated the statue first to the end and then, with Inga Vilogorac Brčić, to the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>12</sup> Authors such as Nenad Cambi and Bruna Kuntić-Makvić consider it possibly connected with the Enonian group of imperial portraits and to show Cleopatra, who appears alongside the posthumous statue of Caesar, one of the four male statues of the Enonian imperial group, dating most probably to the reign of Tiberius.<sup>13</sup> Cambi believes it is likely a depiction of an empress or member of the imperial family, partly due to the location of the find, and partly because heads for portraits were more often separately carved, unlike the illustrations of deities.<sup>14</sup> He declares the statue to be a weaker accomplishment than the rest of the imperial group from Enona, dating it to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>15</sup> Marija Kolega offers a somewhat more detailed description of the statue and an overview of Cambi’s research to date, which gives the impression of her adherence to Cambi’s viewpoint.<sup>16</sup> Kornelia A. Giunio maintains it to be a statue of Isis that once belonged to an Iseion whose location, so far, remains unknown.<sup>17</sup> She argues that such a monumental statue of a priestess of Isis could not possibly have been exhibited in Enona at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century. Among contemporary foreign authors, we will mention Johannes Eingartner, who maintains that this is a depiction of Isis from the period between 80 and 100 AD,<sup>18</sup> and Michael Malaise, who believes that the

9 MK-UZKB-OMS/7, 15 (Sabljar); AMS-ARHIV (Don L. Jelić); vidi još: Jelić 1900, 167; Jelić 1901, 184.

10 Suić 1979, 76–77, 80.

11 Selem 1997, 54–55, kat. br. 1.11, s prethodnom literaturom; 175.

12 Prva Selemova datacija: Selem 1997, 54–55. Druga Selemova datacija: Selem, Vilogorac Brčić 2015, 31–33, kat. br. 23.

13 Cambi 1998, 49; Kolega 2004, 58–61, kat. br. II.1.1.18; Kuntić-Makvić 2009, 335.

14 Usporedi: Cambi 1998, 49; Cambi 2005, 32–33, bilj. 100.

15 Cambi 2005, 35, sl. 38.

16 Kolega 2004, 58–61, kat. br. II.1.1.18.

17 Giunio 2005, 219.

18 Eingartner 1991, 113.

19 Malaise 1992, 332.

7 Walters 1988, 36 *et passim*.

8 Selem 1997, 54; Kolega 2004, 58–61, cat. no. II.1.1.18; Selem, Vilogorac Brčić 2015, 31–32, cat. no. 23.

9 MK-UZKB-OMS / 7, 15 (Sabljar); AMS-ARHIV (Don L. Jelić); see also: Jelić 1900, 167; Jelić 1901, 184.

10 Suić 1979, 76–77, 80.

11 Selem 1997, 54–55, cat. no. 1.11, with previous literature; 175.

12 Selem’s first date: Selem 1997, 54–55. Selem’s second date: Selem, Vilogorac Brčić 2015, 31–33, cat. no. 23.

13 Cambi 1998, 49; Kolega 2004, 58–61, cat. no. II.1.1.18; Kuntić-Makvić 2009, 335.

14 Cf. Cambi 1998, 49; Cambi 2005, 32–33, n. 100.

15 Cambi 2005, 35, Fig. 38.

16 Kolega 2004, 58–61, cat. no. II.1.1.18.

17 Giunio 2005, 219.

18 Eingartner 1991, 113.

te, uz ikonografsku analizu, donijeti vlastite stavove o tome radi li se o kipu Izide ili njezine sljedbenice, kada je i gdje kip mogao nastati te kako se njegova pojava smješta u kontekstu municipija Enone u razdoblju principata.

### Arhivski podaci o okolnostima i mjestu nalaza kipa

Najraniji nama poznati podatak o ovome kipu donosi u svojim „Terenskim zapisima“ iz 1852. godine Mijat Sabljar.<sup>20</sup> Zapise, koji su danas dostupni u formi bilježnica s rukopisom i nacrtima, Sabljar je bilježio tijekom svojih putovanja po Dalmaciji i kontinentalnom dijelu Austro-Ugarske Monarhije, između 1852. i 1854. godine.<sup>21</sup> U njima je opisivao najznačajnije spomenike, ali i druge „zanimljivosti“, poput prirodnih, biljnih i životinjskih osobitosti gradova istočne obale Jadrana od Rijeke (Kastva i Grobnika) do Budve (Crna Gora), odnosno kontinentalne Hrvatske i Slovenije (npr. Varaždin, Krapina, Varaždinske Toplice, Brežice i dr.). Ninski su spomenici opisani u tzv. 7. bilježnici koja je, sudeći prema navodima, pisana 1852. godine.<sup>22</sup> O kipu Izide Sabljar piše:

„Ova je štatua izkopana u onoj oranici, gdje su troja vrata gradska na istoku, (ljudi pripoviedaju, da su za svakog novog kralja za ulazak u Nin načinili i nova vrata). Kupljena je za 4fr od Goića i poslata na Karlobag u Senj za zagr. Museum u Rujnu 1852.“<sup>23</sup>

Podaci su dragocjeni jer pomažu pobliže odrediti mjesto nalaza kipa, i to, sudeći prema navođenju gradskih vrata na istoku, u periurbano, istočno područje ninskog poluotoka, a ne, kako se do sada navodilo, u središnji dio naselja, u blizinu Crkvice sv. Križa i foruma (sl. 9). Ako je kip pronađen na oranici, možemo pretpostaviti da se to dogodilo za vrijeme poljoprivrednih radova te da se vrlo vjerojatno radi o mjestu koje je manje-više odgovaralo položaju izvornog smještaja samoga kipa. Važna je i informacija o tome kada kip dolazi u zagrebački *Museum* (1852. godina), što ga, u odnosu na podatke o godini osnutka Narodnog muzeja (1836. godina), danas čini jednom od najstarijih akvizicija te zbirke. Podatak potvrđuju i objave kipa u prvim popisima rimskih spomenika muzeja Wilhelma Kubitscheka i Emanuela Lövyja iz 1879. godine te Josipa Brunšmida iz 1903. – 1904. godine.<sup>24</sup>

Podatke o mjestu nalaza i okolnostima prodaje Sabljar je upotrijebio skicom kipa s prednje i bočne desne strane, zahvaljujući kojoj zaključujemo da su najveće frakture na rukama, vratu i bazi kipa, koje su i danas vidljive, nastale najvjerojatnije i prije nalaza kipa na oranici obitelji Gojić (sl. 10). Na istoj stranici bilježnice Sabljar donosi nacrt s prijepisom natpisa još dvaju rimskih spomenika koji su bili u posjedu te obitelji. Veći spomenik nalazio se u dvorištu njihove kuće. Sudeći prema skici i sadržaju natpisa, mo-

statue is one of those where it is difficult to determine whether it depicts a goddess or her devotee.<sup>29</sup>

Given the differences historians and modern and contemporary researchers express regarding the statue, there are several objectives to this paper: to consolidate the available data about the site, the circumstances of the find and the history of the statue available from archival sources and museum documentation; to attempt to define the area where the statue was found and to determine whether there is a “topographic” link with the group of imperial statues; regarding that, to interpret the results of the recent petrographic, mineral and chemical analyses of the stone of the statue; and, along with the iconographic analysis, draw our own conclusions on whether this is a statue of Isis or her devotee, when and where the statue could have originated, and how its occurrence fits into the context of the Enona municipality during the Principate.

### Archival information on the circumstances and location of the statue’s find

The earliest information that we have about the statue comes from Mijat Sabljar in his “Terenski zapisi / Field Notes” of 1852.<sup>20</sup> The records, available today in the form of notebooks with handwriting and sketches, were written down by Sabljar during his travels through Dalmatia and the continental part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, from 1852 to 1854.<sup>21</sup> There he described the most significant monuments, and also other “attractions”, such as the natural, plant and animal features of the cities on the eastern Adriatic coast from Rijeka (Kastav and Grobnik) to Budva (Montenegro), as well as continental Croatia and Slovenia (e.g. Varaždin, Krapina, Varaždinske Toplice, Brežice etc.). The monuments from Nin are described in the so-called 7<sup>th</sup> notebook, which, according to citations, was written in 1852.<sup>22</sup> This is what Sabljar has to say about the statue of Isis:

“This statue was dug out of that ploughed field where there are three city gates in the east, (people say a new gate was built for each new king that entered Nin). It was purchased for 4fr from the Goić family and sent to Karlobag, to Senj, for the Zagreb Museum in September 1852.”<sup>23</sup>

This is a valuable piece of evidence, as it helps pinpoint the site of the find, since it cites the city gate to be in the east, in the periurban, eastern area of the Nin peninsula, and not, as previously stated, in the central part of the settlement, near the Church of the Holy Cross and the forum (Fig. 9). If the statue was found in a ploughed field, we can assume that it happened during agricultural works and that the location very much corresponds to

20 MK-UZKB-OMS / 7, 15 (Sabljar).

21 Rukopisi 41 bilježnice čuvaju se u Zbirci planoteke Ministarstva kulture i medija Republike Hrvatske. Ovim putem hvala kolegama na davanju bilježnica na uvid.

22 MK-UZKB-OMS / 7 (Sabljar).

23 MK-UZKB-OMS / 7, 15 (Sabljar).

24 Kubitschek, Lövy 1879, 166, kat. br. 3, autori identificiraju kip kao *Isis (oder Isispriesterin)*; Brunšmid 1904, 230, sl. 34, kip identificira kao *Isis*.

19 Malaise 1992, 332.

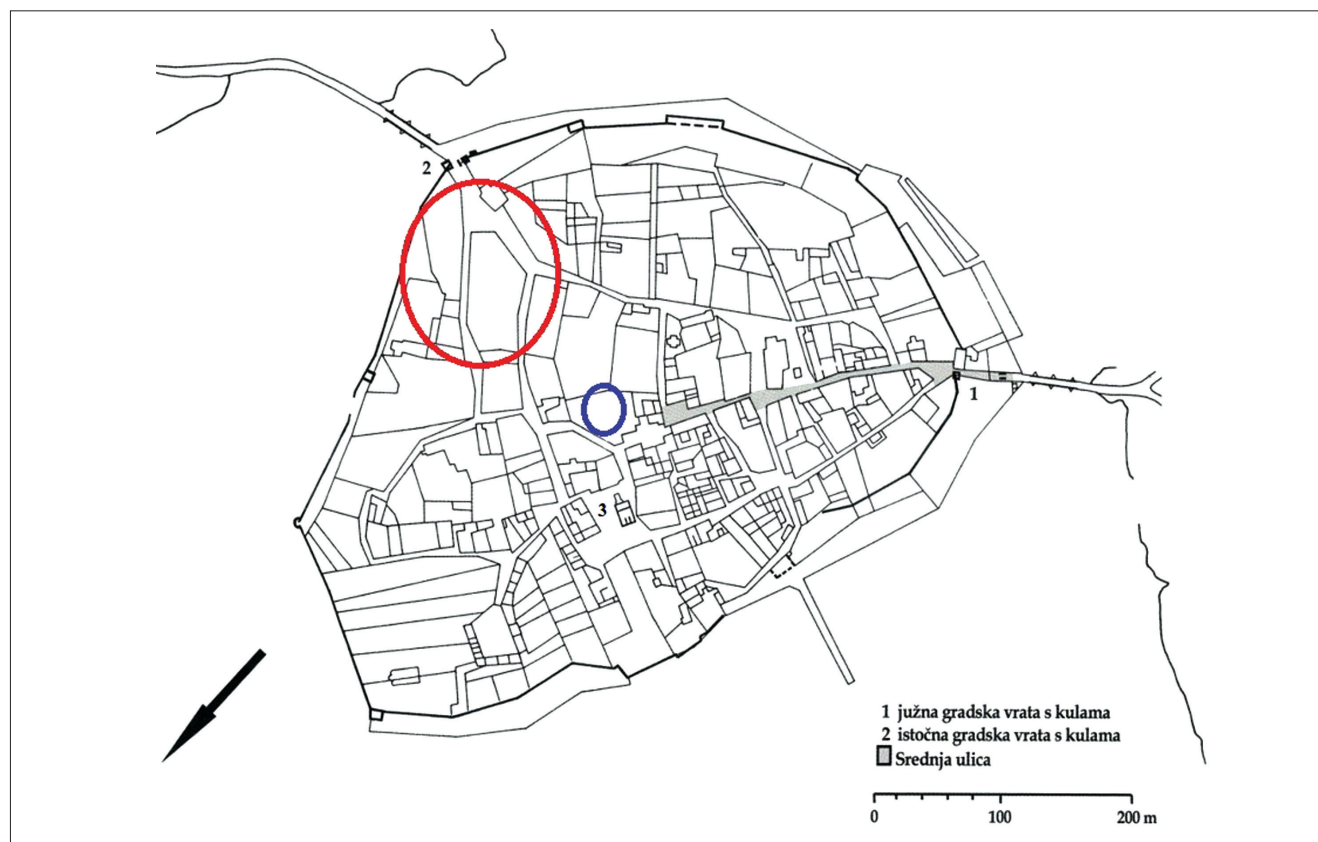
20 MK-UZKB-OMS / 7, 15 (Sabljar).

21 The manuscripts of 41 notebooks are kept in the Prints Collection of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia. We thank our colleagues for allowing us to consult the notebooks.

22 MK-UZKB-OMS / 7 (Sabljar).

23 MK-UZKB-OMS / 7, 15 (Sabljar).





SLIKA 9. Topografska karta Enone/Nina; 1) Donja vrata, 2) Gornja vrata, 3) Forum; crveno – područje mjesta nalaza kipa Izide prema arhivskim podacima; plavo – područje mjesta nalaza skupine carskih kipova (Kolega 2009, 124; obradila P. Karković Takalić).

FIGURE 9. Map of Nin (*Aenona*); 1) Lower gates, 2) Upper gates, 3) Forum; red – according to archival data, the area of the discovery of the Isis statue; blue – the area of the discovery of the group of statues of the emperors (Kolega 2009, 124; adapted by P. Karković Takalić).

žemo pretpostaviti da se radilo o bazi s posvetom (sl. 10). Natpis u restituciji glasi: *Vetillius N[?]/ Volsi Po/tisus VI [-] L[---] / [---]C[-]---*.<sup>25</sup> Budući da je spomenik pripadao obiteljskoj zbirci Gojićevih, može se samo razmišljati o tome je li i on pronađen na istoj oranici u posjedu obitelji u blizini istočnih gradskih vrata, kao i kip Izide, ili na nekom drugome njihovu posjedu. Drugi je natpis bio uzidan u zid dvorišta kuće obitelji, no njegova fragmentarnost ne dopušta čitanje dijelova latinskog teksta s razumijevanjem.<sup>26</sup>

Potvrdu o ovim spomenicima, kao i Sabljarovu ulogu posrednika u prodaji ninskoga kipa zagrebačkom Narodnom muzeju, donosi u svom Izvještaju iz 1857. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski:

„U dvorištu kuće Gojićeve nalaze se dva rimska kamena, od kojih veći, bolje sačuvani, ima natpis: VETILLIVS. N / VOLSI PO/TISVS VI. L... U istoj kući biaše i veliki kameniti kip njeke Rimljanke bez glave, koju je god. 1852. revni iztražitelj starinah g. major Sabljar za narodni zagrebački muzeum kupio i ovamo poslao; tu se i sada čuva.“<sup>27</sup>

the original site of the statue's location. Another important piece of information is the time of the statue's arrival at the *Zagreb Museum* (in 1852), which makes it one of the oldest acquisitions of that collection, given the year of the National Museum's founding (in 1836). This data is confirmed by the addition of the statue to the first lists of Roman monuments in the museum by Wilhelm Kubitschek and Emanuel Lövy in 1879 and by Josip Brunšmid in 1903–1904.<sup>24</sup>

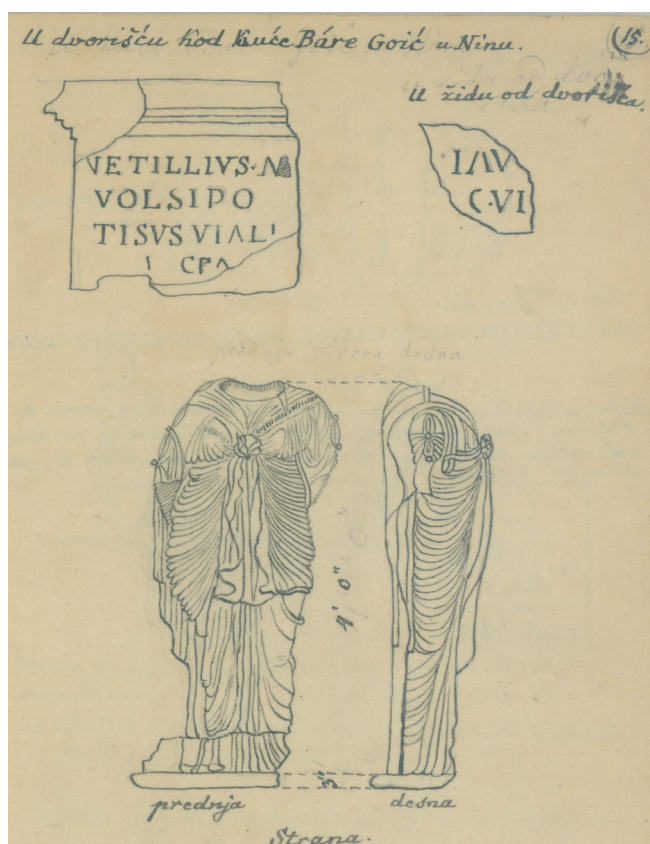
The information about the site and the circumstances surrounding the sale is completed by Sabljar's sketch of the front and right side of the statue, which leads us to conclude that the largest fractures on the statue's arms, neck and base, still visible today, most likely existed before the statue was found in the Gojić family's ploughed field (Fig. 10). On that same page in his notebook, Sabljar made a sketch with a transcript of the inscriptions on two other Roman monuments in this family's possession. The larger monument was in the courtyard of their house. Judging by the sketch and the content of the inscription, we can assume it was a base with a dedication (Fig. 10). The inscription in restitution

25 MK-UZKB-OMS / 7, 15 (Sabljar); Kukuljević Sakcinski, 1857, 15; *CIL* III, 2985. Restitucija prema: Dubolnić Glavan 2015, kat. br. 13.

26 MK-UZKB-OMS / 7, 15 (Sabljar).

27 Riječ je o izdanju „Izvestje o putovanju kroz Dalmaciju u Napulj i Rim s osobitim obzirom na slavensku književnost, umjetnost i starine“ iz 1857. godine (Kukuljević Sakcinski 1857, 15).

24 Kubitschek, Lövy 1879, 166, cat. no. 3, the authors identify the statue as “*Isis (oder Isispriesterin / or an Isis priestess)*”. Brunšmid 1904, 230, Fig. 34, identifies the statue as “*Isis*.”



SLIKA 10. Skica Izidnog kipa i natpisa u posjedu obitelji Gojić (Sabljari 1852, 15; MK-UZKB-OMS/7, 15, ostavština Mijata Sabljara).

FIGURE 10. Sketch of the statue of Isis and an inscription owned by the Goich family in Nin (Sabljari 1852, 15; MK-UZKB-OMS/7, 15, inheritance of Mijat Sabljari).

Pedesetak godina kasnije podatke o okolnostima nalaza kipa piše i ninski povjesničar don L. Jelić, opisujući ninsku četvrt Kraljevac. U rukopisu, koji se čuva u arhivu Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu, stoji:

„Na istom tom mjestu je g. 1852 Sabljari našao, tobožje u Gojićevom dvorištu, dva rimska natpisa i Izidin kip od penteličkoga mramora, koji resi zagrebački muzej.“<sup>28</sup>

Budući da Jelić spominje kip u opisu Kraljevca, moguće je da je to dovelo do kasnijih oprečnih mišljenja o ubikaciji izvornoga mjesta na kojemu je nađen kip. Prema svemu navedenom, pretpostavljamo da je obitelj Gojić imala privatnu kuću na Kraljevcu u središtu Nina, gdje je najvjerojatnije čuvala neke rimske spomenike. Moguće je da se tamo nalazio i kip Izide, nakon pronalaska na oranici, a prije odnošenja u Zagreb. Oranica, koju spominje Sabljari, nalazila se u blizini istočnih gradskih vrata. Poznata su dvojica povijesna ninska gradska vrata, istočna i jugozapadna, pa pretpostavljamo da se autor referira na tzv. Gornja (istočna) vrata (sl. 9).<sup>29</sup> Ovakav periurbani ili ekstraurbani položaj oranice

reads: *Vetillius N[?] / Volsi Potisus VI [-] L[---] / [---]C[---]*.<sup>25</sup> Since the monument belonged to the Gojić family collection, one can only guess whether it was also found in the same field belonging to the family, near the eastern city gates, as the statue of Isis, or in another field in their possession. The second inscription was built into the courtyard wall of the family's house, but its fragmentation does not allow parts of the Latin text to be read with comprehension.<sup>26</sup>

Confirmation of these monuments, as well as Sabljari's role as an intermediary in the sale of the Nin statue to the Zagreb National Museum, is provided by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski in his Report of 1857:

“There are two Roman stones in the courtyard of Gojić's house, the larger of which, better preserved, bears the inscription: VETILLIVS. N / VOLSIPOTISVS VI. L... In the same house, there used to be a large stone statue of a Roman woman without a head, which was bought and sent here by the zealous antique collector Mr. Major Sabljari in 1852, to the National Museum of Zagreb, where it is being kept.”<sup>27</sup>

Some fifty years later, certain information about the circumstances of the find was provided by a historian from Nin, don L. Jelić, describing a quarter in Nin called Kraljevac. The manuscript, which is kept in the archives of the Archaeological Museum in Split, reads:

“In 1852, Mr. Sabljari found, in the same place, in Gojić's courtyard allegedly, two Roman inscriptions and a statue of Isis made of Pentelic marble, which decorates the Zagreb Museum.”<sup>28</sup>

Since Jelić mentions the statue in the description of Kraljevac, it is possible that this had led to subsequent conflicting opinions on the location of the original site of the find. Taking all the above into consideration, we assume that the Gojić family had a private house in Kraljevac, in the centre of Nin, where most likely some Roman monuments were kept. It is also possible that the statue of Isis was located there, after being found in a ploughed field and before being taken to Zagreb. The field mentioned by Sabljari was near the eastern city gate. In Nin there are two known historical city gates: the eastern and southwestern gates; thus we assume that the author refers to the so-called Upper (eastern) City Gate (Fig. 9).<sup>29</sup> Such a peri-urban or extra-urban location for arable land would be appropriate for both logical (and natural) division and type of terrain, where residential parcels are located in the city, and agricultural ones on the city outskirts, near or just outside the city ramparts. The cadastral maps of mid-19<sup>th</sup>-century Nin show that most residential buildings were located in the central part of the peninsula, along the main historic street leading from the southern city gate to the north (Fig. 11). Almost every house had a

25 MK-UZKB-OMS / 7, 15 (Sabljari); Kukuljević Sakcinski, 1857, 15; *CIL* III, 2985. Restitution acc. to: Dubolnić Glavan 2015, cat. no. 13.

26 MK-UZKB-OMS / 7, 15 (Sabljari).

27 This is the 1857 edition of the “*Izvestje o putovanju kroz Dalmaciju u Napulj i Rim s osobitim obzirom na slavensku književnost, umjetnost i starine*” (Kukuljević Sakcinski 1857, 15).

28 Reference to Jelić as a source for this statue is also provided by Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 353.

29 For archaeological research and Roman finds in the area of today's Upper City Gate in Nin, see: Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 137–138.

28 Osvrt na Jelića, kao izvor o ovome kipu, donosi i Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 353.

29 Za arheološka istraživanja i rimske nalaze na području današnjih Gornjih vrata u Ninu vidi: Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 137–138.





SLIKA 11. Dio katastarske mape Nina, sredina 19. st.; crveno- najvjerojatnije posjedi obitelji Gojić, Državni arhiv u Zadru, HR-DAZD-382, Uprava za katastarsku izmjeru (1823.-1839.), Nin, br. 580 (obradila P. Karković Takalić).

FIGURE 11. Part of the Nin cadastral map, mid-19<sup>th</sup> century; red: according to archival data, the area of the discovery of the statue of Isis, States archive in Zadar, HR-DAZD-382, Cadastral Survey Directorate (1823-1839), Nin, no. 580 (adapted by P. Karković Takalić).

odgovarao bi i logičnoj (i prirodnoj) podjeli i vrsti zemljišta gdje se stambene čestice nalaze u gradu, a one poljoprivredne izvan grada, nadomak ili neposredno izvan gradskih bedema. Na katastarskim planovima Nina sredine 19. stoljeća većina stambene gradnje smještena je u središnjem dijelu poluotoka, uz glavnu povijesnu ulicu, koja od južnih gradskih vrata ide prema sjeveru (sl. 11). Gotovo svaka kuća ima vrt, dok su veće obradive površine namijenjene vinogradima i ispaši na rubnim dijelovima poluotoka i izvan njega.

Navedene pretpostavke o podjeli i vrsti terena potkrepljuju podaci ninskih katastika koji se čuvaju u Državnom arhivu u Splitu. Radi se o različitim vrstama dokumenata koji „prate“ katastarske izmjere i pripadajuće katastarske mape, među kojima se po vrsti podataka ističu upisnici čestica zemljišta (*Protocollo delle particelle degli terreni*) i zgrada (*Protocollo delle particelle degli edifizii*). U upisnicima su uvijek navedena imena i prezimena vlasnika, njihovo prebivalište i zanimanje. Kada se radi o zemljištu, navodi se broj čestice, površina čestice u austrijskim jutrima i klafterima, klasa zemljišta, zakonski status dobra, vrste kultura i površine pod kulturama te prihvodi od čestice izraženi u austrijskoj moneti. Za stambene zgrade se, uz katastarski, donosi i kućni broj, opis s oznakom katova i prostorija. Osim njih, upisuju se i dvorišta, ruševine, krušne peći, gospodarski objekti, povijesni

garden, while larger arable fields intended for vineyards and grazing were set on the outskirts of the peninsula and beyond.

The above assumptions about the division and type of terrain are supported by the Nin cadastre data kept in the State Archives in Split. These are various types of documents that “follow” the cadastral survey and the corresponding cadastral maps, where the most prominent type of data is the information on owners of land (*Protocollo delle particelle degli terreni*) and buildings (*Protocollo delle particelle degli edifizii*). The registers always list the names of the owners, their residence and occupation. In the case of land, the number of the parcel, and the parcel’s area in Austrian acres and *klafters*, are noted; the land class, the legal status of the property, the type of crops and area under crops, as well as the parcel revenue expressed in Austrian currency, are indicated. For residential buildings, house number, with a description and the number of floors and rooms, is also provided, in addition to the cadastral code. Apart from this, courtyards, ruins, masonry ovens, facilities, historic buildings, forts, churches etc. are listed as well.<sup>30</sup> For “our” reference period of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, according to the available Land Registry of Nin (which can be dated from 1878 to 1882), it can be concluded that land holdings prevail over a much smaller number of building slots. We found evidence of parcels of land and a house owned by the Goich fam-

objekti, utvrde, crkve itd.<sup>30</sup> Za „naše“ referentno razdoblje druge polovice 19. stoljeća, prema dostupnim Upisnicima čestica zemalja i zgrada Nina (koji se može datirati od 1878. do 1882. godine), može se zaključiti da prevladavaju zemljišni posjedi u odnosu na znatno manji broj čestica zgrada. U tim smo knjigama pronašli upisane čestice zemlje i jedne kuće u vlasništvu obitelji Goich.

Zanetta Goich, nasljednica Nikole, zanimanja poljoprivrednik (*agricoltore*),<sup>31</sup> u svom posjedu ima zemljišta na k. č. 28, 117 – 120 i 126. Čestice 117 – 119 i 126 definirane su kao obradive površine, s time da je k. č. 117 vinograd, dok su 118 – 119 i 126 polja za sjetvu. K. č. 120 namijenjena je ispaši. Osim Zanette, u upisniku zemlje pojavljuje se i Goich Bartolomeo, kao onaj koji obrađuje vinograd, k. č. 152, u vlasništvu Marich Giacoma. U upisniku kuća pojavljuje se Giovanna Goich, udovica Nikole, kao vlasnica stambene kuće i ruševine na k. č. 43 – 44 (k. br. 45). Ako je u istom upisniku Giovanna, udovica Nikole, pretpostavljamo da mu je „nasljednica“ Zanetta sestra ili kći. Eventualni obiteljski odnos s Bartolomeom teško je odrediti, no on i tako obrađuje površinu koja nije u njegovu vlasništvu. Budući da na upisnicima nema godine, oni se prema sadržaju i usporedbom s drugim srodnim gradivom datiraju u drugu polovicu 19. stoljeća. Ne možemo sa sigurnošću znati jesu li navedeni članovi obitelji Gojić oni koje navodi Mijat Sabljar, od kojih je otkupljen danas „zagrebački“ kip Izide. Međutim, indikativno je da u nešto širem razdoblju od onoga u kojem piše Sabljar u Ninu zaista postoji obitelj Gojić koja u svom posjedu ima nekoliko zemljišnih čestica, među kojima se pojavljuju oranice, vinograd i pašnjak te privatna stambena kuća.

Pregled katastarskih mapa ninske općine iz razdoblja između dvadesetih i sedamdesetih godina 19. stoljeća također donosi neke smjernice. Manji katastarski brojevi, od k. č. 1 do otprilike k. č. 120, smješteni su na ninskom poluotoku. Brojevi rastu u skladu s udaljenošću od poluotoka. Pogledom na katastarsku mapu Nina iz 1849. godine, spomenute poljoprivredne površine k. č. 117 – 120 mogu se identificirati na istočnom dijelu poluotoka, oko gradskih vrata te neposredno izvan poluotoka, iza današnjega Gornjeg mosta, k. č. 126 (sl. 11).<sup>32</sup> Ovakav položaj čestica, koje su pripadale obitelji Gojić, odgovara i onome što prenosi Sabljar. Zaključujemo, stoga, da bi se oranica, kao mjesto nalaza Izidina kipa, zaista mogla identificirati neposredno uz istočna gradska vrata (k. č. 117 – 120). Iz toga „topografskog“ aspekta spomenik se ne može izravno povezati s poznatom skupinom carskih kipova, otkrivenih u središnjem dijelu Nina, u neposrednoj blizini glavnog rimskoga gradskog trga (sl. 9).<sup>33</sup> Kao što će se pokazati, kip je različit i po korištenome materijalu.

ily in these books.

Zanetta Goich, heiress to Nikola, occupation farmer (*agricoltore*),<sup>31</sup> in her possession has land on cp. no. 28, 117 – 120 and 126. Plots 117 – 119 and 126 are defined as arable land, with cp. no. 117 being vineyards, whereas 118 – 119 and 126 are sowing fields. Cp. 120 is intended for grazing. In addition to Zanetta, one Goich Bartolomeo is also registered, as the one tending the vineyard, cp. 152, owned by Marich Giacomo. Giovanna Goich, the widow of Nikola, is listed as the owner of the house and ruins on cp. no. 43 – 44 (house no. 45). If Giovanna, the widow of Nikola, is listed in the same register, we assume that his “heiress” Zanetta is either his sister or his daughter. Possible family relations with Bartolomeo are difficult to determine, but even so, he tends an area that is not in his ownership. As the registries do not bear the year, according to their contents and compared with other related material, they are dated back to the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. We cannot know with absolute certainty whether the listed members of the Gojić family are those mentioned by Mijat Sabljar, from whom the “Zagreb” statue of Isis was purchased. However, it is indicative that, in a slightly longer period than the one Sabljar writes about, there is indeed a Gojić family in Nin, owning several parcels of land, including arable land, vineyards and pasture, and a private dwelling house.

A review of cadastral maps of the Nin municipality from the 1820s to 1870s also provides some guidance. Lower cadastral numbers, from cp. no. 1 to approx. cp. 120, are located on the Nin peninsula. The numbers grow proportionally to the distance from the peninsula. Upon inspection of the Nin cadastral map of 1849, the aforementioned agricultural areas cp. 117 – 120 can be identified in the eastern part of the peninsula, near the city gate and just beyond the peninsula, near today’s Upper Bridge, cp. no. 126 (Fig. 11).<sup>32</sup> This position of the plots belonging to the Gojić family is also consistent with that of Sabljar. Therefore, we conclude that the ploughed land where the statue of Isis was found could indeed be identified as the area next to the eastern city gate (cp. 117 – 120). This “topographic” aspect does not directly link the statue with the well-known group of imperial statues, discovered in the central part of Nin, in the immediate vicinity of the main Roman city square (Fig. 9).<sup>33</sup> As will be demonstrated, the statue also differs in the material used.

30 [http://arhinet.arhiv.hr/details.aspx?ItemId=1\\_13876](http://arhinet.arhiv.hr/details.aspx?ItemId=1_13876) (05. rujna 2018).

31 Knjige su ispunjavane na talijanskom jeziku. HR-DAST-152–389.

32 HR-DAZD-382, br. 580.

33 Kao mjesto nalaza carskih kipova, u literaturi se navodi Medović-Gurovića-Gurovića vrt, smješten u samome središtu ninskoga poluotoka, 80 m istočno od područja foruma Enone. Ovaj je položaj nešto bliži području Crkve sv. Križa uz koju se veže kuća Gojića, ali je dalje od Gornjih vrata gdje se morala nalaziti njihova „oranica“. O mjestu nalaza carskih kipova: Dubolnić Glavan, 2015, 151–153, s prethodnom literaturom.

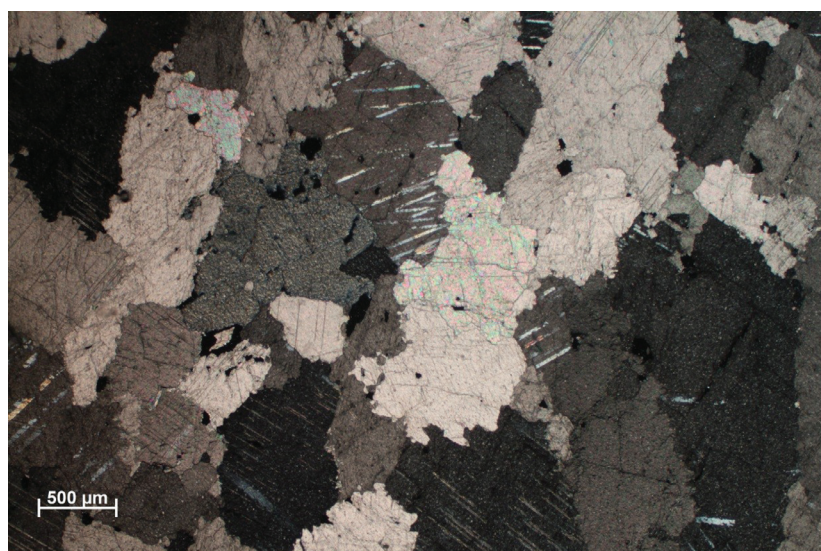
30 [http://arhinet.arhiv.hr/details.aspx?ItemId=1\\_13876](http://arhinet.arhiv.hr/details.aspx?ItemId=1_13876) (5 September 2018).

31 The books are written in the Italian language. HR-DAST-152–389.

32 HR-DAZD-382, no. 580.

33 The literature cites the Medović-Gurović garden as the site of the finds of imperial statues, in the centre of the Nin Peninsula, 80 m east of the Enona forum. This position is somewhat closer to the area of the Church of the Holy Cross than Gojić’s house was adjacent to, but is farther from the Upper City Gate, where their “ploughed land” must have been. On the location of the finds of imperial statues, see: Dubolnić Glavan, 2015, 151–153, with previous literature.





**SLIKA 12.** Mikrofotografija uzorka 22987 (kips iz Enone) s uključenim analizatorom (Mudronja 2018).

**FIGURE 12.** Photomicrograph of sample 22987 (Isis statue, Aenona) with the analyser on (Mudronja 2018).

### Rezultati petrografsko-mineraloške i kemijske analize kamena skulpture

Vrsta kamena skulpture određena je mineraloško-petrografskom analizom provedenom u Prirodoslovnom laboratoriju Hrvatskoga restauratorskog zavoda u Zagrebu. Pritom je izrađen mikropreparat kamena (sl. 12) koji je analiziran polarizacijskim mikroskopom *Olympus BX 51*. Rezultati dobiveni ovom analizom su sljedeći. U mikroskopskom je preparatu uočena masivna i homogena tekstura te granoblastična ksenotipna struktura kamena koju sačinjavaju anhedralni kristali.<sup>34</sup> Kristali su uglavnom milimetarskih dimenzija (2 – 3 mm u presjeku), a mjestimično i sporadično pojavljuju se nešto sitniji kristali veličine 0,2 – 0,5 mm, koji su još uvijek jasno razlučivi pod stereomikroskopom. Svi su kristali jednolikog potamnjenja. Zrna na kontaktima pokazuju šivane, odnosno blago suturirane rubove, i ukazuju na metamorfni sklop stijene. Pseudoapsorpcija je jasno izražena. Unutar zrna ističu se tanke sraslačke lamele koje interferiraju u živim bojama. S obzirom na odsustvo reakcije s razrijeđenom HCl na mikrofiziografske karakteristike zrna te na teksturno-strukturna obilježja stijenskog sklopa, zaključujemo da je kamen skulpture dolomitni mramor.<sup>35</sup> Mramor pripada skupini metamornih stijena koje nastaju uslijed kombinacije utjecaja topline, tlaka i miješanja raznih minerala. Glavni su sastojci kalcit i dolomit zbog čega se, ovisno o postotku navedenih tvari, mramori temeljno dijele na kalcitne i dolomitne.<sup>36</sup> U slučaju dolomitnih mramora prevladavaju istoimeni minerali. Do danas je potvrđeno da se u antičkoj razdoblju dolomitni mramor vadio na lokalitetima: rt Vathy (na grčkom otoku Tasu), Drama (istočna Grčka), Crevola (sjeverna Italiji, u Alpama) i Villette (sjeverna Francuska).<sup>37</sup>

### Results of petrographic, mineral and chemical analyses of the sculpture's stone

The type of stone used for carving the sculpture has been confirmed by a mineralo-petrographic analysis carried out at the Natural History Laboratory of the Croatian Conservation Institute in Zagreb. A micro-sample of the stone was prepared (Fig. 12), which was then analysed with an *Olympus BX 51* polarizing microscope. The results obtained by this analysis are as follows. In the microscopic sample, anhedrally crystalline grains were observed to make up a rock of granoblastic xenotypic structure and massive, homogeneous texture.<sup>34</sup> The crystals are predominantly of millimetre dimensions (2 to 3 mm in cross section); in some places, and sporadically, somewhat smaller crystals occur, 0.2 to 0.5 mm in size, which are still clearly distinguishable under a stereo microscope. All crystals are of uniform darkening. The grains at the contacts show sutured or slightly sutured edges and indicate a metamorphic rock assembly. Pseudo-absorption is clearly expressed. Inside the grain, thin coalescent lamellae that interfere with vibrant colours stand out. Considering the absence of reaction with dilute HCl and the microphysiography characteristics of the grain, as well as the texture and structural features of the rock assemblage, we conclude that the sculpture stone is dolomite marble.<sup>35</sup> Marble belongs to a group of metamorphic rocks resulting from a combination of heat, pressure and mixing of various minerals. The main ingredients are calcite and dolomite, which is why, depending on the percentage of these substances, marbles are fundamentally divided into calcite and dolomite.<sup>36</sup> In the case of dolomite marbles, minerals of the same name predominate. Several sites have been confirmed as dolomite-marble quarries of antiquity: Cape Vathy (on the Greek island of Thassos), Drama (eastern Greece), Crevola (northern Italy, in the Alps), and Villette (northern France).<sup>37</sup>

34 Kristali koji u presjeku nemaju neku prepoznatljivu geometrijsku formu; Boggs Jr. 2009, 385; Haldar, Tišljar 2014, 229.

35 Mudronja 2018.

36 Haldar, Tišljar 2014, 229.

37 Herrmann Jr., Newman 1995, 73; 1999, 293.

34 Crystals without a distinctive geometric shape in cross section; Boggs Jr. 2009, 385; Haldar, Tišljar 2014, 229.

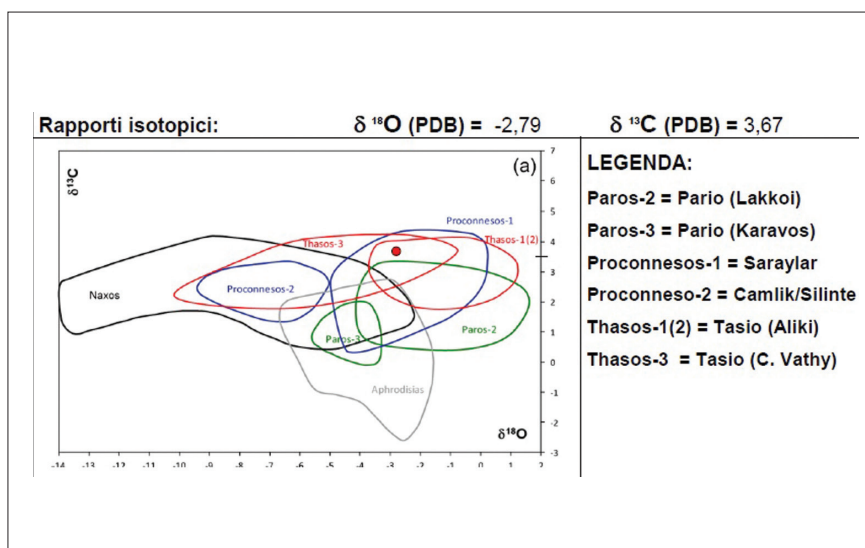
35 Mudronja 2018.

36 Haldar, Tišljar 2014, 229.

37 Herrmann Jr., Newman 1995, 73; 1999, 293.

**SLIKA 13.** Omjer stabilnih izotopa uzorka kipa Izide iz Enone (Antonelli 2018).

**FIGURE 13.** Ratio of stable isotopes of a sample of the Isis statue of Enona (Antonelli 2018).



Nakon utvrđivanja vrste kamena u Laboratoriju za analizu antičkih materijala (LAMA), Sveučilišta Iuav u Veneciji, određena je vrijednost srednje veličine zrna (M.G.S.) iz mikroskopskog preparata te omjer stabilnih izotopa  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  te  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  pomoću infracrvenog spektrometra masa (IRIS).<sup>38</sup> Ustanovljeno je da kamen ima srednju veličinu zrna od 1,80 mm te da je omjer  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  (-2,79), a  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  (3,67) (sl. 13). Na temelju odredbe kamena te srednje veličine zrna iz baze podataka odabrani su lokaliteti sa sličnom vrstom kamena. Nakon toga, u bazu je uvršten dobiven izotopni omjer te je dobivena najveća vjerojatnost da kamen skulpture dolazi s otoka Tasa (Grčka), točnije lokaliteta rt Vathy.<sup>39</sup>

Otok Tasos smješten je u sjevernome dijelu Egejskoga mora, u neposrednoj blizini antičke grčke pokrajine Makedonije. Poznat je po eksploataciji mramora od arhajskog razdoblja do danas, i to iz najmanje četiri različita kamenoloma.<sup>40</sup> Specifičnost otoka jest u tome da su na njemu prisutna ležišta dolomitnog i kalcitnog mramora različitih fizičkih i kemijskih svojstava. Za razliku od kamenoloma na lokalitetu Salinas ili Aliki, čiji mramor ima obilježja kalcita, na rtu Vathy nalaze se ležišta dolomitnoga mramora. Tasoski dolomitni mramor obilježava krupna zrnatost, tvrdoća i bijela boja s mnoštvom sjajnih kristala.<sup>41</sup> Vrlo je moguće da su posljednje dvije karakteristike, uz povoljan trgovački položaj otoka u Egejskome moru, bile razlog rastu popularnosti tasoskog dolomita u helenističkom, a posebno u rimskom razdoblju. Neki od najljepših i najpoznatijih djela antičke umjetnosti poput Are Ludovisi (*Palazzo Altemps*, Rim), glave Nerona (*Glyptothek*, München), kipa matrone / svećenice u liku Velike Majke

Having determined the type of stone at the Laboratory for Analysis of Ancient Materials (LAMA), Iuav University of Venice, the value of the mean grain size (M.G.S.) was determined from a microscopic sample, and the ratios of stable isotopes  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  and  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  were established using an infrared mass spectrometer (IRIS).<sup>38</sup> The stone was found to have a mean grain size of 1.80 mm and ratios of  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  (-2.79) and  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  (3.67) (Fig. 13). Based on the stone's definition and its mean grain size, those sites with a similar type of stone were selected from the database. Following that, the isotope ratios obtained were incorporated into the database, and the highest probability indicated that the sculpture stone originated from the island of Thassos (Greece), more precisely the Cape Vathy locality.<sup>39</sup>

Thassos is located in the northern Aegean Sea, close to the ancient Greek province of Macedonia. It is renowned for its exploitation of marble, ever since the Archaic period, and from at least four different quarries.<sup>40</sup> It is a peculiarity of the island that it contains dolomite and calcite marble deposits with different physical and chemical properties. Unlike the quarries in Salinas or Alyki, where the marble bears features typical of calcite, there are deposits of dolomitic marble on Cape Vathy. Thasian dolomite marble is characterized by large grain size, hardness and whiteness with many brilliant crystals.<sup>41</sup> It is very likely that the last two features, along with the favourable commercial position of the Aegean islands, were the reason for the rise in popularity of Thasian dolomite in the Hellenistic period, and especially in the Roman. Some of the most beautiful and fa-

38 Kemijska je analiza napravljena u *Laboratorio di analisi materiali antiche, LAMA, Università Iuav di Venezia*; Antonelli 2018. O analizi stabilnih izotopa i njezinoj primjeni u istraživanju antičkih spomenika: Herz 1999, 15–16; Lazzarini 2004, 117–119.

39 Herz 1999, 15–16; Lazzarini 2004, 117–119.

40 Radi se o kamenolomima na lokalitetu Salinas, Aliki, Limenas, Fanari; Laskaridis, Perdikatsis 2009, 310–317.

41 Laskaridis, Perdikatsis 2009, 310–317.

38 Chemical analysis was performed at *Laboratorio di analisi materiali antiche, LAMA, Università Iuav di Venezia*; Antonelli 2018. On the analysis of stable isotopes and its application in the study of ancient monuments: Herz 1999, 15–16; Lazzarini 2004, 117–119.

39 Herz 1999, 15–16; Lazzarini 2004, 117–119.

40 These are the quarries at the sites of Salinas, Alyki, Limenas and Fanari; Laskaridis, Perdikatsis 2009, 310–317.

41 Laskaridis, Perdikatsis 2009, 310–317.

(*J. P. Getty Museum*, Los Angeles) i dr. izrađeni su upravo u tom mramoru.<sup>42</sup> Na samome lokalitetu Vathy i na otoku potvrđeno je postojanje više kiparskih radionica. Uz produkciju za lokalne potrebe, smatra se da je postotno veći morao biti izvoz neobrađenih ili dijelom obrađenih blokova kamena.<sup>43</sup> Najvećim tržištima pokazali su se Tesalonika i antička Makedonija, Efez, Rim i Italija, a tasoski se mramor pojavljuje u Egiptu, Galiji, Noriku i dr.<sup>44</sup> Podaci su poznati zahvaljujući istraživanjima koja su u posljednjih četrdeset godina provedena na najmanje 400 primjera helenističkih i rimskih skulptura, arhitekturi i arhitektonskim dekoracijama mnogih svjetskih muzeja i zbirki, čime je potvrđena prisutnost tasoskoga dolomitnog mramora na čitavom području antičkoga Mediterana, ali i njegova upotreba uglavnom u skulpturi te produkciji sarkofaga i arhitektonske plastike.<sup>45</sup> Na području Hrvatske porijeklo mramora s otoka Tasosa, premda u malom postotku, zabilježeno je među rimskom skulpturom i arhitektonskom dekoracijom Arheološkoga muzeja Istre u Puli.<sup>46</sup> Za kamen kipa Vespazijana iz rimskoga municipija Narone također je potvrđeno tasosko porijeklo, no najvjerojatnije iz kamenoloma Aliki, na kojemu su, za razliku od lokaliteta Vathy, ležišta kalcitnog mramora.<sup>47</sup> U literaturi se monumentalni Vespazijanov kip interpretira kao dio „proširenja“ u razdoblju Flavijevaca, skupine carskih kipova *Augusteuma* iz Narone, a odabir drugačijeg kamena u odnosu na julijevsko-klaudijevsku grupu potvrđuje da se radi o jednoj „odvojenoj“ narudžbi.<sup>48</sup> Budući da u Hrvatskoj nije učinjeno mnogo kemijskih analiza rimske skulpture, a da se na temelju analiza „golim okom“ većina mramora identificira porijeklom iz Carrare, Prokoneza, Pentelikona i dr.,<sup>49</sup> prirodno je da su izostala istraživanja u vezi s uvozom i obradom tasoskog kamena u Iliriku. Analizom mramora kipa Izide iz Enone te kipa Vespazijana iz Narone, otvara se za neka buduća istraživanja rasprava o porijeklu i mogućim radionicama te skulpture. U vezi s kipom Izide, s obzirom na njezinu dobru, ali ne i izvrsnu kvalitetu izvedbe, promišljamo o uvozu djelomično obrađenoga kamena i jednoj lokalnoj enonskoj ili jadertinskoj radionici.<sup>50</sup> U rasprava o porijeklu važan element čine ikonografska i stilaska obilježja te datacija.

mous works of ancient art, such as Ara Ludovisi (*Palazzo Altemps*, Rome), the head of Nero (*Glyptothek*, Munich), the statue of a matron / priestess as the Great Mother (*J.P. Getty Museum*, Los Angeles), etc., are all made of the very same marble.<sup>42</sup> Several sculptural workshops are confirmed to have existed in the Vathy locality and on the island itself. In addition to production for local purposes, it is believed that the export of raw or partly-processed stone blocks must have been more prevalent.<sup>43</sup> The largest markets were those of Thessalonica and ancient Macedonia, Ephesus, Rome and Italy, but Thasian marble also appeared in Egypt, Gaul, Noricum etc.<sup>44</sup> This data is available thanks to the research conducted in the last forty years on at least 400 examples of Hellenistic and Roman sculpture, architecture and architectural decoration of many world museums and collections, confirming the presence of Thasian dolomitic marble throughout the ancient Mediterranean, as well as its prevalent use for sculptures and in the production of sarcophagi and architectural plastics.<sup>45</sup> In the territory of Croatia, the origin of marble from the island of Thassos, albeit in a small percentage, is recorded in Roman sculptures and architectural decoration of the Archaeological Museum of Istria, in Pula.<sup>46</sup> The stone used for the statue of Vespasian from the Roman municipium of Narona is also confirmed to be Thasian in origin, but probably from the Alyki quarry, which has calcite marble, unlike the Vathy site.<sup>47</sup> The monumental statue of Vespasian is interpreted in literature as part of the “addition” to the group of imperial statues in Narona’s *Augusteum* during the Flavians, and the selection of different stone compared to the Julio-Claudian group confirms it to be a “separate” order.<sup>48</sup> Given the fact that there have not been many chemical analyses of Roman sculptures in Croatia, and that the “naked eye” analysis identifies most marbles to be from Carrara, Proconese, Pentelikon etc.,<sup>49</sup> it is only natural that there is a lack of research regarding the import and carving of Thasian stone in Illyricum. The analysis of the marble statue of Isis from Enona and the statue of Vespasian from Narona opens up a discussion regarding the origin and possible workshops for that sculpture. Regarding the statue of Isis, and its good – but not exceptional – quality of performance, we assume that pre-fabricated stone was imported and that a local workshop existed in Enona or Iader.<sup>50</sup> Iconographic and stylistic features, as well as dating, are important elements in debates about origin.

42 O svima njima pišu: Herrmann Jr, Newman 1995, 73–86.

43 Wurch-Kozelj, Kozelj 1998, 39–47; Herrmann Jr, Attanasio, van den Hoek 2015, 155–161. O tasoskim radionicama na otoku: Karković Takalić, 2021 (u pripremi).

44 Herrmann Jr, Newman 1995, 293–303; Herrmann Jr. 2000, 108–112; Steiner 2006a, 67–78; Steiner 2006b, 8–14; Borromeo et al. 2009, 43–51; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2009, 20–29.

45 Herrmann Jr, Newman 1999, 293–303; usp. bilj. 43. Pokazalo se, na primjer, da su mnogi mramorni sarkofazi sjevernoitalske proizvodnje (a koji su povezani sa salonitanskom proizvodnjom), prethodno definirani kao izrađeni od prokoneškog mramora, ustvari izrađeni od tasoskog; Herrmann Jr, Attanasio, van den Hoek 2015, 239–246.

46 Starac 2015, 319–332.

47 Álvarez, Rodà 2004, 167–174.

48 Álvarez, Rodà 2004, 167–174.

49 Ward Perkins 1979, 38–39; Cambi 2014, 14–39.

50 Karković Takalić, 2021 (u pripremi).

42 On them all: Herrmann Jr, Newman 1995, 73–86.

43 Wurch-Kozelj, Kozelj 1998, 39–47; Herrmann Jr, Attanasio, van den Hoek 2015, 155–161. On Thasian workshops on the island: Karković Takalić, 2021 (forthcoming).

44 Herrmann Jr, Newman 1995, 293–303; Herrmann Jr. 2000, 108–112; Steiner 2006a, 67–78; Steiner 2006b, 8–14; Borromeo et al. 2009, 43–51; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2009, 20–29.

45 Herrmann Jr, Newman 1999, 293–303; cf. n. 43. For example, many of the marble sarcophagi of northern Italian production (and associated with the production in Salona), previously defined as being made of Proconese marble, were actually made of Thasian marble; Herrmann Jr, Attanasio, van den Hoek 2015, 239–246.

46 Starac 2015, 319–332.

47 Álvarez, Rodà 2004, 167–174.

48 Álvarez, Rodà 2004, 167–174.

49 Ward Perkins 1979, 38–39; Cambi 2014, 14–39.

50 Karković Takalić 2021 (forthcoming).





**SLIKA 14.** Reljef s prikazom Izide i Serapisa, Rodos, 2. st. pr. Kr., *British Museum*, London, inv. br. 2150 (Abbiati Brida 1997, 99, kat. br. III. 6).

**FIGURE 14.** Relief depicting Isis and Serapis, Rhodes, 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, *British Museum*, London, inv. no. 2150 (Abbiati Brida 1997, 99, cat. no. III. 6.)

### Ikonografija Izide u odnosu na helenističku i rimsku carsku ikonografiju

Od srednjeg sve do kraja ptolomejskog razdoblja Izida je tradicionalno, kao supruga Ozirisa i majka Horusa, bila vezana uz egipatske vladarske obitelji.<sup>51</sup> Ta se poveznica još više naglašava u razdoblju formiranja Ptolomejske dinastije kada se, kroz stvaranje božanskoga para Serapisa i Izide, nastoji legitimizirati nova „egipatsko-grčka“ dinastija i svi aspekti egipatskog društva, kulture, religije koje ta dinastija donosi.<sup>52</sup> U tom razdoblju Izida dobiva niz novih kompetencija u skladu s čime se postupno razvija i njezina „egipatsko-grčka“ ikonografija.<sup>53</sup> Kako je tekao taj proces i kakva je bila ikonografija, danas je, unatoč nizu provedenih istraživanja, teško rekonstruirati. Usporedbom nekih od najstarijih poznatih Izidinih kipova i reljefa (sl. 14) s kipovima egipatskih kraljica, za koje se vjeruje da su se poistovjećivale s

### Iconography of Isis in relation to Hellenistic and Roman imperial iconography

As wife of Osiris and mother of Horus, Isis was traditionally linked with Egyptian imperial families from the middle of the Ptolemaic period until its end.<sup>51</sup> This connection is further reinforced in the early days of the Ptolemaic Dynasty, when, through creation of the divine couple Serapis and Isis, the attempt was made to legitimize the new “Egyptian-Greek” dynasty and all the aspects of Egyptian society, culture and religion this dynasty brings.<sup>52</sup> During this period, Isis gained a number of new competences, which add to her evolving “Egyptian-Greek” iconography.<sup>53</sup> How this process progressed, and what this iconography was like, is very difficult to reconstruct today, despite the number of studies that have been conducted. A comparison of some of the oldest known statues and reliefs of Isis (Fig. 14) to sculptures of

51 Ne samo vladarske nego i uz sve one društvene dionike koji su u rukama imali određenu vrstu vlasti. *“Isis and Serapis were eminent members of multiple collectives, political as well as private, wherein they were embedded with various qualities and to various degrees. And within those collectives they communicated with those who held power...”*, Bricault, Versluys 2014, 5. O staroegipatskom kultu Izide vidi: Dunand 1973, 1–26; Donadoni 1997, 32–36; Leclant 1997, 20–29; Uranić 2005, 98 et passim.

52 Postoji opsežna literatura o promjenama koje u Egiptu donosi osnivanje Ptolomejske dinastije, a koje uključuju „stvaranje“ Izide i Serapisa. Ovdje se navode samo oni autori koji su najviše korišteni u ovom istraživanju: Dunand 1973; Malaise 1997, 86–95; Fontana 2010, 9–21.

53 *„Le problème de l'hellénisation d'Isis est inséparable de tout un contexte social et politique, celui des rapports égypto-grecs, et, de façon plus précise, dans le seul domaine religieux, du problème de l'interpénétration des religions grecque et égyptienne...”*, Dunand 1973, 66. O procesu „helenizacije“ ikonografije egipatske Izide vidi: Dunand 1973, 66–108; Tran tam Tinh 1984, 1722 et passim; Tran tam Tinh 1990, 791 et passim; Malaise 2000, 1–19; Plantzos 2011, 389–390.

51 Not only the imperial members, but also with any members of society who held power. *“Isis and Serapis were eminent members of multiple collectives, political as well as private, wherein they were embedded with various qualities and to various degrees. And within those collectives they communicated with those who held power...”*, Bricault, Versluys 2014, 5. On the Ancient Egyptian Isiac cult: Dunand 1973, 1–26; Donadoni 1997, 32–36; Leclant 1997, 20–29; Uranić 2005, 98 et passim.

52 There is extensive literature on the changes brought about in Egypt by the founding of the Ptolemy Dynasty which involve the “creation” of Isis and Serapis. Only the authors consulted most in this research are listed here: Dunand 1973; Malaise 1997, 86–95; Fontana 2010, 9–21.

53 *“Le problème de l'hellénisation d'Isis est inséparable de tout un contexte social et politique, celui des rapports égypto-grecs, et, de façon plus précise, dans le seul domaine religieux, du problème de l'interpénétration des religions grecque et égyptienne...”*, Dunand 1973, 66. On the process of “Hellenisation” of the iconography of the Egyptian Isis, see: Dunand 1973, 66–108; Tran tam Tinh 1984, 1722 et passim; Tran tam Tinh 1990, 791 et passim; Malaise 2000, 1–19; Plantzos 2011, 389–390.

Izidom, čini se da je božica bila prikazivana u stojećem stavu, sa skeptrom u jednoj, kornukopijom u drugoj ruci, s tzv. libijskom perikom te s naglavkom – bazilejom na glavi.<sup>54</sup> Radi se o jednom novom, kompozitnom atributu, sastavljenom od dijelova Hatorine krune (kravljih rogova sa sunčevim diskom) i drugih elemenata poput ureja, klasja žita ili perja.<sup>55</sup> Ne može se sa sigurnošću reći je li od početka njezina ikonografija podrazumijevala i tzv. izidinski plašt s resama jer se na primjerima iz helenističkog razdoblja Izida pojavljuje sa i bez tog dijela nošnje.<sup>56</sup>

U razdoblje između 3. i 1. st. pr. Kr. datira niz portreta ptolomejskih kraljica i princeza, koji se interpretiraju u smislu njihova postovječivanja s Izidom ili barem isticanjem poveznice kraljevske obitelji i majki s onom božanskom.<sup>57</sup> Poznat je primjer Arsinoje II. (316. – 270. g. pr. Kr.), supruge Ptolomeja II. Filadelfa, koja je za života, kao egipatska kraljica divinizirana, a prikazivala se često u izidinskoj nošnji s kornukopijom (sl. 15).<sup>58</sup> Neizostavno je spomenuti i Kleopatru VII. (69. – 30. g. pr. Kr.) koja se, po riječima Plutarha, u Rimu predstavila u izidinskoj nošnji kao „nova Izida“ (*Nea Isis*).<sup>59</sup> Uz „izjednačavanje“ Kleopatre VII. s Izidom povezuje se nekoliko njezinih portreta izrađenih u tradicionalnom egipatskom stilu, poput kipa u izidinskoj nošnji s kornukopijom koji se danas čuva u *Metropolitan Museumu* u New Yorku (sl. 16), ili otiska pečata s bistom Kleopatre koja nosi urej i naglavak nalik na bazilej.<sup>60</sup> Nema, međutim, sačuvanih portreta Arsinoje II. i Kleopatre VII. u grčko-rimskoj tradiciji s Izidinim atributima. Kći Kleopatre VII. i Marka Antonija, Kleopatra Selena II. (40. – 5. g. pr. Kr.), udajom za Jubu II. postala je kraljicom Mauretanije, a iz tog je razdoblja niz numizmatičkih emisija na kojima se uz biste Jube i / ili Selene pojavljuju i motivi bazileja i sistra.<sup>61</sup> Nisu, međutim, poznati njezini portreti u u Izidinoj ikonografiji.

Egyptian queens believed to be identified as Isis reveals that the goddess used to be presented standing with a sceptre in one hand and a cornucopia in the other, with the so-called Libyan wig and with a headdress – a basileion – on her head.<sup>54</sup> This is a new, composite attribute made up of parts of Hathor's crown (*i.e.* cow's horns with a sun disk) and other elements such as uraeus, sprays of wheat or feathers.<sup>55</sup> It cannot be stated with absolute certainty whether the iconography implied the so-called fringed mantle of Isis from its very beginnings, since in the examples from the Hellenistic period Isis appears with and without that part of her costume.<sup>56</sup>

A series of portraits of Ptolemaic queens and princesses dating to the period from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC is interpreted in terms of their identification with Isis, or at least by stressing the importance of the connection that royal families and mothers have with the divine.<sup>57</sup> One such popular example is Arsinoe II (316 – 270 BC), wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, who was deified as the Egyptian queen in her lifetime and frequently depicted in the dress of Isis with cornucopia (Fig. 15).<sup>58</sup> And, by all means, there is Cleopatra VII (69 – 30 BC), who, according to Plutarch, presented herself in Rome in the dress of Isis as the “New Isis” (*Nea Isis*).<sup>59</sup> Along with the “equation” of Cleopatra VII with Isis, several portraits of her were made in traditional Egyptian style, such as a statue in the dress of Isis with a cornucopia, kept at the *Metropolitan Museum* in New York (Fig. 16), or a stamp imprint with Cleopatra's bust wearing an uraeus and a basileion headdress.<sup>60</sup> However, there are no preserved portraits of Arsinoe II and Cleopatra VII in the Greco-Roman tradition with the attributes of Isis. The daughter of Cleopatra VII and Mark Antony, Cleopatra Selene II (40 – 5 BC), became queen of Mauritania by

54 O tzv. libijskoj perici i Izidinim frizurama vidi: Schwentzel 2000, 21–33.

55 O bazileju kao karakterističnom Izidinom naglavku vidi: Malaise 2009, 439–455; Veymiers 2014, 195–236.

56 Istraživanja su pokazala da je plašt s resama vezan u čvoru na prsima dio nošnje Izide, carica, ali i privatnih osoba te da, barem u slučaju staroegipatske umjetnosti, ne treba *a priori* lik u takvoj nošnji identificirati s Izidom; Bianchi 2007, 480 *et passim*.

57 Radi se najvjerojatnije o Berenici I. (340. – 279./268. g. pr. Kr.), Arsinoji II. (316. – 270./260. g. pr. Kr.), Kleopatri III. (160. – 101. g. pr. Kr.), Kleopatri VII. (69. – 30. g. pr. Kr.), odnosno Kleopatri Tei (164. – 121. g. pr. Kr.), kćeri Kleopatre II. i Ptolomeja VI., koja se udala za seleukidskog kralja Aleksandra Balasa, i Kleopatri Seleni II. (40. – 5. g. pr. Kr.), kćeri Kleopatre VII. i Marka Antonija, koja se udala za Jubu II. i postala kraljicom Mauretanije. Plantzos 2011, 389–392; Bricault, Versluys 2014, 9–12.

58 Od trenutka udaje za svoga brata Ptolomeja Filadelfa, oko 272. g. pr. Kr., Arsinoja II. Philadelphos, prikazuje se i štuje uz Izidu, često obučena u ono što mi danas definiramo kao izidinska nošnja – haljinu s plaštom ukrašenim resama vezanim u čvor na prsima. Bliskost dvaju likova potvrđuju i vrijedne oinohoe u fajansi, pronađene u Aleksandriji i nekolicini drugih luka poput Atene, Korinta, Kartage, za koje se smatra da su se koristile u obredima posvećenima kraljevskome kultu Ptolomejevića. Vaze su se izrađivale za nekoliko ptolomejskih generacija između 3. i 2. st. pr. Kr. Na nekolicini je prikazana Arsinoja II. u hitonu i himatiju, s kornukopijom, kako vrši libaciju iznad oltara posvećenog (diviniziranoj) Arsinoji II., Izidi i Agati Tihi (SEG 41, 1602); Plantzos 2011, 390–391, sl. 14–15. Za navedeni primjer skulpture: Ashton 2001, kat. br. 166.

59 Plu. *Ant.* 54. 9.

60 Ashton 2001, kat. br. 164, kat. br. 174; Veymiers 2014, 218–222.

61 Williams 2001, 252, kat. br. 271–275. Motiv bazileja pojavljuje se i na kovanicama egipatsko-ptolomejskih klijentelarnih država ili regija, Veymiers 2014, 206–217.

54 On the so-called Libyan wig and Isis hairstyles: Schwentzel 2000, 21–33.

55 On the basileion as a headdress typical of Isis: Malaise 2009, 439–455; Veymiers 2014, 195–236.

56 Research has shown that a fringed mantle caught in a knot at the chest is part of the dress of Isis, of empresses and also of private persons, and that, at least in the case of ancient Egyptian art, one does not need to identify *a priori* the figure in such a costume as Isis; Bianchi 2007, 480 *et passim*.

57 These are most probably Berenice I (340 – 279 / 268 BC), Arsinoe II (316 – 270 / 260 BC), Cleopatra III (160 – 101 BC), Cleopatra VII (69 – 30 BC) or Cleopatra Thea (164 – 121 BC) – daughter of Cleopatra II and Ptolemy VI, who married the Seleucid king Alexander Balas – and Cleopatra Selene II (40 – 5 BC), daughter of Cleopatra VII and Mark Antony, who married Juba II and became queen of Mauritania. Plantzos 2011, 389–392; Bricault, Versluys 2014, 9–12.

58 Since the moment she married her brother Ptolemy Philadelphus, in about 272 BC, Arsinoe II Philadelphus was portrayed and worshiped alongside Isis, often dressed in what we today define as dress of Isis: a robe with a fringed mantle tied into a knot at the chest. Similarity of the two characters is also confirmed by the valuable oinochoes in the faience, found in Alexandria and several other ports, such as Athens, Corinth and Carthage, which are thought to have been used in ceremonies dedicated to the Ptolemaic royal cult. The vases were made for several Ptolemaic generations between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC. Some depict Arsinoe II in chiton and himation, with a cornucopia, performing libation above an altar dedicated to (the deified) Arsinoe II, Isis and Agathe Tyche (SEG 41, 1602); Plantzos 2011, 390–391, Fig. 14–15. On the sculpture cited: Ashton 2001, 166–167, cat. no. 166.

59 Plu. *Ant.* 54. 9.

60 Ashton 2001, cat. no. 164, cat. no. 174; Veymiers 2014, 218–222.





**SLIKA 15.** Kip Arsinoje II, nepoznata provenijencija, sredina 2. st. pr. Kr. *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, inv. br. 20. 2. 21 (Ashton 2001, 167).

**FIGURE 15.** Statue of Arsinoe II, unknown provenance, mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, inv. no. 20. 2. 21 (Ashton 2001, 167).



**SLIKA 16.** Kip Kleopatre VII, nepoznata provenijencija, 51. – 30. g. pr. Kr., *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, inv. br. 89. 2. 660 (Ashton 2001, 165).

**FIGURE 16.** Statue of Cleopatra VII, unknown provenance, 51–30 BC, *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, inv. no. 89.2.660 (Ashton 2001, 165).

Iako pojedinačne elemente i motive navedenih prikaza i primjera možemo relativno jasno iščitati, iz današnje ih je perspektive teško interpretirati. Je li svaka egipatska kraljica dolaskom na vlast „automatski“ postajala Izidom, kao što je svaki faraon bio Horus, i je li ona to bila dužna pokazati? Budući da nema takvih podataka za sve kraljice, čini se da je ipak bilo riječ o osobnom izboru pojedinki. Treba li onda navedene kipove u izidinskoj nošnji tumačiti kao da su Arsinoja II. i Kleopatra VII. po vlastitoj želji, određenom službenom aklamacijom (i titulaturom) bile poistovječene s Izidom? Ako je tako, egipatske princeze poput Kleopatre Tee (164.

marrying Juba II, and from then on a numismatic series was issued on which motives of basileion and sistrum appear, along with busts of Juba and / or Selene.<sup>61</sup> However, her portraits in Isis's iconography are not acknowledged.

61 Williams 2001, 252, cat. no. 271–275. The basileion motif also appears on the coins of the Egyptian-Ptolemaic client states or regions: Veymiers 2014, 206–217.

– 121. g. pr. Kr.), koja udajom dolazi na dvor Aleksandra Balasa u Antiohiju, ili Kleopatre Selene II., koja udajom za Jubu II. dolazi na prijestolje Mauretanijske, izlaskom iz egipatske vladarske dinastije više ni ne mogu biti Izide, no emisijom novčića s motivima, poput bazileja ili sistra, svakako evociraju svoje ptolomejsko-faraonsko-božansko porijeklo.<sup>62</sup>

Od organizacije Egipta, kao provincije pod izravnom upravom rimske države, egipatski se motivi, poput ibisa, krokodila, personifikacije Nila i sl., kroz prikaze na novcu i određenim javnim spomenicima postupno uvode u rimsku javnu ikonografiju.<sup>63</sup> Značenje ovih „općih“ motiva objašnjava se prisutnošću i rastućom popularnošću egipatske kulture i religija u rimskome svijetu.<sup>64</sup> S druge strane, pojava motiva bazileja na novcu već za Augusta, biste Serapisa ili Izide za Nerona i Galbe interpretiraju se kao simbol vlasti i garancije vrhovnih božanstava, funkciju koju su do tada, ali i dalje, imali motivi poput skepra, Jupitera i Junone i sl.<sup>65</sup> Tako se za Flavijevaca, čija je naklonost egipatskim kultovima potvrđena na različitim razinama, u numizmatiku uvodi tip tzv. Zeusa-Serapisa sa skeptom i kerberom, dok se u vrijeme Trajana i Hadrijana na novcu pojavljuje lik Harpokrata kojeg često doji Izida ili Serapis uz čije su strane Izida i Demetra.<sup>66</sup> Na sličan način kao što helenistički Izida i Serapis postupno postaju dijelom rimskoga panteona, helenistički vladarski motivi postaju dijelom rimske carske ikonografije. Unatoč tomu, sve do vladavine Marka Aurelija i Faustine Mlađe nema zabilježenih numizmatičkih emisija ili javnih spomenika carica koje bi pokazivale jasnu poveznicu s Izidom. Faustina Mlađa u Rimu i Aleksandriji izdaje nekoliko tipova kovanica s vlastitim bustom na aversu te Izidom u ikonografskoj varijanti „Pelagije“ ili „Farije“ na reversu.<sup>67</sup> Emisije se objašnjavaju željom carice da se prikaže kao pokroviteljica brodova koji su iz Egipta u Rim donosili žito, što se odvijalo pod zaštitom aleksandrijske Izide ili Izide – zaštitnice otvorenoga mora.<sup>68</sup> Još je nekoliko natpisa i jedan medaljon iz kojih se iščitava ova posebna veza te jedan kip upitne identifikacije iz Napulja, za koji se smatra da je izvorno prikazivao Izidu Fortunu, a da je naknadno restauriran na način da to bude Faustina kao Izida ili Demetra.<sup>69</sup> U svakom slučaju, na spomenicima, čija je autentič-

Although individual elements and motives of these depictions and examples can be relatively easy to read, they are very difficult to interpret from today's viewpoint. Did every Egyptian queen “automatically” become Isis when she came to power, in the same way a new pharaoh became Horus, and was she obliged to show it? Since there is no such data for all queens, it seems that this was, after all, a personal choice. Should then the statues in the dress of Isis be interpreted as if Arsinoe II and Cleopatra VII were identified as Isis according to their own wish and a certain official acclamation (and title)? If so, Egyptian princesses who exited the Egyptian royal dynasty, such as Cleopatra Thea (164 to 121 BC), who joined the court of Alexander Balas in Antioch by marriage, and Cleopatra Selene II, who gained the throne of Mauritania by marrying Juba II, could no longer be Isis, but the coins issued with motifs such as basileion and sistrum certainly evoke their Ptolemaic-pharaonic-divine origin.<sup>62</sup>

Ever since Egypt was organized as a province under the direct administration of the Roman state, Egyptian motifs, such as ibis, crocodiles, personification of the Nile, etc., had gradually been introduced into the Roman public iconography as motifs on money and certain public monuments.<sup>63</sup> The meaning of these “general motifs” is explained by the presence and the growing popularity of Egyptian culture and religion in the Roman world.<sup>64</sup> At the same time, the motif of basileion on money already in use during the reign of Augustus, and busts of Serapis or Isis under Nero and Galba, are interpreted as symbols of power and guarantees of supreme deities – a function that was usually held by motifs of the sceptre, Jupiter, Juno etc.<sup>65</sup> Thus, during the Flavians, whose affection for Egyptian cults was apparent on various levels, the so-called Zeus-Serapis type with a sceptre and a Cerberus was introduced in numismatics, whereas during Trajan and Hadrian the figure of Harpocrates was often shown on coins, usually depicted being breastfed by Isis or Serapis, with Isis and Demeter by their sides.<sup>66</sup> Similarly, as Hellenistic Isis and Serapis gradually became members of the Roman pantheon, Hellenistic ruler motifs became part of Roman imperial iconography. However, until the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger, there

62 Za Kleopatru Teu vidi: Bricault, Versluys 2014, 11–12; Veymiers 2014, 210–211.

63 Za motive na kovanicama vidi: Arslan 1997, 136.

64 Arslan 1997, 136–137.

65 Arslan 1997, 136–137. O značenju bazileja i srodnih motiva na Augustovom novcu: Veymiers 2014, 222–226. O izijačkim kultovima u doba Oktavijana/Augusta: Takács 1995, 75–80; Grimm 1997, 124–125; Fontana 2010, 41–55; Malaise 2011, 185–199. O izijačkim kultovima u doba Klaudija i Nerona: Takács 1995, 91–94; Grimm 1997, 125–126. Općenito o problemima u interpretaciji egipatskih motiva prisutnih u rimskoj umjetnosti i tzv. egiptomaniji, Versluys 2007, 1–14.

66 Arslan 1997, 136–137. O izijačkim kultovima u doba Flavijevaca vidi: Takács 1995, 94–104; Grimm 1997, 126–129; Fontana 2010, 60–62, s prethodnom literaturom.

67 Bricault 2000, 136–149. O izijačkim kultovima u doba Antonina Pija i Faustine vidi: Takács 1995, 107–112; Grimm 1997, 130–131.

68 Bricault 2000, 147.

69 O kipu vidi: Rosso 2018, 539, s prethodnom literaturom. Jedan kamej s bista Serapisa i Izide u moderno je vrijeme restauriran s pozlaćenim obrubom i natpisom koji spominje imena carskoga para Marka Aurelija i Faustine Mlađe, premda nema temelja takvoj rekonstrukciji; Magni 1997, 248, kat. br. IV.258. Javno poimanje Faustine kao osobe pod čijom je ingerencijom, uz Izidu, opskrba

62 On Cleopatra Thea, see: Bricault, Versluys 2014, 11–12; Veymiers 2014, 210–211.

63 On coin motifs, see: Arslan 1997, 136.

64 Arslan 1997, 136–137.

65 Arslan 1997, 136–137. On the meaning of the basileion and related motifs on Augustan coins: Veymiers 2014, 222–226. On the Isiac cults during the reign of Octavian / Augustus: Takács 1995, 75–80; Grimm 1997, 124–125; Fontana 2010, 41–55; Malaise 2011, 185–199. On the Isiac cults in the age of Claudius and Nero: Takács 1995, 91–94; Grimm 1997, 125–126. On general issues in interpretation of Egyptian motifs present in Roman art and so-called Egyptomania: Versluys 2007, 1–14.

