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MONOGRAFIJE CPA

NOVA ODKRITJA MED ALPAMI IN ČRNIM MORJEM  
REZULTATI RAZISKAV RIMSKODOBNIH NAJDIŠČ  
V OBDOBJU MED LETI 2005 IN 2015

ZBORNİK 1. MEDNARODNEGA ARHEOLOŠKEGA SIMPOZIJA,  
PTUJ, 8. IN 9. OKTOBER 2015



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CONFERENCE, PTUJ, 8<sup>TH</sup> AND 9<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 2015

IN MEMORIAM IVA MIKL CURK

UREDNIKI/EDITORS: MAJA JANEŽIČ, BARBARA NADBATH, TADEJA MULH, IVAN ŽIŽEK



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Results from the Roman Sites in the Period between 2005 and 2015

Proceedings of the 1<sup>st</sup> International Archaeological Conference, Ptuj, 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> October 2015

In memoriam Iva Mikl Curk

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Simpozij sta organizirala Zavod za varstvo kulturne dediščine, Center za preventivno arheologijo in Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj Ormož.

V veliko veselje nam je bilo, da se je simpozij odvijal ravno na Ptuju. Kraj simpozija seveda ni bil izbran naključno. Gre za najpomembnejše rimsko mesto na območju današnje Slovenije in eno izmed arheološko najbogatejših mest v Sloveniji. Najpomembnejši kriterij za izbiro kraja našega prvega simpozija pa je bila množica arheoloških raziskav, ki so se na Ptuju izvajale v preteklih letih, in so prinesle številne novosti v poznavanju razvoja in življenja Petovione. Seveda pa številne raziskave niso potekale le na območju današnjega Ptuja. Tako smo organizirali simpozij, kjer so lahko kolegi iz Slovenije in bližnje ali daljne okolice predstavili aktualne rezultate raziskav rimskih najdišč ter razmislek in njihovo vključitev v širši kontekst ekonomskega, socialnega in družbenega dogajanja v rimskem obdobju. Kolegi iz Slovenije, Hrvaške, Avstrije, Italije, Srbije in Madžarske so se na vabilo množično odzvali. Tako smo poslušali 39 predavanj in si ogledali 12 plakatov.

Kot že sam naslov simpozija pove, smo ga posvetili cenjeni arheologinji dr. Ivi Mikl Curk, ki je dolga leta službovala znotraj Zavoda za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije (tedaj Republiškega zavoda za varstvo naravne in kulturne dediščine). Bila je naša vodilna konservatorica za arheološko dediščino z mednarodnim ugledom in častna članica ICOMOS združenja. S svojim znanjem je doprinesla k številnim obnovam in vključevanju arheoloških spomenikov v moderne urbane celote ter orala ledino pri varovanju in valoriziranju arheološke dediščine v povojnem obdobju. Seveda pa Ivo Mikl Curk na Ptuj veže predvsem njena raziskovalna dejavnost, ki jo je posvetila predvsem rimskemu cesarskemu mestu oz. koloniji Ulpiji Trajani Petovioni in njenemu keramičnemu gradivu. Svoje raziskave je strnila in predstavila v več kot 70 delih.

Naša največja želja je bila, da prispevke simpozija tudi objavimo. V zadnjih treh letih smo temu posvetili veliko časa. Rezultat našega truda je sedaj tu pred nami; obsežna publikacija o novih dognanjih z različnih področij rimske provincialne arheologije. Želimo si, da bo to knjiga, ki jo bomo še dolgo uporabljali tako zaradi predstavljenih aktualnih interpretacij kot zaradi prvič predstavljenih terenskih raziskav.

Zahvaljujemo se Ministrstvu za kulturo Republike Slovenije ter Mestni občini Ptuj za podporo pri organizaciji simpozija. Prav tako se zahvaljujemo kolegom iz organizacijskega odbora, ki so pripomogli k izvedbi simpozija ter objavi zbornika, in seveda vsem predavateljem in udeležencem simpozija za njihova predavanja, plakate in ne nazadnje oddane prispevke.

Uredniški odbor



Dear reader,

The 1<sup>st</sup> International Archaeological Symposium entitled: *New Discoveries between the Alps and the Black Sea. Results from the Roman Sites in the Period between 2005 and 2015. In memoriam Iva Mikl Curk*, took place at Ptuj Castle on the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> October 2015.

The Symposium was organised by the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia, Centre for Preventive Archaeology and the Ptuj Ormož Regional Museum.

We were especially pleased that the Symposium took place in Ptuj. Indeed the venue was not chosen by chance. Ptuj was the most important Roman town in what is now modern Slovenia and one of the richest towns in the country in terms of archaeological heritage. The most important criterion for the selection of the location of the first symposium was the vast amount of archaeological research undertaken in Ptuj in recent years, which brought many new insights into the development and lifeways of Poetovio. However much research has also taken place outside the area of modern Ptuj. Thus, the Symposium presented an opportunity for our colleagues from Slovenia and beyond to present the results of their research into Roman period sites, as well as their integration into the wider context of economic and social events in the Roman period. The invitation elicited a massive response by colleagues from Slovenia, Croatia, Austria, Italy, Serbia and Hungary, which gave us an opportunity to listen to 39 lectures and view 12 posters.

As the title of the Symposium suggests, the event held in honour of our esteemed colleague Dr. Iva Mikl Curk, who worked for a number of years at the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia (the Institute for the Protection of Natural and Cultural Heritage of the Republic of Slovenia). She was our leading conservator for archaeological heritage with an international reputation and an honorary member of the ICOMOS council. Her vast knowledge contributed to numerous cases of the restoration and inclusion of archaeological monuments in modern urban units. She also broke new ground in the field of the protection and valorisation of archaeological heritage in the post-war period. Iva Mikl Curk was connected with Ptuj primarily through her research activities, which were mainly focused on the Roman imperial town, or Colonia Ulpia Traiana Poetovio, and its pottery. Her research has been presented and published in more than 70 works.

It was our greatest desire that the contributions to this symposium should be published. Over the last three years, we have devoted a lot of time and effort to this end. The result of our efforts is now before you; an extensive publication on new results from various areas of Roman provincial archaeology. We hope this will be a book that will long have currency, both for its presentation of current interpretations and of new fieldwork in the wider area of the Roman empire, which is published here for the first time.

We would like to thank the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia and the Municipality of Ptuj for their support with the organisation of the Symposium. Furthermore, we would like to thank our colleagues from the Organising Committee, who contributed to the organisation and execution of the Symposium and the publication of this collection, as well as all the speakers and participants of the Symposium for their lectures, posters, and last but not least, for their contributions, which are published in this volume.

The Editorial Board





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Gojko Tica



## Zum Publikationsvorhaben „Urgeschichte und Römerzeit in der Steiermark“

### The publication of the „Urgeschichte und Römerzeit in der Steiermark“ project

Bernhard Hebert

**Izvleček:** Pred tremi leti je skupina mlajših raziskovalcev pričela s pisanjem preglednega dela o prazgodovini in rimskem obdobju (avstrijske) Štajerske, vključno s poglavjem o zgodovini arheoloških raziskav. Delo ni le pregled starejše literature in dokumentov, temveč v vsakem obdobju odpira tudi nova aktualna vprašanja, kot je npr. iznajdbe, raba tal, viri itd. Glede na to, da tovrstnega pregleda za obravnavo območje že nekaj desetletji ni bilo, pričujoči pregled prinaša množico novih dognanj, kot recimo obstoj bakrenodobnih arheoloških kultur, ki so tesno povezane z balkanskim in panonskim prostorom. Več informacij je na voljo na: [http://www.boehrlau-verlag.com/Geschichte\\_der\\_Steiermark.htm](http://www.boehrlau-verlag.com/Geschichte_der_Steiermark.htm).

**Ključne besede:** avstrijska Štajerska, prazgodovina, rimska doba

**Abstract:** During the last three years a team of younger researchers tried to write a compendious volume on the Pre-historic and Roman times in (Austrian) Styria, including a chapter of the history of archaeological research from the beginnings onwards. The work is not only a compilation of older literature and documentations but also includes special questions for every period regarding e. g. innovations, land use, resources. This overview which has not been done in the area of (Austrian) Styria for decades, brought to light more new aspects than anyone would have thought, as the existence of some prehistoric cultures, especially in the copper ages closely related to the Balkan and Pannonian regions. More information: [http://www.boehrlauverlag.com/Geschichte\\_der\\_Steiermark.htm](http://www.boehrlauverlag.com/Geschichte_der_Steiermark.htm).

**Key words:** Austrian Styria, Prehistory, Roman times

Mit dem Referat in Ptuj hat der Verfasser im Namen der Archäolog/innen der österreichischen Steiermark den slowenischen Kolleg/innen ein Buch<sup>1</sup> vorgestellt und auch faktisch überreicht, das eigentlich zum ersten Mal eine ausführliche zusammenfassende Darstellung der gesamten Urgeschichte und Römerzeit dieses Bundeslandes bietet. In diesem ersten Band der von der Historischen Landeskommission für Steiermark herausgegebenen „Geschichte der Steiermark“ haben Archäolog/innen eher der jüngeren Generation versucht, das heute noch Gültige aus der langen Forschungsgeschichte und die neuesten Ergebnisse großflächiger Denkmalschutzgrabungen anhand einheitlicher Fragestellungen zu

On the occasion of his lecture in Ptuj the author presented the publication of the above<sup>1</sup> project to Slovenian colleagues in the name of the archaeologists of Styria, and also presented them with the publication itself. The publication essentially gives a detailed account of the history of Styria from Prehistory to the Roman period for the first time.

Young archaeologists pose consistent questions that take into account the long history of archaeological research, which still holds valid points, as well as considering the recent results of extensive rescue excavation in this, the first volume of „Geschichte der Steiermark“ (History of Styria), edited by the Historische Landeskommission für Steiermark (Historical

<sup>1</sup> Bernhard Hebert (Hg.), Urgeschichte und Römerzeit in der Steiermark, Geschichte der Steiermark Band I, 2015.

<sup>1</sup> Bernhard Hebert (Hg.), Urgeschichte und Römerzeit in der Steiermark, Geschichte der Steiermark Bd. I, 2015.



**Abbildung/Figure 1** *Graffito in vorrömischer Schrift und Sprache auf einem spätlatènezeitlichen Keramikscherben vom Frauenberg bei Leibnitz. Alle Abbildungsvorlagen aus der vorgestellten Publikation. / Graffito in pre-roman scripture and language on a potsherd from the late La Tène period, found at the Frauenberg near Leibnitz. All the figures are taken from the publication discussed.*

einem Gesamtbild zusammenzufügen. Die grundsätzlich beschränkte Aussagefähigkeit der zufällig überlieferten und zufällig aufgedeckten materiellen Quellen wird dabei ebenso ernst genommen wie die Zeitgebundenheit jeder und somit auch der archäologischen Forschung.

Eine anfangs wichtige Frage war, ob nur die heutige Steiermark oder das größere historische Land – und somit auch ein Teil Sloweniens – behandelt werden müsse; bald aber war klar, dass die seit Jahrzehnten bestehenden institutionellen Trennungen und vor allem die Leistungen der slowenischen Archäologie eine Beschränkung auf die in weiten Bereichen schlechter erforschte österreichische Steiermark anraten.

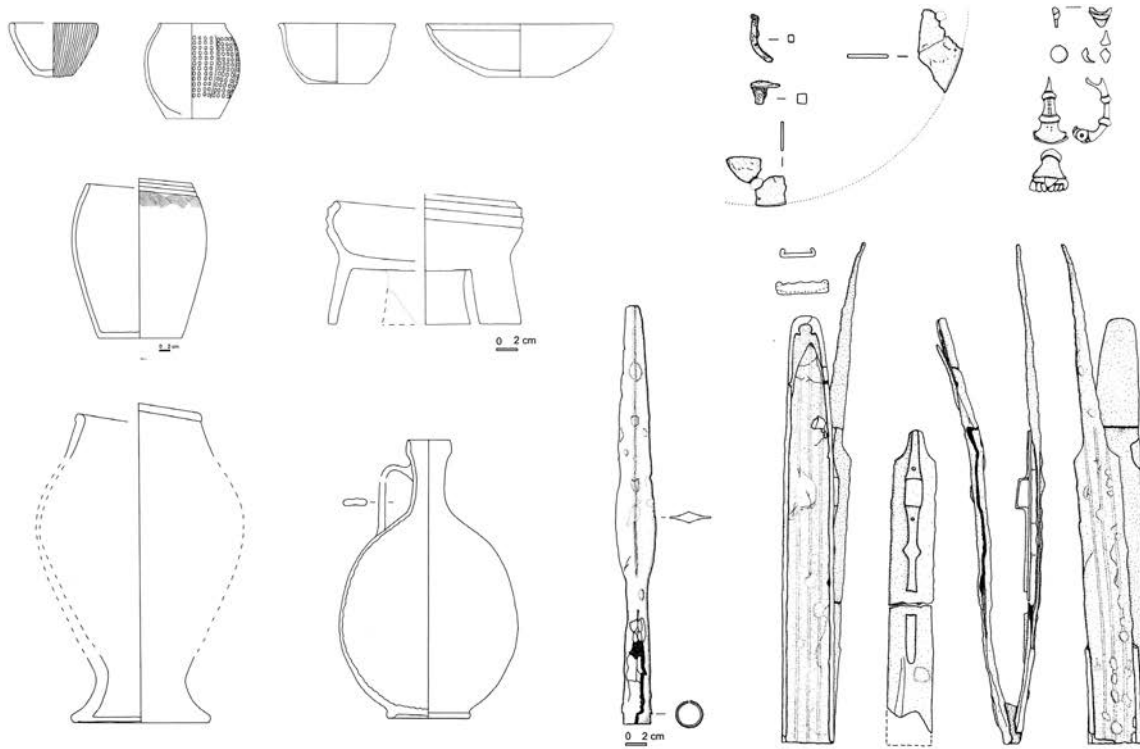
Weiters hat der Verfasser als Herausgeber überlegt, ob viele Autor/innen oder nur wenige das Buch schreiben sollten. Letztlich fiel die Entscheidung, die chronologisch durchgehenden Hauptteile (Paläo- und Mesolithikum, Neolithikum und Metallzeiten, Römerzeit und Spätantike) nur drei Autor/innen anzuvertrauen und lediglich für herausgehobene kurze Kapitel zu den wichtigsten Fundstellen eine größere Zahl von Expert/innen einzuladen. So entstehen, wie wir hoffen, ein durchgehend lesbarer Text ohne zu viel Gewicht auf Steckenpferde, wie sie jede/r

Commission for Styria). Their approach respects the limitations imposed by the random nature of the material sources and reflects on the fact that each and every type of research is always affected by contemporary influences. Thus, a picture is emerging of the Prehistoric and Roman period in Styria as a whole.

An important decision in the conceptualisation of this volume was that of whether the project should be confined to the Austrian state of Styria as it exists today, or if it should include the part of Slovenia that historically belonged to the region. However, because the institutions in both countries have been working separately for decades and in view of the achievements of Slovenian research, it was considered advisable to concentrate on the Austrian state of Styria, where many aspects of the archaeological heritage are less sufficiently studied.

Another consideration was whether the book should be written by many or a few authors. The final decision was to entrust the main chronological parts (the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic periods, Neolithic and Metal periods, the Roman period and the Late Roman period) to just three authors, while inviting a greater number of experts to write short highlighted chapters on the most important sites. The desired result is a readable text without too much emphasis on the pet subjects that each academic is bound to favour, whilst still giving a varied overview of contemporary Styrian archaeology. In many cases the editor did not invite the original excavators to repeat their earlier publications, but deliberately invited other experts so that their articles can also be read as reassessments.

The team of editor and writers met several times to make decisions about subjects, problems that should be considered and the composition of the articles. Later they were called upon to read the initial versions of the articles, to propose changes and additions to them. An article went from the author to the editor several times in order to find a common thread in the varied nature of the individual contributions. This short introduction cannot begin to discuss the content of the book. In Austria, the long period of Prehistory has not been subject to the same intensity



**Abbildung/Figure 2** *Inventar des augusteischen Brandgrabes von Rassach. / Inventory of the Augustan cremation grave at Rassach.*



**Abbildung/Figure 3** *Fragment der marmornen Innenausstattung einer frühchristlichen Kirche am Frauenberg bei Leibnitz. / Fragment of marble interior furnishings from an Early Christian church on the Frauenberg near Leibnitz.*

Wissenschaftler/in hat, und trotzdem auch ein buntes Bild der aktuellen steirischen Archäologie. Vielfach haben wir auch nicht die Ausgräber/innen um Wiederholung ihrer Veröffentlichungen gebeten, sondern bewusst andere Fachleute um Beiträge Hersucht, was einen durchaus gewollten rezensionsartigen Aspekt beibringt.

Als Team haben wir uns mehrfach getroffen und gemeinsam Entscheidungen über die Themen, die abzuarbeitenden Fragen und die Gestaltung der Beiträge getroffen, dann die Texte in den Erstfassungen quergelesen sowie Änderungs- und Ergänzungsvorschläge eingebracht. Alles ist mehrfach durch die Hände des Verfassers als Herausgeber gegangen, um bei aller notwendiger Individualität eine gewisse gemeinsame Linie einzuhalten.

Es kann nicht Aufgabe dieser kurzen Vorstellung sein, Inhalte zu resümieren oder gar eine Würdigung des Buches zu versuchen. Entsprechend der Zeitdauer der Urgeschichte, aber auch deren lange Zeit nicht so intensiven Erforschung wie derjenigen der Römerzeit, sind „neue“ Ergebnisse der vorrömischen Archäologie häufiger, insbesondere in der Kupferzeit und in der lange kaum existenten – sieht man von der Urnenfelderzeit ab – Bronzezeit. Aber auch die Römerzeit, vor allem die ganz frühe und die späte, kann beachtliches „Neues“ aufweisen: So, um nur einige (Be-)Funde anhand der Fotos des vorgestellten Buches zu erwähnen, die Graffiti in vorrömischer Schrift und Sprache auf spätlatènezeitlichen Keramikscherben vom Frauenberg bei Leibnitz (*Abb. 1*)<sup>2</sup>, das augusteische Grab von Rassach mit einem provinziäl-römischen Geschirrservice und einer spätlatènezeitlichen Waffenausrüstung (*Abb. 2*)<sup>3</sup> oder die Fragmente der marmornen Innenausstattung einer im Grundriss noch nicht erkannten frühchristlichen Kirche, ebenfalls am Frauenberg bei Leibnitz (*Abb. 3*)<sup>4</sup>. Aber auch die „alltägliche“ Römerzeit hat ein anderes Aussehen bekommen: einfache bäuerliche Streusiedlungen in reiner Holzarchitektur ohne



**Abbildung/ Figure 4** *Hölzerne Pfostenbauten der Römerzeit in Schönberg. / Traces of a wooden construction at Schönberg.*

of research as the Roman period, as a result of which means that there are more „new“ data from this period here. This is particularly true for the Copper Age or the Bronze Age, which was previously virtually non-existent with the exception of the Urnfield period. However, there are also considerable „new“ insights in the Roman period, notably in the very early and later periods. A few examples may be mentioned by reference to the photographs in the book: the graffiti in a pre-Roman script and language on a late La Tène potsherd, found at the Frauenberg near Leibnitz (*Fig. 1*)<sup>2</sup>, the Augustan period grave in Rassach with a provincial Roman table service and a late La Tène period weapon set (*Fig. 2*)<sup>3</sup> or the fragments of marble interior furnishings from an Early Christian church of as yet unknown ground plan, from Frauenberg near Leibnitz (*Fig. 3*)<sup>4</sup>. However, there is also a different perspective on everyday life in the Roman period: simple dispersed rural settlements with purely wooden architecture and an absence of imported or luxury goods of any kind such as the site in Schönberg (*Fig. 4*)<sup>5</sup> seem to be much more common than *villae* and *vici*.

Even the most recent book will, at least in detail, be overtaken by ongoing research. There are new finds, e.g. a large number of votive calcareous sandstone

2 Georg Tiefengraber, Eisenzeit. – In: Hebert a. O. 644.

3 G. Tiefengraber a. O. 665.

4 Ulla Steinklauber, Römerzeit und Spätantike. – In: Hebert a. O. 759.

2 Ibid., Georg Tiefengraber, Eisenzeit.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., Ulla Steingraber, Römerzeit und Spätantike.

5 Ibid., Karl Oberhofer, Eine ausgewählte Fundstelle.





**Abbildung/Figure 5** *Nutrices* vom Frauenberg bei Leibnitz (Grabung 2015) in Fundlage (Foto B. Schrettle, Graz).  
/ The *Nutrices* from the Frauenberg near Leibnitz, in situ (2015 excavations, photo B. Schrettle, Graz).

Import und Luxus wie in Schönberg (Abb. 4)<sup>5</sup> sind wohl viel eher der „Normalfall“ als Villen und Vici. Dass auch das neueste Buch durch die fortschreitende Forschung zumindest in den Details sehr bald überholt ist, zeigen z. B. die Neufunde einer großen Zahl von Weihstatuetten aus Kalksandstein vom Frauenberg bei Leibnitz: in einer Grube „beigesetzte“, offenbar bewusst beschädigte bzw. geköpft enthronende Muttergottheiten mit Kleinkindern (Abb. 5)<sup>6</sup>. *Nutrices*, wie wir sie sonst in der näheren Umgebung nur aus Ptuj kennen, womit der Bezug zum Tagungsort in schönster Weise hergestellt ist.

statuettes from the Frauenberg near Leibnitz. The enthroned mother goddesses with infants were clearly deliberately maimed or decapitated and buried in a pit, (Fig. 5)<sup>6</sup>. The closest finds of such *Nutrices* are those in Ptuj, thus establishing a beautiful connection with the conference venue.

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5 Karl Oberhofer, Eine ausgewählte Fundstelle: Der römerzeitliche Siedlungsplatz bei Schönberg. – In: Hebert a. O. 735.

6 Unpubliziert. Dem Ausgräber Bernhard Schrettle sei für Information und Fotos herzlich gedankt.

6 Not published. Thanks to Bernhard Schrettle, who found the figurines, for information and photographs.



## Novejše arheološke raziskave rimskega podeželja v severovzhodni Sloveniji

### Recent Archaeological Researches of the Roman Period in North-eastern Slovenia

Andrej Magdič

**Izvleček:** V prispevku je predstavljen razvoj arheoloških raziskav rimskega podeželja v severovzhodni Sloveniji v zadnji 20 letih. Pomembno gonilo tega razvoja je predstavljal projekt izgradnje slovenskega avtocestnega križa (AC odsek Vransko - Arja), z začetkom v zgodnjih devetdesetih letih 20. stoletja (in še ni v celoti zaključen), znotraj katerega je bil razvit učinkovit sistem sistematičnih ekstenzivnih in intenzivnih arheoloških terenskih pregledov, tako površinskih kot podpovršinskih, in podprt z metodami daljinskega zaznavanja. Rezultati teh pregledov so pomembno pripomogli k razumevanju in nadgradnji rimskodobne poselitvene slike tudi na območjih, kjer iz historičnih virov poselitev dotlej tako rekoč ni bila znana. Izkopavanja novo odkritih najdišč na trasi avtoceste so omogočila dotlej nesluten vpogled v strukturo rimskodobnih podeželskih naselbin, na površinah, ki so obsegala tudi več tisoč kvadratnih metrov. Pomembna novost na področju naselbinske arheologije so bile predvsem raziskave številnih vaških naselij, ki jih, za razliko od sočasnih gomilnih grobišč in stanovanjsko-gospodarskih kompleksov rimskih vil (*villae rusticae*), dotlej na ravninah Mure in Drave tako rekoč nismo poznali. Na področju prostorske arheologije so nov pogled tudi omogočile tehnike daljinskega zaznavanja, v prvi vrsti aerofotografija in lidarsko snemanje površja, ki vedno bolj jasno nakazujejo trend raziskovanja sledov poselitve v širšem prostoru oz. medprostoru, med že znanimi arheološkimi najdišči. Prispevek zaključujemo z mislijo o potrebi po vzpostavitvi interdisciplinarnega znanstveno raziskovalnega gibanja, ki bi analiziralo, celovito sintetiziralo in ovrednotilo rimskodobno poselitveno sliko, z namenom interpretirati in rekonstruirati rimskodobno kulturno krajino.

**Ključne besede:** arheologija, rimska doba, rimsko podeželje, prostorska arheologija

**Abstract:** In the area of today's town of Ptuj a number of archaeological investigations have been carried out in the last 20 years. They have to a great degree completed the understanding of the topographical image of the largest Roman city on the territory of today's Slovenia: the colony *Ulpia Traiana Poetovio*. However, the archaeological research, which has been at this time taking place in the hinterland of the Roman town, was at least as important for the understanding of the Roman cultural landscape. The planning of the Slovenian motorway system in the nineteen nineties has been closely connected with the research of the Roman countryside, which represents a major turning point in the archaeology of northeast Slovenia. An important part of this project has been a systematic archaeological field survey (surface as well as sub-surface survey) of the planned motorway route, supported by remote sensing methods. The results of these surveys have fundamentally contributed to the understanding of the cultural landscape even in areas where settlements up until then were almost unknown. The methodology of archaeological field survey, combined with excavations, is in the Republic of Slovenia since the motorway project included in the processes of spatial planning. With the use of mentioned methodologies a number of Roman sites have been discovered and excavated. This comprehensive view of larger areas provides new possibilities to observe space as a historical cultural landscape and has great potential in the field of research, particularly on the colonization of north-eastern Slovenia in the Roman period. Many excavations of village settlements, located on the planes of the rivers Mura and Drava are of predominant importance in the context of understanding the Roman cultural landscape. Those settlements were in this area, unlike the contemporary tumulus graveyards and residential and farming complexes of Roman colonists (so-called *villae rusticae*), previously almost completely unknown.

**Key words:** archeology, Roman period, Roman countryside, spatial archeology

Prostor severovzhodne Slovenije v hidro geografskem smislu predstavlja povodje dveh velikih rek, ki izvirata v osrčju Alp: Drave in Mure ter njunih pritokov. Reliefno geografska značilnost tega prostora so obsežne ravnine ob omenjenih rekah in hribovja ter gričevja, ki jih obdajajo (sl. 2). Širši pogled nam razkriva pozicijo tega prostora kot mejnega območja med Alpami in Panonsko nižino (sl. 1). Reliefna in hidrografska slika obravnavanega prostora, kot tudi njegova pozicija v širšem evropskem prostoru, sta pomembno vplivali na njegovo kulturno podobo in organizacijo prostora skozi petsto let trajajočo rimsko obdobje. Gledano iz vidika reliefnih značilnosti in posledično tudi teritorialne pripadnosti, so obrobni deli obravnavanega prostora: današnja Koroška, severni del Slovenskih goric in prostor Pomurja tangirali in verjetno tudi teritorialno pripadali mestom zunaj današnjega slovenskega ozemlja. Centralna naselbina osrednjega dela obravnavanega prostora, Ptujskega in Dravskega polja z okoliškimi gričevji in hribovji, je bila Trajanova kolonija Petoviona, ki je zavzemala širši prostor današnjega Ptuja ter Spodnjo in Zgornjo Hajdino.<sup>1</sup>

Arheološke karte in sezname arheoloških najdišč obravnavanega območja, ki so vsebovali tudi odkrite ostanke rimskega podeželja, so nastajali že od sredine 19. dalje,<sup>2</sup> vendar je prvo celovitejšo znanstveno obravnavo slovenskega rimskega podeželja podal šele dr. Peter Petru v letih 1964–1965.<sup>3</sup> V članku ob pregledu obravnavane teme navaja tudi vso do takrat objavljeno arheološko in zgodovinsko strokovno literaturo ter sintetizira dotdanja dognanja, zaradi česar njegov članek še danes velja za pomembno strokovno čtivo. Do takrat je bilo večino znanstvenega napora arheologov vloženega v raziskovanje velikih rimskih mest, med njimi tudi Petovione, le malo pa naselbinam rimskega podeželja.<sup>4</sup> Razkopavanje grobnih gomil, ki se je na območju Slovenskih goric odvijalo že od 30. let 19. stoletja dalje, je imelo nalogo polniti nastajajoče muzejske zbirke, njihova znanstveno raziskovalna vrednost pa je bila zelo



**Slika 1** Okvirna lokacija slovenskega Pomurja in Podravja, na meji alpske in panonske evropske makroregije (avtor karte A. Magdič; prostorski podatki: <https://www.europeandataportal.eu>).

omejena.<sup>5</sup> Kot ugotavlja že Petru, je bilo potrebno storiti korak naprej na področju sistematičnega znanstvenega raziskovanja rimskodobne poselitve.

Na obravnavanem prostoru je v naslednjih desetletjih to nalogo z neizmernim vloženim trudom opravljal Stanko Pahič. Pomembno je njegovo topografsko delo prikaza razširjenosti rimskodobnih gomilnih grobišč na območju teritorijev Petovione, Flavie Solve in Savarije<sup>6</sup> ter raziskovanje rimske cestne mreže.<sup>7</sup> Izjemen pa je tudi Pahičev doprinos pri raziskovanju podeželskih stanovanjsko-gospodarskih kompleksov (*villae rusticae*), ki so do nedavnega veljali za prevladujoči tip poselitve rimskega podeželja na obravnavanem prostoru. Raziskave na tem področju je za celotni prostor Slovenije zbrala in ovrednotila Marija Lubšina Tušek.<sup>8</sup>

Za območje Prekmurja je temeljno topografsko raziskavo arheološke poselitve opravila Irena Šavel. V ta namen so bile opravljene številne sondažne raziskave, ki so obelodanile številna nova rimskodobna najdišča.<sup>9</sup>

Zadnji celovit pregled stanja rimske provincialne arheologije v Sloveniji in s tem tudi na obravnavanem prostoru je opravila dr. Jana Horvat.<sup>10</sup> Avtorica si

1 Za zbrano literaturo glej Horvat *et al.* 2003.

2 Pahič 1972, 6.

3 Petru 1964–65.

4 Petru 1964–65, 87.

5 Pahič 1965, 11.

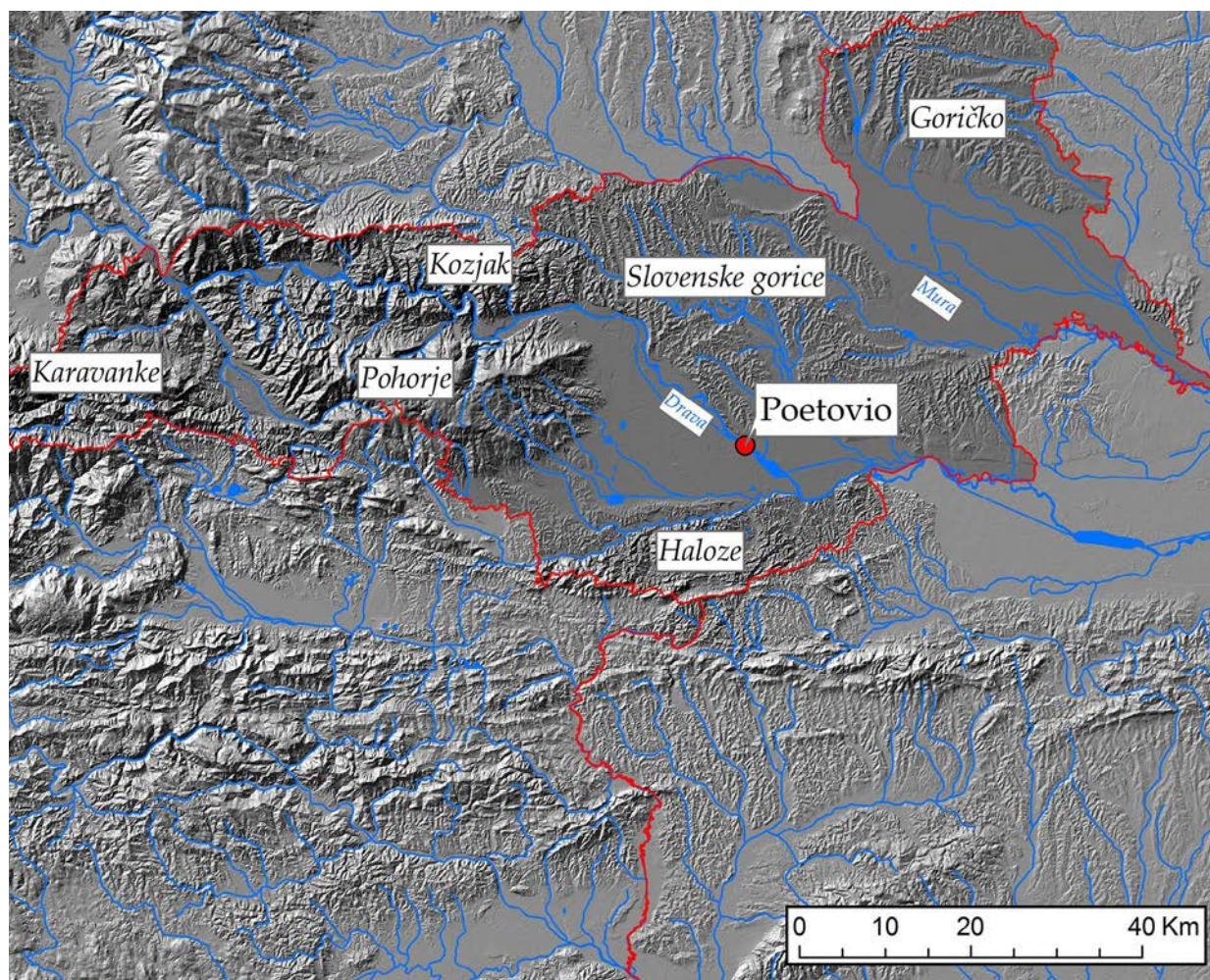
6 Pahič 1972.

7 Pahič 1983.

8 Lubšina Tušek 1981.

9 Šavel 1991, za povzetek o rimski dobi glej str. 17.

10 Horvat 1999.



**Slika 2** Senčni relief prostora severovzhodne Slovenije, z glavnimi vodotoki, vzpetinami ter lokacijo Petovione, najpomembnejše rimskodobne naselbine obravnavanega prostora (avtor karte A. Magdič; prostorski podatki ARSO)

je v članku zadala nalogo, da nadaljuje tam, kjer je Peter Petru leta 1965 končal in se naveže na izhodišča, ki jih je le-ta zastavil. Eno od raziskovalnih področij, katerim bi se bilo po Petrujevem mnenju veljalo zaradi preslabe raziskanosti posebej posvetiti, je rimsko podeželje.<sup>11</sup> Raziskave, ki so bile od takrat opravljene na tem področju, kažejo na to, da so se arheologi obravnavani problematiki celovito posvetili.<sup>12</sup> Število novih rimskodobnih najdišč se je močno povečalo, izrazit porast po številu pa so doživeli odkriti naselbinski ostanki (sl. 3).

S projektom Slovenska arheologija na avtocestah Slovenije (SAAS) je rimska provincialna arheologija v severovzhodni Sloveniji doživela skokovit porast. Projekt SAAS je v sredini 90. let pri regionalnih zavodih za

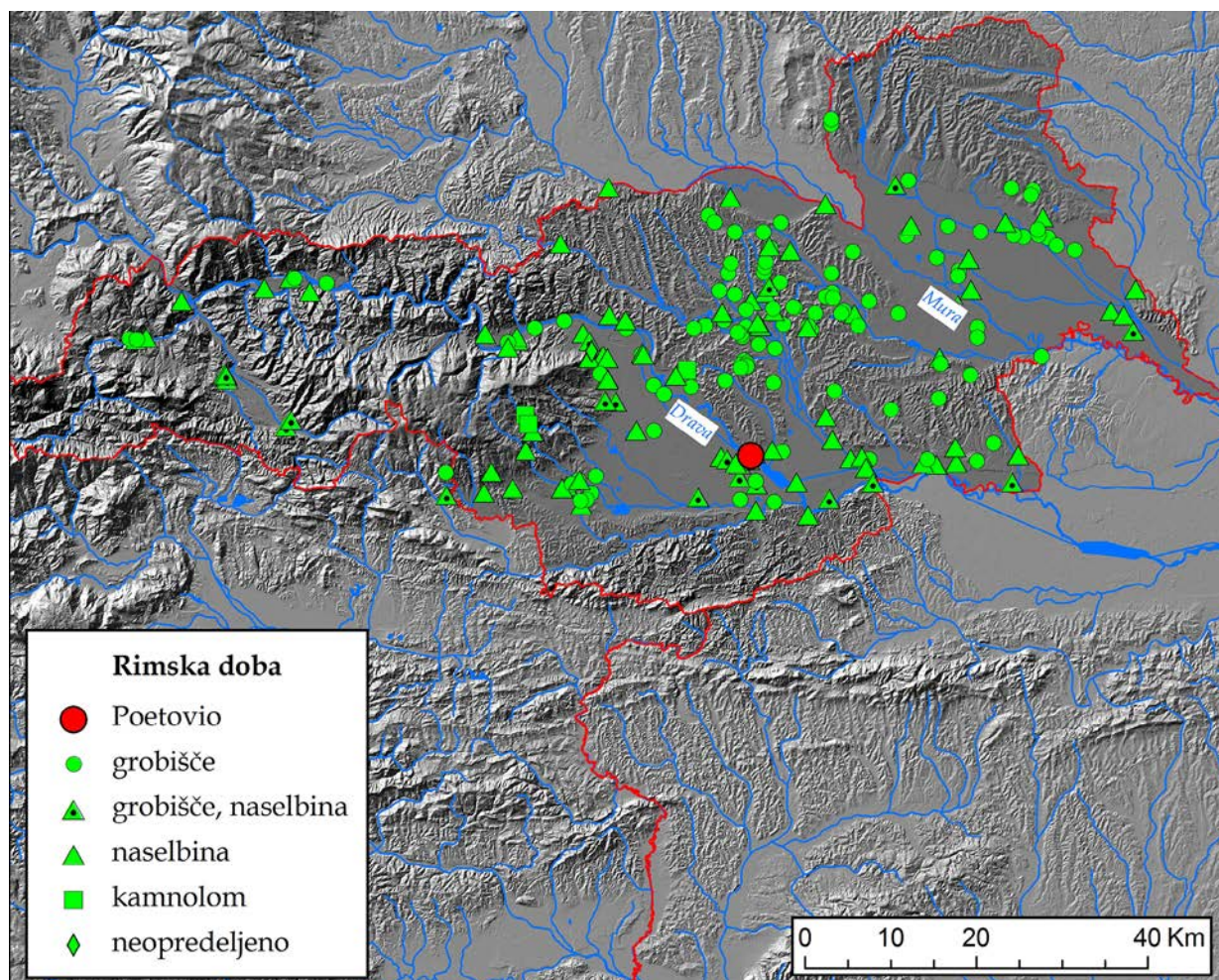
varstvo kulturne dediščine spodbudil splošno uvedbo nekaterih raziskovalnih konceptov, ki so jih na Oddelku za arheologijo Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani razvijali od konca 80. let dalje.<sup>13</sup> Pri tem izstopa predvsem izvajanje sistematičnih terenskih pregledov s popolno kolekcijo antropogenega gradiva in analizo aerofotografij. Ta nabor predhodnih arheoloških raziskav je bil od projekta avtocest dalje vključen v postopke vseh večjih gradbenih in drugih ureditvenih posegov v slovenski prostor, kar je pomembno vplivalo na razvoj slovenske arheologije in s tem tudi na razvoj rimske provincialne arheologije severovzhodne Slovenije.

Največji delež arheoloških raziskav za oceno arheološkega potenciala je opravljen v postopkih priprave državnih prostorskih načrtov (DPN), v sklopu katerih

11 Petru 1964–65, 85.

12 Za pregled literature glej Horvat *et al.* 2003.

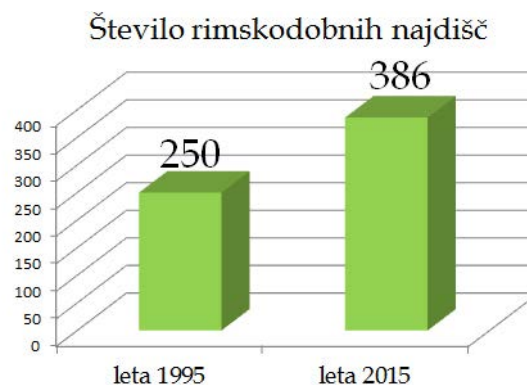
13 Novaković 2003, 236; Guštin *et al.* 1996.



**Slika 3** Rimskodobna poselitve severovzhodne Slovenije, odkrita do leta 1995 (avtor karte A. Magdič; vir podatkov Register kulturne dediščine).

je bil odkrit velik delež novih arheoloških najdišč. V zadnjih dveh desetletjih je število rimskodobnih arheoloških najdišč na obravnavanem območju naraslo za 54%, iz 250 na 386 (sl. 4). Sorazmerno največ novih najdišč je naselbinske narave (sl. 5).

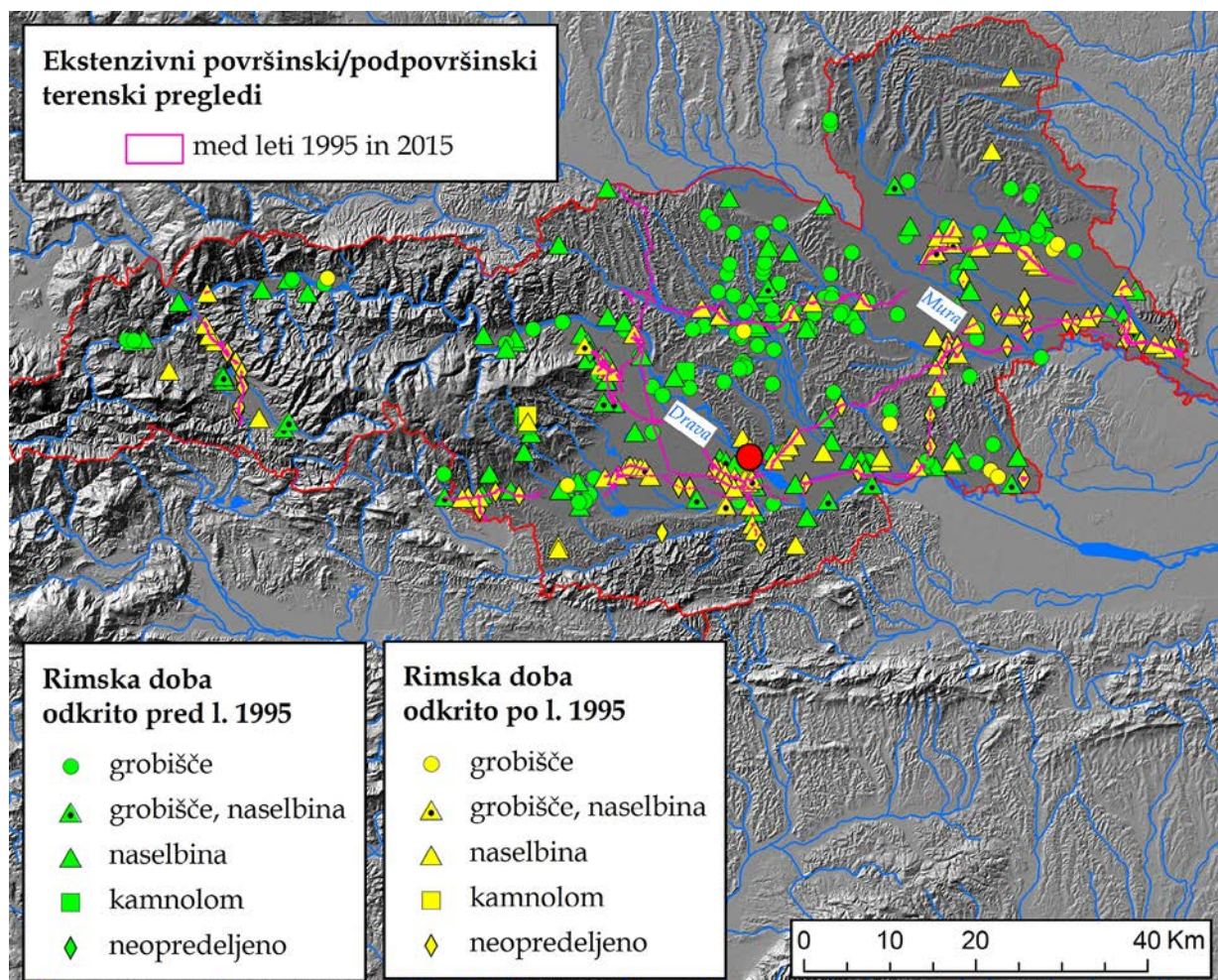
Zelo izpoveden je krajinski vidik razprostranjenosti novih arheoloških najdišč, ki je bil ugotovljen s sistematičnimi pregledi na celotni površini DPN. Pri tem ugotovljen vzorec poselitve je izrazito neenakomeren. Zelo jasno se to kaže na območju Dravskega polja, trikotni geološki udornini zapolnjeni z dravskim prodom, prekritim s tanko plastjo rjave prsti, katerega hidrološka značilnost je zelo dobra vodna prepustnost. Posledica dobre vodo prepustnosti je, da v osrednjih delih prodnega vršaja tako rekoč ni površinskih vodotokov. Po sredini prodnega vršaja je reka v sedimente, ki jih je sama nanosila, globoko vrezala svojo strugo. V zahodnem delu polja so se nalagali fini sedimenti v



**Slika 4** Graf, ki prikazuje porast znanih arheoloških najdišč med leti 1995 in 2015 (avtor grafa A. Magdič; vir podatkov Register kulturne dediščine).

obliki oglejenih<sup>14</sup> prsti, ki so jih na rob rahlo konveksno oblikovanega prodnega vršaja odložili pohorski potoki.

<sup>14</sup> Močvirnate, glinene prsti, ki ne prepuščajo površinske vode (Repe 2010, 155).