66 Arslan 1997, 136–137. On the Isiac cults in the Flavian age: Takács 1995, 94–104; Grimm 1997, 126–129; Fontana 2010, 60–62, with previous literature.



nost potvrđena, Faustina se ne poistovjećuje s Izidom tako što se prikazuje u Izidinoj nošnji i / ili s njezinim atributima, ali se njezino naglašavanje Izidine važnosti (pa tako i vlastite) ogleda u tome što su dvije figure, svaka u svojoj ikonografiji, dijelovi istoga predmeta / spomenika. Poveznicu sa Serapisom i Izidom isticali su Septimije Sever i Julija Domna uvođenjem kovanica s vlastitim portretima na aversu i bistama božanskoga para na reversu, nizom natpisnih posveta, gema i sl.<sup>70</sup> No u kontekstu politike dinastije koju utemeljuju, Serapis i Izida nisu interpretirani kao poveznica s božanskim porijeklom vladara ili s nekim važnim aspektom rimske ekonomije. Oni se interpretiraju kao vrhovna božanstva carskog panteona koja, jednako kao i Jupiter i Junona, čuvaju i jamče zemaljsku vlast. I ovdje se zajednički prikaz careva i bogova ne interpretira „automatski“ kao znak njihova izjednačavanja, već je pokazateljem njihove tzv. religijske politike.<sup>71</sup> U prilog tomu govori činjenica da do danas nije pronađen ni jedan portret Julije Domne u liku Izide, ali su poznati primjeri kipova na kojima nosi attribute Cerere ili kovanice na kojima je prikazana s rogom izobilja i motivima srodnima božicama blagostanja.<sup>72</sup>

Ovime nisu obuhvaćeni svi primjeri, ali navedeni daju zaključiti kako običaj prikazivanja rimskih carica i članica carske obitelji u liku Izide, kao dio njihove službene javne ikonografije, za sada nije potvrđen.<sup>73</sup> Običaj nije prenesen iz Egipta u Rim dolaskom ili ulogom Kleopatre u kasnom republikanskom razdoblju, niti je uveden posebnom naklonošću članova carske obitelji prema Izidi i Serapisu. Kada i dolazi do određenih vrsta identifikacija, carice se uglavnom povezuju s likovima poput Cerere ili Junone, što je razumljivo budući da se radi o starim, tradicionalnim italskim božanstvima koja jamče mir i blagostanje.<sup>74</sup> Vjerojatno službeni prikazi u liku Izide izostaju upravo zato što se ipak radi o jednom „stranome“ kultu.

U privatnoj sferi, situacija je nešto drugačija. Razvojem i popularizacijom izijačkih kultova, od kasnoga helenističkog preko cijeloga rimskog razdoblja, pojavljuju se prikazi svećenica, članica ili inicijantica Izidina kulta. Najraniji se nalaze na spomenutim nadgrobni pločama iz Atike, koje datiraju u drugo razdoblje

were no recorded numismatic issues or public monuments of empresses that would indicate a clear link with Isis. Faustina the Younger issued several types of coins in Rome and Alexandria with her own bust on the obverse and Isis in the iconographic variant of “Pelagia” or “Pharia” on the reverse.<sup>67</sup> The coin issues are explained by the empress’s desire to portray herself as the patron of ships bringing grain from Egypt to Rome, which took place under the protection of the Alexandrian Isis – or Isis, protector of the open sea.<sup>68</sup> There are several more inscriptions and a medallion from which this particular connection is interpreted, as well as a statue of questionable identification from Naples, which is believed originally to have shown Isis-Fortuna, but later restored as Faustina as Isis or Demeter.<sup>69</sup> In any case, on those monuments whose authenticity has been confirmed, Faustina is not displayed in the dress of Isis and / or her attributes. However, the emphasis of Isis’s importance (and therefore her own) is reflected in the fact that the two figures, each in their own iconographies, are parts of the same object / monument. The link to Serapis and Isis was emphasised by Septimius Severus and Julia Domna by issuing coins with their own portraits on the obverse and busts of the divine pair on the reverse, a series of dedication inscriptions, gems and the like.<sup>70</sup> However, in the context of the dynasty politics they founded, Serapis and Isis were not interpreted as a link to the divine origin of the ruler or to any important aspect of the Roman economy. They are interpreted as supreme deities of the imperial pantheon, who, like Jupiter and Juno, protect and guarantee the earthly power. This is another instance where the common depiction of emperors and deities is not “automatically” interpreted as a sign of their equation, but rather serves as an indicator of their so-called religious policies.<sup>71</sup> This is corroborated by the fact that, to this day, not one portrait of Julia Domna in the guise of Isis has been found, but there are some examples of statues of her wearing the attributes of Ceres, and coins where she is displayed with a horn of plenty and motifs relating to goddesses of prosperity.<sup>72</sup>

This does not cover all the examples, but those included do indicate that the custom of portraying Roman empresses and mem-

Rima žitom, ogleda se u jednom spomeniku koji je recentno objavio i analizirao L. Bricault. Spomenik podiže kolegij zadužen za prikaze Marka Aurelija, Lucija Vera i Faustine Farije-Sosistolos-Nove Auguste; *SEG* 44, 1442. Činjenica da ju se naziva Farijom, epitetom koji je, među ostalim božicama, specifičan za Izidu (i koji se kao „samostalno“ ime koristi za Izidu), pokazuje, po Bricaultu, bliskost dvaju likova, ali ne i njihovo izjednačavanje; Bricault 2000, 136; Bricault, Versluys 2014, 9, bilj. 29. Za ostale primjere vidi: Bricault 2000, 136–149.

70 O izijačkim kultovima u doba dinastije Severa: Takács 1995, 114–119; Grimm 1997, 131–132.

71 Iako su neki autori bili skloni prepoznati elemente Izidine nošnje, tzv. *Diplax* na poznatom kipu Julije Domne koji se čuva u Louvreu u Parizu; Rosso 2018, 540, bilj. 6.

72 Kleiner 1992, 325–328.

73 Rosso 2018, 540 *et passim*. U navedenom je recentnom istraživanju Emmanuelle Rosso revidirala značenje egipatskih motiva i motiva tipičnih za egipatska božanstva u rimskoj carskoj službenoj i privatnoj ikonografiji. Zaključila je kako u službenoj portretistici zapravo nema dokaza izjednačavanju carica ili careva s Izidom ili Serapisom. Ako uopće i možemo govoriti o izjednačavanju, onda je to kod careva s Jupiterom, Herkulom i Apolonom, a kod carica s Junonom, Cererom, Fortunom i Venerom.

74 Rosso 2018, 540 *et passim*.

67 Bricault 2000, 136–149. On the Isiac cults in the Age of Antoninus Pius and Faustina: Takács 1995, 107–112; Grimm 1997, 130–131.

68 Bricault 2000, 147.

69 On the statue, see: Rosso 2018, 539, with previous literature. One cameo with busts of Serapis and Isis has been restored in modern times. It has a gilded border and an inscription mentioning the names of the imperial couple Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger, though there is no basis for such reconstruction; Magni 1997, 248, cat. no. IV.258. The public image of Faustina as a person in charge, along with Isis, of Rome’s grain supply, is reflected in a monument recently analysed and published by L. Bricault. The monument is being put up by the collegium in charge of depictions of Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Vero and Faustina Pharia-Sosistolos-New Augusta; *SEG* 44, 1442. The fact that she is called Pharia, an epithet that, among other goddesses, is specific to Isis (and used as an “independent” name for Isis), indicates, according to Bricault, the closeness of the two characters, but not their equation; Bricault 2000, 136; Bricault, Versluys 2014, 9, n. 29. For other examples, see: Bricault 2000, 136–149.

70 On the Isiac cults during the Severan dynasty: Takács 1995, 114–119; Grimm 1997, 131–132.

71 In spite of the fact that some authors were inclined to recognize the elements of Isis’s costume, the so-called *Diplax* on the famous statue of Julia Domna kept in the Louvre in Paris; Rosso 2018, 540, n. 6.

72 Kleiner 1992, 325–328.





SLIKA 17. Kip Izidine svećenice, Rim, 2. st., Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, inv. br. 128073, su concessione del Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali e per il turismo – Museo Nazionale Romano (izradila P. Karković Takalić).

FIGURE 17. Statue of a priestess of Isis, Rome, 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, inv. 128073, on the concession of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism – Museo Nazionale Romano (made by P. Karković Takalić).

između kraja 1. st. pr. Kr. i početka 4. stoljeća (sl. 8).<sup>75</sup> Elisabeth J. Walters smatra da se najvjerojatnije ne radi o prikazima svećenica (jer to ni na jednom natpisu nije navedeno), nego sljedbenica koje su unutar jedne takve religijske grupacije imale određeni status koji im je omogućavao nošenje oznaka izijačkoga kulta.<sup>76</sup> S područja Italije i ostatka Carstva poznato je i nekoliko ženskih kipova i reljefa koji se, po prisustvu izidinskoga plašta, sistra ili srodnih atributa, identificiraju kao prikazi svećenica ili sljedbenica Izide (sl. 17).<sup>77</sup> Na tim je primjerima, koji datiraju u razdoblje

<sup>75</sup> S tim da se, po mišljenju autorice E. J. Walters, brojnost tih spomenika povećava u drugoj polovici 1. stoljeća te početkom 3. stoljeća; Walters 2000, 65–66.

<sup>76</sup> Walters 2000, 87–89.

<sup>77</sup> Vidi, na primjer: kip Izidine sljedbenice iz Vatikanskih muzeja, Amenta 1997, 160, kat. br. IV. 2.

bers of the imperial family as Isis, as part of their official public iconography, has not yet been confirmed.<sup>73</sup> The custom was not transferred from Egypt to Rome with the arrival or role of Cleopatra in the late Republican period, nor was it introduced by the particular affection of the imperial family members for Isis and Serapis. When certain identifications do occur, the empresses are associated mainly with characters such as Ceres or Juno, which is understandable, since they are old, traditional Italic deities who guarantee peace and prosperity.<sup>74</sup> It is possible that the official portrayals of Isis are missing precisely because it is, after all, a “foreign” cult.

In the private sphere, the situation was somewhat different. In the advent and popularization of the Isiac cults, from the late Hellenistic period throughout the Roman, portrayals of priestesses, members or initiates of the cult of Isis appear. The earliest are the aforementioned Attic gravestones, dating back to the long period between the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the beginning of 4<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 8).<sup>75</sup> Elizabeth J. Walters believes that they are most likely not priestesses (since it is not mentioned in the inscriptions), but most likely devotees who held a certain status in such religious groups that allowed them to wear attributes of the Isiac cult.<sup>76</sup> From Italy and the rest of the Empire there are several female statues and reliefs which are identified, according to the presence of the Isiac mantle, sistrum or related attributes, as priestesses or devotees of Isis (Fig. 17).<sup>77</sup> In these examples, dating to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries, inscriptions or typical physiognomic features present indicate that these are private persons and not depictions of a goddess or an empress.

Despite this, and because of the specific and slightly idealized facial features on some Attic gravestones and numerous examples of statues in Isiac iconography for which the context of the find is unknown (as it cannot be connected with a specific temple), several methods of distinguishing the goddess from her devotees have been suggested as part of the research on Isis’s iconography. Because Attic devotees wear an X-shaped Isiac mantle with a knot in the middle of their chest, Vincent Tran tam Tinh suggested this element to be crucial in distinguishing them from the depiction of the goddess herself.<sup>78</sup> Thus, the famous statue of the Capitoline Isis (Fig. 6) could represent a devotee, not the goddess herself.<sup>79</sup> J. Eingartner also wrote on this topic, stressing the importance of the find’s context, inscriptions and facial

<sup>73</sup> In a recent study, Emanuelle Rosso revised the meaning of Egyptian motifs and motifs typical of Egyptian deities in official and private Roman imperial iconography. She concluded that, in official portrait-making, there was in fact no evidence of the equation of empresses or emperors with Isis or Serapis. If we can even speak of equation, then this is the case when the emperors were identified with Jupiter, Heracles and Apollo, and the empresses with Juno, Ceres, Fortune and Venus (Rosso 2018, 540 *et passim*).

<sup>74</sup> Rosso 2018, 540 *et passim*.

<sup>75</sup> Taking into consideration E. J. Walters’ opinion that the number of these monuments increased in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century and at the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century; Walters 2000, 65–66.

<sup>76</sup> Walters 2000, 87–89.

<sup>77</sup> For example, see: the statue of Isis’s devotees from the Vatican Museums, Amenta 1997, 160, cat. no. IV. 2.

<sup>78</sup> Tran tam Tinh 1984, 1722; Tran tam Tinh 1990, 791.

<sup>79</sup> Today, however, it is predominantly defined as the statue of Isis, Ensoli 1997, 422–423, cat. no. V.41.

između kraja 1. i 3. stoljeća, zbog natpisa ili zbog vrlo karakterističnih fizionomijskih obilježja lica razvidno da se radi o privatnim osobama, a ne prikazima božice ili neke carice.

Unatoč tomu, upravo zbog specifičnog i pomalo idealiziranog načina prikazivanja lica na nekim nadgrobnim pločama iz Atike te brojnim primjerima kipova u Izidinoj ikonografiji, za koje kontekst nalaza nije poznat (koje nije moguće povezati ni s jednim konkretnim svetištem), do danas je u sklopu istraživanja Izidine ikonografije predloženo nekoliko načina razlikovanja prikaza božice od njezinih sljedbenica. Budući da atičke sljedbenice nose izidinski plašt vezan u obliku slova X s čvorom na sredini prsa, Vincent Tran tam Tinh je taj element predložio kao ključan u njihovu razlikovanju od prikaza same božice.<sup>78</sup> Tako bi poznati kip Kapitolske Izide (sl. 6) mogao predstavljati sljedbenicu, a ne samu božicu.<sup>79</sup> O toj je temi pisao i J. Eingartner, istaknuvši važnost konteksta nalaza, natpisa i crta lica, ali i mogućnost da se sljedbenice prepoznaju, opet po uzoru na one atičke, kada nose tunike dugih rukava i nemaju nikakvu vrstu naglavka ili krune.<sup>80</sup> Osim Kapitolske Izide, koja ima idealizirane crte lica, u navedene „tipologije“ ne uklapa se dosta drugih primjera, poput poznatog kipa Izidine svećenice iz Taormine, koja ima tuniku kratkih rukava, plašt svezan u čvor samo od njegova desnog kraja, s kapijom na glavi i vrlo karakterističnim okruglim licem i velikim očima.<sup>81</sup> Referirajući se na činjenicu da prijedlozi podjela Tran tam Tinha i Eingartnera imaju niz iznimaka, M. Malaise je zaključio kako je jedini način na koji se prikazi sljedbenica mogu razlikovati od prikaza božice prisustvo karakterističnih fizionomijskih crta lica uz kontekst nalaza i / ili neki natpis koji to potkrepljuje.<sup>82</sup> Emmanuelle Rosso recentno je istražila prikaze članova rimskih carskih obitelji koji nose obilježja božanstava egipatskog porijekla. Poseban je osvrt dala na ikonografiju Kaligule i Drusile, Nerona, Domicijana, Septimija Severa i Julije Domne zaključivši kako u službenoj portretistici zapravo nema dokaza njihova izjednačavanja s Izidom ili Serapisom, već se neki elementi njihove sklonosti ovim bogovima, poput karakteristične Izidine frizure s libijskim loknama ili Serapisovim šiškama, mogu prepoznati na gemama i općenito u prikazima koji pripadaju privatnoj sferi.<sup>83</sup> Budući da kip iz Enone nema glavu, da kontekst nalaza ne upućuje ni na jednu specifičnu arhitekturu te da kip nema natpis, za sada ne možemo sa sigurnošću tvrditi je li on bio prikaz božice ili njezine sljedbenice / svećenice. No, kako nismo naišli na primjer prikaza carice ili članice rimske carske obitelji u Izidinoj nošnji i atributima, zasad bismo isključili mogućnost da se radi o nekom službenom carskom portretu i / ili dijelu enonske carske skupine. Vezano uz njezinu interpretaciju kao svećenice ili sljedbenice, skloni smo prikloniti se mišljenju koje je izrazila K. Giunio, a to je da se u razdoblju kada kip nastaje, u prvoj polovici 1. stoljeća, tako nešto ne može očekivati. Na to upućuje dosadašnja dataci-

features, and also the ability to distinguish the devotees, again like those from Attica, when they wear tunics with long sleeves and do not wear any kind of headdress or crown.<sup>80</sup> Apart from the Capitoline Isis with idealized facial features, many other examples do not fit into the aforementioned “typologies”, such as the well-known statue of an Isis priestess from Taormina, wearing a tunic with short sleeves, a mantle with only one end caught in the knot, with a cap on her head and a very distinctive round face and large eyes.<sup>81</sup> Referring to the fact that the classification suggested by Tran tam Tinh and Eingartner contains a series of exceptions, M. Malaise concluded that the only way in which depictions of devotees may vary from those of a goddess is by the presence of characteristic physiognomic facial features within the context of the find and / or an inscription supporting it.<sup>82</sup> Emmanuelle Rosso has recently looked into representations of the Roman imperial family members wearing typical features of deities of Egyptian origin. Special emphasis is given to the iconography of Caligula and Drusilla, Nero, Domitian, Septimius Severus and Julia Domna, concluding that the official portraits actually contain no evidence of their being equated with Isis or Serapis, but some elements of their inclination to these gods, such as the typical Isis hairstyle with Libyan ringlets or Serapis fringe, can be recognized on gems and generally in representations belonging to the private sphere.<sup>83</sup> Given the fact that the statue from Enona has no head, that the context of the find does not refer to specific architecture, and that the statue bears no inscription, for the time being we cannot state with absolute certainty whether it depicts a goddess or her devotee / priestess. However, since we have not found an example of an empress or a member of the Roman imperial family depicted in the Isiac costume and attributes, we would, for the time being, rule out the possibility that this was an official imperial portrait and / or part of the Enonian imperial group. Regarding the interpretation of the statue as that of a priestess or devotee, we are more inclined to agree with the opinion expressed by K. Giunio, which is that, in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, when the statue originated, something like this is not to be expected. This is supported by the existing practice by which those statues that can be interpreted as priestesses of the cult of Isis are dated to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century onwards, and the fact that the time when the statue originated, in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, was in fact the time when the Isiac cults in Rome and Italy gained their full freedom (under Caligula's reign), after a series of persecutions.

78 Tran tam Tinh 1984, 1722; Tran tam Tinh 1990, 791.

79 Danas se ipak uglavnom definira kao kip Izide, Ensoli 1997, 422–423, kat. br. V.41.

80 Eingartner 1991 67, *et passim*.

81 Fuduli 2015, 945, s prethodnom literaturom.

82 Malaise 1992, 331 *et passim*; Rosso 2018, 250.

80 Eingartner 1991, 67 *et passim*.

81 Fuduli 2015, 945, with previous literature.

82 Malaise 1992, 331 *et passim*; Rosso 2018, 250.

83 Rosso 2018, 539–567. See n. 72.

ja kipova koji se mogu interpretirati kao svećenice Izidina kulta, od kraja 1. stoljeća na dalje, te činjenica da u razdoblju kada kip nastaje, u prvoj polovici 1. stoljeća, nakon niza progona, izijački kultovi u Rimu i Italiji tek s razdobljem Kaliguline vladavine dobivaju punu slobodu.

### Formalna i stilska obilježja te datacija

Autori Cambi i Kolega suglasni su u tome da kip iz Enone pokazuje klasicističke elemente karakteristične za kiparstvo julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije.<sup>84</sup> Klasicistički nije bio jedini „stil“ propagiran u umjetnosti toga vremena, ali je zbog poveznice s carskom obitelji, posebno u razdoblju vladavine Augusta i Tiberija, bio vrlo popularan.<sup>85</sup> Kada kažemo klasicistički, mislimo na stil koji prati („kopira“) način izrade skulpture klasičnoga razdoblja grčke umjetnosti (5. – 4. st. pr. Kr.), posebno atenskih autora i radionica, koji su zbog kvalitete, ali i zbog važnosti toga političkoga i umjetničkoga centra, u 1. stoljeću bili poznatiji u odnosu na druge s područja „klasične“ Grčke. Misli se na spomenike kao što su karijatide atenskog Erehteja, Fidijin skulptorski opus, niz prikaza božanstava i atleta Polikleta, i nešto kasniji Praksitela, Kalimaha, Timoteja, čiji su radovi do nas i došli uglavnom u obliku kopija iz rimskoga razdoblja.<sup>86</sup> Dok Augustov klasicizam odlikuje bliskost „strogo“ stilu sredine 5. st. pr. Kr., od razdoblja Klaudija do Nerona ta „strogoća“ ustupa mjesto nešto dinamičnijem stilu kraja 5. i početka 4. st. pr. Kr.

„L'ispirazione neoattica, almeno in scultura, rimane prossima, ma le superfici tornano ad animarsi di una plasticità più ricca, di un elemento coloristico, che andrà accrescendosi nella seconda metà del secolo, preparando quei rapporti formali che saranno tipici per l'arte dell'età flavia...“<sup>87</sup>

Smatramo da se u takvom jednom odmaku od strogoga klasičnoga stila i augustovskoga „akademizma“ mogu interpretirati

### Formal and stylistic features and dating

Authors Cambi and Kolega agree that the statue from Enona shows Classical elements typical of the sculpture of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.<sup>84</sup> Classical was not the only “style” propagated in the art at the time, but – due to its connection with the imperial family, especially during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius – it was extremely popular.<sup>85</sup> By “Classical” we mean the style that emulates (“copies”) sculptures of the Classical period of Greek art (5<sup>th</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC), Attic authors and workshops in particular, which – due to quality, and also because of the importance of this political and artistic centre – were during the 1<sup>st</sup> century more famous than others from the Classical Greece area. Examples include the Caryatids of Erechtheum in Athens, the sculptural oeuvre of Pheidias, a series of sculptures of deities and of the athlete of Polykleitos, and later work by Praxiteles, Callimachus and Timotheus, whose oeuvre reached us, mainly in the form of copies from the Roman period.<sup>86</sup> While the classical period of Augustus is very much similar to the “rigid” style of the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century BC, from the period of Claudius to Nero, this “rigour” gave way to the somewhat more dynamic style of the late 5<sup>th</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.

“L'ispirazione neoattica, almeno in scultura, rimane prossima, ma le superfici tornano ad animarsi di una plasticità più ricca, di un elemento coloristico, che andrà accrescendosi nella seconda metà del secolo, preparando quei rapporti formali che saranno tipici per l'arte dell'età flavia...“<sup>87</sup>

We believe that such a departure from strict classical style and Augustan “academicism” is the right context for interpreting the elements of Isis's statue, especially the folds of her dress that drape her legs. Below the thin fabric of the chiton, which appears to be wet or stuck to the skin, the anatomical contours of the knees and shins, especially her left leg, are clearly observed.<sup>88</sup>

83 Rosso 2018, 539–567, usporedi s gornjim navodom broj 72.

84 Cambi 1998, 49; Kolega 2004, 58–61, kat. br. II.1.1.18; Cambi 2005, 32–33.

85 U Ateni se taj stil naziva „neoatikičkim“, dok se za Rim i Italiju koristi termin „klasicistički“. Teško je sažeti odlike klasicističkoga stila julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije. Možemo pokušati i reći da ga obilježavaju figure skladnih i dijelom idealiziranih crta lica i proporcija tijela, pomalo uzvišenoga stava i držanja, koji postupno ustupaju mjesto figurama mladenačke „lakoće postojanja“, karakteristične za mlada grčka božanstva, vrhunske atlete i sl. Smatra se da je ovakav prikaz sklada „duha i tijela“ kod Rimljana bio povezan i sa željom da se istakne njihova osobna „moralnost“ (odanost tradiciji, državi, zakonima). Kada je riječ o nošnjici, klasicistički se utjecaji prepoznaju u tunikama gustih nabora s relativno tankim, a dubokim pregibima, s čime su u kontrastu nešto rjeđe postavljene, mekši nabori gornjih haljina. O skulpturi julijevsko-klaudijevskog razdoblja postoji brojna znanstvena literatura. Ovdje se citiraju samo radovi koji su najviše korišteni za ovo istraživanje; Kleiner 1992, 59 *et passim*; Kolega 1988, 87–88; Cambi 2005, 11 *et passim*; Rossi 2008, 182–184, s prethodnom literaturom; Bianchi Bandinelli 2009, 177 *et passim*; Rose 2013.

86 La Rocca 1990, 433; Zanker 2006, 264 *et passim*.

87 Bianchi Bandinelli 2009, 208.

84 Cambi 1998, 49; Kolega 2004, 58–61, cat. no. II.1.1.18; Cambi 2005, 32–33.

85 This style is referred to as “neo-Attic” in Athens, while the term “Classicist” is used for Rome and Italy. It is difficult to summarize the features of the Classical style of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. We can give it a go and say it is characterized by figures of harmonious and somewhat idealized facial features and body proportions, slightly solemn in their attitude and posture, which gradually gave way to figures of youthful “lightness of being”, typical of young Greek deities, top athletes, etc. This Roman display of harmony of “body and spirit” is thought to be associated with the desire to emphasize their personal “morality” (loyalty to tradition, state, laws). When it comes to costumes, Classical influences are recognized in tunics with thick folds and relatively narrow, but deep, creases, which are in contrast with the less frequent placement of the softer folds of the outer garments. There is a wealth of scientific literature on the sculpture of the Julio-Claudian period. Only the papers most relevant for the purposes of this research are cited here; Kleiner 1992, 59 *et passim*; Kolega 1988, 87–88; Cambi 2005, 11 *et passim*; Rossi 2008, 182–184, with previous literature; Bianchi Bandinelli 2009, 177 *et passim*; Rose 2013.

86 La Rocca 1990, 433; Zanker 2006, 264 *et passim*.

87 Bianchi Bandinelli 2009, 208.

88 It is a common belief that the sculptural technique of making dresses that appear to be wet, i.e. very thin and attached to the body, outlining the anatomy of the figure shown, was introduced with the Parthenon sculptural programme. In the late Classical period, and especially in the Hellenistic, this technique became very popular, and from its relatively moderate application, as on the famous statue of Skopas's Menade or the Nike of Samothrace, was exploi-





**SLIKA 18.** Glava Izide ili glava žene, Pompeji, područje Hrama Izide, 1. st. pr. Kr. – 1. st., *Museo nazionale archeologico*, Napoli, inv. br. 6290 (Higgs, Ashton 2001, 320).

**FIGURE 18.** Head of Isis or of a woman, Pompeii, Isis temple area, 1<sup>st</sup> century BC to 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, *Museo nazionale archeologico*, Naples, inv. no. 6290 (*Cleopatra* 2001, 320).

elementi prisutni na Izidinom kipu, posebno nabori haljina oko nogu. Ispod tanke tkanine hitona, koja izgleda kao da je mokra ili priljubljena uz kožu, lijepo se naziru anatomske konture koljena i potkoljenice, posebno lijeve noge.<sup>88</sup> Anatomija opuštene noge vidi se i na kipu postumnog Augusta iz Enone, no draperije ovoga kipa djeluju nešto deblje i manje prozračno u odnosu na ženski kip. U prilog „kasnijoj“ julijevsko-klaudijevskoj dataciji, u doba Klaudija ili Nerona, interpretira se i kombinirana tehnika izvedbe kipa Izide s dlijetom i svrdlima – čiji su otisci vidljivi na više mjesta na kipu, posebno na naborima izidinskoga plašta koji u presjeku imaju formu slova C.<sup>89</sup> Određeni odmak Izide od Augusta prepoznaje se i u kvaliteti izvedbe. Ženski kip ima lijepo izrađene dijelove, posebno nabore dobivene tehnikom svrdlanja, ali i one manje precizne i manje plastične. Oni se prepoznaju na gornjem dijelu tijela – oko vrata i čvora (gdje se susreću tkanine hitona i izidinskoga plašta) te sa stražnje strane.<sup>90</sup>

Na razdoblje izrade kipa Izide iz Enone može, ali i ne mora upućivati frizura, koja se u našem slučaju rekonstruirala samo po prisustvu valovitih pramenova kose. Jedan lijepi primjer toga kako je približno mogla izgledati glava enonskoga kipa je glava Izide iz Izeja u Pompejima (sl. 18), danas u Nacionalnom arheološkome muzeju u Napulju, koja datira u rano razdoblje julijevsko-klau-

The anatomy of the relaxed leg is visible also on the statue of posthumous Augustus from Enona, but the drapery of that statue seems somewhat thicker and less transparent than on the female statue. What further supports the “later” Julio-Claudian dating, to the time of Claudius or Nero, is the combined technique used to carve the statue of Isis, with chisel and hand drills. Traces of hand drills are visible on the statue in several instances, especially on the folds of Isis’s mantle, which bear a C-shaped cross section.<sup>89</sup> A certain departure from Augustean sculpture is also evident in the quality of the work on the Isis: the female statue has some finely carved parts, especially the folds created by the drilling technique, but also some that are less refined and less plastic. They are visible on the upper body: around the neck and the knot (where the fabrics of the chiton and the mantle meet), and on the back.<sup>90</sup>

Another element of the statue that might or might not be indicative of the time it was created is the hairstyle, which in our case is reconstructed only from the presence of wavy strands of hair. One fine example of what the head of the statue from Enona might have looked like is the head of Isis from the Iseion in Pompeii (Fig. 18), now in the National Archaeological Museum in Naples, dating back to the early period of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.<sup>91</sup> Along with idealized facial features, the head is characterized by a haircut with a parting in the middle, a so-called *lampadion* on top of the cranium, and a low bun on the nape of the neck. One undulating strand of hair, such as those visible on the shoulders of the statue from Enona, falls from the low bun on either side of the neck. The choice of hairstyle on the head from Pompeii is seen as a reflection of the fashion of that time.<sup>92</sup> There are several portraits of Octavia the Younger, Poppaea Sabina, Agrippina the Younger, etc. with strands of hair falling from the low bun down the neck and onto the shoulders.<sup>93</sup>

88 Uvriježeno je mišljenje kako se kiparska tehnika izrade haljina koje izgledaju kao da su mokre, tj. vrlo tanke i priljubljene uz tijelo tako što se nazire anatomija prikazane figure, uvodi sa skulptorskim programom Partenona. U kasnom klasičnom, a posebno u helenističkom razdoblju tehnika postaje vrlo popularna te se od njene relativno umjerene primjene, kao na poznatome kipu Skopasove Menade ili Nike sa Samotrake, istražuje do „krajnjih granica“, primjer čega je poznati kip Afrodite iz Louvrea, čiji se izvornik pripisuje poznatom kiparu Kalimahu; o ovoj temi vidi: Gorrini 2008, 198–199, s prethodnom literaturom. Budući da je na kipu Izide iz Enone primjena te tehnike vrlo ograničena i suzdržana, smatramo da ga se može povezati s njezinim počecima, pretekraj 5. i početak 4. st. pr. Kr.

89 Hvala prof. dr. sc. Draženu Maršiću na pomoći vezanoj uz formalnu i stilsku analizu kipa. O dataciji na temelju korištenja tehnike svrdlanja: Maršić 2014, 21; 2015, 10 *et passim*.

90 Karković Takalić 2021 (u pripremi).

91 D’Errico 1997, 429, kat. br. V.47.

ted to “extremes”, an example of which is the famous statue of Aphrodite at the Louvre, whose original is attributed to the famous sculptor Callimachus; on this topic see: Gorrini 2008, 198–199, with previous literature. Since the application of this technique used on the statue of Isis from Enona is very limited and restrained, we believe it to be linked with its beginnings, towards the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup>.

89 Thank you to Prof. Dražen Maršić for assistance with the formal and stylistic analyses of the statue. On dating based on the drilling technique used: Maršić 2014, 21; 2015, 10 *et passim*.

90 Karković Takalić 2021 (forthcoming).

91 D’Errico 1997, 429, kat. br. V.47

92 D’Errico 1997, 429, kat. br. V.47

93 Felletti Maj 1953, 53, cat. no. 83, 131, cat. no. 131; Kleiner 1992, 139–140; Rose 2013, 224–225, cat. no. 125, Pl. 224–225.



dijevske dinastije.<sup>92</sup> Uz idealizirane crte lica, glavu karakterizira frizura s razdjeljkom na sredini, tzv. *lampadionom* na tjemenu, i niskom pundom na zatiljku. Iz punde, sa svake strane vrata pada jedan valoviti pramen kose, poput onih čiji se vrhovi vide na ramenima kipa iz Enone. Odabir frizure na glavi iz Pompeja interpretira se kao odraz mode toga vremena.<sup>92</sup> Poznato je više portreta Oktavije Mlađe, Popeje Sabine, Agripine Mlađe i dr. s pramenovima koji iz nisko spuštene punde padaju na vrat i ramena.<sup>93</sup> No poznat je i niz kipova Izide poput kipa iz Stobija ili citiranih sljedbenica s atičkih nadgrobnih ploča koje nose srodnu klasicističku frizuru (sl. 7–8). Kao što na dijelu prikaza Izida nosi izidinski plašt s resama u čvoru, a na drugima „običnu“ tuniku i palu, smatramo da je i ova klasicistička frizura, uz tzv. libijske lokne ušla u Izidinu standardnu ikonografiju. Postojanje valovitih pramenova se, stoga, u izostanku glave, može, ali i ne mora interpretirati pokazateljem razdoblja u kojemu nastaje kip. Glava iz Pompeja važna je i iz jednog iz drugog razloga, a to je činjenica da izostanak glave, odnosno njezina odvojena izrada, ne mora nužno biti pokazateljem da je kip bio portret.<sup>94</sup> Poznato je više glava božica i bogova iz rimskoga razdoblja koje su bile napravljene odvojeno.<sup>95</sup>

Prva polovina 1. stoljeća razdoblje je intenzivnoga razvoja zajednice u Enoni, koja najvjerojatnije u doba Augusta dobiva status municipija.<sup>96</sup> Kao potvrda graditeljskim aktivnostima, datacija je gradskih bedema u kraj 1. st. pr. Kr. te gradskih vrata u 1. polovini 1. stoljeća;<sup>97</sup> u Augustovo doba prve faze središnjega gradskoga trga s hramom posvećenim najvjerojatnije Kapitolijskoj trijadi, početak običaja predstavljanja, u formi monumentalnih kipova, pripadnika carskih obitelji<sup>98</sup> i dr. Uz prvu veću skupinu carskih ki-

However, there is a series of statues of Isis, such as the statue of Stobi or the cited devotees from Attic gravestones, with a similar Classical hairstyle (Fig. 7–8). As in some depictions Isis is wearing a fringed mantle tied in a knot, and in others an “ordinary” tunic and a palla, we believe that this Classical hairstyle, as well, along with the so-called Libyan ringlets, became a standard of Isis’s iconography. The presence of undulating strands, therefore, in the absence of the head, may or may not be interpreted as an indicator of the period in which the statue was created. The head of Pompeii is important for one other reason, and that is the fact that the absence of the head, or its separate production, is not necessarily an indicator that the statue was a portrait.<sup>94</sup> There are several examples of heads of goddesses and gods from the Roman period that were made separately.<sup>95</sup>

The first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century is a period of intense development of the community in Enona, which most probably acquired the status of a municipality in the time of Augustus.<sup>96</sup> As support of construction activities there is datation of the city ramparts to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and of the city gates to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century;<sup>97</sup> the first phase of the central town square dates to the Augustan period, with a temple dedicated most likely to the Capitoline Triad, marking the beginning of the custom of presenting imperial family members in the form of monumental statues,<sup>98</sup> etc. Along with the first major group of imperial statues, which we assume arrived in Enona as pre-fabricated sculptures, a series of fragments of architectural decoration was discovered, high in quality of performance, which indicates the import of pre-made sculptures, most likely from Italy and Greece.<sup>99</sup>

92 D’Errico 1997, 429, kat. br. V.47.

93 Felletti Maj 1953, 53, kat. br. 83, 131, kat. br. 131; Kleiner 1992, 139–140; Rose 2013, kat. br. 125, T. 224–225.

94 Iako se, ovisno o literaturi, navedena glava iz izeja u Pompejima različito interpretira – kao glava Izide (D’Errico 1997, 429, kat. br. V.47; <https://www.museoarcheologiconapoli.it/it/sale-e-sezioni-espositive/tempio-di-icide/> (10. veljače 2020.) ili kao glava sljedbenice (Higgs, Ashton 2001, 320, kat. br. 337). Promatrajući navedenu glavu i uspoređujući je s cjelovitim kipom iz istoga svetišta, za koji se svi slažu da prikazuje Izidu, po našem mišljenju nema prevelike razlike u izradi lica (oba su idealizirana, ovalna lica, s bademastim očima, pomalo izduženim, ali simetričnim nosom i laganim osmijehom na usnicama, tipičnima za prikaze mladih božanstava) te se u oba slučaja radi o Izidi. Druga glava, s istog lokaliteta, pokazuje nešto više osobnih crta lica (pomalo tanak i izdužen nos u odnosu na ostatak lica, naznačene gornje kapke, prisustvo rupice na bradi i sl.) i drugačiju frizuru te smatramo da ona s nešto većom vjerojatnošću prikazuje privatnu osobu.

95 Po broju prednjače glave Minerve i Apolona. Poput primjera iz Kapitolijskih muzeja u Rimu <http://www.museicapitolini.org/it/mostra-evento-presentazione-del-restauro-di-due-teste-colossali-dei-musei-capitolini>; [http://www.museicapitolini.org/it/percorsi/percorsi\\_per\\_sale/palazzo\\_nuovo/galleria/testa\\_di\\_apollo](http://www.museicapitolini.org/it/percorsi/percorsi_per_sale/palazzo_nuovo/galleria/testa_di_apollo) (01. veljače 2020.).

96 Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 182 *et passim*.

97 Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 39, 66 *et passim*.

98 Najavu običaja prikazivanja članova carske obitelji u Enoni vjerojatno čini glava Agripe koja se povezuje s Enonom; Kolega 1998, 90; Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 338. S obzirom na još uvijek nepotvrđeno porijeklo glave iz Nina, Cambi smješta izradu prve skupine carskih portreta kojoj pripadaju: kip posthumnoga Augusta, Tiberija, tzv. posthumni Cezar i togat u kasno razdoblje Tiberijeve vladavine; Cambi 1998, 47–49; Cambi 2005, 30–33. Kolega smatra da je ova grupa nešto kasnija i datira je u radoblje vladavine cara Klaudija; Kolega 1998, 89–90. Recentno, Kolega identificira posthumni Augustov kip kao Kaligulin palimpsest; Kolega 2018, 15–28. Brojna pitanja u vezi sa skupinama carskih kipova u Enoni još su uvijek otvorena.

94 Although the head from the Iseion in Pompeii is interpreted variously (depending on the literature): as the head of Isis (D’Errico 1997, 429, kat. br. V.47; <https://www.museoarcheologiconapoli.it/it/sale-e-sezioni-espositive/tempio-di-icide/> (10 February 2020) or as the head of her devotee (Higgs, Ashton 2001, 320, cat. no. 337). By observing the head and comparing it to a full statue from the same temple which everyone agrees shows Isis, in our opinion, there is no significant difference in facial features – both are idealized, oval faces, with almond eyes, a slightly elongated, but symmetrical, nose and a light smile on the lips, very typical of depictions of young deities – and in both cases it is Isis. The second head, from the same site, shows somewhat more personal facial features (a nose slightly thinner and longer than the rest of the face, prominent upper eyelids, a cleft chin, etc.) and a different hairstyle, so we believe it more likely shows a private person.

95 Most numerous are heads of Minerva and Apollo. Such as the examples from the Capitoline Museums in Rome <http://www.museicapitolini.org/it/mostra-evento-presentazione-del-restauro-di-due-teste-colossali-dei-musei-capitolini>; [http://www.museicapitolini.org/it/percorsi/percorsi\\_per\\_sale/palazzo\\_nuovo/galleria/testa\\_di\\_apollo](http://www.museicapitolini.org/it/percorsi/percorsi_per_sale/palazzo_nuovo/galleria/testa_di_apollo) (1 February 2020).

96 Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 182 *et passim*.

97 Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 39, 66 *et passim*.

98 The head of Agrippa, which is linked with Enona, most probably marks the start of the custom of depicting members of the imperial family; Kolega 1998, 90; Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 338. Considering the yet unconfirmed origin of the head from Nina, Cambi dates the production of the first group of imperial portraits (made up of the statue of posthumous Augustus, Tiberius, and the so-called posthumous Caesar and the togatus) to the late period of Tiberius’s reign; Cambi 1998, 47–49; Cambi 2005, 30–33. Kolega believes this group to appear somewhat later and dates it to the reign of emperor Claudius; Kolega 1998, 89–90. Kolega recently identifies the posthumous Augustus statue as Caligula’s palimpsest (Kolega 2017, 15–28). Numerous questions regarding the group of imperial statues in Enona still remain unanswered.

99 On the import of pre-fabricated sculptures: Cambi 2005, 19 *et passim*. On the import of marble worked locally: Cambi 2005, 38 *et passim*.

pova, za koju pretpostavljamo da je kao gotova skulptura došla u Enonu, otkriven je i niz ulomaka arhitektonske dekoracije visoke kvalitete izvedbe koji upućuju na uvoz gotovih kiparskih proizvoda, najvjerovatnije iz Italije i Grčke.<sup>99</sup> Prisustvo nadgrobnih stela, koje u brojnim elementima, ali slabije kvalitete izvedbe, „kopiraju“ monumentalnu enonsku skulpturu, i potvrđuje običaja prerade dijela carskih kipova sugeriraju postojanje lokalnih radionica od 1. stoljeća na dalje.<sup>100</sup> U tom kontekstu municipija, koji je u svome zamahu, koji uvozi, ali i za vlastite potrebe proizvodi skulpturu, treba smjestiti i Izidin kip. Budući da primjeri tasoskoga mramora jesu prisutni diljem Mediterana, no najčešće u nešto manjem postotku od ostalih mramora, poput luskog, prokoneškog, parskog i sl., pretpostavljamo da se ovdje radilo o jednoj posebnoj narudžbi. Budući da dijelovi kipa oko vrata i na čvoru pokazuju znatno manju kvalitetu izrade od, primjerice, nabora napravljenih na bokovima, moguće je da se radilo o dvjema različitim „rukama“, gdje bi ova slabija s većom vjerojatnošću bila lokalna. Za tasosku skulpturu i jest potvrđen običaj izvoza gotovih ili polugotovih proizvoda, o čemu se, čini se, radi i kad je riječ o Izidinu kipu.

Iz ranocarskog razdoblja je i najviše dokaza religijskog života u Enoni.<sup>101</sup> Oni su rezultat brojnosti, ali i etničke raznolikosti zajednice, što se upravo intenzivno razvija od razdoblja Augusta sve do kraja 3. stoljeća. Brojnost kulturnih spomenika mora se povezati i s raznolikom zastupljenošću gospodarskih djelatnosti na teritoriju Enone.<sup>102</sup> Uzevši u obzir kompetencije Izide, mjesto nalaza uz istočnu obalu poluotoka, te razdoblje u kojem ovaj kip nastaje, najlogičnijom za sada čini se veza s enonskim pomorstvom i pomorskom trgovinom. Naime, tek u razdoblju vladavine Septimija Severa i Julije Domne, Izidin i Serapisov kult uže će se povezati uz likove carske obitelji i vlasti.

Na teritoriju Enone pronađeno je još nekoliko uljanica s motivima egipatsko-rimskih božanstava koji datiraju u 2. stoljeće, a štovanje Izide i Serapisa s Liberom i njegovom pratiteljicom potvrđeno je i u obližnjoj rimskoj koloniji Jaderu već u drugoj polovini 1. stoljeća.<sup>103</sup> Karakter te kultne zajednice može se, za sada, povezati nešto više uz kompetencije ovih božanstava kao zaštitnika zdravlja i osobnoga blagostanja pojedinaca, ali i uz zaštitništvo oslobođenika.<sup>104</sup>

## Zaključak

Analizom arhivskih izvora, koji govore o kipu i njihovom usporedbom s ninskim povijesnim kartama i katastrima, definirali smo područje nalaza kipa Izide na istočnome perifernom gradskom području, oko današnjih Gornjih vrata. Iako ondje, uz ostatke

The presence of tombstone stele, which in many elements, but of inferior quality, “copy” the monumental sculpture from Enona, and the confirmation of the custom of processing parts of the imperial statues, suggest the existence of local workshops from the 1<sup>st</sup> century onwards.<sup>100</sup> The statue of Isis should be put in this context of a municipium in full sway, which not only imports, but also produces, sculptures for its own purposes. Since there are examples of Thasian marble throughout the Mediterranean, but most often in a slightly smaller percentage than other marbles, like Luni, Proconese, Paros etc., we assume that this was a special order. As the parts around the statue’s neck and on the knot show inferior quality of work to that on the folds on the hips, for example, it is possible that two different “hands” worked on it, where the weaker hand is more likely to be local. The custom of exporting finished or half-finished products is already a confirmed practice for Thasian sculpture, and the same seems to be the case with the statue of Isis.

The majority of evidence of religious life in Enona, too, belongs to the early Imperial period.<sup>101</sup> This is a result of the size and ethnic diversity of the community, which was intensively developing from the Augustan era until the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. The abundance of cult monuments must also be linked to the diverse representation of economic activities in the territory of Enona.<sup>102</sup> Given the competences of Isis, the site of the find (along the eastern coast of the peninsula), and the period during which this statue was created, the most logical, for the time being at least, seems to be the connection with Enona’s maritime affairs and maritime trade. It was not until the reign of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna that the cult of Isis and Serapis became more closely linked to the imperial family and authorities.

Several oil lamps have also been found in the territory of Enona, bearing motifs of Egyptian-Roman deities dating back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, and the worship of Isis and Serapis with Liber and his female companion has also been confirmed in the nearby Roman colony of Iader as early as the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>103</sup> The character of this cult community may, for the time being, be linked slightly more firmly with the competences of these deities as the protectors of the health and personal well-being of individuals, but also with the protection of the liberated.<sup>104</sup>

## Conclusion

On the basis of the analysis of archival sources that refer to this statue, and their comparison to the historical maps and cadastres of Nin, we have defined the area of the find of the statue of Isis at the eastern peripheral city area, near today’s Upper City

99 O uvozu gotovih kipova vidi: Cambi 2005, 19 et passim. O uvozu mramora koji se obrađuje lokalno vidi: Cambi 2005, 38 et passim.

100 O lokalnim radionicama na području Enone: Kolega 1998, 89–90; Cambi 2005, 35 et passim; Dubolnić Glavan, Maršić, 2019, 29 et passim.

101 Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 291 et passim.

102 Uz poljoprivredu i stočarstvo, Enona je morala imati razvijeno pomorstvo i pomorsku trgovinu te uzgoj soli; Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 454 et passim.

103 Selem 1997, 54–59; CIL III, 2903.

104 Karković Takalić 2019, 274 et passim.

100 On local workshops in the area of Enona: Kolega 1998, 89–90; Cambi 2005, 35 et passim; Dubolnić Glavan, Maršić, 2019, 29 et passim.

101 Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 291 et passim.

102 In addition to agriculture and livestock farming, Enona must have had powerful seafaring and maritime trade, as well as salt production; Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 454 et passim.

103 Selem 1997, 54–59; CIL III, 2903.

104 Karković Takalić 2019, 274 et passim.

rimskih gradskih vrata, nisu otkriveni ostaci neke druge rimske građevine uz koju bi se kip mogao povezati, ne znači da je nije bilo.<sup>105</sup> U svakom slučaju, utvrđeno je da se po mjestu nalaza kip ne može povezati s grupom julijevsko-klaudijevskih carskih kipova, a razlikuje se, barem od onih najbolje sačuvanih – četiriju muških kipova prezentiranih u Arheološkome muzeju u Zadru, i po materijalu, dimenzijama i kvaliteti izvedbe. Carski su kipovi u bijelome mramoru sa sivo-zelenkastim venaturama, što bi se moglo poistovjetiti s mramorom vađenim u kamenolomu kod sjevernoitalskoga municipija Luni (Carrara). Kip Izide izrađen je također u bijelome mramoru, ali s egejskog otoka Tasosa, i to lokaliteta rta Vathy. Tasoski je mramor prisutan u rimskome razdoblju diljem Mediterana, no, barem kako to dosadašnja istraživanja pokazuju, u manjem postotku od luskog, parskog i drugih bijelih mramora. Uzevši to u obzir, u slučaju ženskoga kipa iz Enone, zaključili smo da se radi o jednoj posebnoj narudžbi. Analizom službenih prikaza egipatskih carica pokazali smo da se nisu sve izjednačavale s Izidom, a da navedeni običaj, koji su primijenile, primjerice, Arsinoja II. i Kleopatra VII., nije izravno prenesen ni u službenu rimsku carsku ikonografiju. Prema tomu, kip iz Enone ne bismo identificirali s likom rimske carice. U privatnoj je sferi prikazivanje žena u izidinskoj nošnji i atributima prisutno od kraja 1. st. pr. Kr. do početka 4. stoljeća, no kada je riječ o punoj plastici, primjeri se za sada pojavljuju nešto kasnije u odnosu na enonski kip, pretkraj 1. stoljeća. Takvu je situaciju moguće povezati i s razvojem izijačkih kultova u Italiji, koji najvjerojatnije tek od Kaligule ulaze u službene rimske *sacra*, a posebnu popularnost bilježe u razdoblju vladavine Flavijevaca, Antonina Pija, Septimija Severa. U svakom od ovih razdoblja, međutim, pojave prikaza Izide i onih koji joj nalikuju valja iščitavati zasebno.

Kip smo datirali na temelju prethodnih istraživanja, uz nova zapažanja u vezi s načinom izvedbe nabora i korištene kombinirane tehnike dlijeta i svrdala, u razdoblje između četrdesetih i sedamdesetih godina 1. stoljeća, u razdoblju kada kult u Italiji i provincijama počinje biti sve prisutniji. Na temelju svega navedenoga, kip bismo za sada identificirali kao Izidu. U izostanku drugih podataka o kontekstu nalaza ne možemo tvrditi koja je bila njegova funkcija (kultne, posvetne statue ili sl.) i kakvoj je arhitekturi pripadao, no pojavu Izidinoga kulta i svetišta u jednome gospodarski i društveno razvijenome primorskome municipiju poput Enone svakako treba očekivati. Nadamo se da će ovo istraživanje potaknuti i neka iduća vezana uz izijačke kultove, ali i porijeklo mramora i mramorne skulpture na području rimske provincije Dalmacije.

Gate. Even though remains of another Roman building, which the statue could be linked to, have not been found there (other than the city gates), this does not mean it never existed.<sup>105</sup> In any case, it is established that, according to the place of the find, the statue could not be linked with the group of Julio-Claudian imperial statues, and that it differs, at least from those best preserved – the four male statues on display in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar – in terms of material, dimensions and quality of performance. The imperial statues are in white marble with grey-greenish veins that could be identified with marble extracted in a quarry near the northern Italian municipality of Luni (Carrara). The statue of Isis was also made in white marble, but from the Aegean island of Thassos, specifically from the site of Cape Vathy. Thasian marble was present in the Roman period throughout the Mediterranean, but – at least as research has so far indicated – in smaller percentage than marble of Luni and Paros and other white marble. Taking this into account, in the case of the female statue from Enona, we have come to the conclusion that this was a special order. We have demonstrated, through analysis of the official representations of Egyptian empresses, that not all were equated with Isis and that that custom, which Arsinoe II and Cleopatra VII adopted, is also not directly transferred to the official Roman imperial iconography. According to this, the statue of Enona would not be identified with the figure of a Roman empress. In the private sphere, the portrayal of women in the dress and attributes of Isis was present from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC until the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century; but, when it comes to full plastic, the examples appear somewhat later than the statue from Enona, towards the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century. Such a situation can be linked with the development of the Isiac cults in Italy, which most likely enter the official Roman *sacra* with Caligula and gain popularity during the reign of the Flavians Antoninus Pius and Septimius Severus. In each of these periods, however, depictions of Isis and those who resemble her are to be interpreted separately.

We have dated the statue on the basis of previous research, with new observations regarding the way the folds were made and the combined chisel and hand-drill techniques used, to the 1<sup>st</sup> century – between the 40s and the 70s, as the cult in Italy and the provinces became more prevalent. On the basis of all of the above, we would identify the statue as Isis for the time being. In the absence of additional information regarding the context of the find, we cannot ascertain its function (*i.e.* cult, secular statues, etc.) and the architecture it belonged to, but the emergence of the Isiac cult and temples in an economically and socially developed coastal municipality like Enona is certainly to be expected. It is our hope that this research will inspire future research relating to the Isiac cults, as well as the origin of the marble and marble sculpture in the Roman province of Dalmatia.

105 Na tom su području pronađeni ostaci rimskih gradskih vrata, ceste i nogostupa te rimskoga bedema. S unutrašnje strane vrata, u smjeru prema jugu, zabilježeni su ostaci jednoga rimskog domusa, a s vanjske strane, u moru te na suprotnoj obali, ostaci mosta i ceste uz koju se nalazila nekropola. Nešto sjevernije, na području Ždrijaca, otkriveni su ostaci pristaništa, nekropole i svetišta Jupitera Sabazija Ika. Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 32–34, 46, 83–84, 116.

105 Remains of Roman city gates, roads and sidewalks, and a Roman rampart were found in the area. On the inside of the gates, to the south, the remains of a Roman domus were identified, and outside the gates, in the sea and on the opposite bank, the remains of a bridge and a road along which the necropolis was located. A little farther north, the remains of a pier, necropolis and the temple of Jupiter Sabazius Icus were discovered in the area of the Ždrijac (Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 32–34, 46, 83–84, 116).

## KRATICE

## ABBREVIATIONS

AMS-ARHIV (Don L. Jelić) – Arheološki muzej u Splitu, arhiv don L. Jelića, pozicija V, sv. 13–1, ninski spomenici, opis gradskog trga

HR-DAST – Državni arhiv u Splitu

HR-DAZD – Državni arhiv u Zadru

MK-UZKB-OMS – Ministarstvo kulture i medija Republike Hrvatske, Ured za zaštitu kulturne baštine, ostavština Mijata Sabljara

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# THE COIN FINDS FROM THE SURVEY AND THE EXCAVATION IN STREBERSDORF (BURGENLAND, AUSTRIA) ON THE AMBER ROAD (2008–2017)

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*In the course of research by the Austrian Archaeological Institute (ÖAW) between 2008 and 2017 in the area of the Amber Road in eastern Austria, a military camp dating to the early imperial period was discovered near Strebersdorf, from which 452 coin finds were recovered by means of detector survey. Findings of coins from the region date back more than 100 years, published in 1984 in the series *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Österreich (FMRÖ)*. In the following, the finds from the survey will be analysed numismatically, focusing at first on the question of the beginning of military presence on site. Furthermore, the development of the settlement up to the 4th century is traced, and the end of coin circulation and settlement activity is also examined. The beginning of coin circulation in Strebersdorf can be determined as falling in late Augustan / early Tiberian times, which suggests that the earliest military camp was established in the wake of the expansions under Augustus, and probably in close*

*connection with the Pannonian Revolt (6–9 AD). In late Tiberian / early Claudian times, the coin supply broke up, and obviously the camp was abandoned. After this, the coin finds no longer occur in the core area of the former military camp, but shift to the vicus, which takes a clear upswing from the times of Trajan and Hadrian onwards. A renewed military presence from Hadrian onwards is suggested not only by increasing numbers of coin finds, but also by the facts that the Amber Road, as a supply road to the Danube, had to be secured, and that local iron mining was being conducted. The settlement seems also to have participated in the general economic upswing in the Severan period. From then on, the finds occur almost exclusively in the area of the street settlement, which apparently developed as an economic centre. In the 4th century, too, uninterrupted development can be expected, with an absolute peak of monetary activity being reached in the 2nd half of the century.*

**Key words:**

*Numismatics, coin finds, Roman coins, Roman military site, Amber Road, Roman coin circulation, coinage*

The municipality of Strebersdorf is located in Eastern Austria and belongs to the political district of Oberpullendorf, in Central Burgenland. It is in the transition area to the Little Hungarian Plain and thus to the Pannonian Plain. The village lies on a large plain, which is cut by the River Rabnitz. There are two streams – the Raiding and the Stoob – flowing into this river. To the west of the place where the Raiding and the Stoob flow together there is the investigated site of Strebersdorf – an area of more than 40 ha – located directly on the Amber Road, halfway between the *colonia Savaria* and the *municipium Scarabantia* (Map 1). Not only the convenient location as a transport hub, but also large depos-

its of bog iron ore (*Raseneisenerz*) on site, provided good conditions for the erection of a military camp and the development of a *vicus*. Due to numerous findings of smelting slag near the military camp, the existence of furnaces is assumed, which connects iron smelting with the military presence. Therefore the site is very important for a new interpretation of the provincial development of military posts, taking into account local economic resources. The results of the surveys, the geophysical prospections and the archaeological excavation are being analysed by a long-term research project at the Austrian Archaeological Institute.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.oeaw.ac.at/oeai/forschung/militaerische-infrastruktur-und-verkehrswegen/bernsteinstrasse-transitroute-und-militaerpraesenz/> (3 March 2020; 16:00).





MAP 1. Topographical situation of Strebersdorf on the Amber Road. (By S. Groh, Austrian Archaeological Institute / ÖAW).

In 2007, the Austrian Archaeological Institute started a research project on the Amber Road in the region of Burgenland, eastern Austria, under the direction of Stefan Groh.<sup>2</sup> The main research activities encompassed the local communities of Strebersdorf and Frankenau, where archaeologists located a *vicus* along the road and three consecutive military camps within a short period of time in the early Principate period. For more than 100 years Roman coins were found at the site, until Franziska Dick, in 1984, published 1810 coin finds from Strebersdorf and 52 from Frankenau included in a catalogue as volume 1/2 of the series *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Österreich*.

The material of the following numismatic analysis is based on the coin finds of the military and civilian settlement area of Strebersdorf and Frankenau on the Amber Road. The largest part (n=450) was found by metal-detector surveys between 2008 and 2017 in the area of Strebersdorf. All these finds were mapped by

exact GPS coordinates. In addition, 2 coins were found in 2008 during archaeological excavations in Frankenau.<sup>3</sup>

These finds (n=452), specifically located in the area of the military camp, the street settlement and its surroundings, are firstly analysed numismatically and secondly compared with the stray finds known from the find zone and published by Franziska Dick (FMRÖ 1/2). In this report the denominations follow the scheme of the Vienna School, the datings of the coins conforming to RIC and MIR.

By chronological period, Republican and Julio-Claudian coins account for 17 % of the total material (Tab. 1). Flavian material is almost completely missing (0,5 %), and coins of the 2nd century and Severan pieces are also clearly underrepresented, while late antique coins of the 4th century predominate.

<sup>2</sup> Groh 2009; Groh, Sedlmayer 2019.

<sup>3</sup> The entire material from the survey is currently being examined at the Austrian Archaeological Institute (ÖAW).

## The early coins and the beginning of military presence

In order to verify and classify the beginning of coin circulation on site and the presence of Roman troops in Strebersdorf chronologically, the early – Augustan – coin finds must first be examined in more detail. For, with the appearance of certain Augustan series in the well-researched forts on the Rhine and

Lippe (*Nemausus*, *Lugdunum* and moneyers' issues), a precise instrument was created that can also be applied to military sites in a wider geographical area. Although in Strebersdorf we are dealing exclusively with surface finds without stratigraphic context, clear conclusions can be drawn from the composition of the coins and the prevalence of individual coin series with respect to the beginning of the earliest camp on site.

PERIOD	TOTAL NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Republican	14	3
23 BC–AD 68	60	14
69–96	2	0.5
96–192	26	6
193–238	8	2
238–294	39	9
294–348	112	25.5
348–378	169	39
378–400	6	1
	436	100

**TABLE 1.** Coin finds from the survey/excavation in Strebersdorf by chronological period (n=436, excluding unspecified coins). (By U. Schachinger).

We count a total of 64 coins from the Republican and Augustan periods, which represents 50 % of the entire material of the Principate period. The prevalence of these early coins clearly relates to an early Imperial military presence.

The following can be seen from an overview of Tab. 2:

- 1) Of a total of 55 aes coins, 21 are halved, which corresponds to a percentage of 38 %.
- 2) Among the *Nemausus* and *Lugdunum* series, only the later ones from the time after 7/3 BC are documented. All of them are halved. With 4 pieces, they form only a minor part of the total find inventory.
- 3) In addition, there is a halved *Copia* type, as well as 6 halved Republican asses.
- 4) Augustan moneyers' series are most frequent (25 coins), among them only 4 halved and 3 with the identical countermark AVG.
- 5) The silver coins include 5 Republican *denarii* and 2 *quinarii*, 2 of which bear punchmarks.
- 6) Of the Augustan silver series, only 2 CL CAESARES *denarii* are documented, one of which is halved.

**TABLE 2.** Republican and Augustan coins from the survey/excavation in Strebersdorf (n=64). (By U. Schachinger).

TYPE	DATE	TOTAL NUMBER	HALVED	COUNTER-MARKS	PUNCH-MARKS
D Republican	109/108–42 BC	5			2
Qui Republican	89/88 BC	2			
As Republican	189–89 BC	6	6 (1 quartered)		
Copia Dp	36 BC	1	1		
As Asia	25 BC	1			
CL CAESARES	2/1 BC, AD 5	2	1		
Lug I/II	7/3 BC–AD 10/14	2	2		
Lug II	AD 10/14	1	1		
Nem III	AD 10/14	1	1		
Moneyers' Ser. II	16/15 BC	3			
Moneyers' Ser. IV	3/2 BC	6		2 AVG (lig.)	
Moneyers' unspecified	16–2 BC	16	4	1 AVG (lig.)	
Moneyers' Qd	9–4 BC	4			
As RIC 471	AD 10/12	2			
As Augustus unspecified		12	7		
TOTAL		64	23	3	2

Since Republican silver remained in circulation for a long time and was only increasingly sifted out under Nero, who issued *denarii* with lower weight and silver content, we shall first take a look at the *aes* coinage. Republican bronze is less suitable for this purpose, however, as it remained in circulation for a long time due to irregular output, especially in post-Sullan times. Augustan bronze series, which are regarded as 'guide fossils', are therefore primarily suitable for precise dating of archaeological complexes. In the following, the dating derived by Frank Berger from the finds of Kalkriese will be used for the most important Augustan bronze series,<sup>4</sup> although their dates are not entirely uncontradicted in numismatics.<sup>5</sup>

First of all, the find inventory from the Hunerberg, near Nijmegen, is to be used as an example of an early military site, the first phase of which is documented from 19 to 12/10 BC. After its abandonment in 12/10 BC, the fort was replaced by a smaller camp on the Kops Plateau. Fleur Kemmers examined the entire coin finds in the context of the archaeological stratigraphy and verified 61 coins from Augustan features.<sup>6</sup> No silver coins dating after 29/27 BC could be verified, and no bronze coins dating after 15 BC. The Augustan circulation money consisted mainly of Republican *asses*, DIVOS IVLIOS types (38 BC), Copia/Vienna issues (38/36 BC), *Nemausus* I types (16/15–8 BC) and moneyers' series II (16/15 BC), with a clear emphasis on Republican bronzes. However, half of these were minted after 44 BC, a quarter were coins minted before 44 BC, and the rest represents Celtic and Augustan material. Almost 75 % of the bronze coins were halved, including all Republican *asses*; 80 % of the transition-period coins were halved, and only 30 % of the Augustan coins. Halving thus decreased as time went on. In addition, not a single bronze coin bore a countermark, especially not the *Nemausus* and moneyers' series, which in later periods were often countermarked. While half of the circulating bronze coins consisted of Republican coins (including coins of the transition period), silver money consisted exclusively of Republican issues up to the Caesarian period. Legionary *denarii* of Mark Antony (32/31 BC) did not occur in Augustan features; thus, they did not appear in finds until after 12/10 BC. Furthermore, no Republican *denarii* with punchmarks were found. The practice of punchmarking Republican silver coins in order to check their fineness must have appeared after 12/10 BC. Hence, the absence of legionary *denarii* and punchmarks can be taken as an indication of an early circulation volume.

In Strebersdorf, Republican coins make up only 3 % of the total quantity of coin finds, while 14 % can be assigned to the Julio-Claudian period. If only the coins from Principate (including Republican) times are taken into account, Republican material makes up about 10 %, with 40 % originating from the Julio-Claudian period. However, only 3 coins are documented from the transition period: 2 *denarii* of 42 BC (Cra 494/43a and Cra 496/1) and 1 halved Copia *dupondius* from *Lugdunum* of 36 BC (RPC 515). This already represents a first striking difference

from the Hunerberg, where almost half is transitional material. Adding the bronze-coin evidence, the presence of exclusively halved Republican *asses* shows a parallel, but other features no longer stand up to comparison. The latest coin finds from the Hunerberg are *Nemausus* I and moneyers' II types, whereas no early *Nemausus* coins of the first series (16/15–8 BC) are documented in Strebersdorf, as are only a few of the two *Lugdunum* altar series (7/3 BC and 10/14 AD). Among the moneyers' coins, those of the 4th series, of 3/2 BC, predominate over those of the 2nd series, of 16/15 BC.<sup>7</sup>

In Strebersdorf moneyers' series, Augustan bronze coins predominate. Furthermore, all *Nemausus* and *Lugdunum* coins are halved. Among the Augustan bronze coins there are also numerous halved pieces. In addition, there are 3 Augustan *asses* with the identical countermark AVG (AV ligated). In silver, the absence of legionary *denarii* of Mark Antony could point to an earlier spectrum, but also the presence of only 2 Republican *denarii* with punchmarks, a phenomenon that obviously only appears from the Middle Augustan period onwards, would not contradict this. On the other hand, the two CL CAESARES *denarii* (RIC 207 of 2/1 BC and RIC 207–212, halved, not more closely specifiable than from 2 BC to 5 AD) rather refer to late Augustan circulation.<sup>8</sup> In addition, Celtic coins are present in Augustan features on the Hunerberg, while they are completely missing in Strebersdorf. Thus, the factors mentioned above, and especially the strong presence of moneyers' issues, and halved and countermarked Augustan *asses*, speak against a beginning of military presence in early Augustan times.

Whether this date is reliable has now to be shown by means of a few comparisons with military sites which have been thoroughly examined numismatically. The best-researched forts of early Principate times are those on the Rhine and Lippe; for Pannonia and the Balkans there is insufficient data available. Although the camps on the Rhine and Lippe frontier are only short-lived, nevertheless the presence or absence of individual series in Strebersdorf does limit the time frame for the erection of the first camp. The aim is to show which series did not come here any more because their circulation peak had already been exceeded, and which are already present in larger numbers, thus providing a terminus *ad/post quem*. In particular, it has to be examined whether *Nemausus* I types are already present, and furthermore what the ratios are of *Nemausus* II / *Lugdunum* I to moneyers' and *Nemausus* III / *Lugdunum* II types. From the prevalence of these individual series, references can be derived to the beginning of military presence on site.

The Oberaden fort, for example, existed only for a short period of time between 11 and 8 BC. As expected, the early *Nemausus* I series (16/15–8 BC) is also the most strongly represented among the relevant *aes* series. *Lugdunum* I (7/3 BC) and moneyers' series do not occur; nor do CL CAESARES *denarii* (2/1 BC and 5 AD).<sup>9</sup> In Strebersdorf a much later spectrum is present with *Lugdunum*

4 Berger 1996, 34–44.

5 Summarized in Ziegas 2015, 157–159.

6 Kemmers 2006, 26–43.

7 Revaluation of moneyers' series, Küter 2014.

8 Dating of the CL CAESARES *denarii*, Wolters 2002.

9 Berger 1996, 33.

I/II and *Nemausus* III asses, especially with moneyers' issues, which are mainly halved.

The camp of Haltern was in use a little later than Oberaden. It was founded in 7/5 BC and abandoned in 9 AD. Accordingly, *Lugdunum* I asses (7/3 BC) occur most frequently here, followed by moneyers' issues, only a small number of which are halved. In contrast, the late *Lugdunum* II series (10/14 AD) is completely missing.<sup>10</sup> However, this series is testified to in Strebersdorf – in halved form – as the proportion of halved coins is much higher in Strebersdorf. Although some similarities to the Haltern material can be found, the lack of clearly assignable *Lugdunum* I asses argues for a later date for the beginning of military presence in Strebersdorf.

The same applies to Kalkriese, whose circulation pattern for bronze coins is similar to that of Haltern. Here, too, *Lugdunum* I asses predominate;<sup>11</sup> pieces of the former type *Nemausus* I are no longer present. These predominate exclusively in earlier camps, such as Oberaden, Rödgen and Dangstetten. Thus sites such as Haltern and Kalkriese, where *Lugdunum* I types predominate, represent a later phase, which brings Frank Berger to see three chronologically consecutive phases:<sup>12</sup> the first phase marks the time from the occupation until the death of Drusus by the presence of the early *Nemausus* I series (16/15–8 BC), the second phase from the abandonment of Oberaden until the end of Haltern in 9 AD by *Lugdunum* I asses (7/3 BC), and the third the attempts of *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* (12–16 AD) by the numerous presence of Augustan moneyers' issues. Accordingly, *Lugdunum* I types which have not yet been halved are predominantly found in Kalkriese. They circulated until the arrival of *Varus*, who affixed the countermark VAR. The absence of *Lugdunum* II asses (10/14 AD) and moneyers' issues indicates the earlier end of Kalkriese.<sup>13</sup> We can therefore classify Strebersdorf with some certainty to the time after 9 AD.

The fact that the Roman military presence in Strebersdorf starts no later than the early years of *Tiberius*'s reign is to be shown exemplarily in comparison to the Claudian fort of Rißtissen. This cohort camp, situated on the road to *Brigantium*, was founded around 45/50 AD and abandoned in 69 AD. At first glance, the coin finds already show a clear emphasis on the 1st century,<sup>14</sup> especially with Tiberian and Claudian issues. The earliest coins include 1 moneyers' IV issue (3/2 BC) with countermark and two *Lugdunum* II types (10/14 AD). Augustan material from the military area is rare; a clear increase in the number of coin finds is manifested in Tiberian times by numerous *Providentia* asses (MIR 29-6; 16–22 AD) and the somewhat later *Agrippa* asses (MIR 24-6; 39 AD). These types circulated more and more in the 30s in *Raetia* and are especially well documented in Claudian forts.<sup>15</sup>

The same phenomenon can be observed in the legionary fortress of *Carnuntum*,<sup>16</sup> where *Providentia* and *Agrippa* asses dominated the contemporary *aes* circulation.

Although a few *Providentia* and DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER types have been found in Strebersdorf, the predominance of much earlier material (Republican silver and halved *aes* coins, *Nemausus* and *Lugdunum* types, moneyers' issues) confirms an earlier military presence than in Rißtissen.

The military settlement on the Auerberg, which was founded around 12/13 AD, has a similar inventory of coins to that of Strebersdorf.<sup>17</sup> The settlement existed for about 30 years and was abandoned at the end of the 30s, or the beginning of the 40s at the latest. Among the bronze coins, *Lugdunum* types predominate, with both series being equally well represented.<sup>18</sup> Moneyers' issues are not that frequently documented among the coin finds (although series II and IV are in balance) and *Nemausus* I types are only found in very small numbers. Bernward Ziegeus noted that *Lugdunum* I asses arrived on site first, after which *Lugdunum* II, and that both series reached a balance at about the time the place was abandoned. A predominance of *Lugdunum* II types would have indicated a longer existence of the settlement, as in Tenedo/Zurzach or *Vindonissa*.<sup>19</sup> In Strebersdorf, the stronger presence of moneyers' issues should indicate that it is posterior to the settlement on the Auerberg. However, taking into consideration a direct supply from Italy and a decreasing frequency of the *Nemausus* and *Lugdunum* series towards the east,<sup>20</sup> a date of foundation at about the same time can not be ruled out completely.

At this point, a comparison with the early military camp of *Brigantium* (on the Ölrain) seems reasonable. The coins from the early, late-Augustan-Tiberian camp layers from stratified contexts show a very similar composition to that in Strebersdorf.<sup>21</sup> As in Strebersdorf, Republican bronzes – almost exclusively halved – are also present at the Ölrain. Furthermore, there are the relevant Augustan *aes* series, which are also largely halved. These include *Nemausus* I asses (16/15–8 BC) and *Lugdunum* I asses (7/3 BC), which are present in approximately equal proportions. However, the largest part of the Augustan bronze coins is formed by *Lugdunum* II asses (10/14 AD) and moneyers' issues, which also predominate in Strebersdorf. Thus, according to Arpad Langer, the coin finds from the Ölrain clearly argue against an early-Augustan foundation of the camp, because such a date would presume the predominance of *Nemausus* I and *Lugdunum* I types.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, while 50 % of all *Lugdunum* asses from the Ölrain are halved, among the moneyers' types – similar to Strebersdorf – only about 20 % are halved (see Tab. 2). Although Augustan moneyers' issues only came to the north-west and the

10 Berger 1996, 33.

11 Berger 1996, 33.

12 Berger 1996, 34.

13 Berger 1996, 34–38.

14 Kemkes 1996, 281–305.

15 Mackensen 1987, 51–53.

16 Vondrovec 2007, 94–97; 198.

17 In the following after Ziegeus 2015.

18 Ziegeus 2015, 152–157.

19 Ziegeus 2015, 155.

20 Kos 1986, 36–37 f.

21 Langer 2017, 137–152.

22 Cf. van Heesch 1999, 351; Peter 1991, 119; Ziegeus 2015, 191 f., does not exclude the existence of a military post during the time of occupation, 191–192.



Rhine forts in (early) Tiberian times,<sup>23</sup> in *Brigantium* they probably arrived earlier due to the topographical situation,<sup>24</sup> which again suggests an early- or pre-Tiberian foundation date for the camp. This date is confirmed by the sparse presence of counter-marked Augustan asses. The most common moneyers' series in *Brigantium* is the 4th (3/2 BC), which was also the most frequently countermarked: evidence that is almost entirely identical to that of Strebersdorf. Most of the countermarks on the coins from the Ölrain can be attributed to early Tiberian times;<sup>25</sup> those on the Strebersdorf pieces (AVG with ligated AV) may be dated somewhat earlier in relative chronology.

However, the early coin inventory of Strebersdorf shows strong parallels to the early features of the camp of *Brigantium* (Ölrain) and those of the Auerberg. Decisive for a foundation date for Strebersdorf in the late Augustan / early Tiberian period is the predominance of moneyers' issues, largely without countermarks. This argues for their arrival directly from Italy and not from the Northwest of the empire, where they arrived in targeted deliveries after the *Lugdunum* and *Nemausus* series and were then officially countermarked before being paid out to the troops.<sup>26</sup> Since there are hardly any countermarks on the coins found in Strebersdorf, a later arrival from the Northwest is unlikely. The sparse presence of *Nemausus* and *Lugdunum* asses – all halved – also suggests an arrival of these coins on site only in late Augustan / early Tiberian times. Furthermore, the two CL CAESARES *denarii*, which are generally attributed to the middle and late Augustan circulation,<sup>27</sup> do not contradict the evidence. Moreover, the military context is also clearly visible in the coin spectrum of Strebersdorf, which is particularly reflected in the presence of the 'guiding fossils' (moneyers' series, *Nemausus* and *Lugdunum* asses in halved form, halved Republican bronzes, countermark AVG).