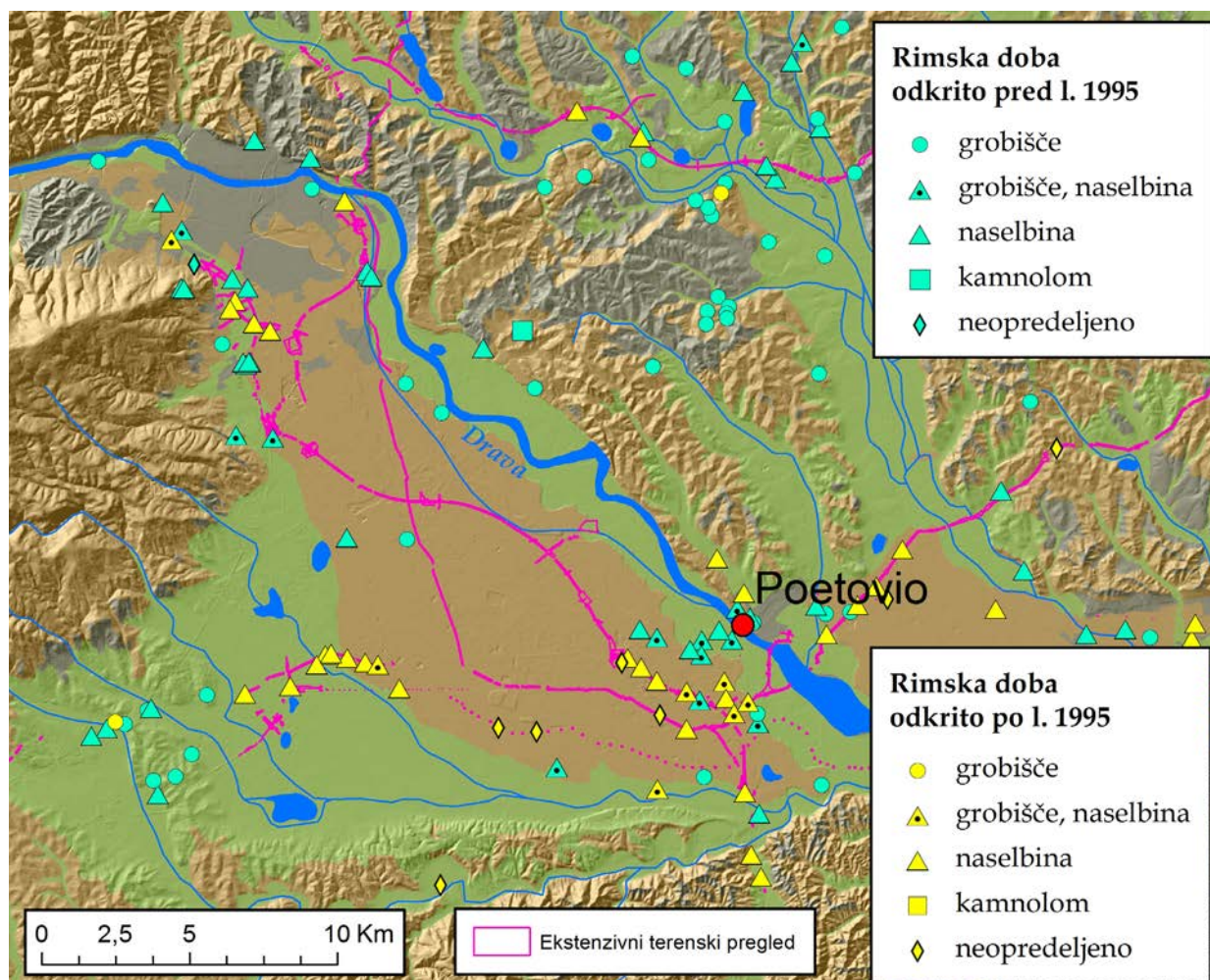


**Slika 5** Rimskodobna poselitev severovzhodne Slovenije, ki prikazuje porast znanih najdišč med leti 1995 in 2015 (avtor karte A. Magdič; vir podatkov Register kulturne dediščine).

Pogled na pedološko karto kaže, da je bil osrednji del prodnega vršaja v rimski dobi zelo redko posejten. Razlog za to je najverjetneje dejstvo, da se rahla kisl prst na prodni podlagi zelo hitro posuši, kar v kombinaciji s pomanjkanjem površinskih voda povzroča sušo na poljščinah in s tem nižji hektarski donos. Zaradi tega so se ljudje v arheoloških obdobjih (prazgodovini, rimskem obdobju, pozno-rimskem obdobju in v zgodnjem srednjem veku) osrednjega dela prodnega vršaja izogibali. Izjema je jugovzhodni del vršaja, kjer je neposredna bližina velikega urbanega središča Petovione povzročila bolj kompleksno poselitev, v kateri so bili poseljeni tudi malo manj rodovitni predeli (sl. 6). Poleg sistematičnih terenskih pregledov (površinskih in podpovršinskih) je bilo kar nekaj rimskodobnih najdišč odkritih tudi z metodami daljinskega zaznavanja, kot so aerofotografija in v zadnjih

letih vse pomembnejša lidarska snemanja. Pri aerofotografiji arheološke strukture pod zemeljsko površino prepoznamo v obliki vegetacijskih znakov, saj se rastline pri svoji rasti odzivajo na spremenjene pogoje, ki so posledica pod površino skritih arheoloških struktur (sl. 7). Za tovrsten način rekonosciranja arheoloških struktur so zelo primerni predvsem ravninski predeli, zasajeni z obsežnimi monokulturami (predvsem pšenica in ječmen, ajda, krompir in koruza ne pokažejo veliko površinskih znakov), kakršne najdemo v Prekmurju. Sistematično zračno rekognosciranje arheoloških ostalin na tem območju se je začelo leta 1997. V obdobju do leta 2002 je bilo na ta način v Prekmurju odkritih čez 100 novih arheoloških najdišč.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Kerman 2002, 5; Kerman 2013.



**Slika 6** Razprostranjenost rimskodobnih arheoloških najdišč na Dravske polju, glede na pedološko osnovo. Z rjavo barvo so označena območja dobro vodoprepustnih prsti, z zeleno barvo pa območja slabo vodoprepustnih prsti. S sivo barvo so označena antropogeno preoblikovane prsti (avtor karte A. Magdič; vir podatkov GURS in Register kulturne dediščine).

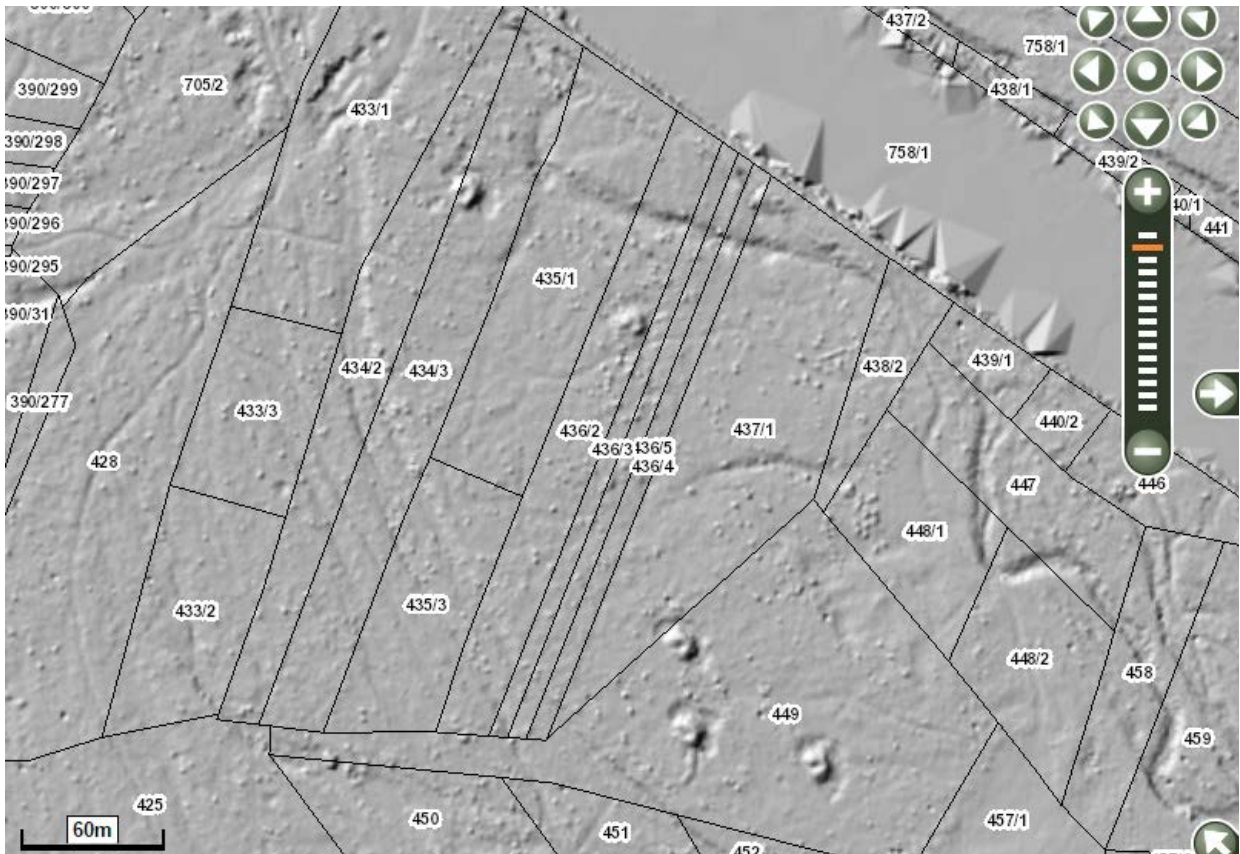
Aerofotografiji komplementarna metoda daljinskega zaznavanja je analiza podatkov iz lidarskega snemanja. Za razliko od aerofotografije, ki najboljše rezultate pokaže na intenzivno obdelanih ravnih kmetijskih površinah, so lidarski podatki najbolj uporabni za raziskavo gozdnih površin. Tudi takšnih z gosto podrastjo, kjer so klasični topografski pregledi običajno težko izvedljivi. Zanjih nekaj let so bila v sklopu priprave večine DPN izvedena tudi namenska lidarska snemanja, ki so bila izvedena prvenstveno v hidrološke namene, podatki pa so bili s pridom uporabljeni tudi v predhodnih postopkih za oceno arheološkega potenciala. Tak primer je postopek priprave DPN za HE Hrastje-Mota na Muri, na območju poplavnih ravnin reke Mure, kjer je bilo mogoče na podlagi topografskih značilnosti, ugotovljenih z analizo podatkov iz lidarskega

snemanja, popraviti obseg lokacije nekaterih arheoloških najdišč.<sup>16</sup> S sistematičnim pregledom posnetkov iz lidarskega snemanja pa prihajajo na plan tudi nova, dotlej še neopažena arheološke najdišča. Primer takšnega je gomilno grobišče s šestimi gomilami ob desnem bregu Mure, na ledini Budina pri Moti, v Občini Ljutomer (*sl. 7; sl. 8*).<sup>17</sup> Pomemben korak naprej so metode daljinskega zaznavanja doprinesle k razumevanju ustroja rimskodobne cestne mreže. Za večji del severovzhodne Slovenije je sistem itinerarskih cest z natančnimi

16 Primer Gradišče pri Tropovcih – Zgodnesrednjeveška utrdba, EŠD 10662 (Rutar, Mlekuž, Klokočovnik 2015, 11).

17 Leta 2015 je Agencija RS za okolje objavila lidarske posnetke za celotno Slovenijo, ki so prosto dostopni na njihovi spletni aplikaciji: [http://gis.arso.gov.si/evode/profile.aspx?id=atlas\\_voda\\_Lidar@Arso](http://gis.arso.gov.si/evode/profile.aspx?id=atlas_voda_Lidar@Arso).

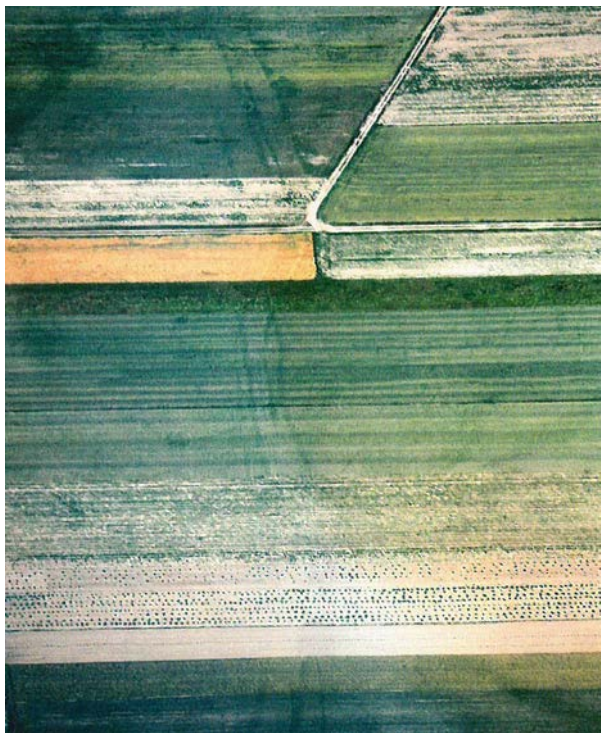




**Slika 7** Grobne gomile med rečnimi rokavi desnega brega reke Mure, odkrite z analizo lidarskih podatkov, Mota – Gomilno grobišče Budina (EŠD 30338) (vir lidarskih podatkov ARSO).



**Slika 8** Gomilnega grobišča Mota – Gomilno grobišče Budina (EŠD 30338) na aerofotografiji zaradi vegetacije ni mogoče opaziti.



**Slika 9** Spremembe v rasti vegetacije kažejo potek obcestnih jarkov, na ledini Rimska cesta, med Renkovci in Gančani, ki so nastajali skozi daljše časovno obdobje (po Kerman 2013).

topografskimi opazovanji in testnimi izkopavanji v prostoru določil Stanko Pahič v 70. in v začetku 80. letih 20. stoletja.<sup>18</sup> Za Prekmurje je podobno delo opravila Irena Šavel.<sup>19</sup> Kljub temu, da so bile glavne trase rimske mreže ugotovljene že s topografskim pregledom, sta aerofotografija in lidarski posnetki osvetlila nekatere poglede, ki pred tem niso bili mogoči.

Tak primer je trasa cestišča na poljih med Gančani in Renkovci, v ljudskem izročilu imenovana rimska cesta, ki je bila še v 90. letih 20. stoletja vidna kot 5 metrov široka proga proda, vidna v dolžini 2,5 km. V delu, kjer cesta poteka skozi gozdček, sta na vsaki strani cestišča v reliefu vidna oba 2 metra široka obcestna jarka.<sup>20</sup> Aerofotografija je pokazala, da ne gre za enotno cestišče, ki bi se ves čas nahajalo na istem mestu. Ampak, da gre za cestišče, ki je bilo večkrat popravljanje in je ob tem rahlo spreminjalo svojo traso (sl. 9). Glede na dolgotrajnost njene uporabe, na katero lahko sklepamo na podlagi večkratnega popravljanja, bi lahko v tej rimski cesti

videli alternativno cesto Petoviona – Savarija, kot jo označuje *Tabula Peutingeriana*.<sup>21</sup>

Najpomembnejša rimskodobna prometnica, ki je prečkala prostor severovzhodne Slovenije, je bila *via publica*, ki je povezovala Celejo preko Petovione s Savarijo, oz. širše gledano, Akvilejo s Karnuntom (sl. 10). V 60. in 70. letih 20. stoletja je potek te ceste v Podravju podrobno raziskal Stanko Pahič, pri čemer je številne odseke tudi presondiral.<sup>22</sup> Na podlagi njegovih dognanj je bila skoraj celotna trasa od Slovenske Bistrice do Središča ob Dravi, v dolžini več kot 50 km, vpisana v register kulturne dediščine in razglašena za kulturni spomenik.

V gozdu med Središčem ob Dravi in Ormožem je več odsekov te ceste še danes vidnih kot 6 metrov široko utrjeno cestišče z obcestnima jarkoma. Analiza podatkov iz lidarskih snemanj za to območje je pokazala, da tudi ta cesta kaže znake dolgotrajne uporabe. Ta primer je opaziti v gozdu z ledinskim imenom *Gaberje*, v bližini vasi Loperšice, na mestu, kjer je cesta morala prečkati manjšo globel potoka, ki priteče s Slovenskih goric. Lesena brv ali most, ki je prečkal globel zaradi slabega vzdrževanja v nekem trenutku ni bil več prevozen. Zato so uporabniki ceste začeli globel prečkati nekoliko nižje po pobočju, kjer je bil prehod mogoč tudi brez brvi. Ta obvoz je na terenu pustil jarke, ki so nastali zaradi trajne uporabe. Ker obvoz ni bil utrjen z gramozom, je hitro prišlo do zablatenja, zaradi česar je bilo treba traso vedno znova malo premikati. Posledica tega je nastanek t. i. ugreznjenih poti (ang. *hollow ways*),<sup>23</sup> katere moramo, na enak način kot prvotno utrjeno cestišče, smatrati kot del rimske ceste (sl. 11).

Celotno dimenzijo intenzitete prometa, ki se je gibal po glavni prometnici med italjskim in panonskim prostorom, lahko zaslutimo ob opazovanju odseka ceste zahodno od Slovenske Bistrice. Lidarski posnetek dela gozda z ledinskim imenom Grajenka

18 Pahič 1983.

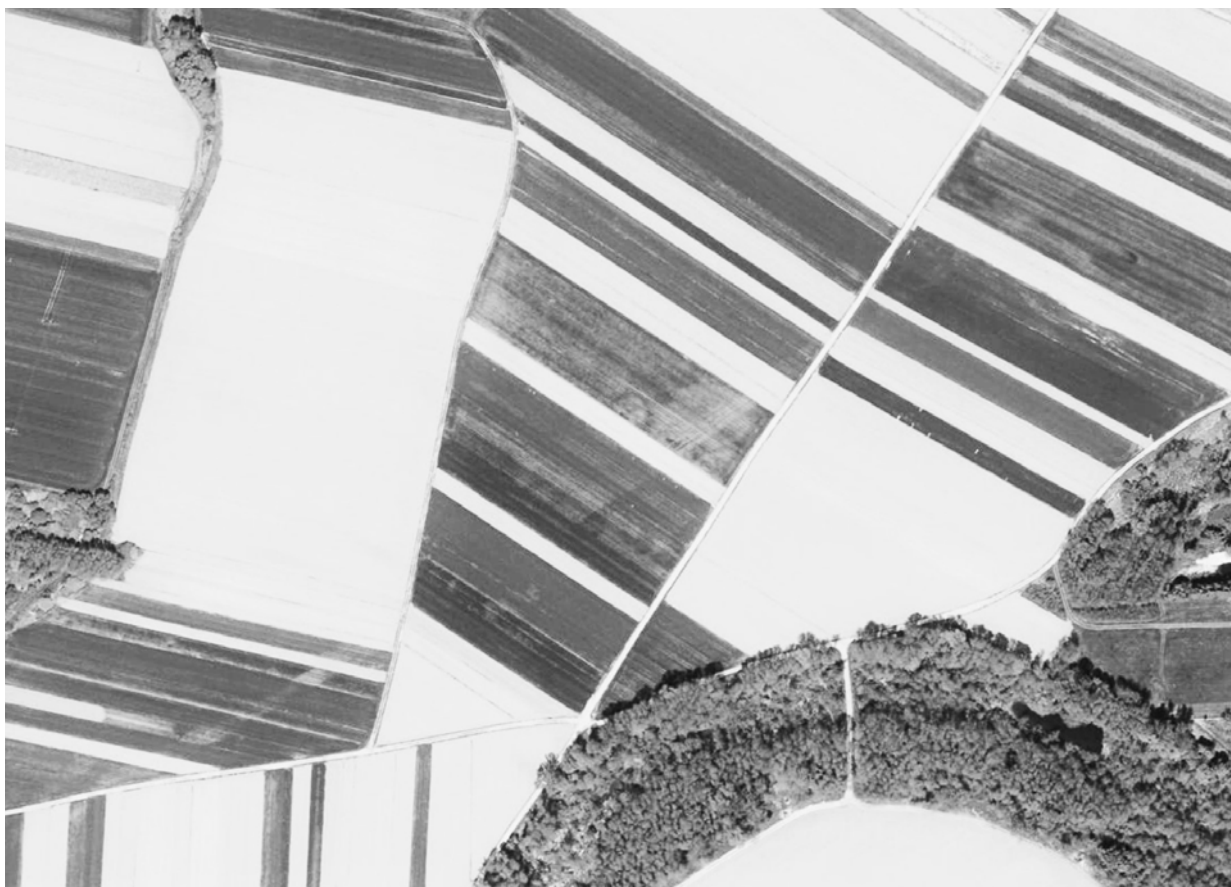
19 Šavel 1991.

20 Šavel 1991, 37.

21 Szilagy 2012, Fig. 37.

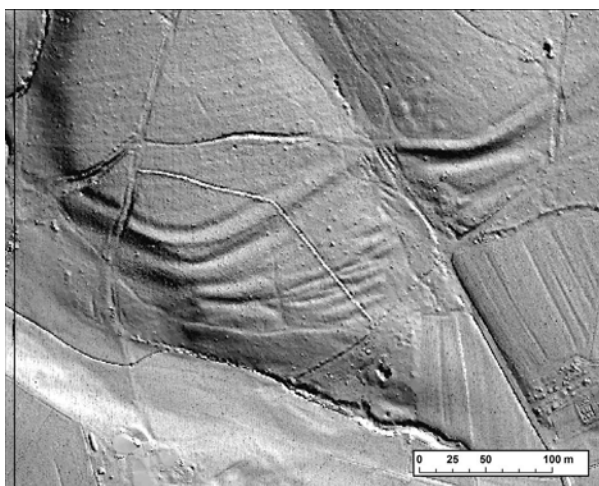
22 Pahič 1964–1965; Pahič 1978; Pahič 1983.

23 Za podrobnejšo razlago nastanka in pomena ugreznjenih poti za razumevanje historične krajine glej: Mlekuž 2014.



**Slika 10** Trasa nadregionalno pomembne rimske ceste Aquileia–Carnuntum, ki jo je mogoče opazovati na aerofotografiji območja pri vasi Gaberje v Prekmurju (vir fotografije: ARSO).

razkriva, da se je na tem mestu prvotna utrjena trasa ceste povsem izgubila v pravcatem „morju“ ugreznjenih poti (sl. 12). Glavna prometnica, kot je označena na karti prve vojaške izmere iz let 1763 in 1787,



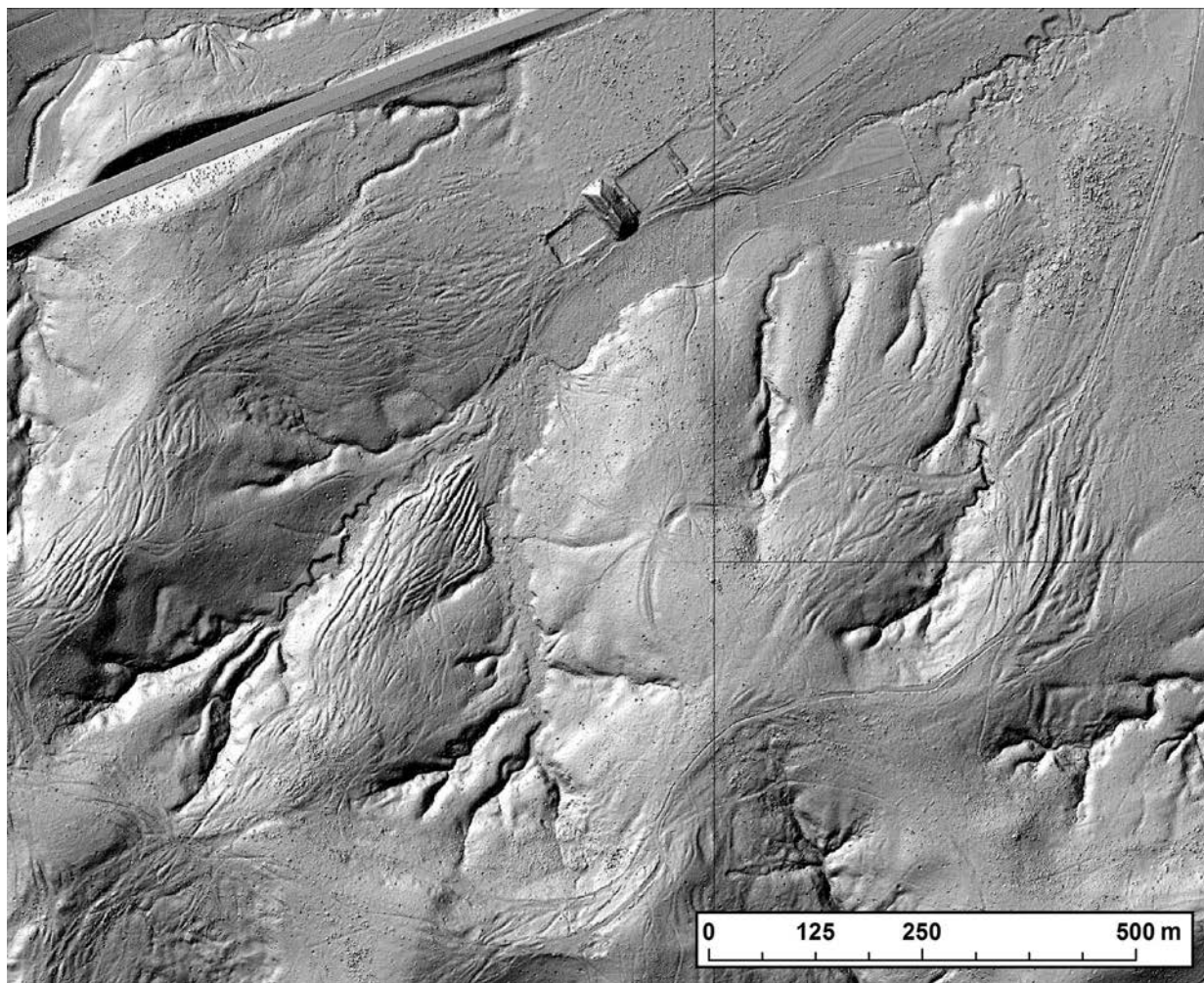
**Slika 11** Trasa rimske ceste Aquileia–Carnuntum, kot jo je s pomočjo lidarskih podatkov mogoče opazovati pri vasi Loperšice pri Ormožu. Premiki cestišča kažejo na dolgotrajno uporabo te ceste (vir lidarskih podatkov ARSO).

poteka nekoliko severneje, na mestu današnje glavne regionalne ceste Slovenska Bistrica–Slovenske Konjice.<sup>24</sup> Zaradi tega lahko sklepamo, da je bila trasa rimske ceste kot glavna prometnica opuščena najpozneje v prvih stoletjih novega veka. Iz pisnih virov vemo, da je bila rimska cesta, ki je iz smeri Madžarskega kraljestva vodila v notranjost Nemškega cesarstva in Italiji, uporabljana še globoko v srednji vek.<sup>25</sup> Verjetno je, da so tudi ugreznjene poti v gozdu Grajenka posledica uporabe območja trase rimske ceste še v srednjem veku.

Občuten razvoj se je v zadnjih 20 letih zgodil tudi na področju rimske naselbinske arheologije. Predvsem v segmentu vaške poselitve. Sistematični terenski pregledi (površinski in podpovršinski) in nato arheološka izkopavanja, tudi na območjih,

<sup>24</sup> Historične karte, izdelane v času avstro-ogrske administracije, so javno dostopne na spletni aplikaciji: <http://mapire.eu/en/>

<sup>25</sup> Kosi 1998, 11.



**Slika 12** Območje gozda z ledinskim imenom Grajenka, zahodno od Slovenske Bistrice, kjer se dolgotrajna intenzivna uporaba prvotne rimskodobne ceste s pomočjo lidarskih podatkov kaže kot nepregledna množica t. i. ugreznjenih poti (vir podatkov ARSO).

kjer pred tem niso bili znani nikakršni arheološki sledovi, so odstrnila podeželsko poselitev obrečnih ravnin v poprej neslutnem obsegu. Na plan so prišli ostanki vaških naselbin, ki so popolnoma spremenili dotedanje razumevanje rimskodobne naselbinske arheologije Pomurja in Podravja.

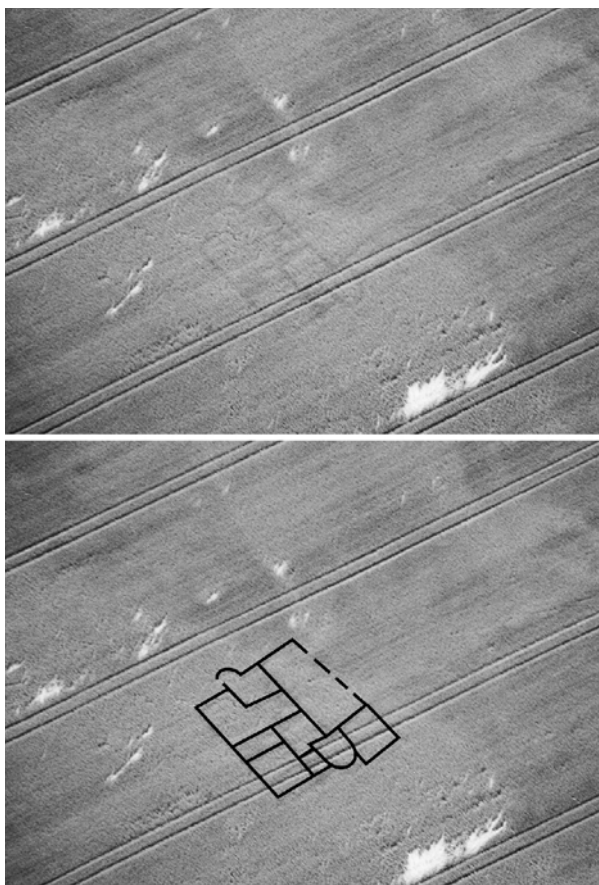
Značilna oblika rimskodobne podeželske arhitekture, kot je bila poznana do sredine 90. let 20. stoletja, je t. i. *villa rustica*, podeželski stanovanjsko-gospodarski kompleks, ki je običajno zajemal obzidan kompleks, dimenzij nekaj manj kot 100 × 100 metrov. Njihova izrazita značilnost je zidava v kamnu oz. zgradbe na kamnitih pasovnih temeljih. Pogosto je bil stanovanjski del stavbe opremljen s centralnim ogrevanjem, kar nakazujejo najdbe prostorov s

hipokavstom (opečnatih stebričkov, med katerimi je bil speljan topel zrak za talno gretje)<sup>26</sup> (sl. 13).

Za razliko od do nedavna prevladujoče predstave o ustroju rimskodobne podeželske poselitve, ki naj bi jo sestavljale predvsem vile rustike, so arheološka izkopavanja novo odkritih rimskodobnih najdišč na trasah AC in DPN v veliki večini primerov razkrila vaške zaselke s prevladujočim enostavnim lesenim stavbnim fondom.

Pogosto so bili raziskani zaselki z oranjem uničeni do te mere, da so se od objektov ohranili le najgloblji deli gradbene konstrukcije, hodne površine in nadzemni deli struktur pa v celoti manjkajo. V nekaterih primerih pa oranje ni seglo tako globoko in je bilo mogoče ugotoviti tudi tlorise objektov. Tak

26 Lubšina Tušek 1981; Strmčnik Gulič 1990.



**Slika 13** *Tloris villae rusticae na ledini Mužge, južno od Murske Sobote (po Kerman 2008).*



**Slika 14** *Aerofotografija arheoloških ostalin rimskodobnega zaselka pri Cogetincih v Slovenskih goricah (po Horvat 2013).*

primer je zaselek na odseku AC med Mariborom in Lendavo z Gornjih njiv pri Dolgi vasi, v bližini ceste Petoviona–Savarija, datiran v čas med začetkom 2. in sredino 3. stoletja. Tam so bila, poleg ostankov lesenih objektov, odkrita tudi ognjišča in peči ter vodnjak z ohranjeno leseno kaščo.<sup>27</sup> Drug tak

primer je naselbina iz zaključne faze rimske dobe v Cogetincih na isti trasi AC, vzhodno od Lenarta v Slovenskih goricah. Številni leseni naselbinski objekti, zgrajeni na način stojkaste gradnje, s pečmi in ognjišči, med katerimi je bila ugotovljena tudi lončarska delavnica (*sl. 14, sl. 15*), so na podlagi tipološke analize keramičnega gradiva in radiokarbonske analize datirani v konec 4. in prvo polovico 5. stoletja.<sup>28</sup>

Na najdišču Lancova vas južno od Ptuja, na trasi AC Draženci–MMP Gruškovje, ob cesti, ki je predstavljala najkrajšo komunikacijo med Petoviono in municipijem Andautonia, današnja vas Ščitarjevo na Hrvaškem južno od Zagreba, je bilo odkrito zanimivo sosledje lesene in kamnite gradnje. Prva fazo poselitve najdišča v 1. stoletju n. št. predstavlja zaselek lesenih objektov, zgrajenih tako v stojkasti gradnji, kot tudi v obliki vodoravni tramovi. Po veliki uničujoči povodnji ob koncu 1. ali na začetku 2. stoletja, ko je reka Polskava nanosila na območje naselbine 0,4 m debelo plast naplavinskega materiala, je bila na istem mestu zgrajena zidana vila rustika, v katere reprezentančni stavbi je bil odkrit tudi prostor s hipokavstom. Na robu naselbine ob cesti je bilo v zaključni fazi poselitve urejeno plano žgano grobišče z grobnimi parcelami (*sl. 16*), na katerem je bila postavljena tudi grobna gomila, v katere notranjosti je bila odkrita poslikana grobna kamra.<sup>29</sup>

Raziskovalne metode prostorske arheologije, o katerih je govora v prispevku, v povezavi z uporabo geografskih informacijskih sistemov, bi mogoče lahko predstavljale korak naprej na področju raziskovanja rimskodobne podeželske poselitve. Vzporedno s tem bi bilo potrebno nagraditi tudi metodologijo ugotavljanja obsega in funkcionalnosti posameznih arheoloških najdišč znotraj naselbinske slike. Velika večina arheoloških najdišč v nižinah Pomurja in Podravja (z izjemo ohranjenih gomilnih grobišč) je namreč prepoznana zgolj kot točka v prostoru, brez vedenja o njihovem obsegu. Predvsem pri nižinskih naselbinah se pokaže dosedanja nesistematičnost pri ugotavljanju njih-

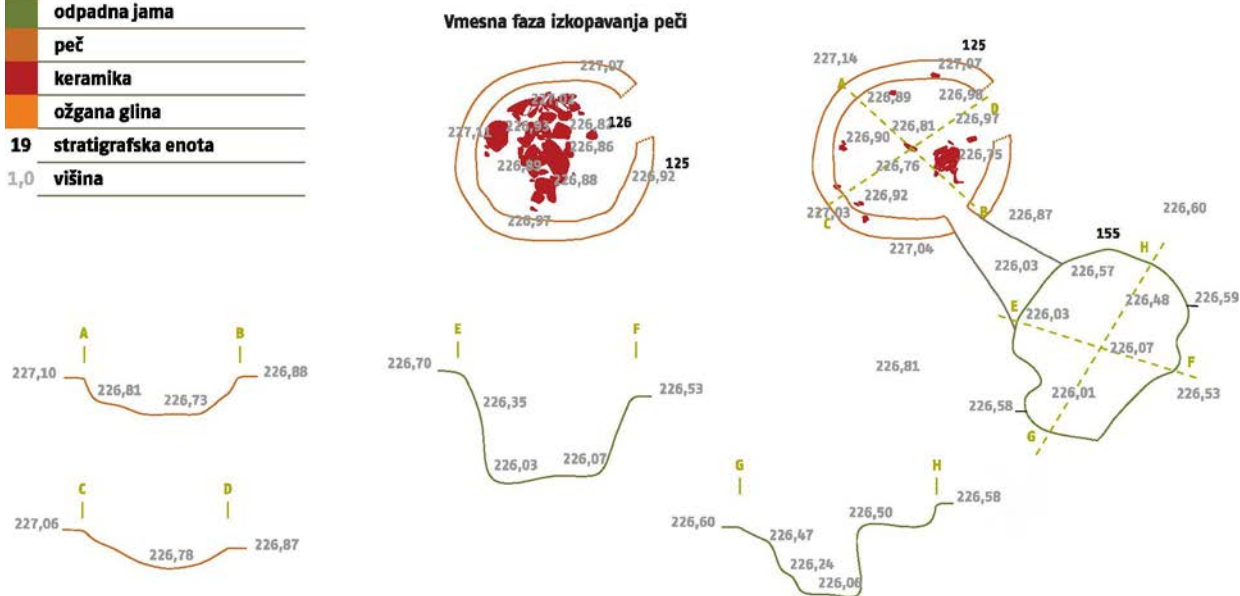
<sup>27</sup> Šavel, Kerman 2008, 24.

<sup>28</sup> Horvat 2013, 232.

<sup>29</sup> Plestenjak, Brečić 2016, 42.

**50 Peč SE 125 in jama SE 155 – tloris in presek; M 1:50.**

	odpadna jama
	peč
	keramika
	ožgana glina
	19 stratigrafska enota
	1,0 višina



**51 Lončarska peč SE 125 – pričetek praznjenja kuriščnega prostora.**



**52 Lončarska peč SE 125 – izpraznjen kuriščni prostor.**



**Slika 15** Grafična dokumentacija lončarskih peči z rimskodobnega zaselka v Cogetincih v Slovenskih goricah (po Horvat 2013).

vega obsega in funkcije znotraj rimskodobne organizacije prostora. Arheološki testni izkopi, ki so bili na številnih najdiščih izvedeni v okviru sistematičnih topografskih raziskav v drugi polovici 20. stoletja so največkrat ugotavljali zgolj stratifikacijo najdišča, ob morebitnem slučajnem odkritju so določili tudi tip stavbne gradnje. Tudi arheološka izkopavanja večjih površin, ki so se odvijala kot del avtocestnega projekta, so v okviru v naprej določenega gradbenega okvira običajno načela zgolj del najdišča, iztrgan iz širšega prostorskega konteksta.

Kot naslednji korak ali bolje rečeno vizija na področju rimskodobne podeželske naselbinske arhe-

ologije bi bilo potrebno vzpostaviti širše interdisciplinarno znanstveno raziskovalno gibanje, ki bi sistematično analiziralo in sintetiziralo velike količine arheoloških podatkov, ki so bili pridobljeni predvsem v zadnjih desetletjih pri velikih gradbenih posegih. Pri tem bi bilo gotovo smiselno dodatno izpostaviti posamezna najdišča, ki so bila doslej raziskana parcialno, zgolj znotraj gradbenega okvira, in z različnimi nedestruktivnimi (geofizikalnimi in geokemičnimi) metodami ugotoviti njihov dejanski obseg, notranjo strukturo in dejavnosti, ki so se v njih odvijale ter definirati paleokolje, znotraj katerega so ležale. Na podlagi rezultatov takšnega sku-



**Slika 16** Aerofotografija grobišča z grobnimi parcelami ob vili rustiki pri Lancovi vasi, južno od Ptuja (po Plestenjak, Brečić 2016).

pnega raziskovalnega dela bi bilo mogoče začeti vrednotenje poselitvene slike, katerega rezultat bi lahko vodil v poskus interpretacije in rekonstrukcije rimskodobne kulturne krajine.

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## New Aspects of Roman *villae* in Styria, Austria

### Novi pogledi na rimske vile na avstrijskem Štajerskem

Susanne Lamm, Patrick Marko

**Izvleček:** Jugovzhodni del Norika, ozemlje municipija *Flavia Solva* (Wagna pri Lipnici, Štajerska), je zaznamovala cvetoča agrarna ekonomija, na kar kažejo tudi številne rimske vile, zlasti ob rekah, kot sta Mura in reka Lassnitz. Dve izmed teh vil, vila rustika Grünau in prestižna vila Forst-Thalerhof, katerih obstoj je bil znan že dalj časa, sta bili nedavno ponovno preučeni.

**Ključne besede:** Norik, *villae*, arhitektura, razkošje, lončenina, *horrea*

**Abstract:** The Southeast part of *Noricum*, the territory of the municipium *Flavia Solva* (Wagna bei Leibnitz, Styria), was characterised by a flourishing agrarian economy and exemplified by a number of Roman *villae* especially along the river courses, such as the Mur and the Lassnitz. Two of those *villae*, Grünau and Forst-Thalerhof, whose existence was known for some time, were recently re-examined.

**Key words:** *Noricum*, *villae*, architecture, luxury, pottery, *horrea*

#### The villa at Grünau

A Roman villa site and nearby barrows were unearthed in 14 excavation campaigns between 1988 and 2008. These were led by Erwin Pochmarski (Institute of Archaeology, University of Graz) and, later, by Barbara Porod (Department of Archaeology and Coin Cabinet, Universalmuseum Joanneum).<sup>1</sup> Part of the villa was analysed by Susanne Lamm in her Ph.D. thesis,<sup>2</sup> whilst the rest was studied in a follow-up project.<sup>3</sup>

The villa at Grünau is situated in the Lassnitz valley in the modern province of Styria. The site is approximately 20 km to the west of the *municipium Flavia Solva*, in the south-eastern part of the Roman province of *Noricum*. The northern and western

borders of the municipal territory are defined by mountain ranges, but the borders with the neighbouring towns of *Savaria*, *Salla*, *Poetovio* and *Celeia* are still a subject of debate,<sup>4</sup> in spite of the fact that this local border also formed the provincial border between *Noricum* and *Pannonia*.<sup>5</sup> However, the villa at Grünau can be counted lying within the territory of *Flavia Solva*, because of its location between the Koralm mountain range to the east and the river Mur to the west.

The villa complex (*Fig. 2*) was built on the virtually flat valley bottom close to the north facing hill slope on the southern side of the valley. The villa itself consists of a main building divided into two complexes, and two outbuildings. The earliest and the latest structures were identified in the eastern complex of the main building. A succession of construction phases can be classified, as follows in this area: a number of timber buildings (1<sup>st</sup> century AD),

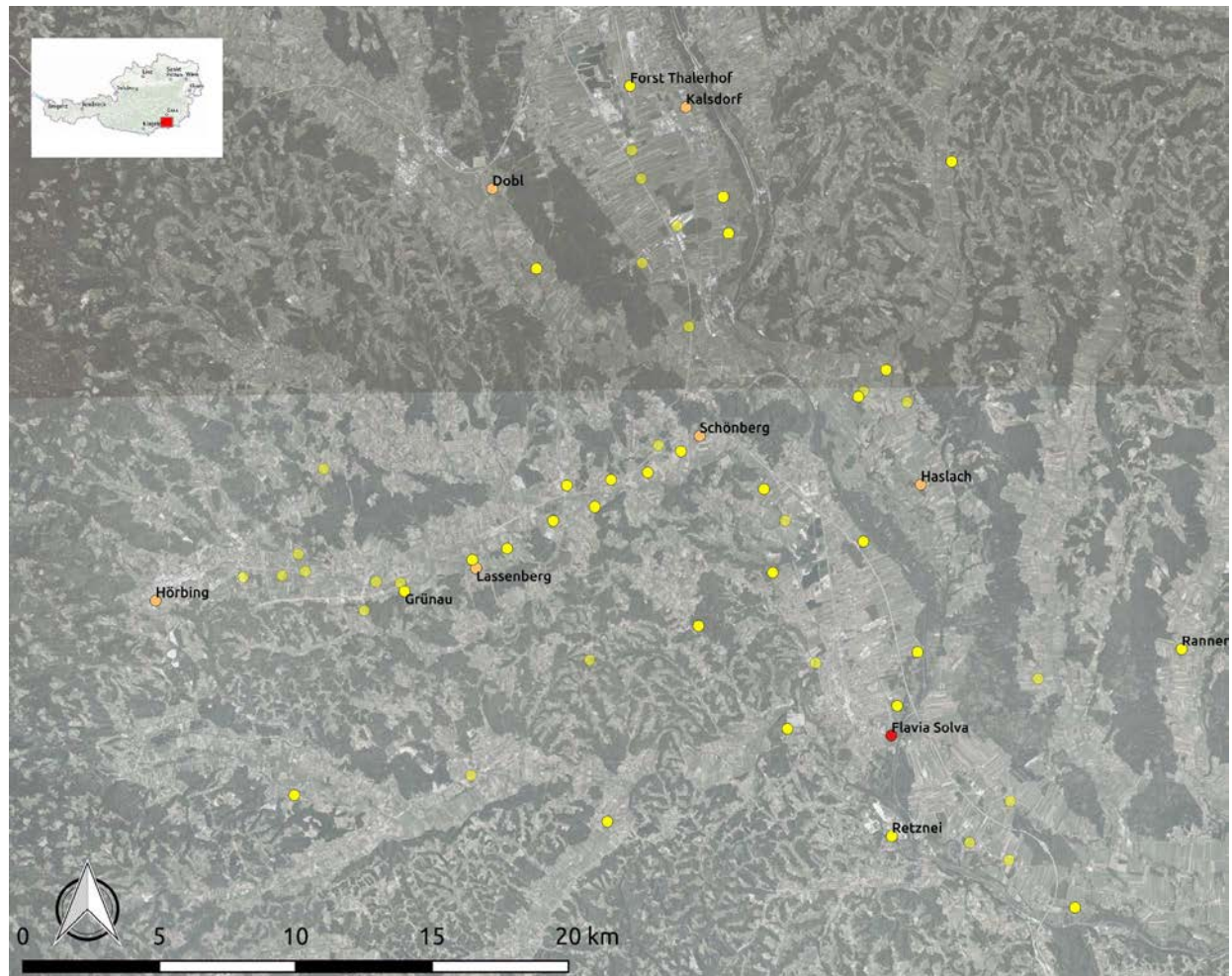
1 A summary and the famous *Silberbecher* (silver skyphos) were published by Pochmarski, Porod 2008. A more recent analysis was published by Lamm, Marko 2012b.

2 Lamm 2011.

3 A complete publication of the *villa* at Grünau will be published in the near future. Some groups of finds have already been published: indigenous grey fine ware Lamm 2012 and glass finds Lamm 2016.

4 Lamm 2014.

5 Lamm 2006, 392–412; Csapláros, Neuhauser 2012; Lehner 2012.



**Figure 1** The Mur and Lassnitz valley, Styria, with Roman villae (yellow, possible sites in pale yellow), vici (orange), and municipium Flavia Solva (red) (illustration P. Marko; background orthophoto (C) basemap.at).

stone foundations (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD?), a partial levelling at or around the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, the main phase with a new building around mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, the rebuilding of some of the structures (late second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD?) and a partial reuse/refurbishing in the Late Roman period.<sup>6</sup> In addition to the usual coarse ware the finds in this area comprised a large amount of indigenous fine reduced ware (with or without coating; so-called grey fine ware), imported material such as Terra Sigillata, glass (vessels, jewellery), as well as metalwork (iron, bronze, lead), amphorae, lamps and gold and amber jewellery. There is evidence of textile manufacture (loom weights, spindle whorls, a lead tag), metalworking (slag, crucible fragments, a bellows' nozzle), as well as

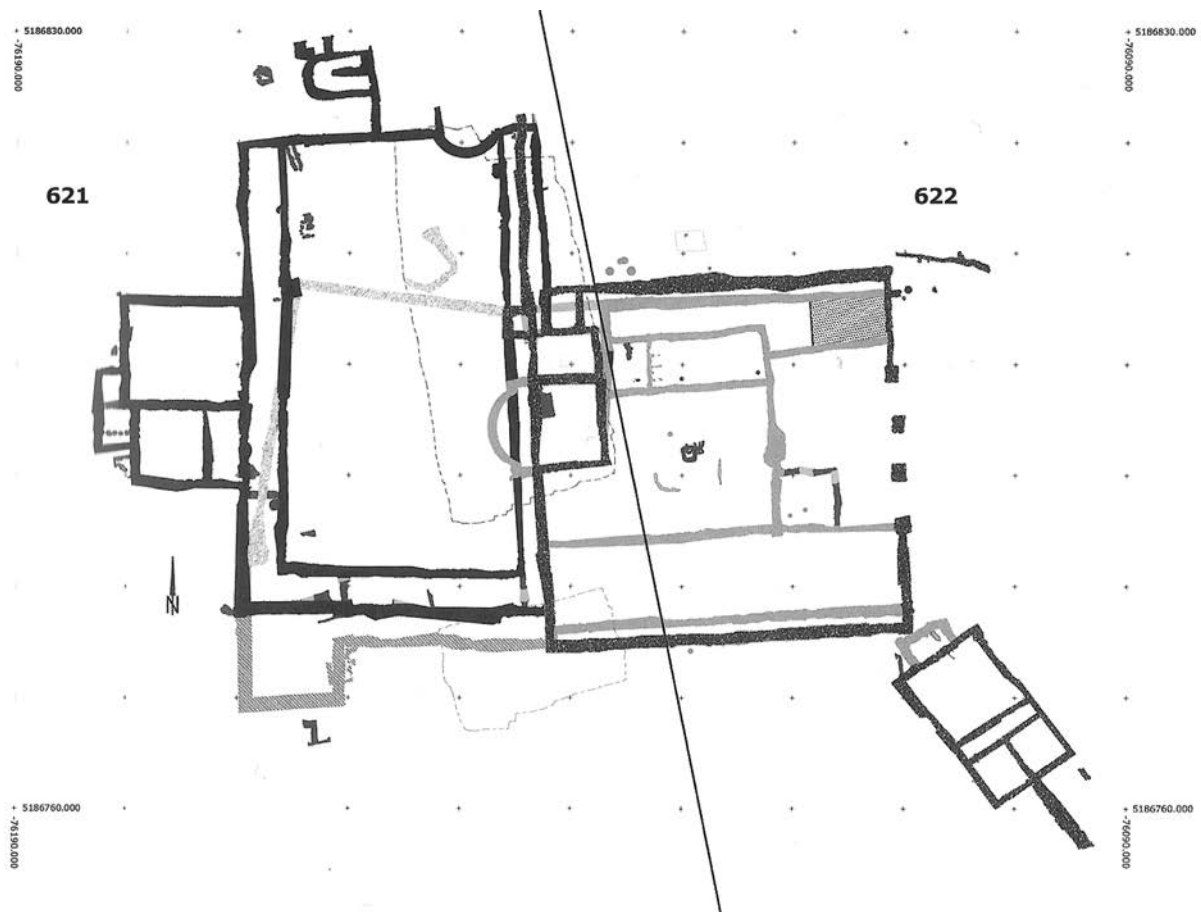
<sup>6</sup> These construction periods, also published in Lamm, Marko 2012b, revise the previously published construction periods, like shown in Pochmarski, Porod 2008, Fig. 1.

evidence for grain cultivation (storage vessels) and animal husbandry (a cattle bell, bone fragments).