As early as 1986, Peter Kos established a correlation between halved asses and the presence of *quadrantes* in the south-eastern Alpine region.<sup>28</sup> Of the Republican and Augustan aes coins from Strebersdorf, 40 % are halved (more rarely quartered). This high proportion correlates with the complete absence of *quadrantes*. Regarding the circulation volume in the south-eastern Alpine region, Kos notes that it is generally characterized by a lower presence of *Lugdunum* and *Nemausus* types (*Celeia* 15.7 %; *Emona*, *Poetovio* and *Magdalensberg* even lower percentages; same situation in the *Cisalpinia*);<sup>29</sup> these coins were not regularly transferred to *Illyricum* in scheduled deliveries by the legions from *Germania* and *Raetia* during the Pannonian Revolt between 6 and 9 AD, even if their scarce occurrence does not necessarily

rule out a connection with the deployment of troops. Kos estimated their percentage of the total find volume in the south-eastern Alpine region at a maximum of 15 %. Correspondingly, their proportion in Strebersdorf is low, and all pieces are halved. In addition, the Augustan moneyers' series dominate the south-eastern Alpine region (*Celeia* 69 %, *Emona* 61 %), comprising a considerable quantity of halved pieces (*Celeia* 58 %, *Emona* 32 %). According to Peter Kos, the phenomenon of the halving of moneyers' issues is attributed to the late Augustan / early Tiberian period.<sup>30</sup>

With regard to the Augustan bronze coins found in Strebersdorf, two phenomena can be identified. On the one hand, there are the few pieces of the *Nemausus* and *Lugdunum* series, which were already halved when they arrived here. The halving probably took place in the north-western provinces, their region of origin, in the middle Augustan period.<sup>31</sup> Thus they came to Strebersdorf only at a later moment, possibly late Augustan / early Tiberian times. On the other hand, there are the numerous halved moneyers' issues. In Italy, moneyers' issues dominated the circulating volume shortly after their production and spread at about the same time in *Noricum* and *Pannonia*.<sup>32</sup> There, they were probably increasingly halved due to the demand for smaller coin units. In contrast, they did not arrive in the north-western provinces until the Tiberian period.<sup>33</sup> So the evidence suggests that in Strebersdorf we are dealing with a late Augustan / early Tiberian circulation volume.

Among the Augustan bronze coins there are 3 specimens with countermarks. Of these, 2 are pieces of the moneyers' series IVb (RIC 431 and RIC 432) and 1 unspecified moneyers' issue, possibly belonging to the same series.

All 3 pieces bear the identical countermark AVG (AV ligated).<sup>34</sup> Ulrich Werz dates it to the period between 9 and 14 AD and states that it was affixed primarily to *Lugdunum* I and moneyers' issues.<sup>35</sup> Kos verified the same countermark in the south-eastern Alpine region most frequently on moneyers' types and dates it to the late Augustan / early Tiberian period.<sup>36</sup> It is particularly attested to in *Pannonia* and *Carnuntum*,<sup>37</sup> so it is listed by Rodolfo Martini as "*Carnuntum* type".<sup>38</sup> Thus, the presence of only 3 countermarked moneyers' asses could suggest that the influx of these pieces on site, relatively chronologically speaking, dates somewhat later than the halved asses. However, by no means do they contradict a late Augustan / early Tiberian beginning for the military presence.

23 Berger 1996, 39; van Heesch 1999, 349; Peter 2001, 49–53; Wigg 1999, 338.

24 Langer 2017, 147–148 f.

25 Langer 2017, 51–56.

26 Wigg 1999, 338–340.

27 Berger 1996, 31.

28 Kos 1986, 37–39; further for the Lower Rhine region, Kemmers 2006, 151–165.

29 Kos 1986, 37 ("In the area of the southeastern Alps, however, the *Nemausus* asses and 'altar' aes of *Lugdunum* have a much smaller share in the Augustan aes than that of the mint of Rome").

30 Also Chantraine 1982, 25 f.; Kemmers 2006, 86; against Krmnicek 2010, 101 f. (Augustan times), 25–26.

31 Kemmers 2006, 86; Chantraine 1999, 299.

32 Krmnicek 2010, 102–105.

33 Van Heesch 1999, 349; Peter 2001, 49–53.

34 Werz 2004, No. 33.

35 See also Ziegauš 2015, 183, 186–189.

36 Kos, Šemrov 1995, 51–52 f.

37 Berger 1996, 51, dates it after AD 11/12.

38 Martini 2003, No. 75 with slightly different dating.

Hence the territory around Strebersdorf was developed by the Romans in the course of the Augustan expansion policy in *Pannonia* carried out by *Tiberius* between 12 and 9 BC. The occupation of *Pannonia* was further caused by economic considerations: on the one hand by bog iron ore deposits in the whole region, and on the other hand by fertile farmland. In *Scarabantia*, which Pliny calls *oppido Scarabantia Iulia*,<sup>39</sup> a trading post had already been founded in Augustan times. The further development of the region was achieved by military posts, however. In *Poetovio* a first military camp was established in 15 BC. The territories conquered between 12 and 9 BC were placed together with *Noricum* under a military administration which had its headquarters in *Carnuntum*. The uprising of Pannonian and Dalmatian tribes in 6 AD required the stationing of a legion in *Poetovio* (*legio VIII Augusta*), and a short time afterwards, in 9 AD, a first fort was also built in *Savaria*. At about the same time the Amber Road was extended as a supply route to the Danube and also as a trade route, which caused the erection of stations and camps. However, the construction of the earliest camp in Strebersdorf has to be seen against the background of the economic development along the area of the Amber Road shortly after the Pannonian Revolt. A first troop shifting from the Northwest or West towards *Illyricum* may be reflected on site in the presence of *Copia*, *Lugdunum* and *Nemausus* types. However, the large number of moneyers' issues speaks of a systematic supply of the troops – probably the ala Pannoniorum coming from *Dalmatia*.<sup>40</sup>

### Changes in circulation patterns during the 1st century AD

In the following, it will be examined how the coin curve develops in the 1st century after the clear initial peak in the late Augustan / early Tiberian period, whether continuous development can be assumed, or whether a break in the coin supply is manifested. Even at first glance, a decline in the number of coin finds in the post-Augustan period is obvious (Fig. 1).

From the Tiberian period, there are 8 *aes* coins in total, the latest being an *as* of the 7th and last emission of 36/37 AD (MIR 63-6). This suggests regular use of coins in the military settlement of Strebersdorf at least until the end of Tiberius's reign. However, the strong decrease compared with the Augustan inventory is striking. The Tiberian coin finds consist of 3 *Providentia asses* (MIR 29-6; 16–22 AD), 1 *DIVVS AVGVSTVS*-Livia type (MIR 27-6; 14–15 AD), 1 *DIVVS AVGVSTVS*-thunderbolt type (MIR 63-6; 36–37 AD), 1 *sestertius* and 1 *as* of 21/22 AD (RIC 48 and RIC 44), and 1 *Drusus as* (MIR 38-6; 22–34 AD).

Among these 8 coins the numerously issued *Providentia* series accounts for only 3 coins, which is just one third of the Tiberian coin stock. Higher percentages are regularly found at numerous sites not only in *Raetia*, *Noricum* and *Pannonia*, as for example in *Brigantium*<sup>42</sup> or *Carnuntum*<sup>43</sup>, but also in *Augusta Raurica*<sup>44</sup> and *Noviomagus*<sup>45</sup>. Continuing circulation of this type can be

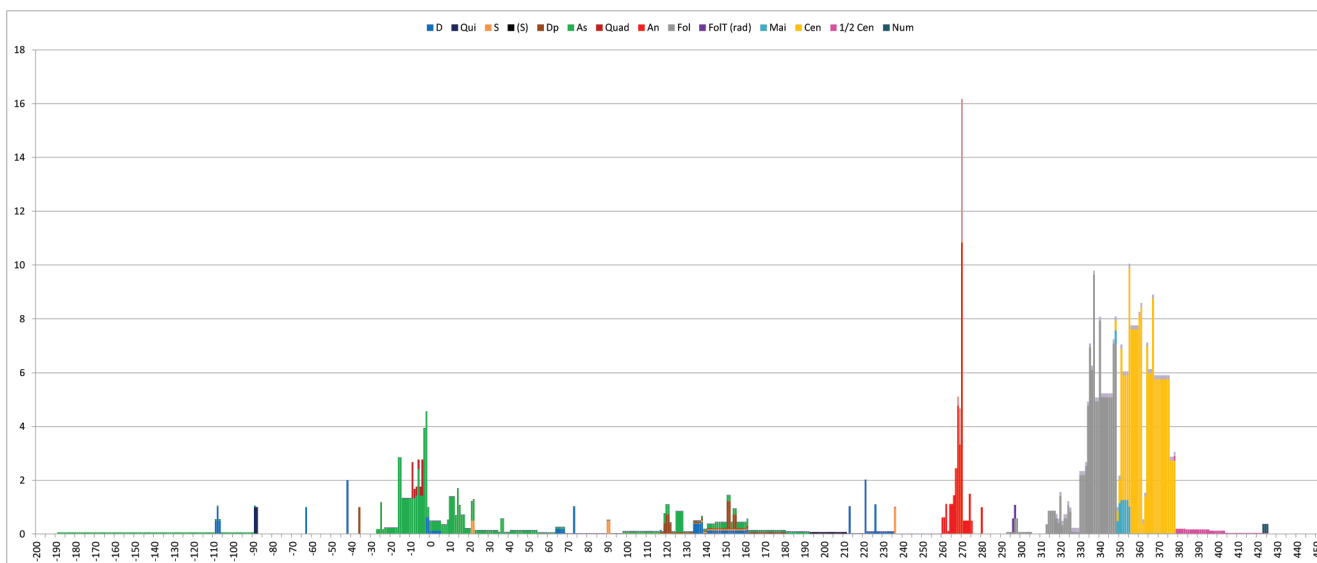


FIGURE 1. Coin finds from the survey/excavation in Strebersdorf (x-axis: date; y-axis: total number of coins) (n=452).<sup>41</sup> (By U. Schachinger).

39 *HN* 3. 146.

40 Groh 2009, 181.

41 The graphs map each coin per year on the x-axis. If a coin cannot be dated to one exact year, in each year an equivalent part is recorded. So that if a coin had been minted over a time period of five years, each year on the x-axis comprises one fifth, or 0.2. On the y-axis, the number of coin finds is recorded.

42 Langer 2017, 61 f.; 149–150 f.

43 Vondrovec 2007, 94.

44 Peter 2001, 59–62.

45 Kemmers 2006, 86–88.

EMPEROR	D	S	DP	AS	QUAD	TOTAL
Augustus (27 BC–AD 14)	2			44	4	50
Tiberius (14–37)		1		1		2
for Divus Augustus				5		5
for Drusus				1		1
Caligula (37–41)						0
Claudius I (41–54)				1		1
Nero (54–68)	1					1
Vespasian (69–79)	1					1
Titus (79–81)						0
Domitian (81–96)		1				1

TABLE 3. Coins from the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods from the survey/excavation in Strebersdorf (27 BC–AD 96) (n=62). (By U. Schachinger).

assumed until the Flavian period.<sup>46</sup> In *Augusta Raurica*, according to Markus Peter, *Providentia asses* make up the majority of the Tiberian-to-Neronian circulation volume; in terms of numbers, they are ten times more frequent than Tiberian bronzes themselves. In comparison, however, *Providentia asses* are seriously underrepresented in Strebersdorf. It is possible that the *Providentia* type had not yet reached its circulation peak when it arrived on site. In many places this peak occurs in post-Tiberian times, especially under Claudius I,<sup>47</sup> which means that a supply to Strebersdorf in late Tiberian / early Claudian times did not take place in the usual quantities. A further reason for the assumption of an interrupted coin supply is the complete absence of Agrippa *asses* minted under Caligula (37–41). Both series – *Providentia* and Agrippa *asses* – are regularly present in large quantities at Claudian sites, such as at the above-mentioned Claudian fort of Ribtissen<sup>48</sup>, in *Brigantium*<sup>49</sup> or in *Carnuntum*<sup>50</sup>.

As in Strebersdorf, so on the Auerberg, too: Agrippa *asses* are missing, and there are only a few DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER and *Providentia* types. The date of the abandonment of the settlement on the Auerberg has been assumed to fall in late Tiberian times, but the presence of 1 *as* of Claudius<sup>51</sup> could postpone the date of abandonment into early Claudian times. This coin also shows traces of burning and seems to play an important role in the chronology of the site.

Among the survey finds of Strebersdorf there is also one single Claudian *as*, but it is very worn, so it cannot be dated exactly. The piece also appears to have been burnt. At first sight, the coin raises more questions than it gives answers. However, looking at the

inventory of coins from the time after Tiberius until the end of the Flavian period, a possible explanation for its presence can be found. Only 4 coins from the post-Tiberian and Flavian periods are documented. These are the above-mentioned Claudian *as*, 1 *denarius* of Nero (RIC 55; 64/65 AD) and 1 *denarius* of Vespasian for Titus (RIC 517; 73 AD), as well as 1 moderately worn *sestertius* of Domitian from 90/91 (RIC 702), all of them minted in Rome. The Neronian *denarius* dates from the time after the reform and already has a lower weight and fineness than previous items from Republican and early Principate times. It therefore aligns with the later Flavian and post-Flavian *denarii* of the 2nd century. Both *denarii* – that of Nero and that of Vespasian – are moderately worn, indicating that they remained in circulation for a lengthy period of time. These 2 pieces could therefore be attributed to a later circulation volume. The moderately worn *sestertius* of 90/91 AD also fits well into the circulating volume of the 2nd century. During the 2nd century a shift in the bronze denominations towards larger units is documented. This means that, in the 2nd half of the century, larger denominations, e.g. *sestertii*, predominate.<sup>52</sup> Therefore the presence of this single Flavian *sestertius* can also be explained as part of the circulation volume of the later 2nd century.

Only the Claudian *as* mentioned above is left without explanation. As on the Auerberg, it is a single specimen at the end of a continuous Augustan-Tiberian coin curve. Like the coin from the Auerberg, it shows traces of slag due to the impact of heat. Unfortunately, it is a stray find from the surface without archaeological context, so the coin cannot be associated either with a coherent fire/destruction layer or with a small-scale house fire.

46 Peter 2001, 61.

47 Peter 2001, 61.

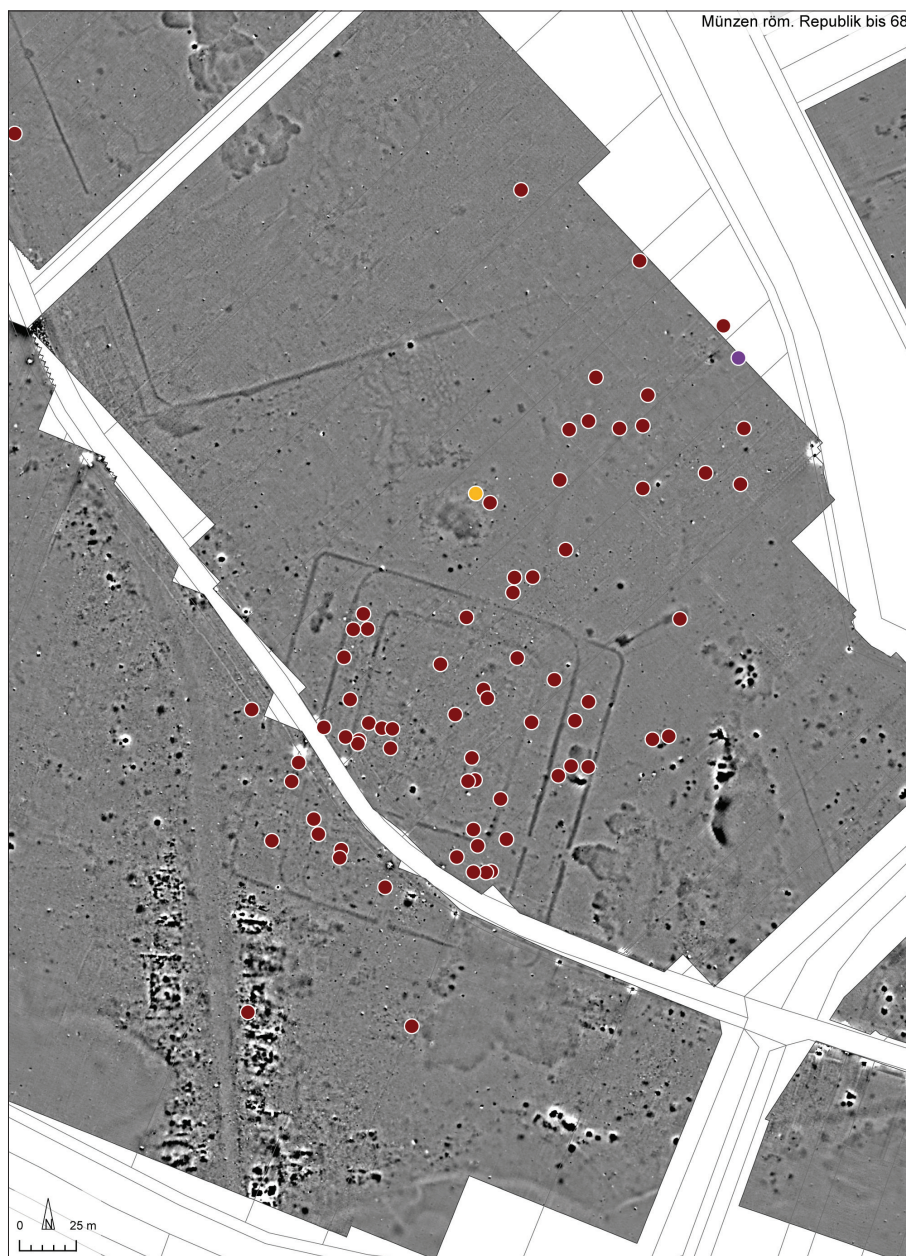
48 Kemkes 1996, 281–305.

49 Langer 2017, 61–68.

50 Vondrovec 2007, 94–97.

51 Ziegeus 2015, n. 210 (RIC 95, 41/42 AD).

52 Peter 2001, 202–205; the same phenomenon emerges also in the forts at the *Limes in Noricum* (Schachinger 2017a, 315 f.).



**MAP 2.** Distribution of the coins from Republican and Principate times up to AD 68 from the survey in Strebersdorf. (By K. Freitag, Austrian Archaeological Institute / ÖAW).

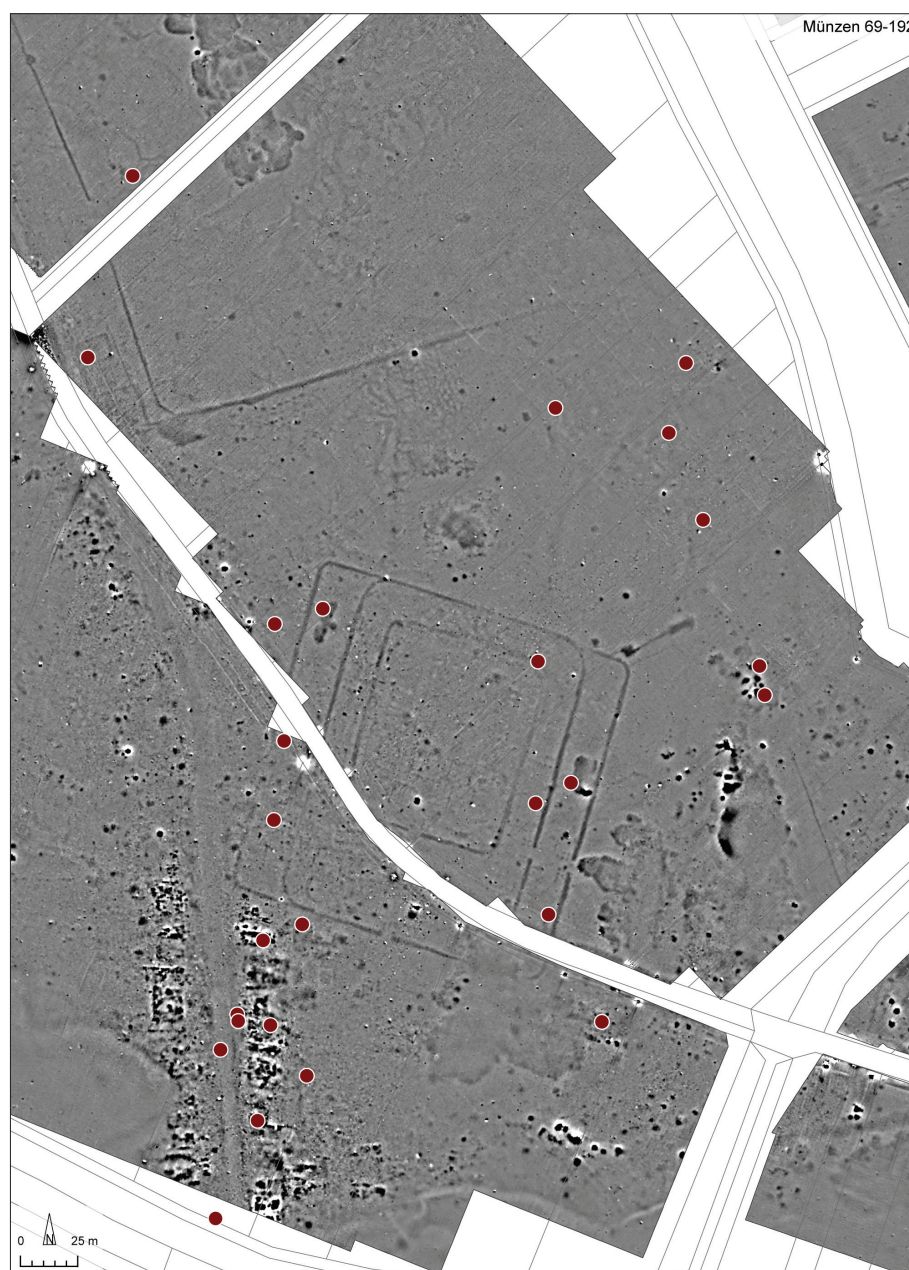
In addition, the exact find spot of this coin is documented as outside the camp walls (Map 2, yellow marking), where an older part of the Amber Road was discovered. This means that it does not necessarily have to relate to the camp. However, it seems to be certain that the coin supply in Strebersdorf ceased in post-Tiberian times. This break-off could therefore be dated – as on the Auerberg – to early Claudian times. However, taking into account the lack of Agrippa asses and the scarce presence of Providentia types, we can assume that coin circulation was interrupted in the camp of Strebersdorf in late Tiberian / early Claudian times.

In summary, it can be stated that coin circulation and coin supply in the military camp of Strebersdorf ceased in early Claudian times, which is supported by the declining number of Providentia types and the complete absence of Agrippa asses, as

well as the presence of 1 burnt Claudius *as*. Coin circulation does not start again until the later 2nd century. The camp was apparently abandoned in Claudian times, when the situation changed in *Pannonia* with the establishment of a civil administration. At the same time in *Poetovio*, *legio VIII* was replaced by *legio XIII*, to which extensive building activity stands witness.<sup>53</sup> At the same time, the *colonia Savaria* was deduced by veterans of *legio XV*. The settlement of Strebersdorf should be considered against the background of the further development of West Pannonia and the Amber Road.

53 Horvat *et al.* 2003, 155–157.





**MAP 3.** Distribution of the coins from 96 to 192 AD from the survey in Strebersdorf. (By K. Freitag, Austrian Archaeological Institute / ÖAW).

### The 2nd century and the Marcomannic Wars

Coins from the period between 96 and 192 AD account for a total of 6 % of Strebersdorf's total stock (Map 3), i.e. 26 coins that can be precisely identified. Considering only the coins up to the end of the Principate period, the percentage increases to 17 %, a rather small amount compared with the material of the early Principate period. In addition, there are 6 asses that cannot be precisely specified: they could just as well be earlier pieces, especially since there are 2 halved specimens among them.

There are two preliminary questions to be asked about the coin material:

- 1) When did coin circulation in the settlement area restart after the break-off in the early Claudian period?
- 2) Are the Marcomannic Wars reflected in the pattern of coin finds?

Tab. 4 shows the distribution of coins by emperor. The absence of pieces of Nerva and the scarce presence of coins of Trajan is striking. Only one strongly corroded as of Trajan is documented, which cannot be specified exactly due to its poor state of preservation. Therefore, it is not possible to determine whether it was minted in the earlier or later phase of Trajan's reign. Aes coins of the early years of Trajan show different circulation patterns than later ones. The early coins circulated together with Flavian material, while later pieces show the same circulation patterns as coins of the later 2nd century. Peter found out that the year 103 shows a caesura in the distribution of bronze denominations at several sites in the western provinces; the number of asses decreases, whereas *dupondii* and *sestertii* increase.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore

<sup>54</sup> Peter 2001, 93–99.

EMPEROR	D	S	DP	AS	TOTAL
Nerva (96–98)					0
Trajan (98–117)				1	1
Hadrian (117–138)	2		3	4	9
Trajan / Hadrian		1			1
Antoninus Pius (138–161)	3	1	4	4	12
M. Aurelius (161–180)			1		1
M. Aurelius / Commodus	1			1	2
TOTAL	6	2	8	10	26

TABLE 4. The coins from the period between 96 and 192 AD from the survey/excavation in Strebersdorf (n=26). (By U. Schachinger).

he noticed that bronze coins of Trajan minted before 103 AD are less worn than later ones, which also indicates a break in the circulation behaviour. Klaus Vondrovec observed a similar pattern in *Carnuntum*. Therefore he doubts whether the withdrawal of the legion in *Augusta Raurica* alone can be the reason for this.<sup>55</sup> However, since hardly any Flavian material from the Strebersdorf survey is present, one could possibly conclude that the coin of Trajan could have been minted in the later years of his reign.

With Hadrian, the coin curve rises again; there are 9 coins that can be assigned precisely, whereas for one specimen it cannot be exactly identified whether it is of Trajan or of Hadrian. None of the coins of Hadrian comes from the earliest period of his reign, shortly after 117 AD. The earliest pieces are assigned to the period of 119–121 AD; they comprise 1 *as* (RIC 579b) and 2 *dupondii* (RIC 604a), all moderately worn. In addition there are 3 *asses* of the strong minting period of 125–128 AD – heavily worn – and 2 *denarii* of the latest phase of 134–138 AD. Another *dupondius* cannot be dated exactly. Since all bronze coins show clear traces of circulation, they must have circulated for a long time. Therefore, these pieces are not suitable for a precise dating of the renewed beginning of coin circulation. An indication could possibly be provided by 1 freshly minted *denarius* of 134–138 AD (RIC 240d). Only its dies show signs of wear, noticeable in terms of blurry parts. It can therefore be assumed that coin use in Strebersdorf restarted during the reign of Hadrian, although it cannot be stated exactly whether it was in the early or late period of his reign.

If one looks at the presence and the total number of denominations (Tab. 4), it is noticeable that silver is quite strongly represented in relation to bronze. The ratio between silver and bronze coins within the period from 96 to 192 is about 1 : 3, i. e. there are 3 bronze coins to 1 silver. If we allocate the Neronian *denarius* (RIC 55) as well as the 2 Flavian coins (Vespasian for Titus, D, RIC

517; Domitian, S, RIC 702) to the circulation volume of the 2nd century – as said before – the ratio is 1 : 2.75. In general, the ratio of silver to bronze coins in civilian settlements is about 1 : 20 to a maximum of 1 : 10, e.g. 1 : 12 in *Iuvavum* and *Ovilavis* and 1 : 22 in *Virunum*.<sup>56</sup> At military sites, on the other hand, it is much higher, such as in Pöchlarn/*Arelape* at 1 : 2.5,<sup>57</sup> in Mautern/*Favianis* and Zwentendorf/*Asturis* at 1 : 4.5. However, despite the small number of coin finds in Strebersdorf in the 2nd century, a military component in the circulation volume can be determined quite clearly, since the money which the troops received in cash was regularly paid out in silver during this period.<sup>58</sup> The high ratio of silver to bronze certainly shows a pattern deviating from the normal distribution. The fact that the finds no longer occur only within the camp (Map 3) can be explained on the one hand by the expansion of the adjacent *vicus* as a centre of economic activity, and on the other hand by the expansion of iron mining, which probably presupposes the presence of soldiers – or at least some officials, such as *curatores*.

During the time of Antoninus Pius (138–161 AD) a continuous inflow of coins to Strebersdorf can be assumed. The number of coin finds increases slightly. For Diva Faustina I, 2 *denarii* and 2 *asses* were minted after 141 AD; the minting dates of the women's coins during the reign of Antoninus Pius have not yet been sufficiently discussed in numismatics, so the period between 141 and 161 is cited as dating for Diva Faustina coins. Coins of Antoninus Pius account for 46 % of the total coin finds from the period between 96 and 192 AD. A preponderance of coins from the period 138–161 AD can also be observed, for example in the fort at Pöchlarn/*Arelape*,<sup>59</sup> where coins from the time of Antoninus Pius are represented at 40 %, while the percentages

55 Vondrovec 2007, 123.

56 The data for *Ovilavis* and *Virunum* are taken from Vondrovec 2003 and Schmidt-Dick 1989.

57 Schachinger 2017a, 312.

58 Of course, an increasing number of *denarii* alone cannot be yielded exclusively as evidence for the presence of soldiers. In the early Principate times, soldiers received their pay – especially in the Rhine and Lippe camps – in bronze, as witnessed by coin finds. Even though the question of how the soldiers were paid has long been discussed, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD one can assume that the *stipendia* were paid mainly in *denarii*; cf. Speidel 1992, notably 87, n. 4 with further literature; see also Alston 1994.

59 Schachinger 2017a, 315–317.

of the other emperors of the 2nd century are 20 % and below. In towns such as *Virunum*, on the other hand, coins from Trajan up to M. Aurelius are more or less equally distributed between 20 % and 25 %. The same pattern as in *Virunum* can be noticed in *Iuvavum* and *Ovilavis*, where coins of the reign of Antoninus Pius form the largest part within the period 96–192 AD, but in total numbers the differences from Trajan up to M. Aurelius are small.

From M. Aurelius onwards, the number of coin finds in Strebersdorf is noticeably declining. From the period 161–180 AD only 1 *dupondius* – very badly preserved and therefore not exactly dateable – as well as 1 *denarius* and 1 *as* are documented, which can only be assigned vaguely either to M. Aurelius or to Commodus, due to corrosion. A sharp decline in the number of coin finds under M. Aurelius is also noticeable at the Norican Danube Limes, as for example in the military camp at Pöchlarn/*Arelape*<sup>60</sup> and in the *canabae* at *Lauriacum*<sup>61</sup>, where the presence of a mould for cast *denarii* indicates a decline in coin supply as early as the 160s.<sup>62</sup> At other military sites, such as Mautern/*Favianis*, however, the number of finds under M. Aurelius seems to be increasing,<sup>63</sup> which illustrates increased demand for money in this case. In the Norican towns to the north of the main Alpine ridge, such as *Iuvavum* and *Ovilavis*, the number of coin finds under M. Aurelius also decreases slightly. To the south of the main Alpine ridge the situation is different. The *municipium Virunum* did not witness a decline in coin supply at the time of M. Aurelius. But along the Amber Road, *Celeia* records a decline in the number of coin finds in the 160s.<sup>64</sup> In *Carnuntum*, the number of finds in the legionary fortress and in the *canabae* shows an increase,<sup>65</sup> whereas in the civilian town the numbers decrease slightly.<sup>66</sup> Finally the *municipium Salla* is mentioned, which shows a decrease in the number of finds between 160 and 175 AD, but after 175/180 AD the coin curve rises again.<sup>67</sup> Thus, no homogeneous and clear distribution pattern – neither for civilian settlements nor for military sites in *Noricum* and *Pannonia* – can be determined for the time of M. Aurelius. A decrease in the number of coin finds tends to be observed at most sites. On the other hand, under Commodus there was a widespread decline in the number of coins. At this point the question whether the decline of coin finds under Commodus is related to tribute payments to Germanic tribes, or whether imperial monetary policy was the reason for this, cannot be debated in detail. In any case, Roman financial policy was probably severely strained after the battles against the Parthians and Marcomanni, and after the plague.<sup>68</sup>

The question whether the Marcomannic Wars are reflected in the number of coin finds from Strebersdorf cannot be answered by the survey finds alone. A mere decline in coin finds under M. Aurelius cannot be attributed with certainty to warlike activities. However, considering the state of preservation of the coins from the 2nd century, there are strong deformations to be observed on at least 2 specimens: 1 *denarius* of Antoninus Pius, and 1 from the period between 161 and 192. Both are heavily slagged, obviously due to the impact of high temperature. Therefore it can be assumed that these two coins were exposed to intense fire before they were buried in the ground. Was this fire widespread, and did it have to do with warlike incidents? Or has it to do with the iron smelting on site? The coins do not give us the answers. In general, traces of fire can be identified clearly on silver coins, but on bronze coins they are usually difficult to verify after the restoration process. Therefore, some originally burnt bronze coins might also have been among the coin finds.

To sum up the development of coin circulation in Strebersdorf in the 2nd century, it could be shown that, after a long interruption since Claudius I, coin use began again in Hadrian's time. Silver money had a relatively strong impact compared with bronze coins, which can still be related to the presence of soldiers or some kind of officials such as *curatores*. From M. Aurelius onwards the coin supply decreases. The question whether this can be associated with the Marcomannic Wars cannot be answered. However, the presence of burnt *denarii* may be related to warlike incidents, looting or robberies, or maybe only to extensive iron smelting on site. At this time the province of *Pannonia* was divided, which had little impact on Strebersdorf. However, the presence of soldiers can be assumed, probably to secure the Amber Road as a supply route to the Danube, and also to control the process of iron mining. In *Poetovio* smaller military units have also been proven for the purpose of securing the Amber Road after the abandonment of the legionary camp.<sup>69</sup>

### The time of the Severan dynasty and the Soldier Emperors (193/294 AD)

Only 8 coins from the Severan period are documented from the survey in Strebersdorf, i.e. 1.8 % of the total inventory of coins and 5 % of the Principate period. Among them there is also 1 iron coin, which generally witnesses a shortage of small change in Severan times. This small quantity of coin finds from the Severan period is an argument against the generally assumed economic upswing in Severan times, although the coin curve does not show a clear break.

In Severan times, the minting output of silver money was boosted due to the increasing military expenses. The production of bronze coins was reduced considerably. For daily groceries, there seemed to be enough older *aes* money of the 2nd and 1st century AD in circulation. Only when the available circulating bronze coins were no longer sufficient did many places start to produce local money, such as the so-called *Limesfalsa*, as well as iron coins. These imitations occur regularly at the Norican

60 Schachinger 2017a, 315–317.

61 Schachinger 2018, 170–172.

62 Schachinger 2018, 179–182.

63 The data are taken from the database “dFMRÖ” of the Austrian Academy of Sciences: <http://www.oeaw.ac.at/antike/fmroe/content/suche.de.php>; access from 16.08.2015.

64 The data are taken from FSMSI II–IV.

65 Vondrovec 2007, 198, 210, 221.

66 Vondrovec 2007, 235–242.

67 The data are taken from Redó 2003.

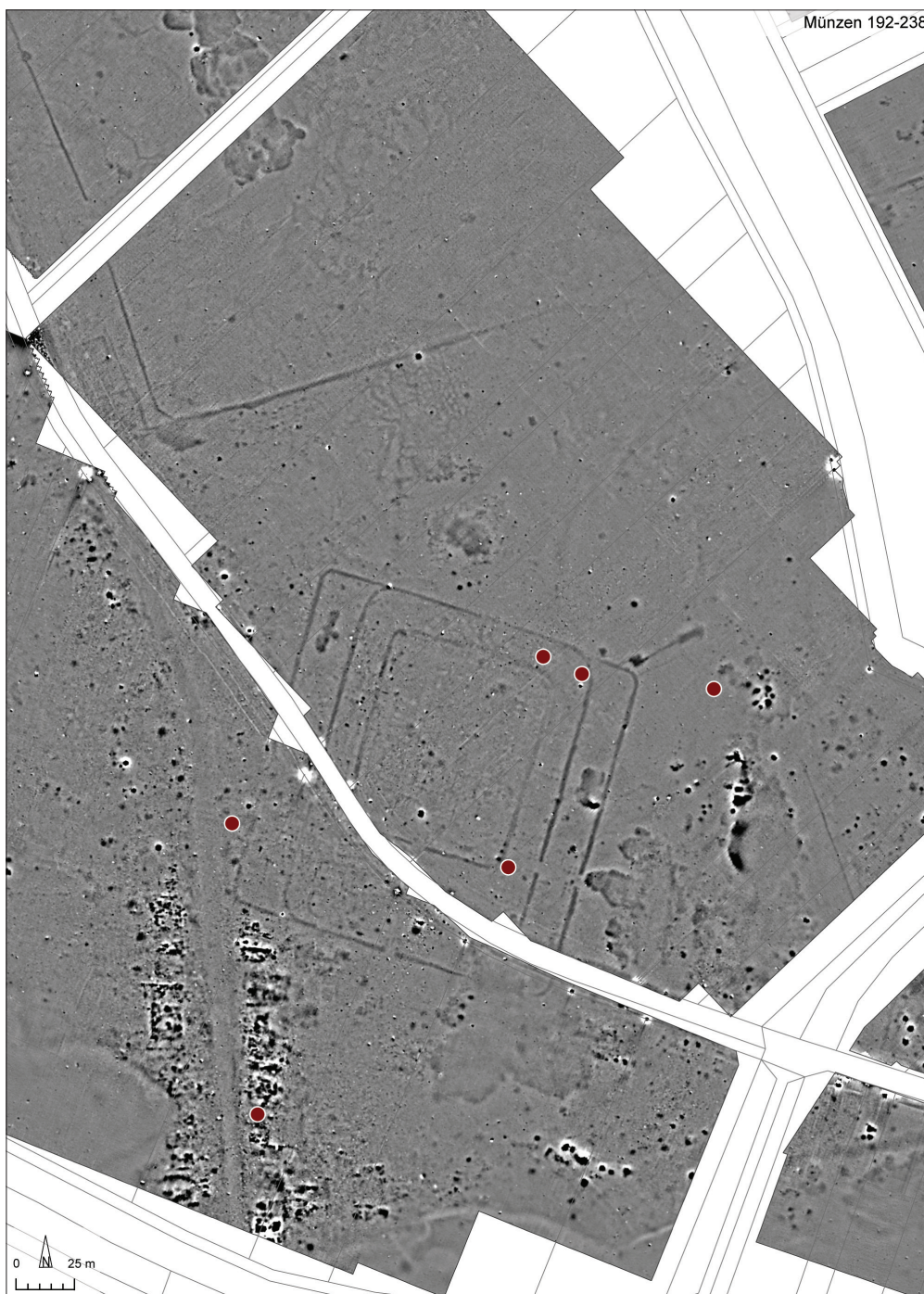
68 Cf. Vondrovec 2007, 127 f.; Găzdac 2010, 115. Hopley's work shows major insufficiencies: C. F. Norena, Rev. A. Hopley An Examination of Roman Bronze Coin Distribution in the Western Empire A.D. 81–192 (British Archaeological Reports International Series 688, *American Journal of Numismatics* 11, 1999, 160–164).

69 Horvat et al. 2003, 155–157.



EMPEROR	D	S	DP	AS	TOTAL
Septimius Severus (193-211)		1 imit.			1 imit.
Antoninus III (Caracalla) (211-217)	1				1
Antoninus IV (Elagabalus) (218-222)	2				2
Severus Alexander (222-235)	2				2
Maximinus I Thrax (235-238)		1			1
Severan unspecified	1				
TOTAL	6	1+1 IMIT.	0	0	7+1 IMIT.

TABLE 5. Coins from the Severan period from the survey/excavation in Strebersdorf (n=8). (By U. Schachinger).



MAP 4. Distribution of coins from 192 to 238 AD from the survey in Strebersdorf. (By K. Freitag, Austrian Archaeological Institute / ÖAW).



Danube *Limes* and in its hinterland. Iron coins are also very common in *Virunum* and in the territory of *Iuvavum*; they reached *Carnuntum* and *Pannonia* in decreasing numbers. The production period of these imitations generally falls in the late Severan period.<sup>70</sup>

At sites in *Noricum* and *Pannonia* during the Severan period, a regular increase in coin finds in the early years of Septimius Severus can be noticed; under Caracalla, the find numbers decline throughout the empire, and with Elagabalus, as well as in the 1st half of the reign of Severus Alexander, a rise in the coin curves can be observed in both *Noricum* and *Pannonia*.<sup>71</sup> This general pattern is only partially reflected in the survey finds from Strebersdorf: coins of Septimius Severus, and not only of the strong initial emissions with the imperial acclamations, are missing completely; in addition, the only documented iron coin was produced in late Severan times. Under Elagabalus and Severus Alexander only a small increase in coin finds can be stated, which corresponds to general distribution patterns at that time.

At this point, a comparison with the coin curves of selected Norican and Pannonian sites is recommended in order to check where and whether declining find numbers are witnessed under Septimius Severus. In *Ovilavis* and *Lauriacum* the coin finds increase noticeably under Septimius Severus, especially by the strong initial emissions with the imperial acclamations.<sup>72</sup> The same pattern can also be noticed in southern Norican cities, such as *Celeia*.

Whether this pattern is relevant for Strebersdorf will be shown by comparisons with Pannonian sites. In *Carnuntum* an increasing number of coin finds under Septimius Severus has been documented,<sup>73</sup> which could also, however, be attributed to his proclamation on site. In the *municipium* of *Scarabantia* a break-off in the inflow of coins seems to have occurred during the Severan period, especially under Septimius Severus; only with Gordian III do the find numbers rise again, which can be explained by the opening of the *Viminacium* mint.<sup>74</sup> In *Savaria*, too, the number of finds falls under *Septimius Severus*, even if the coin curve does not completely break off. With Elagabalus and Severus Alexander the circulation volume increases as usual.<sup>75</sup> In the street station of Nemescó, on the Amber Road, coins of the 2nd century are regularly in use. The inflow during the Severan period largely stops, and it starts again after the middle of the 3rd century, but only for a short time and in small numbers.<sup>76</sup> The same evidence can be noticed in the *municipium Salla*, where also only a few pieces from the Severan period are documented,<sup>77</sup> as well as in the fort at *Ad Arrabonem*; here, among the sporadic coin finds of the Severan period, only a few pieces of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander were found.<sup>78</sup> A similar pattern occurs in the military camp of *Ala Nova*, which was erected in Severan times, and in the legionary fortress of *Vindobona*.<sup>79</sup>

Consequently, the distribution pattern of Strebersdorf matches the neighbouring stations along the Amber Road (*Nemescó*, *Ad Arrabonem*) and the military sites along the Danube, such as *Ala Nova* and *Vindobona*, as well as the nearby towns of *Salla*, *Savaria* and *Scarabantia*, where the Severan period is generally poorly

EMPEROR	ROM	MED	SIS	ANT	GALLIA	MINT?	TOTAL
Gallienus (253/260–268)	7	1	1			1	10
Claudius II (268–270)	10					1	11
Aurelian (270–275)				1		3	4
for Divus Claudius II	11						11
Victorinus (269–271)					2		2
Probus (276–282)			1				1
TOTAL	28	1	2	1	2	5	39

TABLE 6. Coins of the Antoniniani period up to 294 AD from the survey/excavation in Strebersdorf (n=39). (By U. Schachinger).

documented. The usually well-represented initial emissions of Septimius Severus are rare. Few specimens of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander document an increasing circulation volume. *Carnuntum*, on the other hand, shows a different pattern, which

is manifested especially by the presence of the initial emissions of Septimius Severus, as well as by a stronger increase in coin finds under Elagabalus and Severus Alexander.

70 Pfisterer 2007, 672–675; Pintz 2014, 267–270.

71 Cf. Schachinger 2017b; Vondrovec 2001, 133–134 f.

72 Vondrovec 2007, 133 f; Schachinger 2017a, 338–340; Schachinger 2018.

73 Vondrovec 2007, 133–134 f.

74 Schachinger 2013, 166; 168, Fig. 86.

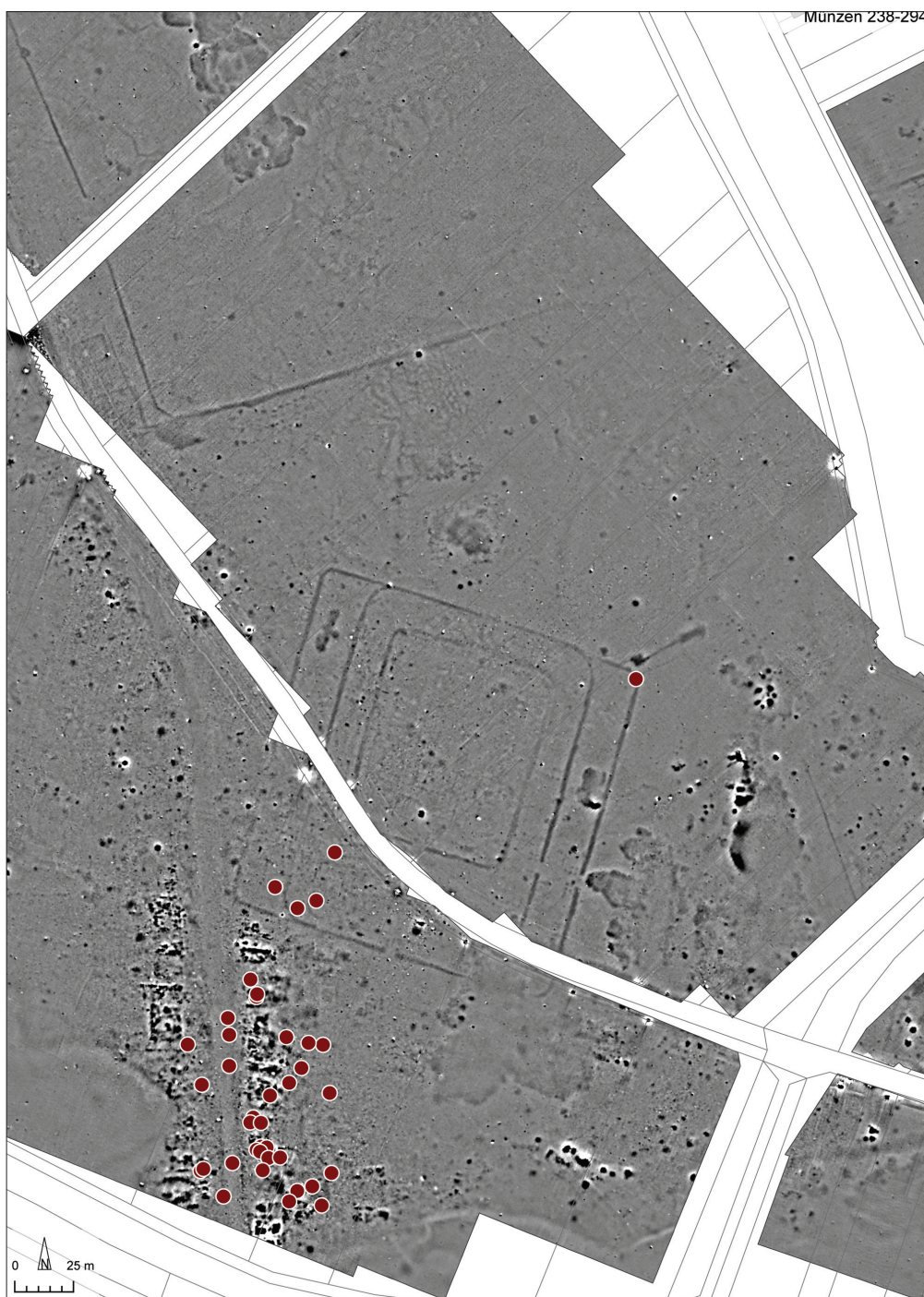
75 Redó 2003, 230; Schachinger 2013, 166–167 f.

76 Schachinger 2013, 161–162 f.

77 Redó 2007, 14 f.; Redó 2003, 213–223; Schachinger 2013, 171.

78 FMRU II, 69–72.

79 Schachinger 2019, 21–25; 32.



**MAP 5.** Distribution of coins from 238 to 294 AD from the survey in Strebersdorf. (By K. Freitag, Austrian Archaeological Institute / ÖAW).

In the so-called *Antoniniani* period (238–294 AD), the number of coin finds increases significantly. However, Map 5 shows that the coin finds are shifting towards the street settlement and disappearing from the area of the former military camp. The proportion from this period amounts to only 9 % of the total material; if only the period of the Principate is taken into account, it amounts to a quarter. This is a much smaller amount than in Norican and Pannonian cities.

For example, *Antoniniani* make up 17 % of the total coin finds in *Ovilavis*, 23 % in *Virunum*, 19 % in *Celeia*,<sup>80</sup> 30 % in *Flavia Solva*, and 18 % in *Carnuntum*. On the other hand, the cities of *Scarabantia*, with 9 %, and *Salla*, with 8 %, show significantly different pro-

portions. However, in the fort of *Ad Arrabonem*, the percentage of *Antoniniani* amounts to 19 %, while in the nearby *vicus* no coins from this period are documented.<sup>81</sup> Strebersdorf – as far as coin finds from the survey are concerned – thus shows matches with *Scarabantia* and *Salla*, which means that, in comparison with other sites in *Noricum* and *Pannonia*, as well as with other settlements along the Amber Road, such as *Neckenmarkt*,<sup>82</sup> the *Antoniniani* period is significantly underrepresented.

80 See also Kos 1986, 92–104.

81 FMRU II, 69–72.

82 Cf. Dick 1984, 537–573.

In *Carnuntum*, as well as in Norican cities, a relatively consistent pattern can be noted in this period, which is rooted in the minting policy between c. 250 and 280 AD. Accordingly, the coin finds are only slowly increasing just after the currency conversion to *Antoniniani* in 238 AD, because the money was still made of good silver. Only with decreasing silver content and increasing output from the middle of the century onwards does the circulation volume increase massively. The mass emissions under Gallienus, especially the 9th and 10th Roman emission of 264/267 AD and 267/268 AD, as well as Claudius II and DIVO CLAVDIO types, are represented by clear peaks in the coin curve. This means that an absence of these emissions in coin curves relates to local circumstances. It is known that, until the so-called Aurelian's reform of 274 AD, which resulted in a loss of purchasing power due to the increase in nominal value, the emissions were large, which is generally reflected in large quantities of coin finds. Only after 274 AD do the coin finds decrease again throughout the empire, until Diocletian's reform in 294 AD. Therefore, especially the period between c. 250 and 280 AD is regularly well documented in the coin curves; a proportion of only 9 % of the total material must therefore be related to local conditions. So the question is why there is no more money from this period, or whether the site of the former camp was simply no longer in continuous use.

However, a closer look at Fig. 1 shows that this period nevertheless displays the regular form of coin curve relating to the minting policy at the time: coins from shortly after the currency conversion of 238 AD are not represented, which is explained by the fact that good, silver-containing *Antoniniani* generally appear rarely until the middle of the century. Only from c. 260 AD onwards does the coin curve rise rapidly until 270. Between 268

and 270 AD it reaches its highest peak. All relevant mass issues are reflected, especially those of Gallienus and Claudius II, as well as DIVO CLAVDIO types; there are also 2 Gallic *Antoniniani* of Victorinus from 269/270 AD, which is not uncommon, since these coins occasionally reached far into the East. After 274 AD the coin curve decreases rapidly.

If we compare the coin curves of the cities of *Savaria*, *Scarabantia* and *Salla*, we also notice a significantly lower level in the *Antoniniani* period than, for example, at the military sites of *Carnuntum*, *Vindobona* or *Ala Nova*. In the three cities the quantity of coin finds of the *Antoniniani* period is far behind the 4th century, even though continuous coin circulation can be assumed. Coins from this period are also rarely documented in the fort of *Ad Arrabonem*, while they are completely absent in the nearby *vicus*.

For the *Antoniniani* period of the 3rd century, it can therefore be stated that coin finds are regularly represented and that all parameters speak of a continuous money supply. However, the absolute number of coin finds is somewhat below average. In addition, the coins no longer originate from the area of the former military camp, but are concentrated in the street settlement (Map 5).

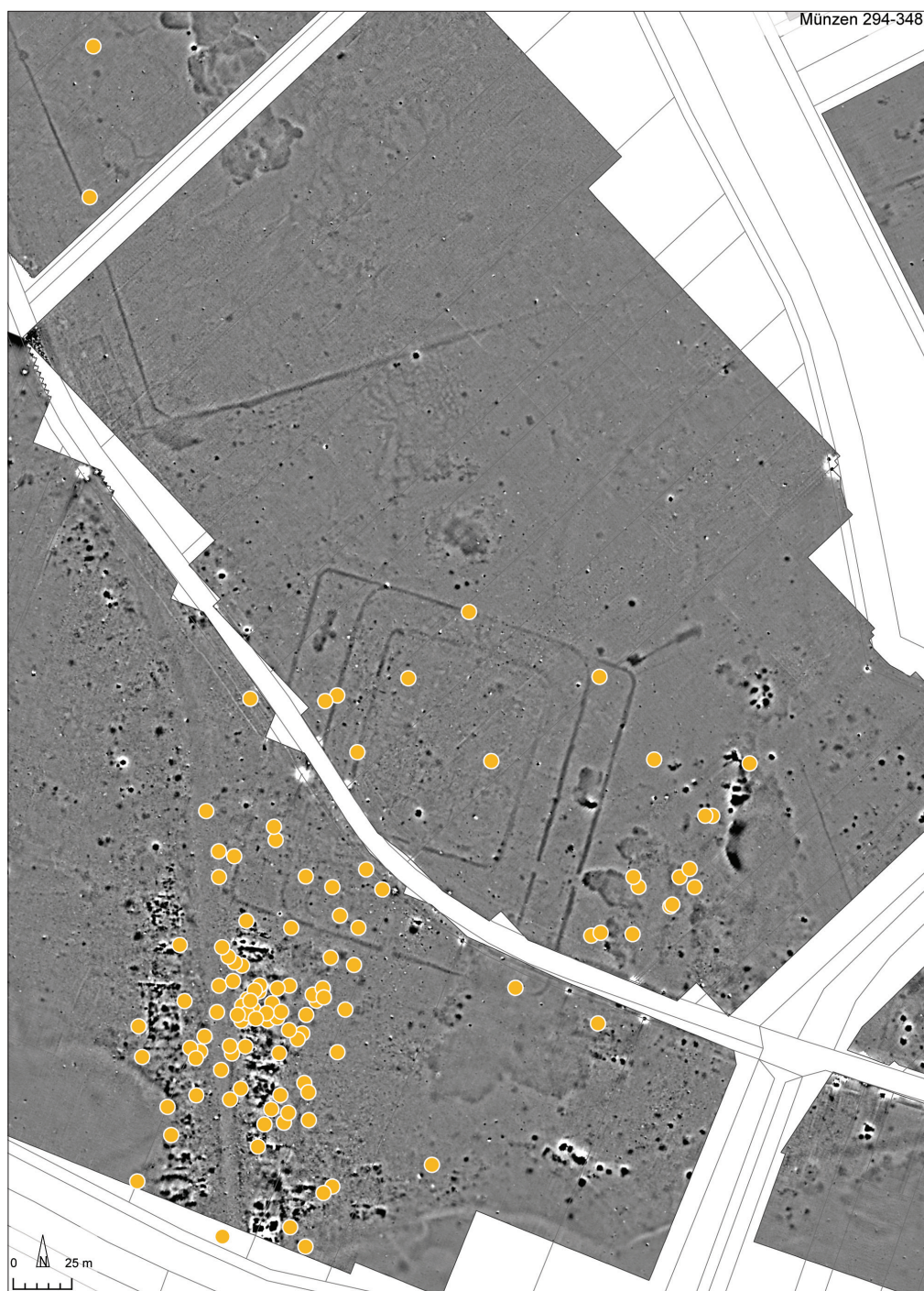
#### The 4th century and the end of coin circulation

After the reform of Diocletian in 294 AD, the coin finds generally rise only slightly until Constantinian times, which can be explained by Gresham's Law, according to which good money is driven out by bad money. Only when the coins gradually lose

TYPE	MINTING PERIOD	TOTAL NUMBER
CONCORDIA MILITVM, Emperor and Jupiter (rad.frac.)	295-299	1
GENIO POPVLI ROMANI, Genius sacrificing	294-313	2
IOVI CONSERVATORI, Jupiter	308-318	1
SOLI INVICTO COMITI, Sol	313-319	2
PROVIDENTIAE AVGG, Camp gate	316-330	1
VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP, 2 Victories, altar	318-320	1
VIRTVS EXERCIT, Vexillum, 2 Captives	319-321	1
Vota-types, Constantinian	320-325	2
GLORIA EXERCITVS, 2 soldiers with 2 standards	330-336	12
VRBS ROMA, Lupa	330-337	4
CONSTANTINOPOLIS, Victory	330-337	2
GLORIA EXERCITVS, 2 soldiers with 1 standard	335-337	11
GLORIA EXERCITVS, 2 soldiers with 1 standard	337-340	19
Divo Constantino, Quadriga	337-340	1
VICTORIAE DD AVGGN, 2 Victories	341-348	38
Divo Constantino, VN-MR	341-348	1
VOT XX MVLT XXX	341-348	3

TABLE 7. Distribution of coin types up to 348 AD (except unspecified coins). (By U. Schachinger).





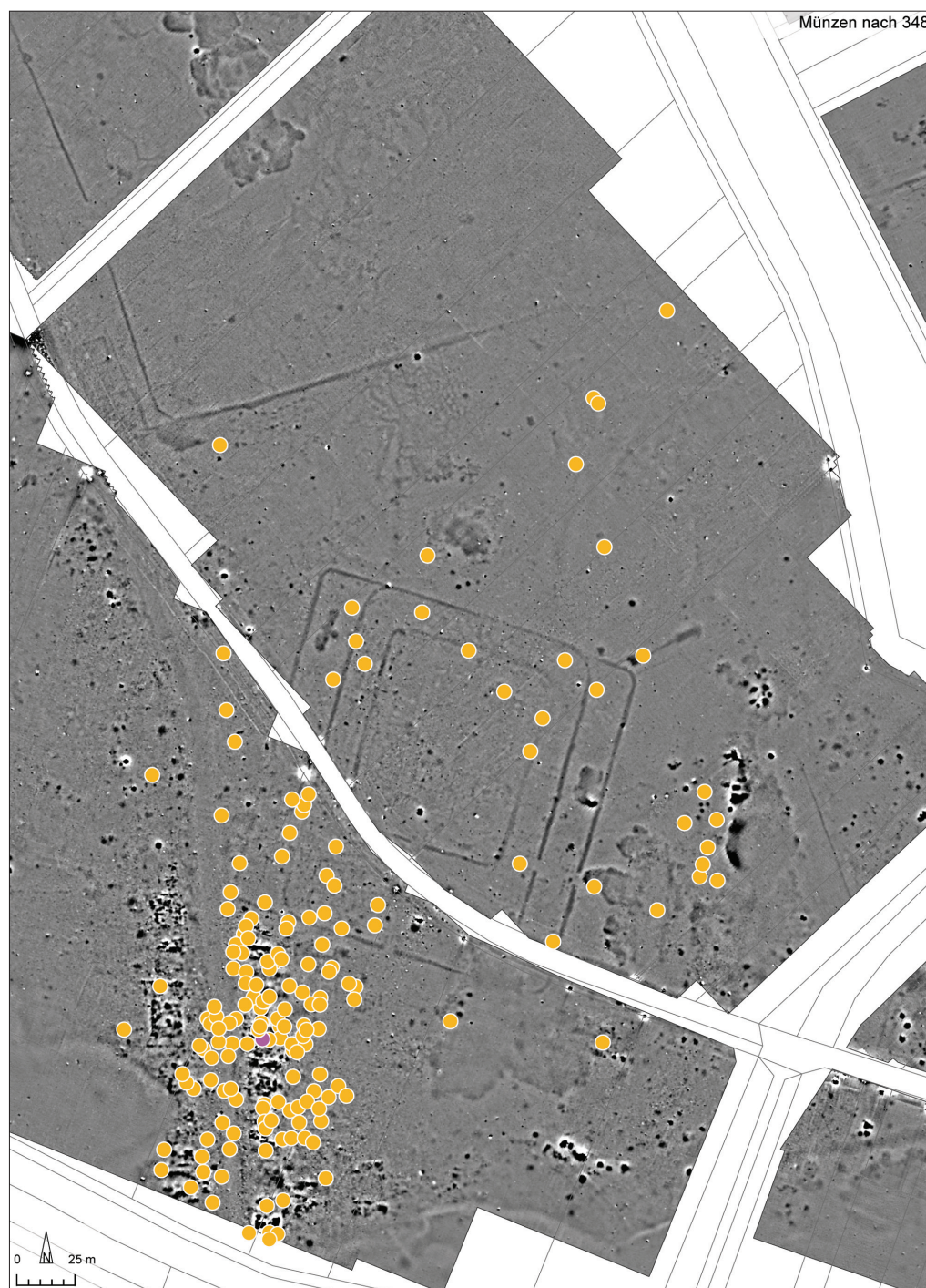
MAP 6. Distribution of coins from 294 to 348 AD from the survey in Strebersdorf. (By K. Freitag, Austrian Archaeological Institute / ÖAW).

weight and size until the middle of the century; only then do they reappear increasingly in finds. Moreover, until Constantinian times a considerable proportion of the circulation volume still consisted of 3rd-century *Antoniniani*. This means that the coin curves do not reflect real circumstances. They depict the minting times of the coins, but not their time of loss. Furthermore, with decreasing weight larger quantities of coins were produced, which means that, in the 4th century, a larger amount of money was needed for daily groceries. This aspect must also be taken into account when assessing the coin circulation of the 4th century. Nevertheless, the circulating quantity must have been high, anyway.

Therefore an uninterrupted coin supply and coin use can be assumed in Strebersdorf in the 4th century. Fig. 1 shows hardly any differences from the normal distribution patterns of *Noricum* and *Pannonia*. Accordingly, the number of coin finds increases gradually with the gradual weight reduction of the *folles*, with newly issued coin types indicate further stages of reduction.<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, evidence which clearly arose in the *Antoniniani* period is continuing: the finds are concentrated exclusively in the area of the street settlement (Map 6).

83 Wigg 1991, 224–225 f.





**MAP 7.** Distribution of coins of the post-reform period after 348 AD from the survey in Strebersdorf (red=Vandalic coin). (By K. Freitag, Austrian Archaeological Institute / ÖAW).

A total of 112 coins are documented from the so-called *Follis* period (294–348 AD), which is 26 % of the total number of coin finds from the Strebersdorf survey, which indicates continuous monetary activity during the Constantinian period. Except for sporadic pieces of the first tetrarchy from the period before 305 AD – consisting of 2 full-weight *folles* and 1 fraction (*radiatus*) (RIC 19a, Her; RIC 46b, Ale; Fol undet. 294/305) (Tab. 7) – the finds initially increase very slightly. From the entire period between 305 and 330 AD, only 9 coins are documented. A rapid increase in coin finds occurs after 330 AD, then the quantities remain at the same level until c. 380 AD. Among the Constantinian coin types, all relevant series up to the *aes* reform of 348 AD are represented.

This pattern, i.e. an increase in the number of coin finds from Constantinian times and a relatively constant level until the middle of the century, can be noticed both in the Norican cities, such as *Ovilavis*<sup>84</sup>, *Virunum*<sup>85</sup> and *Celeia*<sup>86</sup>, and in the settlements along the Amber Road, such as Horitschon and Neckenmarkt.<sup>87</sup> In *Carnuntum* the finds also increase strongly from the 330s on-

84 Vondrovec 2003, 28.

85 Increase even from 310 AD onwards; the data are taken from Schmidt-Dick 1989.

86 The data are taken from FMRSI II–IV.

87 Cf. Dick 1984, 469–475; 537–573; Schachinger 2013, 165–166 f.

TYPE	MINTING PERIOD	DENOM.	TOTAL NUMBER
FEL TEMP REPARATIO, Galley	348–355	Mai	2
		Cen	1
FEL TEMP REPARATIO, Fallen horseman	348–355	Mai	5
	348–361	Cen	54
CONCORDIA MILITVM, Emperor with standard	350–355	Mai	1
VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM, Victory	350–351	Cen	1
VICTORIA CAESARIS, Victory	351	Cen	1
SPES REIPVBLICE, Emperor with globe	355–361	Cen	19
VOT X MVLX XX	361–363	Cen	1
VOT V MVLX X	363–364	Cen	2
GLORIA ROMANORVM, Emperor and captive	364–378	Cen	26
SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE, Victory I.	364–378	Cen	51
SALVS REIPVBLICAE, Victory I., captive	378–403	½ Cen	3

TABLE 8. Distribution of coin types after the aes reform of 348 AD (except unspecified coins). (By U. Schachinger).

wards and even more in the 2nd half of the 4th century;<sup>88</sup> a similar distribution pattern can be seen at the military sites of *Ala Nova* and *Vindobona*.<sup>89</sup> In the *municipium* of *Scarabantia*, too, find numbers increase in the 1st half of the 4th century, especially in the amphitheatre – they reach a peak in this period – although in the city the quantities of the 4th century are generally lower than those of the 2nd century.<sup>90</sup> The coin curve of *Salla* shows a pattern similar to that of Strebersdorf: after a weak presence of coin finds during the Severan and *Antoniniani* period, the coin curve increases significantly in Constantinian times, with a first peak in the 320s (with *Vota* types). In *Ad Arrabonem*, the 4th century is generally weakly represented, but the finds speak of continuous coin use.<sup>91</sup>

The inflow of coins in the 1st half of the 4th century was mainly from nearby *Siscia* (36 % of the exactly determinable coins), but *Aquileia* and *Thessalonica* also supplied decreasing but continuous quantities (18 % and 12 %). The even more distant mints of Rome and Cyzicus account for 9 % of the coin finds of this period. This corresponds to the general pattern of Norican and Pannonian cities.<sup>92</sup>

A total of 174 coins are documented from the 2nd half of the 4th century, the so-called *Majorinae* or post-reform period, which is 40 % of the total material. The Constantinian (348–363 AD) and

the Valentinian (364–378 AD) periods are equally distributed. The find mapping (Map 7) clearly shows that the monetary activity was concentrated in the area of the street settlement and is connected with continuous iron mining (finds also come from the area of the mining pits.)

Under Constans and Constantius II an *aes* reform was undertaken in 348 AD to counteract the inflation of the *Follis* period. As there was certainly a considerable quantity of older *folles* still in use, this did not cause a break in coin circulation, and one can generally speak of an increasing circulation volume in the 2nd half of the 4th century. In many places, the coin finds of the 4th century are the best-documented, with those of the 2nd half of the century predominant, such as in *Carnuntum*, in the legionary fortress and the *canabae*.<sup>93</sup> In *Vindobona* and *Ala Nova*, too, the 4th century is documented continuously; in the later civilian site of the former fort of *Ala Nova* there is even a preponderance of coins minted after 348.<sup>94</sup> During the Valentinian period, the sites along the Rhine and Danube *Limes* experienced a general upswing due to the fortification of the Danube and Rhine frontiers. This caused constant quantities of coin finds during this period.<sup>95</sup> The settlements along the Amber Road also benefited from this; the coin curves of Horitschon and Neckenmarkt show high levels of coin finds. In *Scarabantia*, on the other hand, the number of finds remains about the same as in the 1st half of the

88 Vondrovec 2007, 158–164.

89 Schachinger 2019, 26–29; 32.

90 FMRU II, 131–136.

91 FMRU II, 69–72.

92 Vondrovec 2007, 165–169, with comparative graphs.

93 Vondrovec 2007, 197; 210.

94 Schachinger 2019, 29–33.

95 Cf. Peter 2001, 271–273.

century, but the numbers in total are low. In *Savaria*, coin finds of the 4th century generally form a peak and decrease again continuously towards the end of the century.<sup>96</sup> In *Ad Arrabonem* they are distributed more or less equally during the entire 4th century, with declining numbers from the beginning of the Valentinian period onwards.<sup>97</sup> The coin curve of *Salla* shows strong similarities to that of Strebersdorf: the find numbers increase continuously during the *Follis* period until the middle of the century, and the 2nd half of the 4th century is most strongly represented; here the Constantinian and Valentinian periods are represented approximately equally.

Hence, in Strebersdorf continuous monetary activity can be assumed for the 2nd half of the 4th century. Fig. 1 shows a clear emphasis between 348 and 378 AD, wherein the circulation volume is certainly still increased by the presence of old folles of the 1st half of the century. The composition of coin types corresponds to the minting output of the period (Tab. 8); the predominant denomination is *aes 3* pieces – or *centenionales*, as classified by the Vienna School – which are considered the main currency in small change in this period. In addition, there are *maiorinae* of the early minting phase of 348–355 AD; those of the later phase of 378–383 AD are not documented. After 378 the number of coin finds decreases rapidly, which pattern is also regularly documented in the Rhine and Danube provinces. The coins in this period mainly came from the nearest mints of *Siscia* (60 % of the exactly determinable coins) and *Aquileia* (8 %), this pattern having continued since the *Follis* period and shown no variation whatsoever.

Finally, the question arises as to whether or when coin supply ceased and coin circulation came to an end in Strebersdorf. As early as 378 AD, a regular inflow of new coins ceased almost completely, as can be noted from Fig. 1. Neither the *maiorinae* series of 378–383 AD (REPARATIO REIPVB) nor larger quantities of half-*centenionales*, the main currency after 378 AD, are documented. A total of 6 half-*centenionales* is documented, which corresponds to only 1.33 % of the total quantity of coin finds from the Strebersdorf survey. Despite the divergence of the state of research, similar numbers are reported from Norican cities. For example, the stock of half-*centenionales* in *Celeia* makes up 2.3 %, while in *Ovilavis* and *Virunum* it decreases to the per-mille range. In *Lauriacum* its proportion is 3.6 %.<sup>98</sup> Thus, in relation to the total material, the presence of 6 pieces is somewhat significant. Furthermore, all half-*centenionales* show relatively marked signs of wear.<sup>99</sup> This may be caused by a long circulation period. Taking into account the degrees of preservation of Valentinian coins in order to verify a presumably longer circulation period, there is a clear picture: 12 % of the coins did not show any degree of preservation due to corrosion; 72 % of the coins showed a degree of wear of 3 or more, with most pieces classified as 4. Only 16 % of the coins were in good condition, i.e. with fewer traces of circulation. This evidence can therefore be related with some certainty to a continuing circulation of the coins from the 2nd half of the 4th century.

How long this circulation period may have been could possibly be revealed by the presence of one Vandalic coin (RIC 3805) found in Strebersdorf. At 0.82 grams, the piece is significantly lighter than regular Roman coins. It is a migration-period imitation of a Roman half-*centenionalis* of the common SALVS REIPVBlice type with Victory running to the left. On the obverse a pearl-dia-demed bust is depicted, as well as remains of letters that could represent either DOMINO NOSTRO or DOMINIS NOSTRIS, or a similar legend. Kent<sup>100</sup> associates the type either with Boniface, a loyal general of Theodosius II until the usurpation of Iohannes (423–425), or with Geiseric and his agreement with Valentinian III in 442. This could indicate that Roman money probably circulated until at least 423/425 AD or even 442 AD in Strebersdorf.

In summary, it can therefore be stated that the monetary activity in Strebersdorf increased in the Constantinian period in comparison to the preceding *Antoniniani* period. This is particularly expressed in increasing coin finds from the 330s onwards, with a consistently high level between 335 and 378 AD. The bronze-metal reform of 348 AD does not lead to a break-off in the coin curve. It can be assumed that the money used in the 1st half of the 4th century continued to circulate in the 2nd half of the century. Although due to the production of larger quantities of small bronze coins with lower value, which leads to a general increase in coin finds from the 4th century, nevertheless the circulating volume during this period must have been continuously high. The concentrations of finds in the 4th century do not coincide with the location of the early military camp, but highlight some economic wealth in the street settlement, which is certainly caused by continuous iron mining. In addition, the finds also occur in the area of mining pits and along the Amber Road. It can be assumed that the regular inflow of coins ceased shortly after 378 AD, but the existing volume probably continued to circulate at least into the 420s or even 440s, which is suggested by the presence of an imitative Vandalic issue.

### The coin curve from the Strebersdorf survey in comparison with the complete stray finds from the find zone

In the following, the coin finds from Strebersdorf (survey/excavation 2008–2017) analysed above will be compared with the stray finds from Strebersdorf and Frankenau, known from the find zone and mostly published in the FMRÖ series by Franziska Dick, in order to answer the following questions:

- 1) Does coin use generally start in late Augustan / early Tiberian times?
- 2) Does inflow of coins generally break off in late Tiberian / early Claudian times?
- 3) Is the Severan find level similarly low?

96 Redó 2003, 230; Schachinger 2013, 166–167 f.

97 FMRU II, 69–72.

98 Schachinger 2017a, 327.

99 Degrees of preservation according to IFS 1995.

100 RIC X, 233–234 f.



- 4) Is the *Antoniniani* period more strongly represented?
- 5) Are coins from the 4th century, especially from the 2nd half of the century, continuously documented?

The entire stray finds from Strebersdorf/Frankenau consist of the following complexes:

coins from the transition period. These types also appear in the area of the military camp (survey finds). Republican material is represented in the stray finds by only 0.19 %, while it amounts to 3.15 % among the survey finds. An equally big difference can be noticed concerning Augustan coins, 51 of which are documented in the survey finds, compared with 7 stray finds. All of them are asses. There are 6 moneyers' asses, 1 of which bears the same countermark AVG (AV ligated) as the coins from the survey. There are no *Lugdunum* or *Nemausus* types. This evidence clearly indi-

COMPLEX	YEAR	TOTAL NUMBER
Frankenau, detector findings Eder (partly from Plot 3124)	2005–2008	325
Strebersdorf, Dick, FMRÖ I/2 (so-called Krautäcker field)	1984	1,810
Frankenau, Dick, FMRÖ I/2	1984	52
<b>TOTAL NUMBER</b>		<b>2,187</b>

TABLE 9: Total material from Strebersdorf/Frankenau (except survey/excavation of 2008–2017). (By U. Schachinger).

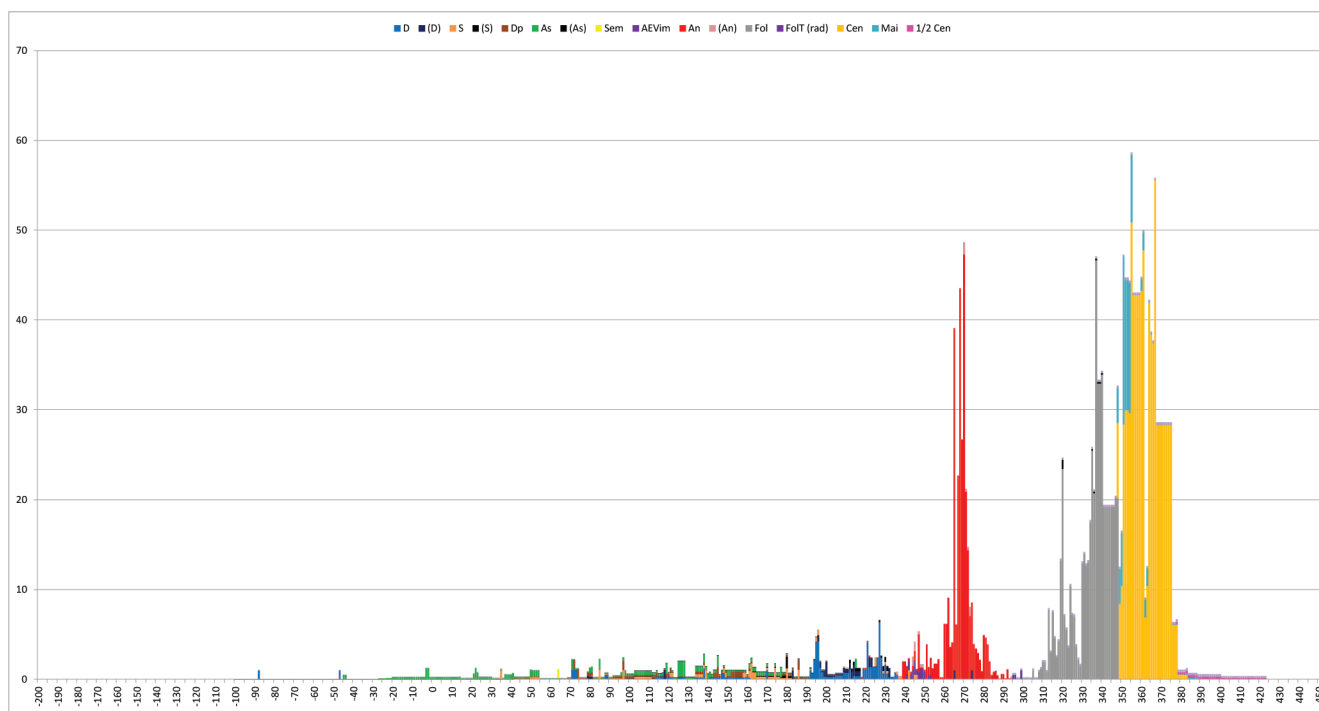


FIGURE 2. Stray finds from Strebersdorf/Frankenau (x-axis: date; y-axis: total number of coins) (n=2187). (By U. Schachinger).

A look at both the annual index chart (Fig. 2) and the percentages of the chronological periods (Fig. 3) immediately reveals that the time before 250 is generally quite poorly represented. The percentage of coins up to 250 AD amounts in total to only 10 % of the entire material. This evidence contradicts the assumption of a regular coin circulation in the entire settlement area before the 3rd century. In contrast, in the survey area, coins from the time before 250 AD make up more than a quarter (Fig. 4).