Two nearby mortuary sites, each comprising three barrows (*tumuli*), were also examined.<sup>7</sup> The small finds and the plans of the *tumuli* indicate a construction date between the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century and the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. Unfortunately, all of the excavated graves had been disturbed by looters in the past.

The main road through the Lassnitz valley is located about 300 metres to the north of the villa. The road runs west-east and connects the *municipium* of Flavia Solva with the Koralm area. Other Roman period settlement sites have been found along this route during the excavations that accompanied the construction of the Koralmbahn, the high-speed train link be-

<sup>7</sup> Pochmarski, Pochmarski-Nagele 1997; Pochmarski, Pochmarski-Nagele 1999.



**Figure 2** *The Grünau villa (illustration T. Neubauer).*

tween Graz and Klagenfurt. In addition, several Roman period graves were also excavated. One of them can be directly linked to the Grünau villa, because it is located at the junction between the main road and a side road to the villa.

The latter site is the gravel foundation of a Roman funerary monument, the width of the excavated southern side of which is 4.80 m. The foundation was surrounded by an enclosing wall, which was 15 m wide.<sup>8</sup> Both the funerary monument and the enclosing wall were destroyed in the post-Roman period, the only part remaining *in situ* being the gravel foundation.

During the 1950s a fragment of a relief with the depiction of a *sella curulis*, a *lictor* and a *scriba* (Fig. 3) was found in the foundations of the enclosing walls

of the church in Groß Sankt Florian, the modern town nearest to the Grünau villa. In my opinion the *sella curulis* relief was a part of the funerary monument that was found to the north of the Grünau villa because the dimensions of the reconstructed relief correspond with those of the gravel foundation. Therefore, one of the villa owners must have been a *duumvir* from the *municipium* of *Flavia Solva*.

Another interesting building connected to the villa was identified on an aerial photograph from the 1950s. Crop-marks indicate the existence of a large *horreum* (38 × 25 × 40 × 26 m; 950–1040 m<sup>2</sup>) about 100 m to the north of the villa (Fig. 4).

The Grünau villa was only well known until recently for its most valuable find, the silver skyphos. However, our mental image of the site has become far more vivid during the last years (Fig. 5). It can now be seen as a site where people lived, tilled the soil, bred

<sup>8</sup> Lamm 2015.



**Figure 3** *The relief from Gross St. Florian (photo P. Weisi).*

animals, carried out crafts and manufacturing, where the owners, at some point magistrates from the nearby *municipium*, were buried in barrows and other funerary monuments. The villa must also have been a central collection point for agricultural produce from other farms. Goods were transported from here to urban areas by road.

### Forst-Thalerhof

A similar, though even more luxurious, picture of upper class life in the area of *Flavia Solva* is also emerging from the recent systematic evaluation of decades of research on the villa at Forst-Thalerhof. The site is situated roughly 25 km north of the *municipium Flavia Solva* in the Mur valley. It was originally excavated between 1937 and 1939, although the results of the

excavation were never published in detail.<sup>9</sup> This is all the more unfortunate, since the largest and most luxurious of the Southeast Alpine *villae* was found in Thalerhof; in fact, the main building, the only structure uncovered in the excavations, occupied 4700 m<sup>2</sup>. This size is only rivaled in all of *Noricum* by the villa in Loig near Salzburg.<sup>10</sup> Further examples of comparable luxury buildings can only be found in few central areas of the Roman Empire, such as the centres of the senatorial/aristocratic *villeggiatura* in Campania, around Rome and the North Italian lakes,<sup>11</sup> as well as the extremely rich region of *Histria*, which was part of the *Regio X* of Italy in imperial times.<sup>12</sup> The extraordinary luxury of the villa at Thalerhof is also visible in the finds, which were extremely rich in

9 A short preliminary report was published by Grubinger 1959.

10 Gruber 2015.

11 Cf. Mayer 2005, 39.

12 Cf. De Franceschini 1998, 799–800.



**Figure 4** Orthophotograph of the Grünau villa site (data source: Bundesamt für Eich- und Vermessungswesen; orthophoto: Institute of Geography and Regional Sciences, University of Graz).



**Figure 5** Overview of sites in Grünau (illustration S. Lamm; image © GoogleEarth).

fragments of wall paintings, stucco and marble furnishing. The villa consists of three separate wings, connected by a main corridor, which was 80m in length (Fig. 6). A bath complex with an area of over 500 m<sup>2</sup> was located in the southern part of the west wing (Fig. 6: 56–68);<sup>13</sup> the central wing contained representative rooms with polygonal plans (Fig. 6: 21, 28) and apses (Fig. 6: 26, 28), whilst a georadar survey in 2007 identified a *horreum* with an area of at least 225 m<sup>2</sup> was in the east (Fig. 6: 87).<sup>14</sup> The layout has frequently been compared to that of the classical peristyle type villa, although the main corridor (Fig. 6: 16, 24) does not appear to have been an open colonnade: It featured an elaborate hypocaust heating, with a subterranean *praefurnium* under the central tract (Fig. 6: 19), from where the West and East halves of the corridor could be heated separately.

A curious feature of the villa is a structure that is approximately 175 m (almost 1 *stadium*) in length with drop-shaped ends on its northeastern side (Fig. 6: 76, 77, 82, 83), which was identified recently in a geophysical survey and from aerial photographs. While lacking exact parallels, similar building shapes were

found e.g. in the villa *ad duas lauros* in Centocelle, where a slightly smaller *deambulatorio o xystus*<sup>15</sup> with rounded end pavilions connects the main building to a *zona termale*, or in Nennig, where the so-called *lange Halle*<sup>16</sup> covers the more than 250 m to the villa bath. All in all, the Thalerhof villa warrants a closer examination than has been previously undertaken, not least to clear up the time frame for this singular building: While the excavators dated the villa to the 3<sup>rd</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD,<sup>17</sup> later researchers prefer an earlier date,<sup>18</sup> comparing the structure to imperial Hadrianic architecture.

However, unfortunately the apparent luxurious nature of the architectural remains does not extend to the small finds, which are very few in comparison to the aforementioned fragments of building decoration. Nevertheless, recent work on the small finds has revealed several pieces that shed some light on the previously unclear timeline. The pottery found in Thalerhof<sup>19</sup> can mostly be categorized as typical southeastern Norican coarse ware, such as that found in large

13 Cf. Lamm, Marko 2012a.

14 Heymans, Morawetz 2008. A more detailed description of the horreum in Thalerhof is in preparation in Lamm, Marko 2017 forthcoming.

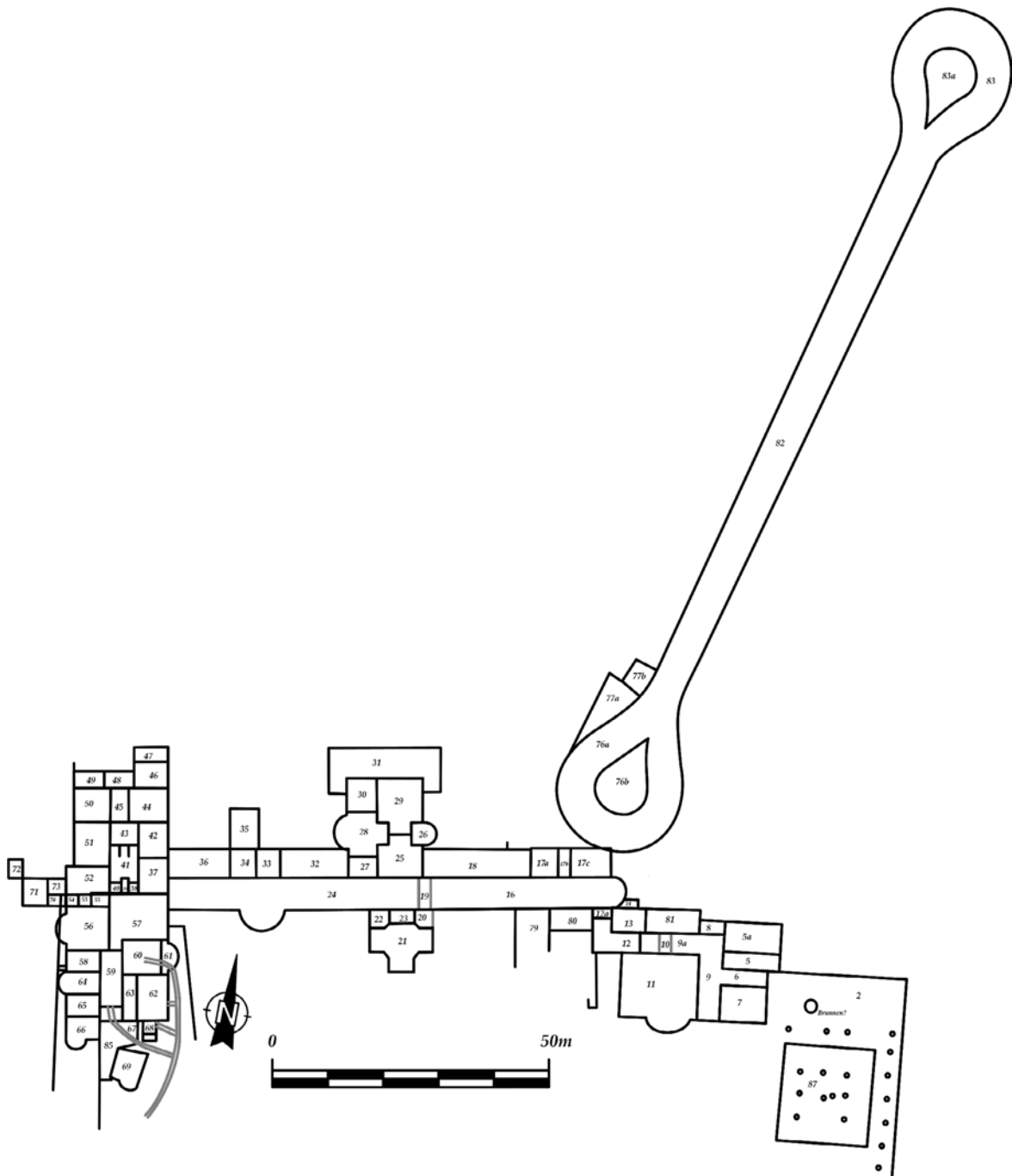
15 De Franceschini 2005, 176–179.

16 Glaser, Marek, Schumacher 2007, 36–37.

17 Grubinger 1959, 19.

18 E. g. Schrettle 2007, 262.

19 Some ceramic finds from Thalerhof were published already in Marko 2016a, for the complete analysis of the small finds cf. Marko 2017.



**Figure 6** *The Forst-Thalerhof villa (illustration P. Marko).*

quantities in all the settlements of Roman Imperial date in the vicinity, e.g. *Flavia Solva*<sup>20</sup>, Kalsdorf<sup>21</sup>, or Gleisdorf<sup>22</sup>. These include several tripods, both with inverted rim (*Cat. No. 503, 506, 508, 541*) and with horizontal rim (*Cat. No. 548, 948*), which were pres-

ent throughout the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD in Styria,<sup>23</sup> with early specimens from *Poetovio* dating to the Flavian period.<sup>24</sup> Another bowl (*Cat. No. 967*) has a parallel from the late 1<sup>st</sup> century AD in *Carnuntum*,<sup>25</sup> as does a good quality firma lamp (*Cat. No. 944*) similar to examples found in the western cemeteries of *Poetovio*, which Istenič dates to the late 1<sup>st</sup> to the early

20 Recent research on finds from *Flavia Solva* e.g. in Hinker 2014.

21 Lohner-Urban 2009.

22 Jeschek 2000.

23 Cf. Csapláros, Hinker, Lamm 2012.

24 Istenič 1999, 144.

25 Petznek 1997, 242.

2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>26</sup> Three bowls of the so-called Pannonische Glanztonware (*Cat. No. 494, 495, 936*) are also comparable to examples from the late 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD in Gleisdorf.<sup>27</sup> The general trend is further supported by two Terra Sigillata fragments found in the villa. The first is a fragment of a Dragendorff 37 bowl (*Cat. No. 945*) from the workshop of *Laxtucissa*<sup>28</sup> or *Paternus*<sup>29</sup> in central Gaul, dating to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, whilst the second is a small bowl bearing a stamp of *Africanus* (*Cat. No. 947*), which can be dated to the Hadrianic period.<sup>30</sup> However there is another group of finds that not only defies attempts to date them, but also to identify their purpose in the first place. In the context of the small number of small finds from Thalerhof, this is quite a large group of extremely puzzling pottery fragments (*Cat. No. 522, 523, 906*; in total 24 fragments were found). They are a range of fragments of oxidised bowls, generally showing smoke residue and/or traces of mortar, with holes in their bottom, around which a tube with more holes in the side is mounted. Similar shapes have been interpreted as chimney covers, lamps, or incense burners,<sup>31</sup> but all of these ideas have their respective weaknesses, and

none of those has exactly the same shape as the examples from Thalerhof. So for the moment these finds have to remain unexplained.

The general trend discernible in the small finds points to a time frame for the Thalerhof villa in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, possibly beginning as early as the Flavian period. No Late Roman pottery whatsoever was found, nor were any finds dateable to after 200 AD with certainty (taking into account the obvious problems with precise dating in a chronology that relies almost exclusively on locally produced coarse wares). This corresponds very well to the general trend of increased development in the area that can be observed e.g. in the nearby *vicus* of Kalsdorf, probably stimulated by the granting of the title *municipium Flavium* to the nearby village of *Solva*.

The relationship between *villa*, *vicus*, and *municipium*, and the greater context of the settlement structure in perialpine Styria will be another very interesting field for research,<sup>32</sup> made all the more promising with an increasingly stable foundation provided by the latest detailed work on single sites like Thalerhof, or Grünau,<sup>33</sup> as well as on archaeological landscapes such as that of the Lassnitz valley.<sup>34</sup>

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26 Istenič 1999, 153.

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28 Stanfield, Simpson 1990, 372, T. 97: 2.

29 Stanfield, Simpson 1990, 382, T. 107: 26.

30 Oswald 1964, 7.

31 Cf. Adler-Wölfl, Sauer 2000; Höpken, Fiedler 2011.

32 For preliminary studies cf. Gspurning *et al.* 2015; Marko 2016b.

33 Further important Styrian villa sites recently studied include Retznei – Schrettle 2012, Rannersdorf – Schrettle, Tsironi 2007 or Grafendorf – Bellitti 2014.

34 Fuchs 2006; Fuchs 2008.

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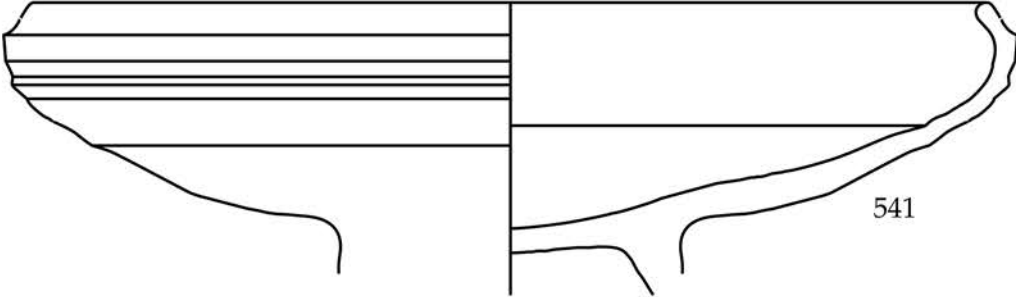
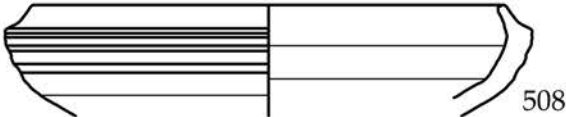
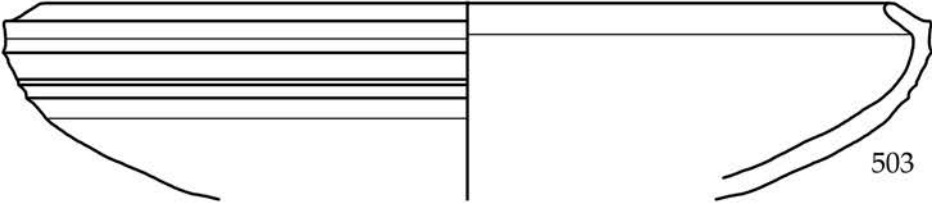
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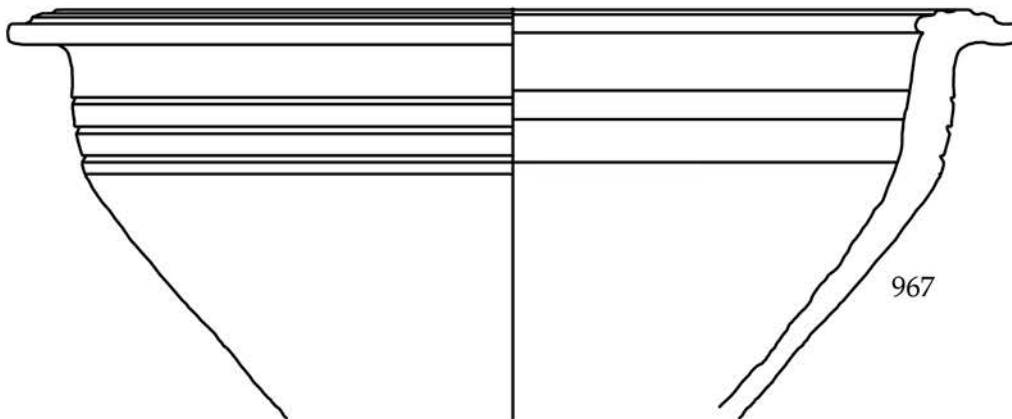
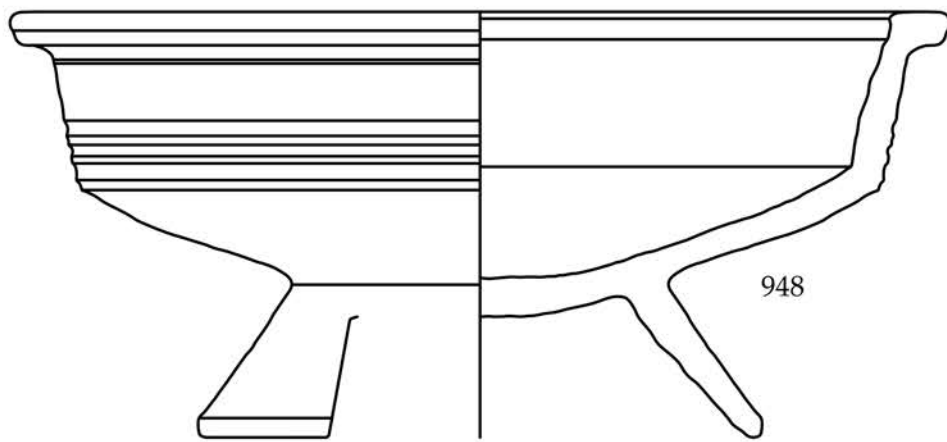
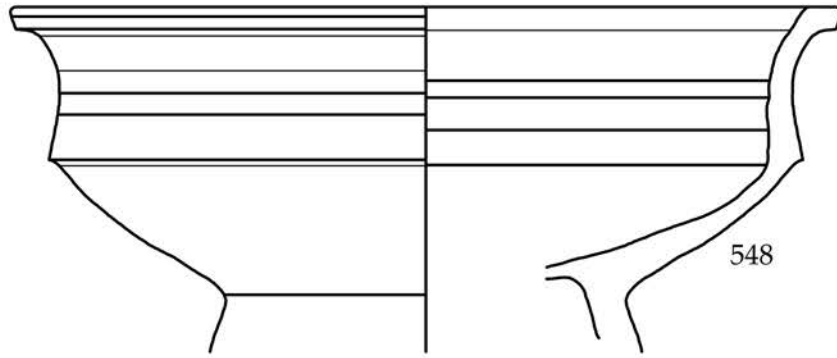
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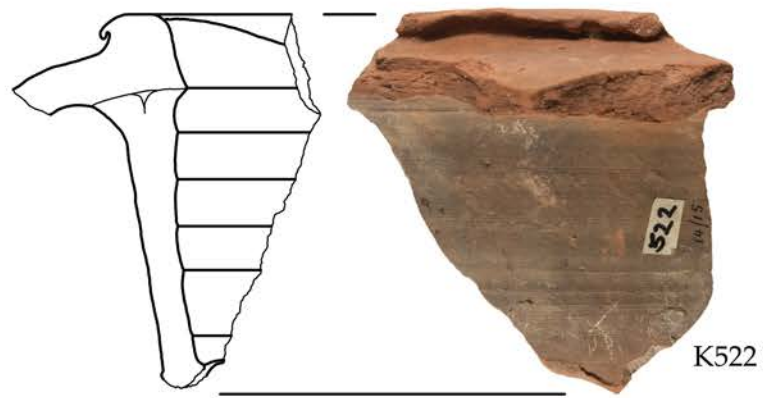
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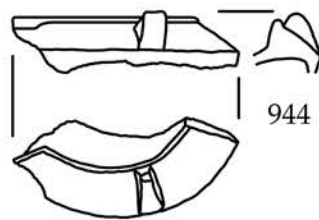
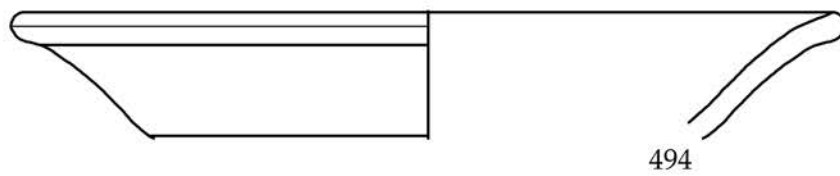
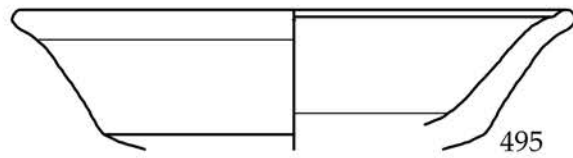
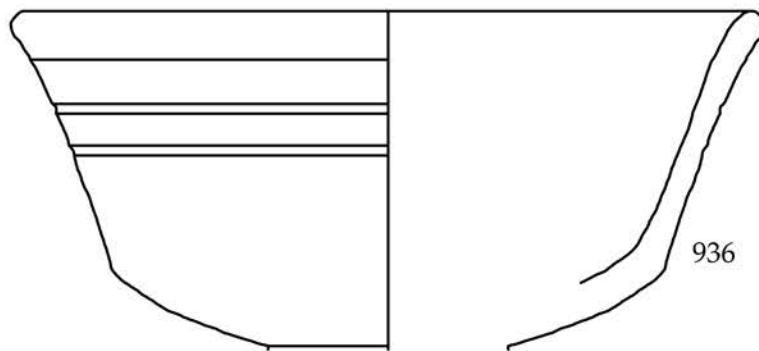
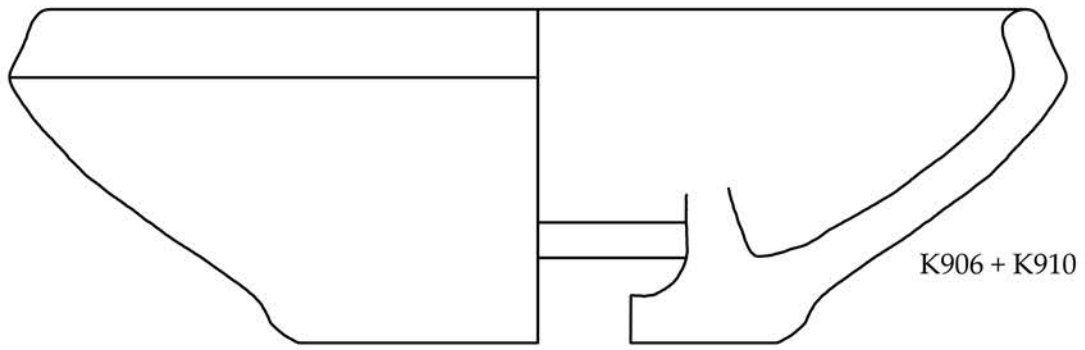
**Table 1** *Drawings P. Marko.*



**Table 2** Drawings P. Marko.



**Table 3** Photos K522, K523 and 945: J. Kraschitzer; drawings and photo 947: P. Marko.



**Table 4** *Drawings P. Marko.*



# The Roman Countryside of Prekmurje

## Rimsko podeželje Prekmurja

Aleksandra Bugar, Mitja Guštin

**Izvleček:** Naše poznavanje rimskega podeželja Prekmurja temelji predvsem na terenskem delu Stanka Pahiča in Irene Šavel, letalskih prospekcijah Branka Kermana in zlasti v zadnjih petnajstih letih tudi izkopavanjih na trasi avtoceste med Mursko Soboto in Lendavo. K poznavanju tega obdobja v Prekmurju je prispevala tudi Iva Mikl Curk. Vsi ti podatki so nam prinesli široko in kompleksno sliko o tem obdobju. V splošnem je bilo Prekmurje izven glavnih cest in na robu glavnih središč; proces romanizacije se je tu začel v 1. stoletju n. š. Opazimo starejše tradicije staroselskih ljudstev, predvsem v izdelovanju lončenine in načinu pokopa v tako imenovanih noriško - panonskih gomilah. Po pregledu podatkov o rimskem podeželju Prekmurja se osredotočamo na najdišče Nova Tabla pri Murski Soboti, ki je bilo v rimskem obdobju intenzivno poseljeno med drugo polovico 1. stoletja in pozno antiko. Raziskano območje ponuja vpogled v življenje na podeželju skozi prostorsko organizacijo vaške naselbine, odnosa do grobišča in zbira najdb v naselju in na grobišču.

**Ključne besede:** Prekmurje, rimska naselbina, noriško panonske gomile, Nova tabla pri Murski Soboti

**Abstract:** Our knowledge of the Roman Countryside in the Prekmurje region was, until recently, predominantly based upon data from the archaeological researches of Stanko Pahič, Irena Šavel, and Iva Mikl Curk, as well as the aerial surveys of Branko Kerman. In the past fifteen years or so, however, new archaeological data from excavations on a section of highway between Murska Sobota and Lendava, together with previous discoveries, have given us a broad and complex picture of this period. The process of Romanization within Prekmurje began in the 1<sup>st</sup> century, but the region remained somewhat isolated from the main axes of communication, and also not so close to the major regional Roman centres in the neighbourhood. We may detect the continuation of older traditions of the Celtic *Tavrisci* population, who had previously settled the region, which are especially visible in pottery production, and the traditions of the Pannonian tribes visible in the type of the burial rites, of the so-called Noric – Pannonian *tumuli*. In summarising the data of the Roman countryside of the Prekmurje region, emphasis is given to the site of Nova tabla near Murska Sobota, whose extensive Roman period settlements are dated from the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century to the late Antiquity.

**Key words:** Prekmurje, Roman settlements, Noric-Pannonian *tumuli*, Nova tabla near Murska Sobota

In archaeological terms Prekmurje has not been a *terra incognita* for a considerable period of time. However, in the past fifteen years or so, as a result of intensive archaeological survey and research in this northernmost Slovenian region, it has produced an abundance of new, unexpected archaeological data and material which has enriched our current understanding, thus resulting in a better interpretation of space and life during the different archaeological, historic and proto-historic periods. Although the title of this conference presentation, and accordingly this article, is multi-faceted, we shall not review the Roman Period in the Prekmurje region in minute detail, but

rather present an outline of it and supplement this with newer and less well disseminated data. An emphasis has therefore be placed on presentation of the archaeological site of Nova tabla near Murska Sobota, as this will enable us to demonstrate an outline of our research of the Roman period at this multi-period site, which has, in the past been predominantly discussed in terms of prehistoric and Medieval finds, whereas the Roman Period was mainly discussed in broad strokes and only partially published.<sup>1</sup> In a broad

1 Guštin, Tiefengraber 2001; Guštin, Tiefengraber 2002; Guštin 2003a; Guštin 2003b; Guštin 2004; Guštin 2005; Guštin 2008; Guštin *et al.* 2017; Guštin, Pavlovič 2009;

sense the Prekmurje region sits on the north-eastern bank of the Mura River, located in Northeastern Slovenia, and is a part of the Sub-Pannonian Region (Fig. 1). In geomorphological terms, Prekmurje consists of three parts: the terraces of Dolinsko and Ravensko Valley, the hilly Goričko and the Lendava Hills. The Valley's basin stretches between the Mura and Ledava Rivers and is today used for intensive agricultural production.

## The Prekmurje region in the Roman Period

As a part of *Illiricum Inferior*, Prekmurje became, under the reign of the Emperor Claudius, part of the newly formed Province of Pannonia, which, during the reign of Emperor Trajan, between 105 AD and 107 AD, was divided into the Provinces of Upper and Lower Pannonia. Territorially and administratively, the Prekmurje region belonged to the Province of *Pannonia Superior*.<sup>2</sup> Fifty kilometres south of the Prekmurje region the Romans established a permanent military camp in *Poetovio* (Ptuj) with a strong legionary garrison shortly after 15 BC.<sup>3</sup> Following this, Roman soldiers (*legio XV Apollinaris*), along the direction of an old amber road route, built the so-called Savaria Road, which connected Italy to the Danube Region. This led from *Poetovio* towards *Savaria* and then to *Carnuntum*, and further along to the Danube knee.<sup>4</sup> A part of it passed near Lendava through the modern-day eastern part of the Prekmurje region.<sup>5</sup>

Tiefengraber 2001a; Tiefengraber 2001b; Pavlovič 2008; Pavlovič 2011.

2 Šavel 1991, 17–18.

3 Horvat *et al.* 2003, 155–156.

4 Klemenc 1961, 13; Šavel 1991, 20.

5 The Pomurski muzej Murska Sobota in 1980 and 1981 survey the route of the road from the River Mura to the Hungarian Border. The road was crossing the River Mura near *Halicanum* (today Sv. Martin na Muri) and the road continued onto what is today the border with Hungary, passing through Kot, Gaberje and onto Lendava and Dolga vas (Horvat-Šavel 1985, 163–175). Owing to the early construction of the road in the eastern part of Prekmurje the area around Lendava was the first to feel the effects of Romanisation.

(Fig. 1) In addition to the main Savaria Road, the vicinal roads were constructed across the Prekmurje region, and evidence for sections of these roads has been confirmed through archaeological fieldwork also.<sup>6</sup>

In administrative terms, the River Mura was the border between territory of *Poetovio* and *Savaria*.<sup>7</sup> What is less certain is to which administrative unit or town the area around and to the north of the River Mura belonged to, however the local centres were probably the towns of *Halicanum* (Sv. Martin na Muri) and *Salla* (Zalalövö). *Salla* in turn was part of the administrative area of *Savaria*, and probably the entire Prekmurje area also.<sup>8</sup> Romanisation of the autochthonous population began in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. We may detect the continuation of older traditions of the Celtic *Tavrisci* population,<sup>9</sup> who had previously settled the region, which are especially visible in pottery production, and the traditions of the Pannonian tribes visible in the type of the burial rites, of the so-called Noric–Pannonian *tumuli*.

Analysis of settlement remains and graves inventories shows that the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD were, for the Prekmurje region, and many other parts of Pannonia and Noricum, as well as across the Roman Empire as a whole, a period of economic and cultural prosperity. In general terms, economic stagnation began after 169 AD and was marked by incursions by the Marcomanni and Quadi tribes.<sup>10</sup> The 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD was a period of stagnation in urban life and depopulation across the Pannonian and Noric Regions, which reflects the post-war situation and other related social and economic issues.<sup>11</sup> In the 4<sup>th</sup>

6 Šavel 1991, 20.

7 *Savaria* (present-day Szombathely) received the status of colony in the 4<sup>th</sup> decade of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Mikl Curk 1997, 26). *Poetovio* received the status of colony during the reign of Emperor Trajan (*Col. Ulpia Traiana Poetovio*) after the departure of *legio XIII Gemina* to the Danube border (Horvat *et al.* 2003, 156).

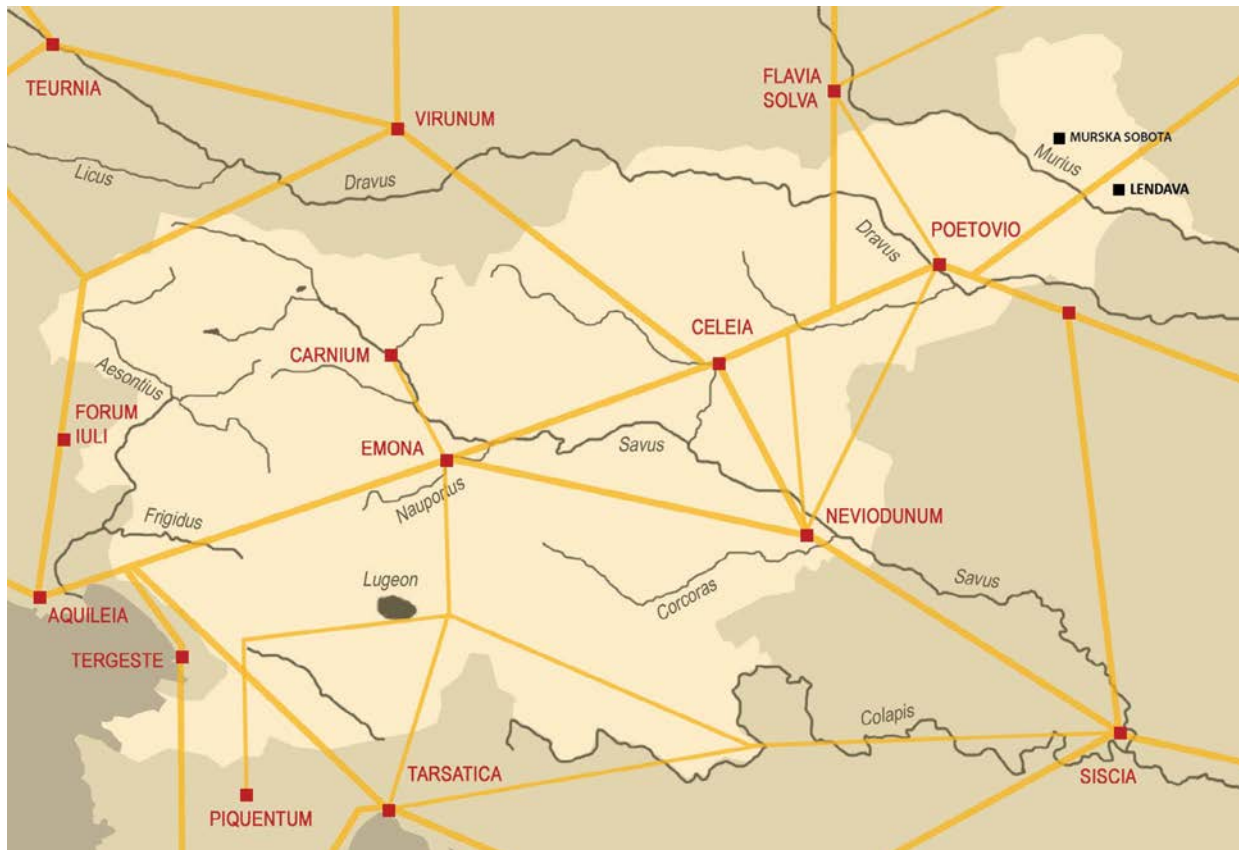
8 Mikl Curk, 2005, 103.

9 About Celtic settlements in Prekmurje in: Guštin *et al.* 2017, 9–107; Guštin 2011, 119–128; Kerman 2011d, 65–82; Pavlovič 2011, 83–89.

10 Šavel 1991, 18–19.

11 Mikl Curk 1997, 30.





**Figure 1** The Roman roads network on the territory of Slovenia (map realised by A. Preložnik).

century AD there was once again a certain degree of economic growth across the Pannonian region, although this was presumably due to military reasons – which moved the administrative and military centres of power from the Danube *limes*, to the more secure inland areas to the south, closer to the Mura and the Drava Rivers.<sup>12</sup>

### Current State of Research

Our knowledge of the Roman Period in the Prekmurje region primarily stems from the tireless efforts of a few researchers who have dedicated their professional work to documenting and publishing their knowledge, and it is important to emphasize their efforts at this point. The 1<sup>st</sup> International Archaeological Conference in Ptuj included the theme „New discoveries between the Alps and the Black Sea. Results from the

Roman sites in the period between 2005 and 2015“ This conference, and its proceedings, were dedicated to the memory of the esteemed archaeologist Iva Mikl Curk who, for a number of years, researched the Roman Period site of Dolga vas near Lendava.<sup>13</sup> Special mention must be made of her description of the Roman Period in Prekmurje, which has been included in the catalogue of the Permanent Exhibition of the Pomurski muzej Murska Sobota, under the title *Rimljani ob Muri* (Romans on the Mura) as an example of a deeply inspiring analysis of the Roman Period, which displays a deep understanding of Romanisation and its contextualisation.<sup>14</sup> One of her most interesting syntheses is the article „*Tam cvete penez*“ – *Noriško-panonske gomile v Pomurju in razslojenost prebivalstva v rimski dobi* („There are Coins Flowering“ – Noric-Pannonian *tumuli* in Prekmurje and Population Stratification

12 Redč 2003, 207–209.

13 Mikl Curk 1958, 129–133; Mikl Curk 1961, 173–184; Mikl Curk 1970a, 161; Mikl Curk 1970b, 6–9; Mikl Curk 1974.

14 Mikl Curk 1997, 23–36.

during the Roman Era).<sup>15</sup> Another researcher who contributed significantly to expanding our knowledge of the Roman Period in Prekmurje is the archaeologist Stanko Pahič; a superlative field worker and a tireless and detailed cataloguer of sites and artefacts. He has researched a great number of archaeological sites, particularly grave mounds belonging to the Noric-Pannonian *tumuli* complex. The abundance of processed and published archaeological work from this author, and the detailed cataloguing of archaeological finds, serves as an excellent source of analytical data for modern scholars.<sup>16</sup> Irena Šavel is highly respected for her efforts at the Pomurje Museum and her work on numerous archaeological excavations in the Prekmurje area, many of which relate to the Roman period, and has provided numerous published proceedings which have greatly contributed to our understanding of this period.<sup>17</sup> All settlements and grave mounds dating from Roman Period which were recorded and partially researched by the end of the 1980s, were systematically mapped and concisely described in the book *Arheološka Topografija Slovenije – Topografsko področje XX (Prekmurje)* (The Archaeological Topography of Slovenia – Topographic Area XX (Prekmurje)) by Irena Šavel. This publication was compiled using the systematic topographic research of the Prekmurje region which was conducted between 1972 and 1988 by the Murska Sobota Regional Museum.<sup>18</sup> Today this data represents a starting point

for any study, which may be complemented by additional spatial data.<sup>19</sup> The distribution of archaeological sites in the Prekmurje region show a concentration of Roman settlements in the lowland area between the Ledava and Mura Rivers, around the Dobel stream and on the edges of hilly Goričko. These are closely related to the locations of *tumuli* that are found in the lowland area and across Goričko. By the end of the 1980s, 58 settlement sites and 86 grave mounds dating to the Roman period had been found.<sup>20</sup> The location of these sites dating from Roman Period suggests that the paths of modern-day roads follow the same routes used in Roman Period and, at least in part, prehistory. The west-east route in particular carried traffic that linked small villages and settlements with each other, and, most probably, with the area of Dolga vas and Lendava in the east or for example Flavia Solva in the west.<sup>21</sup> The *Savaria* road linked Prekmurje with *Halicinum* and *Petovio* in the south and *Salla* and *Savaria* to the north and north-east. The north-south vicinal connectivity within the Prekmurje region can also be seen between Dokležovje and Ižakovci in the direction of Gančani. Sections of these roads have been researched at these last two sites.<sup>22</sup>

As noted above, only a small number of recorded archaeological sites in the Prekmurje region have actually been excavated, and these have primarily been grave mounds<sup>23</sup> as well as a small number of settlement sites.<sup>24</sup> Finds from these investigations (excavations of Roman settlements in Dol-

15 Mikl Curk 2005, 99–115.

16 Pahič 1960–1961, 88–117; Pahič 1972a, 181–202; Pahič 1972b; Pahič 1993–94, 5–38.

17 Horvat-Šavel 1978a, 290–299; Horvat-Šavel 1978b, 4–15; Horvat-Šavel 1985, 163–177; Horvat-Šavel 1987, 307–318; Šavel 1990, 7–17; Šavel 1991; Šavel 2003a, 135–136; Šavel, Kerman 2008a; Šavel, Kerman 2008b.

18 Prior to this topographical research by the Regional Museum in Murska Sobota (between 1972 and 1988), I. Mikl Curk and her team conducted a field survey in 1957 over a large part of Prekmurje where several new archaeological sites were recorded. These discoveries were recorded by Mikl Curk in a topographic log which is kept in the Pomurski muzej Murska Sobota (Šavel 1991, 6). In 1963 S. Pahič made a topographical research of a part of Prekmurje, and in 1975 all available data on sites in Prekmurje was published in the Slovenian Register of Archaeological Sites, which was published by the SAZU (Slovenian Academy of Science and Arts) Institute of Archaeology (Šavel

1991, 6). Prior to publication of *Topografsko območje XX (Prekmurje)* in 1991 an assessment of archaeological sites in Prekmurje was provided by J. Šašel in his article *Doneski ke zgodovini Prekmurja* (Contributions to the History of Prekmurje) in *Kronika* 3/1 (Šašel 1955, 40–49).

19 There is no archaeological map displaying all new archaeological sites that have been recorded and partially excavated between 1990 and 2015 (Author's note).

20 Šavel 1991, 17–21.

21 The position of the settlements and the cemeteries suggest these specified routes. See Šavel 1991, maps 4 and 5.

22 Parts of the smaller roman roads have been observed near the settlements Ižakovci, Gančani, Gomilice, Brezovica and Gradišče (Šavel 1991, 20).

23 Pahič 1960–1961; Pahič 1972a; Pahič 1972b; Horvat-Šavel 1978b; Horvat-Šavel 1987; Šavel 1990.

24 Mikl 1958; Mikl 1961; Mikl 1970a; Mikl 1970b; Mikl 1974; Horvat-Šavel 1978a.

ga vas and Ivanec, prospecting of the Kot-Gaberje Roman road and the finds from grave mounds near the Villages of Strehovci, Motvarjevci, Dokležovje, Rakičan, Čikečka vas, Dobrovnik and Vučja gomila) are exhibited in the Permanent Exhibition at the Pomurje Museum, and described in the Permanent Exhibition's catalogue.<sup>25</sup> Other important stray finds presented in the Museum are the sarcophagus from Ižakovci, and part of the beautiful sculpture from Noršinci.<sup>26</sup> We should also mention the gravestone dedicated to *Publio Aelius Viator* and his wife *Licia* built into the north wall of a Catholic church in Murska Sobota, and a gravestone dedicated to *Vibenus*, his wife *Marcia Crispina* and his son *Marcio Vibiano*, built in a hallway of the Murska Sobota Castle, where it ended up after being found by chance in the vicinity of the Dolga vas in 1810.<sup>27</sup> Both gravestones date from the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>28</sup> The Museum Permanent Exhibition recently included newer finds, such as a Roman wooden well and the associated artefacts which were revealed at the site of Gornje Njive near Dolga vas.<sup>29</sup>

This corpus of the Roman settlements and cemeteries which have been found in Prekmurje region since the 1980's, has been significantly augmented by new, previously unknown sites which have been recorded during surveys of the archaeologist Branko Kerman whose aerial photography and interpretations of spatial data are indispensable in any understanding of the hidden landscapes of Prekmurje.<sup>30</sup>

The subsequent large scale rescue excavations along the motorway routes in the Prekmurje region provided an opportunity to examine extremely large areas. It can be said, with some justification, that entire sections of the Prekmurje landscape have been examined using archaeological methods. The scope of this

research, and the surface area explored, far surpasses all previous research and the results from multi-period multi-layered sites far exceeds those expected in terms of their abundance and diversity.

The archaeological investigations which have taken place on more recently discovered sites dating from Roman period<sup>31</sup> have yielded similar results as in earlier researches (Ivanec, Dolga vas), but on larger areas, and with abundant findings which have been interpreted as the remains of scattered settlements with farmyards and necropoli with eloquent grave good inventories.

A distinctive rural wooden architecture prevailed in Roman period Prekmurje, with extensive evidence for differing functional pits, post holes, waste pits, hearths and wells and thin cultural layers. For the most part, these findings date from the half of 1<sup>st</sup> century through to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Discoveries of *villa rustica* built using solid stone masonry have been discovered in Rakičanske Muzge (Fig. 2), not far from Nova Tabla,<sup>32</sup> which, in the context of studying sites in the vicinity of Murska Sobota, and especially Nova tabla, represents an inevitable point in the interpretation of space.

31 These are: Nova tabla near Murska Sobota (Guštin, Tiefengraber 2001; Tiefengraber 2002; Guštin *et al.* 2017; Guštin 2003a; Guštin 2003b; Guštin 2004; Guštin 2005; Guštin 2008; Guštin, Pavlovič 2009; Tiefengraber, 2001a; Tiefengraber 2001b; Pavlovič 2008, 49–52; Pavlovič 2011), Krog-Žabnjek, Pod Kotom–cesta (Pavlin 2015; Tušek 2002; Tušek 2003; Tušek 2010), Pod Kotom–sever pri Krogu (Kerman 2011b), Kotare–baza pri Murski Soboti (Kerman 2003, Kerman 2011c), Grofovsko 2 pri Murski Soboti (Kerman 2011c), Jezera pri Murski Soboti (Sankovič, Jereb 2015), Za Raščico pri Krogu (Šavel 2003b; Šavel 2005; Šavel, Sankovič 2010), Pri Muri pri Lendavi (Šavel, Sankovič 2011), Gorice pri Turnišču (Plestenjak 2010), Zagonce pri Turnišču, Gornje njive pri Dolgi vasi (Šavel 2003a; Šavel, Kerman 2008a; Šavel, Kerman 2008b; Kerman 2013b), Zatak (Guštin, Tomaž 2015a; Guštin, Tomaž 2015b), Ivankovci (Ivánkóc) pri Lendavi (Tušek, Kavur 2011), Brezje pri Turnišču (Novšak, Tomaž, Platenjak 2013), Kalinovnjek pri Turnišču (Kerman 2013a).

32 The *villa rustica* was discovered during systematic aerial prospecting in 2003 and a topographical survey in 2004 provided finds within its borders. A large quantity of construction material dating from Roman Period was found along with numerous fragments of locally made ceramic pots, imported terra sigillata and an unguent bottle dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD (Kerman 2008, 280–286).

25 Balažič, Kerman 1997, 346–350, cat. no. 142–192, 195–210.

26 Balažič, Kerman 1997, 349, cat. no. 193, 194; Mikl Curk 1997, 29; 1998, 149–156.

27 Mikl Curk 1997, 28, 31.

28 Šašel 1955, 45–48; Kerman 1991–1992, 8–11.

29 Sankovič 2014a.

30 Kerman 1999, 333–347; Kerman 2001, 129–131; Kerman 2002; Kerman 2008, 279–290.

Roman Period grave mounds in the Prekmurje region belong to a special type of graves – the Noric-Pannonian *tumuli* type.<sup>33</sup> They are quite numerous and represent the most common type of Roman Period graves in the hilly area of Goričko and the Ravninsko Valley.<sup>34</sup> Within these *tumuli* cremation graves were inserted, some of them were containing quite distinctive grave goods, such as glass vessels. Many of these grave mounds have not been excavated, and are quite visible in some sheltered areas, such as forested hills and uninhabited areas. On the other hand, on the flat areas that have been, for the most part, levelled through intensive agricultural work, the grave mounds are visible only as circular traces in the vegetation recorded in aerial photography (Fig. 3). It is certainly fortunate that the remains of some of these aerially detected structures have been excavated, as at Nova tabla, and these represents a set of guidelines for interpreting other similar structures. At Nova tabla, for example, the remains of grave mounds in the form of circular ditches date to two periods: the Early Iron Age (7<sup>th</sup> century BC) and Roman Age (1<sup>st</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century AD).<sup>35</sup> More recent archaeological investigations in Prekmurje at the site of Na Plesi on the south edge of Murska Sobota, indicate that Early Medieval Slavic inhabitants also buried their deceased in graves surrounded by shallow ditches, and these may also represent the remains of grave mounds.<sup>36</sup>

In the Roman Period this method of burial in the so-

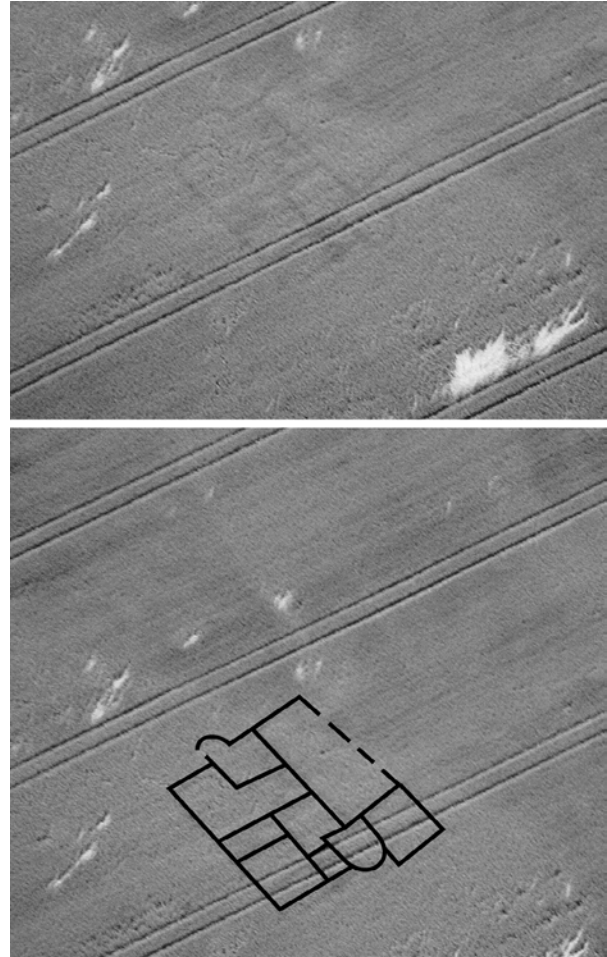
33 The Noric-Pannonian *tumuli* complex in Slovenia was dealt with in particular by Stanko Pahič. His synthesis *Nov seznam noriško-panonskih gomil* (New List of Noric-Pannonian *tumuli*) was published in 1972 (Pahič 1972b). Other published studies of grave mounds dating from Roman Period by the same Author are listed in the Bibliography.

34 Apart from the single grave found at the Gaberje road (Šavel 1991, 52; Mikl Curk 1997, 25, 35, 36) grave mounds in Prekmurje are the only known funeral praxis from the Early Roman period (Mikl Curk 2005, 100). Mikl Curk concluded that this probably stems from a lack of research. However the number of excavated graves in *tumuli* so far indicates statistically that this type of burial is the most numerous in Prekmurje (Author's note).

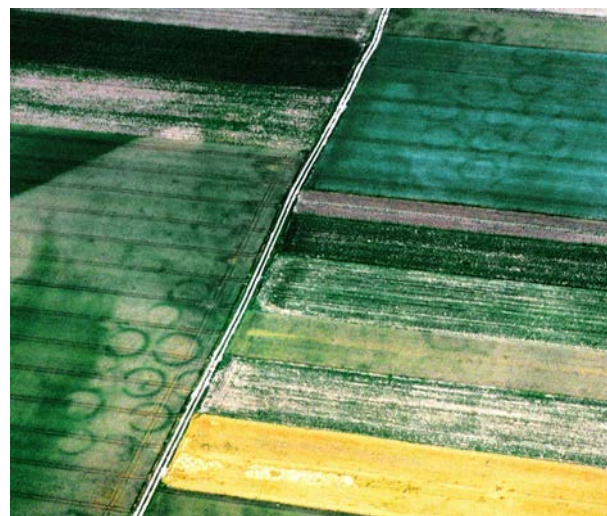
35 Examined Early Iron Age graveyards at Nova tabla consisted of 17 circular ditches – the remains of *tumuli* and a total of 102 cremation graves, some of them with urns (Guštin *et al.* 2017, 90, 91).

36 Sankovič 2014b, 41–49; Sankovič 2015, 8–9, 13.

called Noric-Pannonian *tumuli*, is linked to local populations or pre-Roman traditions recorded in provinces of *Pannonia* and *Noricum*. These burials mostly date from the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. Finds dating from Late Roman period are relatively



**Figure 2** *Rakičanske Mužge, plan of Roman villa rustica (after Kerman 2008, sl. 2).*



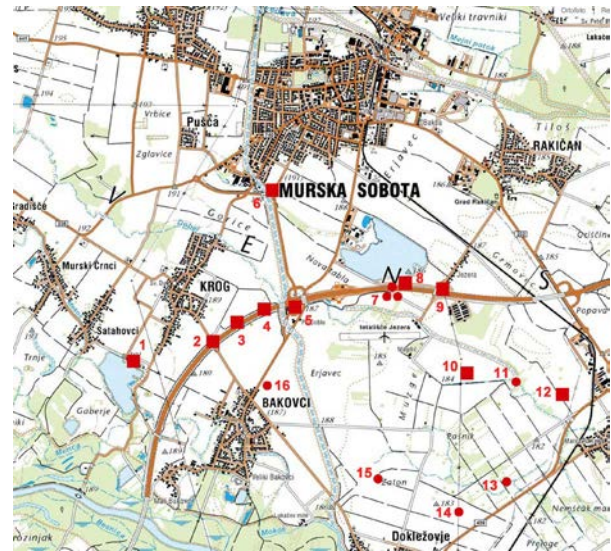
**Figure 3** *Prekmurje: the signs in the fields of prehistoric or roman tumuli, Grofovsko (photo B. Kerman).*

rare in the Prekmurje region. It may be concluded that this is the result of depopulation in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, or perhaps just the level of research that has been carried out. Let us remind ourselves of the settlement features from the Pod Kotom cesta site.<sup>37</sup> In addition to the extensive dating of finds from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD in some Prekmurje sites, archaeological objects from the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD have been recorded, in a very modest extent at Dolga vas<sup>38</sup> and in a slightly wider range at the Nova tabla site.

### The Roman Era at the Nova tabla site

The archaeological site at Nova tabla is located south of Murska Sobota, alongside Soboško Jezero (Soboška Kamešnica, Soboško Lake), and was discovered during an intensive field survey on the route of the motorway Maribor – Lendava, section Vučja Vas – Beltinci.<sup>39</sup> An area of 40 hectares was archaeologically investigated between 1999 and 2008. The mainly prehistoric and medieval finds from this site have already been catalogued and presented several times.<sup>40</sup> The objects and findings from Roman Period have mostly been presented in general terms, and in the presentation of three graves which included glass artefacts.<sup>41</sup>

Figure 4 shows the discovered archaeological sites with remains from the Roman Period, investigated on the Motorway Section near Murska Sobota, which include the sites at Nova tabla, Krog-Žabnjek, Pod Kotom-Cesta and Pod Kotom-Sever, Kotare-Baza, Grofovsko 2 and Jezera,<sup>42</sup> and the previously mentioned *villa rustica* in the vicinity of Rakičanske



**Figure 4** Murska Sobota area with Roman remains excavated on highway: 1 Krog-Žabnjek, 2 Pod Kotom-cesta, 3 Pod Kotom-sever, 4 Za Raščico, 5 Kotare-Baza, 6 Grofovsko II, 7 Nova tabla-gomile, 8 Nova tabla-naselje, 9 Jezera, 10 Rakičanske Muzge, 11 Bereg, 12 Selaj, 13 Šibice, 14 Lipovska šuma, 15 Muzge, 16 Ovčarski breg (completed after Kerman 2008, Fig. 5, map realised by A. Preložnik).

Muzge,<sup>43</sup> about 2 kilometres southeast of the Nova tabla site borders. It is also important to bear in mind the following, already known, Roman Period sites located close to the villa: Bereg, Selaj, Šibice, Lipovska šuma, Muzge and Ovčarski breg.<sup>44</sup>

The Nova tabla area was, in the past, largely covered by forest punctuated with small streams, and cleared areas sufficient to build small settlements or individual farms. The site was settled from the Neolithic period onward to the Early Medieval Period. It should be borne in mind that the remains of the settlements from all the periods were very shallow, and that the original walking surface has not been preserved anywhere. Therefore interpretations of the areas from the Roman Period are rather limited. Ground plan contours, in particular the basic remains, show several concentrations of structures, whose grouping attests to a certain group-based approach to the creation of settlement areas. The determining criterion which was applied included visual groupings of pits and the presence of functional structural features – such as wells, furnaces or hearths and large pits, whose size

37 Tušek 2002, 36–45.

38 Mikl Curk 1997, 30.

39 Guštin *et al.* 2017, 5.

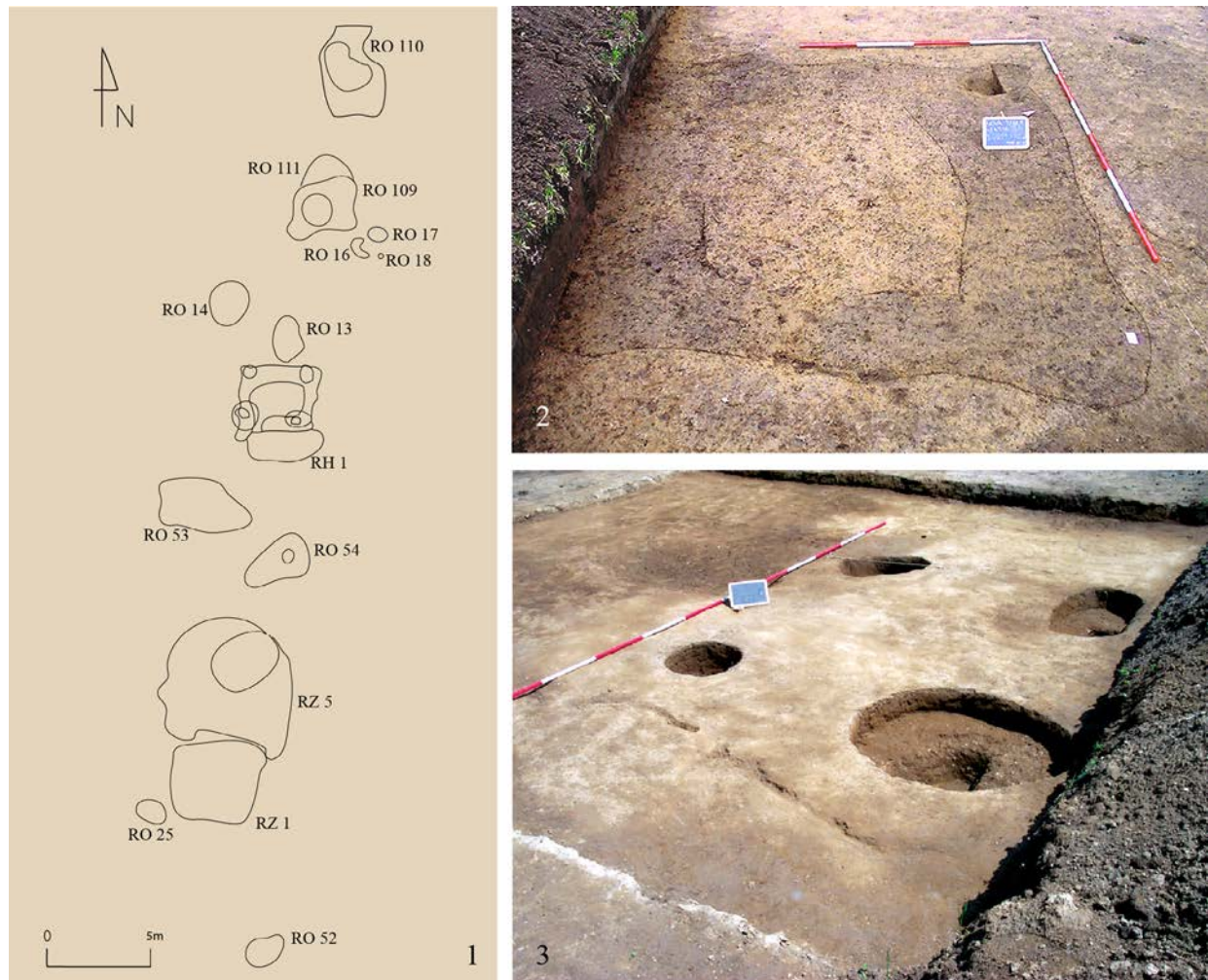
40 See Footnote 1 of this Paper (Author's note).

41 Guštin 2004, 71–80.

42 Guštin, Tiefengraber 2001; Guštin, Tiefengraber 2002; Guštin *et al.* 2017; Guštin 2003a; Guštin 2003b; Guštin 2004; Guštin 2005; Guštin 2008; Guštin, Pavlovič 2009; Tiefengraber 2001a; Tiefengraber 2001b; Pavlovič 2008; Pavlovič 2011; Pavlin 2015; Tušek 2002; Tušek 2003; Tušek 2010; Kerman 2011a; Kerman 2011b; Kerman 2011c; Šavel, Sankovič 2010; Sankovič, Jereb 2015.

43 Kerman 2008.

44 Kerman, 2008, 285, Fig. 5.



**Figure 5** *Murska Sobota-Nova tabla*. 1 Farmstead, 2 an example of grouping structures from Roman period, 2–3 so-called Roman house 1 (RH 1) in farmstead 2 (plan A. Bugar, photo D. Snoj, F. Gregorec).

and shape may have provided a place to live (Fig. 5, 6). At the Nova tabla site, eight such units (i.e. farmsteads), have been defined. These locations are approximately 20 to 100 metres apart. Structures were defined with postholes that form rectangular floor plans, and these were termed houses during excavation (Fig. 5). Their layout area was of 15–37 m<sup>2</sup>.

Some of the larger pits were called pit-houses. The interpretation itself should be considered in broader terms: these are the remains of simple, semi dug structures of a rather clear layout with fireplaces (Fig. 6: 1). Around those structures which were considered houses and pit-houses, were groups of smaller, round or oval structures which, based on the content of materials found inside them, can be considered waste pits, storage areas or working premises (findings of millstones, slag, tools and

pottery, furnaces and fireplaces (Fig. 6: 2).

A group of pits with thick layers of coal, daub and the remains of slag, were interpreted as evidence for a simple forge. Among the individual structures there were four wells, which were defined as functionally important structures within a Roman settlement. Rare finds of bricks in the backfills of pits and, more often, in ploughed land (indicating layers of settlements which were destroyed by ploughing) might indicate partially composite form of construction using wood and bricks in upper parts of the structure. Abundant finds of daub attest to traditional wooden architecture, or to the method of plugging gaps in walls made of wooden columns, boards or wattle. According to the nature of the remains belonging to these settlements, the Nova tabla site fits into the general image of Roman settlements investigated on



**Figure 6** *Murska Sobota-Nova tabla: 1 so-called Roman Pit-House 1 (RZ1), 2 remains of a calotte of the furnace (RO115) (photo F. Gregorec).*

sites around Murska Sobota, Ivanec and Dolga vas.<sup>45</sup> Layers of these settlements or structures found at Nova tabla date from the period between the second half of 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and the end of 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, which is confirmed by pottery, metal findings and numismatic material.<sup>46</sup>

The settlement objects that belong to the Late Roman Period in Nova tabla were spread on the central part of the site (so called Farmstead 1) and on the western and northern part of the site (the so-called Farmsteads 5, 6 and 8), thus across slightly smaller area than the earlier settlement objects. Nevertheless, the quantity of objects and findings are representative. According to the numismatic material, crossbow

45 Site Gornje njive pri Dolgi vasi (Šavel, Kerman 2008a; 2008b), site Dolga vas (Mikl 1961, 173–183), site Ivankovci pri Lendavi (Tušek, Kavur 2011, 2–25), site Pri Muri pri Lendavi (Šavel, Sankovič 2011, 17).

46 In Late Roman Period settlement layers five coins were found dating from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD (Author's note).

fibulae with onion-shaped terminals, propeller-shaped belt fitting, fragments of glazed pottery, late Roman forms of bowls (*Tab. 1: 17, 29*) and archaeological context – these objects can be dated from the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half, or the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. One isolated inhumation, unfurnished and orientated east-west (grave 152), may date to the Late Roman Period.

On the same site, an area of 130 × 80 metres in size, devoted to a cemetery from Roman Period was also investigated. It was characterised by very specific graveyard architecture (in the broadest sense of this term) visible as shallow ditches with usually open ends, of circular or irregular square layout. Cremation graves were dug inside the plateau surrounded by ditches or into the ditches themselves. These were simple grave pits with no tomb construction (*Fig. 7*). Within the geological description of the site, the area of the graveyard was interpreted as Aeolian deposits which were previously considered as a positive element in a lowland area, i.e. a quite visible higher terrace. The inhabitants of the settlement from Roman Period at Nova tabla located their graveyard on the edges of that small hill, close to the Hallstatt Period grave mounds and the La Tène Period individual graves, but without any instances of overlap or intercutting of graves. Assuming that during the Roman Period Hallstatt burial mounds were still visible as low hills, the positioning of a Roman Period graveyard would have demonstrate a reverence of previous grave structures, and at the same time the intentional selection of such a hilly location as a place of the cemetery.<sup>47</sup> Slavic populations, on the other hand, selected the south-western corner of the Roman cemetery as their place of interment and intercut it in parts.<sup>48</sup> (*Fig. 8*)

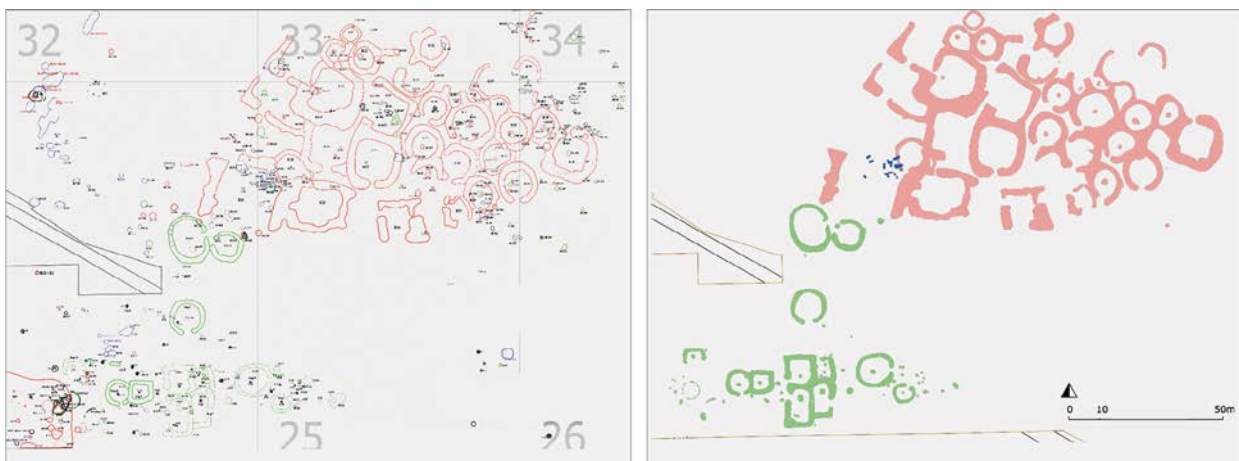
Roman ditches were embedded in former surfaces, which created a bordered area of grave structures. The most probable assumption is that the soil from

47 Stanko Pahič indicated that during investigation of mounds in Slovenske gorice he noticed that occasionally groups of older Hallstatt mounds were accompanied by new ones from Antiquity (Pahič 1965, 48).

48 Guštin 2008, 53.



**Figure 7** *Murska Sobota-Nova tabla: Roman tumuli necropolis (photo M. Guštin).*



**Figure 8** *Murska Sobota-Nova tabla: Roman tumuli necropolis (red), Early Iron Age tumuli (green) and Early Slavic graves (blue) (plan G. Tiefengraber, A.Bugar, D. Brežovar, H. Bešter and M. Zorko)*



excavated ditches was used to form a low burial mound.<sup>49</sup> Similar shaped ditches were also found inside the excavated Hallstatt graveyard at Nova tabla.<sup>50</sup> Large quantities of Roman pottery and a few metal findings were found inside the backfills of ditches, and indicate a possible role during a burial ritual, whilst at least some of these finds had ended up in backfills through natural fragmentation of the mounds. Sometimes the level inside the ditches, the plateau, and the ditches themselves, did not contain graves. This can be explained by disturbances of parts of the areas previously forming a small hill, as a result of recent deep ploughing which destroyed a few shallow graves. Considering the depths of the preserved graves, it was concluded that cremation graves were rather shallow, as opposed to their ditched counterparts. Ploughing extended and partially destroyed them. A total of 28 cremation graves were found.

To summarize the context of these findings, it may be concluded that the graveyard from Roman Period at Nova tabla almost certainly represents the remains of a group of Noric-Pannonian *tumuli* which were destroyed by ploughing and only partially preserved. Despite the fact that the mounds have been completely flattened, such an interpretation may be considered certain. If we observe the size/diameter of circular or sub-circular plateaus enclosed by ditches, the mounds at Nova tabla could have had a diameter between 5 to 19 metres. The cremation graves were formed as an oval, round or rectangular pit with rounded corners. The largest part belongs to a simple type of grave in which the cremated bones and ash from the ustrina were placed on the bottom of the pit, together with the smaller fragments of pottery vessels which were broken during the burial ritual. A few graves containing bones and ash placed at the bottom of the pit were accompanied with other grave goods – some pottery vessels and to a lesser extent glass jars. The third type of graves is urn graves in which ash and cremated bones were placed in an urn which was

then placed in a shallow pit. There are two variants of urn graves: in the first case a small pit, which was the size of the urn or slightly wider, inside of which the urn was placed, and sometimes another vessel was placed on top of the urn. The second variant was represented by a larger pit with the urn placed together with other vessels as grave accessories. Grave 150 is this latter type of grave (Fig. 9), being the best preserved grave, with well-preserved pottery vessels and a single glass jar (Fig. 10). This ovoid shaped glass beaker (known as the „Emona“ glass beaker or type 3.4.1. by Lazar), is chronologically the most precise find inside the grave, and dates from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (Fig. 10:1).<sup>51</sup>

All types of graves from Nova tabla are common in the Noric-Pannonian *tumuli* complex.<sup>52</sup> Most of the graves are modest and only three female graves can be considered as being rich. These are the previously mentioned grave no. 150, and graves no. 130 and no. 131, where pottery and glass vessels were found together with three bronze fibulae and coins. The three fibulae found in graves are typical of Noric-Pannonian female costumed. Curiously all the fibulae found inside these graves were of different types and sizes.<sup>53</sup> Aside from these three graves, grave no. 141 contained six shallow bowls in its backfill; imitations of Drag. 35/36 form. In their original form the bowls were part of an assortment *terra sigillata* from Late Padanian and Gallic workshops. Their shape was extremely popular, which resulted in numerous imitations, and the bowls are

51 Lazar 2003, 94–95; Guštin 2004, 76.

52 Pahič, 1972, 120, T.1; Urban 1984, 51, 56–58.

53 Information about these three graves was published in Guštin 2004, 71–80. It is a variant of a type of fibulae defined as Almgren Type 68, 236 and 238 (date in the reign of Emperor Titus in grave no. 130 (no.166 in the article Guštin 2004) and the reign of Emperor Hadrian in grave no. 131 (no. 165 in Guštin 2004). In grave no.130 (no. 166 in Guštin 2004) an extremely interesting conical glass cup must be considered an import, probably from a north Italy workshop. It dates from between the last quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. The glass urn (globular jar with collar rim – type 7.2.4 by Lazar in Lazar 2003, 164–165) from grave no. 131 (no. 165 in Guštin 2004) dates from 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.

49 Guštin 2003a, 199–200.

50 Guštin *et al.* 2017, 90, 91.



**Figure 9** *Murska Sobota-Nova tabla, grave 150* (photo A. Ogorelec).

very often found at Noric-Pannonian sites and across the Roman Empire. They had become widely spread by the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, and their production continued to the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, while this type of vessel in the Western Necropolis in Ptuj dates from between the Flavian Period and the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>54</sup> This type of vessel in the Western Necropolis in Ptuj dates from between the Flavian Period and the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. According to the finds of fibulae, coins and pottery, Roman cremation burials at Nova tabla occurred from the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD to the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, which is characteristic for the entire the Noric-Pannonian *tumuli* area. The archaeological artefacts from Roman Period at Nova tabla were mainly pottery products. There was a single piece of amphora fragment, and one oil lamp with a partial imprint of an *SV* seal, almost certainly representing *VRSVLI*.<sup>55</sup> Parts of the *terra sigillata* vessels were fragmented and were found exclusively in settlement areas. The shapes are Drag. 37, 31 and 32, and they would have belonged to Eastern Gallic production centres of the end of

54 Bjelajac 1990, 126; Istenič 1999, 96–97 and Fig. 79.

55 The seal *VRSVLI* identifies the object as being a product of the workshop located in *Poetovio*. This oil lamp is a Loeschke X/ Buchi X Type. Most of the oil lamps with these stamps of the Western Necropolis in Ptuj date from between the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, and at other sites they date to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD (Istenič 1999, 155–159).



1



2

**Figure 10** *Murska Sobota-Nova tabla: 1, 2 Glass beaker and tripod vessel with a lid from grave 150* (photo A. Ogorelec).

the 2<sup>nd</sup> and first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries. There are an abundance of fragments of rough or medium coarse kitchen and tableware, but also present is a pottery made from a more refined clay that has been identified as a possible import from one the regional or provincial centres. The types of vessels which appear at Nova tabla include pots, lids, bowls, plates, mugs and glasses, jars and mortars, all made in a variety of shapes and from different fabrics (*Tab. 1 and 2*). To a lesser extent, the site provided examples of glazed ceramic in different shades of green, yellow and brown, and some fragments were decorated with dense lines, small notches and crescents applications (*Tab. 1: 24, 25*). Glazed ceramic are a wider phenomenon that appear within the scope of ceramic production from the Late Roman Period. They



**Figure 11** 1 fragment of a bowl with stamped ornament, 2 pot with comb-/brush-like ornament (photo A. Ogorelec).

were mass produced in numerous workshops across *Pannonia* in 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>56</sup> Ceramics found on site included one example of fragmentary grey bowl, whose shape was similar to Drag. 37, and was decorated with stamped ornaments including garlands, leaves, rosettes and double lines. (Fig. 11: 1, Tab. 1: 18). These stamped ceramics occur in the area of the middle Danube, between the rivers Sava and Drava, and primarily in the Eastern part of *Pannonia*, and are considered as one of the most representative examples of ceramics of Pannonian production. They are dated from the age of Vespasian and Domitian, but production flourished until

<sup>56</sup> Cvjetičanin 2006, 173; Brukner 1981, 34–36; Vikić 1970, 95; Mikl Curk 1969b, 192.

the first two decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>57</sup>

A diverse scope of beakers was also found on site – with a ovoid or globular bodies, cylindrical bodies, and indented beakers (Tab. 1: 5–8). Single handle flagons occurred in two forms: with narrow necks and with wide necks, both made in different variants (Tab. 1: 1–4). The most common shape of plates found on site is the so called „military plate“, and several finds are examples of plates with a horizontal rim spreading outward. (Tab. 1: 9, 10). One of the features of Nova tabla site is the diversity of bowls (Tab. 1: 16–25, 29–34). The dominant examples are bowls made of purified fabrics and often coated, but many of them made of fabric that shows they were used as kitchen vessels. Apart from a few fragments that belong to the original *terra siggillata* bowls, numerous shapes can be defined as imitations of *siggillata* bowls, mostly by their form, and sometimes by red and seldom dark grey coatings. These imitations, mostly of type Drag. 35/36 and 37, are particularly numerous on the Nova tabla site (Tab. 1: 16, 19), which makes them part of a general trend in ceramic production and style in this area of Roman Empire, in particular in the territory of the *Pannonia* provinces and *Noricum*.<sup>58</sup> Certain forms, e.g. large, deep cone shaped bowls were highly popular and long-lasting on the Nova tabla site, where they appeared in late La Tène pits, mostly in handmade forms. Almost identical in shape were bowls made on the potter's wheels which were found in Roman pits (Tab. 1: 32). A few of them were decorated with comb-like or brush-like ornaments (Tab. 1: 33, 34). Special emphasis should be made of tripod vessels, several examples of which were found at Nova tabla, and in the Prekmurje sites in general, often combined with cone shaped lids.<sup>59</sup> (Fig. 10–2; Tab. 1: 26, 27, 12).

<sup>57</sup> Vikić Belančić, 1965, 13; Mikl Curk 1969a, 7.

<sup>58</sup> Pahić 1965, T. 3: 4–6, T. 5: 2; Pahić 1972a, T. 1: 6; Istenič 1999, 96–97, sl. 79; Hayes 1972, 36–38; Brukner 1981, 65; Ožanić Roguljić 2016, 22.

<sup>59</sup> Pahić 1960–61, sl. 7: 7, T. VII: 5; Pahić 1972a, T. 1: 5; Horvat-Šavel 1987, T. 1: 5, T. 3: 2; Kerman, 2008, T. 3: 4, Šavel, Kerman 2008 b, cat. no. G16, G146, G174, G1079, G1129.

Large numbers were recorded in production centres of the province during the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries, and are, frequently found in the *Noricum* area but also in *Pannonia*. Rarely they occur in contexts dated to the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and in 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>60</sup> Additionally the site also revealed mortars (*Tab. 1: 11*), some of which were glazed, and several differently shaped lids of fine fabrics and rough fabrics (*Tab. 1: 12–15*). By far the most well represented ceramics found on site were pots with globular and ovoid bodies, with a variety of different rims, pots with vertical necks and globular bodies, cylindrical-shaped pots, bi-conical pots, low globular pots and pots with narrow necks (*Tab. 2*). The most frequently recorded pots were made of coarse fabrics, but there were examples made of purified clay. The most frequently encountered form of decoration on pots was comb-/brush-like ornamentation in various combinations of horizontal, vertical, angled and wavy lines, which indicate strong indigenous influences, including traditional taste and methods of production (*Tab. 2, Fig. 11–2*). At the Prekmurje sites, local production was present at all sites investigated so far, in settlements and graves dated to between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century. At Nova tabla it was also present in the finds from the 4<sup>th</sup> century. A significant number of metal items were found at Nova tabla, e.g. tools and objects made of iron (wedges, nails, axes, knives, chisels, spades, rings, plates etc.) and trumpet-like fibulae made of iron with golden carvings. Bronze was used to make various types of fibulae (Norico-Pannonian fibulae with double knob bow, Winged Norico-Pannonian fibulae, Pannonian fibulae with integral springs, Crossbow fibulae with onion-shaped terminals, T-shaped fibulae), needles, bells, plates and parts of horse harnesses. Glass finds were very rare but nevertheless still representative: glass vessels and urns were found in graves. Slag was found in several structures, indicating the activities of local workshops, whilst finds of certain iron tools

and animal bones indicate that the population of this village recorded at Nova tabla was mostly involved in agriculture and animal breeding, as well as the woodworking necessary to build houses. A few more luxurious items found inside graves and within the settlements (terra sigillata vessels, parts of costumes made of bronze, glass jars, parts of horse harnesses made of bronze etc.) showing that a small group of inhabitants probably belonged to a kind of the rural elite.

## Conclusion

Most of the Prekmurje region, apart from the surroundings of Lendava, was outside the main *Savaria* Road, and some way away from the larger centers, such as at *Poetovio*, *Savaria* and *Flavia Solva*. However, a dense network of sites dating from Roman Period indicates a relatively efficacious level of communication within the Prekmurje plain, as well as favourable natural conditions for economic development, in particular arable and pastoral agriculture. A dispersed but well organised network of villages and estates was situated in fertile valleys near waterways, also in area of Nova tabla by Murska Sobota. They buried their dead in grave mounds, the so-called Noric-pannonian *tumuli*, which were situated very close to settlements. Thus the region is one predominantly represented by wooden architecture, traditional forms of burial and a prevalence of domestic pottery production, with some imported goods from nearby centres.

The overall image of settlements and grave mounds accords with the broader archaeological view known from other sites in the Prekmurje region. In addition to these rural settlements in Prekmurje, there were also likely more permanent forms of architecture and larger farms built by Roman colonists, which can be substantiated by the discovery of *villa rustica* in Rakičanske Muzge, and the discovery of gravestones and sculptures, such as those sculptures from Noršinci, two gravestones in Murska Sobota and Dolga vas, and the inscribed graves from Martijananci and Gerlinci.

60 Bonis 1942, 52, T. XXIV; Plesničar Gec 1977, 54; Pahič 1978, 205; Brukner 1981, 40; Istenič 1999, 144.

The Late Roman Period in general seems to be represented by a decline in the population, in contrast to the preceding periods. Evidences for settlements from this period are rare, and the new funeral practice – inhumations – is difficult to detect. It was into this scarcely settled landscape, after the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, that newcomers of Slavic origin arrived.

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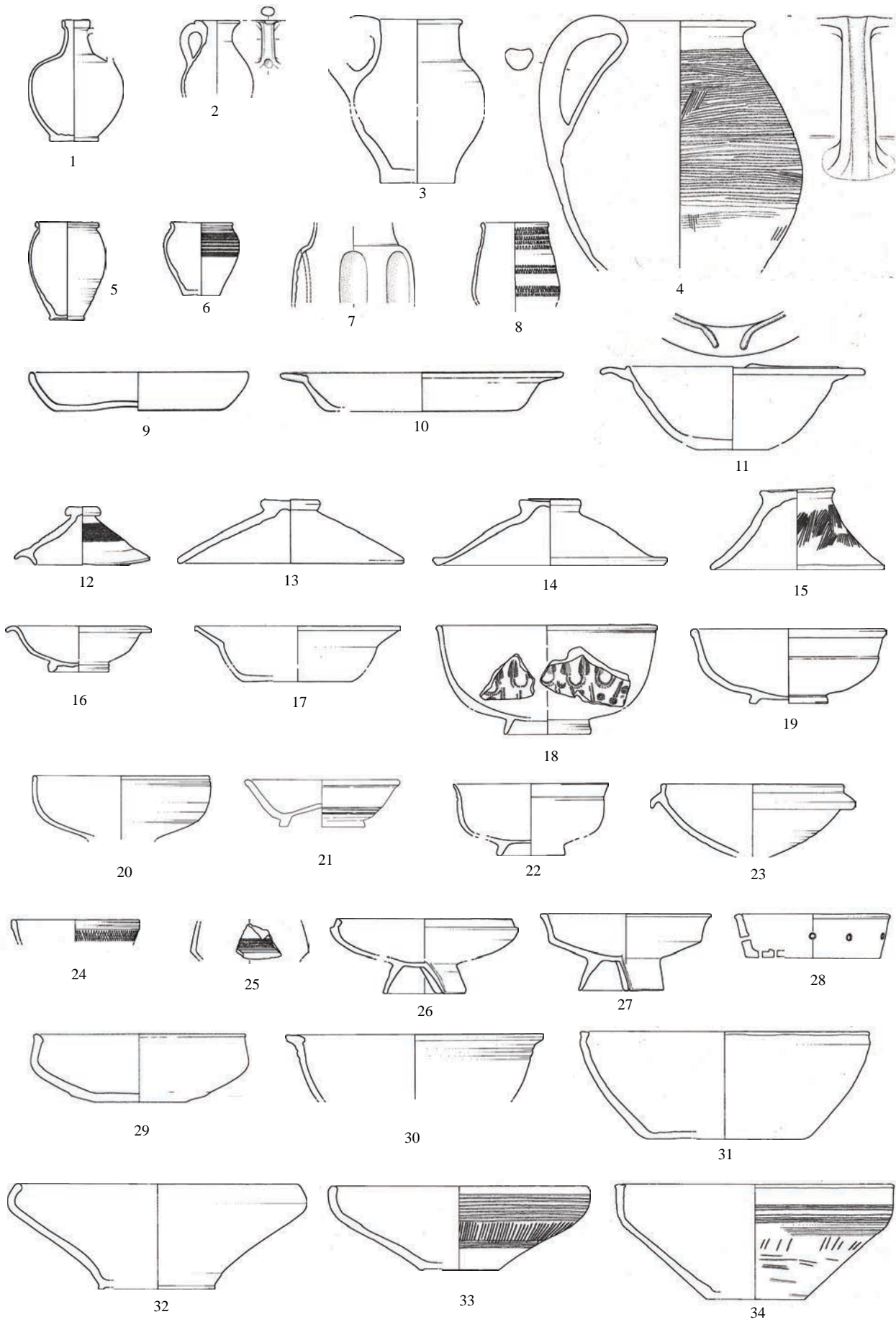
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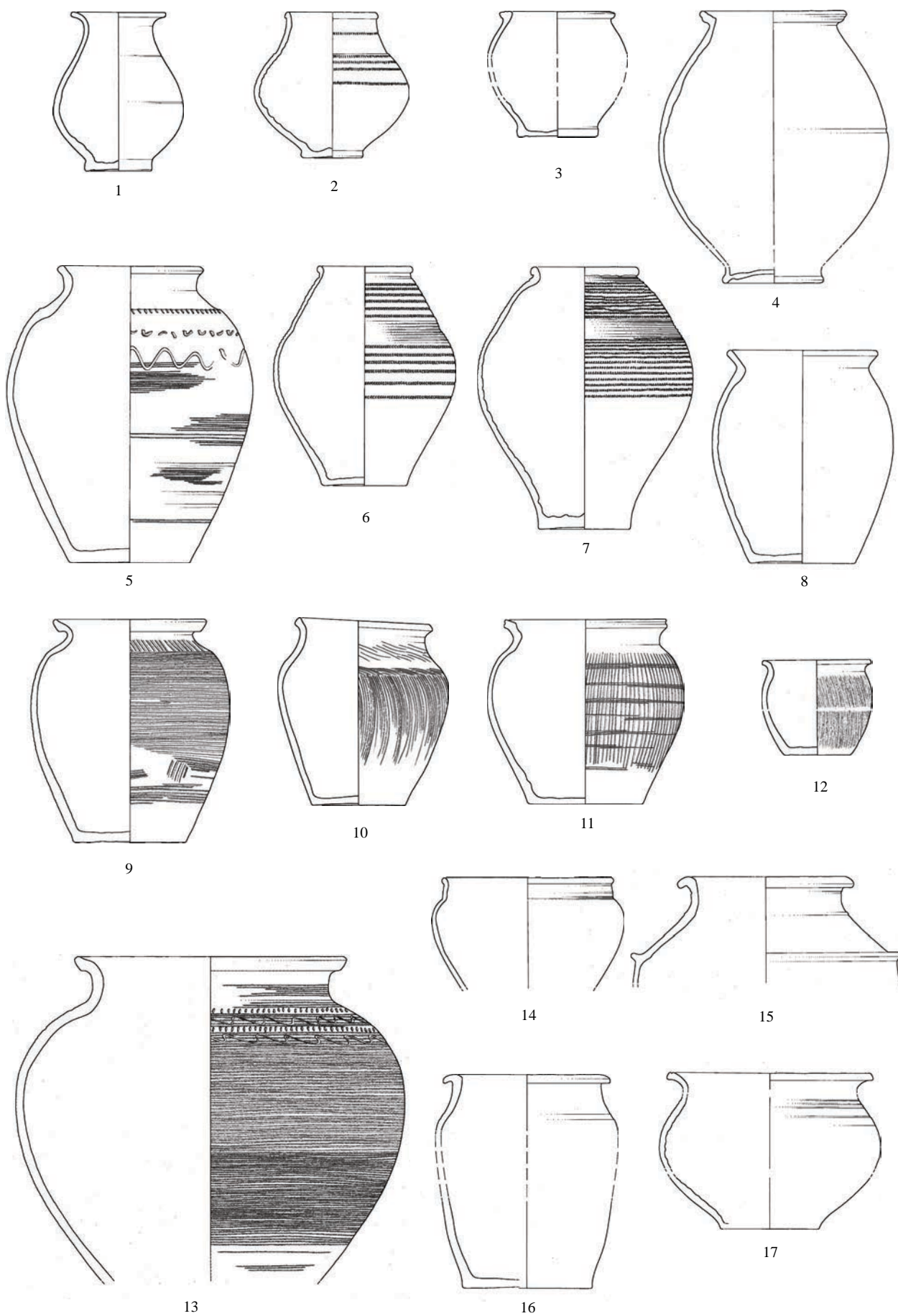
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**Table 1** M 1:6 Murska Sobota-Nova tabla: Roman ceramic forms (drawing J. Tratnik Šumi, plate realised by B. Bošković).





**Table 2** M 1:6 Murska Sobota-Nova tabla: Roman ceramic forms (drawing J. Tratnik Šumi, plate realised by B. Bošković).



## Sledovi rimske zemljiške razdelitve na Krasu

### Traces of Roman Land Division on the Karst

Dimitrij Mlekuž

**Izvleček:** Arheološka interpretacija posnetkov zračnega laserskega skeniranja (lidar) Krasa je razkrila množico do sedaj nepoznatih sledov in najdišč. Zračno lasersko skeniranje je razkrilo celotne krajine z množico sledov vsakodnevnih aktivnosti v krajini, od prazgodovine do modernega obdobja. Ena bolj zanimivih sledov so ostanke dolgih zidov, ki se ne ozirajo na topografijo, se sekajo pod pravim kotom in ki sestavljajo fragmente pravilne kvadratne mreže modula okoli 710 m. Menimo, da gre za ostanke rimskodobne zemljiške razdelitve (centuriacije) teritorija mesta *Tergeste*. V prispevku predstavljamo argumenta za tovrstno interpretacijo in implikacije odkritja za razumevanje rimskodobne poselitve Krasa in geneze kraške krajine.

**Ključne besede:** centuriacija, zemljiška razdelitev, Kras, krajina, rimska doba, arheologija

**Abstract:** Archaeological airborne lidar survey of the Karst plateau revealed numerous new sites and traces of past land use. This allows us to broaden the focus away from individual sites to address complete landscapes – from the prehistory to modern era. One of the more interesting traces we have encountered are long straight walls that ignore topography of the landscape and run perpendicular to each other. They form a regular network with module around 710 m. We argue that they are remnants of the Roman land division (centuriation) of the territory of the town *Tergeste* (Trieste). We discuss the evidence and tackle some implication of discovery for the understanding of the Roman occupation of Karst and formation of Karst landscapes.

**Key words:** centuration, land division, Karst, landscape, Roman era, archaeology

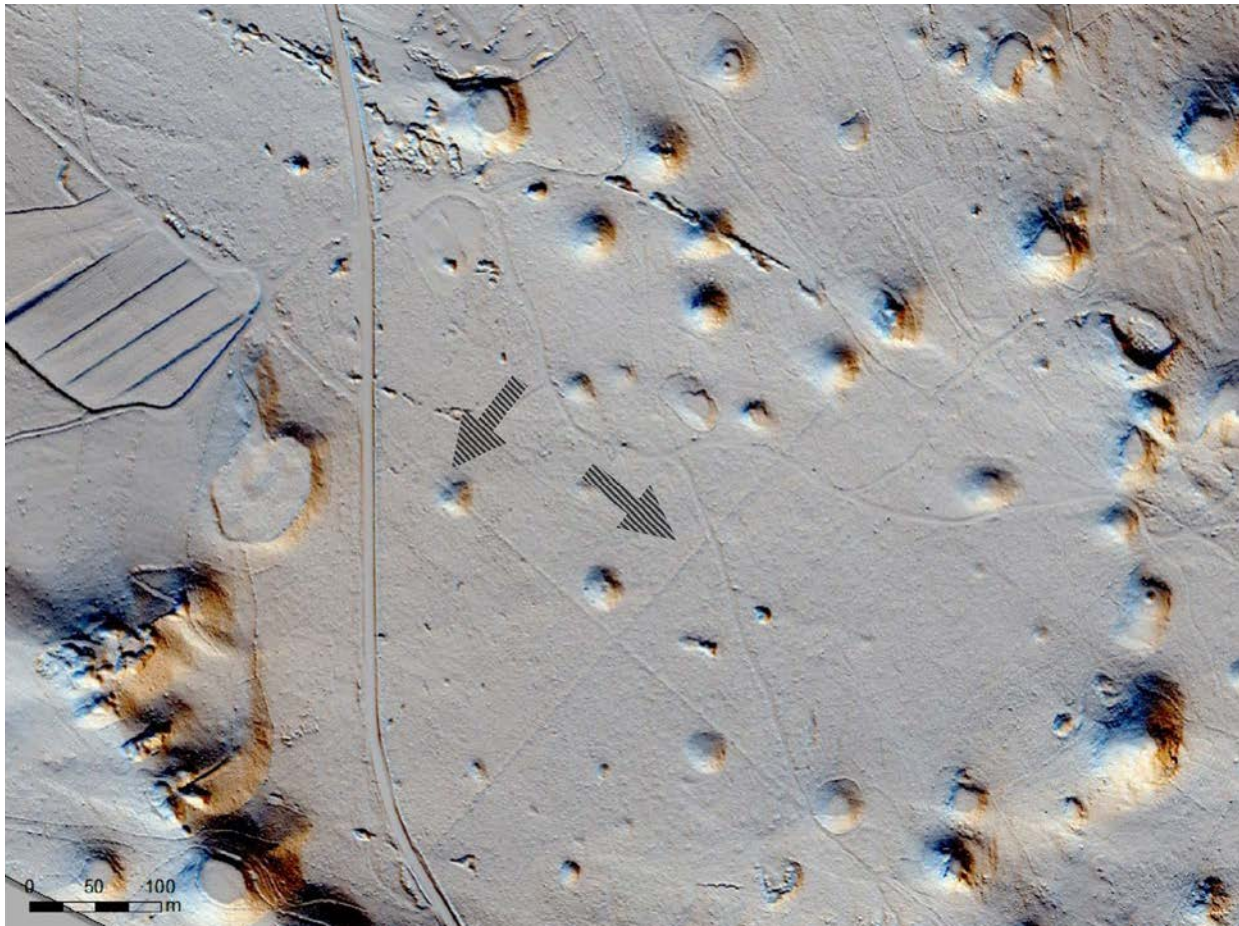
## Uvod

Poseljene krajine izgledajo, če jih opazujemo od daleč, kot prostrani vzorci, sestavljeni iz polj. Ti vzorci so vzniknili skozi delovanje ljudi v krajini, skozi njihove vsakdanje prakse ukvarjanja z zemljo. Kras je poln sledov preteklih praks, aktivnosti, dejanj in dogodkov, od kamnitih grobelj do kamnitih suhih zidov. Večina teh sledov je nastala skozi prakse obdelovanja in ukvarjanja z zemljo, s polji, ki sestavljajo krajinski vzorec. Tako se meje polj, ki označujejo rob posesti in pravico do dostopa in obdelovanja, vzpostavijo skozi prakso čiščenja kamenja, odlaganja na robu parcele in obdelovanja polj. Kupi kamenja na robu polja postanejo materialni znaki posesti polja, hkrati pa pričajo o delovanju prednikov in legitimirajo prenos posesti med ge-

neracijami. Na ta način nastane stabilen krajinski vzorec, ki se reproducira iz generacije v generacijo. Krajina postane bolj ali manj inertna matrica in medij za življenje ljudi v njej, krajinski vzorec polj pa predstavlja trden, materialni temelj, ki lajša pogajanja o tem kje, kdaj, kdo in kako se posameznik ukvarja s zemljo.