1) Republican, Augustan and Tiberian coins must be regarded as determining the beginning of Roman coin circulation. Republican coins are represented by only 4 pieces in total: 1 halved as and 2

ates that the Republican and Augustan stray finds relate to the military presence on site. The stray finds of Tiberian times also support this result. There are 5 Tiberian types, 3 of which are also represented in the survey finds. They include 1 Providentia and 1 Drusus issue. The few Republican, Augustan and Tiberian coins can therefore be associated with the military camp. Regular Roman coin circulation in the wider area of the later *vicus* and street settlement certainly was not yet taking place: it was restricted to the military site.

2) Furthermore, it has to be examined whether the stray finds also show a break-off in coin supply in the late Tiberian / early



Claudian period. Up to Trajan the number of stray finds from Strebersdorf/Frankenau is generally very low. Only 6 Claudian coins are documented, which is very few in relation to the total number of 2,187 coins. The later emperors Caligula and Nero are also only scarcely present. As already mentioned, large quantities of Providentia and Agrippa asses indicate Claudian and Neronian coin circulation. These types usually appear ten times more frequently than bronzes of Tiberius and Caligula. The coin curve of the survey finds already suggests an interruption in the coin supply during the Claudian period, due to the rare presence of Providentia and the complete absence of Agrippa asses. The stray finds from Strebersdorf/Frankenau comprise only 1 Providentia type, 2 Agrippa asses and 6 Claudian bronzes. Assuming, as M. Peter has stated,<sup>101</sup> a tenfold-higher propor-

3) The Severan period is only poorly represented in the survey findings from Strebersdorf. This raises the question of whether there was a general interruption of coin supply, or whether the topographic focus was somewhere else. Monetary activity in the area of the former military camp declined considerably during the Severan period (Map 4). Few coins are distributed in and around the former camp. There are 8 coins that originate from the survey. In contrast, the stray finds show a significant increase in coin finds during this period; 70 stray finds are contrasted with the few pieces from the survey. Furthermore, the Severan coin curve corresponds to the general distribution pattern of Norican and Pannonian sites, with initial peaks in the early years of Septimius Severus (imperial acclamations), and furthermore the widespread decrease under Caracalla and increasing quantities under Elagabalus and Severus Alexander. The focus of coin

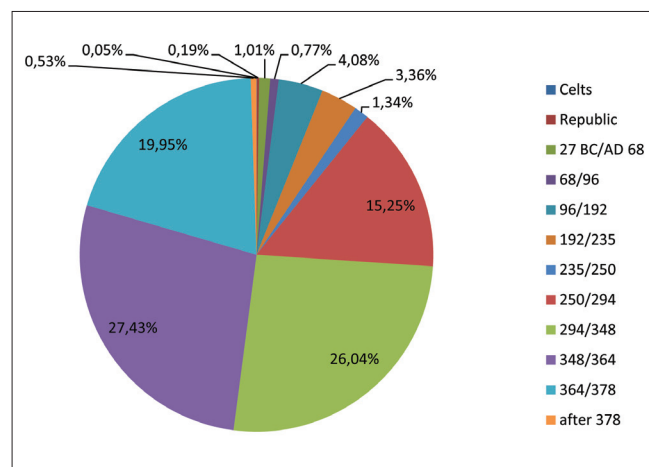


FIGURE 3. Percentages of stray finds from Strebersdorf/Frankenau by chronological period (n=2187). (By U. Schachinger).

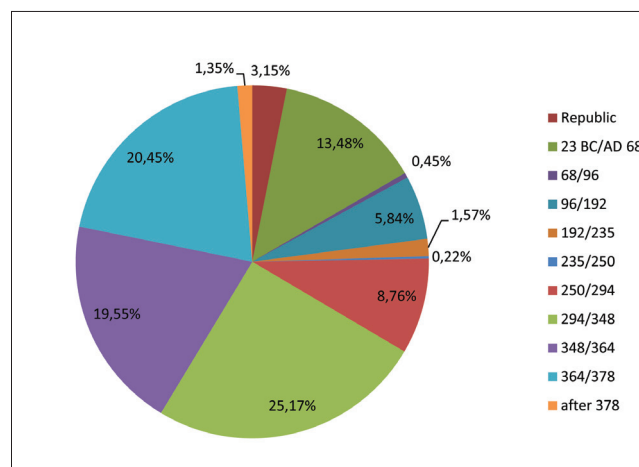


FIGURE 4. Percentages of survey/excavation finds from Strebersdorf (2008-2017) by chronological period (n=452). (By U. Schachinger).

tion of Providentia asses than of Tiberian aes, the presence of 2 Tiberian coins would require at least 20 Providentia asses. The same refers to Agrippa asses. Since this equation does not apply, the regular presence of a Claudian coin circulation on site is unlikely. Moreover, from Tiberius to Claudius and Nero, only bronze coins are present, whose circulation period regularly extended into the 2nd and also to the 3rd century. Particularly in the Severan period, when the minting of aes was reduced, the circulation of small change was largely composed of aes from the 2nd and 1st centuries AD. According to this, the few coins from this period could be explained as belonging to a later circulation volume. In addition, the coin types of the stray finds completely correspond to those from the survey, which means that all Republican and early Imperial coins must be interpreted within the context of the military camp. Only towards the end of the 1st century – possibly already in Flavian times – the stray finds increase, which can be related to the development of the adjacent street settlement and *vicus*.

losses seems to have shifted from the military site to the civilian settlement, where a strong monetary upswing can be observed, which also took place in other settlements during this period.

4) The *Antoniniani* period, or more precisely the period of mass emissions between c. 250 and 280 AD, was represented in the survey finds in very low quantities compared with other settlements. This picture is revised by the stray finds, for the *Antoniniani* period here is represented by more than 15%. This corresponds to the quantities of comparable settlements (see above). Thus, an uninterrupted coin circulation and continuous economic wealth in the civilian settlement can be assumed.

5) As witnessed by the survey finds, a focus of monetary activity is also apparent in the stray finds in the 4th century. The number of coin finds increases continuously from 310 AD onwards until the middle of the century. Especially after 330 AD, coin production of more and more weight-reduced pieces was increased. There seems to be a preponderance of coin finds in the 2nd half of the 4th century. The total percentage of coins of this period amounts to more than 40%. As already mentioned above, a con-

101 Peter 2001, 61.

tinuously increased circulation volume can be expected during this period, since even older money from the 1st half of the 4th century remained in circulation. Thus, one can generally speak of continuous monetary activity in Strebersdorf/Frankenau in the 2nd half of the 4th century. This pattern is also noticed in other settlements of the region, such as the cities of *Savaria* and *Salla*, as well as the settlements of Horitschon and Neckenmarkt on the Amber Road.

## Conclusion

The beginning of the monetary circulation in Strebersdorf is connected with the erection of the earliest military camp. According to the numismatic evidence, it is dated to the late Augustan / early Tiberian period and can be linked with the events after the Roman occupation of *Pannonia*, which was caused not only by territorial expansion, but also by economic considerations. At the same time as the construction of military posts, an economic development began in the area, and the Amber Road was extended. An early trading post had already been established in *Scarabantia* during the reign of Augustus. First military camps had been erected on the Amber Road, as for example in *Poetovio* in 15 BC. After 9 BC the conquered territories stood under military administration. Shortly after the uprising of the Pannonian Revolt in 6 AD a legion was stationed in *Poetovio*; and, after the revolt was suppressed, a first fort was also built in *Savaria* in 9 AD. At that time the Amber Road developed as supply and trading route to the Danube, which required the erection of camps and stations along the road. During this time the earliest camp in Strebersdorf was constructed. In late Tiberian / early Claudian times an interruption in the coin supply can be observed, since all relevant parameters indicating Claudian and Neronian coin circulation are missing. Only with the establishment of a civil administration under Claudius did Roman coin circulation generally develop in the province. Nevertheless, the coin finds in

Strebersdorf are not as numerous as one might assume, either in Claudian or in Flavian times. From then on, coin loss increasingly occurred in the vicinity of the early military site, and no longer within its core area, which indicates the abandonment of the fort and the development of an adjacent street settlement. In the times of Trajan and Hadrian the quantity of coin finds clearly increases with the expansion of the civil settlement. A renewed military presence from Hadrian onwards is suggested by the fact that the Amber Road had to be secured and the mining of bog iron ore deposits had to be supervised. The high ratio of silver to bronze coins shows a pattern deviating from the normal distribution. It could probably relate to the presence of soldiers.

In addition, the regular distribution of bronze coins in the stray finds already indicates a lively marketplace. During the Severan period a clear topographical shift in the coin finds can be recognized: in the area of the former military camp, the coin finds decrease, while they increase significantly in the stray finds. Thus, the settlement of Strebersdorf/Frankenau seems to have participated in the general upswing during the Severan period. This trend continues during the *Antoniniani* period; the finds occur almost exclusively in the area of the street settlement, which apparently establishes itself as an economic centre. Continued development can be expected in the 4th century, with steady monetary activity in the 2nd half of the century. This pattern is also observed in other settlements along the Amber Road, such as Horitschon and Neckenmarkt. A break-off in regular Roman money supply takes place around, or shortly after, 378 AD, which can probably be put into the historical context of the riots at the Pannonian *Limes* and its breakdown. However, the fact that the available volume of money continued to circulate until the 1st half, or the middle, of the 5th century is witnessed by the presence of an imitative Vandalic issue left behind by the Vandals on their procession along the Danube to *Raetia*.

Catalogue<sup>102</sup>

NO.	MINT	DENOM.	DATE	MINT-MARK	CIT.	WEIGHT	DIM.	PRES.	FIND-NO. / YEAR
L.FLAMINI CILO									
1.	Rom	D	109/108 BC		Cra 302/1; Pz	3.58	18.3	3	53/2012
M.HERENNI									
2.	Rom	D	108/107 BC		Cra 308/1a; Pz	3.42	17.8	3-4	4073/2012
Republic: unspecified									
3.	Rom	As (halved)	189/89 BC		Cra ?	14.42	34.2	5	5367/2013
4.	Rom	As (halved)	189/89 BC		Cra ?	11.58	30	5	M 034/2009
5.	Rom	As (halved)	189/89 BC		Cra ?	9.54	28	5	297/2012
6.	Rom	As (halved)	189/89 BC		Cra ?	8.61	28	5	M 062/2009
7.	Rom	As (quart.)	189/89 BC		Cra ?	4.98	21.6	0	6991/2013
8.	Rom	As (halved)	189/89 BC		Cra ?	3.38	27	5	10467/2013
M.CATO									
9.	Rom	Qui	89 BC		Cra 343/2b	1.43	15	4	1788/2012
CN.LENTVL									
10.	Rom	Qui	88 BC		Cra 345/2	1.37	16	4	6757/2013
L.CASSI LONGIN									
11.	Rom	D	63 BC		Cra 413/1	3.5	20	3	M 071/2009
L.MVSSIDIVS T.F LONGVS IIIIVIR A.P.F									
12.	Rom	D	42 BC		Cra 494/43a	3.47	19.1	3-4	4056/2012
M.ANTONIVS IMP.IIIIVIR R.P.C									
13.	Wms	D	42 BC		Cra 496/1	3.43	18	2-3	13016/2017
Octavian and Divus Caesar									
14.	Copia	Dp (halved)	36 BC		RPC 515	8.31	30.7	2	117/2012
Augustus (27 BC-AD 14)									
15.	Nem	As (halved)	10/14		RIC 159-161	6.46	27	3	2598/2012
16.	Lug	D	2/1 BC		RIC 207	2.51	17	3	5086/2013
17.	Lug	D (halved)	2 BC/AD 5		RIC 207-212	1.52	19	4-5	628/2010
18.	Lug	As (halved)	7 BC/AD 14		RIC 230, 233, 237-238b, 242 or 245	3.9	24	4	M 085/2009
19.	Lug	As (halved)	7 BC/AD 14		RIC 230, 233, 237-238b, 242 or 245	2.76	25	4-5	M 049/2009
20.	Lug	As (halved)	10/14		RIC 233 RIC 233, 237-238b, 242 or 245	3.03	24.1	5	4279/2013
21.	Rom	As	16/15 BC		RIC 386	9.07	28	4	M 347/2009
22.	Rom	As	16/15 BC		RIC 386	8.75	27	3	4443/2013
23.	Rom	As	16/15 BC		RIC 386	6.19	25	3	4910/2013
24.	Rom	Quad	9 BC		RIC 421	2.4	15.9	2-3	6837/2013
25.	Rom	As	3/2 BC		RIC 427	8.32	28.4	3-4	6472/2013
26.	Rom	As	3/2 BC		RIC 431; Km	8.18	28	3	M 137/2009
27.	Rom	As	3/2 BC		RIC 432; Km	10.36	27	4	M 391/2009
28.	Rom	As	3/2 BC		RIC 435	5.91	26	4	M 066/2009
29.	Rom	As	3/2 BC		RIC 436	7.62	26.6	4	886/2012

102 The catalogue is based on the scheme of FMRÖ and uses the common abbreviations for mints and denominations.

NO.	MINT	DENOM.	DATE	MINT-MARK	CIT.	WEIGHT	DIM.	PRES.	FIND-NO. / YEAR
30.	Rom	As	3/2 BC		RIC 437	8.19	27	4	M 086/2009
31.	Rom	Quad	4 BC		RIC 468	3.08	14	2	M 335/2009
32.	Rom	As	10/12		RIC 471	9.08	29	2-3	7148/2013
33.	Rom	As	10/12		RIC 471	8.63	27	3	M 043/2009
34.	Eph	As	25 BC		RIC 485 or 486	8.01	22	4	662/2010
35.	Rom	As	16/6 BC		RIC ?	8.12	25.6	4	11122/2013
36.	Rom	As	16/6 BC		RIC ?	8.05	26	4	M 035/2009
37.	Rom	As	16/6 BC		RIC ?; Km	8.02	28.2	4	12593/2013
38.	Rom	As	16/6 BC		RIC ?	7.25	25	5	M 138/2009
39.	Rom	As	16/6 BC		RIC ?	6.86	25.6	4	6850/2013
40.	Rom	As	16/6 BC		RIC ?	6.75	26.4	4	3847/2012
41.	Rom	As	16/6 BC		RIC ?	6.51	26	4	M 073/2009
42.	Rom	As (halved)	16/6 BC		RIC ?	5.72	26.7	0	6639/2013
43.	Rom	As	16/6 BC		RIC ?	5.69	26.6	3	1735/2012
44.	Rom	As	16/6 BC		RIC ?	4.66	25	0	6186/2013
45.	Rom	As	16/6 BC		RIC ?	4.56	24	5	M 387/2009
46.	Rom	As	16/6 BC		RIC ?	4.45	28.3	3-4	5754/2013
47.	Rom	As (halved)	16/6 BC		RIC ?	4.36	27	3	2673/2012
48.	Rom	As	16/6 BC		RIC ?	4.28	27	4-5	5180/2013
49.	Rom	As (halved)	16/6 BC		RIC ?	3.19	15.8	4-5	991/2012
50.	Rom	As (halved)	16/6 BC		RIC ?	2.73	24	0	5554/2013
51.	Rom	As	16 BC/AD 12		RIC ?	7.27	26	4-5	M 044/2009
52.	Rom	Quad	9/4 BC		RIC ?	2.22	15	3	664/2010
53.	Rom	Quad	9/4 BC		RIC ?	1.19	14	0	M 079/2009
54.	mint?	As	27 BC/AD 14		RIC ?	8.56	27	0	1374/2012
55.	mint?	As	27 BC/AD 14		RIC ?	6.15	26.7	4	1965/2012
56.	Rom	As	27 BC/AD 14		RIC ?	6.09	25.5	0	4673/2013
57.	mint?	As (halved)	27 BC/AD 14		RIC ?	2.67	22	5	1209/2012
58.	mint?	As (halved)	27 BC/AD 14		RIC ?	2.48	22.5	5	10656/2013
59.	mint?	As (halved)	27 BC/AD 14		RIC ?	1.78	23.2	5	1568/2012
60.	mint?	As	23 BC/AD 14		RIC ?	7.14	26	5	M 307/2009
Tiberius (14-37)									
61.	Rom	As	21/22		RIC 44	10.03	29	3	10458/2013
62.	Rom	S	21/22		RIC 48	21.61	33	4	5392/2013
Tiberius for Divus Augustus									
63.	Rom	As	14/15		MIR 27-6	7.24	26	4	M 340/2009
64.	Rom	As	14/17		MIR 29-6	9.47	26.5	2-3	2400/2012
65.	Rom	As	14/17		MIR 29-6	4.35	25.3	5	13029/2017
66.	Rom	As	16/22		MIR 29-6	8.99	30	4	M 311/2009
67.	Rom	As	36/37		MIR 63-6	7.01	28	4	M 101/2009
Tiberius for Drusus									
68.	Rom	As	22/34		MIR 38-6	9.73	31	3	M 045/2009



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				Claudius I (41–54)					
69.	Rom	As	41/54		RIC ?	3.05	24.1	4	4679/2013
				Nero (54–68)					
70.	Rom	D	64/68		RIC 55	2.94	17.6	3	510/2012
				Julio-Claudian					
71.	mint?	As (halved)	27 BC/68		RIC ?	3.17	23.3	0	2056/2012
72.	mint?	As (halved)	27 BC/68		RIC ?	1.48	23.5	5	1764/2012
73.	mint?	As (halved)	23 BC/54		RIC ?	1.68	22	5	M 306/2009
74.	mint?	As (halved)	23 BC/68		RIC ?	2.7	24.5	0	3271/2012
				Vespasianus for Titus					
75.	Rom	D	73		RIC 517	1.31	17.5	3	13022/2017
				Domitianus (81–96)					
76.	Rom	S	90/91		RIC 702	22.82	35	3	M 354/2009
				Traianus (98–117)					
77.	Rom	As	98/117		RIC ?	3.85	23.8	0	12965/2013
				Hadrianus (117–138)					
78.	Rom	D	134/138		RIC 237 (d)	3.05	18	3	697/2010
79.	Rom	D	134/138		RIC 240 (d)	3.01	19	1	M 131/2009
80.	Rom	As	119/121		RIC 579b (c)	7.5	25.8	4	7818/2013
81.	Rom	Dp	119/121		RIC 604a	11.39	26.8	3	560/2012
82.	Rom	Dp	119/121		RIC 604a	10.65	25.7	3	5801/2013
83.	Rom	As	125/128		RIC 674 (c)	9.52	24	4	M 379/2009
84.	Rom	As	125/128		RIC 678 (c)	11.96	26.1	4	10707/2013
85.	Rom	As	125/128		RIC 678 (c)	9.35	27	4	M 068/2009
86.	Rom	Dp	117/138		RIC ?	n/a	n/a	4	81_8/2008
				Traianus or Hadrianus					
87.	Rom	S	98/138		RIC ?	16.37	34.5	0	2981/2012
				Antoninus Pius (138–161)					
88.	Rom	As	145/161		RIC 824a	9.14	27	3	M 332/2009
89.	Rom	Dp	151/152		RIC 894	n/a	n/a	2	147_1/2008
90.	Rom	Dp	151/152		RIC 894	15.46	28.6	1–2	9066/2013
91.	Rom	Dp	154/155		RIC 932	11.5	26	2	833/2010
92.	Rom	D	138/161		RIC ?	1.7	18	0	848/2010
93.	Rom	S	138/161		RIC ?	15.41	31.5	4–5	3807/2012
94.	Rom	Dp	138/161		RIC ?	13.36	26	3–4	872/2010
95.	Rom	As	138/161		RIC ?	6.83	24.6	3–4	5296/2013
				Antoninus Pius for Diva Faustina I					
96.	Rom	D	141/161		RIC 344 (a)	3.35	19	1	M 105/2009
97.	Rom	As	141/161		RIC ?	8.39	27	4	706/2010
98.	Rom	As	141/161		RIC ?	5.4	24	4–5	11124/2013
99.	Rom	D	141/161		RIC 350a	2.6	17.9	3	12751/2013
				Marcus Aurelius (161–180)					
100.	Rom	Dp	161/180		RIC ?	11.06	25	3–4	839/2010

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Marcus Aurelius or Commodus									
101.	Rom	D	161/192		RIC ?	2.14	17.8	0	9731/2013
102.	Rom	As	161/192		RIC ?	11.88	27	4	7260/2013
1st/2nd century									
103.	mint?	As	23 BC/192		RIC ?	7.91	26.2	0	647/2012
104.	mint?	As	23 BC/192		RIC ?	5.07	25.2	0	566/2012
105.	mint?	As	23 BC/192		RIC ?	6.19	25	0	3015/2012
106.	mint?	As	23 BC/192		RIC ?	3.1	20.5	0	5125/2013
107.	mint?	As (halved)	23 BC/192		RIC ?	1.87	24.5	0	5830/2013
108.	mint?	As (halved)	23 BC/192		RIC ?	2.08	21.5	5	13018/2017
Provincial									
109.	mint?	AEgr.	23 BC/260		RIC ?	3.05	19.5	4	13032/2017
Septimius Severus (193-211)									
110.	(mint?)	(S)	193/211		RIC ?	13.11	26.4	0	12815/2013
Caracalla (211-217)									
111.	Rom	D	213		RIC 232	1.89	18	3	2998/2012
Elagabalus (218-222)									
112.	Rom	D	221		RIC 146 (b)	2.99	20	2	M 318/2009
113.	Rom	D	221		RIC 146 (b)	0.96	18	3-4	763/2010
Severus Alexander (222-235)									
114.	Rom	D	222/235		RIC ?	1.29	10	3	10509/2013
Severus Alexander for Julia Mamaea									
115.	Rom	D	226		RIC 343	1.73	19	3	819/2010
Severan times									
116.	mint?	D	193/235		RIC ?	0.71	12	4	767/2010
Maximinus I Thrax (235-238)									
117.	Rom	S	236		MIR 10-5/C	15.3	30	3	M 303/2009
Gallienus (260-268)									
118.	Rom	An	260/261	_ P//_	MIR 344a	1.66	19	2-3	743/2010
119.	Rom	An	262		MIR 465q1	1.51	19	3	1060/2012
120.	Rom	An	264/267	A // _	MIR 570a	1.88	19	2	716/2010
121.	Rom	An	264/267	_ C//_	MIR 583a	1.58	19	2	728/2010
122.	Rom	An	264/267	_ C//_	MIR 583a	2.17	17	3	758/2010
123.	Rom	An	264/267	_ // _	MIR 591a	2.4	19	3	744/2010
124.	Rom	An	267/268	_ // XI	MIR 747b	2.69	20	3	752/2010
125.	Med	An	266/268	_ // MP	MIR 1331d	1.78	20	3	840/2010
126.	Sis	An	267/268	S // _	MIR 1501b	1.82	21.2	2	8496/2013
127.	mint?	An	260/268		MIR ?	1.24	19	3	626/2010
Claudius II (268-270)									
128.	Rom	An	268/270	_ // _	RIC 92 (K)	1.45	18	2-3	699/2010
129.	Rom	An	268/270	_ // _	RIC 100 (F)	2.02	17	2-3	701/2010
130.	Rom	An	268/270	_ // _	RIC 48 (F)	2.62	20	2	702/2010

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131.	Rom	An	268/270		RIC 91 or 92	1.28	18	2-3	751/2010
132.	Rom	An	268/270		RIC 91	1.4	19	2-3	754/2010
133.	Rom	An	268/270	--//	RIC 71 (F)	1.28	18	3	785/2010
134.	Rom	An	268/270	_N//	RIC 16 (K)	2.2	20	3	787/2010
135.	Rom	An	268/270	e_//	RIC 109 (K)	1.3	16	3	855/2010
136.	Rom	An	268/270	--//	RIC 109 (F)	1.93	18.9	3	8428/2013
137.	Rom	An	268/270	--//	RIC 80 (F)	1.74	17	3-4	9905/2013
138.	mint?	An	268/270		RIC ?	1.07	15.1	4-5	10014/2013
Victorinus (269-270)									
139.	Gall	An	269/270		RIC ?	1.03	14	3-4	631/2010
140.	Gall	An	269/270	--//	RIC ?	2.86	17	3	879/2010
Aurelianus (270-275)									
141.	Ant	An	274	T//XXI	MIR 381a3	3.23	23	2	705/2010
142.	mint?	An	270/275		MIR ?	3.19	20.1	0	9271/2013
143.	mint?	An	270/275		MIR ?	2.4	24	4	M 371/2009
144.	mint?	An	270/275		MIR ?	1.96	18	4	829/2010
Aurelianus for Divus Claudius II									
145.	Rom	An	270	--//	MIR 981oa	2.88	15.7	4	9158/2013
146.	Rom	An	270	--//	MIR 98moa	1.4	18	3	704/2010
147.	Rom	An	270	--//	MIR 98poa	0.93	15	3	753/2010
148.	Rom	An	270	--//	MIR 98poa	1.14	14	4	762/2010
149.	Rom	An	270	--//	MIR 991oa	1.97	15.5	3	6775/2013
150.	Rom	An	270	--//	MIR 991ob	1.79	18.6	3	7518/2013
151.	Rom	An	270	--//	MIR 990ob	1.04	13	3	747/2010
152.	Rom	An	270	--//	MIR 990ob	1.61	15	3	711/2010
153.	Rom	An	270	--//	MIR 991/nob	2.18	18	3	766/2010
154.	Rom	An	270	--//	MIR 991/nob	0.73	15	3	786/2010
155.	Rom	An	270	?	MIR 99	0.33	12	3	803/2010
Probus (276-282)									
156.	Sis	An	280	_Q//XXI	RIC 712 (F)	4.53	22.9	2	8492/2013
Diocletianus (284-305)									
157.	Her	Fol	297/298	--//HTS	RIC 19a	8.74	27.4	1-2	11347/2013
Maximianus I (285-310)									
158.	Ale	FolT (rad)	296/297	?//ALE	RIC 46b	2.42	20	4	M 132/2009
Maximianus I for Constantius I									
159.	mint?	Fol	293/305		RIC ?	5.85	29.5	5	12009/2013
Constantinus I (306-337)									
160.	Tic	Fol	322/325	∩//QT	RIC 167	2.38	19	3	M 361/2009
161.	Aqu	Fol	320	S F//AQP	RIC 40	2.44	19.1	1	11958/2013
162.	Rom	Fol	316/317	--//[R]S	RIC 52	2.86	20.3	1-2	8998/2013
163.	Rom	Fol	336/337	--//R*P	RIC 391	0.81	15.5	4	4424/2013
164.	Tes	Fol	330/333	--//SMTSA	RIC 183	1.75	18.6	3	8352/2013

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165.	Tes	Fol	336/337		RIC 222	1.38	16.5	2	8134/2013
166.	Her	Fol	330/333	__//SMHI	RIC 111	1.91	17.8	3	9633/2013
167.	Cyz	Fol	324/325	__//SMKc	RIC 24	1.68	16	3	2872/2012
168.	Kyz	Fol	336/337	__//SMKΔ	RIC 122	1.49	17	3	801/2010
169.	Nic	Fol	313/317	__?//SMN	RIC 12	1.92	19.5	3	26/2012
170.	mint?	Fol	318/320		RIC ?	3.21	20.9	0	9178/2013
171.	mint?	Fol	321/324		RIC ?	1.88	18	4	M 037/2009
172.	mint?	Fol	330/336		RIC ?	2.2	16.8	3-4	7748/2013
173.	mint?	Fol	330/336		RIC ?	1.35	17.2	4-5	11400/2013
174.	mint?	Fol	335/337		RIC ?	1.27	15.8	0	8919/2013
175.	mint?	Fol	336/337		RIC ?	1.03	15.9	3-4	10129/2013
				Constantinus I for Constantinus II					
176.	Sis	Fol	335/336	__//cSIS	RIC 253	1.11	16.7	3	8282/2013
177.	Tes	Fol	330/333	__//SMTSI	RIC 184	1.75	19	3	M 324/2009
178.	mint?	Fol	330/336	__//?	RIC ?	1.25	16	4	M 136/2009
				Constantinus I for Constantius II					
179.	Aqu	Fol	336/337	__//•AQP	RIC 145	1.21	16.6	1	10105/2013
180.	Sis	Fol	334/335	__//•ASIS•	RIC 237	1.86	18	2	722/2010
181.	mint?	Fol	330/336		RIC ?	1.75	17.4	3	11945/2013
				Constantinus I for Constans					
182.	Sis	Fol	334/335	__//•ASIS•	RIC 238	2.63	19	2	721/2010
183.	Sis	Fol	334/335	__//•ASIS•	RIC 238	2.04	18	2	683/2010
184.	Con	Fol	333/335	__//•CONSA•	RIC 83	2.37	18	2	863/2010
				Constantinus I for Constans or Constantius II					
185.	mint?	Fol	335/337		RIC ?	1.14	16.5	3	6654/2013
				Constantinus I for Delmatius					
186.	Aqu	Fol	336/337	__//•AQP	RIC 147	1.25	16.5	2	11774/2013
				Constantinus I for Constantinopolis					
187.	Sis	Fol	334/335	__//•BSIS•	RIC 241	2.04	19.1	2-3	8994/2013
188.	Tes	Fol	330/337	__//SMTSc	RIC 188=230	1.76	16	1	842/2010
				Constantinus I for Urbs Roma					
189.	Sis	Fol	334/335	__//•ASIS•	RIC 240	1.1	17	4	M 069/2009
190.	Sis	Fol	334/335	__//•BSIS•	RIC 240	1.77	18	3	M 339/2009
191.	mint?	Fol	330/337		RIC ?	1.29	15.7	5	12012/2013
192.	mint?	Fol	330/337		RIC ?	1.25	13	3	789/2010
				Constantinus I for Sons					
193.	mint?	Fol	335/337		RIC ?	1.32	15	3	773/2010
194.	mint?	Fol	318/337		RIC ?	1.33	15.6	0	6677/2013
195.	mint?	Fol	330/336		RIC ?	2.37	19.3	0	8569/2013
196.	mint?	Fol	330/337		RIC ?	2.11	17.5	0	8972/2013
197.	mint?	Fol	335/337		RIC ?	1.55	14	4	M 320/2009



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Licinius I (308–324)									
198.	Rom	Fol	314/315	R/X F//RP	RIC 29	3.55	20	2	M 023/2009
Constantinus I or Licinius I									
199.	mint?	Fol	313/318		RIC ?	1.7	19.5	0	7161/2013
Constantinus II, Constans and Constantius II for Divus Constantinus I									
200.	Con	Fol	337/340	__//CONS	RIC 37	1.46	16	3	685/2010
Constans (337–350)									
201.	Arl	Fol	340	G//PARL	RIC 58	1.82	15	2	864/2010
202.	Aqu	Fol	340	__//AQS	RIC 34	1.1	16	2	793/2010
203.	Aqu	Fol	341/348	\\//AQP	RIC 87	1.2	16	4	M 328/2009
204.	Aqu	Fol	341/348	\\//AQ?	RIC 87	0.96	16	3	814/2010
205.	Aqu	Fol	341/348	\\//AQP	RIC 87	1.3	16	4	851/2010
206.	Aqu	Fol	341/348	\\/?	RIC 87, 89 or 92	0.74	15	4	M 369/2009
207.	Rom	Fol	341/348	__//AQP	RIC 77	1.74	15	3	10111/2013
208.	Rom	Fol	341/348	__//R?	RIC 78	1.4	15	3	708/2010
209.	Kyz	Fol	337/340	__//SMKB	RIC 12	0.94	16	2	806/2010
210.	Kyz	Fol	337/340	__//SMKB*	RIC 22	0.67	15	2–3	824/2010
211.	Kyz	Fol	347/348	__//SMK?	RIC 51	1.33	14	2	720/2010
212.	Sis	Fol	337/340	__//ΔSIS~	RIC 99	1.56	17	1–2	804/2010
213.	Sis	Fol	337/340	__//TSIS~	RIC 100	1.48	16	2	703/2010
214.	Sis	Fol	341/348	__//TSIS	RIC 183	1.3	16.1	1–2	10188/2013
215.	Sis	Fol	341/348	__//BSIS	RIC 183	1.36	16.3	3	12239/2013
216.	Sis	Fol	341/348	__//ASIS*	RIC 185	0.6	15	3	M 059/2009
217.	Sis	Fol	341/348	__//[*]ASIS*	RIC 185	1.47	16	2	627/2010
218.	Sis	Fol	341/348	__//ASIS*	RIC 185	1.53	16	2	644/2010
219.	Sis	Fol	341/348	__//BSIS*	RIC 185	0.93	16	3	681/2010
220.	Sis	Fol	341/348	HR//BSIS	RIC 192	1.1	16	3	M 365/2009
221.	Sis	Fol	341/348	HR//TSIS	RIC 192	1.34	16	2	698/2010
222.	Sis	Fol	341/348	HR//ASIS	RIC 192	1.7	17	2	750/2010
223.	Sis	Fol	341/348	HR//BSIS	RIC 192	1.12	17	0	869/2010
224.	Sis	Fol	341/348	\\//BSIS	RIC 195	1.42	16	2	694/2010
225.	Sis	Fol	341/348	\\//ASIS	RIC 195	1.38	16.8	3	8911/2013
226.	Sis	Cen	348/350	__//ΔSIS~	RIC 244	1.82	17	2	746/2010
227.	Tes	Fol	341/348	__//SMTSI	RIC 100	1.86	16	1–2	710/2010
228.	Tes	Fol	341/348	\\//SMTSB	RIC 105	1.16	15	3	M 358/2009
229.	mint?	Fol	337/340	__//?	RIC ?	1.44	14	3	7566/2013
230.	mint?	Fol	337/340		RIC ?	0.99	16	3	672/2010
231.	mint?	Fol	341/348	__//?	RIC ?	1.44	17	2–3	639/2010
Constantius II (337–361)									
232.	Tre	Mai	348/350	__//TRP	RIC 214	3.01	23.5	2	13030/2017
233.	Arl	Fol	340	G//?	RIC 56	1.35	15.2	3	9058/2013
234.	Arl	Cen	360/361	~//SC ON	RIC 298	1.5	15	3	797/2010
235.	Aqu	Fol	341/348	__//AQP	RIC 76	1.43	15.5	3	9838/2013
236.	Aqu	Mai	350/351	A_;* _//AQ?	RIC 153	3.23	22	1–2	714/2010

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237.	Aqu	Mai	352/355	A _ ; ? S _ // ?	RIC 193	3.76	19.4	3-4	11800/2013
238.	Aqu	Cen	352/355	_ _ // AQP	RIC 199	2.28	16	3	689/2010
239.	Aqu	Mai	352/355	LXXII ? // ?	RIC 187-197	1.86	21	3	813/2010
240.	Rom	Cen	352/355	_ _ // R*Q	RIC 276	1.47	18.6	3	7563/2013
241.	Rom	Cen	355/361	_ _ // R*Z	RIC 318	1.81	18	2	719/2010
242.	Sir	Cen	355/361	M _ // BSIRM*	RIC 73	2.26	19	1-2	742/2010
243.	Sir	Cen	355/361	§ _ // _	RIC 86	1.47	17	2	769/2010
244.	Sis	Fol	341/348	¶ // ?	RIC 194	1.36	16	2	717/2010
245.	Sis	Cen	350/351	_ _ // CSIS	RIC 313	2.27	19.2	1-2	8988/2013
246.	Sis	Mai	351/355	A _ ; III * // TSIS	RIC 327	3.68	23.2	2-3	9443/2013
247.	Sis	Cen	351/355	_ _ // TSIS	RIC 350	1.72	17	5	M 384/2009
248.	Sis	Cen	351/355	_ _ // ASIS	RIC 350	1.9	18	3	696/2010
249.	Sis	Cen	355/361	_ _ // ASISD	RIC 364	2.61	17	2	643/2010
250.	Sis	Cen	355/361	M _ // ASISS	RIC 369	2.22	16	3	736/2010
251.	Sis	Cen	355/361	M _ // ? SISS	RIC 369	1.83	16	3	796/2010
252.	Sis	Cen	355/361	M _ // ASISS	RIC 369	2.46	18	3	9280/2013
253.	Sis	Cen	355/361	M _ // TSIS	RIC 377	2.49	16	3	817/2010
254.	Sis	Cen	355/361	_ _ // ASIS*	RIC 396	1.09	15.4	3	7442/2013
255.	Sis	Cen	355/361	_ _ * // BSIS	RIC 398	2.87	15	2	674/2010
256.	Sis	Cen	355/361	_ _ // ? SISV	RIC 400	1.32	16	3	858/2010
257.	Sis	Cen	351/361	_ _ // ? SISS	RIC 352=361	2.25	17.2	3	9800/2013
258.	Sis	Cen	351/361	_ _ // BSISS	RIC 352=361	1.99	18	4	12236/2013
259.	Tes	Fol	341/348	_ _ // SMTSΔ	RIC 99	1.57	16	2-3	874/2010
260.	Tes	Cen	355/361	M _ // SMTSA	RIC 208	1.93	18	2	873/2010
261.	Tes	Cen	355/361	M _ // SMTSA	RIC 211	2.34	15	2-3	859/2010
262.	Her	Cen	351/355	_ _ // SMHA	RIC 90	2.18	18	2	860/2010
263.	Con	Cen	351/355	_ _ // CONS?	RIC 118	2.64	16	3	M 373/2009
264.	Con	Cen	355/361	_ _ // CONSA*	RIC 135	3.02	18.3	2	9423/2013
265.	Kyz	Fol	337/340	_ _ // SMKA*	RIC 21	1.2	15	3	8245/2013
266.	mint?	Fol	337/348		RIC ?	1.72	13	3-4	772/2010
267.	mint?	Mai	348/355		RIC ?	2.94	20.7	4	6959/2013
268.	mint?	Mai	350/355		RIC ?	1.79	19.8	4-5	4984/2013
269.	mint?	Cen	351/361		RIC ?	2.2	18.1	4	7645/2013
270.	mint?	Cen	351/361		RIC ?	2.07	18.2	0	10021/2013
271.	mint?	Cen	351/361		RIC ?	2.02	16.7	0	7667/2013
272.	mint?	Cen	351/361		RIC ?	1.89	16	3	865/2010
273.	mint?	Cen	351/361		RIC ?	1.87	16.2	4	12316/2013
274.	mint?	Cen	351/361		RIC ?	1.86	16.7	4	6532/2013
275.	mint?	Cen	351/361	_ _ // ?	RIC ?	1.82	18.6	2	7471/2013
276.	mint?	Cen	351/361		RIC ?	1.81	16	3	779/2010
277.	mint?	Cen	351/361		RIC ?	1.8	17	4	M 135/2009
278.	mint?	Cen	351/361		RIC ?	1.72	17	4	862/2010
279.	mint?	Cen	351/361		RIC ?	1.41	13	4	M 039/2009
280.	mint?	Cen	351/361		RIC ?	1.29	15.1	4	7571/2013
281.	mint?	Cen	351/361		RIC ?	1.22	18	4	843/2010

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282.	mint?	Cen	351/361		RIC ?	1.2	16	0	826/2010
283.	mint?	Cen	351/361		RIC ?	1.18	16	4-5	11535/2013
284.	mint?	Cen	351/361		RIC ?	0.99	16.4	4-5	4564/2013
285.	mint?	Cen	351/361		RIC ?	0.99	14	4-5	5209/2013
286.	mint?	Cen	351/361		RIC ?	0.98	17	0	1071/2012
287.	mint?	Cen	351/361		RIC ?	0.85	16	4	M 110/2009
288.	mint?	Cen	351/361		RIC ?	0.81	14.3	4	2670/2012
289.	mint?	Cen	351/361		RIC ?	0.71	16.2	0	8085/2013
290.	mint?	Cen	351/361		RIC ?	0.55	13.5	4-5	1266/2012
291.	mint?	Cen	355/361		RIC ?	1.94	17	4	M 337/2009
292.	mint?	Cen	355/361	_ _//?	RIC ?	1.92	15	3	788/2010
293.	mint?	Cen	355/361		RIC ?	1.74	16	2-3	707/2010
294.	mint?	Cen	355/361		RIC ?	1.7	14	4	749/2010
295.	mint?	Cen	355/361		RIC ?	1.54	17	3	792/2010
296.	mint?	Cen	355/361		RIC ?	1.48	17	3	802/2010
297.	mint?	Cen	355/361		RIC ?	1.48	16.3	3	8875/2013
298.	mint?	Cen	355/361		RIC ?	1.11	16	3	770/2010
299.	mint?	Cen	355/361		RIC ?	1.06	16	3	709/2010
300.	mint?	Cen	355/361		RIC ?	1.04	15	3	807/2010
301.	mint?	Cen	355/361		RIC ?	1	14	4	M 334/2009
302.	mint?	Cen	355/361		RIC ?	0.69	14.7	3	3065/2012
303.	eastern mint	Cen	351/361	M_//?	RIC ?	1.4	18	2	8214/2013
304.	eastern mint	Cen	355/361	M_//?	RIC ?	2.12	17	2-3	737/2010
Constantius II for Constantius Gallus									
305.	Sis	Cen	351	_ _//SIS	RIC 317	1.41	15	4	M 333/2009
306.	Sis	Cen	351/354	_ _//ΔSIS	RIC 354	1.09	17	3	M 351/2009
307.	mint?	Mai	351/354	A_ : ?	RIC ?	2.78	22	4	M 022/2009
308.	mint?	Cen	351/354		RIC ?	1.68	16	3-4	847/2010
309.	mint?	Cen	351/354	_ _//?	RIC ?	2.09	18	3	7959/2013
Constantius II for Iulianus									
310.	Aqu	Cen	355/361	M_ : _ _//AQT/	RIC 223	2	17	2	812/2010
311.	Aqu	Cen	355/361	M_ : _ _//AQT/	RIC 223	1.35	18	2-3	10059/2013
312.	Aqu	Cen	355/361	M_ : ?	RIC 223, 225, 227 or 229	1.94	19	3-4	876/2010
313.	Rom	Cen	355/361	_ _//R*ς	RIC 321	1.47	16	2	861/2010
314.	Sis	Cen	355/361	_ _//ΔSISV	RIC 401	2.02	16	3	756/2010
315.	eastern mint	Cen	355/361	M_//?	RIC ?	1.68	17	4	835/2010
316.	eastern mint	Cen	355/361	M_//?	RIC ?	1.35	17	3	M 112/2009
Constantius II for Constantius Gallus or Iulianus									
317.	mint?	Cen	351/361		RIC ?	1.53	17	4	764/2010
Constantius II or Constantius II for Iulianus									
318.	eastern mint	Cen	355/361	M_//?	RIC ?	2.6	16	4	877/2010
Constantius II or Constantius II for Constantius Gallus or Iulianus									
319.	mint?	Cen	351/361	?	RIC ?	2.04	15	4	881/2010

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320.	mint?	Cen	351/361		RIC ?	1.11	18.3	0	8996/2013
Constans and Constantius II for Divus Constantinus									
321.	mint?	Fol	347/348		RIC ?	1.01	15.5	3	8470/2013
Constantinus II, Constans or Constantius II									
322.	Aqu	Fol	337/340	_//AQP	RIC 27A-30	1.04	15	3	748/2010
323.	Tes	Fol	337/340	_//SMTS?	RIC 55-57	0.5	16	3	M 111/2009
324.	Ant	Fol	337/340	_//SMAN?	RIC 40-48	1.44	14	0	871/2010
325.	mint?	Fol	337/340		RIC ?	1.26	15.6	4	8129/2013
326.	mint?	Fol	337/340		RIC ?	1.23	16	4	10212/2013
327.	mint?	Fol	337/340		RIC ?	0.93	14	4	635/2010
328.	mint?	Fol	337/340		RIC ?	0.97	16	0	8467/2013
329.	mint?	Fol	337/340		RIC ?	0.33	15.7	4	7728/2013
330.	mint?	Fol	337/348		RIC ?	1.46	14	4-5	658/2010
331.	mint?	Fol	337/348		RIC ?	1.09	15	4	844/2010
Constans or Constantius II									
332.	Aqu	Fol	341/348	\\//AQ?	RIC 86-93	1.38	18	3	795/2010
333.	Rom	Fol	337/340	_//?	RIC 11-13	1.27	14	2	715/2010
334.	Sis	Fol	337/340	_//•ASIS•	RIC 102 or 104	0.63	15	3	M 116/2009
335.	Aqu/Sis	Fol	341/348	\\//?	RIC ?	0.86	15	4	M 329/2009
336.	mint?	Fol	341/348		RIC ?	1.9	15	4	M 124/2009
337.	mint?	Fol	341/348		RIC ?	1.83	15.5	3-4	8824/2013
338.	mint?	Fol	341/348		RIC ?	1.54	16	4	648/2010
339.	mint?	Fol	341/348		RIC ?	1.5	16	0	7220/2013
340.	mint?	Fol	341/348		RIC ?	1.31	14	4	650/2010
341.	mint?	Fol	341/348		RIC ?	1.31	16	4	M 133/2009
342.	mint?	Fol	341/348		RIC ?	0.94	14.6	4	13024/2017
343.	mint?	Fol	341/348		RIC ?	0.93	16.1	4	6919/2013
344.	mint?	Fol	341/348		RIC ?	0.91	14	3	M 024/2009
345.	mint?	Fol	341/348		RIC ?	0.87	14.2	4-5	12658/2013
346.	mint?	Fol	341/348		RIC ?	0.86	16	4	782/2010
347.	mint?	Fol	341/348	\\//?	RIC ?	0.82	14	3	800/2010
348.	mint?	Fol	341/348		RIC ?	0.6	14.8	4	10261/2013
349.	mint?	Fol	341/348		RIC ?	0.57	14	4	M 114/2009
Constantinian times									
350.	mint?	Fol	330/348		RIC ?	1.48	13.2	5	8920/2013
351.	mint?	Fol	330/340			1.51	16.2	4	13021/2017
352.	mint?	Fol/Cen	318/348		RIC ?	0.6	15.7	0	150/2012
Iulianus (361-363)									
353.	Sis	Cen	361/363	_//BSIS	RIC 414	1.23	18.1	2	778/2010
Iovianus (363-364)									
354.	Arl	Cen	363/364	_//?CONST	RIC 333	2.68	18	2	M 338/2009
355.	Sis	Cen	363/364	_//ASISC	RIC 426	2.29	20	2	712/2010



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Valentinianus I (364–375)									
356.	Aqu	Cen	367/375	_//SMAQS	RIC 11a (xvib)	2.2	17	3	794/2010
357.	Aqu	Cen	367/375	_//SMAQS	RIC 12a (xiva)	2.38	19	1	651/2010
358.	Sis	Cen	364/367	_//ASISC	RIC 7a (i)	2.24	18	1–2	810/2010
359.	Sis	Cen	364/367	_//DΔSISC	RIC 7a (iv)	2.67	19.8	2	8720/2013
360.	Sis	Cen	364/367	_//DΔSISC	RIC 7a (iv)	1.18	18	4	841/2010
361.	Sis	Cen	364/367	*A_//DΔSISC	RIC 7a (vii)	2.2	19	2	775/2010
362.	Sis	Cen	367/375	_R//?SISC	RIC 14a (x)	1.98	17	3	632/2010
363.	Sis	Cen	367/375	_D//?	RIC 14a (xi or xii)	1.16	18	3	832/2010
364.	Sis	Cen	367/375	R_//?	RIC 15a (x)	1.33	17	2	718/2010
365.	Sis	Cen	367/375	R_//ASISC	RIC 15a (x)	1.83	18	3	882/2010
366.	Sis	Cen	367/375	D_//*ΔSISC	RIC 15a (xi)	1.73	17	3	M 326/2009
367.	Sis	Cen	367/375	D_//?SISC	RIC 15a (xi or xii)	1.07	17	3	M 054/2009
368.	Sis	Cen	367/375	D S//?	RIC 15a (xiii)	1.91	18	4	M 316/2009
369.	Sis	Cen	367/375	*P M//?	RIC 15a (xvii)	1.88	17	4	M 330/2009
370.	mint?	Cen	364/375		RIC ?	2.19	18.4	0	9146/2013
371.	mint?	Cen	364/375		RIC ?	1.92	17.7	3	12547/2013
372.	mint?	Cen	364/375		RIC ?	1.75	19	3–4	7267/2013
373.	mint?	Cen	364/375		RIC ?	1.36	15	2	7372/2013
374.	mint?	Cen	364/375		RIC ?	0.42	15	4	M 115/2009
Valens (364–378)									
375.	Arl	Cen	364/367	OF V//?	RIC 7a (iia)	1.75	17.1	3	8413/2013
376.	Aqu	Cen	364/367	_B//SMAQ?	RIC 7b (iia or iiib)	1.88	17	2–3	823/2010
377.	Aqu	Cen	364/367	ƒ_//SMAQ?	RIC 9b (viiia or viib)	2.09	18	2	659/2010
378.	Aqu	Cen	367/375	◊_//SM?	RIC 12b (xiva or xivb)	1.38	17	2–3	636/2010
379.	Aqu	Cen	367/375	_//SMAQS	RIC 12b (xvib)	2.13	18.2	3	8524/2013
380.	Aqu	Cen	367/375	_*B//TES	RIC 26b (xv)	1.99	16.2	3–4	6513/2013
381.	Rom	Cen	364/375	_//R*PRIMA	RIC 17b=24b (ixb)	1.27	16.9	3	8862/2013
382.	Sis	Cen	364/367	_//ASISC	RIC 5b (i)	2	17	3	663/2010
383.	Sis	Cen	364/367	_//BSISC	RIC 5b (i)	1.92	18	3	695/2010
384.	Sis	Cen	364/367	_*A//DBSISC	RIC 5b (vii)	2.05	20.2	2–3	7462/2013
385.	Sis	Cen	364/367	_//BSISC	RIC 7b (i)	1.07	16	4	M 331/2009
386.	Sis	Cen	364/367	*A_//?	RIC 7b (v–vii)	1.63	18.3	3–4	6786/2013
387.	Sis	Cen	367/375	_R//BSISC	RIC 14b (x)	1.79	17	3	M 315/2009
388.	Sis	Cen	367/375	_R//?	RIC 14b (x)	1.97	17	3	771/2010
389.	Sis	Cen	367/375	R_//?	RIC 15b (x)	2.46	17.1	3–4	11893/2013
390.	Sis	Cen	367/375	D S//ASISC	RIC 15b (xiii)	2.44	17.2	1–2	7445/2013
391.	Sis	Cen	367/375	*F S//ASISC	RIC 15b (xv)	1.98	17	3	8895/2013
392.	Tes	Cen	367/375	*V Γ//TES	RIC 27b (xxxviii)	2.05	16.7	2	8625/2013
393.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	2.62	15	3	649/2010
394.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	2.05	17	3	675/2010
395.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	1.98	16	4	676/2010
396.	mint?	Cen	364/378	_*//?	RIC ?	1.92	18.1	2	8251/2013
397.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	1.72	16	4	M 360/2009
398.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	1.47	18.2	3	8959/2013

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Valentinianus I or Valens									
399.	Aqu	Cen	364/378	? ?//SMA?	RIC ?	1.51	16.9	2-3	9113/2013
400.	Sis	Cen	367/375	D ?//?	RIC 15a or 15b (xi-xiii)	0.48	14.5	3-4	10007/2013
401.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	2.93	18.5	0	7663/2013
402.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	2.12	18.2	4	6776/2013
403.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	2.09	15.4	4	9143/2013
404.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	1.85	17	4	790/2010
405.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	1.78	16	3-4	691/2010
406.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	1.75	15	4	805/2010
407.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	1.69	16	3	684/2010
408.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	1.64	18	4	8049/2013
409.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	1.62	17	5	M 126/2009
410.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	1.51	14	3-4	816/2010
411.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	1.46	16	4	761/2010
412.	mint?	Cen	364/378	Ω _//?	RIC ?	1.46	17.5	4	6966/2013
413.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	1.4	14.6	4	8135/2013
414.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	1.38	16.3	4-5	4955/2013
415.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	1.28	16	4	3133/2012
416.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	1.17	16	4	M 083/2009
417.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	1.11	16	4	8068/2013
418.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	1.04	12	4	798/2010
419.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	1.02	14.3	4	8621/2013
420.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	0.97	15	3	875/2010
421.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	0.95	15.2	4	5703/2013
422.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	0.92	15.8	4	5717/2013
423.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	0.9	13	4	739/2010
424.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	0.87	16	0	8766/2013
425.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	0.86	15	4	M 048/2009
426.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	0.83	16	4	M 367/2009
427.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	0.76	14	5	M 383/2009
Gratianus (367-383)									
428.	Sis	Cen	367/375	_ D//?	RIC 14c (xi or xii)	2.27	19	3	660/2010
429.	Sis	Cen	364/375	S D//TSISC	RIC 14c (xiii)	2.06	17.1	3	9391/2013
430.	Sis	Cen	367/375	S D//TSISC	RIC 14c (xiii)	2.24	19	2	755/2010
431.	mint?	Cen	367/378		RIC ?	2.49	17.2	0	9859/2013
432.	mint?	Cen	367/378		RIC ?	2.22	20.7	0	10132/2013
433.	mint?	Cen	367/378		RIC ?	1.14	14.4	4-5	12070/2013
Valentinianus I, Valens or Gratianus									
434.	Sis	Cen	367/378	? ?//?SISC	RIC ?	1.94	18.3	4	9208/2013
435.	mint?	Cen	364/378		RIC ?	0.67	12	4	828/2010
Constantinian/Valentinian times									
436.	mint?	Mai	348/383		RIC ?	3.24	21	0	6352/2013
437.	mint?	Cen	348/378		RIC ?	0.36	10	4	740/2010
438.	mint?	Fol/Cen	318/378		RIC ?	2.8	18	5	726/2010
439.	mint?	Fol/Cen	318/378		RIC ?	1.65	15.7	0	1639/2012

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440.	mint?	Fol/Cen	318/378		RIC ?	1.51	17.1	0	7910/2013
441.	mint?	Fol/Cen	318/378		RIC ?	1.23	15.5	0	10444/2013
442.	mint?	Fol/Cen	318/378		RIC ?	1.17	16.5	0	6058/2013
443.	mint?	Fol/Cen	318/378		RIC ?	1.1	17.1	5	11970/2013
444.	mint?	Fol/Cen	318/378		RIC ?	1.03	15.4	0	5105/2013
445.	mint?	Fol/Cen	318/378		RIC ?	0.81	14	5	693/2010
446.	mint?	Fol/Cen	318/378		RIC ?	0.49	14	0	1868/2012
Valentinianus II, Theodosius I, Arcadius or Honorius									
447.	mint?	1/2 Cen	383/403		RIC ?	1.18	12	4-5	809/2010
448.	mint?	1/2 Cen	378/395		RIC ?	0.81	13	4	M 042/2009
449.	mint?	1/2 Cen	378/425		RIC ?	0.54	12	4	673/2010
After 378 (indefinite)									
450.	mint?	1/2 Cen	378/395		RIC ?	0.91	12.2	5	4260/2013
451.	mint?	1/2 Cen	378/395		RIC ?	0.6	11.7	5	91/2012
Migration period: Vandals									
452.		1/2 Cen	423/442		RIC cf. 3805	0.82	10	3	846/2010

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# LIMOŠKO RASPELO IZ GROBA U KRBAVSKOJ KATEDRALI LIMOGES CRUCIFIX FROM A GRAVE IN KRBAVA CATHEDRAL

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UDK/UDC: 904:2-526(497.5 Udbina)''12''  
Prethodno priopćenje / Preliminary communication

*U radu se obrađuje raspelo pronađeno u Katedrali sv. Jakova u Udbini, položeno na prsima pokojnika u grobu 443. Na temelju 14C mjerenja i stratigrafske analize, ukop pokojnika u grob 443 datiran je u kraj 13. stoljeća. Raspelo je proizvedeno u Limoges, u prvoj polovini 13. stoljeća. Sudeći prema veličini, do trenutka polaganja u grob moglo je biti korišteno kao oltarski križ. Grob 443 prethodio je vremenu izgradnje krbavske stolnice. Izvorno je bio dijelom starijega groblja formiranog oko manje crkve koja je bila porušena kako bi se na njezinu položaju sagradila katedrala krbavskih biskupa. Možda je i samo raspelo bilo dijelom inventara te starije crkve.*

*This paper analyses a crucifix found in St. Jacob's Cathedral, in Udbina. It was placed on the chest of the deceased person in Grave 443. On the basis of 14C measurements and stratigraphic analysis, the burial has been dated to the late 13<sup>th</sup> century. The crucifix was made in Limoges in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Judging by its size, before being placed in the grave it could have been used as an altar cross. Grave 443 dates from the period preceding the construction of Krbava Cathedral. Originally, it was part of an earlier cemetery formed around a smaller church that had been demolished so that the cathedral of the Krbava Bishops could be built in its place. Perhaps the crucifix itself belonged to the inventory of the earlier church.*

**Ključne riječi:**  
Krbavska biskupija, Katedrala sv. Jakova, raspelo, Limoges, Christus regnans

**Keywords:**  
Krbava Diocese, St. Jacob's Cathedral, crucifix, Limoges, Christus regnans

## Okolnosti nalaza

Od 2000. godine Arheološki muzej u Zadru provodi sustavna arheološka istraživanja na položaju Karija u Udbini.<sup>1</sup> Na tom položaju, u sklopu povijesnog naselja Krbave, zatečeni su ostaci katedrale krbavskih biskupa koja je nosila titular sv. Jakova.<sup>2</sup>

Tijekom posljednje kampanje, 9. listopada 2017. godine, u grobu 443, pronađeno je metalno raspelo koje je tema ovog rada (sl. 1). Raspelo je zatečeno okrenuto licem prema gore, na prsima pokojnika, muškarca, koji je u trenutku smrti bio stariji od 45 godina.<sup>3</sup> Grob je velikim dijelom oštećen, istočni dio groba prilikom izrade grobnice 15, a zapadni prilikom izgradnje grobnice 23, u kojoj se nalazio grob 452.

## The circumstances of the find

Since 2000, the Archaeological Museum Zadar has been carrying out systematic archaeological excavations at Karija, in Udbina.<sup>1</sup> At this site, part of the historical settlement of Krbava, remains of the cathedral of the Krbava bishops, dedicated to St. Jacob, have been found.<sup>2</sup>

A metal crucifix (Fig. 1) – the subject of this paper – was found in Grave 443 during the last excavation campaign, carried out on 9 October 2017. The crucifix was found lying face up on the chest of a male individual who was more than 45 years old at the time of death.<sup>3</sup> The grave had sustained substantial damage: its eastern part was damaged when Tomb 15 was created, and its western part when Tomb 23 (containing Grave 452) was dug.

1 O istraživanjima, Cf. Jurić 2009.

2 Prije arheološkog istraživanja smatralo se kako Katedralu treba vidjeti u jasno uočljivim obrisima arhitekture na položaju Karija. Titular je Katedrale potvrđen u više isprava (Bogović 1988, 52, 53; Kruhek, Horvat 1988, 192).

3 Na kostima su vidljivi tragovi degenerativnog osteoartritisa. Analiza je provedena u laboratoriju Antropološkog centra Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu.

1 For these excavations, see Jurić 2009.

2 Before the excavations, archaeologists were of the opinion that the Cathedral can be identified in the clearly visible outlines of architecture at the Karija site. The Cathedral's patron saint was confirmed in a number of documents. (Bogović 1988, 52, 53; Kruhek, Horvat 1988, 192).

3 Traces of degenerative osteoarthritis can be seen on the bones. The analysis was carried out in the laboratory of the Anthropological Centre of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, in Zagreb.





SLIKA 1. Grob 443 (snimio I. Čondić).  
FIGURE 1. Grave 443 (photo by I. Čondić).

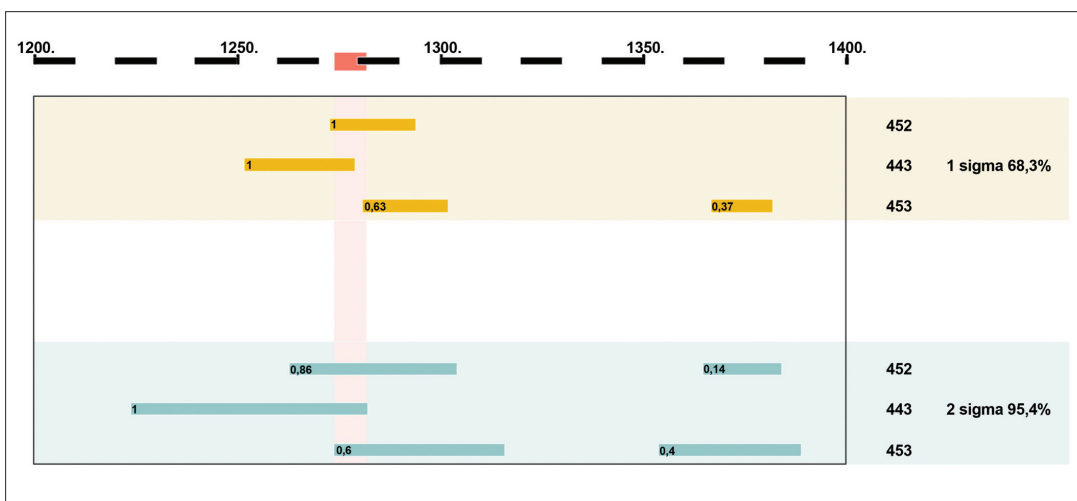


SLIKA 2. Grob 453 (snimio I. Čondić).  
FIGURE 2. Grave 453 (photo by I. Čondić).



SLIKA 3. Grafički prikaz rezultata  $^{14}\text{C}$  mjerenja (izradio J. Vučić).

FIGURE 3. Graph of results of  $^{14}\text{C}$  measurements (by J. Vučić).



#### Radiocarbon Age BP 758 +/- 26 (grob / Grave 443)

Calibration data set: intcal13.14c #

% area enclosed

68.3 (1 sigma)

95.4 (2 sigma)

cal AD age

cal AD 1252- 1279

cal AD 1224- 1282

Reimer et al. 2013

ranges relative area under probability distribution

1.000

1.000

#### Radiocarbon Age BP 674 +/- 28 (grob / Grave 453)

Calibration data set: intcal13.14c #

% area enclosed

68.3 (1 sigma)

95.4 (2 sigma)

cal AD age

cal AD 1281- 1302

1367- 1382

cal AD 1274- 1316

1354- 1389

Reimer et al. 2013

ranges relative area under probability distribution

0.629

0.371

0.595

0.405

#### Radiocarbon Age BP 701 +/- 27 (grob / Grave 452)

Calibration data set: intcal13.14c #

% area enclosed

68.3 (1 sigma)

95.4 (2 sigma)

cal AD age

cal AD 1273- 1294

cal AD 1263- 1304

1365- 1384

Reimer et al. 2013

ranges relative area under probability distribution

1.000

0.864

0.136

Mjerenje  $^{14}\text{C}$  izotopa, provedeno na kosturu iz groba 443, upućuje na razdoblje između 1224. i 1282. godine kao izgledno vrijeme smrti pokojnika.<sup>4</sup> Dodatne elemente u određivanju datuma nastanka groba 443 mogu pružiti i  $^{14}\text{C}$  datumi kostura iz groba 453 i groba 452, od kojih je prvi stariji, a drugi mlađi od groba 443. Smrt pokojnika iz groba 453 (sl. 2),  $^{14}\text{C}$  mjerenje datira između 1274. – 1316. godine, dok se grob 452 datira između 1263. i 1304. godine.<sup>5</sup> Povežemo li sva tri  $^{14}\text{C}$  datuma u kronološki niz (sl. 3), možemo pretpostaviti kako je pokojnik iz groba 443 preminuo tijekom 8. ili 9. desetljeća 13. stoljeća.

The  $^{14}\text{C}$  measurements on the skeleton from Grave 443 indicate that the deceased probably died between 1224 and 1282.<sup>4</sup> The  $^{14}\text{C}$  dates of the skeletons from Graves 453 and 452 can also be of assistance in dating the period in which Grave 443 was made. Therefore, Grave 453 was made earlier than Grave 443, and Grave 452 was made later than Grave 443. Using  $^{14}\text{C}$  measurements, the death of the individual from Grave 453 (Fig. 2) has been dated to the period between 1274 and 1316. Grave 452 has been dated to the period between 1263 and 1304.<sup>5</sup> If all three  $^{14}\text{C}$  dates are arranged in a chronological sequence (Fig. 3), we can assume that the individual from Grave 443 died in the eighth or ninth decade of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

4 Mjerenje je provedeno u  $^{14}\text{CHRONO}$  Centre Queens University u Belfastu.

5 Mjerenje je provedeno u  $^{14}\text{CHRONO}$  Centre Queens University u Belfastu.

4 The measurements were carried out at the  $^{14}\text{CHRONO}$  Centre, Queens University Belfast.

5 The measurements were carried out at the  $^{14}\text{CHRONO}$  Centre, Queens University Belfast.





SLIKA 4. Raspelo prije čišćenja (snimio I. Čondić).  
FIGURE 4. Crucifix before cleaning (photo by I. Čondić).



SLIKA 5. Prednja strana raspela nakon čišćenja (snimio I. Čondić).  
FIGURE 5. Front of crucifix after cleaning (photo by I. Čondić).

## Opis raspela

Raspelo se sastoji od dva elementa, križa proširenih krajeva i Kristova tijela koje je zakovicama aplicirano na križ (sl. 4). Ukupne je težine 65,99 g.<sup>6</sup> Križ je načinjen od bakrenog lima debljine 2 mm. Nije se sačuvao u cijelosti, odlomljen je dio trna koji je vjerojatno služio za nasad na drveni štap ili neko drugo postolje. Visok je 163 mm i širok 93 mm. Krakovi su široki prosječno 15 mm, a završavaju pravokutnim proširenjima širine do 21 mm. Na donjem kraju, ispod proširenog završetka kraka, malo je postolje širine 10 mm, ispod kojeg je sačuvan korijen trna širine 5 mm. Lice je križa ukrašeno urezanim linijama. Uz rub plohe teče kontinuirana linija, a unutar nje, na horizontalnim krakovima križa, teku tri, dok na vertikalnim dvije paralelne linije načinjene uzastopnim, nepovezanim potezima dlijeta, odnosno gravera. Na gornjem kraku, unutar tri horizontalne linije, urezan je natpis u dva reda. U gornjem redu latinski tekst *IHS*, a u donjem grčki *XPS* (sl. 5). Na stražnjoj strani, uz rub krakova, također nalazimo urezanu obrubnu liniju, a unutar nje izvijaju se vitice iz kojih izrastaju trolisti.

## The description of the crucifix

The crucifix is made of two elements: a cross with widened arms, and a figurine of Christ riveted to it (Fig. 4). The overall weight is 65.99 g.<sup>6</sup> The cross is made from 2-mm-thick copper sheet. The cross is not fully preserved: the part of the prong that was probably used for fixing to a wooden pole or some other element is missing. It is 163 mm high and 93 mm wide. The average width of the arms of the cross is 15 mm. The rectangular widened ends of the arms are up to 21 mm wide. Under the widened end on the bottom part, a small 10-mm-wide base can be seen, with a 5-mm-wide root of the prong. The front of the crucifix is decorated with incised lines. An unbroken line stretches along the edge of the surface. Within the area bounded by this line, there are three parallel lines on the cross's horizontal arms and two parallel lines on the cross's vertical arms. The engraver made these parallel lines with successive, intermittent chisel strokes. A two-line inscription is carved on the upper arm within the three horizontal lines. The upper line contains the Latin text *IHS* and the lower one the

<sup>6</sup> Konzervatorski je zahvat na raspelu izvela viša restoratorica Josipa Lovrić, voditeljica Restauratorsko-konzervatorskog odjela Arheološkog muzeja Zadar.

<sup>6</sup> The conservation work on the crucifix was carried out by Senior Restorer Josipa Lovrić, Head of the Restoration and Conservation Department of the Archaeological Museum Zadar.



SLIKA 6. Stražnja strana raspela nakon čišćenja (snimio I. Čondić).  
FIGURE 6. Back of crucifix after cleaning (photo by I. Čondić).



SLIKA 7. Raspelo detalj (snimio I. Čondić).  
FIGURE 7. Crucifix detail (photo by I. Čondić).

Na gornjem kraku, otprilike u istoj visini kao i na prednjoj strani, nalaze se urezane dvije horizontalne linije, ali za razliku od prednje strane, unutar njih nije urezan natpis, već ih presijeca prethodno spomenuta vitica (sl. 6).

Na prednju stranu križa, pomoću dvije srebrne zakovice na dlanovima i dvije brončane na stopalima, apliciran je prikaz Krista, pobjednika smrti (*Christus triumphans*), odnosno Krista kralja (*Christus regnans*). Korpus je oblikovan iskucavanjem sa stražnje strane iz bakrenog lima, nakon čega je prednja strana doradena urezivanjem detalja anatomije i rovašenjem ćelija za ulaganje emajla te konačno emajliranjem i pozlatom. Visina iskucanog reljefa iznosi do 5,5 mm. Od vrha krune do palca na desnoj nozi, Krist je visok 73 mm, dok sačuvana širina, od lijevog kažiprsta do desnog dlana, iznosi 53 mm. Nedostaje mu lijevo stopalo i dio desnog dlana. Široko iskucana zakovica na desnom dlanu ukazuje na pokušaj saniranja oštećenja, na temelju čega je moguće pretpostaviti kako je do oštećenja došlo prije polaganja raspela u grob. Glava, na kojoj se nalazi trokraka kruna, blago je nagnuta prema desnom ramenu. Kruna je masivna, ukrašena cik-cak uzorkom, izvedenim isprekidanim urezanim linijama. Kosa, pre-

Greek text *XPS* (Fig. 5). On the back, along the arms' edges, an incised bounding line can also be seen. Within the area bounded by this line there are winding tendrils branching out into trefoils. On the upper arm, at approximately the same height as on the front face, two horizontal lines are incised. Unlike on the front, no carved inscription can be seen between them; instead, the above-mentioned tendril crosses them (Fig. 6).

A figurine of Christ triumphant (*Christus triumphans*), or the Reigning Christ (*Christus regnans*), is applied to the front side of the cross with two silver rivets on the palms and two bronze rivets on the feet. The body of Christ was shaped by embossing a copper sheet from the back and finishing the front by carving anatomical details, making depressions for enamel and, finally, enamelling and gilding. The relief thus embossed is up to 5.5 mm high. The height of the Christ, from the tip of the crown to his right toe, is 73 mm. The preserved width, from the left index finger to the right palm, is 53 mm. The left foot and part of the right palm are missing. As the rivet on the right palm is beaten flat, indicating an attempt to repair the damage, we can assume that the damage occurred before the crucifix was laid in the grave.

dočena nizom plitkih, paralelnih, isprekidanih linija pada preko lijevog i desnog ramena. Na licu se razabiru blago istaknut nos, jagodične kosti, usne, brkovi i brada. Oči su udubljene, s rupicama u kojima su izvorno stajala zrnca staklene paste. Raširene su ruke blago savinute u laktovima. Dlan lijeve ruke ispružen je prema dolje, s rastvorenim i visoko podignutim palcem (sl. 7). Prsti i mišići ruku predočeni su plitkim urezanim linijama. Tijelo je blago savijeno u boku. Trup se ljevkaasto sužava od ramena prema bokovima. Stilizirana anatomija, pupak, linija abdomena, rebra i prsa predočeni su plitkim urezanim linijama. Od bokova spušta se dugačka perizoma ispod koje izviru lijevo koljeno. Perizoma je ukrašena sa sedam ravnih, vertikalnih, rovašenih žlijebova u kojima su jasno vidljivi ostaci tamnoplavog emajla, kojim su izvorno bili u cijelosti ispunjeni. Plitko urezanim linijom naznačeno je kako je lijeva noga savijena u koljenu i prebačena preko desne. Stopala su razdvojena, a prsti stopala prikazani nizom plitko urezanih linija.

Na temelju ostataka pozlate, možemo zaključiti kako je cijelo raspelo, izuzev površina prekrivenih emajlom, bilo pozlačeno.

### Radioničko podrijetlo raspela iz Udbine

Raspela s prikazom Krista s kraljevskom krunom, tzv. pobjednika smrti, kojem pripada i primjerak iz Udbine, pojavljuju se u zapadnoj umjetnosti od 11. stoljeća.<sup>7</sup> Najpoznatiji primjerak brončanog Krista s kraljevskom krunom u Hrvatskoj pronađen je u rijeci Kupi, a proizveden je vjerojatno u njemačkim ili francuskim radionicama krajem 12. ili početkom 13. stoljeća i čuva se u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu.<sup>8</sup>

Tehnologijom izrade, koja podrazumijeva korištenje bakrenog lima debljine 2 do 5 mm, oblikovanje iskucavanjem te naknadnu doradu urezivanjem detalja, emajliranjem i pozlatom, raspelo iz Udbine upućuje na proizvode izrađene u radionicama u Limogesu u središnjoj Francuskoj.<sup>9</sup> Ikonografijom, oblikovanjem Kristova lika i načinom stilizacije anatomije, korpus s udbinskog raspela iznimno je blizak prikazima Krista na limoškim raspelima.<sup>10</sup> (Sl. 8) Obliku križa, na koji je apliciran korpus, također nalazimo paralele među limoškim proizvodima.<sup>11</sup> Motiv uvijene lozice, kakvim je ukrašena poledina križa, učestalo se pojavljuje na proizvodima limoškog kruga, pa i na križevima.<sup>12</sup>

The head, with a three-pronged crown, is slightly bent towards the right shoulder. The massive crown is decorated with a zig-zag pattern consisting of incised intermittent lines. The hair, represented by a series of shallow parallel intermittent lines, falls over both shoulders. A slightly prominent nose, cheekbones, lips, and a moustache and beard can be seen on the face. The eyes are recessed, each with a tiny perforation that was originally filled with a glass-paste bead. The spread arms are gently bent at the elbows. The extended palm of the left hand is turned downwards, its thumb raised high (Fig. 7). The fingers and muscles on both arms are represented by shallow incised lines. The body is gently bent at the hip. The funnel-shaped torso tapers off from the shoulders to the hips. The stylized anatomy, navel, abdomen line, ribs and chest are represented by shallow incised lines. A long perizoma stretches from the hips downwards. The left knee can be seen just underneath it. Seven straight vertical grooves are carved into the perizoma; traces of dark blue enamel that once filled the grooves are clearly visible. A shallow incised line suggests that the left leg is bent at the knee and put across the right leg. The feet are apart, and the toes are represented by a series of shallow incised lines.

The traces of gilding indicate that the entire crucifix – with the exception of the enamelled areas – was gilded.

### The origin of the Udbina crucifix

The crucifixes depicting Christ with a regal crown – the ‘victor over death’ – that the Udbina specimen belongs to appeared in Western art in the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>7</sup> The best-known Croatian example of a bronze Christ with a regal crown, found in the River Kupa, was probably made in a German or French workshop in the late 12<sup>th</sup> or early 13<sup>th</sup> century. It is kept at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.<sup>8</sup>

The technique used in the making of the Udbina crucifix – embossing a copper sheet, 2 to 5 mm thick, and then finishing it by incising details and applying enamel and gilding – reminds us of the products of the workshops in Limoges, Central France.<sup>9</sup> By its iconography, shape and stylized anatomy, the body of Christ on the Udbina crucifix is very similar to the depictions of Christ on the Limoges crucifixes<sup>10</sup> (Fig. 8). The shape of the cross on which the body of Christ is applied can also be compared with the Limoges products.<sup>11</sup> The motif of winding vine that decorates the back of the cross is often found on products of the Limoges workshops, including crosses.<sup>12</sup>

7 Badurina 1990, 499.

8 O ovom korpusu, Cf. Horvat 1957, 261–269, T. XXXIII; Pavičić 1999, 7, sl. 6.

9 O tehnologiji obrade, Cf. Biron, Dandridge, Wypyski 1996, 48–60.

10 Usporedi: Thoby 1953, br. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 43, 57, 58, 61, 67, 70, 91, Pl. XVI–XXIII, XVII, XVIII, XXX, XXXIII, XXXIV, XLII; Decollogny 1962, 143–148; Favreau, Michaud, Labande 1977, 11, sl. 8; Favreau, Michaud, Labande 1978, sl. 68–72; Arias Sánchez 1995, 78; Nilsén 1998, 1–20; Lewis 2015, sl. 10–12; Japundžić, Ratković Bukovčan, Šeper 2017, 16, 18.