V zgodovini krajine so trenutki, dogodki, ko se vzorec lahko radikalno spremeni, ko posegi v krajino spremenijo tako prostorska razmerja v krajini kot razmerja med ljudmi. Krajina postane drugačna, s popolnoma drugačnim vzorcem polj.

V prispevku se osredotočamo na sledove preurejanja krajine, ki so za seboj pustili značilen vzorec, ki ga lahko povežemo z rimsko zemljiško razdelitvijo, centuriacijo.



**Slika 1** *Linearni nasipi na senčenem digitalnem modelu reliefa izdelanim iz visokoločljivih podatkov zračnega laserskega snemanja.*

## Metoda: zračno lasersko skeniranje

Naš glavni vir za preučevanje preteklih praks, ki so pustile značilne krajnske vzorce so posnetki zračnega laserskega skeniranja (ZLS) površja Zemlje.

Besedna zveza lasersko skeniranje opisuje vsako tehnologijo, ki natančno in pogosto meri razdaljo od naprave do cilja s pomočjo laserja. Ta meritve zbere kot množico koordinat, ali oblak točk, iz katerega je moč pridobiti, podatke o obliki predmeta, ki ga skeniramo.<sup>1</sup>

S pomočjo zračnega laserskega skeniranja sistematično posnamemo velike površine; z njim lahko opazujemo tudi tla pod gozdnim pokrovom. Da z zračnim laserskem skeniranjem lahko opazimo arheološke sledove, morajo ti biti vidni na površju kot grbine in izbokline. Tako prepoznamo pozitivne sledove kot

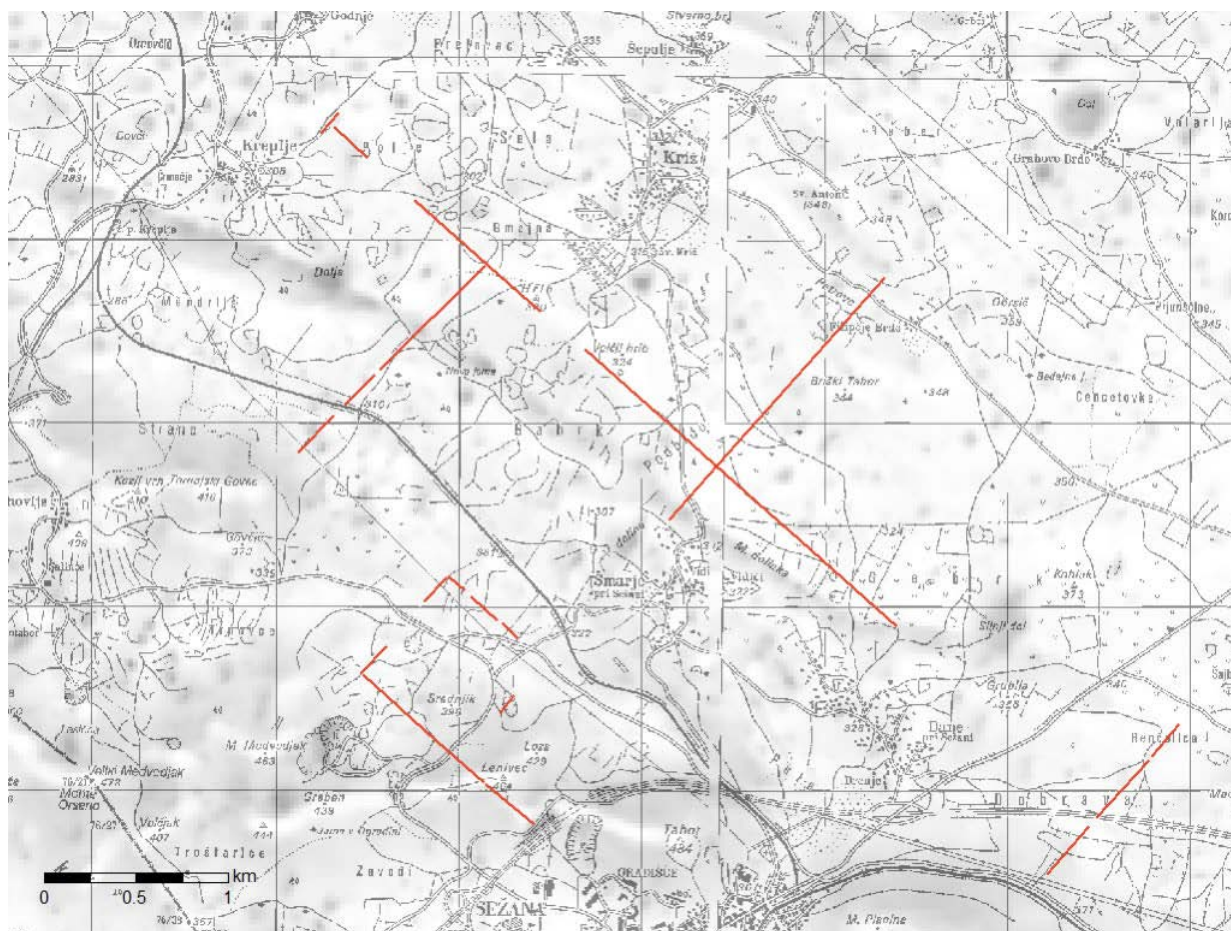
nasipi, zidovi, groblje, ali negativne sledove, kot so vkopi, jame in jarki.<sup>2</sup>

Kras je krajina z zelo specifičnim površjem. Tu so naravni procesi preoblikovanja počasni, zato se sledovi človeških posegov na površju zelo dobro ohranjajo. Ostanjejo kot sled na površju, dokler jih ne zabrišejo druga dejanja ljudi. Tako jih lahko prepoznamo tudi arheologi.

Poleg običajnih najdišč in arheoloških struktur, kot so gomile, gradišča, gradovi in podobno, s pomočjo ZLS opazimo tudi množico drugih sledov aktivnosti v prostoru. Ta kvantiteta sledov preide v novo kvaliteto, množica sledov preteklih aktivnosti nam mogoča, da krajino razumemo drugače. Nič več ne gre za izolirana najdišča, ki ležijo v praznem prostoru, temveč rezultat neprekinjenega bivanja v krajini, kopičenja, preurejanja, predelovanja sledov. Zračno

1 Opitz 2012, 13.

2 Opitz 2012.



**Slika 2** Ostanke linearnih nasipov med Sežano in Križem.

lasersko skeniranje, prav tako kot druge vizualne tehnologije, ne izdeluje le lepih slik, temveč predvsem razširja zmožnosti odkrivanja, dokumentiranja in zamišljanja krajina.<sup>3</sup>

Krajina, kot jo vidimo z ZLS je tako vzorec različnih sledov. Še več, sledovi so del fragmentarno ohranjenih vzorcev iz različnih epizod oblikovanja krajine, ki so med seboj v zapletenih razmerjih.

Najpogostejša metafora za opisovanje časovne globine krajine je palimpsest.<sup>4</sup> Palimpsest je pergament, kjer je starejše besedilo izbrisano, da nastane prostor za novo. A sledovi starejšega besedila ostanejo, in jih je moč prebrati. Prav tako lahko v krajini preberemo starejše sledove, starejše plasti človeškega delovanja, fragmente starejših vzorcev, kljub temu, da so prekriti z vzorcem moderne krajine. Kraško površje tako lahko razumemo kot palimpsest različnih krajinskih vzorcev, sestavljenih iz množice različnih sledov.

<sup>3</sup> Mlekuž 2012.

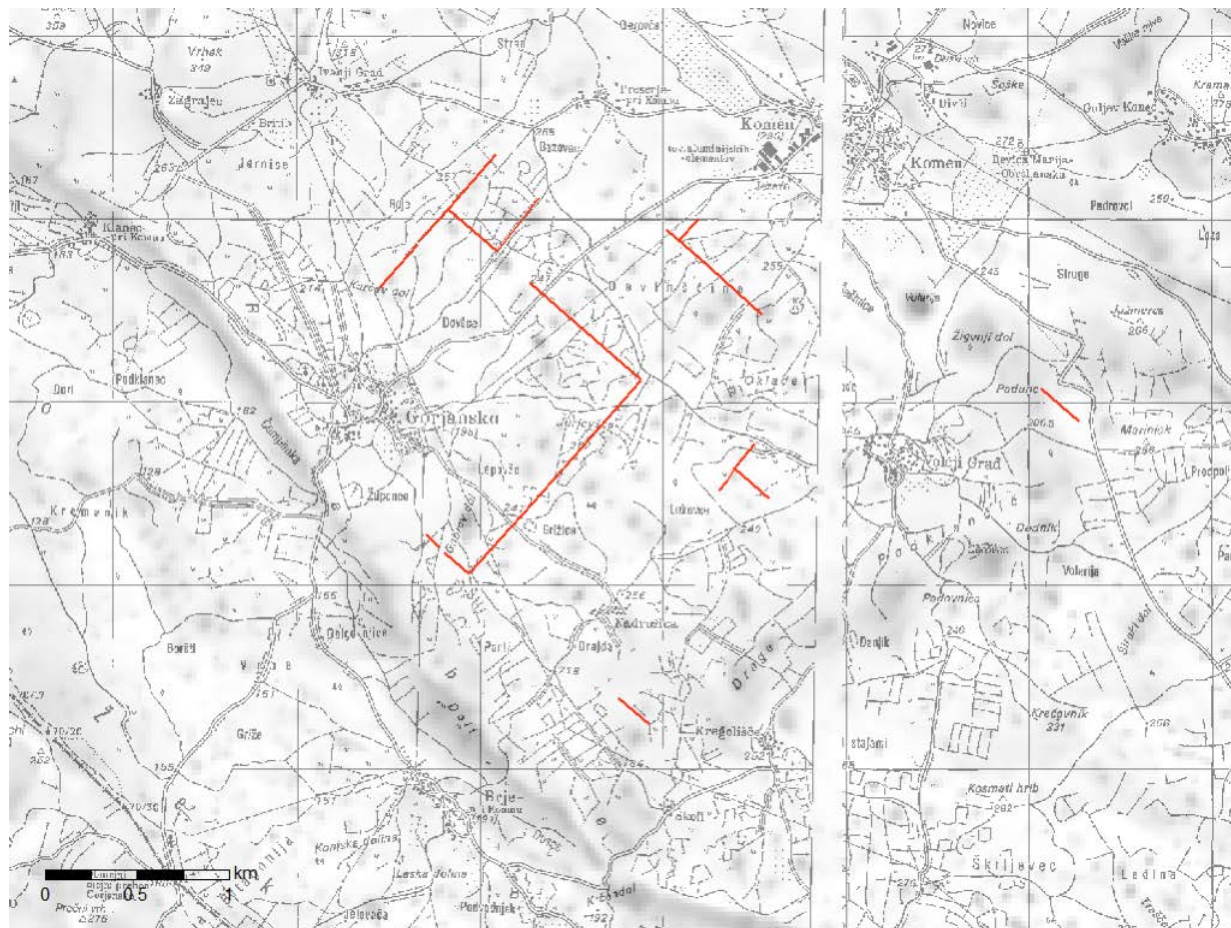
<sup>4</sup> Glej Crawford 1953, 51–52.

## Rezultati: ostanki pravilne pravokotne zemljiške razdelitve

Na posnetkih zračnega laserskega skeniranja Krasa smo prepoznali množico sledov pretekle rabe tal in poljske razdelitve. Gre predvsem za groblje in polja grobelj, strukture, ograjena polja, strukture povezane z upravljanjem s čredami, kot so lijaki, ki usmerjajo črede, obore, staje in ostanki ograjenih poti. Ti sledovi kažejo na intenzivno oblikovano krajino, ki je nastajala in nastala v prazgodovini.<sup>5</sup>

Prazgodovinska krajina ni bila le množica izoliranih gradišč v praznem prostoru. Prazgodovinsko kulturno krajino Krasa, so sestavljale tudi gomile, kamniti suhi zidovi, poti, polja, obdelane vrtače, groblje, ki so nastajale pri čiščenju površja, ograjeni pašniki, poseki v gozdovih itn. Sledovi prazgodovinskih polj so ohranjeni predvsem na marginalnih predelih, kjer

<sup>5</sup> Glej Mlekuž 2015.



**Slika 3** Ostanke linearnih nasipov v okolici Gorjanskega.

se jih ni dotaknilo kasnejše intenzivno kmetovanje. Krajina postane vir za razumevanje odnosov prazgodovinskih skupnosti do zemlje.<sup>6</sup>

Tako lahko v krajini prepoznamo dve fazi intenzivnega preurejanja; prvo, ki se najverjetneje zgodi v bronasti dobi in traja vse v rimski čas, in drugo, v zadnjem tisočletju, ki oblikuje srednjeveško in novoveško krajino. Med njima ni skoraj nobene kontinuitete, starejša, prazgodovinska krajina je le v nekaterih obrisih in detajlih vplivala na nastanek novoveške krajine.<sup>7</sup>

Na posnetkih ZLS lahko poleg sledov, ki sestavljajo prazgodovinsko krajino, prepoznamo tudi nizke nasipe, ki tečejo po pokrajini v ravnih črtah. Nasipi so si bodisi vzporedni ali pravokotni (sl. 1). Nasipom lahko sledimo na precej dolgih razdaljah, tudi nekaj kilometrov. Nasipi se ne prilagajajo obliki površja, se ne izogibajo vrtačam in vzpetinam. Na Slovenskem delu

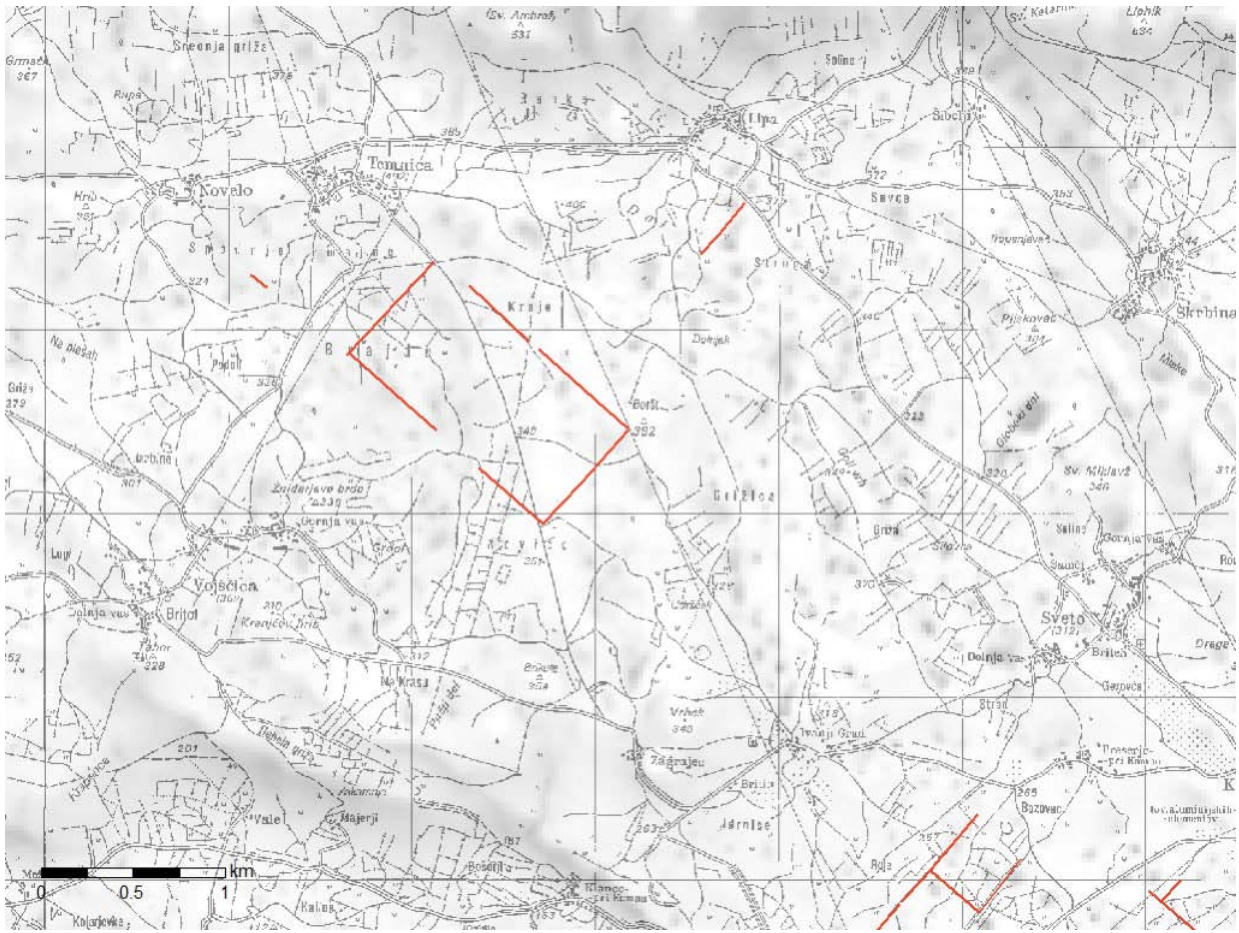
Krasa, ki smo ga pregledali, smo prepoznali okoli 12 km teh značilnosti, ki nastopajo v treh sklenjenih območjih, med Sežano in Križem, okoli Gorjanskega in Komna ter v okolici Temnice in Lipe. Prepoznani sledovi ležijo na območju dimenzij okoli 20 × 4 km (sl. 2–4).

Ti nasipi se po obliki razlikujejo od prazgodovinskih mejnih nasipov, kot tudi od suhih zidov in drugih oblik, ki so del moderne krajine. Najbolj očitna razlika je v tem, da se nikakor ne prilagajajo značilnostim v prostoru, temveč sledijo le svoji ravni in pravokotni logiki. Moderna zemljiška razdelitev jih ne upošteva, prav tako ni jasen odnos do prazgodovinskih značilnosti. Na zračnih fotografijah se nasipi na odprtih površinah kažejo kot negativni vegetacijski znaki, zato lahko sklepamo, da gre za porušene in preraščene suhe zidove. Običajno pa jih najdemo na manj preoblikovanih delih površja, v gozdovih (sl. 5).

Če osi, na katerih ležijo sledovi, podaljšamo, postane očitno, da so prepoznani nasipi fragment enotno

6 Mlekuž 2015, 676–677.

7 Mlekuž 2015, 689–691.



**Slika 4** Ostanke linearnih nasipov v okolici Temnice in Lipe.

zasnovanega rastra. Ostanke ležijo na vsaj treh vzporednih oseh, ki tečejo v smeri SZ–JZ (48 stopinj vzhodno od severa) in na vsaj šestih vzporednih oseh, ki tečejo v smeri JZ–SV (138 stopinj vzhodno od severa). Osi so torej med seboj pravokotne.

Razdalje med osmi ustrezajo modulu razdalje 710 m, bodisi 1.420 m, 4.420 ali 2.840 m. Razdalja 710 m ustreza razdalji 20 *actus*; *actus* je rimska dolžinska mera, ki meri okoli 35,5 m.

Glavno os v smeri jugozahod–severovzhod lahko podaljšamo v smeri proti jugozahodu natančno do Trsta, do zahodnih vrata kolonije Tergeste, ki so okoli 10 km ali natančno 9.940 m ali 280 *actus* oddaljene od prvega prepoznanega križišča osi (sl. 6).

Ti nasipi so očitno načrtovani in narejeni kot del večjega, enotno zasnovanega sistema. So fragmenti mreže pravokotnih polj, ki deli pokrajino na kvadrate s stranico 710 m (ali 20 *actus*).

Ti nasipi so starejši od moderne krajine, torej krajine, kot je nastajala od srednjega veka naprej. Moderni

sledovi, kot so suhi zidovi, poti, ceste, pa tudi meje parcel, se ne ozirajo nanje. Prav tako jih ne moremo povezati z ostanki prazgodovinske krajine. Na podlagi oblike lahko te nasipe pripišemo ostankom zemljiške razdelitve (centuriacije) rimskega mesta (sl. 7).

*Centuriatio* ali *limitatio* je rimska zemljiška razdelitev s pomočjo ortogonalnih in enako oddaljenih *limites* ali mej. Te meje omejujejo običajno kvadratna polja imenovana *centuria*. Centuriacija teritorija je del ustanovitve kolonije, kolonizacija je pomenila določitev mej teritorija kolonije, zamejitev ter določitev urbanih in ruralnih območij. Ruralna območja so bila centurirana. Centuriacija je novim naseljem uredila teritorij, zamejila polja, postavila legalni okvir za delitev zemlje kolonistom in pripravila prostor za infrastrukturo v obliki cest, mostov, kanalov.<sup>8</sup>

Zemljiško razdelitev so opravili specializirani zemljemerci, ki so izbrali osnovno orientacijo mreže

<sup>8</sup> Gabba 1983; Dilke 1971; Regoli 1983.



**Slika 5** Del nasipa na aeroposnetku in na posnetku zračnega laserskega skeniranja.

in s pomočjo instrumentov, kot je groma, zakoličili pravokotne *rigores*, osi centuriacije. Te so kasneje, ko so kolonisti izkopalali mejne jarke ali drugače zgradili in označili meje, postale *limites*, ali meje polj, centurij. Zelo pogosto je velikost centurie  $20 \times 20$  *acti* in površine 200 *iugera* (okoli 50,4 ha), vendar se pojavljajo tudi druge dimenzije. Centuria se imenuje zato, ker je bila v zgodnjerepublikanskem času velikost parcele, dodeljena kolonistu, 2 *iugera*; centuria tako vsebuje 100 parcel. Kasneje so kolonisti dobili večje parcele, 15 do 20 *iugera*, ponekod in nekateri privilegirani kolonisti so dobili celo do 200 *iugera*, torej celotne centurie.<sup>9</sup> Pravokotni centralni osi, ki se sekata v izhodišču centuriacije sta *cardo maximus*, ki teče v smeri sever jug, in *decumanus maximus*, ki teče od vzhoda proti zahodu. Ostale *limites* so pravokotne na glavni kardo

in dekuman ter se imenujejo kardi, *cardines*, in deku-mani, *decumani* ali *decimani*.<sup>10</sup>

Mreža *limites* je služila tudi kot okvir in matrica za organizacijo podeželja in gradnjo lokalnega cestnega omrežja, saj po *limites* pogosto tečejo ceste.

## Rezultati: Terensko preverjanje

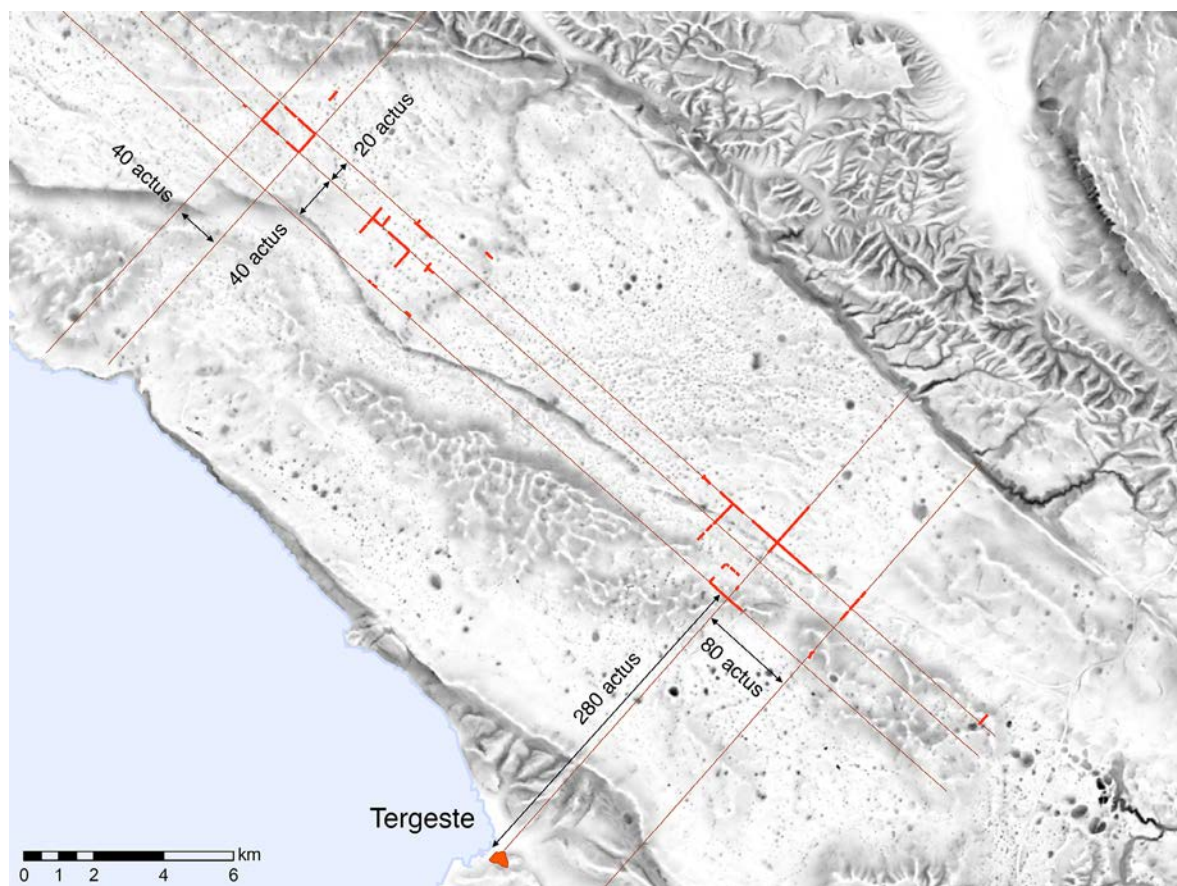
S terenskim preverjanjem smo želeli preveriti zgradbo sledov, ki jih na posnetkih ZLS prepoznamo kot nizke nasipe. Pri terenskem ogledu nasipov v okolici Šmarij pri Sežani smo zlahka prepoznali nizke nasipe, široke okoli 2 m in visoke do 0,4 m. V okolici ni drugih očitnih antropogenih sledov. Nasipi potekajo po gozdu v ravnih linijah, preraščeni so z rušo in podrastjo. Prepoznamo lahko posamezne kamne, ki štrlijo iz vegetacije.

Čiščenje kratkega odseka nasipa je pokazalo, da gre za podprt nizek suh zid, sestavljen iz korodiranih apnenčastih kamnov nepravilnih oblik, različnih premerov, od 10 do 60 cm. Zid ima eno samo lice, obrnjeno proti severozahodu, lice definirajo daljše stranice večjih kamnov. Južna stran zidu nima lica, ob linijo, ki definira lice so z južne strani položeni kamni manjših premerov. Zid je visok le 1 do 2 vrsti kamnov. Sklepamo, da je bil zid postavljen tako, da so ob črto – najverjetneje označeno z vrvico – najprej položili večje kamne, tako da so ti z daljšimi stranicami ležali ob vrvici, nato pa prazne prostore zapolnili z manjšimi kamni in nato zid z druge strani obložili z manjšimi kamni. Ohranjeni sta še ena do dve vrsti kamnov. Nasip, kot ga vidimo na posnetku ZLS pa sestavljata zid in ruševina zidu. Glede na volumen porušenega zidu sklepamo, da zid nikoli ni bil zelo visok, ocenjujemo, da je bil visok le dve do tri vrste kamnov, torej do največ 0,5 m. Zid je bil postavljen na skalno podlago. Ob zidu ni nobenih drugih antropogenih sledov, prav tako nismo odkrili najdb, ki bi pomagale datirati zid (*sl. 8*).

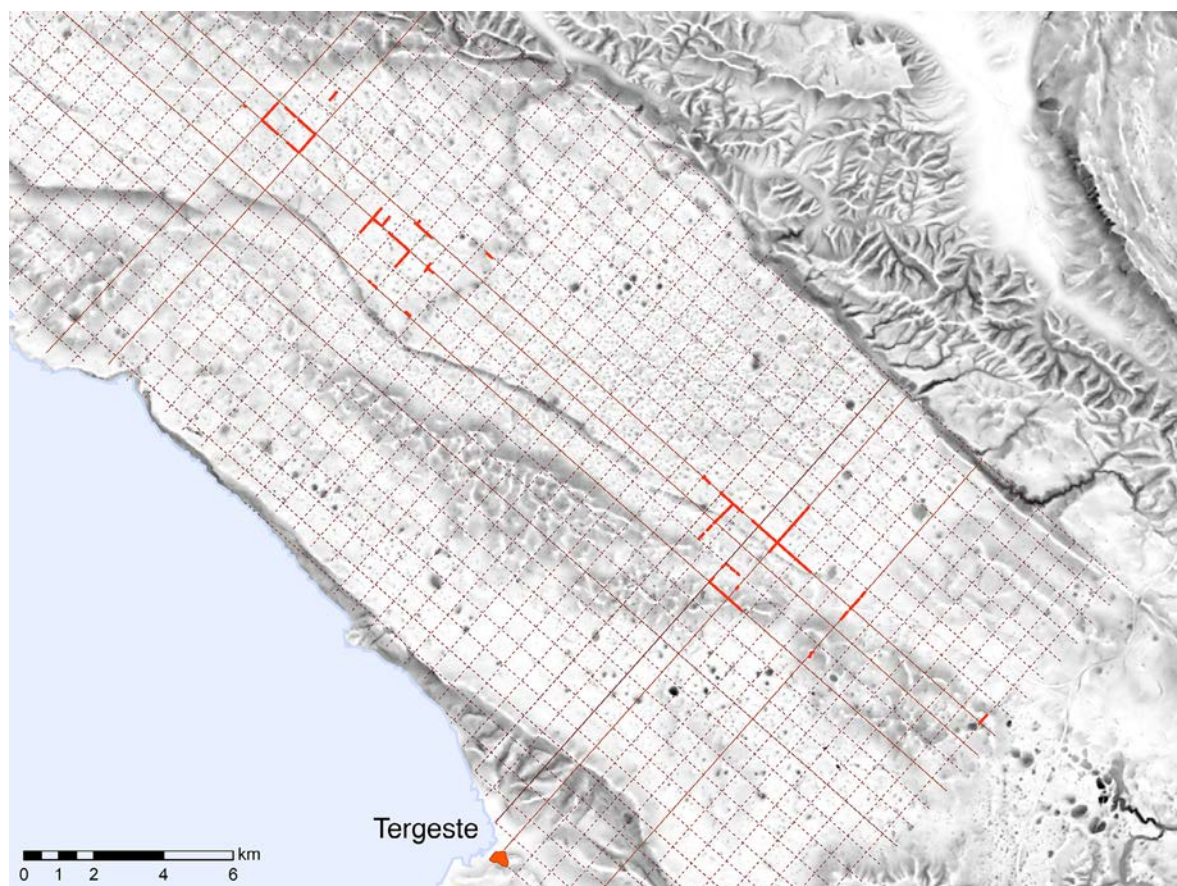
<sup>9</sup> Dilke 1971, 15.

<sup>10</sup> Dilke 1971, 87, 231.





**Slika 6** Razdalje med vzporednimi nasipi ustrezajo modulu 20 actus ali okoli 710 m.



**Slika 7** Rekonstrukcija sistema centuriacije Krasa in obranjeni sledovi.



**Slika 8** *Ostanki zidu med terenskim preverjanjem.*

## Kontekst in diskusija

Če gre – in menimo, da vsekakor gre – za rimsko centuriacijo teritorija kolonije Tergeste, jo je potrebno postaviti v historični kontekst. Prav gotovo ni centuriran prazen prostor, sam akt centuriacije, preureditve krajine, vzpostavitve novih prostorskih vzorcev in odnosov je globoko zarezal v obstoječo, domorodno krajino in vzorce, ki so se vzpostavili skozi prazgodovino.

Prazgodovinski poselitveni vzorec kaže, da je razporeditev gradišč vezana na poselitvene niše, ki jih definira relief in primernost za kmetovanje. Tipična poselitvena niša je sestavljena iz poljedelskih površin v bližini gradišča in pašnikov v zaledju. Ker so obdelovalne površine razpršene, je poselitev organizirana v več naselbinah oziroma gradiščih. Centralna naselbina obvladuje osrednje polje, medtem ko so satelitske naselbine postavljene ob manjših poljih. V krajini srečamo tudi nekatere strukture vezane na živinorejo in izrabo drugih virov v krajini. Na ta način se je izoblikovala zaključena celota gospo-

darskih aktivnosti, ki so se odvijale znotraj teritorija skupnosti. Meje skupnosti so pogosto označene s kamnitimi gomilami.<sup>11</sup>

Ta vzorec kaže, da je bil Kras v prazgodovinskem času organiziran v množico avtarkičnih in razdrobljenih majhnih skupnosti, občin. Med občinami so se izoblikovala hierarhična razmerja, ki so temeljila predvsem na nadzoru nad kulturnimi kraji (kot sta npr. Mušja in Skeletna jama v bližini gradišča Škocjan) in dostopu do eksotičnih prestižnih predmetov.<sup>12</sup>

Družbeno organizacijo kaštelirskih občin Predrag Novaković<sup>13</sup> primerja s črnogorskimi in albanskimi plemeni iz dinarskega višavja do začetka 20. stoletja. Osnovna družbena in poselitvena enota teh plemen je zadruga, specifična oblika razširjene družine, ki temelji na tesnih sorodstvenih zvezah, ki izhajajo iz skupnih prednikov. Zadruga so bile eksogamne skupnosti; različne družbene in historične okoliščine pa so vodile v oblikovanje kompleksnejših

11 Slapšak 1995, 79–80; Slapšak 1999, 161–163.

12 Slapšak 2003.

13 Novaković 2001, 235–238.

družbenih oblik. Tako so zadruge sklepale bratstva (združbe več zadrug z dejanskimi ali zamišljenimi skupnimi predniki), bratstva pa so se združevala v plemena. Plemena so nastala predvsem v vojnah proti skupnemu sovražniku in predstavljajo endogamno skupnost.

Prostor Krasa se vključi v rimsko državno tvorbo z ustanovitvijo kolonije Akvileja leta 178 pr. n. št. Ager kolonije je bil centuriran, avtorji so prepoznali več različnih centuracij, ki so večinoma omejene na furlansko nižino.

Centuriacija, ki smo jo prepoznali na Krasu, pa je očitno vezana na Trst, rimski Tergeste, kjer smo prepoznali njeno izhodišče. Prostor Krasa, kjer smo prepoznali sledove, je bil pod jurisdikcijo kolonije Tergeste.<sup>14</sup>

Mesto Tergeste omenja že Strabon kot utrjeno naselje (*phrourion*) in kot karnijsko naselje. Kolonija je bila ustanovljena sredi 1. stoletja pr. n. št. – bodisi leta 46 ali v letih 42 ali 41 pr. n. št.<sup>15</sup> Prvo letnico povezuje z veteranskimi kolonijami, ki jih je Cezar deduciral v Italiji in provincah, drugo pa z dedukcijo veteranskih kolonij po bitki pri Filipih v drugem triumviratu. Tega leta naj bi bila Galija Cisalpina priključena Italiji, njena vzhodna meja pa naj bi bila prestavljena z reke Timave na reko Formio.<sup>16</sup> Spet drugi avtorji ustanovitev kolonije postavljajo pred leto 52 pr. n. št., ko je bilo mesto med japonskim vpadom opustošeno.<sup>17</sup> Zagotovo pa Tergeste postane rimska kolonija najkasneje leta 35 pr. n. št., saj jo tako imenuje Apijan. Leta 33 ali 32 pr. n. št. Avgust zgradi mestu obzidje.

Nejasen je tudi status Trsta pred dedukcijo kolonije. Na podlagi napisa z Jelarjev, Degrassi sklepa, da je imel Trst pred dedukcijo kolonije nekaj let status municipija, ustanovljenega v Cezarjevem času.<sup>18</sup>

Nastop novega hegemonja najverjetneje ni enako prizadel vseh domorodnih skupnosti na Krasu. Predvsem je pomenil nadzor nad središči in ključ-

nimi točkami zunanjih stikov. Tako je vključitev v rimsko državo pomenila predvsem ustanovitev mestnega središča na strateški lokaciji z emporialno tradicijo, kolonije Tergeste, vzpostavila nadzorno in gospodarsko infrastrukturo (vojaške postojanke, javne ceste in cestne postaje, carinska postaje) in zagotovila gospodarsko stabilnost z različnimi načini oblikami agrarne izrabe, bodisi v okviru tradicionalnih domorodnih skupnosti, pa tudi z mestno kolonizacijo, s centuriacijo teritorija in dodeljevanjem državnega zemljišča kolonistom in privilegiranim elitam in z organizacijo izrabe drugih virov.<sup>19</sup>

Slapšak prepričljivo pokaže, da so kraške domorodne skupnosti v 1. tisočletju pr. n. št. vzpostavile tako trdne in uspešne strukture prostorske organizacije in izrabe agrarnih virov, da so kljub rimski nadvladi in nedvomni notranji družbeni diferenciaciji ustvarjale pogoje za kopičenje viškov in ustvarjanje bogastva. Kljub izgubi delov teritorija (kolonialni ager, ki vključuje tudi novoodkrita območja na Krasu, in že znana območja kot je okolica Škocjana, Vremska dolina, del Matarskega podolja, javne ceste) in pravna podrejenost domorodnega prebivalstva pri izrabi virov, ki so v času samostojnosti predstavljali primerjalno strateško in gospodarsko prednost regije – denimo pri nadzoru in posredovanju v transportu in menjavi na daleč,<sup>20</sup> so se domorodne skupnosti obdržale v 2. stoletje n. št., ko zaradi relativnega bogastva postanejo zanimiva za osiromašen in razredčen tržaški mestni svet in tako pridobijo latinski pravni status.

Vsekakor centuriacija ni nastala v praznem prostoru, temveč je ostro zarezala v že urejeno krajino, ki so jo poseljevale domorodne skupnosti. Tako *limites*, prepoznane na posnetkih ZLS popolnoma ignorirajo predhodne sledove in značilnosti v krajini. Dober primer je okolica Volčjega grada, kjer se ostanki *limites* vzhodno od gradišča Debela Griža ne ozirajo na sledove domnevno prazgodovinske rabe tal, kot so ograde, zidovi in polja grobelj. Še več, ena izmed osi poteka preko gradišča, čeprav se zdi, da zid ni bil nikoli narejen (*sl. 9*).

14 Zaccaria 1992, 163–164.

15 Cassola Guida, Cassola 2002, 8–10; Degrassi 1954.

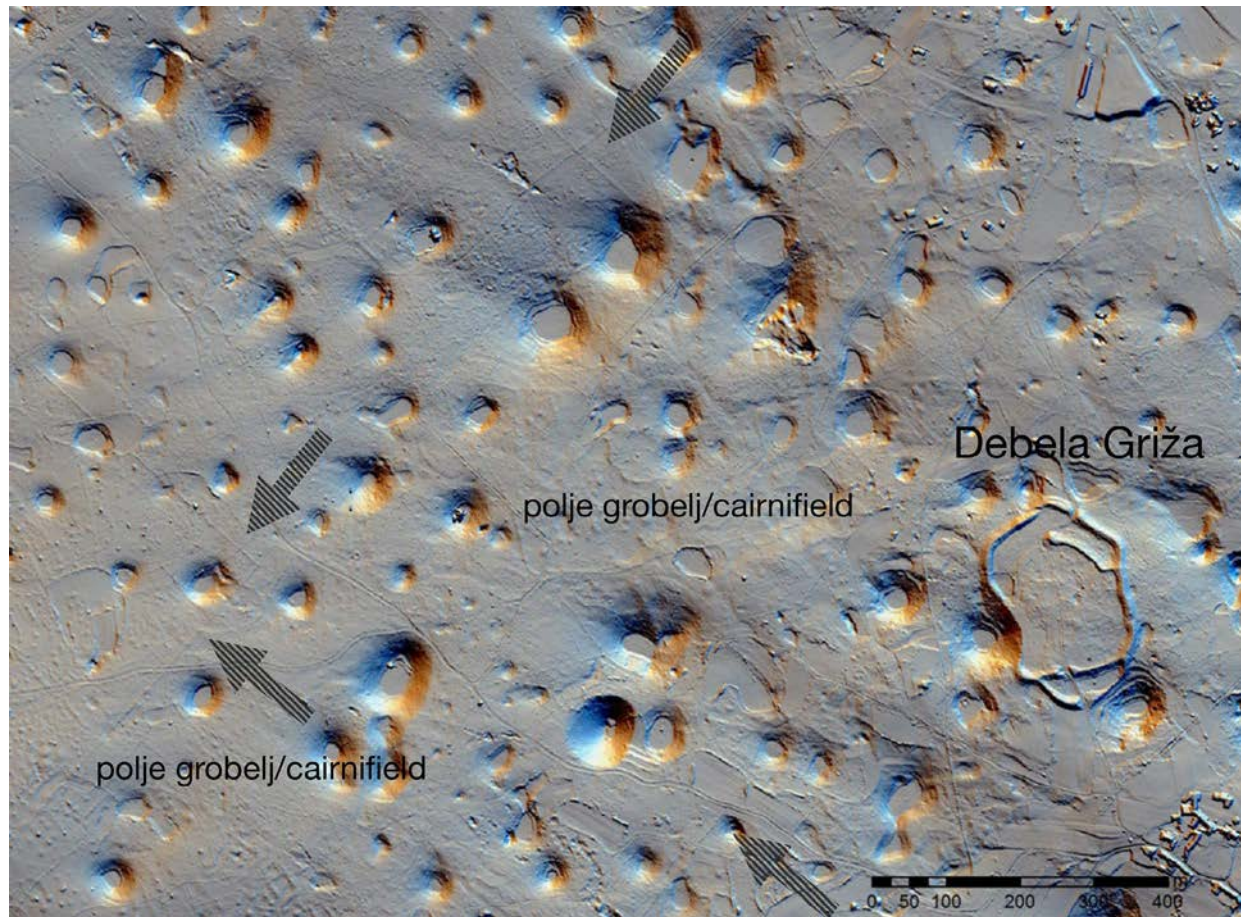
16 Degrassi 1955, 46–53.

17 Pregled: Zaccaria 1992, 152; Starac 1999, 109.

18 Degrassi 1954, 52; Zaccaria 1992, 154–155; Zaccaria 1998, 35; Starac 1999, 108–110.

19 Slapšak 2003, 248.

20 Slapšak 2003, 251.



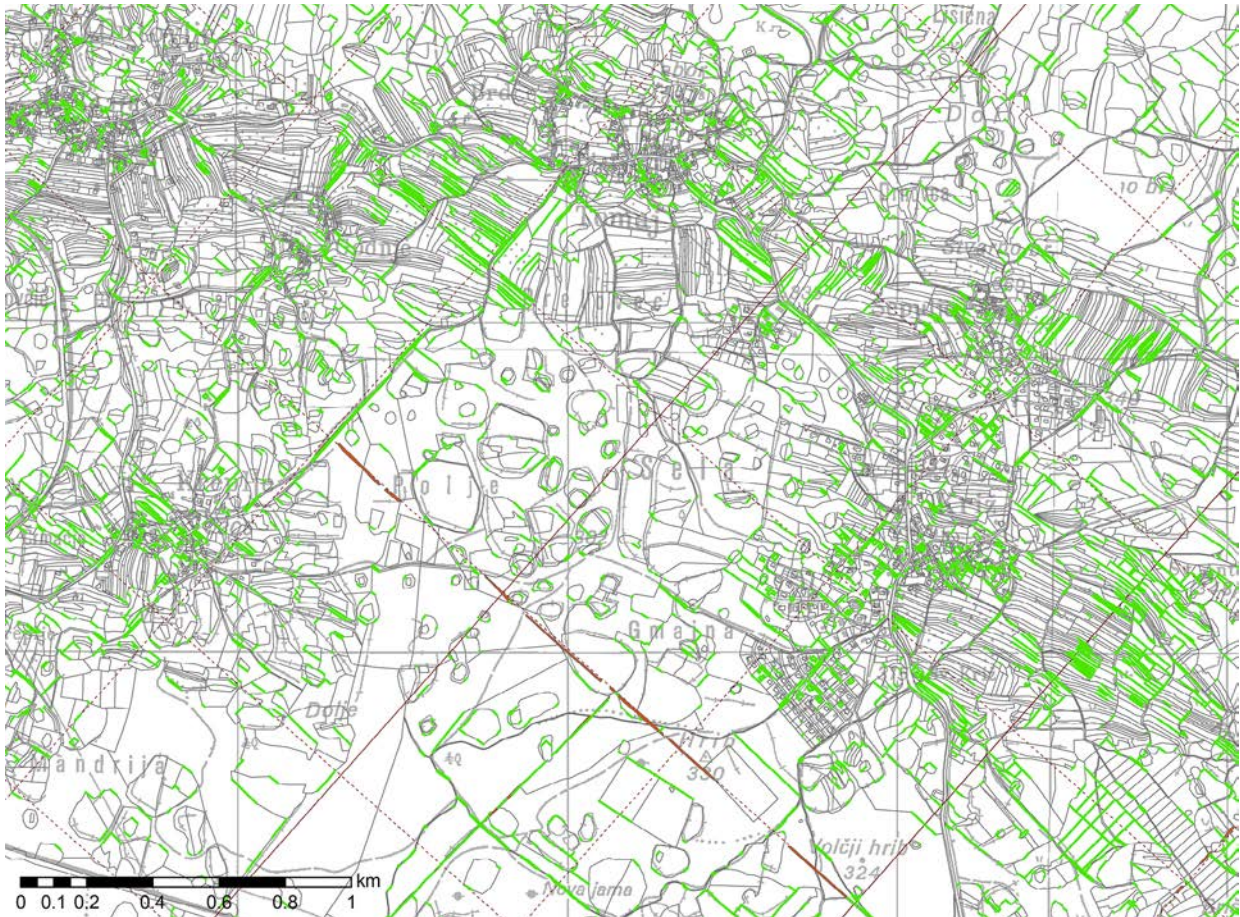
**Slika 9** Sledovi centuriacije v razmerju do prazgodovinskih sledov v okolici gradišča Debela Griža.

Kljub temu centuriacija krajine domorodnih skupnosti ni pomenila njihovega gospodarskega propada. Zdi se, da centuriacija teritorija na Krasu ni bila nikoli do konca izvedena ali dokončana, temveč le nakazana in zaznamovana v prostoru. Zidovi, ki smo jih očistili pri Šmarjah so prej enkratno zarisane črte v krajini, kot dejanske meje, ki nastanejo skozi njihovo upoštevanje v vsakdanjih praksah ljudi. Sledove centuriacije, kot smo jo prepoznali na posnetkih zračnega laserskega skeniranja morda razumemo bolj kot izkazovanje politične in gospodarske moči v krajini kot dejanski akt prenosa posesti domorodnih skupnosti na rimske državljane. To dejanje ni globlje prizadelo vseh domorodnih skupnosti in zarezalo v obstoječe razmerja. Morda fragmentarnost sledov centuriacije kaže, da je bil akt centuriranja omejen zgolj na nekatere domorodne občine. Verjetno je bil prej eksemplaričen akt, ki je kaznoval in prizadel določene občine. Kaže na poli-

tiko odnosa hegemonu do domorodnih skupnosti v trenutku kolonizacije, fosilizirano v krajini.

Da centuriacija ni imela velikega vpliva na krajino, kaže tudi dejstvo, da ni pustila nobenih sledov v moderni krajini. Moderen krajinski vzorec, kot je nastajal od srednjega veka naprej se nikjer ne naslanja na ostanke rimske centuriacije. Analiza usmerjenosti parcelnih mej, ki smo jo opravili za celoten Kras, kaže, imajo le kratki fragmenti modernih parcel enako orientacijo kot odkrita centuriacija. Zdi se, da moderna zemljiška razdelitev ni nikjer nastala iz centuriacije. Identificirali smo le cesto Kreplje–Tomaj, ki leži na meji centuriacije in bi lahko nastala na trasi rimske ceste (*sl. 10*).

Sledove, ki smo jih prepoznali, lahko torej razumemo kot rimskodobno zemljiško razdelitev, *centuriatio* dela teritorija kolonije Tergeste. Kljub temu da obsega precej velik prostor, na Krasu ni prizadela domorodnih skupnosti in pustila pečata v krajini.



**Slika 10** Z zeleno so označene meje modernih parcel, ki so enako usmerjene kot rimska centuriacija. Z rdečo so označeni sledovi centuriacije. Cesta med Krepljami in Tomajem leži na robu centuriacije.

## Zaključek

S pomočjo zračnega laserskega skeniranja smo prepoznali sledove pravilne, pravokotne in enotno zasnovane zemljiške razdelitve. Na podlagi modula 20 *actus* ali 710 m in izhodišča osi v rimskem mestu Tergeste, današnjem Trstu, sklepamo, da gre za fragmente rimske centuriacije Krasa.

Odkritje kot vedno odpira več vprašanj kot odgovorov. Prostor, kjer smo odkrili sledove, je nenavaden. Kraška planota ni prostor, ki bi bil zanimiv za rimsko kolonizacijo in primeren za rimski način kmetovanja. Tako se zdi, da ostanek centuriacije prej kaže na intenzivno politično dinamiko procesa kolonizacije in zapletenih razmerij med domorodnimi skupnostmi in rimsko državo.

Odkrit raster centuriacije tako težko postavimo ob bok odkritim centuriacijam Akvileje v furlanski

nižini<sup>21</sup> in centuracijam teritorija Pule in Poreča v Istri,<sup>22</sup> kjer je centuriacija dejansko služila rimski kolonizaciji in predstavljala matrico za rimsko rabo tal. Te centuriacije so pustile tudi močan pečat v moderni krajini in se jih da prebrati tudi na modernih topografskih kartah in zračnih posnetkih.

Na Krasu smo odkrili zgolj fragmente rastra centuriacije. Menimo, da ne zaradi podepozicijskih procesov, ki bi selektivno ohranili ali uničili sledove centuriacije. Gre prejkone za nedokončan oziroma zgolj nastavljen projekt na treh mestih znotraj teritorija. Sama centuriacija tudi ni imela pomembnega vpliva na kasnejšo organizacijo krajine.

<sup>21</sup> Prenc 2002; 2007.

<sup>22</sup> Chevallier 1961; Matijašič 1988; Starac 2001; Bulić 2012.

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## On the edge of the known. The quarry landscape at Podpeč

### Na robu znanega. Kamnolomska krajina v Podpeči

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**Izvleček:** Na južnem robu Ljubljanskega barja, na desnem bregu Ljubljanice, leži v vznožju hriba Sv. Ane v Podpeči dokaj velik kamnolom apnenca, ki je bil odprt v 1. stoletju n. št. in bil aktiven do leta 1973. Kamnolom je oskrboval rimsko kolonijo Emona in od srednjega veka naprej mesto Ljubljana s kamnitimi bloki, okrasnim kamnom in apnom, žganim v Podpeči. Njegov pomen se je izredno povečal po uničujočem ljubljanskem potresu leta 1895. O obsežnih obnovitvenih dejavnostih v Ljubljani priča ne le veliki kamnolom v lasti gradbene družbe, temveč tudi mnogi mali kamnolomi ležeči za hišami v Podpeči ter številni posegi na pobočjih Sv. Ane. Ti posegi so bili odkriti s pomočjo lidarske tehnike, kažejo pa vrsto sledov različne starosti in različnih funkcij. Pobočja Sv. Ane odkrivajo razgibano kamnolomsko krajino, ki jo je treba razložiti in po možnosti vključiti v načrt upravljanja s kulturno dediščino.

**Ključne besede:** Podpeč, Sv. Ana, kamnolomska krajina, kamnolom, podpeški apnenec, Emona, Ljubljana, litiotidne školjke, spodnja jura

**Abstract:** The quarry at Podpeč is situated at the foot of the hill of Sv. Ana in the village of Podpeč, at the southern edge of the Ljubljansko barje (Ljubljana Moor) and on the right bank of Ljubljanica River. It is a relatively large limestone quarry with a long history; it opened in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and remained active until 1973. It was supplying the Roman colony of *Emona* and, from the Middle Ages onwards, the town of Ljubljana with dimension stone, decorative lumachella and lime fired at Podpeč. Its importance grew significantly in the wake of the devastating Ljubljana Earthquake in 1895, as evidenced by the extensive main quarry, owned by a construction company, the many small and privately owned quarries behind the houses in Podpeč, as well as the numerous interventions on the slopes of Sv. Ana. These interventions were rediscovered using Lidar as a series of features of different dates and functions. The slopes of Sv. Ana have thus been revealed as an articulated quarry cape yet to be understood and possibly included into the cultural heritage management scheme.

**Key words:** Podpeč, Sv. Ana, quarryscape, quarry, Podpeč limestone, Emona, Ljubljana, lithiotid bivalves, Lower Jurassic

Podpeč is a small village below the Sv. Ana hill (482 m). It is located at the southern edge of the Ljubljansko barje (*Ljubljana Moor*) on the right bank of the Ljubljanica River and some 14 km to the SW of Ljubljana.<sup>1</sup> The name of the village is Slavic in origin and means „a settlement below a rock cliff“, suggesting that a quarry face was visible there at the time of the first Slavic settlement. The site was most probably first quarried by the Romans in the early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD<sup>2</sup> and the good quality (Lower Jurassic) black-to-grey limestone became a source of dimension stone for the *colonia Iulia Emona* from its

construction onwards. The Romans probably also used this rock for lime production. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the quarry was the source of the regionally popular „lumachella“ (lithiotid and small megalodontid bivalves) type of decorative stone, used by the Slovene architect Jožef Plečnik in many of his buildings.<sup>3</sup>

At present, the quarry is owned by the Mineral Company of Slovenia, but is not active;<sup>4</sup> extraction having ceased in 1973.<sup>5</sup> The quarry was declared a natural

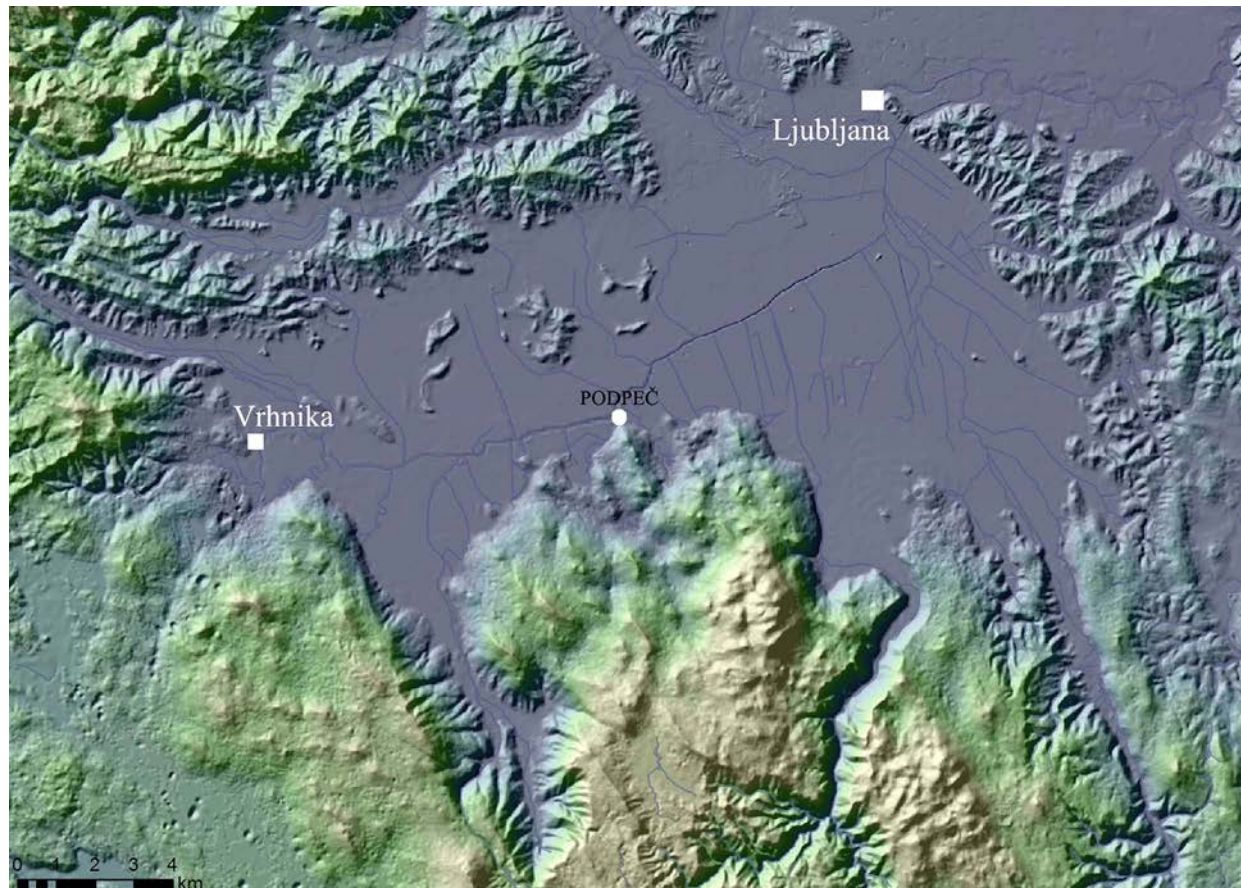
1 See Krajevni leksikon 1937, 334–335.

2 Djurić, Rižnar 2017.

3 Krečič 1993.

4 <http://www.mineral.si/si/kamnolomi/podpec/>

5 Decision of the then Inspectorate of Energy at the Department of Mining.



**Figure 1** Digital terrain model (DTM by D. Mlekunž) of the Ljubljansko barje.

monument in 1991<sup>6</sup> and a geological monument of national importance in 2004.<sup>7</sup> In 2014 the Podpeč lithiotid limestone was proposed for designation as a Global Heritage Stone Resource.<sup>8</sup>

## Geology

The quarry lies in the foothills of Mt. Krim forming the southern edge of the Ljubljansko barje, a large depression filled with Quaternary fluvial-fan, lacustrine and moor deposits, which covers an area of 150 km<sup>2</sup>. The platy to thick-bedded limestone in the quarry dips steeply to the south. The quarry is located at the northern edge of Krim mountain range composed of dolomite and limestone belonging to the Dinaric Carbonate Platform. The succession of the platform carbonates begins with the

Main Dolomite Formation that passes upwards into the Lower Jurassic dolomite and dolomitic breccia, which are gradually replaced with limestone (Podbukovje Formation).<sup>9</sup>

A 75 m thick succession of the Lower Jurassic strata is exposed at the Podpeč quarry. The bedding is typically sub-vertical and the succession is characterised by alternating micritic, oolitic and peloidal, intraclastic and bioclastic limestones. In the northern part of the Sv. Ana hill, lithiotid bivalves are usually concentrated in claystone, in 0.1–0.5 m thick lumachellas, intercalated among limestone beds. However they rarely occur in the limestone matrix.

Around 12 different types of limestone have been observed at the quarry,<sup>10</sup> but these still have to be properly addressed and grouped using polished samples and thin sections. For the moment, we should only mention two of them. These are a 4 m thick horizon of dark grey limestone with abundant lithiotid

6 Uradni list 18, 1991 (11.10.1991).

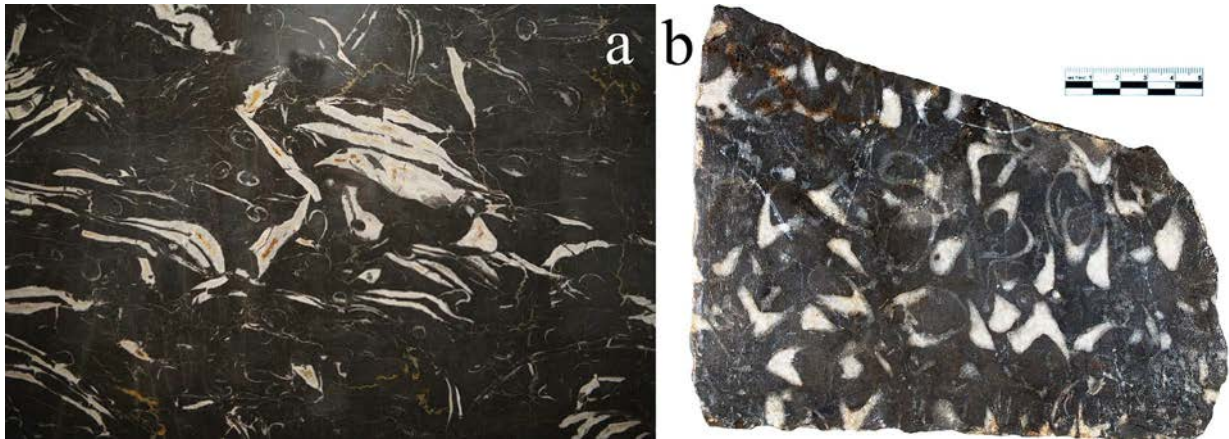
7 Uradni list 111, 2004 (14.10.2004).

8 Kramar *et al.* 2015.

9 Dozet 2009.

10 Gale 2014; 2015.





**Figure 2** „Lumachella black marble“ from Podpeč; (a) revetment slab in the Slovene parliament, black limestone with lithiotids (photo B. Peršolja), and (b) a slab found in Emona, black limestone with small megalodontids, kept in the Mestni muzej Ljubljana (photo B. Djurić).

bivalves and a grey limestone bed with recrystallized white gastropod and bivalve shells exposed on the northern side of the quarry face.

The lithiotid horizon passes into thick-bedded dark grey to grey oolitic limestone towards the southern end of the modern quarry. Beyond this, traces of quarrying are different and point to the extraction of succession (the bedding is still subvertical here) of thin-bedded black limestone, which is several metres thick. It represents the transition from massive to thick-bedded oolitic limestone to the black micritic mudstone. The productive horizon stops at the boundary with a horizon of emersion breccia with a yellowish residual clayey matrix. The horizon between the edge of the quarry face and the emersion breccia is up to 30 m thick.

Another productive horizon of thick bedded to massive, black to dark grey oolitic limestone follows further south, where different traces of extraction have been observed. This is followed in turn by a horizon of dolomitised oolitic limestone and dolomite, with

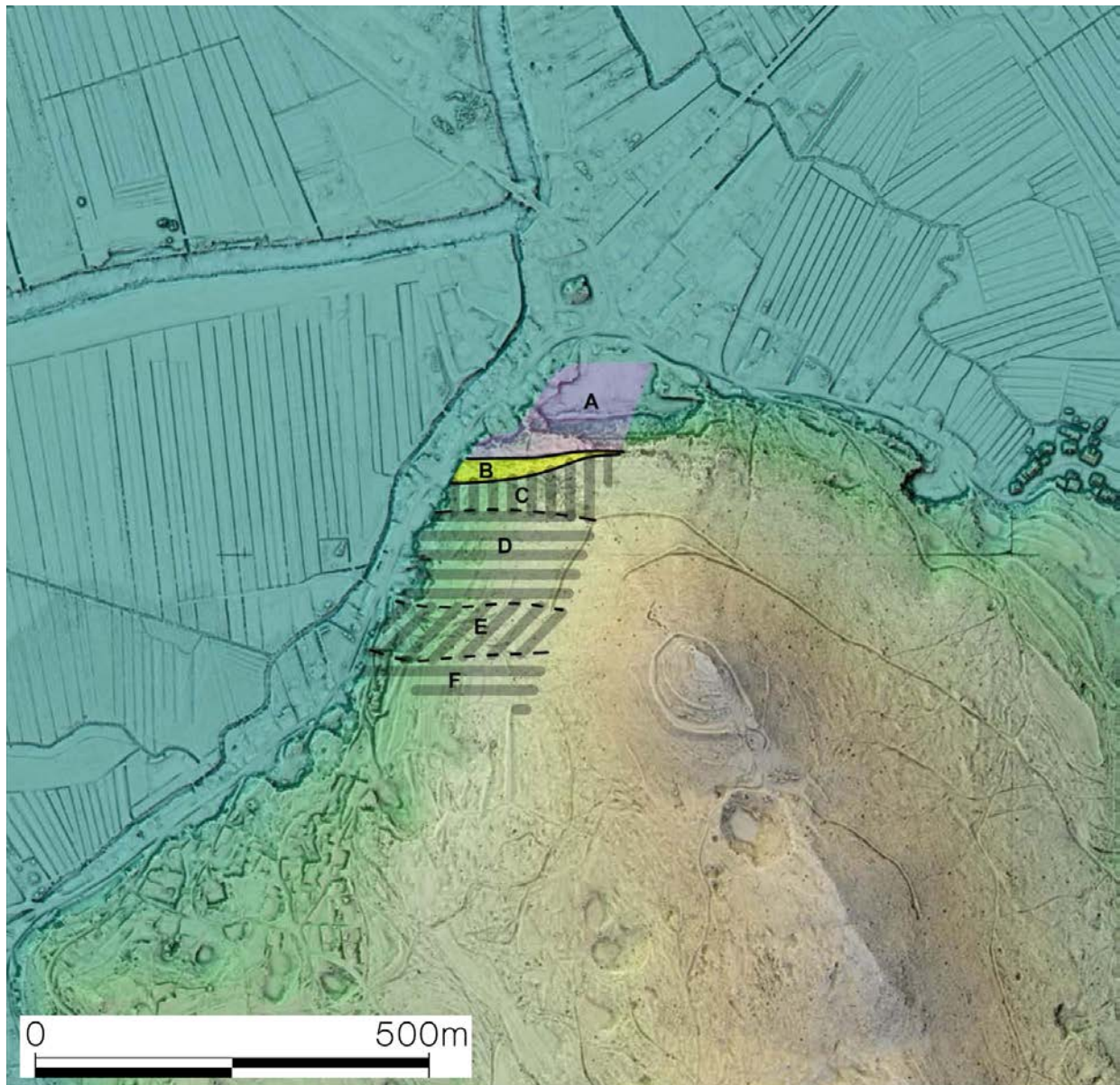
the area showing different land use with remains of terraces, which are perpendicular to the geological structures and parallel to the slope. These were created to level the slope and/or reduce soil erosion. Dolomite, particularly the late diagenetic type with large dolomite crystals, inhibits the karstification process and thus retains soil and humus at the surface, making the area suitable for agriculture. Traces of quarrying reappear further south, where another up to 60 m wide bed of limestone is exposed, followed by yet another bed of dolomite, which is covered by and with it arable land and pasture that have replaced the original forest cover.

### Quarrying, transport and use

There is no direct evidence of Roman quarrying at Podpeč. All of the hypotheses presented here are thus based exclusively on the rock used for architectural members and sepulchral monuments at *colonia*



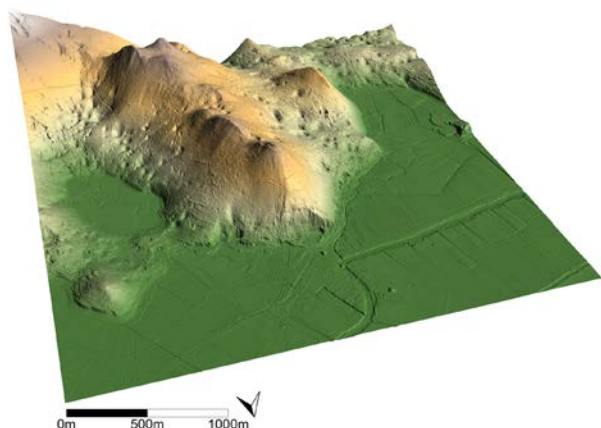
**Figure 3** The sub-vertical bedding and succession of alternating micritic, oolitic and peloidal-intraclastic-bioclastic limestone at Podpeč (by L. Gale).



**Figure 4** LiDAR-derived DTM of the Sv. Ana hill and the quarrying area at the foot of its northern slope with marked geological sequence: A – Podpeč limestone, B – emersion breccia, C – massive oolitic limestone, D – dolomite, E – limestone, F – dolomite (by E. Lozić, I. Rižnar).

The LiDAR point cloud has been filtered using Lasground software (settings: terrain type – forest or hills, granularity - ultra fine; ignore points with classification 7). DEM interpolated with ordinary kriging (settings: no. of sectors to search – 4, maximum no. of data from all sectors 64, maximum no. of data from each sector 16, maximum no. of data in all sectors – 8, blank node if more than 3 sectors are empty, radius 20 m). Complex: multiple visualisation merging RVT software-derived visualisations, sky-view factor and openness (settings for both: no. of search directions 32, radius 10 pixels, low level of noise removal), and WhiteboxGIS software-derived deviation from mean elevation (settings: radius 10 cells).

(Data source: web service eVode at <http://evode.arso.gov.si/indexd022.html?q=node/12>, GKOT D48 files: GK544\_92, GK555\_92, GK456\_92, GK454\_91, GK455\_91, GK455\_91, GK454\_90, GK455\_90 and GK456\_90).



**Figure 5** LiDAR-derived 0.5 m DTM (see Fig. 4) of the broader Podpeč quarry area. 3D view : 1.5 times height exaggeration, perspective projection, field of view 45°, rotation 197°, tilt 30°, light position horizontal 135°, vertical 45° (by E. Ložić).

*Ivlia Emona* (modern Ljubljana) sharing the same set of specific characteristics (colour, presence of fossils, especially megalodontids, etc.) with the rock identified at Podpeč as well as on the fact that no other significant outcrops of lithiotid limestone are known in the area. It has been widely assumed that later quarrying at Podpeč has destroyed any possible traces of Roman activities, but no archaeological investigations have as yet been conducted at the quarry to either prove or disprove this assumption.

As far as it is known today, post-Roman extraction in the quarry began at least by the 16<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>11</sup> with increased production noted in the Baroque period when „black marble“ was in vogue.<sup>12</sup> In Ljubljana, this stone was used to make many of the architectural elements in the houses of the secular and ecclesiastical dignitaries, as well as in those of contemporary merchants. Podpeč limestone was also used as building material. However, it is not yet possible to specify the beginning of this use, although there are indications pointing to the Late Renaissance and Baroque times at least, while the peak dates to the years following the devastating Ljubljana Earthquake of 1895. In this period, lime production was one of

the most important activities at Podpeč,<sup>13</sup> using the local limestone, dolomite and dolomitised limestone. The importance of the stone for Ljubljana is illustrated by two wrecks from the Ljubljanica River recovered not far from Podpeč and related to the transport of this stone to the city. One is a log-boat from the 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> century, loaded with stone and lime, whilst the other is a cargo of stone found scattered over the bottom of the riverbed.<sup>14</sup> Podpeč limestone ceased to be used as building material with the introduction of reinforced concrete after the First World War,<sup>15</sup> but architects continued using it for different types of revetment and architectural members. Podpeč limestone was in widespread use from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards and enjoyed pride of place in the work of the Slovene architect Jožef Plečnik. It was he who introduced the new fashion for Podpeč limestone as a superior decorative stone, largely in Ljubljana but also elsewhere.

Podpeč stone was transported to Ljubljana (and previously to *Emona*) via the Ljubljanica River, which was its main advantage over potential competition. The river transport continued until 1953, when it stopped and the quay at Špica in Ljubljana was closed. Earlier, the main unloading site of Ljubljana was at Breg.<sup>16</sup> The memory of ship building and shipping is still alive in Podpeč, which owned no less than 30 small transport vessels in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>17</sup> Different sources reveal heavy traffic on the Ljubljanica, but surprisingly little evidence of this has survived to this day, as has already been noted above.

There is a hypothesis regarding Roman stone transport to *Emona* that is widely accepted by archaeologists, first stated by Simon Rutar<sup>18</sup> towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and later adopted by Walter Schmid<sup>19</sup>. It suggests that the Romans diverted the part of the Ljubljanica riverbed closest to the Podpeč quarry to

11 For the use of the Podpeč stone for the new constructions at Ljubljanski grad (Ljubljana Castle) before 1562 see Vrhovec 1895, 101.

12 See Valvasor 1689, 434.

13 For the lime production at Podpeč see Bras 1977.

14 Gaspari, Erič 2007.

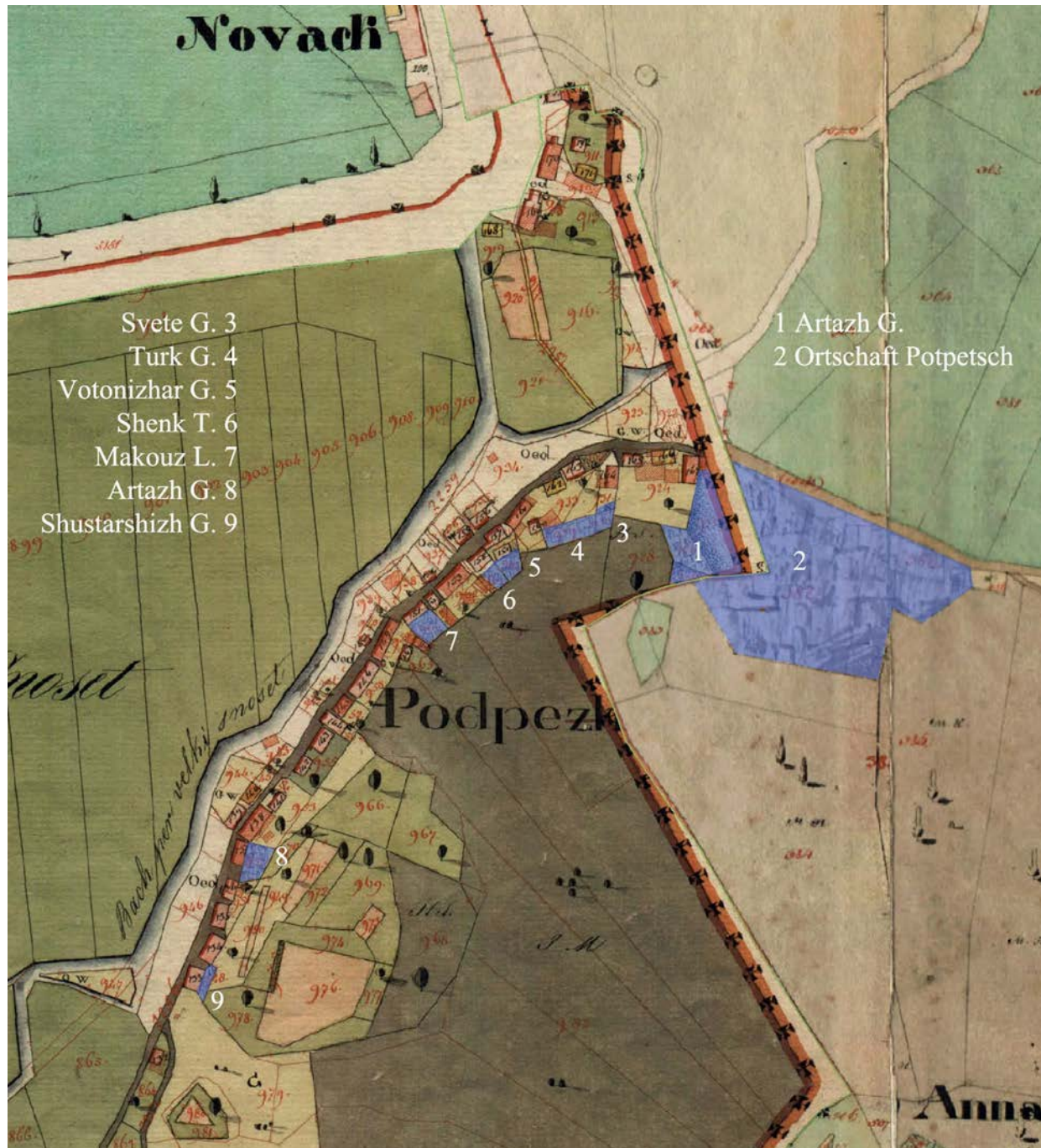
15 Mihelič 2002, 19.

16 Žargi 2009.

17 Valvasor 1689, 684.

18 Rutar 1892.

19 Schmid 1913, 67.



**Figure 6** Section of the Franciscan cadastral maps (Presser and Seedorf cadastral municipalities) showing the situation in Podpeč (Podpezh) in the year 1823. The quarry plots listed in the Protocols are marked in blue.

facilitate the transport of heavy loads.<sup>20</sup> However, this hypothesis has serious flaws. It would have been much easier to use the channel of the nearby stream (Podpeški potok) to connect the quarry with the Ljubljana,<sup>21</sup> and adapt it to accommodate the flat bottom

barges, rather than to excavate a channel to the main riverbed that was almost 6 km long. If the Romans did indeed divert the river, it was undertaken with some other goal in mind<sup>22</sup> and stone transport was of secondary importance.

<sup>20</sup> For a summary and state of discussion see Gaspari 1998.

<sup>21</sup> The Krainische Baugesellschaft adapted part of it for ship loading in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Denkschrift 1898, 80).

<sup>22</sup> Probably military. The river-to-road communication between *Nauportus* and *Siscia* seems a good reason for such a great undertaking.



**Figure 7** Map of the Podpeč quarry, owned in 1898 by the *Krainische Baugesellschaft*, as published on the *Übersichtsplan* in *DENKSCHRIFT* 1898.

### Quarry(land)scape<sup>23</sup>

The new LiDAR-derived high-resolution digital elevation model of the wider Podpeč quarry area clearly shows a set of features on the slope and at the foot of the hill around the main quarry. They are interpreted here as small private quarries located behind the houses along the foothills and as traces of stone extraction in small quarries on the slopes interlinked with paths. This landscape has formed through the ages as the result of closely related extraction activities of varying intensity. It is a landscape that may rightly be called a „quarryscape“. In order to attempt to understand it, an integrated approach using historical, archaeological, geological and other data was applied.

The beginnings of the extensive modern quarrying along the foothill can best be understood from the Franciscan cadastral maps with their Protocols (lists of plots and owners) that reveal the situation in 1823.<sup>24</sup> The maps show a number of quite small private quarries at Podpeč, situated behind houses

and outbuildings along the road and owned by local farmers,<sup>25</sup> whilst a large community-owned quarry lay to the northeast.<sup>26</sup>

In 1886, the *Krainischen Baugesellschaft*<sup>27</sup> from Ljubljana bought the quarry in Podpeč, which had already been active during the time of the construction of the Southern Railway (*Südbahn*).<sup>28</sup> Not long after this purchase the Baugesellschaft also bought the neighbouring quarry of Giovanni Comolli, which was most probably the quarry previously owned by Jože Artač and the point where the large modern quarry began.<sup>29</sup> The quarry was nationalised after the Second World War. In 1952, it became part of the Marmor (Ljubljana), company that was incorporated in the Mineral Company (Ljubljana) in 1977<sup>30</sup> which is still its owner.

An intriguing issue for the purposes of this contribution is the possible evidence for the location of the Roman quarry. Two indicators are important in this respect. The first is the topography of the Podpeč

25 All private quarries are located in the cadastral municipality Preserje (Gemeinde Presser). From north to south, the owners are: Artač Jože (Nro. der Parzelle 925, Artazh Giuseppe, Podpezh 16, quad. Klafter 113.99 = 409.79 m<sup>2</sup>); Turk Georg (Nro. der Parzelle 929, Turk Giorgio, Podpezh 15, quad. Klafter 90.24 = 423.41 m<sup>2</sup>); Svete Jože (Nro. der Parzelle 930, Svete Giuseppe, Podpezh 24, quad. Klafter 33 = 118.64 m<sup>2</sup>); Vodoničar Jože (Nro. der Parzelle 964, Votonizhar Giuseppe, Podpezh 14, quad. Klafter 37.95 = 136.43 m<sup>2</sup>); Šenk Tomaž (Nro. der Parzelle 963, Shenk Thomaso, Podpezh 13, quad. Klafter 46.55 = 167.35 m<sup>2</sup>); Makovc Lovrenc (Nro. der Parzelle 960, Makouz Lorenzo, Podpezh 11, quad. Klafter 69.35 = 249.31 m<sup>2</sup>); Artač Gašper (Nro. der Parzelle 952, Artazh Gasparro, Podpezh 4, quad. Klafter 80.60 = 289.76 m<sup>2</sup>); Šušteršič Jože (Nro. der Parzelle 948, Podpezh 4, quad. Klafter 31.18 = 112.09 m<sup>2</sup>).

26 In the cadastral municipality Jezero (Gemeinde Seedorf), belonging to the Ortschaft Podpeč (Nro. der Parzelle 382, Joche 1, quad. Klafter 1457 = 10,989.92 m<sup>2</sup>).

27 The construction company was called *Kranjska stavbna družba* in Slovene; founded in 1873.

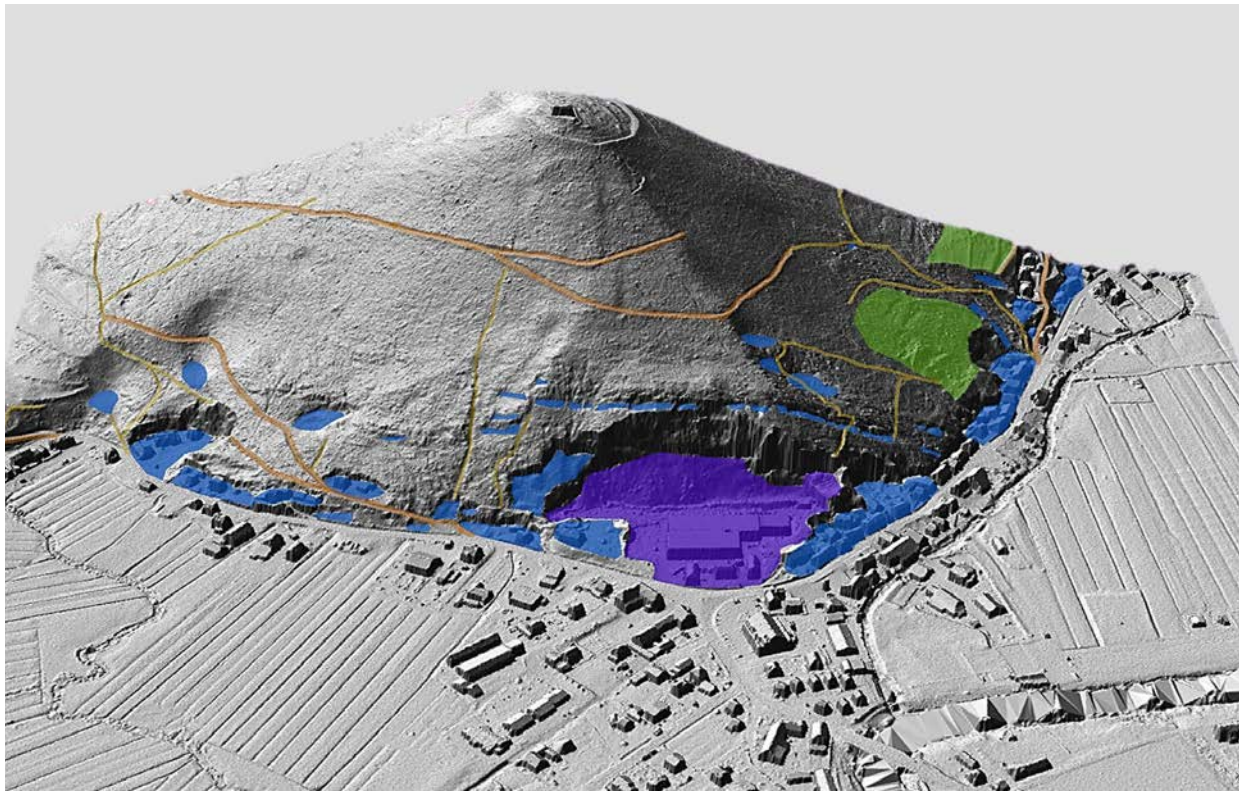
28 Denkschrift 1898, 7.

29 In 1823, plot no. 924 (Presser) where the central part of the modern Podpeč quarry lies was owned by Artač Jože. It is not clear which part of it later belonged to the so-called „Knez pruh“ which was the quarry bought by the *Krainischen Baugesellschaft* according to Ramovš 2000.

30 D. J. 1986.

23 For the concept of a quarry landscape see Haldal 2009.

24 For the first cadastral maps see Goleč 2010.



**Figure 8** Digital elevation model (DEM by D. Mlekuž) of the Sv. Ana hill with the quarrying areas (blue) interlinked with paths (brown) and agricultural areas (green).

village.<sup>31</sup> The houses of the village are mainly built parallel to the foot of the hill with the exception of two early houses in the northern part (Artač and Svete), which lie at a right angle to this line, indicating the existence a large cut in the slope at the time of their construction. It is posited here that this is the most likely area to seek Roman quarrying traces. The second indicator is provided by the specific geological situation, as the subvertical south-oriented bedding of relatively thin and lithologically different layers with an east-west trend permits attempts to locate the layers from which the stone was extracted for the Roman products, now in various museum collections.

Other productive areas on the slopes of Sv. Ana were probably opened after the 1895 Ljubljana Earthquake<sup>32</sup> and the period of the construction of the Vienna – Trieste Railway, or more precisely, its Ljubljana – Trieste section that was built between

1850 and 1857.<sup>33</sup> In this period, enormous quantities of dressed stone and rubble for hardcore, but also lime were needed for the rail embankment and its foundations (690,000 m<sup>3</sup>) and for the various bridges in the Ljubljansko barje alone. To meet these needs, additional quarries were opened in the vicinity of the railway (Notranje gorice and Žalostna gora in 1851).<sup>34</sup>

Quarries along the lower slopes of Sv. Ana in Podpeč and Jezero were opened at roughly the same altitude as the road and only rarely at higher locations. The largest of them was organised in quarry terraces with the debris being dumped in the nearby marshes where it sank.<sup>35</sup>

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century and later, several new extraction areas were opened on the steep slopes at behind the

31 See Franciscan cadastral maps for the cadastral municipalities Presser and Seedorf.

32 See Denkschrift 1898.

33 Mohorič 1968; Brilej 1999, 64.

34 Brilej 1999, 64. In Podpeč, the old communal quarry (Ortschaft Podpezh) was probably used for this purpose as one may deduce from the report of the Krainischen Baugesellschaft (Denkschrift 1898).

35 See Denkschrift 1898, 79.



**Figure 9** Western quarry terrace of the 350 m long trench cut into the layer of grey oolitic limestone, surveyed in 2015 (photo B. Djurić).

houses in Podpeč and higher up the slope.<sup>36</sup> These extraction areas were accessed via a side road leading to Preserje to the south of the Šušteršič quarry.<sup>37</sup> A series of paths, areas of surface quarrying and small quarries with traces of hand drilled holes have been documented here, with heaps of small stone blocks left along the paths.

Other extraction areas have been documented on the slopes behind and to the west of the main quarry.<sup>38</sup> One of the most impressive extraction traces on the slopes of Sv. Ana is a *circa* 350 m long, 5–6 m wide and 2–4 m deep trench with at least 6 quarry terraces, located immediately above the main quarry. It was cut with respect to the subvertical rock bedding in an east-west direction into a thick layer of grey oolitic limestone. In it, there are extraction traces in the form of holes for gunpow-



**Figure 10** Traces of holes made by hand plug drills (photo B. Djurić).

der cartridges made with hand plug drills, as well as traces of the horizontal extraction of stone slabs. The westernmost section of the trench surveyed in 2015<sup>39</sup> shows a typically opportunistic quarrying approach using natural cracks for easier stone extraction.

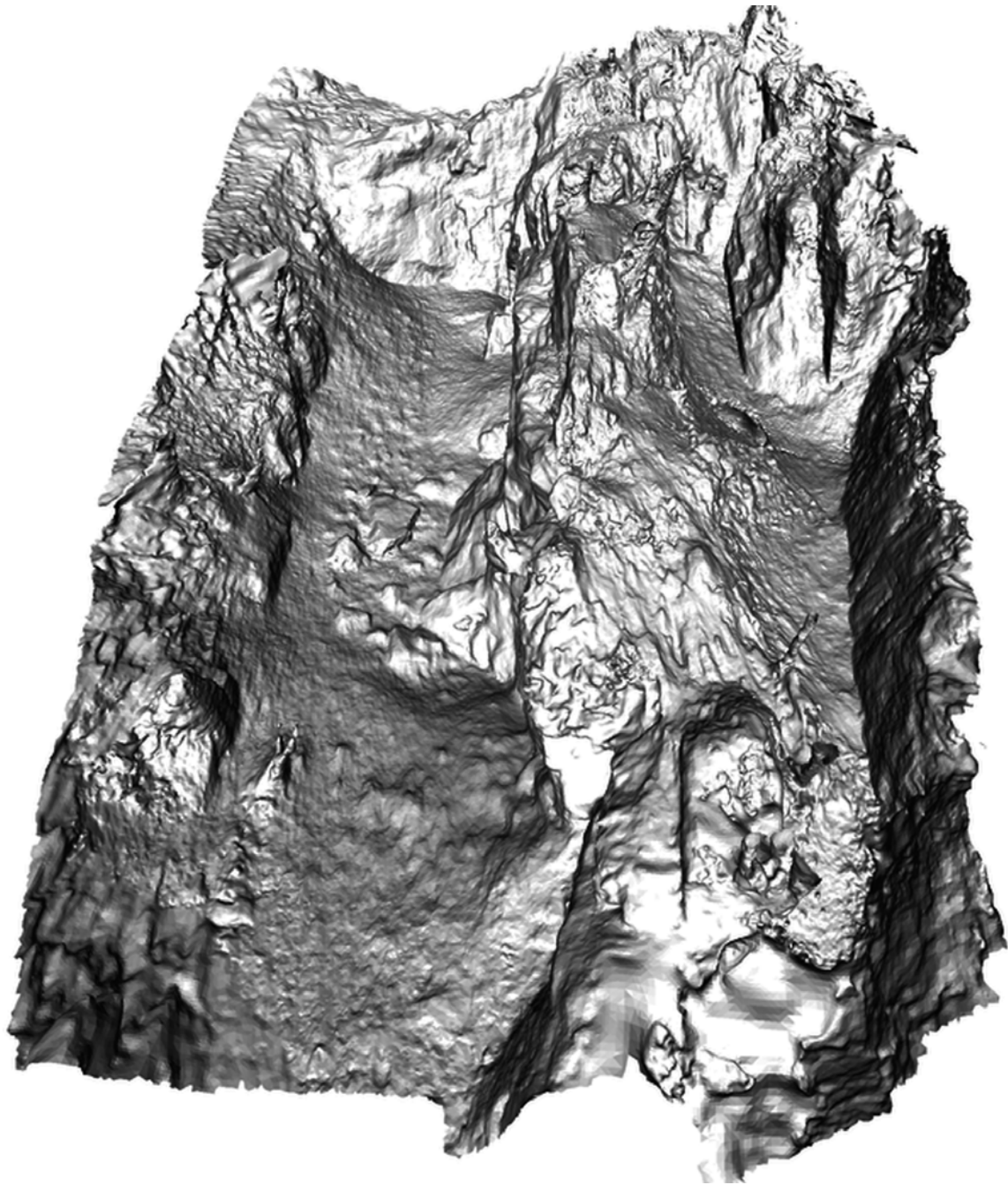
Neither the local nor the professional communities have as yet recognised the integrity of the described quarry landscape on the slopes and at the foot of the Sv. Ana hill. It is a typical productive landscape created by the needs of an urban centre (Ljubljana), of which a single aspect, that of its geology, is stressed to the detriment of all other aspects. To the contrary, we believe that the whole of the quarried area at Sv. Ana should be treated as a specific cultural landscape, a quarryscape, with its own cultural heritage status and management plan.

<sup>36</sup> All of the quarries in the nearby Jezero area were opened in this period.

<sup>37</sup> Today the house at Podpeč 26.

<sup>38</sup> Cadastral map Preserje, cadastral maps 384/1, 385/1, 924/1, 1021/24, 27, 28.

<sup>39</sup> The team consisted of Bojan Djurić, Luka Gale, Edisa Lozić, Primož Miklavc, Špela Okršlar and Gašper Rutar.



**Figure 11** 3D model generated using SfM (structure from motion) of the western quarry terrace of the trench cut in the east-west direction above the main Podpeč quarry (by G. Rutar).



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## A volcanic eruption around AD 180 and its archaeological evidence

### Izbruh vulkana okoli leta 180 n. št. in arheološki dokazi

Heinrich Zabehticky, Wolfgang Vettters

**Izvlček:** Niz arheoloških dokazov iz druge polovice 2. stoletja in začetka 3. stoletja iz Evrope, Azije in Afrike, kaže na poslabšanje podnebnih razmer (povečanje vlažnosti, poslabšanje vremena in dvig vodne gladine). V isti čas sodijo tudi politične in vojaške spremembe v rimskem cesarstvu ter nekateri s historičnimi viri dokazani dogodki na Kitajskem in nepravilnosti v ledeni skorji na Grenlandiji. Izbruh vulkana je lahko eden izmed vzrokov za krizo v tretjem stoletju.

**Ključne besede:** klimatska katastrofa, vulkan Taupo, ogrevanje, kašče, vojaška uniforma, mejna politika, kriza 3. stoletja

**Abstract:** A series of archaeological evidences in Europe, Asia and Africa hint on increasing humidity, bad weather and rising ground water levels, to be dated to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries. Also changes in the political and military Roman history as well as some recorded events in China and anomalies in the ice-cores of Greenland fit to that presumed climatic phenomenon. The geological answer to the suspicion of a climatic deterioration was the eruption of the Taupo volcano on the North Island of New Zealand, which caused a climatic effect for a period of *circa* 50 years. This can be considered as one of the many reasons which caused the „crisis“ of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

**Key words:** Climatic catastrophe, Taupo volcano, heating, granaries, military uniform, frontier policy, 3<sup>rd</sup> century crisis

The topic of archaeological evidence that could be explained by climatic deterioration, caused by a volcanic eruption, has been discussed by the authors several times (see the bibliography at the end). This paper thus seeks to bring this to the attention of more researchers, in order that they may seek similar evidences in their own fields of activity. The research started with archaeological evidence that hinted at increasing humidity, bad weather and rising ground water levels, which could be dated to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. The archaeologist Heinrich Zabehticky and the geologist Wolfgang Vettters have sought to find an explanation for these changes. The geological answer to suspicions of deterioration in the climate was the eruption of the Taupo volcano on the North Island of New Zealand. The results are summarized as follows.

In general the climate is determined by solar radiation, whose long-term shifts are caused by astronomical

factors. Short-term shifts are often caused by geogenic factors in the atmosphere and the stratosphere, such as:

1. percentage of aerosols (e.g. sulphur),
2. dust or ash particles,
3. water vapour.