11 Usporedi: Thoby 1953, Pl. XL, XLI, XLII, XLVII.

12 Gauthier 1958, 349–369. Za brojne limoške proizvode, ukrašene ovim motivom, usporedi: Thoby 1953; O’Neil (ed.) 1996. Veliku sličnost pokazuje dekoracija stražnje strane križa iz Conghama, koji je križu iz Udbine blizak i dimenzija-

7 Badurina 1990, 499.

8 For this body of Christ, Cf. Horvat 1957, 261–269, T. XXXIII; Pavičić 1999, 7, Fig. 6.

9 For the finishing technique, Cf. Biron, Dandridge, Wypyski 1996, 48–60.

10 Cf. Thoby 1953, nos 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 43, 57, 58, 61, 67, 70, 91, Pls XVI–XXIII, XVII, XVIII, XXX, XXXIII, XXXIV, XLII; Decollogny 1962, 143–148; Favreau, Michaud, Labande 1977, 11, Fig. 8; Favreau, Michaud, Labande 1978, Figs 68–72; Arias Sánchez 1995, 78; Nilsén 1998, 1–20; Lewis 2015, Figs 10–12; Japundžić, Ratković Bukovčan, Šeper 2017, 16, 18.

11 Cf. Thoby 1953, Pls. XL, XLI, XLII, XLVII.

12 Gauthier 1958, 349–369. For numerous Limoges products decorated with this motif, compare Thoby 1953; O’Neil (ed.) 1996. Very similar is the decorati-



**SLIKA 8.** Krist na raspelu iz crkve u Chalon-sur-Saône (prema: Thoby, 1953).

**FIGURE 8.** Christ on a crucifix from a church in Chalon-sur-Saône (according to Thoby 1953).



Na temelju navedenog, možemo zaključiti kako je raspelo iz Udbine načinjeno u limoškim radionicama tijekom prve polovine 13. stoljeća.<sup>33</sup> Tijekom 12. i 13. stoljeća Limoges je bio jedan od najznačajnijih centara proizvodnje emajliranih predmeta na prostoru Europe.<sup>34</sup> Proizvodi ovih radionica poznati su i pod nazivom *Opus lemovicense*. Limoški proizvodi susreću se na širokom prostoru, od Engleske do Rusije, od Izraela do Skandinavije, što svjedoči o širokoj distribuciji. Uz kvalitetu proizvoda, distribuciji je pomogla činjenica da se Limoges nalazio na hodočasničkoj ruti koja je vodila do Santiago de Compostela, da je bio povezan s obitelji Plantagenet i posebno okolnost da je papa Inocent III. na Lateranskom koncilu 1215. godine, spominjući crkveno posuđe, posebno apostrofirao i limoške proizvode.<sup>35</sup> Raspelo iz Udbine dodatna je potvrda distribuciji limoškog emajla i na ovim prostora-

All the above leads us to the conclusion that the Udbina crucifix was made in one of the Limoges workshops in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>33</sup> In the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, Limoges was one of the most important centres of enamelled products in Europe.<sup>34</sup> The products of these workshops are also known as *Opus lemovicense*. The fact that Limoges products are found across a vast space stretching from England to Russia, and from Israel to Scandinavia, indicates that they were widely distributed. Together with their high quality, also contributing to their wide distribution were the facts that Limoges was located on the pilgrims' route to Santiago de Compostela, that it was connected with the Plantagenet family, and – in particular – that Pope Innocent III made special mention of the Limoges products when he discussed church ware at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.<sup>35</sup>

ma. Usporedi web-katalog izložbe: [https://www.wooster.edu/\\_media/files/arts/museum/exhibitions/2018/web-catalogue-saints-relics-images.pdf](https://www.wooster.edu/_media/files/arts/museum/exhibitions/2018/web-catalogue-saints-relics-images.pdf).

13 Jedan od recenzenata rada ukazao je na mogućnost kako križ, za razliku od Kristova tijela, nije izrađen u limoškim radionicama, već je načinjen po uzoru na limoške proizvode.

14 O povijesti limoških radionica, vidi: Taburet-Delahaye 1996, 33–39.

15 Drake Bohem 1996, 40–46.

16 Osim raspela iz Udbine, u literaturi se spominje nalaz limoškog pastorala

on used on the back of the Congham cross, which is also of similar size to the Udbina cross. Compare the exhibition web catalogue: [https://www.wooster.edu/\\_media/files/arts/museum/exhibitions/2018/web-catalogue-saints-relics-images.pdf](https://www.wooster.edu/_media/files/arts/museum/exhibitions/2018/web-catalogue-saints-relics-images.pdf).

13 One of the reviewers pointed to the possibility that the cross, unlike the figurine of Christ, was made in the style of Limoges work, but not in the Limoges workshops.

14 For the history of Limoges workshops, see Taburet-Delahaye 1996, 33–39.

15 Drake Bohem 1996, 40–46.



rima.<sup>16</sup> S obzirom na veličinu, može se pretpostaviti kako je bilo u funkciji oltarskog križa.<sup>17</sup>

### Raspelo i stolne crkve u Krbavi

Prije prilaganja uz pokojnika u grob 443, raspelo iz Udbine moglo je pripadati crkvenom inventaru. U tom je kontekstu zanimljiv odnos groba prema ostacima dviju sakralnih građevina koje su na ovom položaju slijedile jedna drugu.

Iako je Krbavska biskupija osnovana zaključkom Splitskoga pokrajinskog koncila 1185. godine<sup>18</sup>, najstariji spomen krbavske katedrale u povijesnim izvorima potječe iz 1389. godine.<sup>19</sup> Taj spomen odnosi se na dobro sačuvane ostatke gotičke građevine za koju se pretpostavlja kako je izgrađena oko 1300. godine.<sup>20</sup> Sukladno kasnijem datiranju ostataka gotičke katedrale, pretpostavljeno je kako je od osnutka biskupije do njene izgradnje, ulogu stolnice privremeno mogla ispunjavati neka druga crkva.<sup>21</sup> Pojedini su autori pretpostavili kako se ta starija crkva, manjih dimenzija i izrađena u stilu predromanike ili rane romanike, mogla nalaziti i na mjestu kasnije izgrađene katedrale.<sup>22</sup> Ovu su pretpostavku potvrdila i arheološka iskopavanja, prilikom kojih su ispod razine temelja gotičke katedrale pronađeni ostaci manje crkve i starijih grobova, koji su se na ovome mjestu nalazili prije njezine izgradnje. Kako na nalazištu imamo ostatke dviju crkava, postavlja se pitanje koja od njih je suvremena ukopu groba 443, u kojem je pronađeno raspelo. Kako je zapadni dio groba 443 presjekla zidana grobnica 23, koja je izgrađena prije gotičke katedrale ili tijekom njezine gradnje, proizlazi kako je grob 443 nastao prije izgradnje gotičke katedrale. Dovođenje groba 443 i Katedrale u ovaj odnos ujedno potvrđuje kako Katedrala nije građena prije početka četvrte četvrtine 13. stoljeća. Prema tomu, grob 443 suvremen je starijoj crkvi, a nalazio se izvan nje, u neposrednoj blizini njezina južnog zida. Slijedom navedenog, oltarski križ, proizveden u limoškim radionicama, mogao je pripadati inventaru manje, romaničke crkve, koja je nakon osnutka Krbavske biskupije, do vremena izgradnje velike katedrale, vjerojatno pre-

The Udbina crucifix can be seen as additional confirmation that Limoges enamel was also distributed in these parts.<sup>16</sup> Given its size, it can be assumed that it was used as an altar cross.<sup>17</sup>

### The crucifix and the Krbava cathedrals

Before it was placed on the individual in Grave 443, the Udbina crucifix could have belonged to the church's inventory. What is interesting in this context is the relationship between the grave and the remains of two sacred structures built successively on this location. Although the Krbava Diocese was established by the decision of the provincial Council of Split in 1185,<sup>18</sup> the Krbava cathedral was first mentioned in historical sources in 1389.<sup>19</sup> This mention refers to the well-preserved remains of a Gothic structure believed to have been built around 1300.<sup>20</sup> As the remains of the Gothic cathedral were dated to a later period, it is believed that some other church must have served as a temporary cathedral in the period between the founding of the Diocese and the construction of the cathedral.<sup>21</sup> Some authors assumed that an earlier church – a Pre-Romanesque or Early Romanesque structure of a smaller size – could have been built on the site of the later cathedral.<sup>22</sup> This assumption was confirmed by the archaeological excavations that resulted in the discovery of an earlier smaller church and graves under the foundation of the Gothic cathedral. Since there are remains of two churches on the site, the question is which one of them stood there at the time when Grave 443 was made (and in which the crucifix was found). As the western part of Grave 443 was cut by Masonry Tomb 23 (built before or during the construction of the Gothic cathedral), it turns out that Grave 443 had been made before the cathedral's construction. Such a relationship between Grave 443 and the cathedral can be seen as confirmation that the cathedral was not built before the early fourth quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Consequently, Grave 443 was made at the same time as the earlier church. It was located outside the church, immediately next to its southern wall. On the basis of the above, the altar cross manufactured in one of the Limoges workshops could have been an item of the inventory of this smaller, Romanesque church, which, in the pe-

pronađenog u grobu u benediktinskoj Crkvi sv. Krševana u Zadru, koji se do Drogog svjetskog rata čuvao se u Arheološkom muzeju Zadar, zatim raspelo koje je zatečeno u privatnoj zbirici u Žmanu na otoku Ugljanu, a dovodi se u vezu sa zadarskim benediktincima i njihovim posjedom u Telašćici te jedna limoška aplikacija nedavno pronađena kod Vinkovaca, Klaić, Petricioli 1976, 272, tabla 36; Vežić 1993, 197–202; Rapan Papeša 2015, 261–265.

17 Oltarski križevi spominju se u 12. stoljeću, a običaj njihova postavljanja na oltar za trajanja liturgije širio se zapadom. Vidi: Dix 2005, 411, 412; Hourihane 2012, 223, 224.

18 Podaci o ovom Koncilu i osnutku Krbavske biskupije sačuvani su u dijelu Tome Arhidakona i u prijepisima akata od kojih su najvažniji trogirski i splitski, Kovačić 1988, 24–30.

19 Bogović 1988, 52.

20 Cf. Sladović 1856 (2003), 136; Bogović 1988, 53; Kruhek, Horvat 1988, 193, 194; Horvat 1997, 160–162; Horvat 2003, 84–87, 159; Jurić 2009, 507.

21 Bogović 1988, 53; Horvat 2003, 78.

22 Kruhek, Horvat 1988, 191, 192; Horvat 1997, 162; Horvat 2003, 87.

16 In addition to the Udbina crucifix, the literature also mentions a Limoges pastoral found in a grave in the Benedictine church of St. Chrysogonus, in Zadar (kept at the Archaeological Museum Zadar until World War II), a crucifix from a private collection in Žman on the island of Ugljan (associated with the Zadar Benedictines and their estate in Telašćica) and a Limoges appliqué recently found near Vinkovci: Klaić, Petricioli 1976, 272, table 36; Vežić 1993, 197–202; Rapan Papeša 2015, 261–265.

17 Altar crosses are mentioned in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The custom of their placement on an altar during a liturgy spread in the West. See Dix 2005, 411, 412; Hourihane 2012, 223, 224.

18 The information about this council and the establishing of the Krbava Diocese can be found in the work of Thomas the Archdeacon and in the transcripts of documents, of which those from Trogir and Split are the most relevant: Kovačić 1988, 24–30.

19 Bogović 1988, 52.

20 Cf. Sladović 1856 (2003), 136; Bogović 1988, 53; Kruhek, Horvat 1988, 193, 194; Horvat 1997, 160–162; Horvat 2003, 84–87, 159; Jurić 2009, 507.

21 Bogović 1988, 53; Horvat 2003, 78.

22 Kruhek, Horvat 1988, 191, 192; Horvat 1997, 162; Horvat 2003, 87.



uzela funkciju stolne crkve. Pitanja vezana uz status pokojnika iz groba 443, poput moguće pripadnosti višem kleru i slično, ostat će neodgovorena.<sup>23</sup>

## Zaključak

Iz navedenog možemo pretpostaviti kako je prije izgradnje nove katedrale krbavskih biskupa na položaju Karija postojala manja crkva uz koju se nalazilo i groblje. Uz južni zid te crkve krajem 13. stoljeća ukopana je starija muška osoba kojoj je na prsa položeno raspelo. Raspelo je izrađeno tijekom prve polovine 13. stoljeća u limoškim radionicama. Na temelju dimenzija, može se pretpostaviti kako je izvorno imalo funkciju oltarskog križa. Ovo raspelo predstavlja doprinos poznavanju disperzije limoških proizvoda na našem prostoru. Na temelju datiranja ovoga groba i njegova vezivanja uz stariju crkvu, moguće je čvršće odrediti i donju granicu početka izgradnje krbavske katedrale u posljednje desetljeće 13. stoljeća.

<sup>23</sup> Iz vremena smrti pokojnika pokopanog s limoškim raspelom poznat je krbavski biskup Saracen (Cf. Bogović 2015, 73, 74).

riod between the establishment of the Krbava Diocese and the construction of the large cathedral, probably served as a cathedral. The question of the status of the individual buried in Grave 443 – for example, whether he belonged to higher clergy or not – will probably remain unanswered.<sup>23</sup>

## Conclusion

On the basis of the above, we can presume that a smaller church with an adjacent cemetery, built at the Karija site, preceded the construction of a new cathedral of the Krbava bishops. An elderly male individual was buried by the southern wall of that church in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, with a crucifix placed on his chest. The crucifix was made in one of the Limoges workshops in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Its dimensions suggest that it was originally used as an altar cross. This crucifix will help us gain deeper insight into the dispersion of Limoges products in these parts. On the basis of the dating of the grave and its association with the earlier church, it is possible to identify the final decade of the 13<sup>th</sup> century as the lower time limit of the beginning of the construction of the Krbava cathedral.

<sup>23</sup> Bishop Saracen was the bishop of Krbava at the time of death of the individual buried with the Limoges crucifix (Cf. Bogović 2015, 73, 74).



## INTERNETSKI IZVORI

## INTERNET SOURCES

[https://www.wooster.edu/\\_media/files/arts/museum/exhibitions/2018/web-catalogue-saints-relics-images.pdf](https://www.wooster.edu/_media/files/arts/museum/exhibitions/2018/web-catalogue-saints-relics-images.pdf). (1 April 2019)

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# ARHEOLOŠKA TOPOGRAFIJA OPĆINE LOVAS U SVJETLU ISTRAŽIVANJA 2011., 2017. I 2018. GODINE

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL TOPOGRAPHY OF THE LOVAS MUNICIPALITY IN THE LIGHT OF RESEARCH CONDUCTED IN 2011, 2017 AND 2018

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*Arheološki lokaliteti na području Općine Lovas već su od ranije poznati široj arheološkoj javnosti, prije svega zbog otkrića ostave zlatnih i brončanih nalaza još sredinom 20. stoljeća. Spomenuta ostava danas se čuva u stalnom postavu Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu. Muzej je u tri navrata, 2011., 2017. i 2018. godine, provodio arheološka istraživanja na području Općine Lovas. Tijekom istraživačkih sezona provoden je sustavni arheološki terenski pregled te su otvorene probne sonde na različitim položajima, s ciljem da se utvrdi stanje očuvanosti zatečenih arheoloških slojeva. U ovom je radu predstavljena trenutna spoznaja o arheološkoj topografiji Općine Lovas koja je znatno unaprijeđena istraživanjima 2011., 2017. i 2018. godine.*

**Key words:**

sustavni terenski pregled, keramika, neolitik, eneolitik, brončano doba, željezno doba, antika, srednji vijek

*The archaeological sites in the Lovas municipality have been known to the wider archaeological public for quite some time, especially due to the discovery of a hoard, in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, that contained gold and bronze finds. Today, the said hoard is a part of the permanent exhibition of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. On three occasions, in 2011, 2017 and 2018, the Museum conducted archaeological research in the Lovas municipality. During these research seasons, a systematic field survey was conducted, and test trenches were excavated at various positions, with the aim of determining the state of preservation of documented archaeological layers. This paper includes what is known, to this point, about the archaeological topography of the Lovas municipality, and which has been significantly expanded by the research conducted in 2011, 2017 and 2018.*

**Key words:**

systematic field survey, pottery, Neolithic, Copper Age, Bronze Age, Iron Age, Antiquity, Middle Ages



## Uvod

Područje oko sela Lovas, kao i istoimena općina, u literaturi se često navodi kao jedan od arheološki bogatijih dijelova zapadnog Srijema. Dio svog ugleda Lovas može zahvaliti iznimno značajnom nalazu ostave zlatnih i brončanih nalaza.<sup>1</sup> Arheološki nalazi iz Lovasa prvi su put postali poznati na prijelazu iz 19. u 20. stoljeće, kada ih je ondašnji župnik poslao današnjem Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu. Točnije, u razdoblju između 1895. i 1900. godine poznavanje arheološke građe s područja Lovasa većinom se temeljilo na slučajnim i sporadičnim nalazima koji su potom predani u ruke stručnjaka.<sup>2</sup> Slična situacija nastavila se sve do listopada 1939. godine, kada je slučajno izorana vrijedna ostava brončanih i zlatnih predmeta iz srednjega brončanog doba.<sup>3</sup> Sama ostava u znanstvenoj raspravi nije spomenuta do 1956. godine, a detaljna je objava uslijedila 1958. godine.<sup>4</sup> Nažalost, sustavna istraživanja većeg opsega na području Lovasa do sada su izostala iako, svakako, treba spomenuti terenske preglede provedene 1970. i 1972.,<sup>5</sup> kao i one provedene 2008. godine.<sup>6</sup> Izuzev lokaliteta Kalvarija, Orlinac i Staro Groblje, koji su otprije zaštićeni kao kulturna dobra, u starijoj se literaturi rijetko spominju drugi lokaliteti.<sup>7</sup>

Prvi pokušaj usustavljanja arheoloških istraživanja na području Lovasa dogodio se 2011. godine, kada su djelatnici i suradnici Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu terenskim pregledom na području čitave Općine i probnim sondažnim istraživanjima na području zaštićenoga kulturnog dobra (Kalvarija–Orlinac–Staro Groblje) nastojali proširiti spoznaje o arheološkoj topografiji tog područja. Terenski je pregled u zaštićenoj zoni uključio intenzivno prikupljanje površinskih nalaza po kvadrantima veličine 5 x 5 m (sl. 1), dok je na ostatku površine proveden ekstenzivno.<sup>8</sup>

Istraživanja su nastavljena 2017. godine.<sup>9</sup> Tom je prilikom proveden sustavni terenski pregled s ciljem kartiranja svih prethodno otkrivenih položaja, ali i novih lokaliteta. Također, provedena su probna sondažna istraživanja na položajima Orlinac i Kovači.<sup>10</sup> Sustavni je terenski pregled manjeg opsega nastavljen i 2018. godine. Fokus je stavljen na zapadni dio k.o. Opatovac, koji se nalazi u sklopu Općine Lovas.<sup>11</sup> Tijekom 2017. i 2018. godine površinski su nalazi prikupljeni u pravilnim traktovima. Traktovi su pregledavani u užim paralelnim linijama koje su dodatno podijeljene na manje segmente kako bi se preciznije prostorno odredio prikupljeni materijal.

## Introduction

The territory around the village of Lovas, as well as the entire municipality, is often listed in publications as one of the archaeologically richest parts of western Syrmia. Lovas can thank the discovery of a hoard with gold and bronze finds for some of its reputation.<sup>1</sup> The archaeological finds from Lovas first became known at the transition from the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the 20<sup>th</sup>, when the then vicar sent them to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. More precisely, between the years 1895 and 1900, knowledge of archaeological material from the Lovas area was based mostly on chance and sporadic finds that had been given over to experts.<sup>2</sup> A similar situation continued until October 1939, when the valuable Middle Bronze Age hoard with gold and bronze finds was accidentally ploughed out of the ground.<sup>3</sup> The hoard itself was not discussed in scientific circles until 1956, and it was published in greater detail in 1958.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, no large-scale systematic research has been carried out in the Lovas area so far, although it is important to note the systematic field surveys conducted in 1970 and 1972,<sup>5</sup> as well as those made in 2008.<sup>6</sup> Other than the sites of Kalvarija, Orlinac and Staro Groblje, which are registered as cultural goods, older publications rarely refer to other sites.<sup>7</sup>

The first attempt at systematizing archaeological research in the Lovas area was made in 2011, when employees and associates of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb conducted a field survey across the entire area of the municipality, and opened test trenches in the areas that were protected as cultural goods (Kalvarija–Orlinac–Staro Groblje), all with the aim of collecting new information about the archaeological topography of the area. In the protected zone, the field survey included the intensive collecting of surface finds in squares of 5x5 m (Fig. 1), while other areas were covered extensively.<sup>8</sup>

Research continued in 2017,<sup>9</sup> when a systematic field survey was made in order to map all previously-discovered positions, as well as new sites. Additionally, test trenches were made at the Orlinac and Kovači positions.<sup>10</sup> A smaller-scale systematic survey was also made in 2018, when the focus shifted to the western part of the cadastral municipality of Opatovac that is part of the Lovas municipality.<sup>11</sup> In 2017 and 2018, surface finds were collected in regular units that were surveyed in straight lines. These lines were additionally divided into smaller segments in order to make the spatial distribution of the finds more precise.

1 Vinski 1958.

2 Za detaljniji pregled povijesti istraživanja na području Lovasa vidi Bunčić 2007, 46.

3 Vinski 1958, 1–2; Na temelju istraživanja i razgovora s mještanima 2011. i 2019. godine, ustanovljeno je da je ostava najvjerojatnije pronađena na položaju Čajer (Karta 1, br. 5).

4 Vinski 1958, 1.

5 Bunčić 2007, 46.

6 Dizdar, Ložnjak Dizdar 2009.

7 Odnos između spomenuta tri lokaliteta iznimno je složen (vidi Bunčić 2007, 46). Osim tri glavna položaja, od ranije su bili poznati i lokaliteti u Ulicama Vladimira Nazora i Ante Starčevića (vidi Bunčić 2007, 46) te na položajima Kohovo i Kavane (vidi Dizdar, Ložnjak Dizdar 2009, 119–120).

8 Mihelić 2012, 63–64.

1 Vinski 1958.

2 For a detailed overview of the research conducted in the Lovas area, see Bunčić 2007, 46.

3 Vinski 1958, 1–2; based on information provided by the local population in 2011 and 2019, it seems most likely that the hoard was found at the Čajer position (Map 1, no. 5).

4 Vinski 1958, 1.

5 Bunčić 2007, 46.

6 Dizdar, Ložnjak Dizdar 2009.

7 The relations among the three sites mentioned are very complex (see Bunčić 2007, 46). Along with the three main positions, previously-recorded sites include those at Ulica Vladimira Nazora and Ulica Ante Starčevića (see Bunčić 2007, 46), and the Kohovo and Kavane positions (see Dizdar, Ložnjak Dizdar 2009, 119–120).

8 Mihelić 2012, 63–64.



**SLIKA 1.** Prikupljanje površinskih nalaza unutar kvadrata veličine 5 x 5 m (snimio S. Mihelić).

**FIGURE 1.** Collecting surface finds within squares of 5 x 5 m (Photo by S. Mihelić).

Zbog karaktera i količine podataka prikupljenih tijekom sezona 2011., 2017. i 2018. godine, rezultate spomenutih istraživanja nije moguće prikazati u jednom i sveobuhvatnom radu. Stoga, ovaj rad ne predstavlja detaljnu analizu prikupljenih podataka, već referentni rad za daljnje studije i objave. Cilj je ovoga rada predstaviti arheološku topografiju Općine Lovas u svjetlu najnovijih istraživanja i definirati položaje na kojima su otkriveni lokaliteti. Valja naglasiti da brojeve prikupljenih ulomaka keramike donesenih u ovome radu treba uzeti s rezervom. Prikazani brojevi nisu egzakti ili konačni pa su moguća odstupanja s obzirom na to da su rezultat različitih metodoloških pristupa korištenih tijekom tri sezone istraživanja. Zaključci o veličini i značaju pojedinih lokaliteta (Kovači i Čopinac) izneseni su u slučajevima kada je na većoj površini prikupljeno i do nekoliko stotina ulomaka keramike više nego na ostalim položajima. U slučaju manjih razlika u broju i distribuciji ulomaka keramike, autori se ogradauju od donošenja preciznijih zaključaka sve do detaljnije analize prikupljenih podataka.

Due to the character and amount of data collected in 2017 and 2018, the results of the research described cannot be presented in a single all-encompassing paper, which is why this paper does not include a detailed analysis of all the data collected, but should be seen as a paper that can be referenced for future studies and publications. The aim of this paper is to present the archaeological topography of the Lovas municipality in the light of the newest research, and to define the positions where sites have been discovered. It should be mentioned that the numbers of pottery sherds presented herein should be considered with caution, because they are neither exact nor final and may vary due to the fact that the finds were collected through different methodological approaches that were applied during the three research seasons. Conclusions about the size and significance of certain sites (Kovači and Čopinac) were made only in cases where a larger area yielded up to several hundred sherds more than at other positions. In cases where the number and distribution of pottery sherds did not display large differences, the authors have refrained from drawing more precise conclusions until a more thorough analysis of the collected data is made.

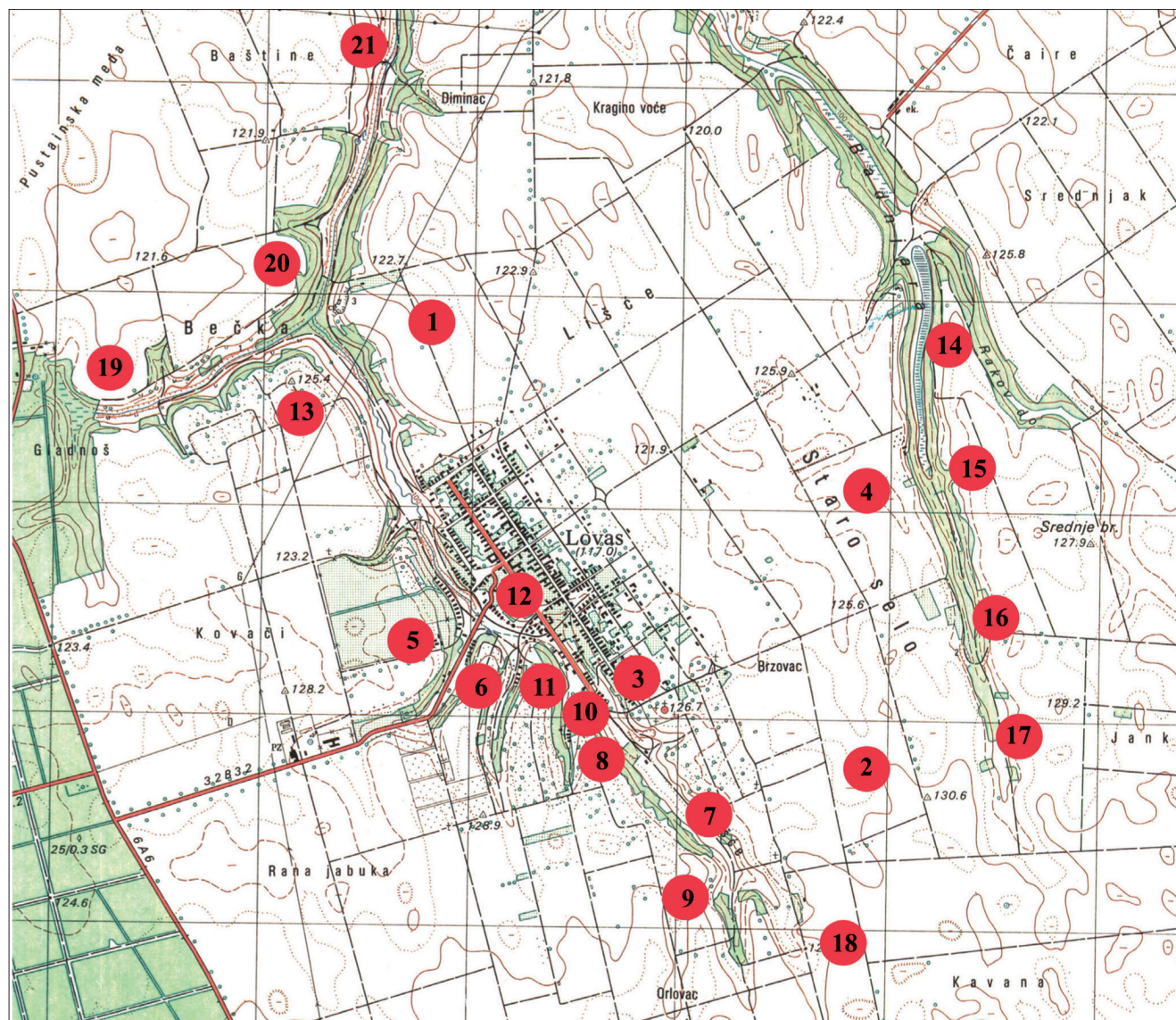


## Lokaliteti zabilježeni terenskim pregledom

Ulomci keramičkih posuda svakako su najbrojnija kategorija nalaza na svim položajima, izuzev položaja Srednje brdo – sjever, gdje su pronađeni samo jedan ulomak keramike i jedno sječivo od sivog rožnjaka. Keramika je kronološki determinirana na temelju specifičnih oblika (profila) posuda koji su mogli biti definirani na većim i dijagnostičkim ulomcima, kao i prema vrstama ukrašavanja te motivima koji se pojavljuju. U slučaju izostanka dijagnostičkih karakteristika ulomci su datirani na temelju fakture. Ulomci, koji pokazuju zajedničke karakteristike više razdoblja (fakturu, način izrade, oblik posuda ili pak ukras), svrstani su u uopćene ili „prijelazne“ kategorije: pretpovijest, neolitik/eneolitik, pretpovijest/antika i antika/ rednji vijek. Kronološko-kulturološka determinacija prikupljene keramike predstavljena je u tablici 1 koja prikazuje broj prikupljenih ulomaka na svakom od 21 lokaliteta obuhvaćenog ovim istraživanjem.

## Sites recorded in the field survey

Pottery sherds are certainly the most numerous group of finds at all these positions, with the exception of Srednje Brdo–sjever, where only one pottery sherd and one blade made of grey flint were found. Pottery was chronologically determined on the basis of specific vessel shapes (profiles) that could be defined on larger and diagnostic sherds, as well as based on decorative techniques and motifs that appear on them. In cases where no diagnostic characteristics were marked, the sherds' dating was based on their fabric. Sherds that display characteristics typical of several periods (fabric, mode of production, vessel shape or decoration) were placed in more general or 'transitional' categories: prehistory, Neolithic/Copper Age, prehistory/Antiquity, and Antiquity/Middle Ages. The chronological and cultural determinations of the sherds collected are presented in Table 1, which contains the number of sherds collected on each of the 21 sites included in this research.



**KARTA 1.** Karta s prikazom prostorne distribucije lokaliteta na području Općine Lovas (k.o. Lovas i k.o. Opatovac). Brojevi na karti odgovaraju brojevima lokaliteta donesenih u tekstu (Franković 2019).

**MAP 1.** Spatial distribution of sites in the Lovas municipality (Lovas and Opatovac cadastral municipalities). The numbers on the map match the numbers of sites as they are listed in the text (Franković 2019).

NEOLITIK/ ENEOLITIK / NEOLITHIC/ COPPER AGE	ENEOLITIK/ COPPER AGE	BRONČANO DOBA /BRONZE AGE	MLADE ŽELJEZNO DOBA / LATE IRON AGE	PREPOVIJEST/ ANTIKA / PREHISTORY /ANTIQUITY	ANTIKA /ANTIQUITY	ANTIKA / SREDNJI VIJEK / ANTIQUITY/ MIDDLE AGES	SREDNJI VIJEK / MIDDLE AGES	NOVI VIJEK /MODERN AGE	UKUPAN BR. ULOMAKA / TOTAL NR. OF SHERDS
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	–	6
4	–	3	–	–	–	–	1	–	8
–	–	–	–	–	5	–	2	2	9
5	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	10
12	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	12
13	–	22	–	15	21	16	1	7	99
1	–	–	–	–	5	–	3	–	9
1	–	–	–	–	13	12	–	–	26
15	–	57	16	23	–	–	1	3	115
–	139	133	98	175	45	22	39	3	654
–	–	240	139	16	32	–	107	141	675
–	625	1067	180	72	23	–	19	8	1994
1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
–	–	1	1	–	–	1	–	–	3
–	–	1	3	–	4	–	12	5	28
–	–	2	–	–	–	–	3	–	5
1	–	2	–	5	6	–	2	7	23
281	63	174	8	3	57	–	10	3	780
–	2	9	1	1	–	–	2	–	16
225	284	507	102	2	103	38	191	66	2008

**TABLICA 1.** Broj ulomaka i kronološka atribucija materijala s položaja rekognosciranih na području Općine Lovas 2011., 2017. i 2018. godine (\*položaj nije u potpunosti obuhvaćen terenskim pregledom, stoga navedeni podaci pružaju samo djelomičan uvid u situaciju; Đukić, Franković 2019).

**TABLE 1.** The number of fragments and the chronological attribution of material from positions in the Lovas municipality that were surveyed in 2011, 2017 and 2018 (\*The position was not entirely included in the field survey, so the data as listed only provide a partial insight into the situation; Đukić, Franković 2019).



**KARTA 2.** Karta s prikazom prostorne distribucije lokaliteta na području Općine Lovas (k.o. Opatovac). Brojevi na karti odgovaraju brojevima lokaliteta donesenih u tekstu (Franković 2019).

**MAP 2.** Spatial distribution of sites in the Lovas municipality (Opatovac cadastral municipality). The numbers on the map match the numbers of sites as they are listed in the text (Franković 2019).



Zabilježeni lokaliteti (Karte 1 i 2) su:<sup>22</sup>

1. Kragino voće (pretpovijest)
2. Brzovac (srednji vijek)
3. U Mjestu, Ulica Vladimira nazora 77 (neolitik/eneolitik, brončano doba, starije željezno doba (?),<sup>23</sup> srednji vijek)
4. Staro selo (antika, srednji vijek, novi vijek)
5. Čajer (neolitik/eneolitik, brončano doba)
6. Čot – neolitik/eneolitik
7. Šljivici (pretpovijest, neolitik/eneolitik, brončano doba, mlađe željezno doba/antika (T. 7: 7, 8, 10), antika (T. 7: 6), antika/srednji vijek (T. 7: 11–13), srednji vijek, novi vijek),
8. Orlinac (pretpovijest, antika, srednji vijek)
9. Gradac (eneolitik, antika, antika/srednji vijek)
10. Staro groblje (neolitik/eneolitik (T. 4: 9), brončano doba (T. 4: 1, 2, 5, 7, 12–15), mlađe željezno doba (T. 4: 6, 8, 15), mlađe željezno doba/antika (T. 4: 3, 11), antika, srednji vijek (T. 4: 10), novi vijek)
11. Kalvarija (srednji/kasni eneolitik (T. 1: 1, 5; T. 2: 2, 9), brončano doba (T. 1: 4; T. 2: 7, 10–12), mlađe željezno doba (T. 1: 6–10; T. 2: 8, 9), mlađe željezno doba/antika, antika (T. 2: 4, 5), antika/srednji vijek, srednji vijek (T. 1: 3; T. 2: 1), novi vijek)
12. Sv. Mihovil (brončano doba (T. 6: 1, 2, 4, 5), mlađe željezno doba (T. 6: 9, 11–13), mlađe željezno doba/antika (T. 6: 1), antika (T. 6: 6), srednji vijek (T. 6: 8, 9), novi vijek),
13. Kovači<sup>24</sup> (srednji/kasni eneolitik (T. 5: 1, 3–7, 11), brončano doba (T. 5: 2, 13), mlađe željezno doba (T. 5: 9, 10), mlađe željezno doba/antika (T. 5: 8), antika (T. 5: 3), srednji vijek, novi vijek),
14. Srednje brdo–sjever (pretpovijest (sl. 3: 5), neolitik/eneolitik)
15. Srednje brdo–centar (brončano doba, mlađe željezno doba (T. 5: 14), antika/srednji vijek (T. 5: 15, 16),
16. Srednje brdo–jug<sup>25</sup> (pretpovijest, brončano doba, mlađe željezno doba, antika, srednji vijek, novi vijek)

The sites recorded (Maps 1 and 2) are as follows:<sup>22</sup>

1. Kragino Voće (prehistory),
2. Brzovac (Middle Ages),
3. *U mjestu*, Ulica Vladimira nazora 77 (Neolithic/Copper Age, Bronze Age, Early Iron Age (?),<sup>23</sup> Middle Ages),
4. Staro Selo (Antiquity, Middle Ages, Modern Age),
5. Čajer (Neolithic/Copper Age, Bronze Age),
6. Čot (Neolithic/Copper Age),
7. Šljivici (prehistory, Neolithic/Copper Age, Bronze Age, Late Iron Age/Antiquity (Pl. 7: 7, 8, 10), Antiquity (Pl. 7: 6), Antiquity/Middle Ages (Pl. 7: 11–13), Middle Ages, Modern Age),
8. Orlinac (prehistory, Antiquity, Middle Ages),
9. Gradac (Copper Age, Antiquity, Antiquity/Middle Ages),
10. Staro Groblje (Neolithic/Copper Age (Pl. 4: 9), Bronze Age (Pl. 4: 1, 2, 5, 7, 12–15), Late Iron Age (Pl. 4: 6, 8, 15), Late Iron Age/Antiquity (Pl. 4: 3, 11), Antiquity, Middle Ages (Pl. 4: 10), Modern Age),
11. Kalvarija (middle/late Copper Age (Pl. 1: 1, 5; Pl. 2: 2, 9), Bronze Age (Pl. 1: 4; Pl. 2: 7, 10–12), Late Iron Age (Pl. 1: 6–10; Pl. 2: 8, 9), Late Iron Age/Antiquity, Antiquity (Pl. 2: 4, 5), Antiquity/Middle Ages, Middle Ages (Pl. 1: 3; Pl. 2: 1), Modern Age),
12. Sv. Mihovil (Bronze Age (Pl. 6: 1, 2, 4, 5), Late Iron Age (Pl. 6: 9, 11–13), Late Iron Age/Antiquity (Pl. 6: 1), Antiquity (Pl. 6: 6), Middle Ages (Pl. 6: 8, 9), Modern Age),
13. Kovači<sup>24</sup> (middle/late Copper Age (Pl. 5: 1, 3–7, 11), Bronze Age (Pl. 5: 2, 13), Late Iron Age (Pl. 5: 9, 10), Late Iron Age/Antiquity (Pl. 5: 8), Antiquity (Pl. 5: 3), Middle Ages, Modern Age),
14. Srednje Brdo–sjever<sup>25</sup> (prehistory (Fig. 3: 5), Neolithic/Copper Age),
15. Srednje Brdo–centar (Bronze Age, Late Iron Age (Pl. 5: 14), Antiquity/Middle Ages (Pl. 5: 15, 16),

9 Arheološka istraživanja na području Općine Lovas tijekom 2011. i 2017. godine većim su dijelom financirana iz sredstava Ministarstva kulture Republike Hrvatske, a 2018. godine iz vlastitih sredstava Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu.

10 Voditelj istraživanja u 2011. godini bio je Sanjin Mihelić, a kao stručni tim uključeni su diplomirani arheolozi Nera Šegvić, Iva Kostešić, Renata Nizek i Ranko Manojlović i student Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu Filip Franković. U 2017. i 2018. godini, kao stručni voditelj istraživanja, imenovan je Filip Franković, a Sanjin Mihelić djelovao je kao zamjenik voditelja. Tijekom 2017. i 2018. godine na istraživanju su sudjelovali arheolozi Ana Đukić, Andrej Sabljčić i Miloš Roháček, studenti arheologije Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu Jana Frdelja, Tea Bušac, Stjepan Marinković i Mia Marijan i student Instituta za klasičnu arheologiju Karlovog sveučilišta u Pragu Stanislav Horáček.

11 Iz Konzervatorskog odjela u Vukovaru saznali smo da je istočni dio k.o. Opatovac obuhvaćen terenskim pregledom kolegice Kušić iz Vukovarskog muzeja, a upravo se on, na južnom dijelu, nastavlja izravno na položaj Lišće, gdje pregledom 2011. godine nisu zabilježeni arheološki nalazi iako lokalno stanovništvo spominje slučajni nalaz vrha brončanog koplja.

12 Doneseni brojevi odgovaraju brojevima na slikama 4 i 5.

13 Tragovi naseljavanja iz starijega željeznog doba na ovom položaju nisu direktno potvrđeni istraživanjima 2011. godine, ali na njih upućuju ranija otkrića (vidi Bunčić 2007, 46).

14 Godine 2011. prikupljeno je čak 1959 ulomaka keramike, a 2017. godine njih 35, što je posljedica odluke da se prikupljaju samo dijagnostički ulomci.

15 Katastarske čestice, na kojima je 2011. prikupljen materijal, nalaze se u središnjem dijelu položaja Srednje brdo–jug. Ove su čestice pregledane i 2017. godine (traktovi 85–88, 94–96, 101–103), ali tom prilikom nisu zabilježeni nalazi. Trakt 52, pregledavan 2017. godine, nalazi se uz zapadni rub položaja Srednje brdo te se s istočne strane nastavlja izravno na traktove 100, 101, 102 i 103, na čijem su području pružanja 2011. godine zabilježeni nalazi.

9 The 2011 and 2017 research seasons in the Lovas municipality were funded largely by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, and the 2018 season was financed by the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

10 In 2011, the head of the excavations was Sanjin Mihelić, and the team consisted of archaeologists Nera Šegvić, Iva Kostešić, Renata Nizek and Ranko Manojlović, and Filip Franković, a student at the Faculty of Philosophy and Social Sciences in Zagreb. In 2017 and 2018, Filip Franković became the head of excavations, and Sanjin Mihelić was the vice-head. In 2017 and 2018, the team consisted of archaeologists Ana Đukić, Andrej Sabljčić and Miloš Roháček, as well as students from the Faculty of Philosophy and Social Sciences in Zagreb – Jana Frdelja, Tea Bušac, Stjepan Marinković and Mia Marijan – and Stanislav Horáček, a student from the Charles University in Prague.

11 The Conservation Department in Vukovar informed us that the eastern part of the Opatovac cadastral municipality was surveyed by colleague Kušić from the Museum in Vukovar, and that the southern part of this position is directly connected with the Lišće position, which yielded no finds in 2011, despite the fact that the locals mention a chance find of a bronze spearhead.

12 The numbers as listed match those on Figs 4 and 5.

13 Traces of Early Iron Age settlement at this position were not directly confirmed by the 2011 excavations, but are recorded by previous discoveries (see Bunčić 2007, 46).

14 In 2011, a total of 1959 pottery sherds were collected; an additional 35 were collected in 2017 – a consequence of only collecting diagnostic finds.

15 The Croatian words *sjever*, *istok*, *jug* and *centar*, found in site names in this text, correspond to English *north*, *east*, *south* and *central*, respectively.



SLIKA 2. Položaj Čopinac–sjever. Pogled s istoka (snimio F. Franković).

FIGURE 2. The Čopinac–sjever position. A view from the east (Photo by F. Franković).

- 17. Kavane–sjever (brončano doba, srednji vijek)
- 18. Orašje (neolitik/eneolitik, brončano doba, mlade željezno doba/antika, antika, srednji vijek, novi vijek)
- 19. Bečka–jug (pretpovijest, neolitik, neolitik/eneolitik, eneolitik, brončano doba, mlade željezno doba, mlade željezno doba/antika, antika, srednji vijek, novi vijek)
- 20. Bečka–istok (pretpovijest, eneolitik (?), brončano doba, mlade željezno doba, antika/srednji vijek, srednji vijek)
- 21. Čopinac (pretpovijest, neolitik, neolitik/eneolitik, eneolitik (T. 3: 6), brončano doba (T. 3: 4, 5, 10), mlade željezno doba (T. 3: 1), mlade željezno doba/antika, antika, antika/srednji vijek, srednji vijek (T. 3: 2, 7), novi vijek)
- 21a. Čopinac–sjever<sup>16</sup> (pretpovijest, neolitik, neolitik/eneolitik, eneolitik (T. 3: 3, 9), brončano doba (T. 3: 5, 8), mlade željezno doba, antika, antika/srednji vijek, srednji vijek, novi vijek).

Na širem je području Općine Lovas od ranije<sup>17</sup> poznato još nekoliko lokaliteta:

- 22. Opatovac, Fruškogorska ulica 6 (naselje i nekropola iz starijega željeznog doba)

- 16. Srednje Brdo–jug<sup>16</sup> (prehistory, Bronze Age, Late Iron Age, Antiquity, Middle Ages, Modern Age),
- 17. Kavane–sjever (Bronze Age, Middle Ages),
- 18. Orašje (Neolithic/Copper Age, Bronze Age, Late Iron Age/Antiquity, Antiquity, Middle Ages, Modern Age),
- 19. Bečka–jug (prehistory, Neolithic, Neolithic/Copper Age, Copper Age, Bronze Age, Late Iron Age, Late Iron Age/Antiquity, Antiquity, Middle Ages, Modern Age),
- 20. Bečka–istok (prehistory, Copper Age (?), Bronze Age, Late Iron Age, Antiquity/Middle Ages, Middle Ages),
- 21. Čopinac (prehistory, Neolithic, Neolithic/Copper Age, Copper Age (Pl. 3: 6), Bronze Age (Pl. 3: 4, 5, 10), Late Iron Age (Pl. 3: 1), Late Iron Age/Antiquity, Antiquity, Antiquity/Middle Ages, Middle Ages (Pl. 3: 2, 7), Modern Age),
- 21a. Čopinac–sjever<sup>17</sup> (prehistory, Neolithic, Neolithic/Copper Age, Copper Age (Pl. 3: 3, 9), Bronze Age (Pl. 3: 5, 8), Late Iron Age, Antiquity, Antiquity/Middle Ages, Middle Ages, Modern Age).

Several other sites in the wider area of the Lovas municipality are known from previous research.<sup>18</sup>

16 Sjeverni dio položaja Čopinac (sl. 2) izdvojen je od ostatka položaja jer je na njemu zabilježena najveća gustoća površinskih nalaza. Položaj pokriva površinu od nešto manje od 1,40 ha, koja je pregledana u tri trakta.

16 The cadastral parcels that were surveyed in 2011 are in the central part of the Srednje Brdo–jug position. These parcels were surveyed again in 2017 (sections 85–88, 94–96, 101–103), when no finds were discovered. Section 52, surveyed in 2017, is situated at the western end of the Srednje Brdo position and is a direct continuation of sections 100, 101, 102 and 103, which yielded finds in the 2011 survey.

17 The northern part of the Čopinac position (Fig. 2) was isolated from the rest because it yielded the highest density of surface finds. The position spans an area of about 1.40 ha, and was surveyed in three sections.

18 Bunčić 2007, 47.

23. Opatovac, Obala Dunava – položaji Trščanik, Sokolovac, Šanac i Beljinac<sup>18</sup>

24. Vinograd Friedricha Königsdorfera (badenska, hunyadi-vajska i vučedolska kultura)

25. Opatovac, nepoznati položaj (srednje brončano doba). Nalazi s nepoznatog položaja kod Opatovca (25) uključuju amforicu istog tipa, kao one pronađene u ostavama Lovas i Vukovar. S obzirom na to da se radi o cjelovitoj posudi, moguće je da nalaz potječe iz uništenoga groba ili iz još jedne ostave od koje ni jedan drugi predmet nije sačuvan.

22. Opatovac, Fruškogorska ulica 6 (Early Iron Age settlement and necropolis),

23. Opatovac, Obala Dunava: the Trščanik, Sokolovac, Šanac and Beljinac positions,<sup>19</sup>

24. Vinograd Friedricha Königsdorfera (the Baden, Hunyadi-Vajska and Vučedol cultures),

25. Opatovac, unknown position (middle Bronze Age). Finds from the unknown position near Opatovac (25) include an amphora of the same type as those discovered in the Lovas and Vukovar hoards. Given that the vessel is completely preserved, it is possible that the find was originally part of a grave or another hoard from which no other finds have been preserved.

## Arheološki nalazi i kulturno-kronološka evaluacija rezultata dobivenih terenskim pregledima

U tri sezone sustavnoga terenskog pregleda područja Općine Lovas, arheološki je materijal pronađen na 21 položaju. Većinom se radi o ulomcima keramičkih posuda koje je moguće datirati u gotovo sva arheološka razdoblja. Osim keramike (tab. 1), pronađeni su i komadi kućnog lijepa, bez i s otiscima pruća, ulomak lomljenog opsidijana, kao i znatan broj lomljenih kamenih alatki, kamenih alatki s abrazivnim svojstvima (kockasti rastirači, ulomci žrvnjeva), glačana bradva manjih dimenzija, glačani kameni udarači različitih oblika, ulomak glačane kamene sjekire ili sjekire-čekića (T. 7: 1), komadi željezne šljake, pet pršljenova (T. 3: 12, 13; T. 7: 2–5), keramička glačalica kojoj nedostaje drška (T. 3: 11), keramička kuglica, ulomak grla staklene boce ili vrča, veprova kljova i dva ulomka keramičkih lula mediteranskog tipa (T. 3: 14, 15). Osim ovih nalaza, pronađen je i manji broj željeznih predmeta nepoznate namjene te nekolicina životinjskih kostiju, a koje se na temelju vidljivih karakteristika ne može smatrati arheološkim nalazima, već ostacima recentnih aktivnosti.

Kao što je vidljivo iz tablice 1, na većini položaja obuhvaćenih sustavnim terenskim pregledom pronađen je razmjerno mali broj ulomaka keramike (tek na šest položaja broj ulomaka prelazi 100). Kumulativno, najveći broj ulomaka (5882) pripisan je pretpovijesnim razdobljima, dok je znatno manji broj ulomaka pripisan razdobljima antike (329) te srednjeg (439) i novog vijeka (252).

Pretpovijesna keramika, koja nije mogla biti preciznije determinirana, pronađena je na šest položaja,<sup>19</sup> a mahom se radi o keramici grube fature koja je u manjem postotku ukrašena tehnikom korištenim kroz više razdoblja (primjerice, plastične trake s utiskivanjem prsta).

## Archaeological finds and the cultural and chronological evaluation of results obtained from the field surveys

In the three seasons of systematic field surveys in the Lovas municipality, archaeological material was discovered at 21 positions. It includes mostly pottery sherds that can be dated to almost all archaeological periods. Other than pottery (Table 1), the positions yielded pieces of daub, with and without wattle traces, a fragment of chipped obsidian, as well as a significant quantity of chipped stone tools, stone tools with an abrasive surface (cubic handstones, pieces of grindstone), a small polished stone adze, polished stone hammers of various shapes, a piece of a polished stone axe or axe-hammer (Pl. 7: 1), fragments of iron slag, five spindles (Pl. 3: 12, 13; Pl. 7: 2–5), a ceramic polisher that is missing a handle (Pl. 3: 11), a small ceramic sphere, a fragment of a glass bottle or jug, the tusk of a boar, and two fragments of tobacco pipes of the Mediterranean type (Pl. 3: 14, 15). Other finds include a modest number of iron finds of unknown function and several animal bones that cannot, on the basis of observable characteristics, be seen as archaeological finds, but rather as traces of recent human activity.

As shown in Table 1, most of the positions included in the systematic field survey yielded a relatively small number of pottery sherds. (Only six positions yielded over 100 pieces.) Cumulatively, the largest number of sherds (5882) was ascribed to prehistoric periods, while a significantly lesser number was ascribed to Antiquity (329), the Middle Ages (439) and the Modern Age (252).

Prehistoric pottery that could not be more precisely dated was discovered at six positions,<sup>20</sup> and it includes mostly coarse ware that is, in a small percentage, decorated by techniques used throughout several periods (e.g. plastic ribbons with finger imprints).

17 Bunčić 2007, 47.

18 U ranijoj se literaturi uz obalu Dunava kod Opatovca spominju samo nalazi vučedolske kulture (Bunčić 2007, 47). Rezultati nedavnih terenskih pregleda uz obalu Dunava (Ložnjak Dizdar, Hutinec, Dizdar 2014) potvrdili su pojavu vučedolske kulture na položaju Trščanik–istok. Važno je naglasiti da su ista istraživanja utvrdila naseljavanja uz obalu Dunava kod Opatovca u svim vremenskim razdobljima, i to na 11 izdvojenih položaja (radi se o potpodjelama položaja Trščanik, Sokolovac, Šanac i Beljinac) (vidi Ložnjak Dizdar, Hutinec, Dizdar 2014, 162). Naknadna sondažna istraživanja na položaju Šanac (Ložnjak Dizdar, Dizdar 2015, 12) potvrdila su naseljavanje položaja u razdobljima starčevačke, sopske, badenske i kostolačke kulture.

19 In earlier publications, only finds of the Vučedol culture are mentioned along the Danube shoreline near Opatovac (Bunčić 2007, 47). The results of the recent field surveys conducted along the Danube (Ložnjak Dizdar, Hutinec, Dizdar 2014) confirmed the presence of the Vučedol culture at the Trščanik–istok position. It is important to note that the same surveys confirmed that at least 11 separate positions along the Danube around Opatovac were settled (including smaller sections of the Trščanik, Sokolovac, Šanac and Beljinac positions) (see Ložnjak Dizdar, Hutinec, Dizdar 2014, 162). Subsequent trench excavations carried out at the Šanac position (Ložnjak Dizdar, Dizdar 2015, 12) confirmed that the position was settled by people of the Starčevo, Sopot, Baden and Kostolac cultures.

20 Kragino Voće, Šljivici, Srednje Brdo–jug, Bečka–jug, Bečka–istok and Copinac.



Keramika, koju se na temelju karakteristika nije moglo preciznije definirati pa je pripisana razdobljima neolitika/eneolitika, definirana je na 11 položaja.<sup>20</sup> Radi se uglavnom o keramici grube fature s različitim primjesama koja je tek u iznimnim slučajevima ukrašena jednostavnim motivima i tehnikama. Osim toga, oblici posuda, koje je bilo moguće odrediti, ne pokazuju tipološke karakteristike koje bi omogućile precizniju kronološku i kulturološku atribuciju nalaza.

Ulomci su neolitičke keramike ustanovljeni na dva položaja,<sup>21</sup> a neki od ulomaka sugeriraju da bi se moglo raditi o sopotskoj kulturi.

Eneolitička je keramika pronađena na pet položaja.<sup>22</sup> Važno je naglasiti da je samo dio eneolitičke keramike mogao biti pripisan pojedinačnim kulturama, dok je većina definirana samo kao eneolitička na temelju fature. Ulomci keramike, koji su pripisani srednjem/kasnom eneolitiku, pronađeni su na položajima Kalvarija, Kovači, Bečka-jug, Bečka-istok, Čopinac (te na sjevernom dijelu položaja Čopinac). Na zaobljenim ulomcima rubova i tijela lonaca te zdjela javljaju se duboko urezani motivi riblje kosti (T. 3: 6, 9), a na oblicima, koji nalikuju na vučedolske terine i zdjele izvučenog ruba, pojavljuju se rovašeni geometrijski motivi u trakama i nizovi uboda koji također tvore geometrijske motive (primjerice, T. 5: 1, 3, 5-7). Osim toga, valja istaknuti nalaz keramičke glačalice (T. 3: 11) iste datacije. Među nalazima pojavljuju se i duboko urezani geometrijski motivi poput paralelnih nakošenih linija (T. 5: 1) te ulomci zdjela uglačane površine koji su dodatno ukrašeni nizovima okruglih uboda i tvore geometrijske motive (T. 5: 5, 7). Među ulomcima keramike s položaja Kalvarija i Kovači posebno se ističe i znatan broj ulomaka zdjela ravnog ruba, grube fature i blago uglačane površine (T. 5: 4). Ulomak prikazan na T. 5: 1 ima ukras istovjetan onome na ulomku badenske kulture s Vučedola;<sup>23</sup> a onaj sa T. 5: 2 ima ukras sličan onome iz Sarvaša.<sup>24</sup> Ulomci sa T. 5: 5, 7 imaju ukras istovjetan onome s ulomaka kostolačke kulture s Vučedola<sup>25</sup> i Sarvaša,<sup>26</sup> dok ulomak s T. 5: 4 ima ukras istovjetan onom vučedolske kulture s Ervenice<sup>27</sup> i Sarvaša.<sup>28</sup>

Svakako, najbrojnija je skupina pretpovijesne keramike pripisana brončanom dobu koje je definirano na čak 14 položaja obuhvaćenih sustavnim terenskim pregledom (tab. 1 i 2).<sup>29</sup> Nažalost, u većini slučajeva izostaju karakteristični ukrasi, a ulomci su toliko fragmentirani da nije moguće odrediti oblike posuda koji bi omogućili kronološku atribuciju nalaza. Pregledom materijala iz Općine Lovas uočeni su ulomci ranobrončanodobne

The pottery that could not be more precisely defined on the basis of its characteristics was ascribed to the Neolithic/Copper Age category. It was recorded at 11 positions.<sup>23</sup> The finds include mostly coarse ware with various inclusions, decorated, in a very small number of cases, with simple motifs and techniques. Additionally, those vessel shapes that could be determined do not have typological characteristics that would allow for a more precise chronological and cultural attribution of the finds.

Neolithic pottery was discovered at two positions,<sup>21</sup> and some of the fragments suggest that they could be ascribed to the Sopot culture.

Copper Age pottery was discovered at five positions.<sup>23</sup> It is important to note that only some of the Copper Age pottery could be ascribed to individual cultures, while most was dated to the Copper Age on the exclusive basis of the fabric. Pottery that was ascribed to the middle/late Copper Age was discovered at the Kalvarija, Kovači, Bečka-jug, Bečka-istok and Čopinac positions (and the northern part of Čopinac). Rounded fragments of rims and bodies of pots and bowls are decorated with deeply incised lines that form fishbone motifs (Pl. 3: 6, 9), and forms that resemble Terina-type vessels of the Vučedol culture have gouged geometric motifs grouped in ribbons, as well as with series of stabs that also make geometric motifs (e.g. Pl. 5: 1, 3, 5-7). In addition, a ceramic polisher (Pl. 3: 11), dated to the same period, was also discovered. Finds from this period also include sherds decorated with deeply-incised geometric motifs such as parallel slanting lines (Pl. 5: 1), as well as bowl fragments with a polished surface that are decorated with series of circular stabs that form geometric motifs (Pl. 5: 5, 7). The finds from Kalvarija and Kovači also include a significant number of fragments of coarse bowls with a straight rim and a slightly polished surface (Pl. 5: 4). The fragment shown in Pl. 5: 1 is decorated in the same manner as a fragment of the Baden culture from Vučedol;<sup>24</sup> the fragment shown in Pl. 5: 2 is decorated in a similar way to a sherd from Sarvaš.<sup>25</sup> Fragments shown in Pl. 5: 5, 7 resemble decorated finds of the Kostolac culture from Vučedol<sup>26</sup> and Sarvaš,<sup>27</sup> while the fragment in Pl. 5: 4 resembles fragments ascribed to the Vučedol culture from Ervenica<sup>28</sup> and Sarvaš.<sup>29</sup>

The most numerous ascriptions of prehistoric pottery were to the Bronze Age, and were defined at 14 positions that were included in the systematic field survey (Tables 1 and 2).<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately, characteristic decorations are missing, and the sherds are

19 Kragino voće, Šljivici, Srednje brdo-jug, Bečka-jug, Bečka-istok i Čopinac.

20 U Mjestu, Čajer, Čot, Šljivici, Orlinac, Gradac, Staro groblje, Srednje brdo-sjever, Orašje, Bečka-jug i Čopinac.

21 Bečka-jug i Čopinac.

22 Kalvarija, Kovači, Bečka-jug, Bečka-istok i Čopinac.

23 Gregl 1985, Sl. 3; Sl. 4; Sl. 6: 2.

24 Balen 2005b, Sl. 23, kat. br. 27.

25 Balen 2005a, T. 1: 1, 6; T. 2: 3.

26 Balen 2005b, Sl. 25, kat. br. 39.

27 Miloglav 2007, T. 3: 6.

28 Balen 2005b, T. 26, 1-3.

29 U Mjestu, Čajer, Šljivici, Sv. Mihovil, Staro groblje, Kalvarija, Srednje brdo-centar, Srednje brdo-jug, Kavane-sjever, Orašje, Kovači, Bečka-jug, Bečka-istok i Čopinac.

21 U mjestu, Čajer, Čot, Šljivici, Orlinac, Gradac, Staro Groblje, Srednje Brdo-sjever, Orašje, Bečka-jug and Čopinac.

22 Bečka-jug and Čopinac.

23 Kalvarija, Kovači, Bečka-jug, Bečka-istok and Čopinac.

24 Težak Gregl 1985, Fig. 3; Fig. 4; Fig. 6: 2.

25 Balen 2005b, Fig. 23, cat. no. 27.

26 Balen 2005a, Pl. 1: 1, 6; Pl. 2: 3.

27 Balen 2005b, Fig. 25, cat. no. 39.

28 Miloglav 2007, Pl. 3: 6.

29 Balen 2005b, Pl. 26: 1-3.

30 U mjestu, Čajer, Šljivici, Sv. Mihovil, Staro Groblje, Kalvarija, Srednje Brdo-centar, Srednje Brdo-jug, Kavane-sjever, Orašje, Kovači, Bečka-jug, Bečka-istok and Čopinac.



keramike, primjerice ulomak s položaja Sv. Mihovil (T. 6: 10) koji nalikuje na nalaze s lokaliteta Tržnica u Vinkovcima,<sup>30</sup> iz Sotina, Vučedola i Petrovaca.<sup>31</sup> Nalazi s prijelaza starije u mlađu fazu ranoga brončanog doba nisu zabilježeni niti na jednom od položaja pokrivenih sustavnim terenskim pregledom na prostoru Općine Lovas iako se ni takva mogućnost ne može isključiti zbog učestalosti metličastog ukrasa. Nalazi, koje najvjerojatnije valja pripisati srednjobrončanodobnoj kulturi Belegiš I, prikupljeni su na položajima Čopinac i Kovači, s time da su na položaju Kovači oni potvrđeni probnim sondažnim istraživanjima 2017. godine. S obzirom na količine ulomaka keramike izrazito slične fakture, načina pečenja i ukrašavanja, čini se da su oba položaja intenzivno korištena u razdoblju spomenute kulturne grupe. Nalaze iz starije faze kasnoga brončanog doba s pregledavanog prostora vjerojatno valja pripisati kulturnoj grupi Belegiš II. Radi se o izvjesnom broju ulomaka vratova velikih lonaca koji su ukrašeni vodoravnim širokim plitkim kanelurama (primjerice oni s položaja Kalvarija: T. 2: 10 i Sv. Mihovil: T. 6: 5) kakvi se pojavljuju diljem istočne Slavonije,<sup>32</sup> primjerice na lokalitetima Aljmaš, Batina, Dalj, Erdut, Klisa, Osijek, Privlaka – Gradina, Sarvaš, Sotin, Vinkovci<sup>33</sup> i Vučedol.<sup>34</sup> Zbog fragmentiranosti materijala iz Lovasa, kao i činjenice da se metličasti ukras ponekad pojavljuje na donjem dijelu posuda (primjerice na posudama s položaja Staro groblje, Kalvarija i Kovači), moguće je da dio ovog materijala zapravo predstavlja ostavštinu mlađe bosutske kulturne grupe čije je postojanje zabilježeno u obližnjem Iloku.<sup>35</sup> Neki od ulomaka s položaja Sv. Mihovil i Kalvarija (T. 6: 2, 4) potencijalno predstavljaju nalaze mlađe faze kasnoga brončanog doba. Među najzanimljivijim je nalazima svakako vrh kamene strelice s položaja Čopinac, a koji je moguće vezati uz brončanodobnu produkciju lomljenih kamenih alatki.<sup>36</sup> Slični su primjerci pronađeni u brončanodobnim kontekstima na položajima Jela i Ekonomija 13. maj u Zemunu te na položaju Motel „Slatina“ u Paraćinu.<sup>37</sup>

Starije je željezno doba najslabije zastupljeno od svih vremenskih razdoblja u Općini Lovas. Tijekom sustavnih terenskih pregleda iz 2011., 2017. i 2018. godine na položajima Sv. Mihovil i Kalvarija u k.o. Lovas otkriveno je samo nekoliko ulomaka koje se potencijalno može datirati u vrijeme između mlađe faze kasnoga brončanog i starijega željeznog doba, a to su ujedno i jedini nalazi otkriveni prilikom istraživanja koje se može povezati s ikakvom aktivnošću u razdoblju starijega željeznog doba. Čak i prethodno zabilježeni stariježeljeznodobni nalazi u Ulici Vladimira Nazora u Lovasu, tj. U Mjestu, nisu potvrđeni prilikom terenskog pregleda 2011. godine.

so fragmented that it was impossible to determine vessel forms that would allow a chronological attribution of the finds. The material from the Lovas municipality includes Early Bronze Age pottery, such as that from the Sv. Mihovil position (Pl. 6: 10), which resembles finds from the Tržnica site in Vinkovci,<sup>31</sup> and those from Sotin, Vučedol and Petrovci.<sup>32</sup> Finds from the transition between the early and late phases of the Early Bronze Age were not recorded at any of the positions included in the systematic field survey of the Lovas municipality, although their existence cannot be excluded, due to the large frequency of finds decorated with comb-like motifs. Finds that could most likely be ascribed to the Middle Bronze Age Belegiš I culture were collected at the Čopinac and Kovači positions, and more of them were discovered at Kovači in the 2017 excavations. Considering the amount of pottery of a very similar fabric that was fired and decorated in the same manner, it seems that both positions were intensively used during the said culture. Finds from the early phase of the Late Bronze Age from the area under study should probably be ascribed to the Belegiš II culture. These finds include a certain quantity of fragments of necks of large pots decorated with wide, shallow, horizontal cannelures (e.g. finds from Kalvarija, Pl. 2: 10, and Sv. Mihovil, Pl. 6: 5) that appear across eastern Slavonia,<sup>33</sup> e.g. at Aljmaš, Batina, Dalj, Erdut, Klisa, Osijek, Privlaka–Gradina, Sarvaš, Sotin, Vinkovci<sup>34</sup> and Vučedol.<sup>35</sup> Due to the fragmentation of the material from Lovas, as well as the fact that comb-like decorations sometimes appear on the lower part of the vessel (such as on vessels from Staro Groblje, Kalvarija and Kovači), it is possible that some of this material can actually be ascribed to the later Bosut cultural group that was noted in nearby Ilok.<sup>36</sup> Some of the fragments from the Sv. Mihovil and Kalvarija positions (Pl. 6: 2, 4) can possibly be ascribed to the late phase of the Late Bronze Age. The most interesting finds include a stone arrowhead from Čopinac, which can be connected to the Bronze Age production of chipped stone tools.<sup>37</sup> Similar finds were discovered in Bronze Age contexts at the Jela and *Ekonomija 13. maj* positions in Zemun and at the Motel Slatina position in Paraćin.<sup>38</sup>

The Early Iron Age is the most poorly represented period of all in the Lovas municipality. The 2011, 2017 and 2018 systematic field surveys at the Sv. Mihovil and Kalvarija positions in the Lovas cadastral municipality yielded only several sherds that could potentially be dated to the period between the late phase of the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age. These are also the only finds discovered in the surveys that could be linked to human activity in the Early Iron Age. Even the previously-recorded Early Iron Age finds from the Ulica Vladimira Nazora position in Lovas, i.e. the *U Mjestu* position, were not confirmed in the 2011 survey.

30 Marković 2010, T. 5: 4.

31 Bunčić 2007, 66.

32 Ložnjak Dizdar, Potrebeca 2017, 81, Sl. 36.

33 Forenbaher 1991, 60, Sl. 3: 1, 2, 4; Sl. 7: 1.

34 Forenbaher 1990, T. 1: 1–2, 9; T. 2: 1; T. 3: 2, 11–12; T. 4: 9–12; T. 5: 1; T. 6: 7, 9; T. 7: 1–3; T. 8: 1–2; T. 9: 1.

35 Bunčić 2007, T. 6: 1.

36 Šarić 2005, Pl. 6: 3, 5, 14.

37 Šarić 2005, T. 6: 3, 5, 14.

31 Marković 2010, Pl. 5: 4.

32 Bunčić 2007, 66.

33 Ložnjak Dizdar, Potrebeca 2017, 81, Fig. 36.

34 Forenbaher 1991, 60, Fig. 3: 1, 2, 4; Fig. 7: 1.

35 Forenbaher 1990, Pl. 1: 1–2, 9; Pl. 2: 1; Pl. 3: 2, 11–12; Pl. 4: 9–12; Pl. 5: 1; Pl. 6: 7, 9; Pl. 7: 1–3; Pl. 8: 1–2; Pl. 9: 1.

36 Bunčić 2007, Pl. 6: 1.

37 Šarić 2005, Pl. 6: 3, 5, 14.

38 Šarić 2005, T. 6: 3, 5, 14.

Keramika, koju je moguće vezati uz mlađe željezno doba, uglavnom uključuje standardiziranu sivu keramiku fine fature koja je izrađena na lončarskom kolu, a zabilježena je na devet položaja obuhvaćenih terenskim pregledom.<sup>38</sup> Uglavnom, radi se o ulomcima zdjela s izvučenim (T. 1: 10; T. 4: 6, 11; T. 5: 8; T. 7: 8, 10) ili blago uvučenim rubom (T. 6: 12), vrčevima s trakastim (T. 1: 9; T. 6: 14) ili ovalnim ručkama (T. 1: 8) i loncima (T. 1: 2; T. 5: 9, 14), kakvi su pronađeni u latenskim naseljima diljem regije, primjerice na lokalitetima Privlaka i Orolik.<sup>39</sup> Mlađeželjeznodna nalazišta u okolici zabilježena su u Berku, Borovu, Lovasu, Petrovcima, Svinjarevcima, Sotinu i Vukovaru.<sup>40</sup>

Materijal s karakteristikama mlađega željeznog doba, ali i rimskog razdoblja, pronađen je na devet položaja.<sup>41</sup> Problematični oblik, zbog kojeg znatna količina ovih ulomaka nije mogla biti precizno kronološki određena, sive su zdjele S-profilacije (T. 1: 10; T. 4: 15; T. 5: 8; T. 7: 8;) od kojih su neke ukrašene vodoravnim linijama izvedenim štapićem ili nekim drugim tankim predmetom. Takve se posude pojavljuju od 3. stoljeće prije Krista, postupno im se mijenjaju oblik i struktura gline te se na raznim lokalitetima pojavljuju sve do druge polovine 4. stoljeća.<sup>42</sup> U latenskim kontekstima, analogni su primjerci pronađeni na Dirovu Brijegu, Ervenici i Damića gradini,<sup>43</sup> Gradini kraj Orolika,<sup>44</sup> Gradini u Privlaci,<sup>45</sup> Ivanovcima Gorjanskim–Palanka,<sup>46</sup> Donjem gradu u Osijeku,<sup>47</sup> Vukovaru<sup>48</sup> i Ciglani–zeleno polje u Osijeku.<sup>49</sup> U ranorimsko doba ovaj se tip posude pojavljuje u više inačica, ali i dalje oblikom i izvedbom pokazuju jak lokalni latenski utjecaj,<sup>50</sup> primjerice u Vinkovcima gdje su datirane u 1.–2. stoljeće,<sup>51</sup> Srijemskoj Mitrovici, gdje se pojavljuju u najstarijim rimskim slojevima, ali i u kontekstima datiranim u flavijevsko razdoblje,<sup>52</sup> na Gomolavi u fazi VIc naselja iz 1. stoljeća,<sup>53</sup> na lokalitetu Liskovac, gdje su datirane u drugu polovicu 1. stoljeća,<sup>54</sup> ili pak kod Rume, Šimanovaca i Srijemske Mitrovice u Srijemu, gdje su bile u kontekstu nalaza 1. stoljeća.<sup>55</sup>

Pottery that can be connected with the Late Iron Age includes mostly standardized grey fine ware made on the potter's wheel, and it was recorded at nine positions included in the field surveys.<sup>39</sup> The finds include mostly fragments of bowls with an everted rim (Pl. 1: 10; Pl. 4: 6, 11; Pl. 5: 8; Pl. 7: 8, 10) or a slightly inverted one (Pl. 6: 12), jugs with ribbon-like handles (Pl. 1: 9; Pl. 6: 14) or oval ones (Pl. 1: 8), and pots (Pl. 1: 2; Pl. 5: 9, 14) that have been discovered in La Tène settlements throughout the region, e.g. at the sites of Privlaka and Orolik.<sup>40</sup> Late Iron Age sites in the surrounding area include those at Berok, Borovo, Lovas, Petrovci, Svinjarevci, Sotin and Vukovar.<sup>41</sup>

Material that displays both Late Iron Age and Roman characteristics was discovered at nine positions.<sup>42</sup> The most problematic vessel form that made it difficult to classify this pottery is the S-shaped bowl (Pl. 1: 10; Pl. 4: 15; Pl. 5: 8; Pl. 7: 8), which is sometimes decorated with horizontal lines made by a thin stick or some other thin object. Such vessels were used from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, their shape and fabric changing gradually, and at certain sites they stayed in use until the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>43</sup> In La Tène contexts, analogous examples were discovered at Dirov Brijeg, Ervenica and Damića Gradina,<sup>44</sup> Gradina near Orolik,<sup>45</sup> Gradina in Privlaka,<sup>46</sup> Ivanovci Gorjanski–Palanka,<sup>47</sup> Donji Grad in Osijek,<sup>48</sup> Vukovar<sup>49</sup> and Ciglana–zeleno polje in Osijek.<sup>50</sup> In early Roman times, this type of vessel appeared in several variants, but still displayed strong local La Tène influences that can be seen in the form and mode of production:<sup>51</sup> for example, in Vinkovci, where the type was dated to the 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> century,<sup>52</sup> in Srijemska Mitrovica, where it appears in the oldest Roman layer, and also in those dated to the Flavian period,<sup>53</sup> in phase VIc of the settlement at Gomolava that has been dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century,<sup>54</sup> at Liskovac, where it was dated to the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century,<sup>55</sup> and near Ruma, Šimanovci and Srijemska Mitrovica in Sirmia, where it was discovered in a 1<sup>st</sup>-century context.<sup>56</sup>

38 Staro groblje, Kalvarija, Sv. Mihovil, Kovači, Srednje brdo–centar, Srednje brdo–jug, Bečka–jug, Bečka–istok, Čopinac.

39 Dalić 1998.

40 Bunčić 2007, 67.

41 Šljivici, Staro groblje, Kalvarija, Sv. Mihovil, Kovači, Orašje, Bečka–jug, Bečka–istok, Čopinac.

42 Ožanić Roguljić 2009, 81.

43 Dizdar 2001, 58, 63; T. 8: 7; T. 9: 3; T. 10: 5; T. 13: 4; T. 15: 2; T. 16: 1–2; T. 19: 1; T. 21: 1–3; T. 25: 4; T. 28: 4; T. 34: 2; T. 37: 2.

44 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 55–56; T. 53: 3; T. 54: 2; 1996: 260, Sl. 3: 1–2, 4, 7, 9, 12–13, 16–18, 34, 36, 49–50.

45 Majnarić-Pandžić 1984, 25; T. 3: 1.

46 Drnić 2007, 170; T. 4: 1–7.

47 Bulat 1977, 18–19; T. V: 1–3, 7.

48 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 52; T. L: 6; T. 51: 3, 4.

49 Drnić, Skelac 2008, T. 2: 1–10.

50 Todorović 1974, 66; Šaranović-Svetek 1981, 24; Brukner 1981, 91, T. 77; Ožanić 2004, 78, 79; Drnić 2007, 171.

51 Šaranović-Svetek 1981, 24.

52 Brukner 1982/1983, 19; T. III: 3; 1987, 31; T. 25: 2–7.

53 Jovanović, Jovanović 1988, prilog 5, 13; Brukner 1992, T. 10.

54 Ožanić Roguljić 2009, 79; T. 8: 19; T. 9: 20; T. 10: 5; T. 16: 6; T. 18: 9; T. 24; T. 26; T. 27.

55 Brukner 1995, 100–103; T. XIX: 192; T. XXII: 224.

39 Staro Groblje, Kalvarija, Sv. Mihovil, Kovači, Srednje Brdo–centar, Srednje Brdo–jug, Bečka–jug, Bečka–istok, Čopinac.

40 Dalić 1998.

41 Bunčić 2007, 67.

42 Šljivici, Staro Groblje, Kalvarija, Sv. Mihovil, Kovači, Orašje, Bečka–jug, Bečka–istok, Čopinac.

43 Ožanić Roguljić 2009, 81.

44 Dizdar 2001, 58, 63; Pl. 8: 7; Pl. 9: 3; Pl. 10: 5; Pl. 13: 4; Pl. 15: 2; Pl. 16: 1–2; Pl. 19: 1; Pl. 21: 1–3; Pl. 25: 4; Pl. 28: 4; Pl. 34: 2; Pl. 37: 2.