Violent and explosive volcanic eruptions produce a great amount of dust and gas in the atmosphere. The retention period of volcanic products in the atmosphere is crucial for the shifts of irradiation and therefore for the climate. The local climate, the height of the eruption and the chemical and petrographic composition of the eruption cloud are also important factors. The Taupo volcano is situated in the centre of the North Island of New Zealand. Its caldera is now marked by a lake with an area of 624 sq kms. Thick pumice deposits in an area of over 1,000 sq kms testify to that violent explosion. The event is dated by various methods of age determination to about AD 180. Anomalous ash layers dating to this period



**Figure 1** *Worldwide effects of the eruption of the volcano Taupo.*

are even recognizable in ice cores from Greenland. On the basis of the petrographic and chemical composition of the pyroclastic materials, the Taupo eruption can be equated with that of the Tambora volcano in 1815. This eruption on Sumbawa island in the Little Sunda Islands (Indonesia) had similar dimensions in respect of volume and its chemical composition is also comparable. The eruption of 1815 was documented and interpreted in numerous climatic observations in America and Europe. Climatic charts of the following years provide a characteristic picture of weather deterioration. A remarkable drop in the summer temperatures and the resulting annual value occurred in 1816. This year was called the „year without summer“ and the regular summer average was not regained until 1840. The 25 years from 1815 to 1840, by which time the temperature had recovered, fell within a period of generally increasing temperatures. In contrast, the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD marks the beginning of a period of declining warmth after a maximum at *circa* AD 100, which became cooler by the medieval period. Thus the climatic effect of the Taupo eruption could have lasted longer and may be estimated to have lasted for approximately 50 years. Some reaction to this period of some decades should

be recognisable in the archaeological record, although one has to accept that the reasons for these changes would have been unknown to the Romans and that they kept no weather statistics as far as it is known. Thus otherwise unexplained changes on military sites and in civil settlements and, for instance, the spread of heated rooms, might have been reactions to this period of bad weather.

The relocation of settlements to higher and drier places are examples of this. In Austria, north of the Danube, a Germanic settlement, was first secured by a flood protection wall after the Marcomannic wars (AD 163–180), but then totally abandoned in the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Other settlements in *Germania Libera* were transferred to higher altitudes, both in Lower Austria and northern Slovakia. The continued occupation of the settlement at Feddersen Wierde (Germany) also had to be secured by increasing its altitude. The use of locations at a greater altitude increased more rapidly during the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. Within the *Imperium Romanum* the legionary camp near Albing (Austria) was under construction in AD 175, when the *legio II Italica* left for a campaign, but after its return the camp was re-built some few miles distant at *Lauriacum* (Lorch), on a site

at a greater altitude probably in AD 191. The camp of the *legio III Italica* at *Abusina* (Eining) (Germany) was never used and could have been abandoned for the same reason.

Building measures, adopted as a consequence of worsening, wetter and colder weather, could be proved in some examples: Whereas only baths were heated regularly in the 1<sup>st</sup> and earlier 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD, from the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD onwards living rooms in private houses were also heated, sometimes by underfloor heating that was installed subsequently in pre-existing living rooms. Heating systems were even installed in the climatically favoured Mediterranean area, e.g. in *Ephesus*. Here the processional way from the city to the Artemisium was covered in *circa* AD 185 at the expense of the donor *T. Flavius Damianos*, a wealthy citizen of Ephesus and a Roman knight. His biographer *Philostratos* relates that he had erected this hall for the purpose that „the goddess should not lose her devotees when it rains“. In the absence of Ancient weather reports it is hardly possible to get closer to this phenomenon in the written historic tradition. Originally only wooden granaries were equipped with a raised floor. However, new masonry *horrea* also included *suspensurae* from the Antonine/Severan period onwards. An increased moisture content of the soil, caused by higher amounts of precipitation, might explain this change. The same reason might lie behind the replacement of the wooden palisade by a stone wall on the Upper-German Raetian *limes*.

The uniform of the Roman soldiers was reformed and unified in the reign of Caracalla. The change from the short-sleeved *tunica* to the *tunica manicata* with long sleeves and the use of trousers as well as the longer *sagum* as a coat all surely point to a trend towards warmer clothing.

Some further observations can be considered on the basis of the literary sources. The emperor Commodus (AD 180–192) was not well reputed by the historians, thus these sources (*Historia Augusta*) are not highly regarded. During his reign some *omina* and *portenta* are reported such as „hairy stars“ at night and *caligo* (fog) during the day. Both phenomena may be explained by an unusual amount of dust in the air. On the other hand, the policy of the respected emperor and military leader Septimius Severus seems to be inconsistent: the province Mesopotamia was newly established and other provinces were reorganized in the desert areas of the East. The province of Africa was expanded into the pre-desert and *limitanei* settled in fortified farms in regions, where the soil was suitable for agriculture, if only enough water was provided. On the other hand, an expedition took place around the island in *Britannia*, but the border was finally withdrawn to the line of Hadrian's Wall and the region between it and the northern line of the Antonine Wall was abandoned. This development is more consistent if a colder and wetter climate is assumed. Thus on the one hand the advance into desert areas that could become fertile under these conditions can be explained; whilst on the other hand conditions would favour the holding or conquest of poor regions such as the north of Britain, which had to be supplied with imported food.

The climatic effect of this enormous eruption should be expected to be worldwide in scale. Indeed blood-red sunrises and sunsets were observed in China in this period and famine led to the revolts that resulted in the overthrow of the Han Dynasty.

The „change of the Roman world“ or the „crisis during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century“ surely can not only be explained by the climatic change mentioned above. However, this climatic change can be understood as one contributing factor among many others.

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## *Municipium Claudium Aguntum* – Excavations in the City Centre (2006-2015)

### *Municipium Claudium Aguntum* – Izkopavanja v mestnem središču (2006-2015)

Martin Auer

**Izvleček:** V zadnjih letih je bil z izkopavanji v Aguntu (izvajal jih je Inštitut za arheologijo Univerze v Innsbrucku, vodja raziskave je bil prof. dr. Michael Tschurtschenthaler) raziskan rimskodobni administrativni in trgovski center mesta. Obsežnejša izkopavanja, ob katerih je bila odkrita pokrita tržnica (*macellum*), so se začela leta 2006. Tržnica, pravilnih geometrijskih oblik, je edinstvena v severozahodnem delu imperija. Podobne zgradbe najdemo predvsem v Italiji in severni Afriki. Med leti 2008 in 2010 je bil na vzhodnem delu tržnice raziskan tudi forum. Glede na stratigrafijo in odkrite drobne najdbe lahko gradnjo foruma postavimo v klavdijski čas, medtem ko je bila tržnica postavljena skoraj 100 let zatem, torej v 2. stoletju. Tako tržnica kot forum pa sta bila sredini 3. stoletja uničena v požaru. Po požaru izgubita vlogo javnih stavb. Kljub nekaj poskusom obnove so na tem mestu v drugi polovici 3. in 4. stoletju postavljene stanovanjske zgradbe in delavnice za obdelovanje kovine in kamene strele. Poselitev je izpričana najmanj do 5. stoletja, kasneje pa je bilo na območju rimskega središča mesta pokopališče.

**Ključne besede:** Norik, Agunt, središče mesta, forum, tržnica (*macellum*).

**Abstract:** The excavations in the Roman *Municipium Claudium Aguntum* (conducted by the Institut für Archäologien, Universität Innsbruck; head of excavations: Prof. Dr. Michael Tschurtschenthaler) concentrated on the centre of the city in recent years. After some preliminary work in the 1990s a large-area excavation started in 2006 with the unearthing of the *Macellum*. The geometrically accurate shape of this building is unique in the northwestern Empire. The best parallels for it can be found in Italy and Northern Africa. Excavations in the area east of the *Macellum* started in 2008 and by 2010 it became clear that the Forum was located in this area. The stratigraphy and associated small finds point to a Claudian date for the construction of the Forum. However the *Macellum* was built almost 100 years later during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Both buildings were in use at least until the mid of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, when the greater part of the Forum was destroyed by fire and as was presumably the *Macellum*. After some attempts at reconstruction and a partial reuse of the Forum area in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, private buildings and work spaces occupied the city center during the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The last occupation phase continued until the 5<sup>th</sup> century at least; the ruins of the city centre later being used as a cemetery.

**Key Words:** *Noricum*, *Aguntum*, City Centre, Forum, *Macellum*.

Archaeological fieldwork in the area of the Roman *Municipium Claudium Aguntum* started in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. This early work was undertaken by the Franciscan Innozenz Ploner<sup>1</sup> and the archaeologist Rudolf Egger<sup>2</sup> who worked in separate areas during different periods of the year. Parts of the city walls (Ploner) and an Early Christian church (Egger) had been revealed by 1913, but the work stopped due to

the First World War and the ensuing economic crises. The archaeologist Erich Swoboda<sup>3</sup> continued the excavations from 1931 to 1935 due the planned construction of the B100 transit route. He excavated the city gate and some buildings on the eastern side of the gate. The Second World War again stopped the exploration of *Aguntum*, but the Austrian Institute for Archaeology (ÖAI) conducted several excavation

1 Ploner 1912.

2 Egger 1914; Egger 1916.

3 Swoboda 1935.



**Figure 1** General Plan of *Municipium Claudium Aguntum* (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum).

campaigns in *Aguntum* from the 1950s onwards. Franz Miltner<sup>4</sup>, Wilhelm Alzinger<sup>5</sup>, Stefan Karwiese<sup>6</sup> and Gerhard Langmann<sup>7</sup> worked on the city walls, the *Thermae*, the Atrium House and the so-called Artisans' quarter/Residential quarter (ger. *Handwerkerviertel* / *Wohnviertel*).

In 1991 the Institute for Archaeologies (former Institute for Classical and Roman Provincial Archaeology) of the University of Innsbruck started excavations in *Aguntum*. The excavations were directed by Elisabeth Walde from 1991 to 2007<sup>8</sup> and from 2008 onwards by Michael Tschurtschenthaler (who acted as site supervisor from 1991 to 2007).<sup>9</sup> In the first years' work continued in the areas investigated by the previous excavators. This meant that excavation continued on „Haus 1“ as part of the Artisans'

quarter<sup>10</sup> and then on the so-called „Prunkbau“ where excavation had already started under the direction of Wilhelm Alzinger.<sup>11</sup> The city centre was the focus of the excavations when the „Prunkbau“, interpreted as part of the Basilica of *Aguntum*, was examined. However, this work had to stop due to the re-planning of the main road transit route in the Eastern Tyrol (B 100), which passes through the Roman city. Excavations along the projected line of this road were a priority in 1994 and 1995.<sup>12</sup> The central part of the „Atriumhaus“ was uncovered during these excavations. Archaeological activity concentrated on the „Atriumhaus“ and its surroundings in the following years, because of the presence of rich archaeological remains, including a peristyle with a basin covered by large marble plates (Fig. 2).<sup>13</sup>

4 Miltner 1953; Miltner 1955.

5 Alzinger 1959; Alzinger 1994 with bibliography listing all excavation reports.

6 Karwiese 1974; Karwiese 1975.

7 Langmann 1971.

8 Walde 2002.

9 Tschurtschenthaler, Auer 2013a with bibliography.

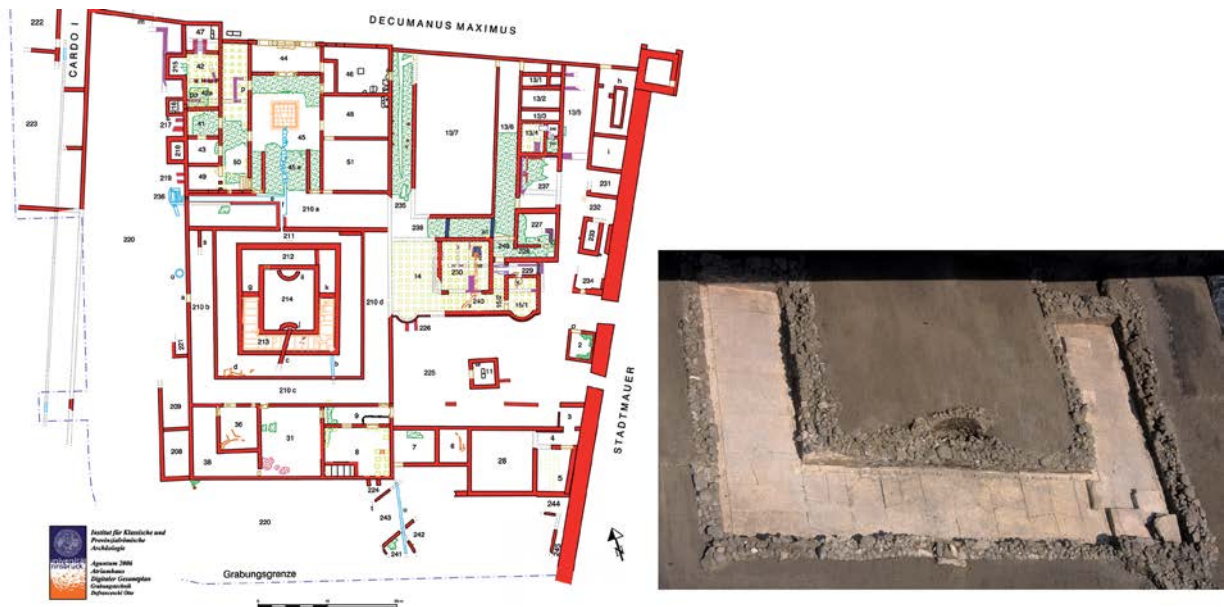
10 Klimesch 1995; Tschurtschenthaler, Walde 1993; Tschurtschenthaler 1994.

11 Tschurtschenthaler, Walde 1993; Tschurtschenthaler 1994.

12 Tschurtschenthaler 1997.

13 Tschurtschenthaler 2005 with bibliography.

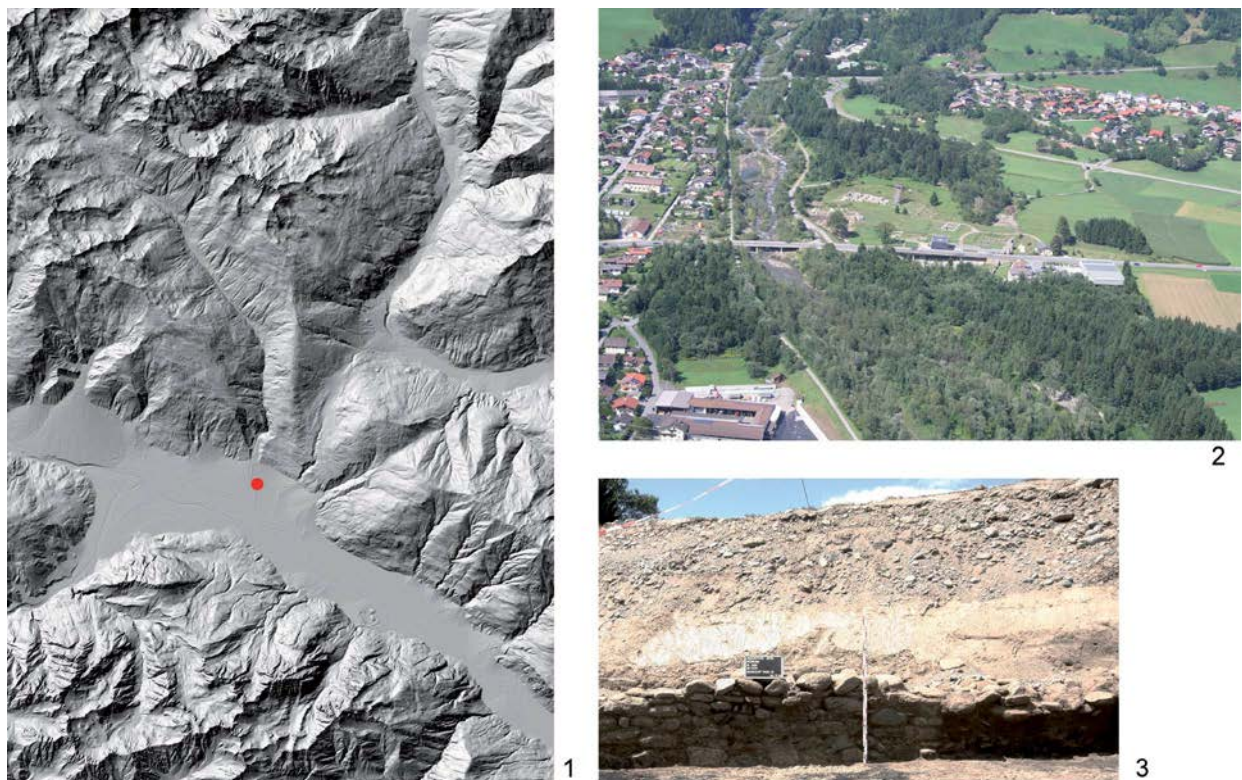




**Figure 2** The Atrium House and the water basin (right) (= 213 on the plan) (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum).

The excavations in this part of the city lasted until 2006, but a return to excavation in the city centre was always planned. Initially geophysical survey was conducted in the area of interest. However these methods did not provide clear results due to the geomorphology in *Aguntum*. The Roman city is

located on the alluvial cone of the river Debant, which deposited a large amount of debris over the ruins after the Roman city centre was abandoned. Thus the Roman structures lie under up to 3 m of alluvial material, which contains large quantities of stone (Fig. 3). These are of the same material as that used



**Figure 3** The location of *Aguntum* on an alluvial cone formed by the river Debant (1, 2). Alluvial material above the western wall of Room 290 (Forum) (3) (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum).



**Figure 4** The trial trench (left) and structures in the area of the so called „Waldschnitt“ (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum).



**Figure 5** The Macellum before (left) and after (right) the removal of the collapse debris (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum).

as building material in the Roman period. This makes the interpretation of the geophysical survey very difficult.<sup>14</sup> Thus it was decided to explore the city centre by means of a traditional trial trench, in 2000 (Fig. 4). This method permitted the discovery of several structures in the region of interest. In addition to other features, a circular wall in the west of the trench was of particular interest.<sup>15</sup>

14 Auer *et al.* 2013.

15 Tschurtschenthaler 2001.

In 2006 excavations in the westernmost part of the supposed city centre began with the intention of exploring the building containing the circular walls. After the removal of the latest Roman deposits, the outline of the building was revealed. It was a square structure (18.5 m × 18.5 m) with an internal circular walled area (internal diameter 17 m), which was already visible in the collapse (Fig. 5). The circular area itself is divided into 10 sections; each of these sections is 3 m wide and covers an area of about



**Figure 6** The Macellum after final cleaning. Note the water channel (presumably using a lead-pipe), which leads from the Sacellum to a pit in the middle of the building (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum).

14 m<sup>2</sup>. The height of the dividing walls clearly decreases towards the centre of the circular area. During the excavation this led to a interim interpretation of it being similar to a *Comitium* or possibly a small theatre, because only the northern part of the building could be excavated in 2006. However it became clear after the building was excavated in more detail that the sections are paved with lime mortar and the central circular area is floored with a flagstone pavement. The main entrance of the building was on the southern side with a secondary entrance on the northeastern side. Some of the sections were connected via small entrances. This means that it could be neither a *Comitium* nor a theatre. Analogies with buildings in, for example, Italy, suggest that it is a *Macellum*.<sup>16</sup> The careful construction is clearly based on models in Italy, most probable in *Aquileia*,<sup>17</sup> which was well connected with southern *Noricum*. The opposite entrance in the north may have contained a

*Sacellum*, which is suggested the presence of a water channel leading from this section to the middle of the central circular area (Fig. 6). A pit (circa 2 m wide, 1.5 m deep), was discovered here. It is highly likely that this was the site of a basin,<sup>18</sup> although it was no longer extant. This is, possibly because it was made of a reusable material such as marble or some type of metal.

This discovery led to the question for further excavations in *Aguntum* to answer of whether the whole city centre could be similar to city centres in towns in Italy. If this were so, then it would be very likely that the Forum would be situated next to the *Macellum*. The layout of the city centre with the *Thermae* situated to the north and the possible, partially excavated Basilica „Prunkbau“ to the south of the so-called *Decumanus Primus Sinister* made it highly probable, that the Forum would be situated in the so-far unexcavated area to the east of the *Macellum*.

16 Tschurtschenthaler 2006; Tschurtschenthaler 2007.

17 For a similar building in *Aquileia* see: Bertacchi 2003, 38.

18 Similar to better preserved examples of Macella in Northern Africa suggest – for an overview: de Ruyt 1983; Hamdoune 2009.



**Figure 7** The southern rooms of the Forum near the rebuilt Macellum (the building was rebuilt approximately 0,5 m above the original structures in order to better preserve the original) (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum).

In 2008 the team began to explore the rectangular buildings located by the trial trench. Work was initially concentrated on the so-called *Decumanus Maximus* and cleared the southern edge of the building to the east of the *Macellum*.<sup>19</sup> In the following years excavation of the southern rooms of the possible Forum took place. These exhibited a very uniform plan<sup>20</sup> (Fig. 7). In addition to a single large central room (circa 75 m<sup>2</sup>), furnished with the remains of wall paintings and a lime mortar floor, all of the small rooms are about the same size (circa 15 m<sup>2</sup>), are furnished with clay floors and heated with so-called „niche ovens“ (ger. *Nischenöfen*) (Fig. 8). The hearths in front of the niches were stone or tile-built and were refurbished several times. The small niche itself did not serve as a chimney, but was perhaps used to keep the fire going overnight. Thus these small rooms can be interpreted as accommodation. The eastern part of the Forum<sup>21</sup> exhibits a similar layout.<sup>22</sup> The central

19 Tschurtschenthaler 2008, Tschurtschenthaler 2009.

20 Tschurtschenthaler, Auer 2010; Tschurtschenthaler, Auer 2011.

21 Tschurtschenthaler, Auer 2012; Tschurtschenthaler, Auer 2013b.

22 One difference to the Southern wing is a small cellar (= Room 285) which was built in the north of the Eastern wing, next to Room 284. This feature has been used in the first two centuries AD.



**Figure 8** The Niche Oven (Ger. *Nischenofen*) in Room 276 (Forum) (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum).

room (circa 45 m<sup>2</sup>) on this side is also paved with lime mortar and shows traces of wall paintings. A corridor (3 m wide) that encircles the central square (1,100 m<sup>2</sup>) is located in front of these rooms, (Fig. 9). No buildings have been located on the central square so far, notwithstanding the interpretation of the geophysical survey that was carried out in 2011.<sup>23</sup>

The data that has been obtained through the examination of the wall foundations in different parts of the Forum illuminates the process of Roman town planning in *Aguntum*. The foundations reach to a depth of circa 1.5 m beneath the floor levels in the southern part of the Forum, whereas the foundations only reach a depth of circa 0.3 m beneath the floor levels in the northern part of the Forum. The composition of the layers also shows that the northern part of the Forum is built directly on the natural subsoil, whilst a lot of material containing some of the earliest small finds has been used as make-up layers to raise and level the area. Thus the ground surface in the entire Forum area has been raised and levelled to create an almost completely flat surface (a slope of about 1.6 % still remains<sup>24</sup>) (Fig. 10). This data provides good evidence that the area of the later

23 Auer *et al.* 2013.

24 This is also true for other parts of the city, where the same „overall – slope“ can be reconstructed – see Auer 2008.

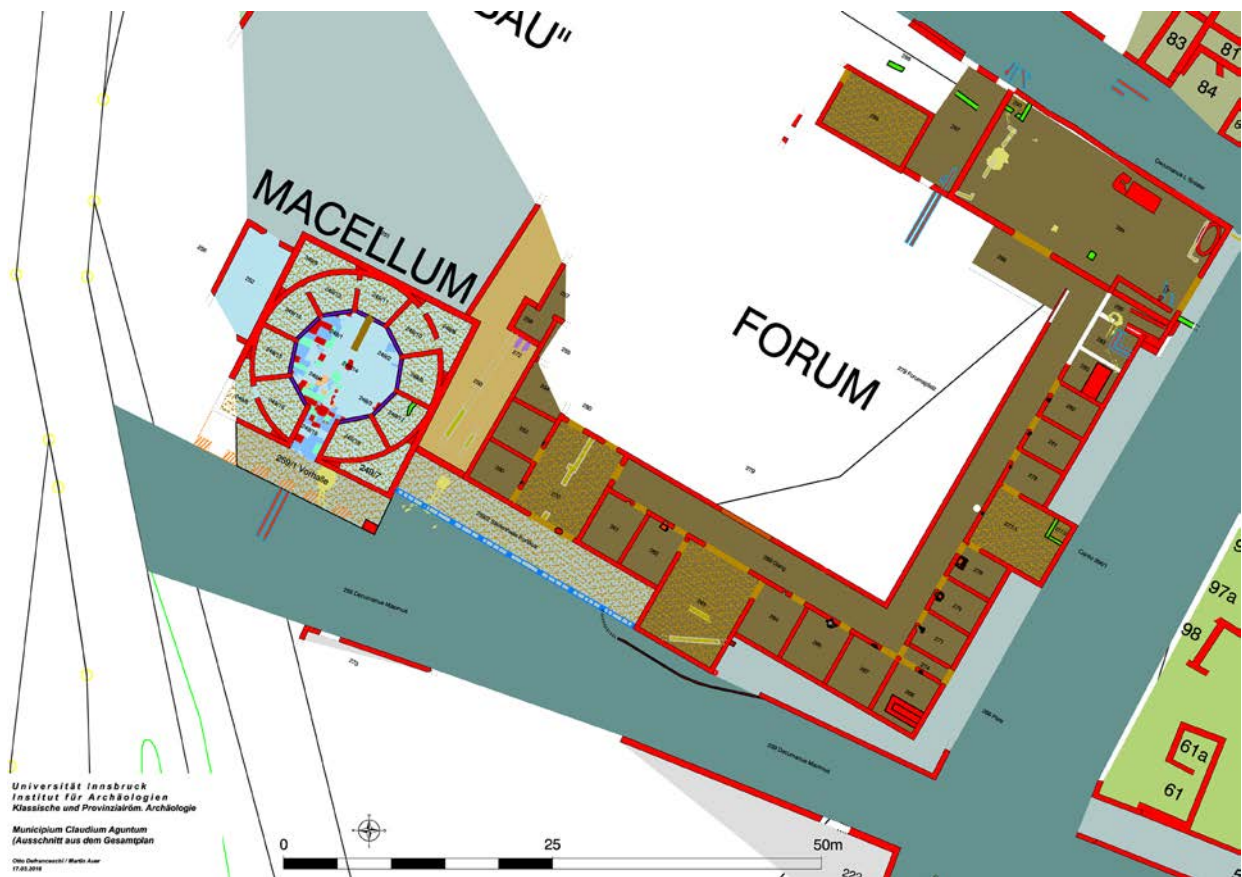


Figure 9 General Plan of Macellum and Forum (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum).

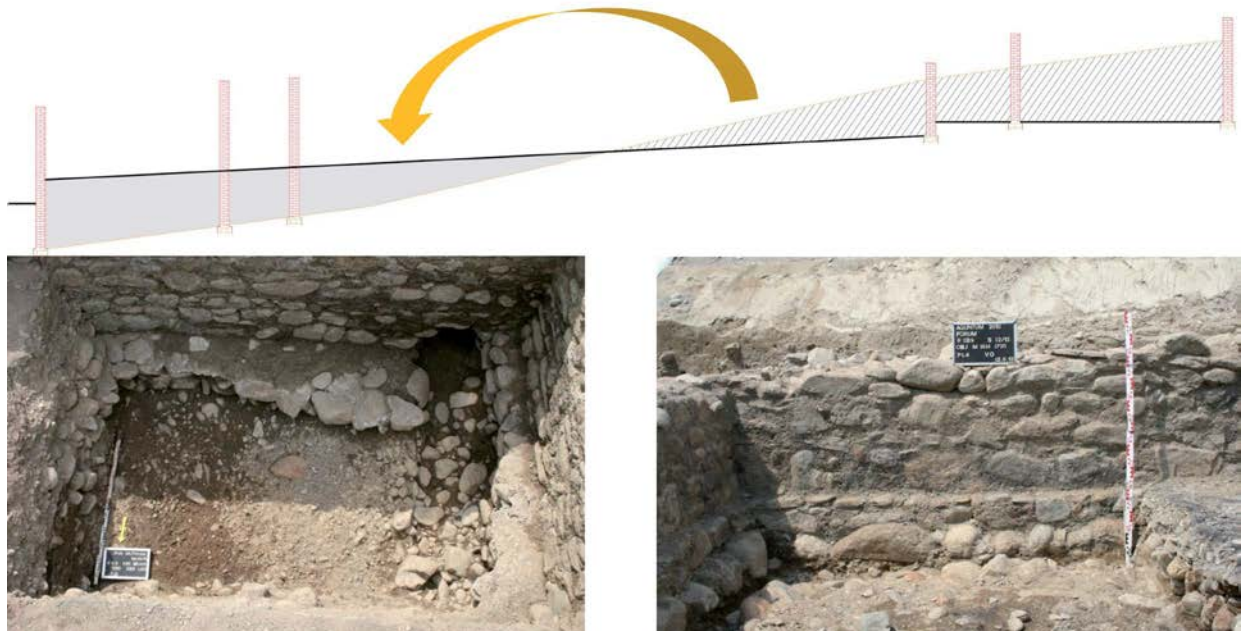
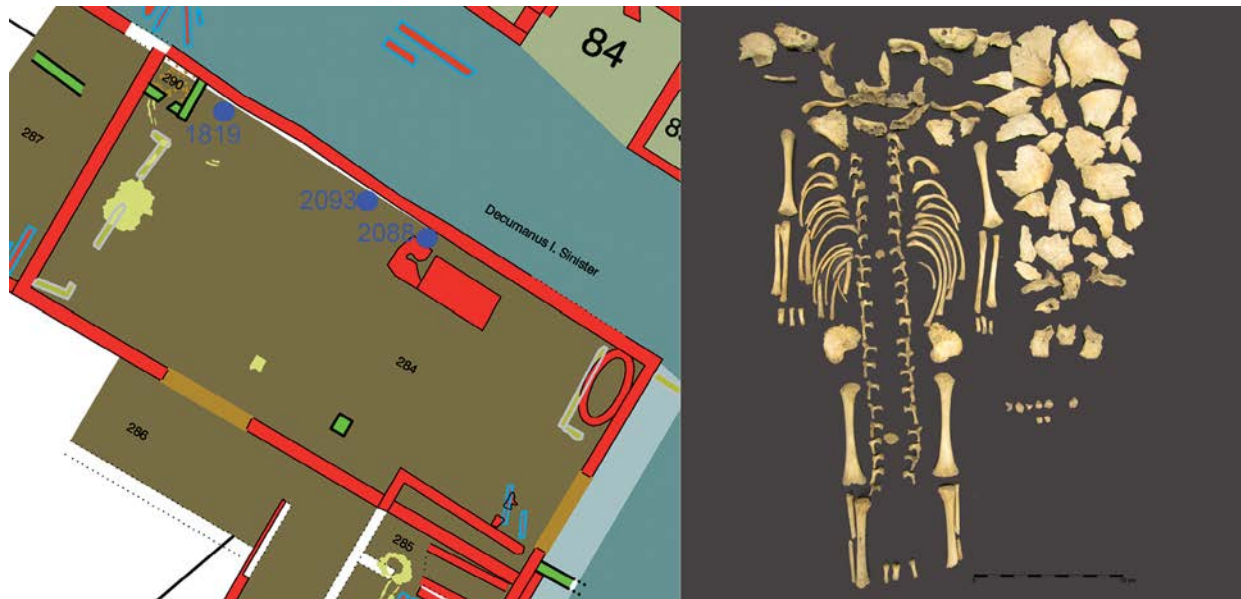
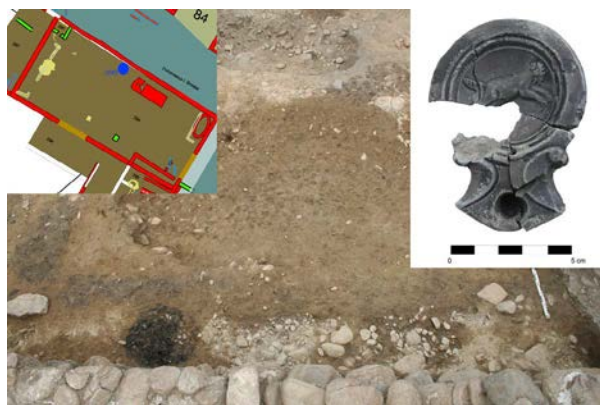


Figure 10 Schematic illustration of the make up layers, which were necessary to level the ground (above). The material was removed in the north of the Forum area, where the foundations of the walls reach a depth of 0.3 m, measured from the Roman floor level (lower right). The material was dumped in the southern part of the Forum (lower left), which results in wall foundations that are up to 1.5 m in depth (measured from the Roman floor level) (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum).



**Figure 11** The child graves found in Room 284 (Forum) are indicated by blue dots. The skeletal remains (right) belong to feature 2088 (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum / Mag. Marlies Steinhauser).



**Figure 12** A pit filled with ash, and burnt bone (2045) with the oil lamp found in the fill (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum).



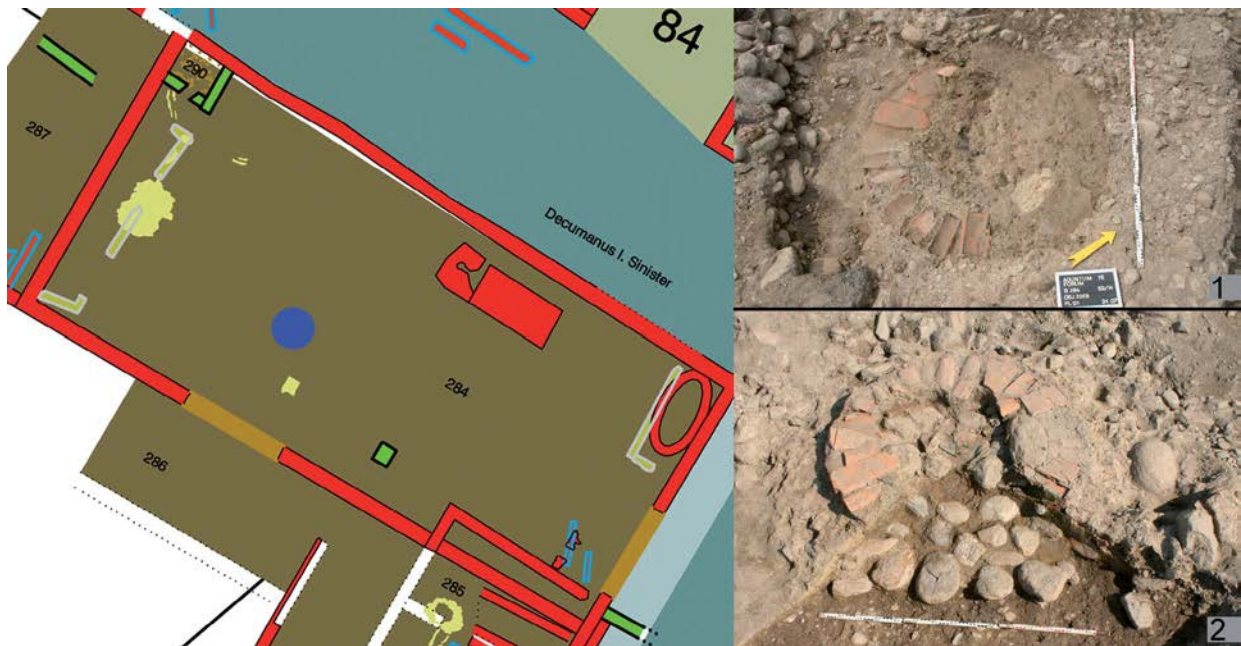
**Figure 14** The stone lined pit in the northeastern corner of Room 284 (see Fig. 13) (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum).

Roman city required terracing as a prerequisite to the commencement of construction. This also explains the irregular (non-orthogonal) street plan of *Aguntum* to some extent.

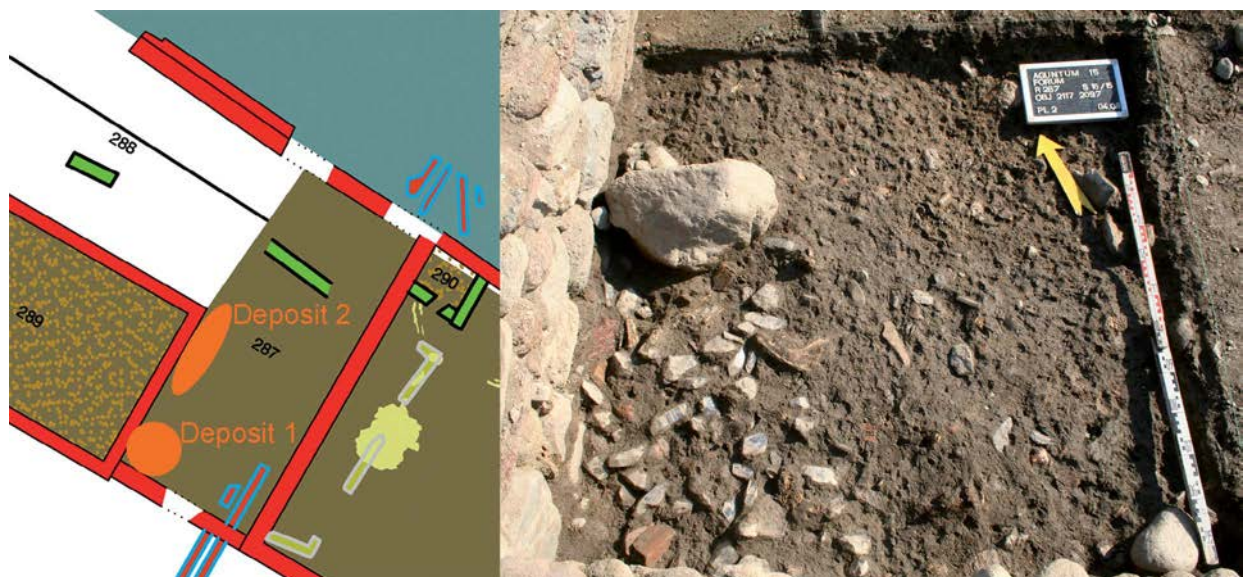
The northern wing of the Forum revealed a completely different layout in comparison to the southern and eastern wings.<sup>25</sup> A single large room with an area of *circa* 250 m<sup>2</sup> is located in the northeast. This room did not show any trace of a distinct floor apart from a partly preserved layer of clay that may be interpreted as a former floor level. Room 284 exhibits several building phases, indicating that the room had an entrance on the northern side in the earliest phase of the Forum. Three graves of very young children (under 4 months old) also belong to this phase and are located along the northern wall of Room 284 in the area of the former entrance (Fig. 11). A third pit, filled with cremated bone with an associated lamp,<sup>26</sup> was interpreted as a child grave during the excavation (Fig. 12), but a preliminary analyses of the skeletal material shows, that this pit only contained bones

<sup>25</sup> Tschurtschenthaler, Auer 2013b; Tschurtschenthaler, Auer 2014; Tschurtschenthaler, Auer 2015a.

<sup>26</sup> Type Loeschcke VI b; for similar decorations see: Di Filippo Balestrazzi 1988, No. 524, 526, 528, 531–536, 538.



**Figure 13** The location (blue dot) and photographs of the clay coated upper surface (1) and cross section of the circular tile structure revealing the stone base (2) (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum).



**Figure 15** The location of the Rock Crystal deposits in Room 287 (left) and a photograph of one layer of Deposit 1 (right) (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum).

from several animals.<sup>27</sup> The interpretation of this feature remains open, but it seems highly likely that the pit is connected with either the child graves or with some kind of sacrifice in context of the commencement of construction in the area of the Forum. The function of another two features in the first building phase is also obscure. The first one is a circular struc-

ture of roof tiles and stones (*circa* 1.5 m in diameter) that was filled and coated with very hard, unburnt clay (Fig. 13). This feature is also located near the former northern entrance, but its precise function remains unknown. The second feature is a stone-lined pit (Fig. 14), which did not contain any material suitable for the interpretation of its use. The room was rebuilt during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and a new entrance was constructed on the eastern side. An L-shaped corridor was excavated (Room 287–288) in the west-

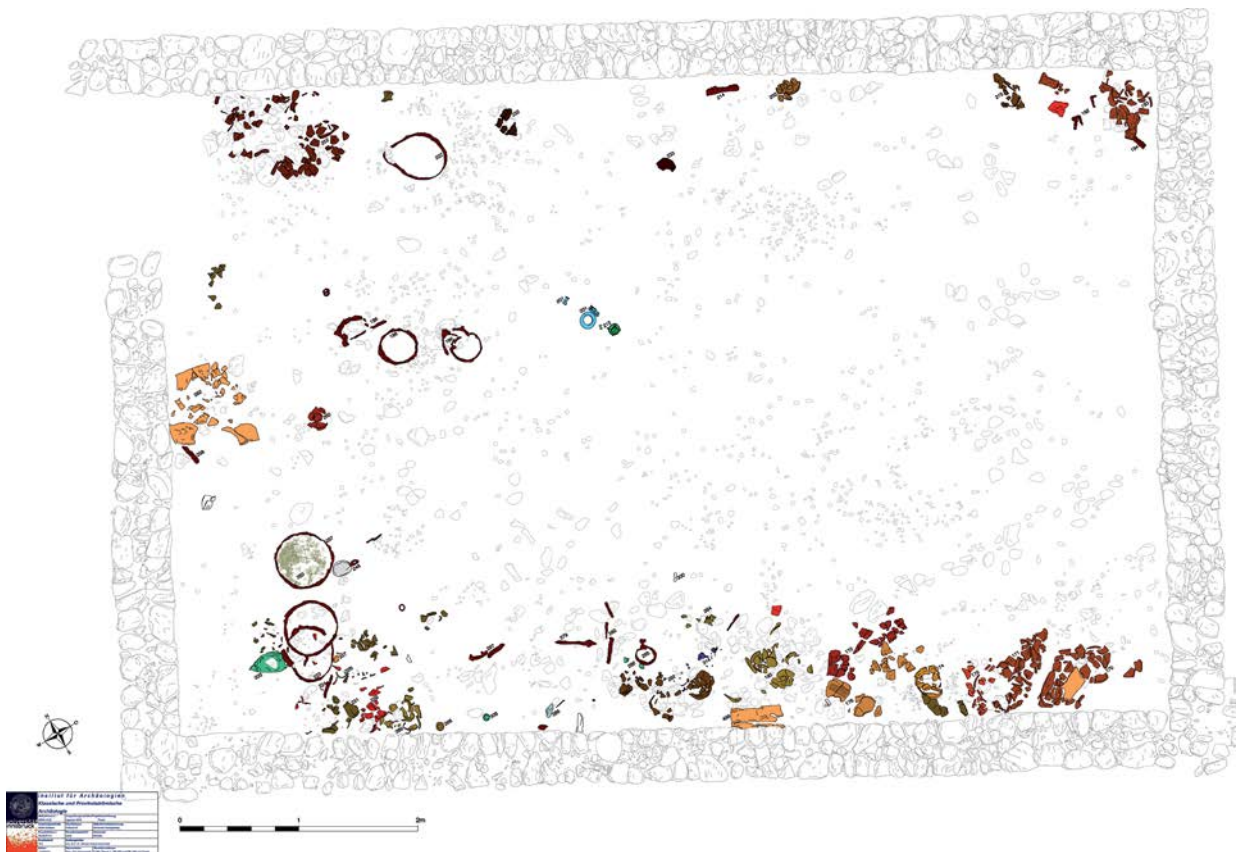
<sup>27</sup> For the preliminary analysis of the skeletons and bone remains we thank Mag. Marlies Steinhauser very much.



**Figure 16** Examples of rock crystals from Deposit 1 (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum).

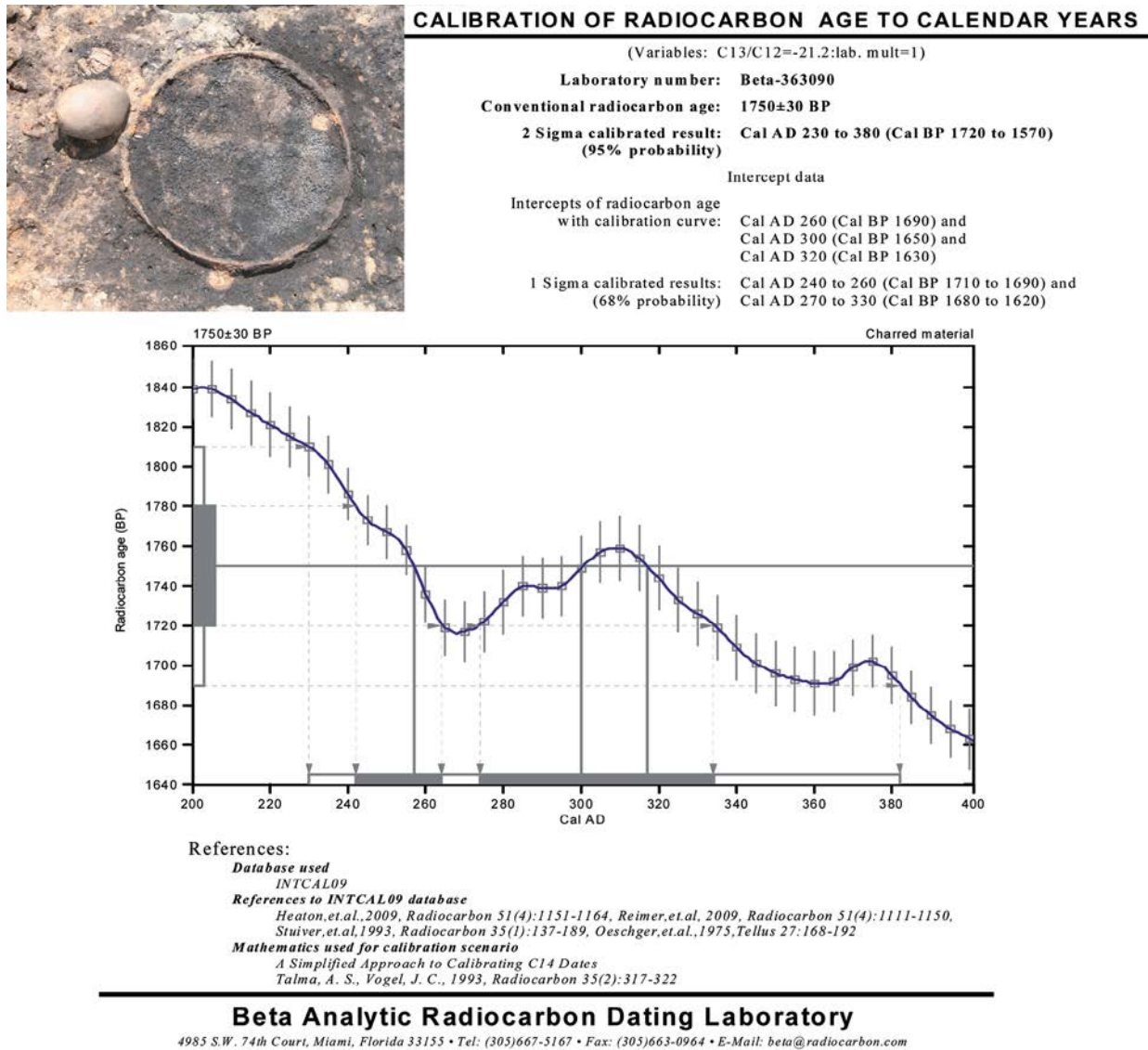


**Figure 17** Examples of ash/charcoal layers and burnt floors in the Forum – Room 281 (left) and Room 263 (right) (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum).