45 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 55–56; Pl. 53: 3; Pl. 54: 2; 1996, 260, Fig. 3: 1–2, 4, 7, 9, 12–13, 16–18, 34, 36, 49–50.

46 Majnarić-Pandžić 1984, 25; Pl. 3: 1.

47 Drnić 2007, 170, Pl. 4: 1–7.

48 Bulat 1977, 18–19, Pl. V: 1–3, 7.

49 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 52, Pl. 50: 6; Pl. 51: 3, 4.

50 Drnić, Skelac 2008, Pl. 2: 1–10.

51 Todorović 1974, 66; Šaranović-Svetek 1981, 24; Brukner 1981, 91, Pl. 77; Ožanić 2004, 78, 79; Drnić 2007, 171.

52 Šaranović-Svetek 1981, 24.

53 Brukner 1982/1983, 19, Pl. III: 3; 1987, 31, Pl. 25: 2–7.

54 Jovanović, Jovanović 1988, appendix 5, 13; Brukner 1992, Pl. 10.

55 Ožanić Roguljić 2009, 79, Pl. 8: 19; Pl. 9: 20; Pl. 10: 5; Pl. 16: 6; Pl. 18: 9; Pl. 24; Pl. 26; Pl. 27.

56 Brukner 1995, 100–103, Pl. XIX: 192; Pl. XXII: 224.

BR. / NO.	POLOŽAJ / POSITION	KATAstarska OPĆINA / CADASTRAL MUNICIPALITY	KATAstarska ČESTICA / CADASTRAL PARCEL	PRETPOVIJEST / PREHISTORY	ANTIKA / ANTIQUITY	SREDNJI VIJEK / MIDDLE AGES	NOVI VIJEK / MODERN AGE
1	Kragino voće	Lovas	–	neodredivo / undeterminable	–	–	–
2	Brzovac	Lovas	2427-2429, 2443-2444	–	–	kasni srednji vijek / Late Middle Ages	–
3	U mjestu	Lovas	1116	neolitik/eneolitik, brončano doba, starije željezno doba (?) / Neolithic/Copper Age, Bronze Age, Early Iron Age (?)	–	–	–
4	Staro selo	Lovas	706-710, 732	–	–	kasni srednji vijek / Late Middle Ages	–
5	Čajer	Lovas	1721, 1745	neolitik/eneolitik, brončano doba / Neolithic/Copper Age, Bronze Age	–	–	–
6	Čot	Lovas	1549	neolitik/eneolitik / Neolithic/Copper Age	–	–	–
7	Šljivici	Lovas	2243-2244, 2247-2250, 2258-2262, 2286-2288, 2304-2307, 2343	neodredivo, neolitik/eneolitik, brončano doba / undeterminable, Neolithic/Copper Age, Bronze Age	mlade željezno doba/antika, antika, 1.-2. st. / Late Iron Age/Antiquity, Antiquity, 1st-2nd cent.	antika/srednji vijek, rani srednji vijek, kasni srednji vijek / Antiquity/Middle Ages, Early Middle Ages, Late Middle Ages	–
8	Orlinac	Lovas	1971-1972, 2084, 2087-2088, 2136	neolitik/eneolitik / Neolithic/Copper Age	–	kasni srednji vijek / Late Middle Ages	–
9	Gradac	Lovas	2222-2223, 2236-2237	neolitik/eneolitik / Neolithic/Copper Age	–	antika/srednji vijek / Antiquity/Middle Ages	–
10	Staro groblje	Lovas	2160/1	neolitik/eneolitik, starija faza kasnog brončanog doba, mlada faza kasnog brončanog doba, mlade željezno doba / Neolithic/Copper Age, late phase of the Late Bronze Age/early phase of the Early Iron Age, Late Iron Age	mlade željezno doba/antika / Late Iron Age/Antiquity	rani srednji vijek / Early Middle Ages	–
11	Kalvarija	Lovas	–	srednji/kasni eneolitik (baden, kostolac, Vučedol?), starija faza kasnog brončanog doba, mlada faza kasnog brončanog doba/starija faza ranog željeznog doba, mlade željezno doba / middle/late Copper Age (Baden, Kostolac, Vučedol?), late phase of the Late Bronze Age/early phase of the Early Iron Age, Late Iron Age	mlade željezno doba/antika, 1.-2. st. / Late Iron Age/Antiquity, 1st-2nd cent.	antika/srednji vijek, rani srednji vijek, kasni srednji vijek / Antiquity/Middle Ages, Early Middle Ages, Late Middle Ages	–
12	Sv. Mihovil	Lovas	1579, 1582	rano brončano doba, starija faza kasnog brončanog doba, mlada faza kasnog brončanog doba/starija faza ranog željeznog doba, mlade željezno doba / Early Bronze Age, early phase of the Late Bronze Age, early phase of the Late Bronze Age, early phase of the Early Iron Age, Late Iron Age	mlade željezno doba/antika, 1.-2. st. / Late Iron Age/Antiquity, 1st-2nd cent.	kasni srednji vijek / Late Middle Ages	turskodobno? / Turkish period?

BR. / NO.	POLOŽAJ / POSITION	KATASTARSKA OPĆINA / CADASTRAL MUNICIPALITY	KATASTARSKA ČESTICA / CADASTRAL PARCEL	PRETPOVIJEST / PREHISTORY	ANTIKA / ANTIQUITY	SREDNJI VIJEK / MIDDLE AGES	NOVI VIJEK / MODERN AGE
13	Kovači	Lovas	57, 59, 63/2, 68, 75, 81, 83 88, 171, 173/1	srednji/kasni eneolitik (baden, kostolac, vučedol?), srednje brončano doba, mlada faza kasnog brončanog doba, mlade željezno doba / middle/late Copper Age (Baden, Kostolac, Vučedol?), Middle Bronze Age, late phase of the Late Bronze Age, Late Iron Age	mlade željezno doba/antika, antika / Late Iron Age/Antiquity, Antiquity	kasni srednji vijek / Late Middle Ages	-
14	Srednje brdo-sjever	Lovas	554, 565	neolitik/eneolitik / Neolithic/Copper Age	-	-	-
15	Srednje brdo-centar	Lovas	595	brončano doba, mlade željezno doba / Bronze Age, Late Iron Age	-	antika/srednji vijek / Antiquity/Middle Ages	-
16	Srednje brdo-jug	Lovas	528-533/2, 605/2-607/2	neodredivo, brončano doba, mlade željezno doba / undeterminable, Bronze Age, Late Iron Age	-	-	-
17	Kavane-sjever	Lovas	2476-2480	brončano doba/ Bronze Age	-	kasni srednji vijek/ Late Middle Ages	-
18	Orašje	Lovas	2566-2579	neolitik/eneolitik, brončano doba / Neolithic/Copper Age, Bronze Age	mlade željezno doba/antika, antika / Late Iron Age/Antiquity, Antiquity	kasni srednji vijek/ Late Middle Ages	-
19	Bečka-jug	Opatovac	1121	neodredivo, neolitik, neolitik/eneolitik, srednji/kasni eneolitik (baden, kostolac, vučedol?), brončano doba, mlade željezno doba / undeterminable, Neolithic, Neolithic/Copper Age, middle/late Copper Age (Baden, Kostolac, Vučedol?), Bronze Age, Late Iron Age	mlade željezno doba/antika, antika / Late Iron Age/Antiquity, Antiquity	-	-
20	Bečka-istok	Opatovac	1121	neodredivo, srednji/kasni eneolitik (baden, kostolac, vučedol?), brončano doba, mlade željezno doba / undeterminable middle/late Copper Age (Baden, Kostolac, Vučedol?), middle Bronze Age, Late Iron Age	mlade željezno doba/antika / Late Iron Age/Antiquity	-	-
21	Čopinac	Opatovac	1060-1070	neodredivo, neolitik (sopotska kultura), neolitik/eneolitik, srednji/kasni eneolitik (baden, kostolac, vučedol?), srednje brončano doba, mlade željezno doba / undeterminable, Neolithic (Sopot culture), Neolithic/Copper Age, middle/late Copper Age (Baden, Kostolac, Vučedol?), middle Bronze Age, Late Iron Age	mlade željezno doba/antika, antika / Late Iron Age/Antiquity, Antiquity	antika/srednji vijek, kasni srednji vijek / Antiquity/Middle Ages, Late Middle Ages	- , 19. st.?
23	Opatovac, Fruškogorska ulica 6	Opatovac	-	starije željezno doba / Early Iron Age	-	-	-
24	Opatovac, obala Dunava	Opatovac	-	kasni eneolitik (vučedolska kultura) / late Copper Age (Vučedol culture)	-	-	-



BR. / NO.	POLOŽAJ / POSITION	KATASTARSKA OPĆINA / CADASTRAL MUNICIPALITY	KATASTARSKA ČESTICA / CADASTRAL PARCEL	PRETPROVIJEST / PREHISTORY	ANTIKA / ANTIQUITY	SREDNJI VIJEK / MIDDLE AGES	NOVI VIJEK / MODERN AGE
25	Vinograd Friedricha Königsdorfera	Opatovac	–	srednji/kasni eneolitik (badenska, hunyadvajska i vučedolska kultura) / middle/late Copper Age (Baden, Hunyadvajska and Vučedol cultures)	–	–	–
26	Opatovac, nepoznati položaj	Opatovac	–	srednje brončano doba / middle Bronze Age	–	–	–
/	Bijela lenija	Lovas	–	–	–	–	–
/	Bijeli dol	Lovas	–	–	–	–	–
/	Janka pusta	Lovas	–	–	–	–	–
/	Lišće	Lovas	–	–	–	–	–
/	Rakov do	Lovas	–	–	–	–	–
/	Rana jabuka	Lovas	–	–	–	–	–

**TABLICA 2.** Popis i kronološka atribucija nalaza s istraživanih položaja na području Općine Lovas (Đukić, Franković 2019).

**TABLE 2.** A list and chronological attribution of finds from the researched and previously-noted positions in the Lovas municipality (Đukić, Franković 2019).

Antička keramika pronađena je na 11 položaja.<sup>56</sup> Uglavnom, radi se o keramici rađenoj rukom, koja je prilično loše pečena zbog čega ima izrazito trusnu i mekanu površinu, te o keramici finije fature, koja je izrađena na lončarskom kolu. Ulomci su uglavnom izvana narančaste, a u presjeku tamnije sive boje. Od tipova posuda definirani su doliji, odnosno posude za čuvanje/skladištenje krutih i tekućih namirnica, primjerice na položaju Šljivici (T. 7: 6). Ukrašen u vidu valovnice i vodoravnih linija, koji je izveden tankim štapićem ili nekim drugim oštrim alatom, zabilježen je na primjerima s položaja Šljivici (T. 7: 11–13), Kalvarija (T. 2: 5, 6). Osim dolija, definirani su i lonci (T. 7: 11) koji oblicima podsjećaju na pretpovijesnu produkciju pa ih je moguće datirati od sredine 1. do sredine 2. stoljeća.<sup>57</sup>

Srednjovjekovni materijal pronađen je na čak 15 položaja.<sup>58</sup> Uglavnom, radi se o keramici grube fature s dosta primjesa kvarcita u sastavu, a koja je ukrašena nizovima vodoravnih linija izrađenih kotačićem, ili pak nizovima manje-više vodoravnih linija (T. 2: 6; T. 6: 8; T. 7: 13); i/ili valovnica. Najčešći oblik na položajima Brzovac, Staro Selo, Šljivici, Sv. Mihovil, Orlinac, Kalvarija, Kavane–sjever, Orašje i Kovači kasnosrednjovjekovni su trbušasti kuhinjski lonci izvučenoga profiliranog ruba (T. 1: 3; T. 2: 1, 3; T. 7: 9, 14). Osim oblika, i većina ukrasa na keramici upućuje na kasni srednji vijek (T. 2: 4–6; T. 4: 4; T. 6: 7–9; T. 7: 11–13). Ipak, motivi poput snopova ravnih vodoravnih linija i češljastih valovnica pojavljuju se već od 8. stoljeća pa je nalaze s lokaliteta Šljivici (T. 7: 12), Staro groblje (T. 4: 7) i Kalvarija (T. 2: 5) moguće datirati i u ranije faze srednjeg vijeka.<sup>59</sup>

Roman pottery was recorded at 11 positions,<sup>57</sup> and includes mostly pottery that was produced by hand and was poorly fired, which made its surface flaky and soft, as well as fine ware that was produced on the potter's wheel. Most of the fragments are orange in colour on the outside and dark grey in cross-section. Vessel types include dolia, i.e. vessels used to preserve/store firm and liquid food, such as the find from the Šljivici position (Pl. 7: 6). Decorations, in the form of wavy and straight lines made by a thin stick or some other sharp tool, were recorded on finds from Šljivici (Pl. 7: 11–13) and Kalvarija (Pl. 2: 5, 6). Other than dolia, the finds include fragments of pots (Pl. 7: 11) whose shape resembles prehistoric production and that can, therefore, be dated to the period between the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century and the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>58</sup>

Medieval material was discovered at 15 positions.<sup>59</sup> This includes mostly coarse ware with a lot of quartzite inclusions, decorated with series of horizontal lines made by a wheel, or series of more or less wavy lines (Pl. 2: 6; Pl. 6: 8; Pl. 7: 13) and/or wavy lines. The most common form at the positions of Brzovac, Staro Selo, Šljivici, Sv. Mihovil, Orlinac, Kalvarija, Kavane–sjever, Orašje and Kovači is the late-medieval kitchen pot with rounded body and everted profiled rim (Pl. 1: 3; Pl. 2: 1, 3; Pl. 7: 9, 14). In addition to vessel form, most decorations also suggest that the pottery should be dated to the Late Middle Ages (Pl. 2: 4–6; Pl. 4: 4; Pl. 6: 7–9; Pl. 7: 11–13). However, motifs such as bundles of straight horizontal lines and comb-like wavy lines appear from the 8<sup>th</sup> century, so the finds from Šljivici (Pl. 7: 12), Staro Groblje (Pl. 4: 7) and Kalvarija (Pl. 2: 5) could also be dated to the earlier phases of the Middle Ages.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Staro selo, Šljivici, Orlinac, Gradac, Kalvarija, Sv. Mihovil, Kovači, Srednje brdo–jug, Orašje, Bečka–jug, Čopinac.

<sup>57</sup> Jelinčić 2015, 132–133.

<sup>58</sup> Brzovac, U Mjestu, Staro Selo, Šljivici, Staro groblje, Kalvarija, Sv. Mihovil, Kovači, Srednje brdo–jug, Kavane–sjever, Orašje, Bečka–jug, Bečka–istok, Čopinac.

<sup>59</sup> Tkalčec 2016, 55, Sl. 11.

<sup>57</sup> Staro Selo, Šljivici, Orlinac, Gradac, Kalvarija, Sv. Mihovil, Kovači, Srednje Brdo–jug, Orašje, Bečka–jug, Čopinac.

<sup>58</sup> Jelinčić 2015, 132–133.

<sup>59</sup> Brzovac, U mjestu, Staro Selo, Šljivici, Staro Groblje, Kalvarija, Sv. Mihovil, Kovači, Srednje Brdo–jug, Kavane–sjever, Orašje, Bečka–jug, Bečka–istok, Čopinac.

<sup>60</sup> Tkalčec 2016, 55, Fig. 11.

Osim nalaza keramičkih posuda, na položaju je Kalvarija pronađeno i dno pećnjaka (T. 2: 1). Radi se o zdjelastom pećnjaku četvrtastog otvora, a kakvi su se upotrebljavali u razdoblju od 14. pa sve do 20. stoljeća.<sup>60</sup>

Novovjekovni je materijal pronađen na 10 položaja,<sup>61</sup> a svakako najzanimljiviju kategoriju novovjekovnih nalaza predstavljaju keramičke lule pronađene na položaju Čopinac (T. 3: 14, 15) koje pripadaju istočnom, odnosno mediteranskom tipu s većom čašicom i manjim tuljcem, kakve je moguće datirati u 19. stoljeće.<sup>62</sup>

### Problemi arheološke topografije Općine Lovas u svjetlu provedenih terenskih pregleda

Unatoč iznimno važnom nalazu brončanodobne ostave, do istraživanja Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu cijelo područje Općine Lovas bilo je relativno slabo istraženo. Osim nedostatka podataka, poseban problem predstavlja i korištenje više naziva za isti položaj, ili pak nejasno definiranje granica između različitih položaja koji se nadovezuju jedni na druge, zbog čega je stvaranje potpune slike o arheološkoj topografiji Općine i bio jedan od glavnih zadataka ovdje predstavljenih istraživanja.

U topografskom smislu najproblematičniji su položaji Kalvarija, Orlinac, Staro groblje i Gradac koji su različito definirani na različitim mjestima. Ovi položaji nalaze se južno od sela Lovas, na uzvišenom lesnom platou. Čitavo zemljište lokalno stanovništvo naziva Gradcem i / ili Kalvarijom kao jedinstvenim mjestom, ali navode da se na taj položaj na istoku nadovezuju položaji Orlinac i zatim Staro groblje. U dokumentaciji Gradskog muzeja Vukovar, Gradac i Kalvarija označavaju isto nalazište, dok se Orlinac navodi kao zasebno nalazište koje se nadovezuje na Gradac, što odgovara tvrdnjama lokalnog stanovništva. Položaj Staro groblje spominje se kao zasebno nalazište jer je dolom Šoričak fizički odvojeno od položaja Gradac. U Popisu evidentiranih, preventivno zaštićenih i registriranih kulturnih dobara Ministarstva kulture, Kalvarija, Orlinac i Staro groblje registrirani su kao jedinstveno nalazište, a toponim Gradac nije označen.<sup>63</sup>

Problematiku dodatno produbljuje odnos položaja Gradac i Kohovo, na što su ukazali i terenski pregledi provedeni 2008. godine. Naime, tada su na položaju Kohovo prikupljeni ulomci keramike iz mlađega željeznog doba i antike.<sup>64</sup> S obzirom na to da se sjeverni dio položaja Kohovo preklapa s južnim dijelom položaja Gradac<sup>65</sup> te da su na oba položaja zabilježeni ulomci antičke keramike, moguće je zaključiti da se vjerojatno radi o jednom loka-

In addition to ceramic vessels, the Kalvarija position also yielded the bottom of a stove tile (Pl. 2: 1). It is a bowl-like item with a square opening that can be dated to the period between the 14<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>61</sup>

Modern Age material was discovered at 10 positions.<sup>62</sup> Certainly the most interesting category of Modern Age finds includes the ceramic pipes discovered at the Čopinac position (Pl. 3: 14, 15). The pipes can be ascribed to the eastern, i.e. Mediterranean, type, with a larger bowl and a smaller shank, which can be dated to the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>63</sup>

### Problems with the archaeological topography of the Lovas Municipality in light of the field surveys conducted

Despite the exceptionally important discovery of a Bronze Age hoard, the entire territory of the Lovas municipality was relatively poorly studied until the research conducted by the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. In addition to the lack of data, a special problem is posed by the use of several names to denote the same position, as well as the unclearly-defined boundaries between different positions that are close to each other, which is why one of the main aims of the research presented herein was to create a more complete image of the archaeological topography of the municipality.

With regard to topography, the most problematic positions include Kalvarija, Orlinac, Staro Groblje and Gradac, which have been differently defined in different places. These positions are situated south of the village of Lovas, on an elevated loess plateau. The local population refers to the entire area as Gradac and/or Kalvarija as a single place, but also mentions that Orlinac and Staro Groblje are directly linked to it in the east. The documentation of the Vukovar City Museum records Gradac and Kalvarija as the same site, while Orlinac is listed as a separate site that is connected to Gradac, which matches the claims of the locals. The Staro Groblje position is mentioned as a separate site, because the Šoričak valley physically separates it from the Gradac position. On the list of recorded and registered cultural goods that were put under preventative protection by the Ministry of Culture, Kalvarija, Orlinac and Staro Groblje are registered as a single site, and the Gradac toponym is not mentioned.<sup>64</sup>

The problem is made worse by the relation between the Gradac and Kohovo positions, as additionally confirmed by the 2008 field survey. At the time, the Kohovo position yielded pottery dated to the Late Iron Age and the Roman period.<sup>65</sup> Given that the north-

60 Tkalčec 2010, 331.

61 Staro selo, Šljivici, Staro groblje, Kalvarija, Sv. Mihovil, Kovači, Srednje brdo-jug, Orašje, Bečka-jug, Čopinac (i Čopinac-sjever).

62 Đukić 2017, 324–326.

63 Bunčić 2007, 46.

64 Dizdar, Ložnjak Dizdar 2009; Autori se na ustupljenim detaljnim podacima zahvaljuju Marku Mikolaševiću, konzervatoru Konzervatorskog ureda u Vukovaru te Marku Dizdaru, ravnatelju Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu.

65 k.č. 2222.

61 Tkalčec 2010, 331.

62 Staro Selo, Šljivici, Staro Groblje, Kalvarija, Sv. Mihovil, Kovači, Srednje Brdo-jug, Orašje, Bečka-jug, Čopinac (and Čopinac-sjever).

63 Đukić 2017, 324–326.

64 Bunčić 2007, 46.

litetu. Istočni dio položaja Gradac, koji je obuhvaćen terenskim pregledom 2011. godine<sup>66</sup>, treba povezati s položajem Orašje, koji je ponovno pokriven terenskim pregledom 2017. godine, te pokazuje povezanost s položajem Gradac u prostornom, ali i u kulturno-kronološkom smislu. Pri razmatranju položaja Gradac i Orašje valja u obzir uzeti i položaj Kavane–jug<sup>67</sup> koji se nalazi istočno od položaja Orašje. Položaj je obuhvaćen terenskim pregledom 2008. godine te je zabilježena pretpovijesna (neolitik/eneolitik, brončano doba/željezno doba) te srednjovjekovna keramika.<sup>68</sup> Keramika prikupljena u istraživanjima iz 2008. godine uklapa se u sliku dobivenu sustavnim terenskim pregledom položaja Orašje 2011., ali i Kavane–sjever 2017. godine.<sup>69</sup>

Kako bi se razriješilo pitanje razgraničenja između ovih položaja, korišteni su podaci Državne geodetske uprave koji pokazuju da se položaj Gradac nalazi južno od položaja Orlinac i da na jugu graniči s položajem Kohovo, a na istoku s položajem Orašje. Iz iznesene je rasprave moguće zaključiti da je iznimno teško odrediti jasne granice među lokalitetima. Točnije rečeno, vjerojatno se ne radi o izoliranim lokalitetima, već o širokoj rasprostranjenosti materijala iz različitih vremenskih razdoblja. S obzirom na spomenutu problematiku topografske prirode, prilikom sustavnog terenskog pregleda položaji Gradac, Kalvarija, Orlinac i Staro groblje odvojeni su na temelju podataka Državne geodetske uprave.

U prvim terenskim pregledima, provedenim 1970. i 1972. godine na položajima Kalvarija, Orlinac, Staro groblje i Gradac, prikupljen je neolitički (sopotska kultura), eneolitički (badenska, kostolačka, vučedolska kultura), brončanodobni te starije i mlađeželjeznodobni materijal, kao i nalazi srednjovjekovne keramike na položaju Staro groblje.<sup>70</sup> Analiza materijala, prikupljenog na ova četiri položaja tijekom 2011. i 2017. godine, pokazuje da su na položajima Orlinac i Gradac prisutni nalazi iz razdoblja neolitika / eneolitika, antike i srednjeg vijeka, na položaju Kalvarija oni eneolitički (badenska, kostolačka i vučedolska kultura?), mlađeželjeznodobni, antički, srednjovjekovni i novovjekovni, a na položaju Staro groblje neolitički / eneolitički, brončanodobni, mlađeželjeznodobni, srednjovjekovni i novovjekovni. Nažalost, s obzirom na veliku fragmentiranost nalaza prikupljenih istraživanjima 2011. i 2017. godine, nije bilo moguće definirati neolitičku sopotsku kulturu, ali su na položajima Orlinac, Gradac i Kalvarija prvi put definirani nalazi iz razdoblja antike.

ern part of the Kohovo position overlaps with the southern part of the Gradac position,<sup>66</sup> and that both positions yielded Roman pottery, it is possible to conclude that this is probably a single site. The eastern part of the Gradac position, included in the 2011 survey,<sup>67</sup> should be connected to the Orašje position that was surveyed in 2017, when it was established that it displays similarities to the Gradac position in respect of their layouts, as well as cultural and chronological attributions. When discussing the Gradac and Orašje positions, the Kavane–jug position, situated east of Orašje, should also be considered.<sup>68</sup> The position was surveyed in 2008, when prehistoric (Neolithic/Copper Age, Bronze Age/Iron Age) and medieval pottery was discovered.<sup>69</sup> The pottery collected in 2008 matches the results of the 2011 survey of Orašje and the 2017 survey of Kavane–sjever.<sup>70</sup>

In order to resolve the issue of the boundaries between these positions, data from the State Geodetic Administration was used, and it showed that the Gradac position is situated to the south of Orlinac, and that it borders Kohovo to the south and Orašje to the east. The discussion here presented shows that it is exceptionally difficult to establish the boundaries between sites. Probably, in fact, these are not isolated sites: rather, material from different periods has been widely distributed. Considering the problems presented, the Gradac, Kalvarija, Orlinac and Staro Groblje positions were separated on the basis of data from the State Geodetic Administration for the purposes of the field surveys.

The first field surveys, conducted in 1970 and 1972 at Kalvarija, Orlinac, Staro Groblje and Gradac, yielded Neolithic (Sopot culture), Copper Age (Baden, Kostolac and Vučedol cultures), Bronze Age, Early Iron Age and Late Iron Age material, and medieval pottery at Staro Groblje.<sup>71</sup> The analysis of the material collected at these four sites in 2011 and 2017 revealed that Orlinac and Gradac yielded Neolithic/Copper Age, Roman and medieval material, Kalvarija yielded Copper Age (Baden, Kostolac and Vučedol cultures?), Late Iron Age, Roman, medieval and modern-day material, and Staro Groblje yielded Neolithic/Copper Age, Bronze Age, Late Iron Age, medieval and modern-day material. Unfortunately, due to the fragmentation of the material collected in 2011 and 2017, it was impossible to define the Neolithic Sopot culture, but Roman finds were recorded for the first time at Orlinac, Gradac and Kalvarija.

66 k.č. 2236 i 2237.

67 Ovaj položaj mogao bi se izjednačiti i s položajem Livade. Položaj nije bilo moguće pregledati 2011., 2017. i 2018. godine zbog guste vegetacije.

68 Dizdar, Ložnjak Dizdar 2009, 119–120.

69 Ponovnom evaluacijom rezultata istraživanja, provedenih 2011. godine, ustanovljeno je i da se dio materijala s položaja Šljivici može povezati s položajem Orašje. Ova dva položaja nalaze se u neposrednoj blizini pa je na njima pronađen materijal iz istih razdoblja.

70 Bunčić 2007, 46.

65 Dizdar, Ložnjak Dizdar 2009. The authors would like to thank Marko Mikolašević, a conservator from the Conservation Department in Vukovar, as well as Marko Dizdar, the director of the Institute of Archaeology in Zagreb, for all the information they have provided.

66 Cadastral parcel 2222.

67 Cadastral parcel 2236 and 2237.

68 This position could also be merged with the Livade position. In 2011, 2017 and 2018, it was impossible to survey the position, due to thick vegetation.

69 Dizdar, Ložnjak Dizdar 2009, 119–120.

70 The re-evaluation of the results from the 2011 research revealed that some of the material from the Šljivici position could also be connected with the Orašje position. These two positions are very close to each other, and they also yielded material from the same periods.

71 Bunčić 2007, 46.

## Zaključak

Istraživanjima, koja je Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu provodio na prostoru Općine Lovas tijekom 2011., 2017. i 2018. godine, definiran je 21 položaj s tragovima ljudskog djelovanja iz različitih arheoloških razdoblja (tab. 2), od čega su najbrojniji oni s pretpovijesnim materijalom, posebice onim iz brončanog doba. Analizom kompletnog materijala, prikupljenog sustavnim terenskim pregledom (tab. 1), utvrđeno je da je najviše ulomaka prikupljeno na položajima Kovači i Čopinac, dok su se položaji Kalvarija, Čopinac i Bečka-jug pokazali kao oni s materijalom iz najviše razdoblja. Prema distribuciji nalaza, može se zaključiti da se na samo tri položaja potencijalno radi o nalazištima sa samo jednim zastupljenim kronološkim razdobljem: Kragino voće (pretpovijest), Brzovac (srednji vijek) i Srednje brdo-sjever (neolitik/eneolitik). Na svim ostalim položajima pronađen je materijal iz više arheoloških razdoblja. Problem predstavlja činjenica da se na površini pojavljuje materijal iz rane pretpovijesti u kombinaciji s novovjekovnim, vjerojatno kao posljedica intenzivne zemljoradnje kojom je zahvaćeno čitavo područje Općine Lovas. Može se zaključiti da se radilo o pozicijama koje su iznova korištene zbog povoljnog položaja. Naime, prostor Općine i okolnih krajeva nalazi se na iznimno važnom komunikacijskom putu – rijeci Dunav, i to na povišenoj desnoj obali koja je omogućavala bolji nadzor i lakšu kontrolu nad prostorom, što je zasigurno bilo privlačno populacijama iz svih arheoloških, ali i kasnijih razdoblja.

Jugoistočno od Lovasa nalazi se izvor nekoliko kilometara dugog vodenog toka Čopinac, koji se u Dunav ulijeva u blizini Opatovca. Na polovici dužine vodenog toka Čopinac u njega se ulijeva vodeni tok Bečka. Već nakon terenskih pregleda provedenih 2011. godine, ustanovljene su određene pravilnosti u odabiru položaja koji ukazuju na tragove ljudske djelatnosti tijekom različitih razdoblja. Od ranije poznati lokaliteti Kalvarija, Orlinac i Staro groblje smješteni su na povišenim platoima sa zapadne strane toka Čopinac, a ovim položajima valja pridodati i položaj Gradac, koji se također nalazi sa zapadne strane spomenutog toka. Zapadna strana vodenog toka Čopinac pokazuje gustu rasprostranjenost lokaliteta sve do ušća u Dunav pa su uz nju zabilježeni i lokaliteti Čot, Čajer, Kovači, Bečka-istok te Čopinac. Otkrićem položaja Kragino voće, Sv. Mihovil, Šljivici i Orašje 2011. godine, utvrđen je sličan obrazac i s istočne strane samog toka. Položaj U Mjestu nalazi se na nešto višoj poziciji, ali i on odgovara generalnom obrascu te je smješten s istočne strane toka Čopinac.

Isti je obrazac utvrđen i u slučaju vodenog toka Bečka, koji je znatno kraći od toka Čopinac. Primjerice, položaj Bečka-jug nalazi se sjeverno od istoimenog vodenog toka, a smješten je na platou koji se na južnoj strani spušta prema toku. Nasuprot ovog položaja, s južne strane vodenog toka Bečka, također na povišenom položaju, nalaze se Kovači. Kao što je spomenuto, položaj Kovači nalazi se sa zapadne strane vodenog toka Čopinac, a istovremeno je omeđen s oba toka. Položaj Bečka-istok smješten je na istočnom dijelu uzvišenja, koje se nalazi sjeverno od vodenog toka Bečka, a s istočne je strane omeđen vodenim tokom Čopinac. Osim uz spomenute vodene tokove, neki se od položaja (Srednje brdo-sjever, Srednje brdo-centar, Srednje brdo-jug, Kavane-sjever, Staro selo) nalaze uz vodeni tok Badnjara na istočnom kraju Općine Lovas.

## Conclusion

The research conducted by the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb across the Lovas municipality in 2011, 2017 and 2018 helped define 21 positions with traces of human activity dated to various archaeological periods (Table 2). Most positions yielded prehistoric material, especially from the Bronze Age. The analysis of all of the material collected in the systematic field survey (Table 1) shows that the positions of Kovači and Čopinac yielded the most material, while Kalvarija, Čopinac and Bečka-jug yielded material from the most periods. The distribution of finds leads to the conclusion that only three positions could potentially be sites with traces dated to a single chronological period: Kragino Voće (prehistory), Brzovac (the Middle Ages) and Srednje Brdo-sjever (Neolithic/Copper Age). All other positions yielded material from several archaeological periods. A problem is posed by the fact that material from early prehistory appears alongside modern-day finds, which is probably the result of the intensive agricultural activities that take place across the entire Lovas municipality. It can be said that these positions were reused due to their favourable characteristics. The municipality and the surrounding area is situated on an exceptionally important communication route – the River Danube: that is, the elevated right bank, which allowed for better control over the area – something that must have been interesting to populations from all archaeological periods, as well as later ones.

The stream of Čopinac, several kilometres long, is situated southeast of Lovas, and it flows into the Danube near Opatovac. The Bečka stream flows into the Čopinac at about the middle of its span. Already after the 2011 survey, certain regularities were noted in the selection of the positions that revealed traces of human activity from different periods. The previously-known positions of Kalvarija, Orlinac and Staro Groblje are situated on elevated plateaus on the western bank of the Čopinac stream. The Gradac position should be added to these, given that it is also on the western bank of the Čopinac stream. The western bank of the Čopinac stream revealed a high density of sites all the way up to where it flows into the Danube: Čot, Čajer, Kovači, Bečka-istok and Čopinac. A similar pattern was noted on the eastern bank of the stream when the Kragino Voće, Sv. Mihovil, Šljivici and Orašje positions were discovered in 2011. The U Mjestu position is somewhat more elevated, but it also fits into the general pattern and is on the eastern side of the Čopinac stream.

The same pattern was recorded alongside the Bečka stream, which is significantly shorter than the Čopinac. For example, Bečka-jug is situated north of the said stream, on a plateau that descends towards the stream to its south. Kovači is opposite this position, on the southern bank of the Bečka stream. As mentioned before, the Kovači site is situated west of the Čopinac stream, and is bordered by both watercourses. The Bečka-istok position is situated on the eastern part of an elevation north of the Bečka stream, and the Čopinac flows alongside its eastern boundary. Other than along the streams listed, some of the positions (Srednje Brdo-sjever, Srednje Brdo-centar, Srednje Brdo-jug, Kavane-sjever, Staro Selo) are situated alongside the Badnjara stream in the eastern part of the Lovas municipality.



Važno je napomenuti da prostorna distribucija keramičkog materijala značajno opada s udaljenošću od vodenih tokova. Najveća je gustoća nalaza utvrđena neposredno uz vodene tokove. Ovo ukazuje da ne treba računati sa značajnijim širenjem lokaliteta prema sredinama lesnih platoa. Čini se izglednijim da su aktivnosti bile fokusirane na relativno uskom, ali izduženom prostoru, prateći vodene tokove. Jedina dva položaja, koja nisu smještena direktno uz vodeni tok, već na centralnom dijelu platoa, položaj su Brzovac i Kavane–jug.

U istraživanjima provedenim 2017. godine na zapadnom rubu k.o. Lovas, odnosno na položajima Bijela lenija,<sup>71</sup> Rana jabuka i Bijeli dol, nije pronađen arheološki materijal. U usporedbi s visokom gustoćom površinskih nalaza u drugim dijelovima Općine (tab. 1, primjerice Kovači, Kalvarija, Orlinac i Staro groblje), moguće je zaključiti da na zapadnom rubu k.o. Lovas ne postoje arheološki lokaliteti. Na položajima Rakov do i Janka pusta, na istočnom dijelu k.o. Lovas, također nisu pronađeni nalazi.

Među istraživanim položajima posebno treba istaknuti Kovače i Čopinac. Sjeverni je dio položaja Čopinac (položaj 21a, Sl. 2, tab. 2) izdvojen od ostatka položaja jer je na njemu zabilježena najveća gustoća površinskih nalaza. Također, radi se o najvišoj točki položaja Čopinac koja gleda izravno u smjeru Opatovca i Dunava prema sjeveroistoku. Položaj Čopinac–sjever iznimno je zanimljiv u kontekstu brončanog doba. Na ovom dijelu položaja Čopinac brončano je doba zastupljeno najvećim brojem ulomaka (44%), što nije zabilježeno na drugim dijelovima položaja. Prema kulturno-kronološkoj analizi materijala prikupljenog prilikom sustavnog terenskog pregleda, iskopavanja na položaju Kovači u 2017. godini i ranijih slučajnih nalaza,<sup>72</sup> čini se da na području Općine Lovas u razdoblju srednjega brončanog doba (Belegiš I) vjerojatno postoje dva veća naselja, jedno smješteno na položaju Kovači i, potencijalno drugo, na položaju Čopinac.

Važan problem vezan uz naseljavanje na području Lovasa u pret-povijesti svakako predstavljaju i lokaliteti iz starijega željeznog doba. Prethodno poznata nalazišta, naselja i nekropole smještena su na poziciji današnjih sela Lovas i Opatovac.<sup>73</sup> S obzirom na to da arheološki ostaci iz tog razdoblja nisu zabilježeni na drugim pozicijama, vjerojatno se na prijelazu iz kasnoga brončanog u starije željezno doba dogodila svojevrsna promjena u obrascima naseljavanja i drugih aktivnosti u krajoliku.<sup>74</sup> U ranijim i kasnijim razdobljima korišteno je šire područje, dok u starijem željeznom dobu vjerojatno dolazi, ili do depopulacije, ili do stvaranja (jednog?) centralnog naselja.

It is important to note that the spatial distribution of pottery significantly decreases as one moves away from the streams, which indicates that the sites probably did not significantly expand towards the centre of the loess plateaus. It seems more likely that the activities were focused on a relatively narrow, elongated area following the streams. The only two positions that are not situated right alongside a stream, but are in the centre of the plateau, are Brzovac and Kavane–jug.

The research conducted in the western part of the Lovas cadastral municipality in 2017, i.e. the Bijela Lenija,<sup>72</sup> Rana Jabuka and Bijeli Dol positions, did not yield any archaeological material. In comparison to the high frequency of surface finds in other parts of the municipality (Table 1, e.g. Kovači, Kalvarija, Orlinac and Staro Groblje), it is possible to conclude that there are no archaeological sites in the western part of the Lovas cadastral municipality. The Rakov Do and Janka positions in the eastern part of the Lovas cadastral municipality also did not yield any finds.

The Kovači and Čopinac positions should be given special attention. The northern part of the Čopinac position (position 21a, Fig. 2, Table 2) was separated from the rest of the position because it yielded the most surface finds. Also, it is the most elevated point of the Čopinac position, directly facing Opatovac and the Danube towards the northeast. The Čopinac–sjever position is especially interesting in the context of the Bronze Age. In this part of the Čopinac position, the Bronze Age is represented by the most finds (44%) – a situation that was not recorded at other parts of the position. According to the cultural and chronological analysis of the material collected in the systematic field surveys, the 2017 excavations conducted at Kovači, and earlier chance finds,<sup>73</sup> it seems that there were probably two larger Middle Bronze Age settlements (Belegiš I) in the area of the Lovas municipality: one at Kovači, and the other, most likely, at Čopinac.

An important problem regarding the settlement of the Lovas area in prehistory is certainly posed by Early Iron Age sites. Previously-recorded sites, settlements and necropolises are situated in today's villages of Lovas and Opatovac.<sup>74</sup> Considering the fact that archaeological remains ascribed to that period were not recorded at other sites, it seems likely that there was a certain shift in settlement patterns and other activities in the landscape at the transition from the Late Bronze into the Early Iron Age.<sup>75</sup> In preceding and following periods, a wider area was used, and there was probably a decrease in population size, or the creation of a (single?) central settlement in the Early Iron Age.

71 Ovaj se položaj sporadično povezuje s nalazima datiranim u brončano doba (vidi Dizdar, Ložnjak Dizdar 2009, 119).

72 Nalaz keramičke amforice (Vinski 1958, T. IX: 6).

73 Položaj Lovas, Ulica Vladimira Nazora 77, poznat je od 1975. godine, kada su zabilježeni neolitički, eneolitički i stariježeljeznodobni nalazi (Bunčić 2007, 46). Prilikom istih radova u Ulici Ante Starčevića 14–18 navodno je otkrivena stariježeljeznodobna nekropola. Sustavnim terenskim pregledom 2011. godine nije utvrđena željeznodobna keramika.

74 Područje je istraživao Marko Dizdar iz Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu tijekom 2018. godine te će rezultati vjerojatno ponuditi bolje razumijevanje slike ovog razdoblja na području Lovasa.

72 This position is sporadically associated with Bronze Age finds (see Dizdar, Ložnjak Dizdar 2009, 119).

73 A small ceramic amphora (Vinski 1958, Pl. IX: 6).

74 The Ulica Vladimira Nazora 77 position in Lovas has been known since 1975, when Neolithic, Copper Age and Early Iron Age finds were discovered (Bunčić 2007, 46). The same construction works supposedly yielded an Early Iron Age necropolis at the Ulica Ante Starčevića 14–18 position. No Iron Age pottery was recorded in the 2011 field survey.

75 The area was researched by Marko Dizdar of the Institute of Archaeology in Zagreb during 2018, and the results will probably allow for a better understanding of this period in the Lovas area.

Široka prostorna distribucija nalaza iz istih vremenskih razdoblja otvara pitanje o korištenju krajolika na širem području Općine Lovas kroz povijest. Iz arheološke topografije Općine Lovas moguće je pretpostaviti nekoliko različitih interpretacija. Jedna je mogućnost da se pozicija naselja unutar istog razdoblja (primjerice brončanog doba ili mlađega željeznog doba) nekoliko puta mijenjala i da je zbog toga materijal iz istog razdoblja toliko široko rasprostranjen. Druga je mogućnost da ne treba očekivati centralno naselje s visokom gustoćom objekata, već da su potencijalne strukture bile široko rasprostranjene po krajoliku u manjim ili većim grupacijama. Treća je mogućnost da pojedini površinski nalazi upućuju na tragove sezonskih ili sporadičnih aktivnosti, a ne trajnijeg naseljavanja. Buduća istraživanja na području Općine Lovas zasigurno će proširiti naše spoznaje o obrascima naseljavanja i drugih aktivnosti u različitim razdobljima ljudske prošlosti na tom području.

## Popis tabli

**TABLA 1:**

Izbor materijala prikupljenog na položaju Kalvarija 2011. godine

1. Ulomak blago uvučenog ruba keramičke posude; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: tamnosmeđa; visina: 4,5 cm; širina: 4,8 cm; debljina: 0,9 cm.
2. Ulomak ravnoga zadebljanog ruba keramičke posude, ukrašen širokom vodoravnom kanelurom i češljastim ukrasom; ulomak ima dvije perforacije koje su ispunjene korodiranim željezom; sadrži grafit; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: siva; visina: 5 cm; širina: 7,6 cm; debljina: 0,7 cm.
3. Ulomak izvučenog ruba keramičke posude, ukrašen vodoravnom linijom; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: siva; visina: 3,5 cm; promjer: 4,5 cm; debljina: 0,7 cm.
4. Ulomak izvučenog ruba keramičke posude, ukrašen utiskivanjem prsta; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: oker; visina: 1,9 cm; promjer: 2,9 cm; debljina: 0,6 cm.
5. Ulomak izvučenog ruba keramičke posude, ukrašen utiskivanjem prsta; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: narančasto-smeđa; visina: 2,7 cm; promjer: 5,8 cm; debljina: 0,5 cm.
6. Ulomak prstenastog dna keramičke posude; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: oker; visina: 3 cm; širina: 10,5 cm; debljina: 0,5 cm.
7. Ulomak uvučenog ruba keramičke posude; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja; visina: 4,7 cm; širina: 4,3 cm; debljina: 0,5 cm.
8. Ulomak ručke keramičke posude; ovalnog presjeka; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: siva; visina: 7,3 cm; širina: 3 cm; debljina: 2 cm.
9. Ulomak ručke keramičke posude; trakastog presjeka; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: siva; visina: 6,8 cm; širina: 4,1 cm; debljina: 1 cm.
10. Ulomak izvučenog ruba keramičke posude; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: siva; visina: 5,9 cm; širina: 10,9 cm; debljina: 0,6 cm.

**TABLA 2:**

Izbor materijala prikupljenog na položaju Kalvarija 2011. godine

1. Ulomak keramičke čaše ili pećnjaka; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: oker-narančasta; visina: 4,7 cm; promjer: 7,4 cm; debljina: 0,6 cm.
2. Ulomak uvučenog ruba keramičke posude; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: tamnosiva; visina: 3,3 cm; širina: 8,5 cm; debljina: 0,5 cm.
3. Ulomak izvučenog ruba keramičke posude; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: siva; visina: 2,8 cm; širina: 3,10 cm; debljina: 0,6 cm.
4. Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen paralelnim linijama; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: siva; visina: 3,2 cm; širina: 3,9 cm; debljina: 0,3 cm.
5. Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen paralelnim linijama i valovnicama; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: sivo-narančasta; visina: 5,4 cm; širina: 6,5 cm; debljina: 0,7 cm.
6. Ulomak izvučenog ruba keramičke posude, ukrašen utiskivanjem prsta; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: izvana siva, iznutra oker; visina: 6,7 cm; širina: 8,6 cm; debljina: 0,9 cm.

The wide spatial distribution of finds from the same periods poses questions on how the landscape was used in the wider area of the Lovas municipality throughout history. The archaeological topography of the Lovas Municipality suggests several interpretations. One possibility is that the position of settlements from the same period (e.g. the Bronze or Early Iron Age) changes several times, thereby causing such a wide distribution of finds. Another option is that there was no central settlement with a high frequency of structures, but rather that potential structures were widely distributed across the landscape in smaller or larger groups. A third option is that certain surface finds reflect traces of seasonal or sporadic activities, and not more permanent settlement. Future research in the Lovas municipality will certainly broaden our knowledge of settlement patterns throughout different periods of the human past in the area.

## List of plates

**PLATE 1:**

A selection of material collected at the Kalvarija position in 2011

1. Fragment of a slightly inverted rim; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: dark brown; height: 4.5 cm; width: 4.8 cm; thickness: 0.9 cm.
2. Fragment of a thickened straight rim decorated with a wide horizontal canelure and comb-like motifs; the fragment has two perforations filled with corroded iron; contains graphite; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: grey; height: 5 cm; width: 7.6 cm; thickness: 0.7 cm.
3. Fragment of an everted rim decorated with a horizontal line; fabric: coarse; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: grey; height: 3.5 cm; diameter: 4.5 cm; thickness: 0.7 cm.
4. Fragment of an everted rim decorated with finger imprints; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: ochre; height: 1.9 cm; diameter: 2.9 cm; thickness: 0.6 cm.
5. Fragment of an everted rim decorated with finger imprints; fabric: fine; mode of production: by hand; colour: orange-brown; height: 2.7 cm; diameter: 5.8 cm; thickness: 0.5 cm.
6. Fragment of the ring-like base of a vessel; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: ochre; height: 3 cm; width: 10.5 cm; thickness: 0.5 cm.
7. Fragment of an inverted rim; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: grey; height: 4.7 cm; width: 4.3 cm; thickness: 0.5 cm.
8. Fragment of a vessel with an oval handle; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: grey; height: 7.3 cm; width: 3 cm; thickness: 2 cm.
9. Fragment of a vessel with a ribbon-like handle; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: grey; height: 6.8 cm; width: 4.1 cm; thickness: 1 cm.
10. Fragment of an everted rim; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: grey; height: 5.9 cm; width: 10.9 cm; thickness: 0.6 cm.

**PLATE 2:**

A selection of material collected at the Kalvarija position in 2011

1. Fragment of a ceramic glass or stove tile; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: ochre-orange; height: 4.7 cm; diameter: 7.4 cm; thickness: 0.6 cm.
2. Fragment of an inverted rim; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: dark grey; height: 3.3 cm; width: 8.5 cm; thickness: 0.5 cm.
3. Fragment of an everted rim; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: grey; height: 2.8 cm; width: 3.1 cm; thickness: 0.6 cm.
4. Pottery sherd decorated with parallel lines; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: grey; height: 3.2 cm; width: 3.9 cm; thickness: 0.3 cm.
5. Pottery sherd decorated with parallel straight and wavy lines; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: grey-orange; height: 5.4 cm; width: 6.5 cm; thickness: 0.7 cm.
6. Fragment of an everted rim decorated with finger imprints; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: grey outside, ochre inside; height: 6.7 cm;

7. Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen paralelnim linijama; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: narančasta; visina: 2,6 cm; promjer: 8 cm; debljina: 0,3 cm.
8. Ulomak omfalos dna keramičke posude; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: oker; visina: 5,4 cm; širina: 6,5 cm; debljina: 0,7 cm.
9. Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen češljastim ukrasom; sadrži grafit; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: siva; visina: 4,9 cm; širina: 6,2 cm; debljina: 0,8 cm.
10. Ulomak vrata keramičke posude, ukrašen paralelnim vodoravnim kanelurama; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: tamnosiva; visina: 7,6 cm; širina: 7,4 cm; debljina: 1,8 cm.
11. Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen ubadanjem; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: oker-siva; visina: 2,8 cm; širina: 4,3 cm; debljina: 0,6 cm.
12. Ulomak keramičke posude s drškom; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: oker; visina: 3,7 cm; širina: 4,3 cm; debljina: 0,5 cm.

**TABLA 3:**

Izbor nalaza prikupljenih na prostoru Općine Lovas 2018. godine (Čopinac: 1-4, 7, 8, 10-12, 14, 15; Čopinac - sjever: 5, 6, 8, 9; Bečka - jug: 13)

1. Ulomak izvučenog ruba keramičke posude; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: oker-siva; visina: 3,5 cm; širina: 6,9 cm; debljina: 0,6 cm.
2. Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen dvama paralelnim urezanim linijama; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: tamnosivo-smeđa; visina: 3,5 cm; širina: 3,9 cm; debljina: 0,5 cm.
3. Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen urezanim linijama ispunjenima bijelom inkrustacijom koje tvore motiv mreže; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: tamnosiva; visina: 3,7 cm; širina: 6,3 cm; debljina: 0,7 cm.
4. Ulomak izvučenoga zaravnjenog ruba keramičke posude, ukrašen urezanim linijama koje tvore geometrijske motive na vanjskoj strani te utisnutim kružnicama na zaravnjenoj strani; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: tamnosiva; visina: 2,5 cm; širina: 4 cm; debljina: 0,7 cm.
5. Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen dvama nizovima paralelnih, okomito urezanih linija i s bradavičastom aplikacijom koja nedostaje; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: tamnosiva; visina: 3,1 cm; širina: 4,1 cm; debljina: 0,3 cm.
6. Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen urezanim linijama koje tvore motiv riblje kosti; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: oker izvana, tamnosmeđa iznutra; visina: 3,2 cm; širina: 5,8 cm; debljina: 0,7 cm.
7. Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen dvjema urezanim paralelnim linijama i snopom od tri paralelne urezane linije koje tvore valovnicu; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: tamnosiva; visina: 3,2 cm; širina: 2,7 cm; debljina: 0,6 cm.
8. Ulomak izvučenog ruba keramičke posude; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: oker izvana, u presjeku tamnosiva; visina: 6,9 cm; širina: 6,1 cm; debljina: 1,2 cm.
9. Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen urezanim linijama koje tvore motiv riblje kosti; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: oker-smeđa; visina: 2,5 cm; širina: 3,9 cm; debljina: 0,8 cm.
10. Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen bradavičastom aplikacijom i trima snopovima paralelno urezanih linija; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: izvana tamnosiva, u presjeku oker; visina: 3,4 cm; širina: 4,2 cm; debljina: 0,8 cm.
11. Keramička glačalica pravokutnog oblika, kojoj je donji kraj blago zaobljen; nedostaje držak; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: narančasto-smeđa; visina: 3,1 cm; širina: 5,2 cm; dužina: 9,2 cm.
12. Bikonični keramički pršljen; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: izvana oker, u presjeku tamnosiva; visina: 3 cm; promjer: 3,7 cm.
13. Ulomak keramičkog pršljena zaobljenog oblika s jednom zaravnjenom stranom; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: oker-smeđa; visina: 3,4 cm; širina: 3,6 cm; debljina: 1,2 cm.
14. Ulomak keramičke lule mediteranskog tipa, ukrašen vegetabilnim motivom; faktura: fina; boja: narančasta; visina: 2,1 cm; širina: 1,7 cm; debljina: 0,5 cm.
15. Ulomak keramičke lule mediteranskog tipa, ukrašen geometrijskim motivima; faktura: fina; boja: narančasta; visina: 1,5 cm; širina: 3,3 cm; debljina: 0,3 cm.

**TABLA 4:**

Izbor materijala prikupljenog na položaju Staro Groblje 2011. godine

1. Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen plastičnom trakom; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: izvana narančasta, iznutra svjetlosiva; visina: 5,4 cm; širina: 3,8 cm; debljina: 0,7 cm.

width: 8.6 cm; thickness: 0.9 cm.

7. Pottery sherd decorated with parallel lines; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: orange; height: 2.6 cm; diameter: 8 cm; thickness: 0.3 cm.
8. Fragment of an omphalos base; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: ochre; height: 5.4 cm; width: 6.5 cm; thickness: 0.7 cm.
9. Pottery sherd decorated with a comb-like pattern; contains graphite; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: grey; height: 4.9 cm; width: 6.2 cm; thickness: 0.8 cm.
10. Fragment of a vessel neck decorated with parallel horizontal grooves; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: dark grey; height: 7.6 cm; width: 7.4 cm; thickness: 1.8 cm.
11. Pottery sherd decorated with stabbing; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: ochre-grey; height: 2.8 cm; width: 4.3 cm; thickness: 0.6 cm.
12. Fragment of a vessel with a handle; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: ochre; height: 3.7 cm; width: 4.3 cm; thickness: 0.5 cm.

**PLATE 3:**

A selection of finds collected in the Lovas municipality in 2018 (Čopinac: 1-4, 7, 8, 10-12, 14, 15; Čopinac-sjever: 5, 6, 8, 9; Bečka-jug: 13)

1. Fragment of an everted rim; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: ochre-grey; height: 3.5 cm; width: 6.9 cm; thickness: 0.6 cm.
2. Pottery sherd decorated with two parallel incised lines; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: dark grey-brown; height: 3.5 cm; width: 3.9 cm; thickness: 0.5 cm.
3. Pottery sherd decorated with incised lines, filled with white incrustation, that form a net-like pattern; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: dark grey; height: 3.7 cm; width: 6.3 cm; thickness: 0.7 cm.
4. Fragment of an everted straightened rim decorated with incised lines that form geometric motifs on the outside, and impressed circles on the straightened side of the rim; fabric: fine; mode of production: by hand; colour: dark grey; height: 2.5 cm; width: 4 cm; thickness: 0.7 cm.
5. Pottery sherd decorated with two sets of vertical incised lines and a knob that is missing; fabric: fine; mode of production: by hand; colour: dark grey; height: 3.1 cm; width: 4.1 cm; thickness: 0.3 cm.
6. Pottery sherd decorated with incised lines that form a fishbone; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: ochre outside, dark brown inside; height: 3.2 cm; width: 5.8 cm; thickness: 0.7 cm.
7. Pottery sherd decorated with two parallel incised lines and a bundle of three parallel incised wavy lines; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: dark grey; height: 3.2 cm; width: 2.7 cm; thickness: 0.6 cm.
8. Fragment of an everted rim; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: ochre outside, dark grey in cross-section; height: 6.9 cm; width: 6.1 cm; thickness: 1.2 cm.
9. Pottery sherd decorated with incised lines that form a fishbone; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: ochre-brown; height: 2.5 cm; width: 3.9 cm; thickness: 0.8 cm.
10. Pottery sherd decorated with a knob and three bundles of parallel incised lines; fabric: fine; mode of production: by hand; colour: dark grey outside, ochre in cross-section; height: 3.4 cm; width: 4.2 cm; thickness: 0.8 cm.
11. Rectangular ceramic polisher with lightly curved lower part; the handle is missing; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: orange-brown; height: 3.1 cm; width: 5.2 cm; length: 9.2 cm.
12. Biconical ceramic spindle; fabric: fine; mode of production: by hand; colour: ochre outside, dark grey in cross-section; height: 3 cm; diameter: 3.7 cm.
13. Fragment of a ceramic spindle with one flattened side; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: ochre-brown; height: 3.4 cm; width: 3.6 cm; thickness: 1.2 cm.
14. Fragment of a ceramic pipe of the Mediterranean type, decorated with vegetative motifs; fabric: fine; colour: orange; height: 2.1 cm; width: 1.7 cm; thickness: 0.5 cm.
15. Fragment of a ceramic pipe of the Mediterranean type, decorated with geometric motifs; fabric: fine; colour: orange; height: 1.5 cm; width: 3.3 cm; thickness: 0.3 cm.

**PLATE 4:**

A selection of material collected at the Staro Groblje position in 2011

1. Pottery sherd decorated with a plastic ribbon; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: orange outside, light grey inside; height: 5.4 cm; width: 3.8 cm; thickness: 0.7 cm.

2. Ulomak uvučenog ruba keramičke posude, ukrašen urezivanjem; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: tamnosiva; visina: 2,9 cm; širina: 3,4 cm; debljina: 0,7 cm.
3. Ulomak prstenastog dna keramičke posude; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: oker; visina: 1,5 cm; širina: 3,3 cm; debljina: 0,4 cm.
4. Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen paralelnim linijama; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: tamnosivo-smeđa; visina: 2,3 cm; širina: 3,1 cm; debljina: 0,5 cm.
5. Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen bradavičastom aplikacijom i urezanom linijom; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: tamnosiva; visina: 2,3 cm; širina: 3,6 cm; debljina: 0,4 cm.
6. Ulomak uvučenog ruba keramičke posude; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: siva; visina: 2,6 cm; širina: 2,6 cm; debljina: 0,4 cm.
7. Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen paralelnim linijama; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: tamnonarančasto-okker; visina: 4,3 cm; širina: 3,5 cm; debljina: 0,5 cm.
8. Ulomak prstenastog dna keramičke posude; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: siva; visina: 4,4 cm; širina: 6,6 cm; debljina: 0,7 cm.
9. Ulomak izvučenog ruba keramičke posude s drškom; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: tamnosmeđa; visina: 8,1 cm; širina: 5,2 cm; debljina: 0,8 cm.
10. Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen snopom paralelnih urezanih linija; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: tamnosmeđa; visina: 3,3 cm; širina: 3,1 cm; debljina: 0,7 cm.
11. Ulomak prstenastog dna keramičke posude; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: izvana tamnosmeđa, u presjeku narančasta; visina: 1,8 cm; širina: 5,5 cm; debljina: 0,6 cm.
12. Ulomak uvučenog ruba keramičke posude, ukrašen urezivanjem; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: tamnosmeđa; visina: 4,1 cm; širina: 3,4 cm; debljina: 0,5 cm.
13. Ulomak ravnog ruba keramičke posude; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: tamnosiva; visina: 2,5 cm; širina: 4,8 cm; debljina: 0,7 cm.
14. Ulomak keramičkog predmeta s očuvanim jednim uglom; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: oker-narančasta; visina: 8,1 cm; širina: 3,6 cm; debljina: 1 cm.
15. Ulomak izvučenog ruba keramičke posude; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: siva; visina: 1,5 cm; širina: 4,3 cm; debljina: 0,6 cm.
2. Fragment of an inverted rim decorated with incising; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: dark grey; height: 2.9 cm; width: 3.4 cm; thickness: 0.7 cm.
3. Fragment of the ring-like base of a vessel; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: ochre; height: 1.5 cm; width: 3.3 cm; thickness: 0.4 cm.
4. Pottery sherd decorated with parallel lines; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: dark grey-brown; height: 2.3 cm; width: 3.1 cm; thickness: 0.5 cm.
5. Pottery sherd decorated with a knob and an incised line; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: dark grey; height: 2.3 cm; width: 3.6 cm; thickness: 0.4 cm.
6. Fragment of an inverted rim; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: grey; height: 2.6 cm; width: 2.6 cm; thickness: 0.4 cm.
7. Pottery sherd decorated with parallel lines; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: dark orange-ochre; height: 4.3 cm; width: 3.5 cm; thickness: 0.5 cm.
8. Fragment of the ring-like base of a vessel; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: grey; height: 4.4 cm; width: 6.6 cm; thickness: 0.7 cm.
9. Fragment of an everted rim with a handle; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: dark brown; height: 8.1 cm; width: 5.2 cm; thickness: 0.8 cm.
10. Pottery sherd decorated with a bundle of incised parallel lines; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: dark brown; height: 3.3 cm; width: 3.1 cm; thickness: 0.7 cm.
11. Fragment of the ring-like base of a vessel; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: dark brown outside, orange in cross-section; height: 1.8 cm; width: 5.5 cm; thickness: 0.6 cm.
12. Fragment of an inverted rim decorated with incising; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: dark brown; height: 4.1 cm; width: 3.4 cm; thickness: 0.5 cm.
13. Fragment of a straight rim; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: dark grey; height: 2.5 cm; width: 4.8 cm; thickness: 0.7 cm.
14. Fragment of a ceramic object with one preserved edge/angle; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: ochre-orange; height: 8.1 cm; width: 3.6 cm; thickness: 1 cm.
15. Fragment of an everted rim; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: grey; height: 1.5 cm; width: 4.3 cm; thickness: 0.6 cm.

TABLA 5:

Izbor materijala prikupljenog na području Općine Lovas 2017. i 2018. godine (Kovači: 1–13; Srednje brdo-centar: 14–16)

1. Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen urezanim linijama koje tvore motiv riblje kosti; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: izvana oker, u presjeku siva; visina: 6,2 cm; širina: 6,4 cm; debljina: 0,7 cm.
2. Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen vertikalnim plastičnim rebrom; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: tamnosiva; visina: 3,4 cm; širina: 4,3 cm; debljina: 0,5 cm.
3. Ulomak izvučenog ruba keramičke posude, ukrašen linijom polukružnih uboda; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: izvana oker, iznutra siva; visina: 2,1 cm; širina: 3,5 cm; debljina: 0,8 cm.
4. Ulomak uvučenog ruba keramičke posude; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: tamnosivo-smeđa; visina: 3,8 cm; širina: 3,5 cm; debljina: 0,6 cm.
5. Ulomak izvučenog ruba keramičke posude, ukrašen kružnim ubodima koji tvore pravi kut; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: tamnosmeđa; visina: 4,8 cm; širina: 3,4 cm; debljina: 0,6 cm.
6. Ulomak izvučenog ruba keramičke posude, ukrašen urezanom linijom ispunjenom bijelom inkrustacijom; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: tamnosiva; visina: 3,2 cm; širina: 3,7 cm; debljina: 0,4 cm.
7. Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen linijom sastavljenom od dva niza ovalnih uboda; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: tamnonarančasto-okker; visina: 4 cm; širina: 3,7 cm; debljina: 0,6 cm.
8. Ulomak izvučenog ruba keramičke posude; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: oker; visina: 3,1 cm; širina: 7,5 cm; debljina: 0,5 cm.
9. Ulomak ravnog ruba keramičke posude; sadrži grafit; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: oker; visina: 2,6 cm; širina: 3,7 cm; debljina: 0,4 cm.
10. Ulomak izvučenog ruba keramičke posude; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: siva; visina: 2 cm; širina: 3,3 cm; debljina: 0,4 cm.
11. Ulomak prstenastog dna keramičke posude; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: tamnosiva; visina: 1,2 cm; širina: 3,9 cm; debljina: 0,4 cm.

PLATE 5:

A selection of material collected in the Lovas municipality in 2017 and 2018 (Kovači: 1–13; Srednje Brdo-centar: 14–16)

1. Pottery sherd decorated with incised lines that form a fishbone; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: ochre outside, grey in cross-section; height: 6.2 cm; width: 6.4 cm; thickness: 0.7 cm.
2. Pottery sherd decorated with a vertical plastic rib; fabric: fine; mode of production: by hand; colour: dark grey; height: 3.4 cm; width: 4.3 cm; thickness: 0.5 cm.
3. Fragment of an everted rim decorated with a line of semicircular stabs; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: ochre outside, grey inside; height: 2.1 cm; width: 3.5 cm; thickness: 0.8 cm.
4. Fragment of an inverted rim; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: dark grey-brown; height: 3.8 cm; width: 3.5 cm; thickness: 0.6 cm.
5. Fragment of an everted rim decorated with circular stabs that form a right angle; fabric: fine; mode of production: by hand; colour: dark brown; height: 4.8 cm; width: 3.4 cm; thickness: 0.6 cm.
6. Fragment of an everted rim decorated with an incised line filled with white incrustation; fabric: fine; mode of production: by hand; colour: dark grey; height: 3.2 cm; width: 3.7 cm; thickness: 0.4 cm.
7. Pottery sherd decorated with a line composed of two series of oval stabs; fabric: fine; mode of production: by hand; colour: dark orange-ochre; height: 4 cm; width: 3.7 cm; thickness: 0.6 cm.
8. Fragment of an everted rim; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: ochre; height: 3.1 cm; width: 7.5 cm; thickness: 0.5 cm.
9. Fragment of a straight rim; contains graphite; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: ochre; height: 2.6 cm; width: 3.7 cm; thickness: 0.4 cm.
10. Fragment of an everted rim; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: grey; height: 2 cm; width: 3.3 cm; thickness: 0.4 cm.
11. Fragment of the ring-like base of a vessel; fabric: fine; mode of production: by hand; colour: dark grey; height: 1.2 cm; width: 3.9 cm; thickness: 0.4 cm.



12. Ulomak prstenastog dna keramičke posude; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: narančasto-okker; visina: 3,2 cm; širina: 6,6 cm; debljina: 0,8 cm.
13. Ulomak blago izvučenog ruba keramičke posude, ukrašen paralelnim plastičnim rebri; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: narančasto-smeđa; visina: 4,9 cm; širina: 5,1 cm; debljina: 1,1 cm.
14. Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen plastičnim rebrom; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: sivo; visina: 6,2 cm; širina: 5 cm; debljina: 0,9 cm.
15. Ulomak izvučenog ruba keramičke posude; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: tamnosmeđa; visina: 2,4 cm; širina: 3,2 cm; debljina: 0,7 cm.
16. Ulomak izvučenog ruba keramičke posude; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: crvenkasto-siva; visina: 2,4 cm; širina: 4,6 cm; debljina: 0,5 cm.

**TABLA 6:**

Izbor materijala prikupljenog na položaju Sv. Mihovil 2011. godine

- Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen plastičnom trakom utiskivanjem prsta; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: oker; visina: 5,1 cm; širina: 4,6 cm; debljina: 0,9 cm.
- Ulomak keramičke posude s ovalnom drškom; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: narančasta; visina: 4 cm; širina: 4,4 cm; debljina: 3,5 cm.
- Ulomak blago uvučenog ruba keramičke posude; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: siva; visina: 2,4 cm; širina: 2,8 cm; debljina: 1,2 cm.
- Ulomak blago izvučenog ruba keramičke posude, ukrašen kosim utisnutim linijama; faktura: gruba; boja: oker; visina: 3,5 cm; širina: 4 cm; debljina: 0,8 cm.
- Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen paralelnim vodoravnim kanelurama; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: oker; visina: 3 cm; širina: 4,1 cm; debljina: 0,7 cm.
- Ulomak izvučenog ruba keramičke posude; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: crvenkasto-okker; visina: 2,2 cm; širina: 2,7 cm; debljina: 0,6 cm.
- Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen vodoravnim linijama; fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: tamnosiva; visina: 4,6 cm; širina: 4,1 cm; debljina: 0,6 cm.
- Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen tankim, urezanim vodoravnim linijama; fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: crvenkasto-smeđa; visina: 6,5 cm; širina: 6 cm; debljina: 0,8 cm.
- Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen paralelnim linijama i valovnicom; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: smeđa; visina: 5,2 cm; širina: 3,1 cm; debljina: 0,6 cm.
- Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen paralelnim vodoravnim kanelurama; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: izvana tamnosiva, iznutra narančasta; visina: 5,7 cm; širina: 3,9 cm; debljina: 0,6 cm.
- Ulomak omfalos dna keramičke posude; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: siva; visina: 3,4 cm; širina: 7,1 cm; debljina: 0,5 cm.
- Ulomak uvučenog ruba keramičke posude; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: siva; visina: 1,9 cm; širina: 4,1 cm; debljina: 0,7 cm.
- Ulomak omfalos dna keramičke posude; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: siva; visina: 0,7 cm; širina: 4,2 cm; debljina: 0,3 cm.
- Ulomak keramičke posude s ručkom trakastog presjeka; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: siva; visina: 3,8 cm; širina: 3,6 cm; debljina: 0,4 cm.

**TABLA 7:**

Izbor nalaza prikupljenih na prostoru Općine Lovas 2018. godine (Sv. Mihovil: 1, 6–14; Kovači: 2–5)

- Stražnji ulomak glačane kamene sjekire ili sjekire-čekića; visina: 4 cm; širina: 3,8 cm; debljina: 4,7 cm.
- Ulomak bikoničnoga keramičkog pršljena; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: tamnosmeđa; visina: 4 cm; promjer: 3,5 cm.
- Bikonični keramički pršljen; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: oker; visina: 3,8 cm; promjer: 3,4 cm.
- Ulomak bikoničnoga keramičkog pršljena; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: tamnosmeđa; visina: 2,1 cm; širina: 3,1 cm.
- Ulomak bikoničnoga keramičkog pršljena; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: rukom; boja: sivo-smeđa; visina: 2,3 cm; širina: 2,4 cm.
- Ulomak izvučenoga zaravnjenog ruba keramičke posude; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: narančasto-okker; visina: 2,3 cm; širina: 13,3 cm; debljina: 1,5 cm.

- Fragment of the ring-like base of a vessel; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: orange-ochre; height: 3.2 cm; width: 6.6 cm; thickness: 0.8 cm.
- Fragment of a slightly everted rim decorated with parallel plastic ribs; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: orange-brown; height: 4.9 cm; width: 5.1 cm; thickness: 1.1 cm.
- Fragment of a ceramic vessel with a plastic rib; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: grey; height: 6.2 cm; width: 5 cm; thickness: 0.9 cm.
- Fragment of an everted rim; fabric: coarse; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: dark brown; height: 2.4 cm; width: 3.2 cm; thickness: 0.7 cm.
- Fragment of an everted rim; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: reddish-grey; height: 2.4 cm; width: 4.6 cm; thickness: 0.5 cm.

**PLATE 6:**

A selection of material collected at the Sv. Mihovil position in 2011

- Pottery sherd decorated with plastic ribbon with finger imprints; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: ochre; height: 5.1 cm; width: 4.6 cm; thickness: 0.9 cm.
- Fragment of a ceramic vessel with an oval handle; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: orange; height: 4 cm; width: 4.4 cm; thickness: 3.5 cm.
- Fragment of a slightly inverted rim; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: grey; height: 2.4 cm; width: 2.8 cm; thickness: 1.2 cm.
- Fragment of a slightly everted rim decorated with slanting impressed lines; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: ochre; height: 3.5 cm; width: 4 cm; thickness: 0.8 cm.
- Pottery sherd decorated with parallel horizontal grooves; fabric: fine; mode of production: by hand; colour: ochre; height: 3 cm; width: 4.1 cm; thickness: 0.7 cm.
- Fragment of an everted rim; fabric: coarse; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: reddish-ochre; height: 2.2 cm; width: 2.7 cm; thickness: 0.6 cm.
- Pottery sherd decorated with horizontal lines; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: dark grey; height: 4.6 cm; width: 4.1 cm; thickness: 0.6 cm.
- Pottery sherd decorated with thin incised horizontal lines; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: reddish-brown; height: 6.5 cm; width: 6 cm; thickness: 0.8 cm.
- Pottery sherd decorated with parallel straight and wavy lines; fabric: coarse; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: brown; height: 5.2 cm; width: 3.1 cm; thickness: 0.6 cm.
- Pottery sherd decorated with parallel horizontal grooves; fabric: fine; mode of production: by hand; colour: dark grey outside, orange inside; height: 5.7 cm; width: 3.9 cm; thickness: 0.6 cm.
- Fragment of an omphalos base; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: grey; height: 3.4 cm; width: 7.1 cm; thickness: 0.5 cm.
- Fragment of an inverted rim; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: grey; height: 1.9 cm; width: 4.1 cm; thickness: 0.7 cm.
- Fragment of an omphalos base; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: grey; height: 0.7 cm; width: 4.2 cm; thickness: 0.3 cm.
- Fragment of a pottery vessel with a ribbon-like handle; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: grey; height: 3.8 cm; width: 3.6 cm; thickness: 0.4 cm.

**PLATE 7:**

A selection of finds collected in the Lovas municipality in 2018 (Sv. Mihovil: 1, 6–14; Kovači: 2–5)

- The back end of a polished stone axe or axe-hammer; height: 4 cm; width: 3.8 cm; thickness: 4.7 cm.
- Fragment of a biconical spindle; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: dark brown; height: 4 cm; diameter: 3.5 cm.
- A biconical spindle; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: ochre; height: 3.8 cm; diameter: 3.4 cm.
- Fragment of a biconical spindle; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: dark brown; height: 2.1 cm; width: 3.1 cm.
- Fragment of a biconical spindle; fabric: coarse; mode of production: by hand; colour: grey-brown; height: 2.3 cm; width: 2.4 cm.
- Fragment of an everted straightened rim; fabric: coarse; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: orange-ochre; height: 2.3 cm; width: 13.3 cm; thickness: 1.5 cm.



7. Ulomak izvučenog dna keramičke posude; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: siva; visina: 3,2 cm; širina: 3,6 cm; debljina: 0,6 cm.
8. Ulomak izvučenog ruba keramičke posude; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: siva; visina: 2,9 cm; širina: 5,6 cm; debljina: 0,5 cm.
9. Ulomak izvučenog ruba keramičke posude; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: narančasto-oker; visina: 2,6 cm; širina: 2 cm; debljina: 0,5 cm.
10. Ulomak uvučenog ruba keramičke posude; faktura: fina; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: siva; visina: 1,2 cm; širina: 3 cm; debljina: 0,4 cm.
11. Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen paralelnim linijama i valovnicom; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: narančasta; visina: 3,1 cm; širina: 2,2 cm; debljina: 0,5 cm.
12. Ulomak keramičke posude, ukrašen paralelnim linijama i valovnicom; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: sivo-smeđa; visina: 4,2 cm; širina: 3,8 cm; debljina: 0,4 cm.
13. Ulomak keramičke posude ukrašen paralelnim linijama; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: sivo-smeđa; visina: 3,9 cm; širina: 3 cm; debljina: 0,6 cm.
14. Ulomak izvučenog ruba keramičke posude; faktura: gruba; tehnika izrade: lončarsko kolo; boja: siva; visina: 2,2 cm; širina: 4,1 cm; debljina: 0,5 cm.

Table nacrtala: Miljenka Galić

7. Fragment of the everted base of a vessel; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: grey; height: 3.2 cm; width: 3.6 cm; thickness: 0.6 cm.
8. Fragment of an everted rim; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: grey; height: 2.9 cm; width: 5.6 cm; thickness: 0.5 cm.
9. Fragment of an everted rim; fabric: coarse; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: orange-ochre; height: 2.6 cm; width: 2 cm; thickness: 0.5 cm.
10. Fragment of an inverted rim; fabric: fine; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: grey; height: 1.2 cm; width: 3 cm; thickness: 0.4 cm.
11. Pottery sherd decorated with parallel straight and wavy lines; fabric: coarse; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: orange; height: 3.1 cm; width: 2.2 cm; thickness: 0.5 cm.
12. Pottery sherd decorated with parallel straight and wavy lines; fabric: coarse; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: grey-brown; height: 4.2 cm; width: 3.8 cm; thickness: 0.4 cm.
13. Pottery sherd decorated with parallel lines; fabric: coarse; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: grey-brown; height: 3.9 cm; width: 3 cm; thickness: 0.6 cm.
14. Fragment of an everted rim; fabric: coarse; mode of production: potter's wheel; colour: grey; height: 2.2 cm; width: 4.1 cm; thickness: 0.5 cm.

Plates drawn by Miljenka Galić

Translated by Ana Đukić

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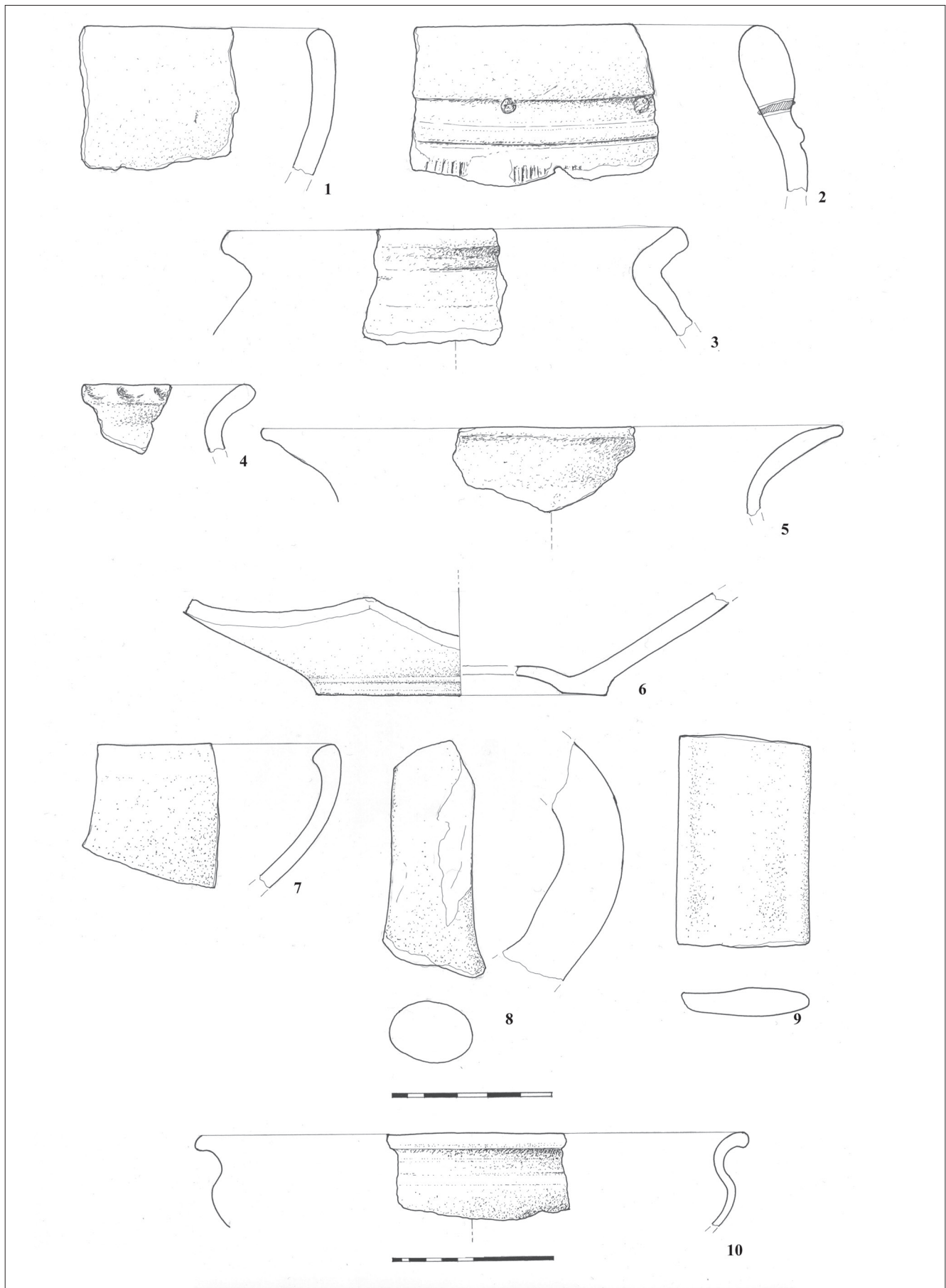


TABLA 1.

PLATE 1.





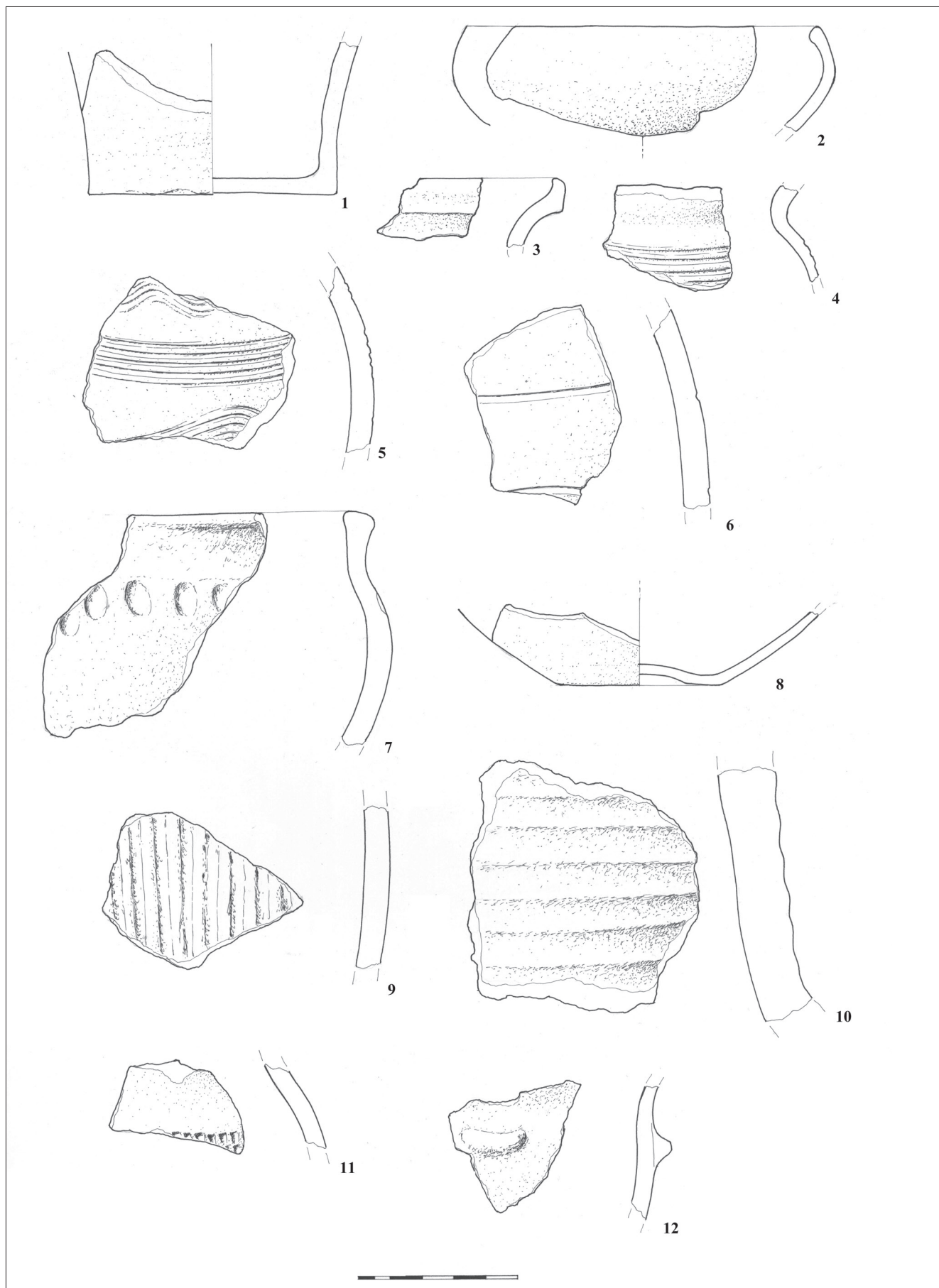


TABLA 2.

PLATE 2.

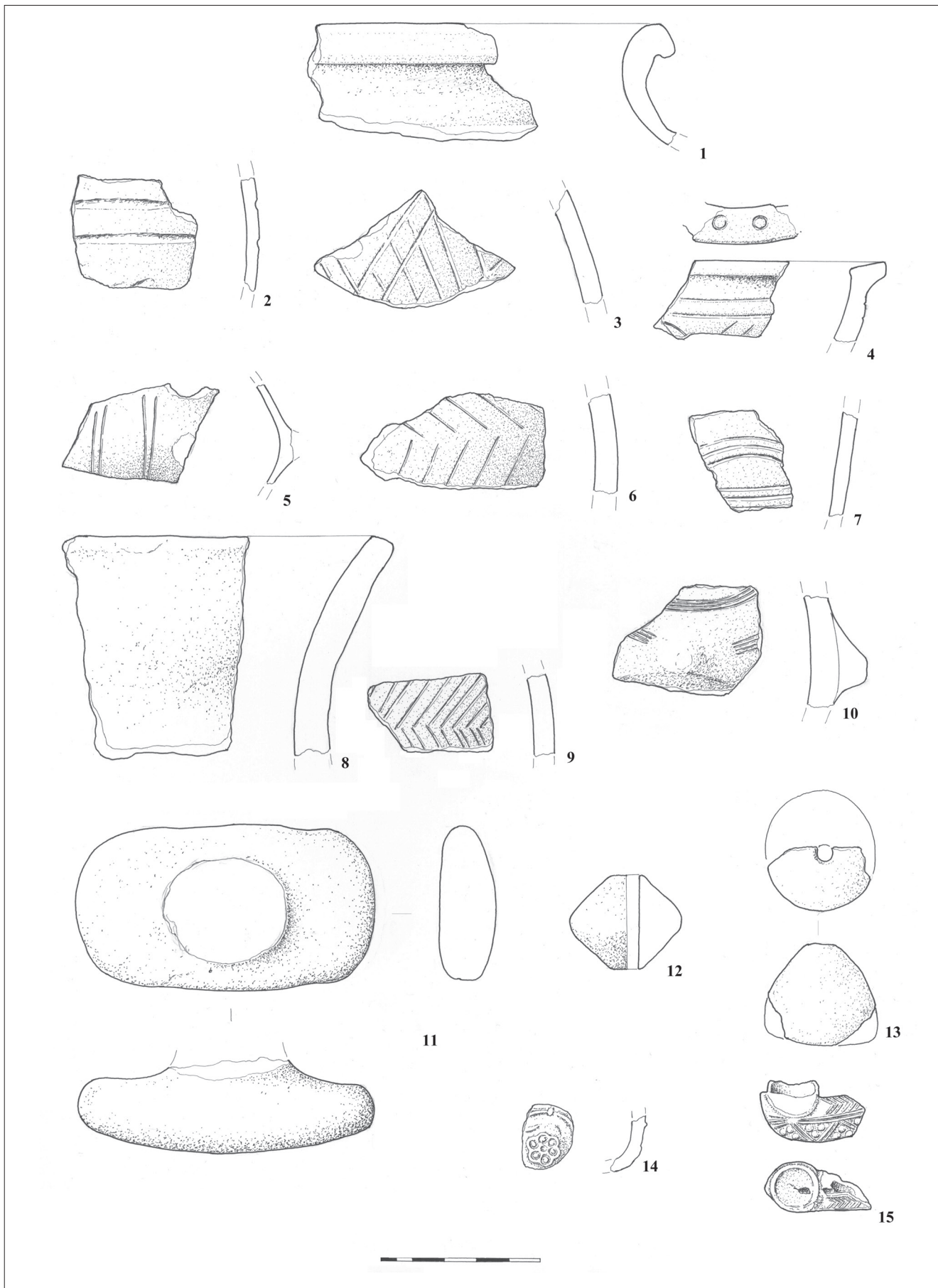


TABLA 3.

PLATE 3.



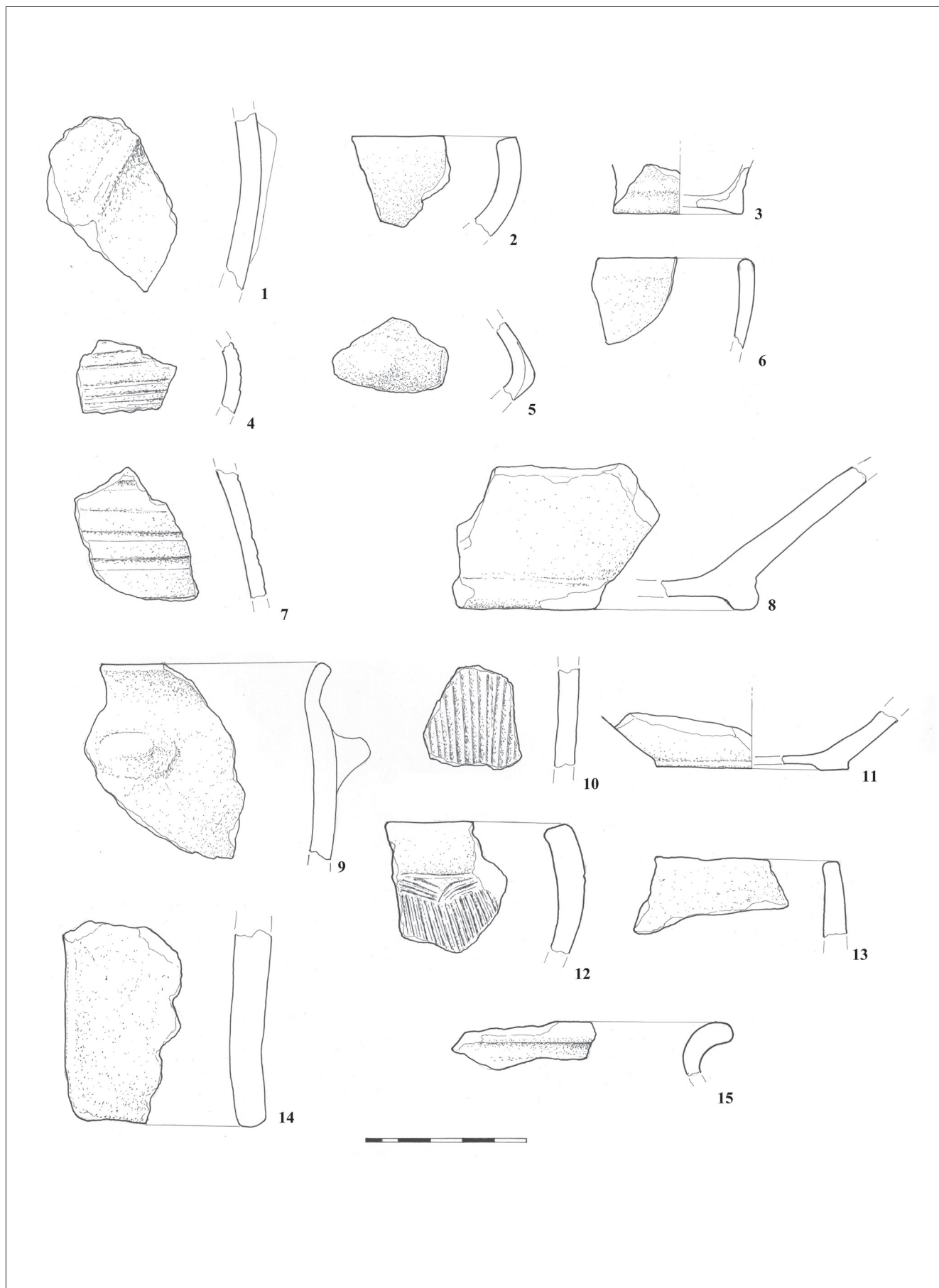


TABLA 4.

PLATE 4.

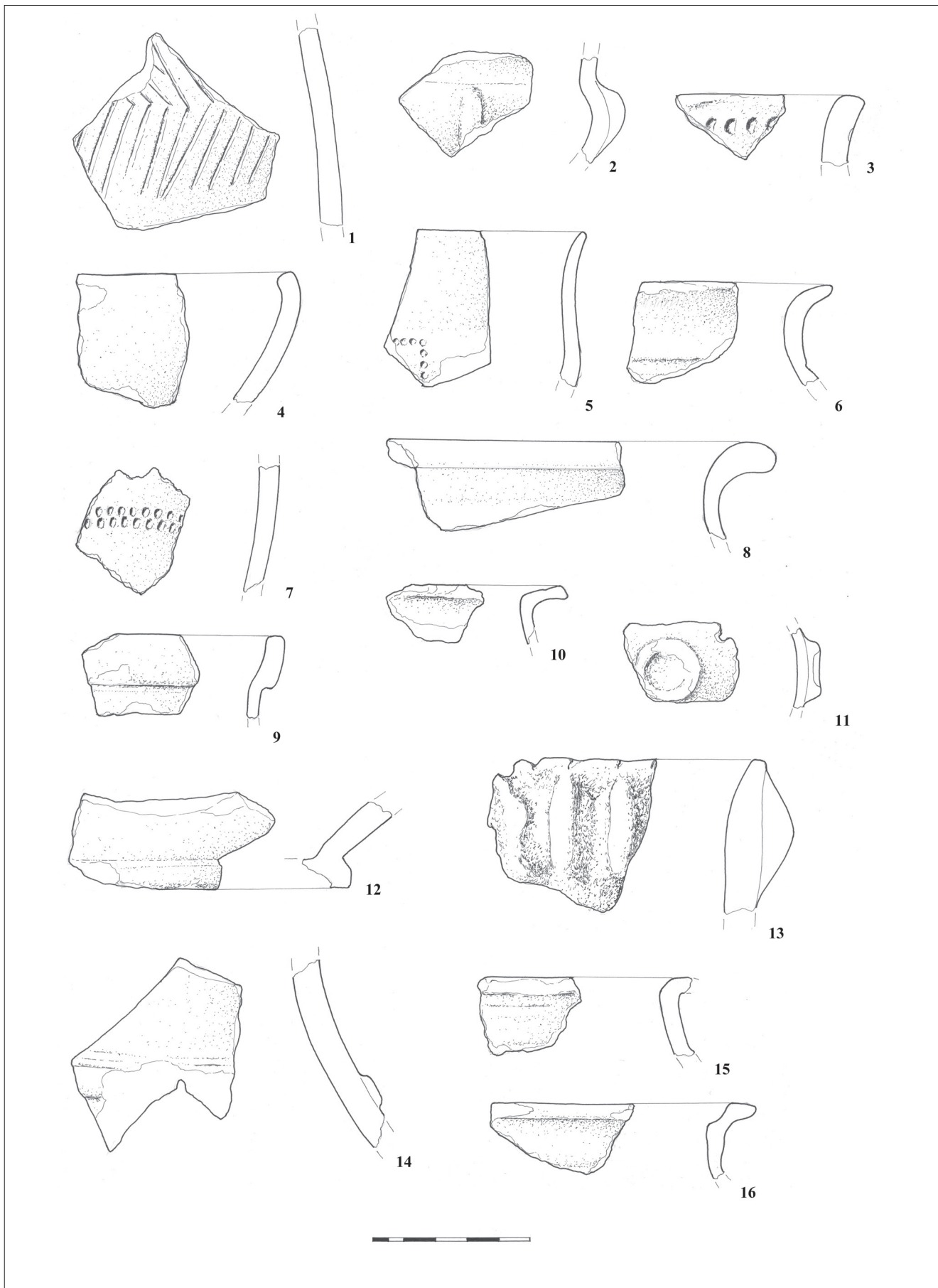


TABLA 5.

PLATE 5.



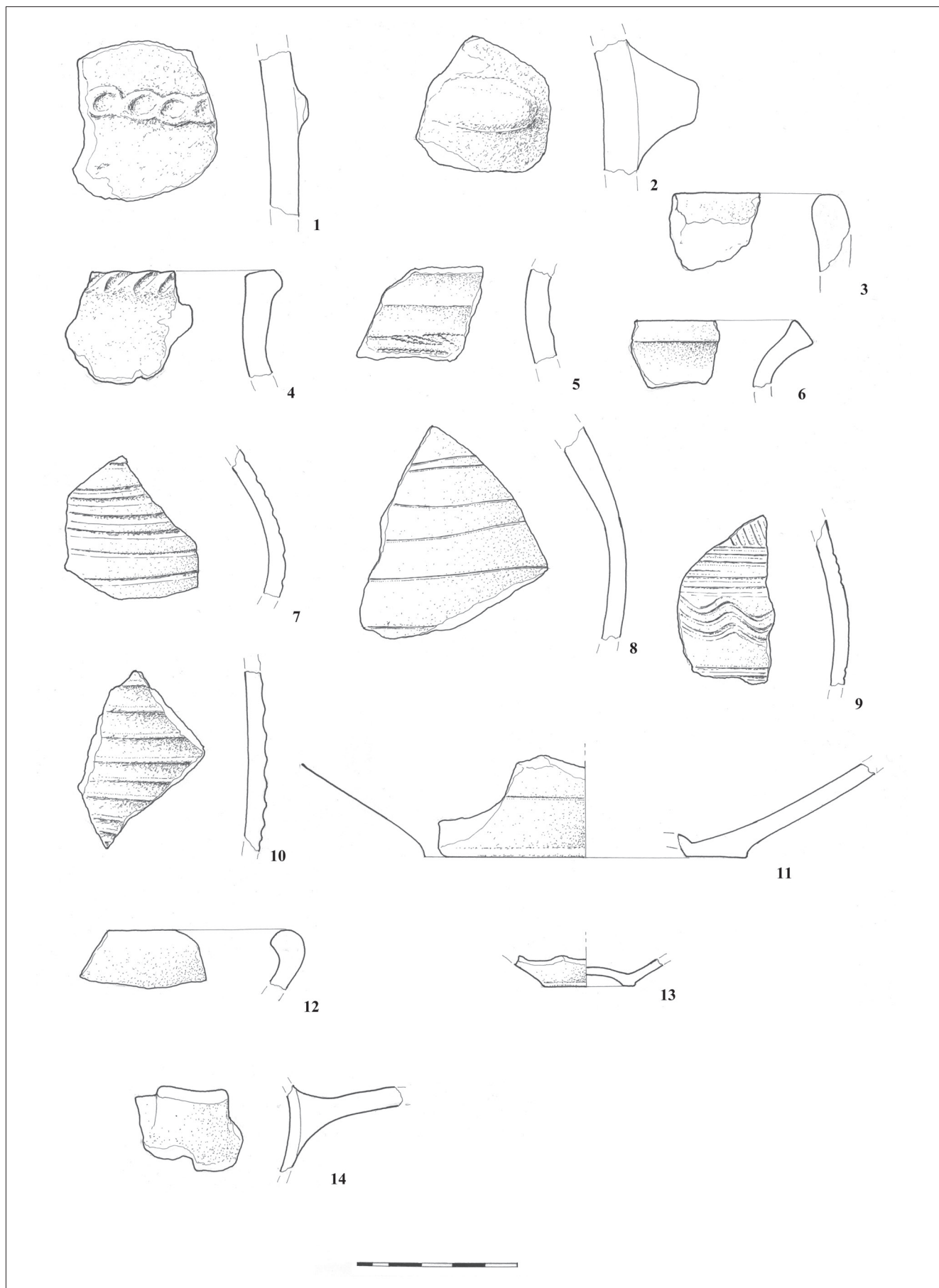


TABLA 6.

PLATE 6.

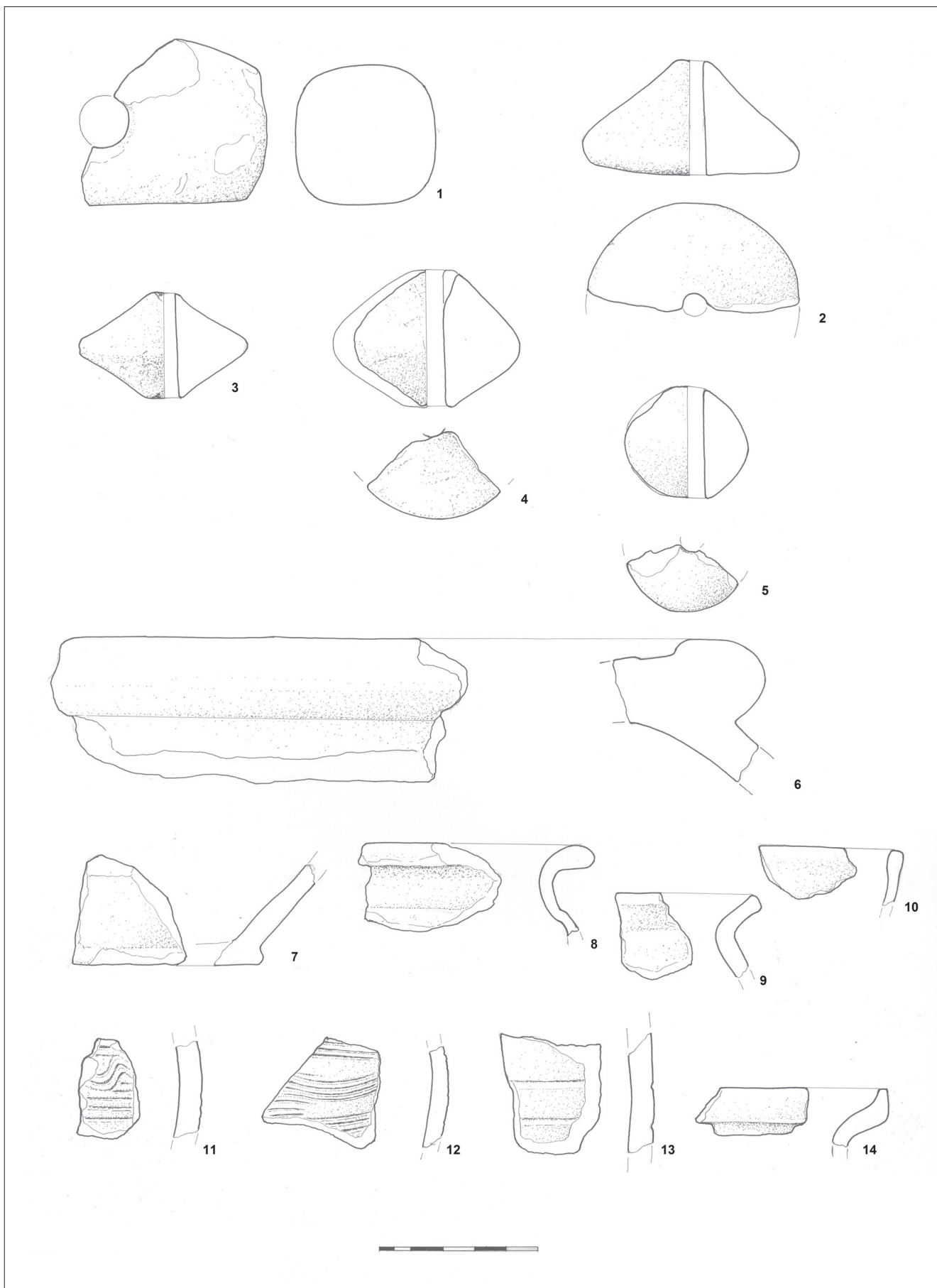


TABLA 7.

PLATE 7.





# TA OVA JE GODINA DOBRA POČELA SAMO DA NIJE B. I G.'A. TRGOVINA ARHEOLOŠKIM NALAZIMA POČETKOM 20. STOLJEĆA NA PRIMJERU SRIJEMSKJE MITROVICE<sup>1</sup>

## THIS YEAR WOULD HAVE STARTED WELL IF ONLY IT WERE NOT FOR B. AND G.

## THE ANTIQUITIES TRADE IN SREMSKA MITROVICA AT THE TURN OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY<sup>1</sup>

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Izvorni znanstveni članak / Original scientific paper

*Rad prikazuje na koje su se sve načine početkom 20. stoljeća prikupljali predmeti i formirale arheološke zbirke. Uz pregled pravnih okvira, ocrtane su okolnosti koje su obilježile nabavu predmeta na primjeru Srijemske Mitrovice, gdje je paralelno funkcionirala „prava arheologija”, kao i tipična preprodaja „starina”. Bogata korespondencija iz tog vremena, pohranjena u okviru Dokumentarne zbirke Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, omogućila nam je sagledati opće raspoloženje prema arheologiji i utjecaj pojedinaca na rast muzejskog fundusa. Kao posebno zanimljiva osoba, ističe se Georg (Gjuro) Griesbach, mitrovački urar i zlatar te, kako doznajemo, trgovac starinama, čija se uloga i odnos sa zagrebačkim Narodnim muzejom nastoji prikazati. Propituje se zaključno zašto se danas ne bi trebala provoditi praksa nabave predmeta koja je bila uobičajena za kraj 19. i početak 20. stoljeća.*

*This paper shows all the ways in which artefacts were collected, and archaeological collections compiled, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. After providing an overview of the legal framework, the circumstances typical of the procurement of artefacts are described using the example of Sremska Mitrovica, where ‘real archaeology’ co-existed simultaneously with a typical trade in antiquities. The voluminous correspondence from that time, stored within the Documentary Collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, provides insight into the general attitude towards archaeology, as well as the impact individuals had on the increase of the museum’s holdings. Georg (Gjuro) Griesbach, a watchmaker and goldsmith from Mitrovica – and, as we found out, an antiquities dealer – stands out as a particularly interesting person, whose role and relationship with the Zagreb National Museum is presented. In conclusion, the question is posed as to why the practice of procuring artefacts, which was common in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup>, should not also be continued today.*

**Ključne riječi:**

Srijemska Mitrovica, Narodni muzej, trgovina starinama, povijest arheologije, Ignjat Jung, Georg Griesbach

**Key words:**

Sremska Mitrovica, National Museum, antiquities trade, history of archaeology, Ignjat Jung, Georg Griesbach



## Uvod

Zbog povećane i razgranate međunarodne trgovine arheološkim predmetima u cijelome svijetu, arheološko je crno tržište vrlo aktualna tema koja, dakako, posljedično propituje i koji bi stav muzeji trebali zauzeti u takvim situacijama.<sup>2</sup> Kako bi se bolje spoznali problemi u kojima se nalaze muzeji 21. stoljeća, analiziraju se prakse i zakoni u vremenu nastanka arheologije kao znanstvene discipline, koje korespondira s vremenom najvećeg procvata (današnjeg) Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu (kraj 19. i početak 20. stoljeća).<sup>3</sup> Tada je, naime, trgovina *starinama* bila temeljni način priljeva građe (a u manjoj mjeri iskopavanja i darovi), posebno s područja koja obiluju arheološkim lokalitetima kao što je Srijem. Predmeti, koji su pristizali trgovinom, nisu imali najosnovnije podatke o provenijenciji i kontekstu te danas arheolozima predstavljaju izazove koji su ponekad nerješivi.

Zbog svoje burne i bogate povijesti, Srijemska je Mitrovica svakako jedan od najpoznatijih arheoloških lokaliteta u Srijemu, ali i šire. U geografskom i strateškom smislu ima vrlo povoljan položaj na savskoj obali, pogodnoj za prirodnu obranu, promet i trgovinu. Ipak, Sava je imala i svoj negativni aspekt te su razvoj i širenje grada diktirale okolne podzemne vode i močvare. Grad se (*Sirmium*) već u ranorimsko doba razvio kao raskrižje puteva i prerastao u administrativno ekonomsko središte Donje Panonije, što je utjecalo i na daljnji tijek događaja.<sup>4</sup>

Srijemska županija do formiranja Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca dio je Kraljevine Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije unutar Austro-Ugarske Monarhije. Arheološka je baština tog područja u nadležnosti Arheološkog odjela Narodnog muzeja, preteče današnjeg Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu (dalje: Muzej). Mitrovica je upravo u razdoblju od kraja 19. stoljeća pa sve do početka Prvog svjetskog rata jedan od važnijih punktova iz kojeg pristiže arheološka građa za Muzej kao rezultat arheoloških iskopavanja, djelovanja povjerenika, darova i otkupa, putovanja djelatnika

## Introduction

As a consequence of the increased international trade in archaeological antiquities throughout the world, the archaeological black market has become a major topic, giving rise to questions as to the position museums should take in such situations.<sup>2</sup> To better understand the problems faced by museums in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, this paper analyses the practices and laws applicable at the time of the emergence of archaeology as a scientific discipline (late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup>).<sup>3</sup> This period was in fact the time of the greatest prosperity of (today's) Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, when the antiquities trade represented a major source of museum acquisitions (followed by excavations and gifts), especially from such areas as Syrmia, with plenty of archaeological sites. The antiquities obtained through trade lacked basic information in terms of both their provenance and their context and pose, as such, a serious, sometimes insuperable, problem to archaeologists today.

Due to its rich and turbulent history, Sremska Mitrovica is one of the most famous archaeological sites in Syrmia and beyond. In geographical and strategic terms, it has a very favourable position on a bank of the Sava suitable for natural defence, traffic and trade. However, the position on the River Sava has also had its negative aspect. The groundwater and wetlands around the city dictated its development and expansion. The city (*Sirmium*) developed as a major crossroads in the early Roman period and gradually grew into the administrative and economic centre of Lower Pannonia.<sup>4</sup>

Until the formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Syrmia County was part of the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The archaeological heritage of this area was under the jurisdiction of the Archaeological Department of the National Museum, the forerunner of today's Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (hereinafter:

1 Arhiv Arheološkog Muzej u Zagrebu (dalje: AAMZ) 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu, br. 54. (Jung 155) – „Ta ova je godina dobra počela samo da nije B. i G.'a. Ja sam već mislio da što napišem, premda u glavnom ovde svi za arheol. mare, kao što reče blagopok. Ljubić, kao za lajnski snijeg. Ja sam zadovoljan sa indolencijom samo ako bar po koje – poruge neima. Kao obično extremi ili bagatelizovanje (uništavanje starina) ili precijenjivanje (cijene à la G.)“ – Ignjat Jung često je u svojim pismima za Gjuro Griesbacha pisao samo G., dok se B. odnosi na Hinka (Heinricha) Batora. – Ovaj je rad nastao u vrijeme pandemije Covid-19 i potresa u Zagrebu 2020. godine te su se autorice često sjetile Jungovih riječi: „Ta ova je godina dobra počela samo da nije ...“ koje su stoga kao evokaciju na te događaje i iskoristile u naslovu.

2 Brodie 2006; Manacorda, Chappell 2011; Lazrus, Barker 2012; Filipović, Vasić 2017; Гуштин 2017.

3 Novaković 2015, 71–72.

4 Na području grada kontinuitet naseljavanja prati se od neolitika, no najveći prosperitet doživljava kao antički Sirmij u 3. i 4. stoljeću, a nakon slavne povijesti u sastavu Rimskog Carstva osvajaju ga Huni, zatim istočni Goti i Gepidi, potom je kratko u vlasti Bizanta te konačno Avara. Kasnije je (9. st.) u sastavu Bugarske, dolaskom Mađara u sastavu je Bizanta i Ugarske naizmjenično sve do 1180. godine, kada Bizant nestaje s područja Srijema. Tada grad više toliko ne prosperira. Ostaje Manastir sv. Dimitrija s tvrdavom, po kojem grad i dobiva današnje ime (Dimitrovica). Nakon 1526. u sastavu je Osmanskog Carstva i ponovno doživljava veliki prosperitet. Mirom u Požarevcu (1718.) Srijem je oslobođen i pripojen Habsburškoj Monarhiji u kojoj će ostati sve do 1918. godine. Detaljnije o povijesnom pregledu Прица 1969; Милошевић 2001.

1 Archives of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (hereinafter: AAMZ) 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, no. 54. (Jung 155); “This year would have started well if only it were not for B. and G. I wanted to write something, although in general everyone here, to paraphrase the late Ljubić, cares about archaeology like last year's snow. I am satisfied with indolence only if there is no mockery. As the usual extremes, either trivialization (destruction of antiquities) or overestimation (prices à la G.)” Ignjat Jung often refers to Gjuro Griesbach only by his initial 'G.', and to Hinko (Heinrich) Bator as 'B.'. This paper was created during the Covid-19 pandemic and the Zagreb earthquake of 2020, and the authors often remembered Jung's words: “This year would have started well if only...” which they have therefore used as an evocation of these events in the title.

2 Brodie 2006; Manacorda, Chappell 2011; Lazrus, Barker 2012; Filipović, Vasić 2017; Гуштин 2017.

3 Novaković 2015, 71–72.

4 The city's greatest prosperity was achieved as ancient Sirmium in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries, and after a glorious history as part of the Roman Empire, it was conquered by the Huns, then the Ostrogoths and Gepids, was briefly part of Byzantium, and finally conquered by the Avars. In the 9<sup>th</sup> century it was part of Bulgaria; then, with the arrival of the Hungarians, it was part of Byzantium and Hungary alternately until 1180, when Byzantium disappeared from the area of Syrmia. After that period, the city no longer prospered. But the monastery of St. Dimitry remains, with the fortress from which the city gets its present name (Dimitrovica). After 1526, it was part of the Ottoman Empire and again experienced great prosperity. By the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718), Syrmia was liberated and annexed to the Habsburg Monarchy until 1918. For a more detailed historical review: Прица 1969; Милошевић 2001.

Muzeja te rada društva „Sirmium”. Tako je sve do 1922. godine, kada nadležnost prelazi Narodnome muzeju u Beogradu,<sup>5</sup> a potom 1946. godine novoosnovanome Gradskom muzeju Sremska Mitrovica.<sup>6</sup>

Vlasništvo arheološke građe („skrivenog blaga“) krajem 19. stoljeća i početkom 20. stoljeća regulirano je Općim austrijskim građanskim zakonom<sup>7</sup> koji se postupno uvodio u zemljama Habsburške Monarhije od 1811. godine, izvoz *starina* zabranjen je Obnovom starih zakona iz 1880. godine<sup>8</sup> te je istom Obnovom zabranjena preprodaja bez dozvole Kraljevske hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinske zemaljske vlade (dalje: Zemaljska vlada). Skriveno blago po Općem austrijskom građanskom zakoniku sastoji se „u novcu, nakitu ili inim dragocjenostima koje su tako dugo ležale sakrivene, da se njihov prijašnji vlasnik više saznati ne može”.<sup>9</sup> Prema prvobitnim pravilima Zakonika, trećina je nađenog blaga pripadala državi, trećina nalazniku i trećina vlasniku zemljišta.<sup>10</sup> Novim Dekretom dvorske kancelarije od 16. lipnja 1846. godine država gubi pravo na jednu trećinu te se nađeno blago dijeli na jednu polovinu nalazniku, a drugu vlasniku zemljišta.<sup>11</sup>

Zemaljska vlada 25. 11. 1880. godine, odredbom br. 3302, donosi Obnovu starih zakona i naredba u pogledu izvažanja starina iz naše zemlje i njihova sačuvanja kojom je „*zabranjeno izvajanje* nadjenih dragocjenosti arheološke vrijednosti, ter se ima kazniti i sam pokušaj izvoza plienitbom, a obavljani već izvoz globom u dvostrukoju vrijednosti blaga. (...) nalaže se kr. podžupaniji (grads.

the Museum). At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Mitrovica was one of the most important places of supply for the museum collections. Archaeological material arrived through various means: as a result of archaeological excavations, the work of the museum trustees, gifts and redemptions, the travels of museum staff, and the activity of the ‘Sirmium’ society. In 1922 the jurisdiction over archaeological heritage from Mitrovica passed to the Belgrade National Museum,<sup>5</sup> and then in 1946 to the newly-founded City Museum of Sremska Mitrovica.<sup>6</sup>

The ownership of archaeological artefacts (“hidden treasure”) in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> was regulated by the General Civil Code<sup>7</sup>, gradually introduced in the countries of the Habsburg Monarchy from 1811. The Restoration of old laws from 1880 prohibited the export of antiques and their resale without the permission of the Royal Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian Provincial Government (hereinafter: the Royal Government).<sup>8</sup> Hidden treasures – according to the General Civil Code – consist “in money, jewellery or other valuables that have been hidden for so long that their previous owner can no longer be identified”.<sup>9</sup> According to the legal rules of the General Civil Code, originally one-third of the found treasure, thus archaeology, belonged to “state property”, one third to the finder and one third to the owner of the land.<sup>10</sup> By the new Decree of the court office, from June 16, 1846, the found treasure was divided into one half to the finder and the other half to the owner of the land (with nothing belonging to the state).<sup>11</sup>

5 Godine 1922. u sklopu Kraljevine SHS Hrvatska, kao teritorijalna cjelina u upravnom smislu, nestaje te je njezino područje obuhvaćalo 6 od ukupno 33 jugoslavenske oblasti, a dijelovi hrvatskog prostora pripojeni su subotičkoj i mariborskoj oblasti, Bilandžić 1999, 77; Regan 2003, 263. Aleksandar I. Karadorđević 1929. godine, uspostavljenom Šestosiječanske diktature, donosi *Zakon o nazivu i podjeli Kraljevine na upravna područja* te u sklopu Kraljevine Jugoslavije veći dio Srijema ulazi u Dunavsku banovinu sa sjedištem u Novom Sadu. Djelomičnom promjenom granica iz 1931. godine zapadni je Srijem pridružen Savskoj, dok je istočni ostao dijelom Dunavske banovine, Bajariћ 2016. – Koliko je područje Srijema Muzeju bilo značajno najbolje dočaravaju riječi V. Hoffillera: „... Srijem je za nas najvažnije područje, dok je sve ostalo, što nam preostaje, sterilan teren. Ako izgubimo Srijem, onda možemo u buduće samo životariti.”, AAMZ 46, Muzejski interesi, Dopis V. Hoffillera V. Petkoviću od 22. 1. 1923.

6 Iako je u Mitrovici postojala jaka arheološka osnova za mnogo raniji osnutak muzeja (istraživanja *Sirmiuma*), tek je, nakon niza pokušaja tijekom druge polovine 19. i prve polovine 20. stoljeća, 1946. godine osnovan Gradski muzej Sremska Mitrovica (danas Muzej Srema), <https://muzejsrema.com/o-muzeju/>; Novaković 2015, 106, bilj. 136, 113. – O nefunkcionalnome muzeju u Mitrovici s kraja 19. stoljeća svjedoči i sam Brunšmid. Naime, tijekom jednog putovanja u Mitrovicu (1894.) zamolio je da se spomenici, koji su se nalazili na gradskom šetalištu, prenesu u Narodni muzej kako bi se zaštitili, no dobio je odgovor da je 1885. godine osnovan gradski muzej u Mitrovici koji će pohraniti svu građu s Filipovićeve šetališta. Međutim, za vrijeme svog posjeta Brunšmid je obišao muzej i sam se uvjerio da u tome prostoru nema ni jednog spomenika, već da je lokal iznajmljen te da se u tome “muzeju” toči dosta dobro mitrovačko pivo, Solter 2016, 89.

7 Justizgesetzsammlung 1811. Iako je Zakon službeno bio važeći u cijeloj Monarhiji do 1861. godine, ostao se koristiti kao hrvatski građanski zakonik sve do 1945. godine, a djelom i do 1970-ih. O starim zakonima vidi Kos, Mirnik 2011, 80–87.

8 Kr. hrv. slav. dalm. zem. Vlada Odjel za bogoštovje i nastavu 1880.

9 Justizgesetzsammlung 1811, čl. 398.

10 Justizgesetzsammlung, 1811, čl. 399. Prema istom pravilniku jedna trećina pripada i radnicima, koji slučajno nađu blago, ali ako ih je vlasnik „naročito najmio... da traže blago, treba da se zadovolje svojom urednom plaćom” (§ 401.), Simonetti 2009, 59.

11 Spevec 1899, 131.

5 As part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Croatia disappeared as a territorial unit in administrative terms (1922), and its territory included 6 out of a total of 33 Yugoslav areas. Parts of Croatian territory were annexed to the Subotica and Maribor areas: Bilandžić 1999, 77; Regan 2003, 263. With the January 6<sup>th</sup> Dictatorship (1929), Aleksandar I Karadorđević passed the *Act on the Name and Division of the Kingdom into Administrative Areas within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia*. According to the new law, most of Syrmia entered the Danube Banovina, with its seat in Novi Sad. With a partial change of borders in 1931, western Syrmia joined the Sava, while eastern Syrmia remained part of the Danube Banovina: Bajariћ 2016. How significant the area of Syrmia was to the Museum is best illustrated by the words of V. Hoffiller: “Syrmia is the most important area for us, while everything else we have left is sterile terrain. If we lose Syrmia, then we can only live on scraps”, AAMZ 46, Museum Interests, Letter from V. Hoffiller to V. Petković, January 22, 1923.

6 Although there were powerful reasons for establishing the museum in Mitrovica much earlier, it was only after a series of attempts during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> that the City Museum of Sremska Mitrovica was founded in 1946: <https://muzejsrema.com/o-muzeju/>; Novaković 2015, 106, n. 136, 113. Brunšmid himself testifies about the non-functional museum in Mitrovica from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. During his trip to Mitrovica (1894), he asked to transfer the monuments from the city promenade to the National Museum to protect them; however, he was notified that, in 1885, a city museum had been established in Mitrovica to store all the material from Filipović’s promenade. During his visit, Brunšmid went to the museum and saw that there were no monuments there, but a bar that served quite good Mitrovica beer: Solter 2016, 89.

7 Justizgesetzsammlung 1811. Although the Code was officially valid throughout the Monarchy until 1861, it was still used afterwards as the Croatian Civil Code until 1945, and in part until the 1970s. More about the old laws: Kos, Mirnik 2011, 80–87.

8 Kr. hrv. slav. dalm. zem. Vlada Odjel za bogoštovje i nastavu [Royal Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian Provincial Government. Department of Religion and Education] 1880.

9 Justizgesetzsammlung 1811, Sec. 398.

10 Justizgesetzsammlung, 1811, Sec. 399. According to the same Code, one third belongs to the workers who accidentally found the treasure, but if the owner of the land “especially hired them ... to look for the treasure, they should be satisfied with their regular salary” (§ 401): Simonetti 2009, 59.

11 Spevec 1899, 131.

poglavarstvu), da u buduće strogo nad tim bdije, da se *nadjene starine na kupu držje i nerazdadu, prodadu ili unište* prije, nego stigne naredba kr. zemaljske Vlade na izvještje ...”<sup>12</sup>

### Povjerenici i mitrovačke starine

Krajem 19. stoljeća u Mitrovici su se provodila tri arheološka iskopavanja. Prvo je vodio poljski svećenik Adolf Hytrek (1853. – 1899.) od listopada 1882. do travnja 1883. godine, sjeveroistočno od Mitrovice na lokalitetu Majurska bara, a istraživao je Baziliku sv. Sinerota.<sup>13</sup>

Drugo je iskopavanje vodio ravnatelj Muzeja Šime Ljubić (1822. – 1896.), u dvorištu kaznionice (danas Gradski arhiv), u lipnju 1885. godine. Vlada je osigurala sredstva za iskopavanje, koje je provodio upravitelj kaznionice Sadar sa zatvorenicima (104 radna dana), uz arheološki nadzor Ignjata Junga i Šime Ljubića, koji boravi u Mitrovici od 7. do 28. lipnja 1885. godine. Ljubić se u Zagreb vratio s „kištrom” materijala te u izvještaju javlja da nije ništa osobito otkriveno.<sup>14</sup> Treće je iskopavanje vodio idući ravnatelj Muzeja Josip Brunšmid (1858. – 1929.) 1894. godine na lokalitetu Rimsko groblje. Nakon četiri dana iskopavanja, neuspjeh ga je natjerao da obustavi radove jer se i osvjedočio o tome da, i ako iskopa još 50 jutara, neće ništa pronaći.<sup>15</sup>

Krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća arheološki materijal iz Mitrovice ipak je u manjoj mjeri prikupljen iskopavanjima, a ponajviše posredstvom muzejskih povjerenika. Prve muzejske povjerenike, arheologe-amatere imenovala je Jugoslavenska akademija – tadašnji pravni upravitelj zagrebačkoga Narodnog muzeja – koji su pod nadzorom muzejskog ravnatelja Šime Ljubića prikupljali građu, ali i obavljali iskopavanja. Time je prvi put donekle organizirano znanstveno istraživanje Hrvatske Akademija je do 1870. godine imenovala 61 povjerenika diljem zemlje.<sup>16</sup>

The Royal Government, on November 25, 1880, by decree no. 3302, passed the restoration of old laws and orders regarding the removal of antiquities from our country and their preservation, which “prohibits the extraction of found valuables of archaeological value, and punishes the very attempt to export by seizure, treasure already exported will be fined twice the value of the treasures. (...) all royal counties (city government) are ordered to be vigilant in the future to keep the antiquities together in a pile and not to let them be distributed, sold or destroyed before the order of the royal provincial ...”<sup>12</sup>

### Museum trustees and antiquities from Mitrovica

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, three archaeological excavations were undertaken in Mitrovica. The first was led by the Polish priest Adolf Hytrek (1853–1899) from October 1882 to April 1883 in the northeast part of Mitrovica at the Majurska Bara site, where he excavated the Basilica of Saint Synerot.<sup>13</sup>

The second excavation was conducted by the director of the Museum, Šime Ljubić (1822 – 1896), in the courtyard of the prison (today the City Archives) in June 1885. The excavation, funded by the government, was carried out by the warden, Sadar, with prisoners (104 working days), under the archaeological supervision of Ljubić and museum trustee Ignjat Jung. Ljubić resided in Mitrovica from 7 to 28 June 1885 and returned to Zagreb with a “chest” of finds. In his report, he states that nothing special was discovered.<sup>14</sup> The third excavation was conducted in 1894 by the Museum’s director, Josip Brunšmid (1858–1929), at the site of the Roman cemetery. After four days of excavation, failure forced him to suspend his efforts, because he realized that, even if he excavated another 50 acres, he would not find anything.<sup>15</sup>

At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Museum trustees collected the majority of archaeological artefacts from Mitrovica. Artefacts collected by excavations were much fewer. The first Museum trustees, amateur archaeologists, were appointed by the Yugoslav Academy – then the legal manager of the National Museum – who, under the supervision of museum director Šime Ljubić, collected material and also carried out excavations. Consequently, this was the first time that the scientific research of Croatia had been organized to some extent. By 1870, the Academy had appointed 61 trustees throughout the country.<sup>16</sup>

12 Kr. hrv. slav. dalm. zem. Vlada Odjel za bogoštovje i nastavu 1880.

13 Ljubić 1883; Ljubić 1886b; Hytrek 1894; Jeremić 2006. Istraživanje je Hytrek prvi put objavio u *Vienca* 1882. godine (br. 47, str. 560) na što Ljubić piše: „(...) no ipak usudjujem se primijetiti da nije sasvim u redu takove ozbiljne uspjehe pripočivati u beletrističkom listu, koji je poglavito namijenjen kras. spolu, tomu sasvim neuku.”; AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, Dopis Š. Ljubića P. Milleru 1882. Istraživanje je financirala Visoka kraljevska vlada na nagovor Franje Račkog.

14 Ljubić 1886a; Ljubić je smatrao da je pronašao terme cara Licinija koje se spominju na spomeniku pronađenom na otoku Braču, ali su u istraživanjima 1960. – 1964. godine pronađene luksuznije terme koje se danas pripisuju Licinijevima, Милошевић 2001, 43-44.

15 Brunšmid 1895, 161–164.

16 Rački, Daničić 1870, 21–25.

12 Kr. hrv. slav. dalm. zem. Vlada Odjel za bogoštovje i nastavu [Royal Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian Provincial Government Department of Religion and Education] 1880.

13 Ljubić 1883; Ljubić 1886b; Hytrek 1894; Jeremić 2006. The research was first published by Hytrek in *Vienac* in 1882 (no. 47, p. 560), to which Ljubić writes: “(...) But I still dare to note that it is not quite right to report such serious successes in a fiction paper, which is mainly intended for the fair sex, completely ignorant of the topic”; AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, Letter from Š. Ljubić to P. Miller in 1882. The research was financed by the High Royal Government at the urging of Franjo Rački.

14 Ljubić 1886a; Ljubić believed that he had found the thermal baths of Emperor Licinius, which are mentioned on a monument found on the island of Brač. In 1960-1964 more luxurious baths were excavated, which are today attributed to Licinius; Милошевић 2001, 43-44.

15 Brunšmid 1895, 161–164.

16 Rački, Daničić 1870, 21–25.

Prvi su imenovani povjerenici za Mitrovicu bili učitelj Zarija Grujić i kapelan Živko Ogjić u razdoblju od 1868. do 1871. godine,<sup>17</sup> a među prvim su muzejskim otkupima bili „stršenovo gnijezdo i kamena glava gospođe Klein“, za koju je Ljubić ustanovio da nije niti umjetničko djelo niti iz rimskog doba, ali Muzej ju je otkupio za 5 forinti iako je Klein tražila 50.<sup>18</sup> Ogjić se u par navrata žali Ljubiću da „... nitko ne da ili previše cijeni jer da je svijet prost i pun praznovjerja“<sup>19</sup> te javlja (1869.) da je u Mitrovicu stigao Felix Kanitz (1829. – 1904.)<sup>20</sup> kako bi utemeljio *arheološko društvo*.<sup>21</sup> Ipak, sam Ogjić, baš zbog svog mišljenja o Mitrovčanima, vrlo je skeptičan u uspjeh. Nakon kratkog djelovanja Društva „Sirmium“, ne postoji mnogo podataka o njegovu kasnijem radu.<sup>22</sup> Grujić, pak, prvi popisuje (1871.) rimske kamene spomenike, razasute ulicama i dvorištima Srijemske Mitrovice.<sup>23</sup>

Novim povjerenikom, nakon Ogjića i Grujića, imenovan je 1871. godine Bartolomej Godra, nadliječnik o čijem djelovanju dokumenti nisu sačuvani. Godine 1877. Ljubić je za novog povjerenika imenovao župnika Paju Milera koji je imao puno aktivniju ulogu od svojih prethodnika. U vrijeme prvih istraživanja Miler je čak udomio Hytreka, svojega kolegu svećenika. Šest sanduka materijala s Hytrekovih istraživanja Miler je spakirao za Muzej te ih predao kapetanu parobroda „Hrvat“, Nikoli Bobincu, koji ih je besplatno prevezao do Siska.<sup>24</sup> Tamo ih je preuzeo sisački muzejski povjerenik Dragutin Jagić i dostavio u Zagreb na trošak Muzeja. Iako je Pajo Miler bio muzejski povjerenik sve do 1899. godine, Ljubić je 1884. godine za Mitrovicu imenovao još jednog, mlađeg povjerenika, učitelja Ignjata Junga (1860. – 1915.) (sl. 1).<sup>25</sup>

The first appointed trustees for Mitrovica were teacher Zarija Grujić and chaplain Živko Ogjić (1868–1871).<sup>17</sup> Thus, among the first museum purchases from that period were “the hornet’s nest and the stone head of Mrs Klein”. The stone head, in Ljubić’s estimation, did not have any archaeological or artistic value. Nevertheless, the Museum bought it for 5 forints, even though Klein asked for 50.<sup>18</sup> On a couple of occasions, Ogjić complained to Ljubić that *...no one gives away, and values too highly because the crowd is simple and full of superstition*,<sup>19</sup> and he reported (1869) that Felix Kanitz (1829–1904)<sup>20</sup> arrived in Mitrovica to establish an archaeological society.<sup>21</sup> However, Ogjić himself, precisely because of his opinion of the people of Mitrovica, is very sceptical of success. After brief activity by the Sirmium archaeological society, there is not much information about its later work.<sup>22</sup> Museum trustee Grujić was the first (1871) to list Roman stone monuments scattered in the streets and courtyards of Sremska Mitrovica.<sup>23</sup>

After Ogjić and Grujić, the Museum nominated physician Bartolomej Godra (1871) as a new trustee, yet no documentation remains that would provide us with any evidence of his work as a trustee. In 1877 Ljubić appointed a new trustee: Pajo Miler. Miler had a more active role than his predecessor. During the first archaeological excavation, Miler even gave shelter to Hytrek – his fellow clergyman. Miler packed six crates of archaeological finds from Hytrek’s excavation and handed them over to the captain of the steamboat “Hrvat”, Nikola Bobinac.<sup>24</sup> Bobinac transported them for no charge to Sisak, where Dragutin Jagić (museum

17 Muzealni povjerenici 1870, 25.

18 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1868, Dopis Š. Ljubića Ž. Ogjiću od 23. 1. 1869. Kada je 1905. Brunšmid upitao Junga o provenijenciji glave, Jung piše: „Prestara je [gospođa Klein] da ju pitam a možda i nije nužno – jer je od nje valjda drugi komad – stršenovo gnijezdo.“ AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1905, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 16. 2. 1905. Moguće je da je riječ o glavi kipa Izide ili Izidine svećenice (KS-35), Brunšmid 1904, 230.

19 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1868, Dopis Ž. Ogjića Š. Ljubiću od 26. 11. 1868.

20 Felix Kanitz, austro-ugarski prirodnjak, arheolog i etnolog bio je prvi kustos Anthropologisch-Urgeschichtliches Museum u Beču, ÖBL 1965, 215–216; Mihajlović 2020.

21 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1869, Dopis Ž. Ogjića Š. Ljubiću od 8. 7. 1869.; Novaković 2011, 387.

22 Ljubić (1879.) apelira na povjerenika Milera da se ponovno osnuje društvo u Mitrovici – kao što je Društvo „Siscia“ u Sisku. Miler je pak zdvojan te smatra da je to moguće jedino ako bi se „Arkeološko društvo srpskim imenom i ćirilicom mogli uzdići i nazvati“, AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1879, Dopis P. Milera Š. Ljubiću od 20. 2. 1879. Jung (1884.) javlja da je društvo postojalo 1873. godine te da je Hytrek 1883. godine pokupio sve znamenitije starine Društva koje su se nalazile u Maloj realci u Mitrovici, AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1884, Dopis I. Junga Š. Ljubiću od 15. 4. 1884.

23 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1871, Mitrovačke starine po izvještaju Z. Grujića od 26. 7. 1871.

24 Nikola Bobinac (1842. – 1895.) bio je kapetan parobroda „Paul“ i „Hrvat“ sisačkog „Parobrodarskog društva Šipuš i Morović“. Ovdje nije riječ o prvome hrvatskom parobrodu „Hrvat“, koji je plovio na relaciji Senj – Rijeka. Osamdesetih godina 19. stoljeća tvrtka Šipuš i Morović prelazi u ruke novoosnovanog „Bosanskog parobrodarskog društva“ sa sjedištem u Brčkom. Društvo je spomenute brodove preimenovalo u „Unu“ i „Sarajevo“ te je sagradilo još pet novih brodova: „Vrbas“ i „Bosnu“, za plovidbu Savom, te „Drinu“, „Zvornik“ i „Lim“, za plovidbu Drinom, Komatina et al. 2014, 16.

25 O Ignjatu Jungu, vidi Milošević 1971; Milošević 1973; Милошевић 1979; Miladinović-Radmilović, Radmilović 2015.

17 Muzealni povjerenici 1870, 25.

18 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1868, Letter from Š. Ljubić to Ž. Ogjić on January 23, 1869. When Brunšmid asked Jung about the provenance of the stone head (1905), Jung wrote: “[Mrs. Klein] is too old to ask her, and perhaps it is not necessary – because hers was probably another piece – hornet’s nest”, AAMZ 40a, Sremska Mitrovica, 1905, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid of February 16, 1905. The artefact may be the head of a statue of Isis or Isis’s priestess (KS-35), Brunšmid 1904, 230.

19 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1868, Letter from Ž. Ogjić to Š. Ljubić, November 26, 1868.

20 Felix Kanitz, an Austro-Hungarian naturalist, archaeologist and ethnologist, was the first curator of the Anthropologisch-Urgeschichtliches Museum in Vienna, ÖBL 1965, 215–216; Mihajlović 2020.

21 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1869, Letter from Ž. Ogjić to Š. Ljubić, July 8, 1869.; Novaković 2011, 387.

22 Ljubić (1879) appealed to trustee Miler to re-establish a society in Mitrovica – such as the “Siscia” Society in Sisak. Miler, on the other hand, was divided and believed that this was only possible if the Archaeological Society could rise and be called by the Serbian name and use Cyrillic: AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1879, Letter from P. Miller to Š. Ljubić, February 20, 1879. Jung (1884) informed Ljubić that the Society existed in 1873 and that in 1883 Hytrek picked up all the most famous antiquities of the Society, which were located in Mala Realca in Mitrovica: AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1884, Letter from I. Jung to Š. Ljubić, April 15, 1884.

23 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1871, Mitrovica antiquities according to the report of Z. Grujić, July 26, 1871.

24 Nikola Bobinac (1842–1895) was the captain of the steamships “Paul” and “Hrvat” of the “Šipuš and Morović Steamship Company” of Sisak. This should not be confused with the first Croatian steamboat, “Hrvat”, which sailed on the Senj–Rijeka route. In the 1880s the Šipuš and Morović company passed into the hands of the newly founded “Bosnian Steamship Company”, based in Brčko. The company renamed the two ships “Una” and “Sarajevo” and built five more new ships: “Vrbas” and “Bosna” for sailing on the Sava, and “Drina”, “Zvornik” and “Lim” for sailing on the Drina: Komatina et al. 2014, 16.



Jung je stekao klasično obrazovanje te je kao mladi učitelj došao u Mitrovicu, gdje je radio u osnovnoj školi od 1881. godine. Korespondenciju s Ljubićem započeo je 1881. godine, kada javlja kako stanovnici Mitrovice kopaju kamen, tj. *rimске stijene*, pogotovo na pozicijama Kuzmin, Brdo i Palanka. Predložio je da se na tlocrtu Mitrovice crvenom bojom naznače pozicije iskopavanja „rimskih stijena“ kako bi se djelomično stvorila slika nekadašnje Mitrovice. Od 1884., kada ga je Ljubić imenovao povjerenikom Narodnog muzeja u Zagrebu, sve do 1905. godine iz Mitrovice u Zagreb stižu opširna pisma upućena ravnateljima Muzeja, prvo Ljubiću, a kasnije Brunšmidu, u kojima Jung izvještava o svemu što se odnosilo na *Sirmium* i njegovu širu okolicu. Mnoga su pisma popraćena crtežima, planovima i kartama. Jung se interesirao za epigrafiju, srijemsku topografiju, nadzirao je građevinske radove, ali čak i rigoliranja privatnih posjeda, a najviše je pažnje posvetio sirmijskoj arhitekturi i urbanizaciji.<sup>26</sup> Često je pisao i svoja razmišljanja o raznim antičkim temama, komentirao Brunšmidove članke u *Viestniku* te ga često pitao za mišljenje, savjet i stručnu literaturu. Brunšmidu je Jung iznimno cijenio, a iz pisama se opaža kako se s godinama njihov odnos iz dubokog poštovanja (oslovljavajući Brunšmidu uglavnom s „veleštovani prijatelju“) razvio u vrlo prijateljski. Iako je sačuvana samo jednostrana komunikacija – Brunšmid je od Junga u razdoblju od 1894. do 1905. godine primio 337 pisama – evidentno je kako je i Brunšmid Junga smatrao vrlo značajnim suradnikom i dragim prijateljem.<sup>27</sup> Uloga je povjerenika bila vrlo zahtjevna, o čemu svjedoči i sam Jung: „U Mitrovici je teško naći ma i samo jednog intel. čovjeka koga starine zanimaju i koji bi imao volju zauzeti se za muzej međutim ja ću njekoje sondirati a uspjeh Vam dojaviti, meni bi to samom vrlo milo bilo, jer mi se ovako samom pače i rugaju, što mi ipak nesmjeta. Do sad sam naišao na extreme ili bagatelizuju i uništavaju ili – precijenjuju kad što imaju! samo ne kako treba.“<sup>28</sup> Ipak, iako nije bio školovani arheolog, posvećenost povjereničkom poslu i nastojanja da dokumentira mitrovačku arheološku topografiju i sakupi *starine* za muzejske zbirke razlog su što ga se smatra pionikom arheologije u Srijemu.<sup>29</sup> Iz Mitrovice je otišao u srpnju 1905. godine, o čemu piše Brunšmidu: „Ja se nadalje brinem da nađem bar kako takog nasljednika, jer kako znate ovog ljeta po Božjoj volji odlazim na dulje vrijeme iz Mitrovice“.<sup>30</sup> Preselio se u Zagreb, gdje je živio i radio u vladinom građevnom odsjeku kao crtač od 1905.<sup>31</sup> pa sve do smrti, 29. rujna 1915. godine,

trustee from Sisak) took over the crates and transported them to Zagreb at the Museum's expense. Although Miller was the trustee for Mitrovica until 1899, Ljubić appointed another museum trustee in 1884: a young teacher, Ignjat Jung (1860–1915) (Fig. 1).<sup>25</sup>

Jung was classically educated and came as a young teacher to Mitrovica, where he worked in an elementary school from 1881. His correspondence with Ljubić commenced the same year, when he reported that inhabitants of Mitrovica were digging up “Roman stone” at the locations of Kuzmin, Brdo and Palanka. Jung suggested marking the excavation position of the “Roman stone” on the Mitrovica city map to obtain a partial picture of Roman Sirmium. During his duties as a Museum trustee for Mitrovica (1884–1905), he wrote extensive letters to the museum directors – first Ljubić and later Brunšmid – in which he reports on everything relating to archaeology in Mitrovica and its wider surroundings. Many letters were accompanied by drawings, plans and maps. Jung was especially interested in epigraphy and Sirmian topography. Additionally, he supervised construction works and even the rigging of a private estate, but his true interest was Sirmium architecture and urbanization.<sup>26</sup> Jung, in his letters, wrote about various ancient topics. On many occasions, he gave his opinion and comments on Brunšmid's papers in *Viestnik*, consequently often asking him for advice, opinion and professional literature. Jung held Brunšmid in high esteem; thus over the years, their relationship developed from one of respect – addressing Brunšmid mostly as a venerable friend – into a very friendly one. Brunšmid received 337 letters from Jung in the period 1894–1905; although the communication was only one-way, it is evident that Brunšmid also considered Jung a dear friend and collaborator.<sup>27</sup> Duties of the Museum trustee were often very demanding; thus Jung writes, “In Mitrovica, it is difficult to find even one intelligent man who is interested in antiquities and who would be willing to engage for the Museum. However, I will ask around and let you know. It would be fine by me, since they just make fun of me, but it doesn't bother me. So far I have come across extremes: either they trivialize and destroy – or they overestimate when they have something! just not correctly!”<sup>28</sup> However, although he was not an educated archaeologist, his devotion to his work for the Museum, love for archaeology, and dedication to saving archaeological artefacts, was palpable in

26 Милошевић 1979.

27 Pisma se čuvaju u Arheološkome muzeju u Zagrebu kao dio Dokumentarne zbirke II, serija Srijemska Mitrovica. Dio dokumentacije (ponajviše planovi i crteži) čuva se i u Hrvatskom povijesnome muzeju.

28 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1900, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 29. 11. 1900., br. 220.

29 Милошевић 1979.

30 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1905, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 17. 2. 1905., br. 327. Umirovljen je jer je imao problema sa sluhom te više nije mogao raditi u školi, Anon. 1915, 6.

31 Postoji podatak, koji se provlači po raznim internetskim stranicama u Srbiji, kako je Jung 1908. otišao iz protesta iz Mitrovice, navodno čak i bez obitelji, nakon što je gradsko poglavarstvo odlučilo srušiti sirmijski akvadukt, a materijal iskoristiti za gradnju ceste Mitrovica – Mandelos. <http://www.zkvh.org.rs/index.php/bastina/izdanja/3952-natasa-miladinovic-radmilovic-miro-radmilovic-pisma-ignjata-junga-edicija-sirmium-br-6-izdavaci-bлаго-sirmiuma-srijemska-mitrovica-i-udruzenje-za-kulturu-zivljenja-oko-sremska-mitrovica-2015>; <http://vodovodms.rs/o-nama/istorijat> itd. Милошевић 1979, 62, navodi također da je 1908. bila godina njegova posljednjeg boravka, međutim, tada je došao samo u kratak posjet nakon što je već tri godine radio u Zagrebu.

25 About Ignjat Jung in: Milošević 1971; Milošević 1973; Милошевић 1979; Miladinović-Radmilović, Radmilović 2015.

26 Милошевић 1979.

27 The letters are curated in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb as part of Documentary Collection II, Srijemska Mitrovica series. Part of the documentation (mostly plans and drawings) is curated in the Croatian History Museum.

28 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1900, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, November 29, 1900, no. 220.

**SLIKA 1.** Ignjat Jung, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1894. godine (snimio J. Brunšmid; AAMZ 40b).

**FIGURE 1.** Ignjat Jung, Sremska Mitrovica, 1894 (photo by J. Brunšmid; AAMZ 40b).



ne prestavši se zanimati i baviti arheologijom u svoje slobodno vrijeme, a Muzeju je tada (1908., 1911.) darovao još neke natpise i predmete iz Mitrovice.<sup>32</sup>

Nakon Junga, Muzej nema povjerenika u Mitrovici sve do 3. prosinca 1912. godine, kada Brunšmid imenuje dr. Franju Račkog, vjeroučitelja u kraljevskoj realnoj gimnaziji u Mitrovici. Prilikom njegova imenovanja napisao je „ (...) dužnost Vam je da promičete interese Narodnog muzeja, gdje god Vam se za to pruži prilika, a zemaljske oblasti će Vam pri tome ići na ruku, kad god to bude-

his every report to Brunšmid, so some sources consider him the pioneer of Sirmian archaeology.<sup>29</sup> Jung left Mitrovica in July 1905, when he wrote to Brunšmid: “I am still anxious to find at least one successor, because, as you know, this summer, by God’s will, I am leaving Mitrovica for a lengthy period”.<sup>30</sup> He moved to Zagreb, where he worked in the government’s construction department as a draftsman from 1905<sup>31</sup> until his death on September 29, 1915, never ceasing to be interested in archaeology in all his free time. In that period (1908, 1911) he donated to the Museum some more inscriptions and objects from Mitrovica.<sup>32</sup>

32 Mirnik 2005, 61; Hrvatski povijesni muzej, Dokumentarna zbirka I, 118. – Nekoliko dana nakon njegove smrti objavljen je u Narodnim novinama nekrolog, nepotpisan, koji je, međutim, napisao Viktor Hoffiler izražavajući duboko poštovanje prema Jungu kao čovjeku i muzejskom suradniku, Anon. 1915, 6; AAMZ 46, Smrtni slučajevi, Ignjat Jung, 79/1915.

29 Милошевић 1979.

30 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1905, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, February 17, 1905, no. 327. He retired because he had hearing problems and could no longer work at the school: Anon. 1915, 6.

31 There is an opinion circulating various websites in Serbia that Jung left Mitrovica in protest (1908), allegedly without a family, after the city government decided to demolish the Sirmium aqueduct and use the material to build the Mitrovica-Mandelos road: <http://www.zkvh.org.rs/index.php/bas-tina/izdanja/3952-natasa-miladinovic-radmilovic-miro-radmilovic-pisma-ignjata-junga-edicija-sirmium-br-6-izdavaci-blago-sirmiuma-srijemska-mitrovica-i-udruzenje-za-kulturu-zivljenja-oko-sremska-mitrovica-2015>; <https://sh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sirmium>; <http://vodovodsm.rs/o-nama/istorijat> etc. Милошевић 1979, 62, also states that 1908 was the year of his last stay, but at that time he came only for a short visit after working in Zagreb for three years.

32 Mirnik 2005, 61; Croatian History Museum, Documentary Collection I, 118. A few days after his death, Narodne Novine published an unsigned obituary, written by Viktor Hoffiler, expressing deep respect for Jung as a man and museum trustee: Anon. 1915, 6; AAMZ 46, Deaths, Ignjat Jung, 79/1915.

te od njih zatražili.<sup>33</sup> Iako Mitrovica nakon 1922. godine prelazi u nadležnost beogradskoga Narodnog muzeja, Rački i dalje, sve do 1930. godine šalje u zagrebački Narodni muzej kamene spomenike.<sup>34</sup> Rački se u muzejskoj dokumentaciji zadnji put spominje (1940.) kada kustosu zagrebačkog muzeja, Držislavu Švobu, pokazuje novopronađene rimske predmete u Mitrovici. Tom se prilikom Rački tuži na „nedostojan postupak Muzeja kneza Pavla i želi da bude u kontaktu sa zagrebačkim muzejem“.<sup>35</sup>

Povjerenici su obično imali svoju mrežu sakupljača, odnosno dobavljača / trgovaca, kojima je novac uglavnom bio jedini motiv. Oni su prikupljali predmete iz raznih izvora, sami su nadgledali i pratili građevinske i poljoprivredne radove te su imali svoju mrežu ljudi. Sistem ponude i potražnje rezultirao je neprestanim pregovorima o cijenama pa su i povjerenici i muzealci morali biti vješti u procjenama vrijednosti. Povjerenici su često morali obilaziti svoj *kotor* jer se trgovina arheološkim predmetima, posebice numizmatikom, redovito odvijala po gostionicama i trgovinama, gdje su često dolazili preprodavači iz Beča ili Pešte.<sup>36</sup> Međutim, Jung piše da, kad bi u (Donjim) Petrovcima „pitao tamošnju uplivniju gospodu za starine pak mi ovi naravno odgovoriše kao obično: ‘Nikad, nigde, ništa’ Punktum!“<sup>37</sup> Te bi izjave, dakako, trebalo shvatiti sarkastično, povjerenici nisu uvijek i svugdje bili dobrodošli.

O živoj trgovini arheološkim predmetima, odnosno kako su ih obično nazivali, *starinama*, svjedoči Brunšmid osobno 1894. godine, kada nakon putovanja u Mitrovicu, Beograd, Nove Banovce i druga srijemska mjesta, u izvještaju, čak na dva mjesta spominje kako se s nađenim predmetima „tjera trgovina“, a mnogi se predmeti putem posrednika (putujućih trgovaca i domaćih zlatara) prodaju u inozemstvo. Tada je za 3 forinte „kupio hrpu novaca i raznih metalnih predmeta“.<sup>38</sup>

After Jung left there were no Museum trustees in Mitrovica until December 3, 1912, when Brunšmid nominated Franjo Rački, a religious teacher at the Royal High School in Mitrovica. At the time of his nomination, he wrote: “(...) you must promote the interests of the National Museum, wherever you are allowed to do so, and the authorities will be at your service whenever you ask them to”.<sup>33</sup> Although the jurisdiction over archaeology in Mitrovica passed to the Belgrade National Museum (1922), Rački continuously sent Roman monuments to the Zagreb National Museum until 1930.<sup>34</sup> The last time Rački is mentioned (1940) is when he showed the newly-discovered Roman monuments in Mitrovica to the curator of the Zagreb Museum, Držislav Švob. On that occasion, Rački lamented the unworthy action of the Museum of Prince Pavle and wanted to be in contact with the Zagreb Museum.<sup>35</sup>

Museum trustees usually had their network of suppliers/dealers, for whom money was mostly the only motive. They collected archaeological artefacts from various sources, supervised and monitored construction and agricultural work themselves, and also had their network of people. The supply-and-demand system resulted in never-ending price negotiations, so both trustees and curators had to be skilled in estimating values. The trustees often had to circle their district. The trade-in of archaeological objects, especially numismatics, regularly took place in inns and shops – the favourite meeting places of resellers from Vienna or Pest.<sup>36</sup> However, Jung writes that when he asked *the more influential gentlemen in Donji Petrovci about antiquities, they would answer as usual: “Never, nowhere, nothing” Punktum!*<sup>37</sup> These statements should, of course, be taken sarcastically. The trustees were not always and everywhere welcome.

Brunšmid personally testified to the lively trade in archaeological artefacts in 1894 on his trip to Mitrovica, Belgrade, Novi Banovci and some other Syrmian places. In his report, on two occasions, he mentions the archaeological market and how many items were sold abroad through intermediaries (travelling merchants and domestic goldsmiths). Then, for 3 forints, he bought a *pile of money and various metal objects*.<sup>38</sup>

33 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1912, Dekret J. Brunšmida F. Račkom, br. 186.

34 AAMZ 38, Viktor Hoffiller, Priprema za rad „Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien. Pannonia inferior.“

35 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1936, Izvještaj D. Švoba o putovanju u Srijemsku Mitrovicu iz 27. 12. 1940. – Muzej kneza Pavla nastao je spajanjem Istorijsko-umetničkog (bivši Narodni muzej) i Muzeja savremene umetnosti 1935. godine, a ukinulo ga je Povereništvo za prosvetu ASNOS-a 26. 12. 1944. godine, kada postaje Umetnički muzej, dok je 1952. godine Muzeju vraćen naziv Narodni muzej, koji je i danas središnji nacionalni muzej u Srbiji (Beograd) <http://www.narodnimuzej.rs/o-muzeju/istorijat-muzeja/>.

36 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1904, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu, br. 302.

37 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1904, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu, br. 298.

38 AAMZ 48b, Dopisi, 1894, Izvješće prof. Josipa Brunšmida o pokusnom iskopavanju u Mitrovici i znanstvenom istraživanju srijemske županije u arheološkom pogledu od 3. 6. 1894.

33 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1912, Decree from J. Brunšmid to F. Rački, no. 186.

34 AAMZ 38, Viktor Hoffiller, Preparation for the paper “Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien. Pannonia inferior.”

35 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1936, Report of D. Švob on a trip to Srijemska Mitrovica, December 27, 1940. The Prince Pavle Museum was created by merging the Historical and Artistic (former National Museum) and the Museum of Contemporary Art in 1935 and abolished by the ASNOS Education Commission on December 26, 1944. The museum was renamed the National Museum, as the central national museum in Serbia (Belgrade): <http://www.narodnimuzej.rs/o-muzeju/istorijat-muzeja/>.

36 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1904, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, no. 302.

37 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1904, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, no. 298.

38 AAMZ 48b, Dopisi, 1894, Report of Prof. Josip Brunšmid on the experimental excavation in Mitrovica and the scientific research of the Syrmia County in terms of archaeology, June 3, 1894.



**SLIKA 2.** Kuća Griesbach, Trg Ćiro Milekić, Mitrovica, početak 20. stoljeća (Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, Srijemska Mitrovica).

**FIGURE 2.** The Griesbach House, Ćiro Milekić Square, beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> cent. (Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments, Sremska Mitrovica).



Muzej s jednim zaposlenim kustosom nije mogao adekvatno kontrolirati tržište pa Brunšmid mnogo puta navodi da u zakonu nedostaje dovoljno uporišta da se poduzmu mjere. Time vođen, Brunšmid surađuje s preprodavačima i daje dobre ponude (za zlatne predmete čak dvostruko od vrijednosti po gramu zlata), a to sugerira i muzejskim povjerenicima, na što mu Jung odgovara (1900.): „Pošto ću od sada i ja po Vašoj želji plaćati ljudima primjereno nadam se puno boljem uspjehu; obznaniću to svim radnikom i nadničarom koji obično kopaju i koje poznam ili sret-nem.”<sup>39</sup>

### Trgovac starinama Georg (Gjuro) Griesbach

Najistaknutiji trgovac starinama u Mitrovici bio je urar i zlatar Georg (Gjuro) Griesbach (sl. 2, sl. 3) od kojega je Muzej otkupio brojne nalaze, ne samo iz Mitrovice već i iz nekih drugih srijemskih mjesta.<sup>40</sup> Budući da su bili aktivni i cijenjeni u zagrebačkom javnom i kulturnom životu, o njegovim nasljednicima, sinu i unuku, poznato je puno više podataka. Georgov sin Ljudevit (Ludwig) Griesbach bio je vlasnik prve zagrebačke tvornice zlatne i srebrne robe „Griesbach i Knaus”, vodeće u ovoj vrsti umjetničkog obrta u Kraljevini SHS, kasnije i Kraljevini Jugoslaviji.<sup>41</sup> Zlatarski je zanat učio od svog oca Gjura, a obojica su se školovala u Pforzheimu (Njemačka). Nedugo nakon Prvoga svjetskog rata, u kojemu je bio ratni izvjestitelj (fotograf austrougarske vojske), Ljudevit s

The museum had only one curator employed, and therefore could not adequately control the market. Brunšmid stated many times that the law lacked enough footing to take action. Guided by this, Brunšmid cooperated with the dealers, giving them reasonable or best prices for artefacts (for gold items, even twice the value per gram of gold). This kind of action he suggested to the trustees. Jung wrote back: “Since, from now on, I will pay people appropriately according to your wishes, I hope for much better success; I will make this known to all the workers and labourers who usually dig and whom I know or meet.”<sup>39</sup>

### Antiquities dealer Georg (Gjuro) Griesbach

The most prominent antiquities dealer in Mitrovica was watchmaker and jeweller Georg Griesbach (Fig. 2, Fig. 3), from whom the Museum purchased numerous finds, not only from Mitrovica but also from other Syrmian places.<sup>40</sup> There is much more known about his heirs, son and grandson, since they were active and esteemed in the public and cultural life of Zagreb. Georg’s son Ljudevit (Ludwig) Griesbach was an owner of the first factory for gold- and silverware in Zagreb, “Griesbach and Knaus”, which was the leading factory in this kind of arts and crafts in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and later in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.<sup>41</sup> He learned goldsmithing from his father Gjuro, and both of them were educated in Pforzheim (Germany). Shortly

39 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1900, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 29. 11. 1900., br. 115.

40 Za pomoć pri prikupljanju fotografija iz Mitrovice (Sl. 2, 3, 4) zahvaljujem kolegicama Nataši Miladinović-Radmilović iz Arheološkog instituta Beograd i Tatjani Jesretić iz Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture iz Sremske Mitrovice.

41 Koprčina 2009.

39 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1900, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, November 29, 1900, no. 298.

40 We thank our colleagues Nataša Miladinović-Radmilović, of the Archaeological Institute, Belgrade, and Tatjana Jesretić, of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, in Sremska Mitrovica, for their help in collecting photographs from Mitrovica (Figs 2, 3, 4).

41 Koprčina 2009.





**SLIKA 3.** Kuća Griesbach, 2020. godine (snimio M. Radmilović).

**FIGURE 3.** The Griesbach House, 2020. (photo by M. Radmilović).

obitelji napušta Mitrovicu te dolazi u Zagreb (1919.), gdje nastavlja djelovati. Nakon 1925. godine, na vrhuncu svoje zlatarske karijere, profesionalno se okreće fotografiji i postaje stalni vanjski suradnik revije „Svijet”, urednika umjetnika slikara i ilustratora Otta Antoninija.<sup>42</sup> Dok je još živio u Mitrovici, preuzeo je obiteljski obrt (sl. 4), a time i suradnju s Muzejom.<sup>43</sup>

Unuk, Đuro Griesbach (1911. – 1999.), Ljudevitov sin, bio je pak istaknuti zagrebački umjetnički fotograf. Fotografiju je učio od oca u obiteljskoj tvrtki za izdavanje foto-razglednica „Griesbach i Knaus“ i u berlinskoj foto-školi (1930.). U razdoblju od 1930. pa sve do 1941. godine fotografirao je kulturno-umjetničke spomenike za Hrvatsku akademiju znanosti i umjetnosti (tada JAZU) pod vodstvom prof. dr. Artura Schneidera.<sup>44</sup>

after WWI, in which he served as a war reporter (photographer of the Austro-Hungarian army), Ljudevit left Mitrovica with his family and moved to Zagreb (1919), where he kept on working. After 1925, at the peak of his career as a goldsmith, he turned professionally to photography and became a permanent associate of the “Svijet” journal, edited by painter and illustrator Otto Antonini.<sup>42</sup> While still in Mitrovica he took over the family business (Fig. 4), as well as the cooperation with the Museum.<sup>43</sup>

The grandson, Đuro Griesbach (1911–1999), son of Ljudevit, was a most prominent artistic photographer in Zagreb. He learned photography from his father in “Griesbach and Knaus”, the family company for editing photo postcards, and at photography school in Berlin (1930). In the period from 1930 until 1941, he photographed cultural monuments for the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (back then the Yugoslavian Academy) under the supervision of Professor Artur Schneider.<sup>44</sup>

42 Hlevnjak 1994, 159.

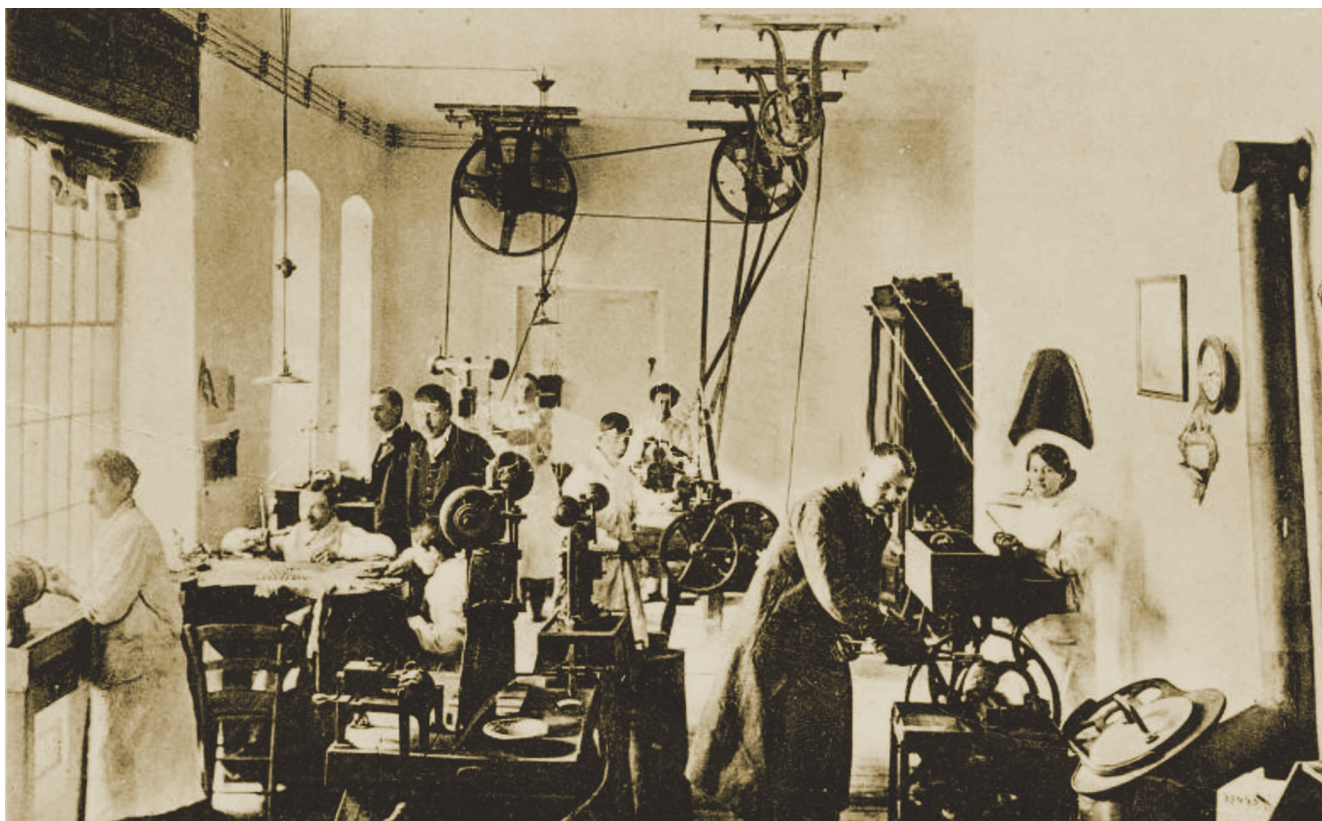
43 Tvornica za izradu zlatnog prstenja i naušnica u Mitrovici u Ljudevitovu je vlasništvu od 1908. godine, Anon. 1912b.

44 Hlevnjak 2000, 47; Kuzmić 2001.

42 Hlevnjak 1994, 159.

43 From 1908, Ljudevit was the owner of the factory for making gold rings and earrings in Mitrovica, Anon. 1912b.

44 Hlevnjak 2000, 47; Kuzmić 2001.



**SLIKA 4.** Radionica vjenčanih prstena, ukrasa i zlatnog pribora, vl. L. Griesbach, Mitrovica (fotografiju ustupio V. Malbašić, izdavačka kuća Blago Sirmijuma).

**FIGURE 4.** Workshop for wedding rings, jewellery and goldware, owner L. Griesbach. (photo by V. Malbašić, Blago Sirmiuma publishing house).

Suradnja Muzeja i Gjuro Griesbacha počinje 1900. godine prije svega komunikacijom preko povjerenika Junga,<sup>45</sup> a nakon što s Jungom prekine dobre odnose, Griesbach će Brunšmidu direktno pisati. Brunšmidu je Jung slao izvješća uz opise, a često i uz crteže o predmetima koji se nalaze kod Griesbacha.<sup>46</sup> Redovito ga je obilazio i bio s njim u kontaktu jer je u više navrata u izvještajima spominjao da je bio kod Griesbacha koji kaže da nema ništa novo.<sup>47</sup> Od samih su početaka njihove suradnje neizbježni bili pregovori o prodaji te o novčanim iznosima pa se, navodeći koliko Griesbach traži i koliko po njegovu sudu vrijede pojedini predmeti, znao i požaliti Brunšmidu: „Sa Griesbachom je kako ste posve pravo slutili vrlo teška stvar...“. Veza sa Zagrebom, dakako, nije bila jedina pa Jung usput i navodi da je Griesbach pisanim

The collaboration between the Museum and Gjuro Griesbach began in 1900, primarily through communication with museum trustee Jung<sup>45</sup>; but, after cutting good ties with Jung, Griesbach started writing to Brunšmid directly. Jung sent Brunšmid reports with descriptions, and often with drawings of artefacts in Griesbach's possession.<sup>46</sup> He visited him regularly and was in contact with him, as he repeatedly mentioned in reports that he had been to Griesbach, who said he had nothing new.<sup>47</sup> From the very beginning of their collaboration, negotiations on sales and costs were unavoidable, so he sometimes expressed regret about how much Griesbach asked for finds and how much in his opinion certain items were worth: “As you assumed, it is very hard with Griesbach...”. Of course, the connection with Zagreb was

45 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1900, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 22. 5. 1900, br. 112. – „Početkom svibnja donio je neki nadničar navodno iz Srbije liepu narukvicu sa emailom od njeke meni nepoznate tvari (jamačno salivena) koja neima u sebi kovine, onda još jednu jednostavnu bronzanu fibulu, fragment igle i nješto rim. novca od bakra. Sve to je prodao uraru g. Griesbachu za 1 for i nekoliko novc.“

46 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 2. 7. 1901, br. 143.

47 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1903, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu br. 252.; 1904, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu br. 271.

45 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1900, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, May 22, 1900, no. 112: “At the beginning of May, a day labourer allegedly brought from Serbia a beautiful bracelet with an enamel made of a substance unknown to me (probably salivated) that does not contain metal, another simple bronze fibula, a fragment of a needle, and some roman copper money. He sold it all to the watchmaker Mr Griesbach for 1 forint and a few coins.”

46 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, July 2, 1901, no. 143.

47 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1903, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, no. 252; AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1904, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, no. 271.



putem dobio i ponudu iz Sarajeva za otkup.<sup>48</sup> Naglašava kako Griesbach „neće da pojedine komade proda, nego sve skupa!... a u Peštu je ipak prodavao i pojedine“<sup>49</sup>, za koje ukupno traži 1200 K, dok on smatra da sve to skupa vrijedi 150 kruna. Griesbach u ovom slučaju objašnjava kako ne prodaje za vrijednost materijala te da je i on sam sve više platio „Sa ‘žao mi je’ smo se rastali...“<sup>50</sup> Isto tako, Griesbach bi često preduhitrio Junga u nabavi starina. Raspitujući se „kod Švajberića u Palanki“ za iskopine, saznao je da je baš taj dan i Griesbach tražio od njega stvari za otkup!<sup>51</sup>

Jedan od Griesbachovih dobavljača bio je službenik Heinrich (Hinko) Bator za kojeg Jung piše „da ne ide u Birtiju i ne puši pa mu je to onda kako veli bila zabava“.<sup>52</sup> Međutim, svako toliko Jung javlja kako Bator ne želi ništa prodati, već mu je namjera sve predmete izložiti u dućanu, jednom kada ode u mirovinu.<sup>53</sup> Bator je prije svega bio kolekcionar ...“ upravo se zaljubio u starine premda ništa o njima ne razumije...“ te Junga uvjerava da će sve predati Muzeju „kad bude bogat pa umre. Hoće silom neku ‘izložbu’ da pravi premda mu rekoh da zato Mitrovčani vrlo slabo mare“.<sup>54</sup> U svojim se dopisima Jung učestalo žali Brunšmidu upravo na Batora i Griesbacha. Kada je 1901. Bator premješten iz Mitrovice u Sombor, Jung piše kako „od njega jamačno nebude više koristi a ni štete!“<sup>55</sup>. Uz njega, često se spominje i Mladen Vukašinović, nadničar iz Srpske Mitrovice (Mačvanska Mitrovica), koji pak previše traži jer su ga pokvarili Bator i Griesbach. Njega je neki gospodin poslao Jungu da mu proda predmete.<sup>56</sup> Iz mnogih se Jungovih dopisa zaključuje kako svi oni međusobno surađuju, jedni od drugih kupuju pa dalje prodaju kako bi bolje zaradili. Primjerice, u jednom dopisu Jung opisuje kako Vukašinović ima srebrni prsten s crvenim karneolom za koji mu je Griesbach nudio 4,5 a on traži 5 forinti.<sup>57</sup> Uz crtež i opis pita Brunšmida za mišljenje o prstenu. Također, napominje da je zamolio Vukašinovića da stvari samo njemu nosi na uvid, što je on i obećao.<sup>58</sup> I iduće je godine (1904.) u kontaktu s Vukašinovićem, koji mu je donio „malo stvari“ (game, igle i neke sitne stvari) za koje traži 100 forin-

not the only one, and Jung also states that Griesbach received a written offer from Sarajevo for the purchase.<sup>48</sup> He stresses that Griesbach “won’t sell by piece but only altogether!, but he did sell by pieces in Pest”<sup>49</sup>, for which he asked 1200 crowns in total, while thinking it all worth 150 crowns. In this case, Griesbach explained that he did not sell for the value of the material, and that he paid more for that: “We separated with I’m sorry”.<sup>50</sup> Also, Griesbach would often overtake Jung in the procuring of antiquities. Asking Švajberić in Palanka about the excavations, he found out that it was on that same day that Griesbach had asked him for things to buy!<sup>51</sup>

One of Griesbach’s suppliers was an official, Heinrich (Hinko) Bator, of whom Jung wrote: *he doesn’t go to an inn and doesn’t smoke, thus he says it’s just fun for him.*<sup>52</sup> However, now and then Jung revealed that Bator would not sell anything, but intended to display all the finds in a shop once he had retired.<sup>53</sup> Bator was first and foremost a collector ...*he’s fallen in love with antiquities, although he doesn’t understand anything about them... assuring Jung he would give everything to the Museum when he’s rich and dies. He wants to make an “exhibition” although I told him that people in Mitrovica care very little for that.*<sup>54</sup> In his reports to Brunšmid, Jung continually complains about Bator and Griesbach. In 1901 Bator was relocated from Mitrovica to Sombor; Jung writes how *surely there won’t be any more profit or harm for him!*<sup>55</sup> Besides Bator, Jung often mentioned a day labourer from Serbian Mitrovica (Mačvanska Mitrovica), Mladen Vukašinović, because he asked for too much money, since Griesbach and Bator had spoiled him. He was sent by some gentleman to Jung to sell him finds.<sup>56</sup> From many of Jung’s reports, it is evident that all of the dealers collaborated, bought from each other, and then sold again to get more money. For example, in one report, Jung describes how Vukašinović possessed one silver ring with a carnelian, for which Griesbach offered him 4.5 crowns, but he demanded 5 crowns.<sup>57</sup> Jung asks Brunšmid for his

48 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 6. 7. 1901., br. 151.

49 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu primljenog 14. 11. 1902., br. 224.

50 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 6. 7. 1901., br. 151.

51 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 1. 1. 1901., br. 1.

52 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 6. 5. 1901., br. 98.

53 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1900, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 24. 5. do 22. 11. 1900., br. 113.

54 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1900, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 29. 11. 1900., br. 115.

55 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 6. 7. 1901., br. 151.

56 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 11. 7. 1901., br. 158.

57 Iako uvedena 1892. godine, nakon prijelaznog razdoblja od osam godina, 1. siječnja 1900. g. austro-ugarska kruna postaje zakonskom valutom u Austro-Ugarskoj te zamjenjuje guldene, odnosno forinte, ekvivalent u ugarskom dijelu Monarhije, Kolar-Dimitrijević 2013, 124–125; 32, bilj. 68. U korespondenciji se ipak još nekoliko godina kasnije može pratiti korištenje forinte prilikom izražavanja cijena predmeta.

58 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1903, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 5. 8. 1903., br. 252.

48 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, July 6, 1901, no. 151.

49 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, November 14, 1902, no. 224.

50 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, July 6, 1901, no. 151.

51 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, January 1, 1901, no. 1.

52 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, May 6, 1901, no. 98.

53 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1900, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, May 24 - November 22, 1901, no. 113.

54 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1900, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, November 29, 1900, no. 115.

55 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, July 6, 1901, no. 151.

56 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, July 11, 1901, no. 158.

57 On January 1, 1900, after a transitional period of eight years, having been introduced in 1892, the Austro-Hungarian crown became the legal currency in Austro-Hungary and replaced the guilder or forint (the equivalent in the Hungarian part of the Monarchy): Kolar-Dimitrijević 2013, 124–125; 32, n. 68. In correspondence, however, the prices of artefacts were still expressed in forints for a few more years.

ti, a Jung mu nudi samo 8, na što ne pristaje te dalje prodaje za višu cijenu. Bio je Vukašinić dva puta i kod krčmara Marojevića sa starim stvarima, kojega je potom Jung upozorio da ga svakako njemu pošalje kad opet dođe dok bude „mala voda”.<sup>59</sup> Inače, Vukašinić sve što je bolje, proda u Pančevo i Beograd.<sup>60</sup> Raspitujući se i obilazeći neprestano razne lokacije i ljude, saznao je Jung i da je dolazio neki čovjek iz Sombora i kupovao od Bugara.<sup>61</sup>

Godina 1902. posebno nam je zanimljiva i bogata informacijama. Određene su situacije nagnale Junga da odlučno pokuša uvesti red i zaustaviti nekontroliranu trgovinu *starinama*. U veljači prijavljuje Griesbacha zbog kupnje olovnog sarkofaga za 25 forinti (a za koji je već Jung znao i pratio da ne izmakne) te traži i gradsko poglavarstvo da mu ga zaplijeni na temelju zakona Zemaljske vlade iz 1880. godine (*Obnova starih zakona i naredba u pogledu izvažanja starina iz naše zemlje i njihova sačuvanja*). Brunšmidu iskazuje netrpeljivost prema Griesbachu navodeći, između ostalog, da skupo prodaje predmete Muzeju, ne prijavljuje nalaze i prodaje ih van zemlje. To pismo ima potpuno službeni karakter, tada se obraća ravnateljstvu Arheološkog odjela Narodnog muzeja, a ne, kao i obično, osobno Brunšmidu s „veleštovani prijatelju”.<sup>62</sup> Nakon samo desetak dana dodatno argumentira taj slučaj jer mu je Brunšmid javio da, prema odredbama na koje se poziva, nema dovoljno uvjeta za zapljenu. No Jung je uporan i smatra da mora reagirati jer nije potrebno čekati da se pojavi neki rijedak vrijedan nalaz koji će Griesbach potom prodati i time nanijeti veliku štetu. Jer, njemu je uostalom važan samo novac. Apelira pritom da ga se kazni i zbog drugih stvari kako bi bio upozoren da ne može raditi što i kako hoće. Na Brunšmidovo mišljenje da se ne treba bojati da će kupovati kamene spomenike i arhitekturu, Jung mu upravo daje primjer da je za jednu kamenu ploču nekome nudio 15 forinti, a za koju čak i nije znao da ima reljef!<sup>63</sup>

Potpuna suprotstavljenost u stavovima i pristupu prema arheološkoj građi ključna je za taj nepremostivi animozitet prema Griesbachu. Jung je, s jedne strane, u ulozi povjerenika delegiranog od državne institucije, koji marljivo sakuplja *starine* i spomenike te bilježi sve popratne informacije i dostavlja ih u „centralu”, a s druge je lokalni obrtnik koji iz osobnih interesa preprodaje arheološku baštinu i cilj mu je zarada, a vjerojatno i zabava.

O konačnom zahlađenju odnosa i Jungovu bijesu spram Griesbacha svjedoči i pismo u kojem propituje Brunšmida je li kupio neke „zlatne stvari i srebrne fibule iz Jarka“ (sl. 5), jer ne zna, budući da s Griesbachom „više ne mari govoriti”. No, ipak, izražava

opinion, enclosing a drawing and description of the ring. He also notes that he requested Vukašinić to bring finds only to him for inspection, which he finally promised.<sup>58</sup> The following year (1904) they were still in contact, and Vukašinić brought “some things” (gems, pins and some small finds) for which he asked 100 forints, but Jung offered him only 8, which he did not agree to, so he went elsewhere and sold for a better price. Vukašinić went twice with antiquities to innkeeper Maroević. Afterwards, Jung warned him to send Vukašinić back to him when he came again during the “small water”.<sup>59</sup> Otherwise, Vukašinić sold everything that was valuable in Pančevo or Belgrade.<sup>60</sup> While inquiring and regularly visiting various locations and people, Jung found out that some man from Sombor was coming and buying from the Bulgarians.<sup>61</sup>

The year 1902 was quite fascinating and full of information. A particular situation resolutely prompted Jung to try and bring order to stop the uncontrolled antiquities trade. He reported Griesbach in February for buying a lead sarcophagus for 25 forints (which Jung already knew of and was keeping an eye on). On the basis of a legal act of 1880 (*Restoration of old laws and orders regarding the removal of antiquities from our country and their preservation*), he asked the city government to confiscate it. Jung expressed his intolerance towards Griesbach to Brunšmid, stating, among other things, that he sold items for a high price, did not report them, and finally sold them outside the country. This report was addressed to the directorate of the National Museum, and not to Brunšmid as a respectable friend, thus having a quite official character.<sup>62</sup> Only ten days later, Jung further argued the case, after Brunšmid had informed him that there were not enough grounds for confiscation in accordance with the act of 1880. But Jung was persistent and believed he must react instead of waiting for Griesbach, who cared only for money, to sell some unique valuable artefact and thus cause enormous damage. Jung appealed to Brunšmid to punish Griesbach also for other things as a warning that he could not do whatever and however he wanted. In Brunšmid's opinion, there was no fear that he would be buying stone or architectural monuments, but then Jung gives an example that, for some stone slab, Griesbach offered 15 forints and did not even know it had a relief!<sup>63</sup>

Fundamentally different opinions and approaches to archaeological artefacts are the keys to this insurmountable animosity that Jung had towards Griesbach. On the one hand, Jung is in the role of a trustee, delegated by a state institution, who diligently

59 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 13. 3. 1902., br. 166. – „Mala voda“ vjerojatno se odnosi na niski savski vodostaj koji je omogućavao lakšu komunikaciju između dvije obale.

60 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1904, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 5. 11. 1904., br. 299.

61 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 7. 7. 1902., br. 147, 8.

62 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 10. 2. 1902., br. 37.

63 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 22. 2. 1902., br. 152.

58 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1903, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, August 5, 1903, no. 252.

59 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, March 13, 1902, no. 166. The term “small water” probably refers to the low Sava water level, which enabled more natural communication between the two banks.

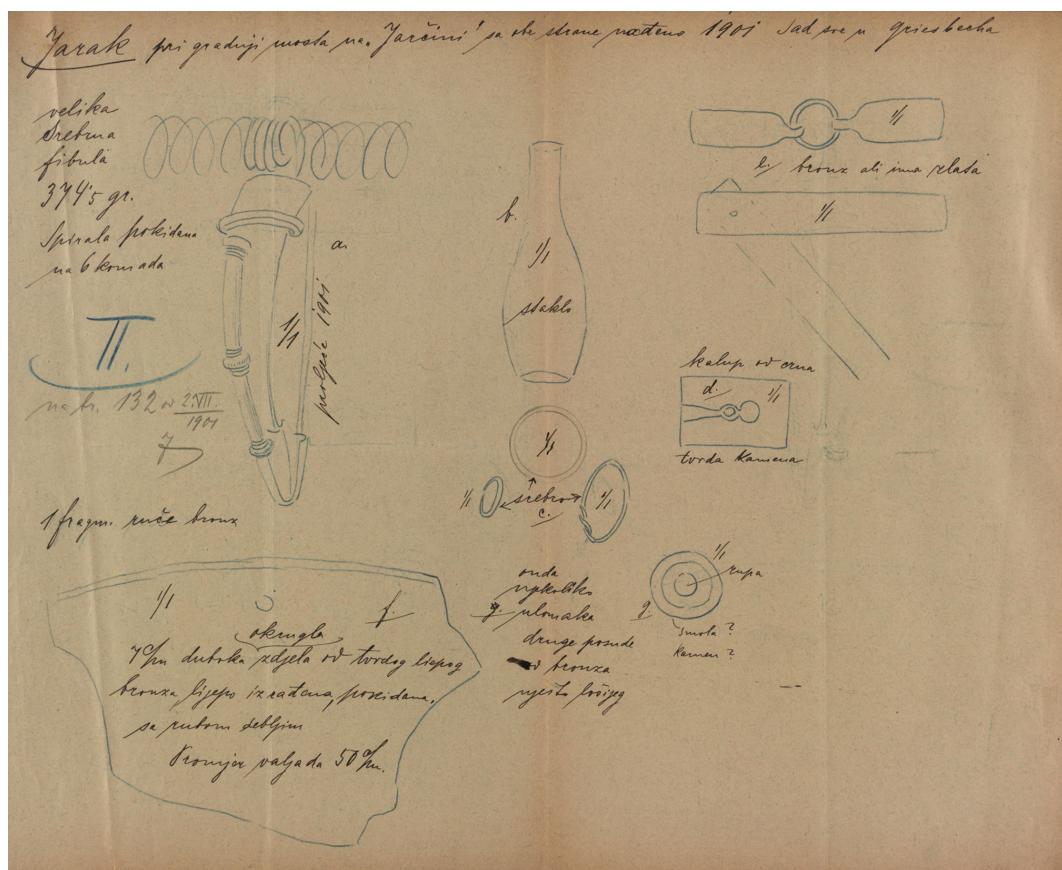
60 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1904, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, November 5, 1904, no. 299.

61 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, July 7, 1902, no. 147, 8.

62 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, February 10, 1902, no. 37.

63 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, February 22, 1902, no. 152.





SLIKA 5. Crtež nalaza iz Jarka, I. Jung 1902. godine (AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica 13. 3. 1902.).

FIGURE 5. Drawing of finds from Jarak, I. Jung 1902 (AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica 13/3/1902).

žaljenje što neće vidjeti stvari koje je on pokupovao.<sup>64</sup> Sreli su se još prilikom nadgledanja nekog rigolanja, a Griesbach je tada („badava“) odnio neko zeleno glazirano posuđe, za koje Jung smatra da je novijeg datuma.<sup>65</sup> Krajem godine Jung ga je ponovno počeo obilaziti, no tada Griesbach „reče da nema ništa boljeg samo nekoliko željeznih izhrdalih strijelica i stara željeza. Reče da mu više Srbijanac (Vukašinović, op.a.) ne donosi bolje stvari nego ide drugima.“<sup>66</sup>

Godine 1903. Griesbach se prvi put osobno obraća Brunšmidu i nudi dva para naušnica za prodaju Muzeju (sl. 6, sl. 7).<sup>67</sup> Nekoliko godina kasnije i Brunšmid piše njemu te mu za jedan srebrni prsten nudi 6 kruna i moli da ga zadrži dok netko iz Muzeja ne dođe ili neka ga pošalje.<sup>68</sup>

collects antiquities and monuments, records all accompanying information and delivers it to the ‘headquarters’. On the other, there we have a local craftsman who resells archaeological artefacts for personal interests, and for fun.

The final cooling of relations, and Jung’s anger towards Griesbach, are evident in a letter in which he asks Brunšmid whether he has bought some gold things and silver fibulae from Jarak (Fig. 5). Jung does not know, since he no longer cares to talk to Griesbach, but he expresses regret at not seeing the artefacts.<sup>64</sup> They met again during some agricultural work when Griesbach took (“for free”) some green-glazed ware (of modern date, in Jung’s opinion).<sup>65</sup> By the end of the year, Jung had started to visit him again, but then Griesbach said that he has nothing better except rusty iron arrowheads and old iron. He said that the Serb [Vukašinović] doesn’t bring better stuff, since he’s going to the others.<sup>66</sup>

64 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 11. 3. 1902., br. 164. – O spomenutom otkupljenim zlatnim i srebrnim nalazima bit će više riječi kasnije.

65 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 13. 3. 1902., br. 166.

66 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 27. 11. 1902., br. 212.

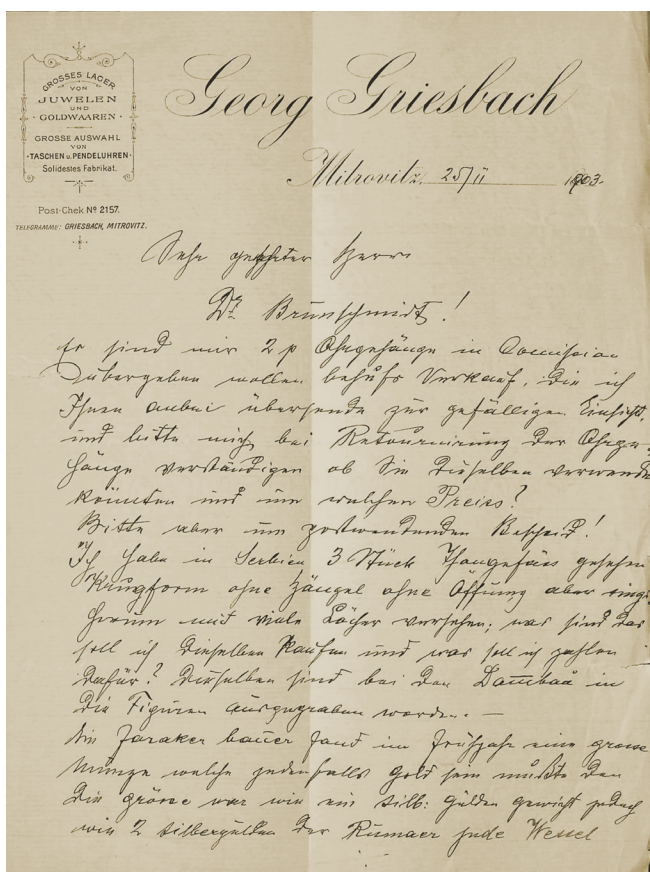
67 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1903, Dopis G. Griesbacha J. Brunšmidu od 25. 2. 1902., br. 149.

68 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1907, Zapis o odaslanom Brunšmidovom pismu Griesbachu od 17. 12. 1907., br. 172. Prsten nije otkupljen.

64 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, March 11, 1902, no. 164.

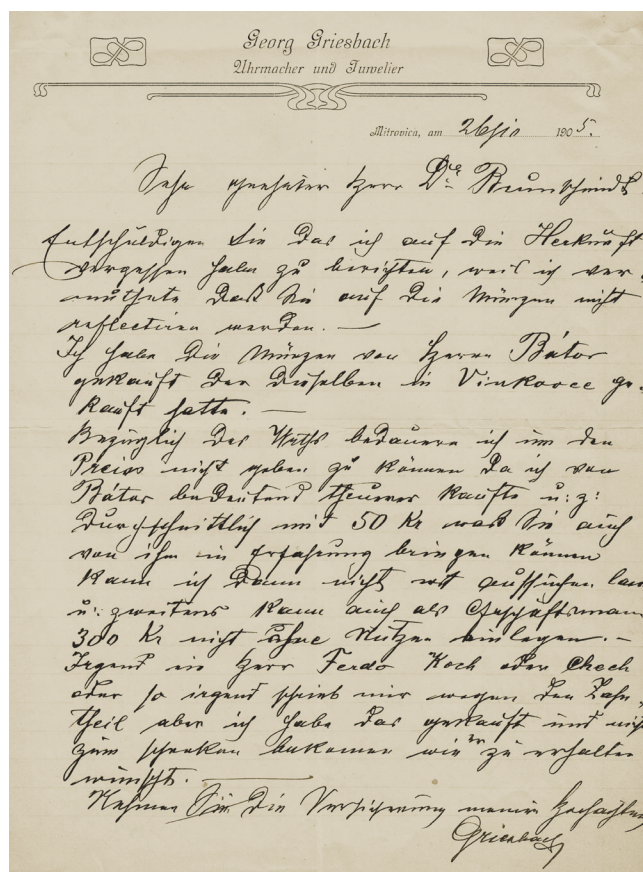
65 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, March 13, 1902, no. 166.

66 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, November 27, 1902, no. 212.



SLIKA 6. Pismo Georga Griesbacha Josipu Brunšmidu na memorandumu zlatarske radnje (AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 25. 2. 1903.).

FIGURE 6. Letter from Georg Griesbach to Josip Brunšmid on the headed notepaper of the jewelry store (AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 25/2/1903).



SLIKA 7. Pismo Georga Griesbacha Josipu Brunšmidu na memorandumu zlatarske i urarske radnje (AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 26. 10. 1905.).

FIGURE 7. Letter from Georg Griesbach to Josip Brunšmid on the headed notepaper of the jewelry and watchmaking store (AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 26/10/1903).

Nakon Jungova odlaska iz Mitrovice (1905.), priljev grade, ali i informacija o Mitrovici sve je slabiji. Primjerice, 1907., 1910. i 1911. godine nije otkupljen ni jedan predmet iz Mitrovice. Korespondenciju, iako sve rjeđu, sada vodi Viktor Hoffiller, kustos Muzeja koji ne zaboravlja upozoriti novog povjerenika Račkoga da pazi na stvari koje posjeduje Griesbach.<sup>69</sup>

In 1903, for the first time, Griesbach approached Brunšmid without a middle man, offering him two pairs of earrings for sale (Fig. 6, Fig. 7).<sup>67</sup> A few years later Brunšmid wrote back to him and offered 6 crowns for a silver ring and asked him to keep it until someone from the Museum came, or else to send it.<sup>68</sup>

After Jung departed from Mitrovica (1905) the influx of material, along with information, grew weaker. For example, in 1907, 1910 and 1911 not a single artefact was purchased from Mitrovica. Viktor Hoffiller was then in charge of the very infrequent correspondence; nevertheless, he did not forget to warn the new museum trustee, Rački, to look out for Griesbach and artefacts in his possession.<sup>69</sup>

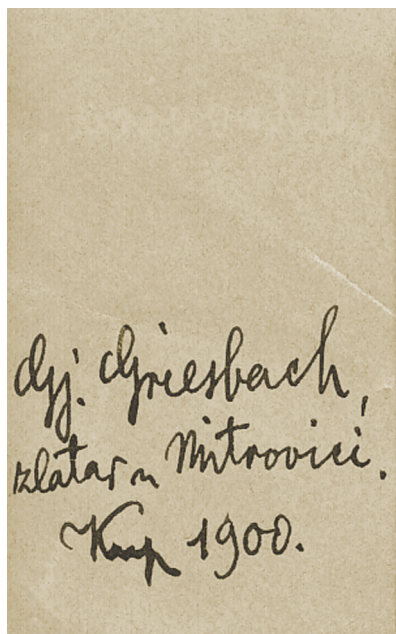
69 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1912, Dekret od 3. 12. 1912., br. 186.

67 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1903, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, February 25, 1903, no. 149.

68 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1907, Record of Brunšmid's letter sent to Griesbach, December 17, 1907, no. 172. The ring was not redeemed.

69 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1912, Decree, December 3, 1912, no. 186.





**SLIKA 8.** Oznaka o porijeklu muzejskog predmeta, rukopis J. Brunšmida (Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, Srednjovjekovni odjel).

**FIGURE 8.** Museum object label with information on origin; handwriting of J. Brunšmid (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, Medieval department).



**SLIKA 9.** Rimski zlatna naušnica s privjeskom u obliku sjekirice (A-9217; snimio I. Krajcar).

**FIGURE 9.** Roman gold earring with pendant in the shape of an axe (A-9217; photo by I. Krajcar).

## Otkupi od Griesbacha

Na temelju indirektnih i u manjoj mjeri direktnih informacija (korespondencija) o prodaji „mitrovačkih starina“ te prema popisu darovanih i otkupljenih predmeta za Muzej u razdoblju od 1900. do 1913. godine, prati se aktivnost Gjuro Griesbacha, prema čemu se zaključuje da nije sakupljao predmete za svoju zbirku, niti je sakupljao samo određenu vrstu predmeta.<sup>70</sup> Analiza popisa otkupljenih predmeta pokazuje njegovu široku sakupljačku lepezu. Neki su predmeti zaista iznimni, dok je prodavao i skupine manje vrijednih željeznih ili brončanih predmeta (sl. 8).

Ime Gjuro Griesbach u popisu se otkupljenih predmeta Arheološkog odjela Narodnog muzeja prvi put pojavljuje 1900. godine. Tada je Muzeju prodao 18 predmeta (odnosno 13 pojedinačnih i pet skupina predmeta) za ukupno 55 kruna. Uglavnom, bila je riječ o nakitu (zlatu, srebru, bronci, staklu, karneolu) te brončanim i željeznim upotrebnim predmetima (ulomcima), kao i o keramičkim nalazima. Najskuplji je predmet bila rimska zlatna

## Purchases from Griesbach

Griesbach's activity of selling antiquities from Mitrovica can be traced on the basis of indirect and, to a lesser extent, direct information (correspondence) and through the list of museum acquisitions in the period from 1900 to 1913 – according to which it is concluded that he did not collect artefacts for his collection, nor did he collect only a certain type of item.<sup>70</sup> An analysis of the list of acquisitions shows that he collected a wide range of artefacts. Some artefacts are truly exceptional, while he also sold groups of less valuable iron or bronze items (Fig. 8).

The name Gjuro Griesbach first appeared in the list of acquisitions of the National Museum's Archaeological Department in 1900. He then sold 18 objects (13 individual objects and 5 groups) for 55 crowns in total. Mostly it was jewellery (gold, silver, bronze, glass, carnelian) and bronze and iron utility items (fragments), as well as pottery finds. The most expensive object was a Roman gold earring with a pendant in the shape of an axe (Fig. 9), for

<sup>70</sup> Ostali aktivniji sakupljači toga perioda u Mitrovici su već spominjani: Heinrich (Hinko) Bator iz Srpske Mitrovice koji prodaje i predmete iz drugih zbirki (npr. zbirka K. Arsenića iz Iloka, s lokaliteta Ilok, Sot, Bapska, Opatovac i sl.) te Mladen Vukašinić (1903., 1904.), a od 1905. i Iso Velikanović koji pak prodaje predmete kupljene od Vukašinića.

<sup>70</sup> The more active collectors/dealers of that period in Mitrovica include the abovementioned Heinrich (Hinko) Bator from Srpska Mitrovica who also sold items from other collectors (e.g. K. Arsenić from Ilok collected on various sites: Ilok, Sot, Bapska, Opatovac etc.), Mladen Vukašinić (1903, 1904) and, from 1905, Iso Velikanović (who sold items bought from Vukašinić).

Teč. br.	Predmet	Godje se je našao	Od koga se kupio	Nabavna cijena zk f	Opaska
312.	Zlatan nakit halsštatskoga doba, saeto, jeci od 4 spirale i 3 urešene šuplje jabučice, tež. 57 gr.	Mitrovica, grob u tvornici	Mitrovici	330	
313.	Tri ulomka jedne zlatne spirale, 3.65 gr.	tanina		10	
314.	Srebrna ploča od pojasa la tenskoga doba	Jarak, na		50	
315.	Srebrna fibula la tenskoga doba	vodno grad,		50	
316.	ulomci	njz mosta preko Jarčine		50	
317.	Ulomci bronzanih posuda	ko Jarčine		50	
318.	Zlatna rimski minđuša od žice, 1.55 gr.			6	
319.	Zlatni rimski sitniji predmeti, 1.10 gr.			3	

SLIKA 10. Detalj iz Nadopunidbenog inventara s popisom otkupa zlatnih i srebrnih nalaza iz Mitrovice i Jarka (AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1902. nabavljenih starina i predmeta).

FIGURE 10. Detail from Supplementary inventory with a list of purchased gold and silver objects from Mitrovica and Jarak (AAMZ 29, Supplementary Inventory of Procured Antiques and Objects 1902).

naušnica s privjeskom u obliku sjekirice (sl. 9), za koju je dobio 10 kruna. Razni su lokaliteti navedeni uz mjesto pronalaska (Klenak, Grgurevci, Morović, Mitrovica Srpska, Mitrovica te čak i njegovo dvorište, gdje su pronađeni „glazirani rimski pećnjaci“), što u konačnici može ići u prilog istinitosti njegovih iskaza.<sup>71</sup>

Godine 1901. nije od njega zabilježen ni jedan otkup, no već iduća, 1902. godina, bila je najplodonosnija od svih, kako po broju otkupljenih predmeta tako i po zaradi. Muzej je, naime, Griesbachu ukupno isplatio 599,7 kruna, deset puta više nego 1900. godine.<sup>72</sup> Od 80 zabilježenih otkupa, 46 su pojedinačni predmeti, dok ostalo čine skupine od dva ili više predmeta. Najviše je predmeta prikupljeno u Mitrovici na savskoj obali, a dio prilikom gradnje željezničke pruge Ruma – Klenak, te u Jarku prilikom gradnje mosta preko Jarčine (sl. 10), odakle potječu poznati nalazi latenske srebrne pojasne kopče, para fibula i ulomaka bronzanih posuda (150,5 kruna).<sup>73</sup>

which he got 10 crowns. Various sites are listed by the place of origin (Klenak, Grgurevci, Morović, Mitrovica Srpska, Mitrovica and even his yard, where he found “glazed Roman stove tiles”) which could, in the end, be a good sign for the truthfulness of his statements.<sup>71</sup>

Not a single purchase is recorded for 1901, but the next year, 1902, was the most fruitful of all years, considering the number of objects purchased and the profit made. In total, the Museum paid 599,7 crowns to Griesbach, which is ten times more than in 1900.<sup>72</sup> Of 80 registered acquisitions, 46 are individual artefacts, while others are groups of two or more artefacts. Most of the finds were collected in Mitrovica on the banks of the River Sava, some during the construction of the Ruma–Klenak railway, and in Jarak during the construction of the bridge over the Jarčina (Fig. 10), whence the famous La Tène-period silver belt buckle, pair of fibulae and fragments of bronzeware originate (150.5 crowns).<sup>73</sup>

71 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar predmeta nabavljenih tečajem godine 1900.

72 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1902. nabavljenih starina i predmeta. – Te je godine učinjeno 659 otkupa u ukupnom iznosu od 1454,98 kruna, od čega na Griesbacha otpada 39%.

73 Brunšmid 1902, 84–86.

71 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar predmeta nabavljenih tečajem godine 1900 [Supplementary inventory of items acquired during the year 1900].

72 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1902. nabavljenih starina i predmeta [Supplementary Inventory of Procured Antiques and Objects 1902]. In 1902, 659 redemptions were made in the total amount of 1454.98 crowns, of which Griesbach accounted for 39%.

73 Brunšmid 1902, 84–86.



Najviše je novca te godine izdvojeno (330 kruna) za halštatski zlatni nakit („Mitrovica, grob u tvornici tanina“) koji je ukupno težio 60,65 g (sl. 10).<sup>74</sup> Ostali su nalazi uglavnom brončani, u manjoj mjeri srebrni, željezni i olovni te poneki kameni ili keramički. Te je godine ipak uspio prodati i olovni sarkofag s poklopcem oko kojeg je ranije bilo dosta polemike, i to za 30 kruna, za 5 kruna više nego što ga je on sam platio.<sup>75</sup> Najviše srednjovjekovnih i novovjekovnih prstena (11) također je od njega otkupljeno 1902. godine, a zanimljiva je činjenica da jedino za šest prstena nema podataka o mjestu nalaza, što može sugerirati da su nabavljeni nekim drugim kanalima, preprodavani ili su, s obzirom na njegovu profesiju, bili u njegovu posjedu i duže vrijeme. Od numizmatičkih su nalaza zabilježena četiri otkupa 1902. godine (rimске i srednjovjekovne kovanice iz Mitrovice).<sup>76</sup>

I iduće, 1903. godine, Griesbach prodaje nekoliko zlatnih komada nakita, sitnijih srebrnih, brončanih, zatim koštanih predmeta te olovnih plombi iz Mitrovice i iz Save, te zarađuje 360 kruna.<sup>77</sup> Godine 1904. prodao je samo dvadesetak predmeta (ili skupina predmeta) za 39,5 kruna. Riječ je o brončanim i željeznim upotrebnim predmetima i komadima oružja te o nekoliko keramičkih i kamenih predmeta iz Mitrovice.<sup>78</sup> Sljedeće, 1905. godine, prodaje predmete za ukupno 186 kruna, međutim, osim dva zlatna nalaza iz Mitrovice, ostali su pronađeni u Novim Banovcima i u sjevernoj Srbiji („ušće Kolubare kod Kupinova“) koje je on otkupio od M. Vukašinića.<sup>79</sup> Samo je šest predmeta otkupljeno od njega 1906. godine za ukupno 68 kruna, i to jedna olovna votivna pločica iz Male (Mačvanske) Mitrovice, zlatni privjesak iz Rume, tri srebrna prstena iz Mitrovice i srebrna tetradrahma iz Martinaca.<sup>80</sup> Komunikacija s Griesbachom je bila sve rjeđa pa iduće dvije godine ništa od njega nije otkupljeno, a 1909. godine samo tri predmeta za ukupno 50 kruna iz Mitrovice (brončana fibula), Čalme (srebrni prsten) te nepoznatog nalazišta (srebrni okov korica handžara).<sup>81</sup> Zadnja godina, kada pratimo otkupe od G. Griesbacha, jest 1912., kada je prodao brončane, željezne, olovne i keramičke predmete iz *Srpske Mitrovice na Savi* te nekoliko predmeta, srebrnih koma-

Most of the money that year (330 crowns) was given for Hallstatt-period gold jewellery (“Mitrovica, grave in the tannin fabric“) of total weight 60.65 g (Fig. 10).<sup>74</sup> Other finds were mostly bronze, some of them silver, iron and lead, and just a few stone or ceramic. In that year, he also managed to sell the lead sarcophagus with lid which had caused a lot of polemics earlier, for 30 crowns, which was 5 crowns more than he had paid himself.<sup>75</sup> Most of the late medieval and modern rings were purchased from him in 1902. An interesting fact is that, for only 6 rings, we lack information on the origin, which could suggest that they were acquired through some other channels, or were in his possession for a considerable time. Four numismatic finds (Roman and medieval coins from Mitrovica) were purchased in 1902.<sup>76</sup>

In the next year, 1903, Griesbach sold a few pieces of gold jewellery, smaller silver, bronze and bone objects, as well as lead seals from Mitrovica and the River Sava, making 360 crowns in total.<sup>77</sup> In 1904 he sold only about 20 objects, for 39.5 crowns, and those were bronze and iron utility objects, weapons and a few ceramic and stone finds from Mitrovica.<sup>78</sup> The next year (1905) he sold artefacts for 186 crowns in total; except for two gold objects from Mitrovica, all were found in Novi Banovci and in northern Serbia (confluence of the River Kolubara and Sava River, near Kupinovo), which he had bought from M. Vukašinić.<sup>79</sup> Only 6 artefacts were purchased from him in 1906, for 68 crowns, of which one was a lead votive slab from Mala (Mačvanska) Mitrovica, a gold pendant from Ruma, 3 silver rings from Mitrovica, and a silver tetradrachm from Martinaci.<sup>80</sup>

Communication with Griesbach weakened, so for the next two years nothing was purchased from him, and in 1909 only 3 objects for 50 crowns from Mitrovica (bronze fibulae), Čalma (silver ring) and unknown site (fitting of a *handžar* scabbard; type of oriental knife/sabre).<sup>81</sup> The last year with a recorded purchase from Griesbach is 1912, when he sold bronze, iron, lead and ceramic objects from *Srpska Mitrovica na Savi* (Serbian Mitrovica on the

74 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1902. nabavljenih starina i predmeta; br. 312; Brunšmid 1902, 73–77. U toj objavi Brunšmid uopće ne spominje Griesbacha, nego inž. Baschea. Zanimljivo je da ga ustvari Brunšmid nikada u VHAD-u nije spomenuo.

75 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1902. nabavljenih starina i predmeta; br. 383.

76 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1902. nabavljenih starih novaca i medalja, br. 304–314. Zanimljivo je da su to jedini otkupi kovanica od Griesbacha. Nedostatak numizmatičkih nalaza navodi na razmišljanje da se nije bavio sakupljanjem kovanica ili, pak, ako jest, prodavao ih je negdje drugdje.

77 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1903. nabavljenih starina i predmeta.

78 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1904. nabavljenih starinskih predmeta.

79 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1905. nabavljenih starinskih predmeta.

80 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1906. nabavljenih starinskih predmeta; AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1906. nabavljenih starih novaca i medalja, br. 255.

81 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1909. nabavljenih starina i predmeta.

74 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1902 nabavljenih starina i predmeta [Supplementary Inventory of Procured Antiques and Objects 1902], no. 312; Brunšmid 1902, 73–77. In this announcement, Brunšmid does not mention Griesbach at all, but *engineer Basche*. Interestingly, Brunšmid never actually mentioned Griesbach in the VHAD.

75 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1902 nabavljenih starina i predmeta [Supplementary Inventory of Procured Antiques and Objects 1902], no. 383.

76 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1902 nabavljenih starih novaca i medalja [Supplementary inventory of procured old money and medals 1902], nos 304–314. Interestingly, these are the only coin purchases from Griesbach. The lack of numismatic findings suggests that he did not collect them – or, if he did, he sold them elsewhere.

77 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1903 nabavljenih starina i predmeta [Supplementary Inventory of Procured Antiques and Objects 1903].

78 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1904 nabavljenih starina i predmeta [Supplementary Inventory of Procured Antiques and Objects 1904].

79 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1905 nabavljenih starina i predmeta [Supplementary Inventory of Procured Antiques and Objects 1905].

80 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1906 nabavljenih starina i predmeta [Supplementary Inventory of Procured Antiques and Objects 1906]; AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1906 nabavljenih starih novaca i medalja [Supplementary inventory of procured old money and medals 1906], no. 255.

81 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1909 nabavljenih starina i predmeta [Supplementary Inventory of Procured Antiques and Objects 1909].

da nakita (!) s nepoznatih lokaliteta i ukupno zaradio 70 kruna.<sup>82</sup> Dvije zlatne narukvice iz rimskoga groba u Mitrovici (Ratarska ul. br. 1103, podrum kuće Andrije Perkovića) otkupljene su za 120 kruna, no kao prodavatelj se, prvi (i zadnji) put, navodi njegov sin Ludwig (Ljudevit) Griesbach.<sup>83</sup>

Sava, i.e. Mačvanska Mitrovica) and a few silver pieces of jewelry from unknown sites and earned 70 crowns.<sup>82</sup> Two gold bracelets from a Roman grave in Mitrovica (the basement of Andrija Perković's house at Ratarska 1103) were bought for 120 crowns, but his son Ludwig (Ljudevit) Griesbach is listed as the seller for the first (and last) time.<sup>83</sup>

GODINA / YEAR	IZNOS KRUNA / SUM CROWNS
1900	55
1902	599.7
1903	360
1904	39.5
1905	186
1906	68
1909	50
1912	70
1913	120
<b>UKUPNO / TOTAL</b>	<b>1548.2</b>

**TABLICA 1.** Prikaz godišnjih isplata Narodnog muzeja G. Griesbachu.

**TABLE 1.** Display of yearly payment by National Museum to G. Griesbach.

Iz popisa nabavljenih predmeta za Muzej mogu se iščitati zanimljivi podaci i usporedbe. Tako je, primjerice, jedan od obaveznih podataka cijena po kojoj je predmet (ili skupina predmeta) otkupljen. Uz zlatne je predmete uvijek upisana i njihova težina u gramima, prema čemu je lako izračunati da se zlato po gramu prosječno plaćalo 5 kruna. Međutim, tržišna je cijena zlata tada bila 2 krune, što je jasno istaknuto baš na memorandumu zlatarske radnje Ludwiga Griesbacha (sl. 11), na kojemu je pisao Brunšmidu i nudio Muzeju par narukvica iz rimskog groba, tražeći 7 kruna za gram zlata!<sup>84</sup>

U Hoffillerovu dopisu povjereniku Račkome stoji pak da su te narukvice kupljene za 6 kruna/g, a da Muzej inače plaća 5 kruna/g, iako samo zlato vrijedi 2,5 kruna/g. Ipak, za dobre rimske i pret-povijesne stvari može se plaćati po 6 kruna. Hoffiller napominje i da je Griesbach trgovac te da on mora zaraditi, a da mu je Muzej

The list of Museum acquisitions shows interesting data and comparisons. For example, one of the obligatory data items was the price for which artefacts (or groups of artefacts) were purchased. Also, for gold artefacts, their weight in grams is always entered, so it is easy to calculate that the Museum paid an average of 5 crowns per gram of gold. However, the market price of gold at that time was 2 crowns, which was noted on a sheet of headed notepaper of Ludwig Griesbach's goldsmith workshop (Fig. 11), when he wrote to Brunšmid offering a pair of bracelets from a Roman grave and asking 7 crowns per gram!<sup>84</sup>

Hoffiller's letter to trustee Rački states that gold bracelets were bought for 6 crowns per gram, and that the Museum usually pays 5 crowns per gram, although gold itself is worth 2.5 crowns per gram. Nevertheless, for good Roman and prehistoric artefacts, the Museum can pay 6 crowns. Hoffiller also notes that

82 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1912. nabavljenih predmeta.

83 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1913. nabavljenih predmeta. – Ostale predmete iz tog (grobnog) nalaza (zlatni vjenčani prsten, zlatne naušnice, ogrlica i perla) prodao je Andrija Perković, vlasnik kuće.

84 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1913, Dopis L. Griesbacha J. Brunšmidu od 28. 9. 1913.

82 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1912 nabavljenih starina [Supplementary Inventory of Procured Antiques 1912].

83 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1913 nabavljenih starina [Supplementary Inventory of Procured Antiques 1913]. Andrija Perković, the owner of the house, sold other items from the same grave (gold wedding ring, gold earrings, necklace and pearl).

84 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1913, Letter from L. Griesbach to J. Brunšmid, September 28, 1913.





i daleko više, a i vrijednost mu je bila u padu,<sup>87</sup> nije se bilježila gramaža, što znači da nije imalo fiksnu cijenu, nego se, ovisno o predmetu, radila procjena (ukras, starost, kvaliteta rada, stanje i sl.).

## Zaključak – suvremena praksa

S obzirom na uvjete i način funkcioniranja Muzeja te općenito zaštite spomenika, razdoblje kraja 19. i početka 20. stoljeća ipak je rezultiralo priljevom velike količine materijala u Muzej i mnogo novih saznanja koja su bila potrebna za razvoj arheološke struke. Uloženi su veliki napori kako bi sakupljanje građe, evidencija lokaliteta i njihovo istraživanje, kao i praćenje trgovine arheoloških predmeta bilo koliko-toliko pod kontrolom. Srijemska Mitrovica (i šira okolica) ističe se kao dobar primjer gdje aktivno djeluju povjerenici, kao i živa trgovina arheološkom građom, što se, dakako, odrazilo i u velikom udjelu predmeta s tog područja u fondusu Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu uz bogatu popratnu dokumentaciju.

Prema zakonu, koji je bio na snazi krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća, *skriveno blago* ne pripada državi niti jednim svojim dijelom te su time muzejski ravnatelji, bez zakonskog uporišta o zaštiti pokretne kulturne baštine, bili prisiljeni sudjelovati na otvorenom tržištu arheoloških predmeta. I ne samo što su morali biti konkurentni već su i diktirali cijenu kako bi se trgovci prvo njima obratili. Povjerenici (S. Dimitrijević ih naziva muzejskim obavještajcima i terenskom agenturom),<sup>88</sup> mahom učitelji i župnici, provodili su upute i naloge muzejskih kustosa, ponekad i nevoljko, koji su jedino otkupima mogli sačuvati arheološke predmete od daljnjeg preprodavanja i čestog izvoza u druge dijelove Monarhije.

Od 31. srpnja 1945. godine (retroaktivno od 6. travnja 1941.) skriveno blago smatrano je općenarodnom imovinom i po zakonu pripada državi.<sup>89</sup> Danas, prema Zakonu o vlasništvu i drugim stvarnim pravima iz 1997. godine, pronađeno blago u cijelosti je vlasništvo Republike Hrvatske. Blagom se u smislu ovog Zakona smatra novac, dragocjenosti i druge stvari od vrijednosti koje su bile skrivene tako dugo da se više ne može utvrditi tko im je vlasnik.<sup>90</sup>

Svi „spomenici” (tj. kulturna i povijesna baština) koji su poslije 31. srpnja 1945. godine bili izvađeni iz zemlje, ili iz vode, ili nađeni pri iskopavanju i istraživanju, smatrali su se po Zakonu o zaštiti spomenika kulture iz 1967. godine društvenim vlasništvom, odnosno općenarodnom imovinom (čl. 10). Spomenicima kulture po Zakonu smatrali su se „nepokretni i pokretni predmeti, kao i grupe predmeta koji su zbog svoje arheološke, povijesne, sociološke, etnografske, umjetničke, arhitektonske, urbanističke, tehničke

g).<sup>86</sup> The situation is different with silver, probably because silver artefacts were more numerous and the market price was declining.<sup>87</sup> No weight was recorded for silver artefacts, which means that there was no fixed price, but an assessment was made that depended on the item (decoration, age, quality of work, condition and similar).

## Conclusion – modern practice

The turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century resulted in the influx of large amounts of material into the Museum and much new knowledge needed for the development of the archaeological profession. Great effort was made to keep archaeological practices (collecting material, recording sites and their investigation), as well as monitoring the market, under control as much as possible. Sremska Mitrovica (with its surroundings) stands out as a good example where museum trustees are active alongside the dealers trading in archaeological heritage. As a consequence of their work, the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb curates a large proportion of objects along with rich documentation from that region.

According to the law in force at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, *hidden treasure* did not belong to the state in any part, so museum directors were forced to participate in the open antiquities market. Not only did they have to be competitive, but they had to dictate the price so dealers would come to them first. Museum trustees (Dimitrijević calls them museum informers and field agents)<sup>88</sup> carried out these purchases, sometimes reluctantly, in the names of museum directors.

As of July 31, 1945 (retroactively as of April 6, 1941) hidden treasure is considered to be public property and belongs to the state by law.<sup>89</sup> Today, according to the Act on Ownership and Other Real Rights of 1997, found treasure is entirely the property of the Republic of Croatia. In the context of this Act, treasure is considered to be money, valuables and other items of value that have been hidden for so long that it is no longer possible to determine who owns them.<sup>90</sup>

All “monuments” (i.e. cultural and historical heritage) that have been removed from the ground or water, or found during excavations, since July 31, 1945, are considered, under the 1967 Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, in social ownership, i.e. as public property (Art. 10). According to the 1967 Act, cultural monuments are considered to be “movable and immovable objects, as well as a group of objects due to their archaeological, historical, sociological, ethnographic, artistic, architectural, urban, technical and other scientific or cultural values of importance to the social community” (Art. 2). That also applies to hidden treasure on the surface or underground, in buildings and other structures (things and valuables of the unknown owner).<sup>91</sup> The current Act on the Protection and Preservation of Cultural Property of 1999

87 Kolar-Dimitrijević 2013, 117, 118.

88 Dimitrijević 1981, 55.

89 Simonetti 2009, 59.

90 Narodne novine 1996, čl. 140.

86 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1913 nabavljenih starina [Supplementary Inventory of Procured Antiques 1913], no. 282.

87 Kolar-Dimitrijević 2013, 117-118.

88 Dimitrijević 1981, 55.

89 Simonetti 2009, 59.

90 Narodne novine 1996, Sec. 140.

91 Narodne novine 1967.



i druge naučne ili kulturne vrijednosti od značaja za društvenu zajednicu" (čl. 2.). Jednako tako i skriveno blago na površini ili ispod površine zemlje, u zgradama i drugim građevinama (stvari i dragocjenosti nepoznatog vlasnika).<sup>91</sup> Važeći Zakon o zaštiti i očuvanju kulturnih dobara iz 1999. godine jasno propisuje da je svako dobro za koje se predmnijeva da ima svojstvo kulturnog dobra, a nalazi se ili se nađe u zemlji, moru ili vodi, vlasništvo Republike Hrvatske (čl. 19). Kulturna dobra po ovom Zakonu smatraju se među inima pokretne i nepokretne stvari od arheološkog značaja, kao i arheološka nalazišta i arheološke zone (čl. 2).<sup>92</sup> Isto tako, arheološka istraživanja (dakle, i prikupljanje nalaza) nije dopušteno obavljati bez odobrenja nadležnoga konzervatorskog odjela Ministarstva kulture,<sup>93</sup> a svačija je dužnost prijaviti bilo kakav nalaz pronađen prilikom građevinskih ili drugih radova na kopnu, u vodi ili moru.<sup>94</sup> Svaki drugi način nabavljanja arheoloških predmeta smatra se ilegalnim, što podrazumijeva i korištenje detektora metala, nestručno iskopavanje / prikupljanje nalaza u svrhu stvaranja privatnih zbirki ili organizirane pljačke koje su u Hrvatskoj u posljednje vrijeme, zbog jačanja ilegalnoga međunarodnog tržišta te preprodaje putem interneta i raznih aukcijskih kuća, postale sve češće.<sup>95</sup> Hrvatska, naravno, nije izdvojen primjer, pljačke, ilegalna trgovina te namjerno uništavanje kulturne baštine prisutni su u cijelom svijetu. U ovom je kontekstu zanimljiv primjer ilegalno iskopane latenske pojasne kopče iz Srijema (Kuzmin?) i prodane u (vjerojatno) Sjedinjene Američke Države, istog tipa (tip Laminci) i s istog područja (Jarak) kakvu je i Gjuro Griesbach prodao muzeju 1902. godine za 50 kruna.<sup>96</sup>

Darovi i otkupi kamen su temeljac fundusa Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu. Ipak, ta građa često ne posjeduje najosnovnije podatke o provenijenciji predmeta niti o kontekstu pronalaska. Međutim, niti danas donacije i otkupi predmeta za muzejske zbirke, unatoč često nerazjašnjenim okolnostima o pronalasku, nisu zakonski zabranjeni pa je uvriježeno mišljenje da su muzeji uvijek voljni primiti građu, pogotovo ako predmeti potječu s njihova područja nadležnosti.<sup>97</sup>

U takvim slučajevima muzejske ustanove ne pristupaju jednako i o tom problemu ne postoji jasan stav. Primjerice, pozivajući se na tradiciju svog sugrađanina J. Brunšmida i sustav povjereni-

stipulates that any good that is presumed to have the status of cultural heritage, and is located or found in the ground, sea or water, is property of the Republic of Croatia (Art. 19). According to this Act, cultural goods are considered to be, amongst others, movable and immovable objects of archaeological importance, as well as archaeological sites and zones (Art. 2).<sup>92</sup> Also, archaeological research (and therefore the collection of findings) is not allowed to be conducted without a licence from the competent Conservation Department of the Ministry of Culture,<sup>93</sup> and everyone must report any findings found during construction or other works on land or water, or at sea.<sup>94</sup> Any other way of acquiring archaeological artefacts is considered illegal, which includes the use of metal detectors, unprofessional excavation/collection of findings to create private collections, and organized robberies, which – due to the strengthening of the illegal international market and resale via the Internet and various auction houses – has become more common in Croatia.<sup>95</sup> Of course, Croatia is not an isolated example. Robberies, illegal trade, and deliberate destruction of cultural heritage are present all over the world. In this context, an interesting example is the illegally excavated La Tène belt buckle from Srijem (Kuzmin?), sold in the United States (probably), of the same type (type Laminci), and from the same area (Jarak), as that sold by Gjuro Griesbach to the museum in 1902 for 50 crowns.<sup>96</sup>

Gifts and purchases are the cornerstones of the museum holdings of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. However, those objects often lack the most elementary data on origin and context. Despite frequent unclear circumstances of discovery, donations and purchases of objects for museum collections are not legally prohibited. There is a mainstream opinion that museums are always willing to receive material, especially if the antiquities originate within their areas of responsibility.<sup>97</sup>

In such cases, museum institutions do not proceed equally, and there is no transparent position on this issue. For example, invoking to the tradition of their fellow citizen Brunšmid and the museum trustee's system, the Vinkovci City Museum has organized a network of collaborators, who submit finds and data about new sites to the museum.<sup>98</sup> However, certain objects collected

91 Narodne novine 1967.

92 Narodne novine 1999.

93 Narodne novine 2010, čl. 5.

94 Narodne novine 1999, čl. 45.

95 Kao primjer može se istaknuti nedavna pomno organizirana pljačka tumula u Jalžabetu, Kovačević 2019.

96 Filipović, Vasić 2017, 339–342. O još nekim primjerima trgovine arheološkim predmetima u Srbiji, vidi Гуштин 2017.

97 Ovdje je riječ o arheološkim zbirkama. Svaka muzejska zbirka (etnografska, kulturno-povijesna, umjetnička, prirodoslovna itd.) ima svoje specifičnosti te se stavovi i prakse vezane uz otkupe i donacije ne bi trebale shvaćati jednoznačno.

92 Narodne novine 1999.

93 Narodne novine 2010, Sec. 5.

94 Narodne novine 1999, Sec. 45.

95 The recent carefully organized robbery of the tumulus in Jalžabet, Kovačević 2019.

96 Filipović, Vasić 2017, 339–342. For more examples of archaeological trade in Serbia, see Гуштин 2017.

97 We are referring to archaeological artefacts. Each museum (ethnographic, cultural-historical, artistic, natural history, etc.) has different specifics and practices relating to redemptions and donations, which should not be understood unambiguously.

98 Rapan Papeša 2020, 41–42.

tva, Gradski muzej Vinkovci organizirao je mrežu suradnika koji su predmete i podatke o novim lokalitetima dostavljali Muzeju.<sup>98</sup> Ipak, određene su vrste predmeta, prikupljene na oranicama korištenjem detektora metala, ti isti suradnici zadržali i stvarali privatne zbirke.<sup>99</sup>

Mnogo je pravnih, ali i stručnih argumenata zašto danas muzeji kolekcionarske zbirke, pojedinačne otkupe i darove ne bi trebali podržavati,<sup>100</sup> a jedan od ključnih je što se s ilegalnim iskopavanjem, tj. prikupljanjem, gube kontekstualni podaci o arheološkim nalazima koje mogu prikupiti jedino arheolozi s dovoljno obrazovanja i iskustva.<sup>101</sup> Stoga, takva praksa danas u odnosu na prošlost nije primjenjiva, ne samo zbog zakonskih osnova već i zbog promjena metodoloških pristupa arheološkim terenskim istraživanjima.<sup>102</sup>

Radnje koje prethode otkupu ili primanju dara danas (u slučaju Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu) zahtijevaju ozbiljniju proceduru, a mjere opreza trebale bi ustanoviti povijest predmeta, počevši od njegova pronalaska. Muzej ne bi trebao stjecati kupnjom, darovanjem, posudbom, nasljeđivanjem ili razmjenom građu ako nije uvjeren u pravo vlasništva, odnosno ako postoji opravdana sumnja da je građa dobivena neovlaštenim ili neznanstvenim terenskim radom ili namjernim uništavanjem ili oštećivanjem spomenika, odnosno arheoloških lokaliteta. Također, do nabave ne bi trebalo doći ako je nalaz zatajen vlasniku ili korisniku zemlje ili odgovarajućim državnim vlastima.<sup>103</sup> Čak i kada je riječ samo o ekspertizama, slijedeći etički kodeks Međunarodnog odbora muzeja (ICOM – International Council of Museums), Muzej ne daje mišljenje o predmetima koji su pronađeni unutar i izvan Republike Hrvatske, a čije je porijeklo nepoznato ili u suprotnosti s državnim ili međunarodnim pravom, osim po prethodnom nalogu nadležnih državnih institucija. „Valjano porijeklo predmeta“ podrazumijeva da je kretanje predmeta moguće pratiti barem do studenoga 1970. godine te da vlasništvo nad predmetom nije u suprotnosti lokalnim zakonima o zaštiti starina u zemlji porijekla predmeta.<sup>104</sup>

Slijedom toga, današnji pravni okviri Republike Hrvatske omogućuju profesionalnim arheolozima da, uvažavajući trud i požrtvornost u okolnostima u kojima su djelovali, ne posežu za metodom svojih prethodnika otprije 150 godina.

using a metal detector have been kept by the same collaborators for themselves, making private collections.<sup>99</sup>

There are many legal and professional arguments as to why museums should not support private collections, purchases and gifts at present.<sup>100</sup> One of the main problems is that, by illegal excavation/collection, we lose contextual data of archaeological finds which can only be collected by archaeologists with sufficient education and experience.<sup>101</sup> Today's practice differs from the past one, not only due to the legislation, but also because of changes in methodological approaches.<sup>102</sup>

Actions that precede purchase or receipt of a gift today (in the case of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb) require a more pressing procedure concerning the object's history since it was found. A museum should not acquire artefacts by purchase, gift, loan, inheritance or exchange if it is not certain of ownership rights, or if there is a reasonable suspicion that the artefact was obtained by unauthorized or unscientific field work or intentional destruction or damage of monuments or archaeological sites. Also, procurement should not take place if the find has been hidden from the owner or user of land or competent authorities.<sup>103</sup> Even when it comes to expertise only, following the International Council of Museums (ICOM) Code of Ethics, the Museum does not give an opinion on objects, found inside or outside the Republic of Croatia, whose origin is unknown or contrary to state or international law, except by previous warrant of competent authorities. "Valid origin of the object" means that the movement of the artefact can be traced at least until November 1970 and that ownership of the artefact is not contrary to local laws of antiquities protection in the country of origin of the artefact.<sup>104</sup>

Consequently, the present-day legal framework of the Republic of Croatia allows professional archaeologists not to resort to the methods of their predecessors of 150 years ago, while still respecting the effort and sacrifice made in the circumstances in which they worked.

98 Rapan Papeša 2020, 41–42.

99 Adžaga 2020, 7–8. – Zbirka *Srednjovjekovno prstenje s područja istočne Slavonije* sukladno rješenju Ministarstva kulture oduzeta je članovima Udruge Banovac i predana Gradskom muzeju Vinkovci, Rapan Papeša 2020, 42.

100 Renfrew 2006.

101 Chapman, Wylie 2016, 55–92.

102 Novaković 2015, 65–87, 221–225.

103 Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu 2019, čl. 4.

104 Uvjeti i protokol usluge identifikacije predmeta Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu: <https://www.amz.hr/hr/usluge/identifikacija-predmeta>.

99 Adžaga 2020, 7–8. The collection *Srednjovjekovno prstenje s područja istočne Slavonije* [Medieval rings from the area of Eastern Slavonia] was confiscated from the members of the Banovac Association and handed over to the Vinkovci City Museum, in accordance with the decision of the Ministry of Culture: Rapan Papeša 2020, 42.

100 Renfrew 2006.

101 Chapman, Wylie 2016, 55–92.

102 Novaković 2015, 65–87, 221–225.

103 The Archaeological Museum in Zagreb 2019, Sec. 4.

104 Terms and protocol of the object identification service of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb: <https://www.amz.hr/hr/usluge/identifikacija-predmeta>.

## KRATICE ABBREVIATIONS

AAMZ

Arhiv Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu

AAMZ

The Archaeological Museum in Zagreb Archive

## INTERNETSKI IZVORI INTERNET SOURCES

<http://www.zkvh.org.rs/index.php/bastina/izzdanja/3952-natasa-miladinovic-radmilovic-miro-radmilovic-pisma-ignjata-junga-edicija-sirmium-br-6-izdavaci-bлаго-sirmiuma-srijemska-mitrovica-i-udruzenje-za-kulturu-zivljenja-okol-sremska-mitrovica-2015> (4 April 2020).

<http://vodovodsm.rs/o-nama/istorijat> (4 April 2020).

<https://muzejsrema.com/o-muzeju/> (16 September 2020).

<http://www.narodnimuzej.rs/o-muzeju/istorijat-muzeja/> (16 September 2020)

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Kr. hrv. slav. dalm. zem. Vlada Odjel za bogoštovje i nastavu 1880, Obnova starih zakona i naredba u pogledu izvažanja starina iz naše zemlje i njihova sačuvanja od 25. 11. 1880. [Renewal of the Old Laws and Orders regarding the removal of antiquities from our country and their preservation from November 25, 1880], Kraljevska hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinska zemaljska vlada Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu, br. 3302.

Narodne novine 1967, Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture [Cultural Heritage Preservation Act], Narodne novine d.d., 7/67., 13/67., 25/77., 31/86., 47/86., 47/89., 19/91., 26/93., 52/94.

Narodne novine 1996, Zakonu o vlasništvu i drugim stvarnim pravima [Act on Ownership and Other real Rights], Narodne novine d.d., 91/96, 68/98, 137/99, 22/00, 73/00, 129/00, 114/01, 79/06, 141/06, 146/08, 38/09, 153/09, 143/12, 152/14.

Narodne novine 1999, Zakon o zaštiti i očuvanju kulturnih dobara [Act on the Protection and Preservation of Cultural Property], Narodne novine d.d., 69/99, 151/03, 157/03, 100/04, 87/09, 88/10, 61/11, 25/12, 136/12, 157/13, 152/14, 98/15, 44/17, 90/18, 32/20, 62/20.

Narodne novine 2010, Pravilnik o arheološkim istraživanjima [Ordinance on archaeological research], Narodne novine d.d., 102/2010.

<https://www.amz.hr/hr/usluge/identifikacija-predmeta> (1. 6. 2020.).

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