**Figure 18** Plan of Room 289 (light to dark red = pottery; brown = iron; green = grain; light green = bronze; light blue = glass; dark blue = azurite; orange = stone) (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum).





**Figure 19** Barley grain from Room 289 (above left) and Radiocarbon-dating data sheet (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum / BETA Analytic Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory).

ern part of Room 284. Excavation has not yet been completed in the area, but the eastern part of the corridor (Room 287) has already yielded two exciting deposits of rock crystal (Fig. 15). Deposit 1 dates to the 1<sup>st</sup> century and contains more than 70 fragmented rock crystals, which range in size from 5 to 20 cm (Fig. 16). It is highly likely that this deposit, composed primarily of the uppermost parts of the crystals alone, represents the remains of material, which was not suitable for further use, even though the quali-

ty of the crystals is characterised as very good.<sup>28</sup> It is posited that the trade in raw materials from the mountains around *Aguntum* was a very important economic factor for the Roman town. Rock crystals were being traded in *Aguntum* at least until the third century, as is borne out by Deposit 2. A large number of the rock crystals in this deposit exhibit fire damage. This provides evidence of an important event

<sup>28</sup> Thanks to the initiative of Prof. Dr. Harald Stadler (Head of the Institute for Archaeologies at the Innsbruck University) it was possible to conduct a preliminary analysis of the better preserved rock crystals by Dr. Georg Kandutsch. According to the analysis the Rock Crystals originate from Eastern Tyrol (Innerschlöß, Kals, Venediger, Virgental) and Carinthia (Fleißtal Region).



**Figure 20** Layer of crushed roof tile (above) and cross section of the layer (below) in Room 270 (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum).



**Figure 21** Late Roman heating channel and corresponding hearth in Room 283 / 285 (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum).

in the centre of *Aguntum*, namely a destructive fire, traces of which have been found in almost all of the Forum Rooms (Fig. 17). There is particularly good dating evidence for this destruction by fire in Room 289, to the west of the L-shaped corridor. This room may have been used as a storage room at the time of the fire, as is indicated by the heterogeneity of the excavated finds. It does not seem to have been cleaned out in the aftermath. Glass vessels, pottery, including amphorae partly filled with Azuritegrains, Samian ware and locally produced vessels, bronze and iron artefacts, stone weights and pumice stones formed the assemblage in this room. This is also true of the remains of wooden barrels, that were filled with burnt barley (Fig. 18). The relative chronology of the range of finds from the Forum area as a whole and the radiocarbon dates of the burnt barley (Fig. 19) point to a mid 3<sup>rd</sup> century date for this destructive fire.

The building was only partly reused after the destruction of the Forum. A layer of crushed roof tiles indicates that the entrance in the south, which had been renewed in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, was reopened shortly after the fire (Fig. 20). This layer continues in direction of the unexcavated western wing and the unexcavated central square of the Forum. No trace of activity later than the 3<sup>rd</sup> century has been revealed to the east of the entrance. The same is true of the major



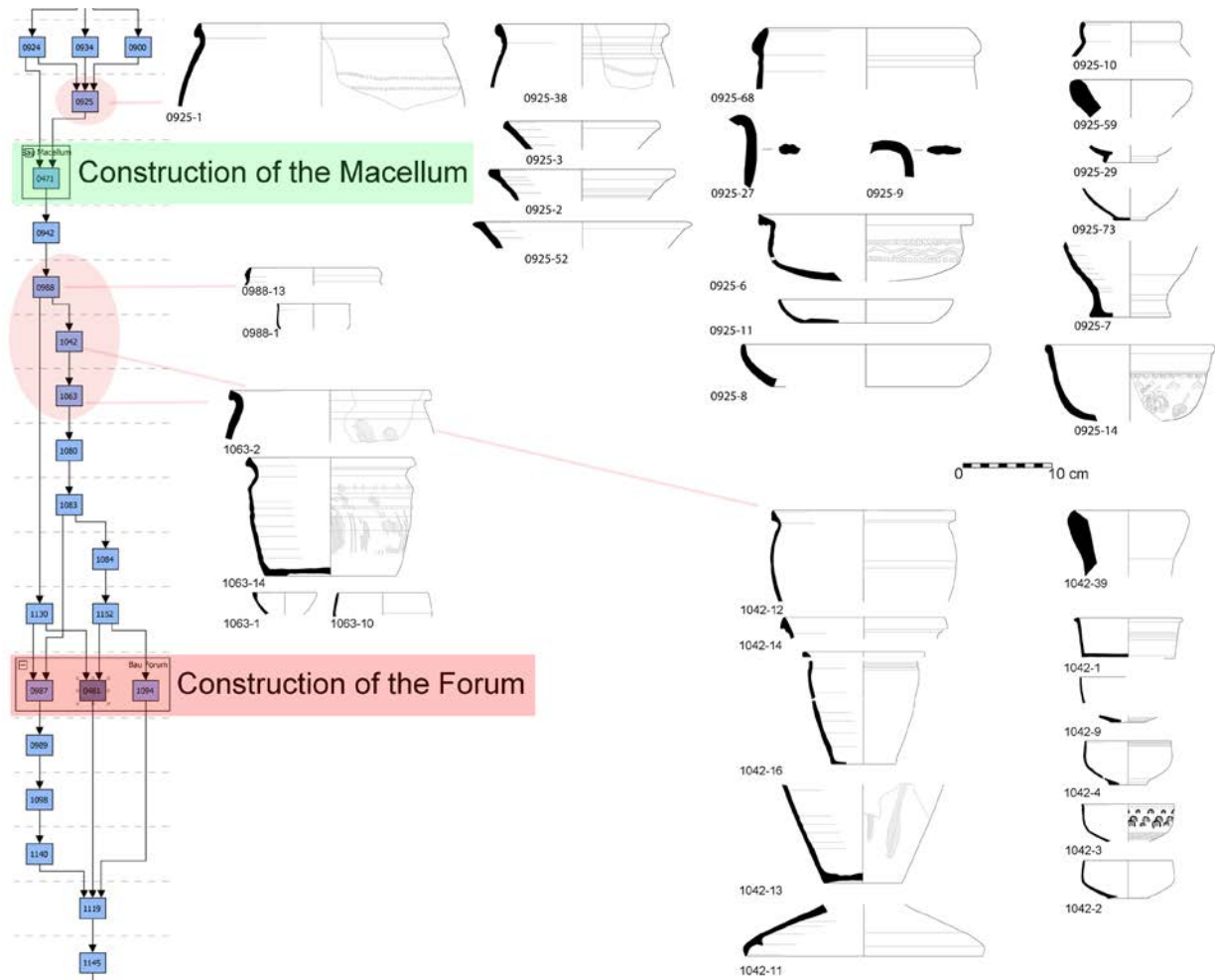
**Figure 22** Hearth (1) with the remains of steeply sloping channels (2, 3) in the western part of Room 284 (above). Detail of the hearth (below) (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum).



**Figure 23** The Late Roman pits and post holes (blue) in the Macellum (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum).

part of the eastern wing of the Forum. Most of the rooms were covered by collapsed masonry and rubble. There are traces of Late Roman activity towards the north of the building. A Y-shaped heating channel, typical for the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century in the region, has been discovered above the former Rooms 283 and 285 (Fig. 21). This indicates the utilization of this area as a domestic building. A hearth with connected Y-shaped channel is also located in the western part

of Room 284 (Fig. 22). The steeply incline of the channels and several pits filled with iron slag in the same room suggest that it may be interpreted as a Late Roman metal processing workshop or smelter. This evidence suggests that it is highly likely that the Forum lost its public function after its destruction by fire. The period immediately after the fire cannot be clearly characterized at the moment, as the crucial sections of the Forum for this period, the western



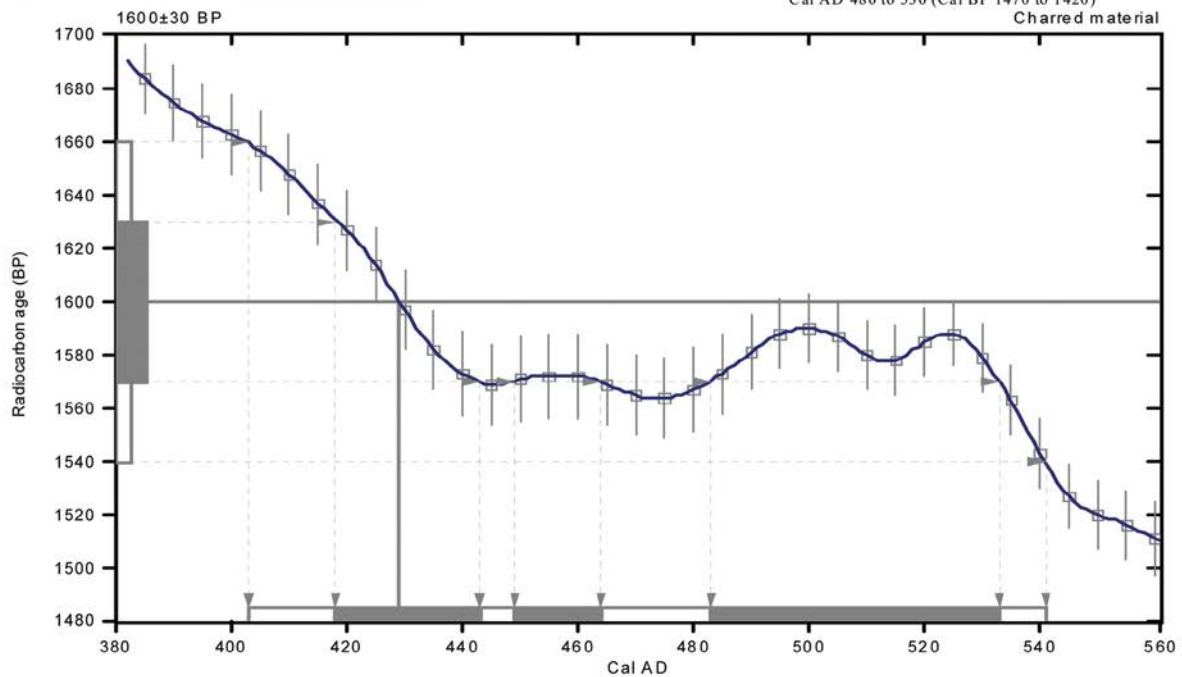
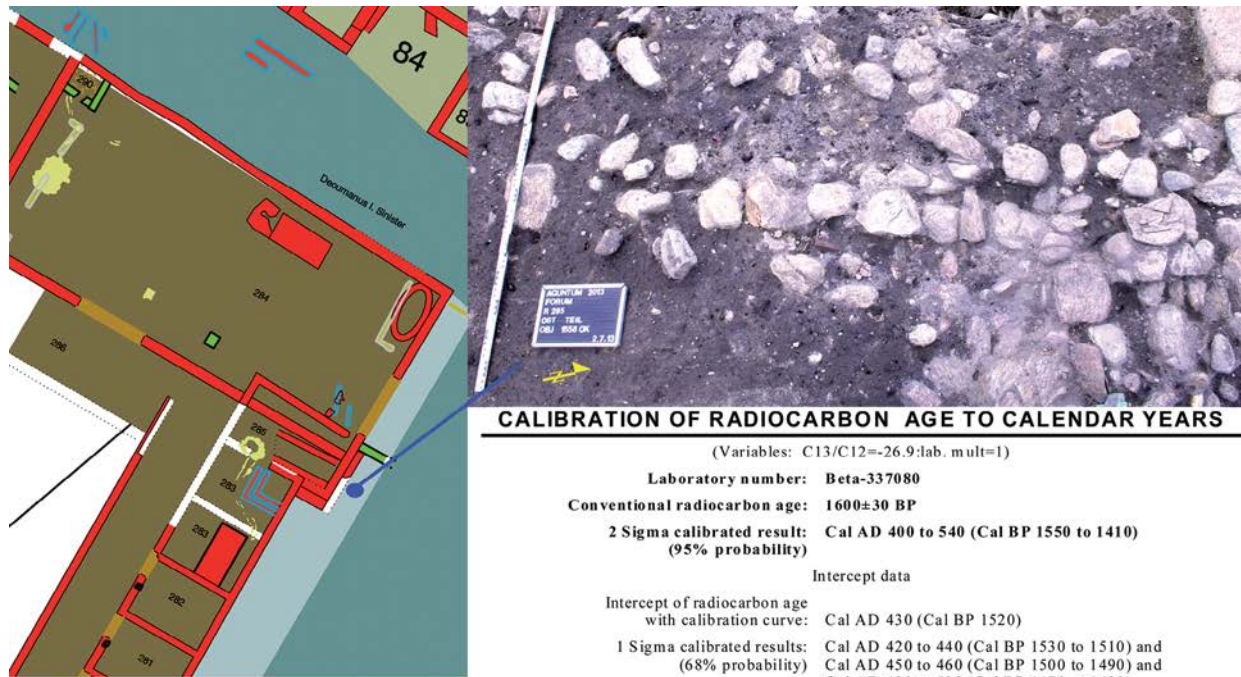
**Figure 25** A simplified excerpt of the Matrix in Room 250 with the pottery belonging to Feature 0925 (after the Macellum was built) and Features 0988, 1042 and 1063 (dating to period before the construction of the Macellum) (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum).

rooms and central square have not yet been excavated. The reuse of the area can be traced to the 4<sup>th</sup> century, but without any indications of public function. This period of reuse lasted until at least the 5<sup>th</sup> century. The *Macellum* was also reused for the construction of domestic dwellings at the same time (4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century). Several post holes in the *Macellum* (Fig. 23) and other traces of the reutilization of building materials, such as the flagstones and the presumed basin in the middle of the building, date to the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>29</sup> In addition a furnace was built in the *Porticus* to the south of the *Macellum* (Fig. 24), where the remains of bronze semi-products indicate another workshop. Another Late Roman residential building was identified to the east of



**Figure 24** The furnace in the *Porticus* of the *Macellum* (see Fig. 23) (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum).

<sup>29</sup> For the Late Roman phase of the *Macellum* see also Auer 2012a.



References:

**Database used**

INTCAL09

**References to INTCAL09 database**

Heaton, et al., 2009, *Radiocarbon* 51(4):1151-1164, Reimer, et al., 2009, *Radiocarbon* 51(4):1111-1150, Stuiver, et al., 1993, *Radiocarbon* 35(1):1-244, Oeschger, et al., 1975, *Tellus* 27:168-192

**Mathematics used for calibration scenario**

*A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates*

Talma, A. S., Vogel, J. C., 1993, *Radiocarbon* 35(2):317-322

**Beta Analytic Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory**

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**Figure 26** Location and photograph (above) of the Late Roman layer (blue dot), from which charcoal was sampled for a Radiocarbon analysis. The results are shown on the data sheet (Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien, FB Aguntum / BETA Analytic Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory).

this furnace, inside the former *Porticus* of the southern entrance to the Forum. The remains comprise a heating channel with *Praefurnium*. It is presumed that the surviving walls of the partly collapsed Forum and *Macellum* in this corner were reused for this Late Roman building.<sup>30</sup>

Altogether, two market buildings (the *Macellum* and the Forum), a possible Basilica „Prunkbau“ and the *Thermae* to the north of the *Decumanus I Sinister* have been revealed so far in the city centre of *Aguntum*. The first construction phase of the *Thermae* belongs to the early Claudian period.<sup>31</sup> The so called „Prunkbau“ cannot be securely dated given the current state of research. The finds from Room 250, a former street (*Cardo*) to the west of the Forum, as well as the finds from the Forum itself provide some information about the date of these buildings. The earliest layers in the Forum contain small amounts of Italian Fine Ware, Samian Ware from Arezzo and handmade local pottery.<sup>32</sup> More material derives from Room 250, where the earliest layers are connected with the western wall of the Forum and point to a Claudian date for the first Forum phase (0988, 1042, 1063). These and some of the subsequent layers were cut by the foundation trench of the *Macellum* walls, so that there is also good evidence to date the latter. The stratigraphic sequence and the related finds suggest that the *Macellum* was built in the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. The earliest layers, connected with

the eastern wall of the *Macellum* (0925) and the first activities after the *Macellum* has been built, contain Samian Ware, which is dateable to the third quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century (*Fig. 25*). After a second construction phase in the Forum, which may chronologically correspond with the construction of the *Macellum*, the city center was engulfed by a major fire. It is highly probable that this fire not only destroyed the Forum, but also the *Macellum*, although the evidence here is unclear, due to intensive Late Roman reuse.<sup>33</sup> The partial reuse of the whole area can be traced until the 5<sup>th</sup> century (*Fig. 26*), but evidence for later occupation has not been found, although the excavations in the so-called Basilica revealed burials that date to the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>34</sup>

The results of the excavations from 2006 to 2015 have permitted us to locate the city centre of *Aguntum*. The excavated area of the Forum has been subject to preliminary interpretation as a commercial Forum, which served mainly as a market area, as well as providing accommodation. The latter could have been used by merchants or by persons responsible for administrative tasks, regarding the trade in mining products. It will be of special interest to examine the central place of the Forum with a focus on functional analysis for the few next years and furthermore to link the existing excavated areas with the so-called Basilica to the northwest by excavating the western wing of the Forum.

30 Sossau 2013.

31 Tschurtschenthaler, Auer 2015b.

32 See Tschurtschenthaler, Auer 2015b, Abb.9.

33 Tschurtschenthaler, Auer 2016.

34 Tschurtschenthaler 1994; Tschurtschenthaler 2005, 107. Due to support by Dr. Bendeguz Tobias (Innsbruck University) and Dr. Karin Wiltchke-Schrotta (Naturhistorisches Museum Wien) we have recently found out that two individuals can be identified as a young boy (8–9 years old) and a woman (20–25 years old).

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## Catalogue

Inv. Nr. – Inventory Number

ST – Sherd type

BS – Base sherd

RS – Rim sherd

Dm. – Diameter

Wth. – Wall thickness

PE – Preserved Extent

PT – Production Technique

HfW – Hand made and finished on the wheel

N.d. – Not determinable

Temper refers to macroscopically determinable inclusions. Colour refers to Munsell Soil Colour Charts (Year 2000 Revised Washable Edition).

Inv.Nr.	ST	Dm. (cm)	Wth. (cm)	PE	PT	Temper	Colour (external)	Name
0925-1	11 RS 13 WS 17 BS	28	0,65	Rim: 90% Base: 70 %	HfW	Carbonate	10YR4/1	Pot (local / regional)
0925-2	1 RS	19	0,5	7%	Wheel	Stone debris	7.5YR7/6	Bowl „Aguntiner Napf“ <sup>41</sup>
0925-3	4 RS	17	0,65	20%	Wheel	Stone debris	7.5YR7/8	Bowl „Aguntiner Napf“ <sup>42</sup>
0925-6	3 RS 9 WS	24,4	0,5	75%	Wheel	Carbonate and Quartz	and 10YR7/4	Bowl (tripod) (local / regional)
0925-7	3 BS 4 WS	9	0,7	30%	Wheel	Quartz	N4/ to 10YR6/3	Pot (local / regional)
0925-8	2 RS 10 BS	Rim: 28 Base: 16	0,9	Rim: 38% Base: 52%	Wheel	Stone debris	Sherd: 10YR6/4 Coating: 10R4/6	Plate (Pompejan Red)
0925-9	1 Handle	-	-	-	N.d.	None visible	10YR8/4	Jug (Italian(?) Import)
0925-10	2 RS	11	0,5	12%	Wheel	None visible	White	Jug (Italian(?) Import)
0925-11	8 RS 11 BS	Rim: 20 Base: 15	0,4	Rim: 43% Base: 50%	Wheel	Stone debris	Sherd: 7.5R6/4 Coating: 10R4/8	Plate (Pompejan Red)
0925-14	8 RS 12 WS	19	0,6	49%	Mould	None visible	Sherd: 2.5YR6/8 Slip: 2.5YR4/6	Bowl Drag. 37; stamped PVPVS <sup>2</sup>

Inv.Nr.	ST	Dm. (cm)	Wth. (cm)	PE	PT	Temper	Colour (external)	Name
0925-27	AG 09/187/07			-	N.d.	None visible	White	Jug (Italian(?) Import)
0925-29	AG 09/187/05	6	0,5	33%	Wheel	Non visible	Slip: 2.5YR5/6	Terra Sigillata Tardo Padana Consp.39/40 <sup>3</sup>
0925-38	AG 09/180/03	19	0,55	40&	Wheel	Carbonate	10YR4/1	Pot (local / regional)
0925-52	AG 09/223/02	22	0,8	5%	Wheel	Stone Debris	10YR4/1	Bowl „Aguntiner Napf“
0925-59	AG 09/116/03	12	1,7	15%	Wheel	N.d.	7.5YR8/4	Istrian Amphora (Dr. 6B)
0925-68	AG 09/090/03	1 RS	0,65	6%	HFV	Carbonate	10YR5/1	Pot (Auerbergtopf)
0925-73	AG 10/041/01	2 BS	0,3	100%	Wheel	None visible	Sherd: 2.5Y7/2 Slip: N3/	Italian(?) Fine Ware
0988-1	AG 09/382/11	1 RS	0,2	8%	Wheel	None visible	2.5Y6/1	Fine Ware (comparable to Magdalensberg <sup>4</sup> 68)
0988-13	AG 09/382/13	1 RS	0,3	7%	N.d.	Carbonate	10YR5/1	Pot (local / regional)
1042-1	AG 09/418/11	3 RS 4 WS 2 BS	0,3	Rim: 27% Base: 15%	Wheel	None visible	Slip: 2.5YR4/8	Italian Terra Sigillata Consp. 29.1
1042-2	AG 09/418/04	1 RS 1 BS 3 WS	0,25	Rim: 23% Base: 20%	Wheel	None visible	2.5Y6/1	Stamped C.ME().R() <sup>5</sup> Italian Fine Ware Magdalensberg 68
1042-3	AG 09/418/05	5 RS 1 WS	0,25	38%	Wheel	None visible	Sherd: N6/ Slip: N4/	Italian Fine Ware Magdalensberg 103
1042-4	AG 09/475/05	6 RS 3 BS	0,25	Rim: 15% Base: 25%	Wheel	None visible	Sherd: 7.5YR8/6 Slip: 5YR6/6	Italian Fine Ware Magdalensberg 115
1042-9	AG 09/418/04	2 RS 1 BS	0,25	Rim: N.d. Base: 45%	Wheel	None visible	Sherd: 10YR6/1 Slip: 2.5YR4/4	Italian Fine Ware Magdalensberg 115
1042-11	AG 09/418/18	2 RS	0,5	12%	Wheel	Carbonate	10YR4/1	Lid (local / regional)
1042-12	AG 09/418/13	4 RS 2 WS	0,4	28%	Wheel	Carbonate	N3/ to 10YR7/3	Pot (local / regional)
1042-13	AG 09/418/21	11 BS 3 WS	0,45	100%	Wheel	Quartz	N4/	Pot (local / regional)
1042-14	AG 09/418/16	1 RS	0,45	7%	Wheel	Carbonate	N4/ to 2.5Y7/3	Pot (local / regional)
1042-16	AG 09/418/14	4 RS 6 WS 4 BS	0,4	Rim: 71% Base: 65%	Wheel	Carbonate	10YR5/1 to 10YR7/2	Pot (local / regional)
1042-39	AG 09/437/06	1 RS	1,8	20%	Wheel	N.d.	7.5YR7/6	Istrian Amphora (Dr. 6B)

1063-1	AG 09/464/05	1 RS	7	0,3	15%	Wheel	None visible	White	Jug (Italian(?) Import)
1063-2	AG 09/464/08	4 RS	22	0,9	28%	Handmade	Carbonate	N4/ to 10YR7/3	Pot (local / regional)
1063-10	AG 09/464/04	1 RS	10	0,3	7%	Wheel	None visible	2.5Y7/1	Italian(?) Fine Ware
1063-14	AG 09/464/07	5 RS	Rim: 18	0,5	Rim: 54%	Wheel	Quartz and Stone	10YR4/1 to 10YR6/3	Pot (local / regional ?) <sup>6</sup>
		22 WS	Base: 14,5		Base: 50%		debris		
		2 BS							

### Footnotes

- 1 For the term „Aguntiner Napf“ see Auer 2012b.
- 2 Ricken, Fischer 1963, Tafel 132, 22.
- 3 The term „Consp.“ refers to Conspectus 2002 (also valid for the following entries).
- 4 The term „Magdalensberg“ refers to Schindler-Kaudelka 1975 (also valid for the following entries).
- 5 Oxè, Comfort 2002, OCK1133.
- 6 This pot finds its best parallels in the Trentino Region and may therefore not be classified as locally/regionally produced. See Marzatico 1985, 48; Endrizzi 1990, Taf.29, 55; Taf.30, 56.



## Excavations of the Roman Sites in Lika (Croatia): Žuta Lokva, Lički Ribnik

### Izkopavanja rimskodobnih najdišč v Liki (Hrvaška): Žuta Lokva in Lički Ribnik

Ivana Ožanić Roguljič, Tatjana Kolak

**Izvleček:** V prispevku so predstavljeni rezultati nedavnih raziskav dveh rimskodobnih najdišč v Liki v zaledju rimske province Dalmacije, in sicer najdišč Žuta Lokva in Lički Ribnik. Pri izkopavanjih na Žuti Lokvi je bila raziskana zgradba dimenzij 25 × 20 m, ki sodi v čas od 1. do začetka 2. stoletja. Ta stavba je bila verjetno postaja (*statio*) ob cesti, ki je povezovala pristanišče *Senia* (Senj) z rimskimi mesti *Avendo* (Kompolje) in *Arrupium* (Prozor pri Otočcu) v zaledju Siscije (Sisak) v provinci Panoniji. Odkrita lončenina vsebuje veliko število severno italijanske tere sigilate, lončenine tankih sten in afriške sigilate, lončenino iz dalmatinskih delavnic v Crikvenici ter drugo namizno in grobo posodje. Amfore so zastopane z odlomki amfor z ravnim dnom (Crikvenica typ 1, Saint Archangelo) ter amforami Dressel 2 – 4 in Dressel 20. Rimskodobno najdišče pri Ličkem Ribniku (Crkvine) pa se nahaja na majhnem okljuku reke Like. Arheološka izkopavanja in geofizikalne raziskave so pokazale ostanke velike vile rustike, ki sodi v čas od 1. do začetka 3. stoletja. Najbolj reprezentativne najdbe iz tega najdišča so ostanke kuhinje in mozaičnih tal. Obe najdišči sta izredno pomembni za boljše razumevanje Like v rimskih časih.

**Ključne besede:** rimska provinca Dalmacija, Žuta Lokva, Lički Ribnik, *caupona*, *villa rustica*, rimska lončenina, mozaik, kuhinja

**Abstract:** The aim of this paper is to present the finds from two Roman sites in Lika (hinterland of Roman Dalmatia) that have been recently excavated - Žuta Lokva and Lički Ribnik. Excavations at Žuta Lokva yielded the building, dimensions 25 × 20 m, dating from 1<sup>st</sup> to beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. This building was probably a *statio* on a road that connected the port of *Senia* (Senj) with Roman towns *Avendo* (Kompolje) and *Arrupium* (Prozor near Otočac) in hinterland of *Siscia* (Sisak) in Pannonia. Pottery material showed a large number of north Italian terra sigillata, thin walled pottery and African sigillata, pottery from Dalmatian workshops in Crikvenica and other table and coarse ware. Amphorae showed repertoire from flat bottom amphorae (Crikvenica typ 1, Saint Archangelo), then Dressel 2 – 4, and Dressel 20. Roman site at Lički Ribnik (Crkvine) is situated on a small meander of river Lika. Excavations and geophysical survey showed remains of large *villa rustica* dated from 1<sup>st</sup> to beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Structures of a kitchen and mosaic floor are the most representative finds from this site. Both sites are extremely important for better understanding of Lika in Roman times.

**Keywords:** Roman Dalmatia, Žuta Lokva, Lički Ribnik, *caupona*, *villa rustica*, Roman pottery, mosaic, kitchen

## Introduction

This paper will present two sites in the interior of the northern part of the Roman province Dalmatia. They are located in the modern region of Lika. Although significant archaeological investigations have been carried out in the past, very little is known about the Roman period in this region. Researchers were largely

interested in prehistoric finds, mainly those related to the Iron Age Iapodi tribe, as well as those that could be related to the literary sources that deal with the Roman conquest of their lands.<sup>1</sup> The two sites presented in this paper were investigated independently of each other. Žuta Lokva was subject to rescue excavation that

1 Drecheler-Bižić 1974, 19–37; Olujčić 2007.



**Figure 1** *The location of the sites mentioned in the paper.*

ended in 2003, whilst Lički Ribnik is subject to ongoing systematic excavation that started in 2013 (Fig. 1).<sup>2</sup>

### Žuta Lokva

The site Žuta Lokva is located a few metres from the modern Senj–Otočac–Brinje crossroad (Fig. 2). The site has been known since the end of 19<sup>th</sup> and beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup> It was rediscovered during road construction in 1996, when rescue excavations

began.<sup>4</sup> It was excavated in several campaigns until 2003 and has only been published as a preliminary report.<sup>5</sup> Excavations were conducted by the State Directorate for the protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage, Directorate General of Zagreb (Državna uprava za zaštitu kulturne i prirodne baštine, Glavno povjerenstvo u Zagrebu) and the Museum of Lika in Gospić (Muzej Like, Gospić) (Fig. 3).

This site was located beside a road mentioned in the *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti Ad Aquileia per Liburniam Sisciam* (Senia – Avendon – Arrupio – Bibium – Romula – Quadrata – Siscia) in the Roman period. The section

<sup>2</sup> Both sites are undergoing scientific analysis, which will be published in the following years.

<sup>3</sup> Brunšmid 1898, 188, 189.

<sup>4</sup> Vekić 1997, 38.

<sup>5</sup> Vekić 1997; Kolak 2012.



**Figure 2** Žuta Lokva. Position of the site at Žuta Lokva (Google maps 14/3/2016).

of the road from *Senia* (Senj) to Žuta Lokva runs over the Vratnik pass, which is the shortest natural route from the coast to the interior.<sup>6</sup> *Senia* was the most important port on this part of Adriatic coast in the Roman period. This is confirmed by the fact that it was the location of the *publicum portorium Illyrici* in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. The imperial customs office were responsible for passing on the goods entering *Senia*, which that were distributed to the hinterland.<sup>7</sup> The distance today between Žuta Lokva and Senj is about 15 km.

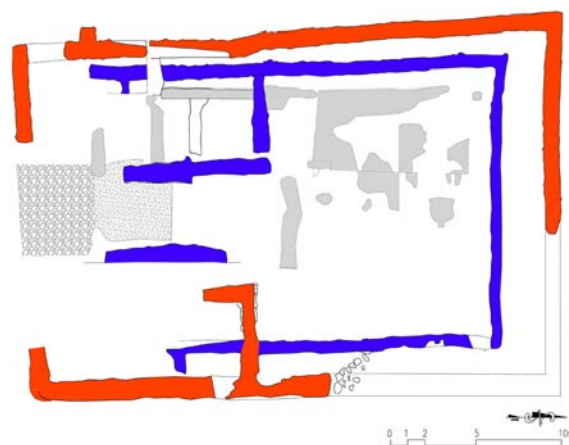
At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century a Roman road was allegedly still visible near Žuta Lokva, but archaeologists have not been able to find any trace of it recently.<sup>8</sup> The Japodi, an Illyrian tribe, inhabited this region in the pre-Roman period.

Excavation of the site revealed a two-phase building, the walls of which survived as foundations, covered with shallow layers of soil. The site is located on a slope and an area that has been disturbed by a landslide, which has resulted in disturbance of the site stratigraphy. Most of the material from the site was found in disturbed contexts in the western part of the excavated area. However, despite the unpromising condition of the site interesting finds were revealed. The two building phases are difficult to date, because the layers contain finds from beginning of

6 Glavaš 2010.

7 Glavičić 1994, 54; Glavaš 2010.

8 Patch 1990, 87–87; Glavaš 2010, 12.



**Figure 3** Žuta Lokva. Plan of the site (J. Osterman, K. Turkalj) blue – first phase, red – second phase.

the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD to the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. It is posited that the first phase of the building (dimensions 23 × 16 m) was built around the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and was probably used until the third quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. The second phase of the building was larger (dimensions 30 × 20 m). The finds suggest that it was occupied up to the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.

The pottery from Žuta Lokva indicates that the site was equipped with a numerous range of drinking vessels for serving travellers on the road, rather than the local population.<sup>9</sup> The pottery groups that are present on the site are as follows: Italian terra sigillata and thin-walled pottery, glazed ware, local serving vessels (jugs and bowls), products from the workshop of *Sextus Metillius Maximus* (Crikvenica), coarse ware, Pannonian black-slipped ware, African red-slipped ware (ARS) A (Fig. 4). The following amphora types are present on the site: Dressel 20, Dressel 2–4, Adriatic flat based amphorae, Dressel 6B and several types of small amphorae.

The ceramic assemblage was dominated in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD by *Sarius* cups. Some 345, mostly undecorated sherds can be attributed to *Sarius* cups, of which only one vessel could be completely reconstructed.

9 The pottery groups that have been identified in the assemblage so far are *Sarius* cups, glazed pottery, Pannonian slipped ware, pottery made in the Crikvenica workshop and amphorae. The material is poor condition, is very abraded and requires careful management to provide the maximum amount of information.



**Figure 4** Chronological table based on pottery and coin finds RIC 113, RIC 83, RIC 38.

22 handles can be attributed to different cups, as well as seven bases, 12 different relief decorations and 21 rim sherds (diameter: 7–16.5 cm). The estimated vessel number in the assemblage is from 25 to 30 individual vessels. Stamps of two potters were found: *Clemens* (10 BC–15 AD) and [*L. Sarius L.*] *l Srvs* (10 BC–15 AD). The presence *Clemens* stamps (5 stamps) is in keeping with the overall situation in Dalmatia, where this is the most common stamp.<sup>10</sup> *L. Sarius Srvs* is present on only three sites.<sup>11</sup> *Sarius* cups have only been found so far in large numbers in Dalmatia in military camps (*Burnum*, *Tilurium*), as grave goods in cemeteries<sup>12</sup> and in settlements. They are most common on sites in Liburnia. The *Sarius* cups from Žuta Lokva being the first finds of this type in the former territory of the Japodes in Dalmatia. *Sarius* cups are present in the province of Pannonia (*Siscia*), but in much smaller numbers, although this reflects the state of research rather than the real situation.<sup>13</sup>

10 Brusić 1999, 24, 26; Šimić Kanaet 2003; Borzić 2011, 281.

11 Brusić 1999, 24–25; Borzić 2014; Pešić 2015, 28.

12 E.g. Velika Mrđakovca.

13 Makjanić 1981, 50–53; Brusić 1999; Borzić 2011, 279–290.

The pottery assemblage of the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD contains pottery from Italy (*terra sigillata*; thin-walled pottery) and from Dalmatian workshops. It is interesting to note the presence of vessels, produced in the workshop of *Sextus Metilius Maximus* (Crikvenica). These include a Flat-based amphora type 1.1, a hemispherical thin-walled bowl type TWP 1, a jug Type J 1, and a loomweight.<sup>14</sup>

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD the pottery assemblage was supplemented by material from other regions. This indicated by the presence of Pannonian slipped wares and typical large two-handled Pannonian jugs, which are similar to flat-based amphorae (*Fig. 5*).

It is not possible at present to determine whether the Žuta Lokva complex represents an official complex such as a *mansio* or *mutatio*, inn, or post house for officials using the Imperial Post.<sup>15</sup> The building dimensions lack of other typical road station infrastructure suggest that it did not provide accommodation. The location and the size of the excavated tableware assemblage suggest that the buildings were probably used as *caupona*, *diversorium*

14 Ožanić Roguljić 2012; Lipovac Vrkljan 2011, 10.

15 Kolb 2000, 71–122; Lemcke 2013, 11.





**Figure 5** Pannonian black-slipped bowl with stamped decoration (photo and drawing K. Bukal).

or *hospitium* in the Roman period. The pottery assemblage also suggests that it was built soon after the final Roman pacification of the area or perhaps even during the *Bellum Batonianum*. Presence of material from the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD in the territory of the Japodes provides an insight into the first phase of the establishment of Roman rule. The Japodes did not accept Roman domination easily. Octavian encountered stiff resistance when he attacked the Transalpine Japodes during his campaign in 35–34 BC (App. Ill. 20). He defeated them relatively quickly, after attacking and destroying the key settlement of Metulum.<sup>16</sup> The Japodes were not united against Romans during the *Bellum Batonianum* (AD 6–9) and their last settlements (*Splonum*, *Raetinum* and *Seretion*) were taken by Germanicus in AD 9.<sup>17</sup> The road from *Senia* to *Siscia* was important for the movement of troops, officials, and civilians, supply and trade in this period.<sup>18</sup> Žuta Lokva was probably the first stop on the road from *Senia*. The Latin name of this place is unknown. *Avendo* is the first place that is named on the road after *Senia* in the *Itinerarium Antonini*, the former settlement of the Japodes at Kompolje.

16 Fluss 1932, 1503–1506; Wilkes 1969, 46–77; Zaninović 1986, 59–67; Šašel Kos 1999 (2000), 430–437.

17 Cassius Dio LV, 11–12, 1.

18 Veith 1924, 17–26; Patch 1990, 55; Wilkes 1969, 50; Zaninović 1986, 62; Olujčić 2007, 88.

## Lički Ribnik

The village of Lički Ribnik is located 6 km south of Gospić. It is located in a meander of the river Lika on the floor of the intermontane karst basin Ličko polje (Fig. 6). The old part of the village is slightly away from the modern main roads to Dalmatia, but earlier routes were closer to the village. The remains of a Roman road that runs in the direction of Bilaj, Ribnik and Medak were discovered in Ostrovica.

Local folklore refers to the entire Ribnik peninsula as the Town, whilst a smaller area is known as Crkvina, which suggests that it is the possible site of a sacral structure. A medieval site is located on the western side of the river meander. This was surrounded by a moat, which transformed the peninsula into a classic *wasserburg* in the times of danger. A large watermill with nine millstones was once located on the northern side of the entrance to the river meander.<sup>19</sup>

In November 2011 the Lika museum in Gospić was informed of the discovery of *tesserae* in an area in Ribnik, which has previously identified as an archaeological site. It was the site of the medieval town and a potential Roman site. A large hoard of silver coins and jewellery dated to between the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC to 1<sup>st</sup> century AD had been found in an area known as the Turkish town on the opposite bank of the river Lika.<sup>20</sup>

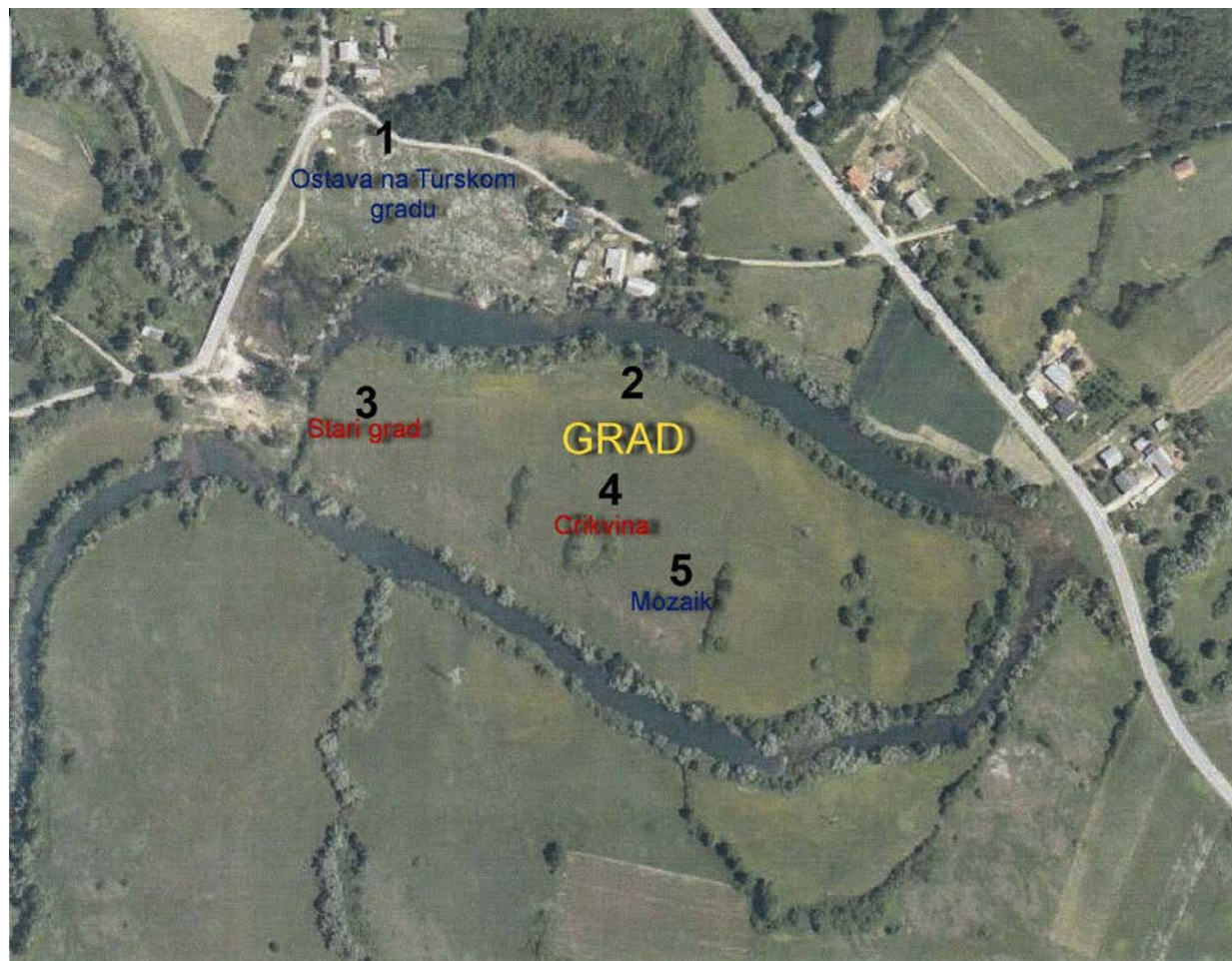
A three-day trial excavation was carried out in 2012. It revealed the remains of a building with a geometric black-and-white mosaic floor with a swastika motif.<sup>21</sup> A geophysical survey using magnetometry and ground-penetrating radar was undertaken in 2013 (Fig. 7).<sup>22</sup> The interpreted results revealed the remains of large building complex, which were confirmed by systematic archaeological excavations in 2014 and 2015. The excavations have so far encompassed an area of approximately 200 m<sup>2</sup>, revealing the of a multi-roomed architectural complex, longitudinal axis of which is oriented east-west. The excavations

19 Kolak 2013; Kolak 2016.

20 Klemenc 1935, 83.

21 Kolak 2013, 163; Kolak 2015.

22 Mušić 2014.



**Figure 6** *Lički Ribnik. Aerial photo (Google maps 14/3/2016; T. Kolak) with toponyms and the first archaeological finds. 1. Turkish town, location of large board of silver coins and jewellery, 2. Grad = Town, 3. Stari Grad = Old Town, 4. Crkвина, the putative site of a medieval church, 5. the mosaic.*



**Figure 7** *Lički Ribnik. Results of the 2013 geophysical survey (Mušič 2014).*



**Figure 8** *Lički Ribnik. Plan of the site with geophysical survey results and excavated trenches (Mušič 2014, Arheoplan d.o.o., I. Ožanić Roguljić).*

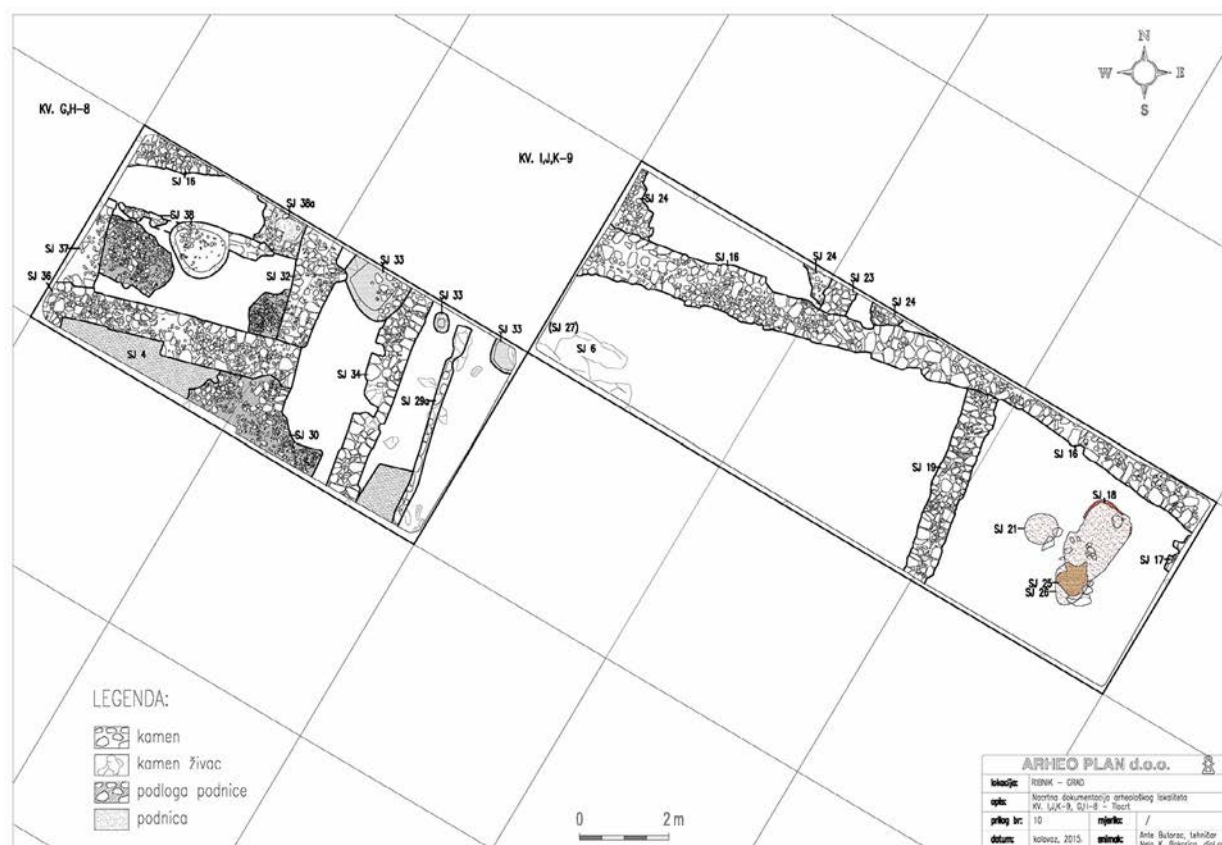


Figure 9 Lički Ribnik. Zone A, plan: kitchen, possible atrium, smelting area (I. Čondić).

Sample/trench/SU	BP	Cal AD/BC	Median Cal AD
Sample 3, K-9, SU 21	1810±25	141-240	197

Figure 10  $C^{14}$  dates, Ruđer Bošković Institute, Division of Experimental Physics, Zagreb.

are still on-going. The architectural remains on the Lički Ribnik site are interpreted as a typical Roman *villa rustica*, which was farm or country-house with agricultural and domestic facilities, which were divided into the work place and living quarters of the agricultural workers and farm animals (*pars rustica*) and the residential quarters of the owner and his family (*pars urbana*).<sup>23</sup>

The excavations on the northern part of the site (zone A) in 2015 revealed the working part of the villa (Fig. 9). Two ovens were found on the eastern side of the excavated area, which permit the interpretation of this part of the villa as a kitchen and a food preparation unit. The slightly larger Oven no. 1 was sub-rectangular in plan, whilst the smaller Oven no. 2 was sub-circular in plan. The results of  $C^{14}$  analysis

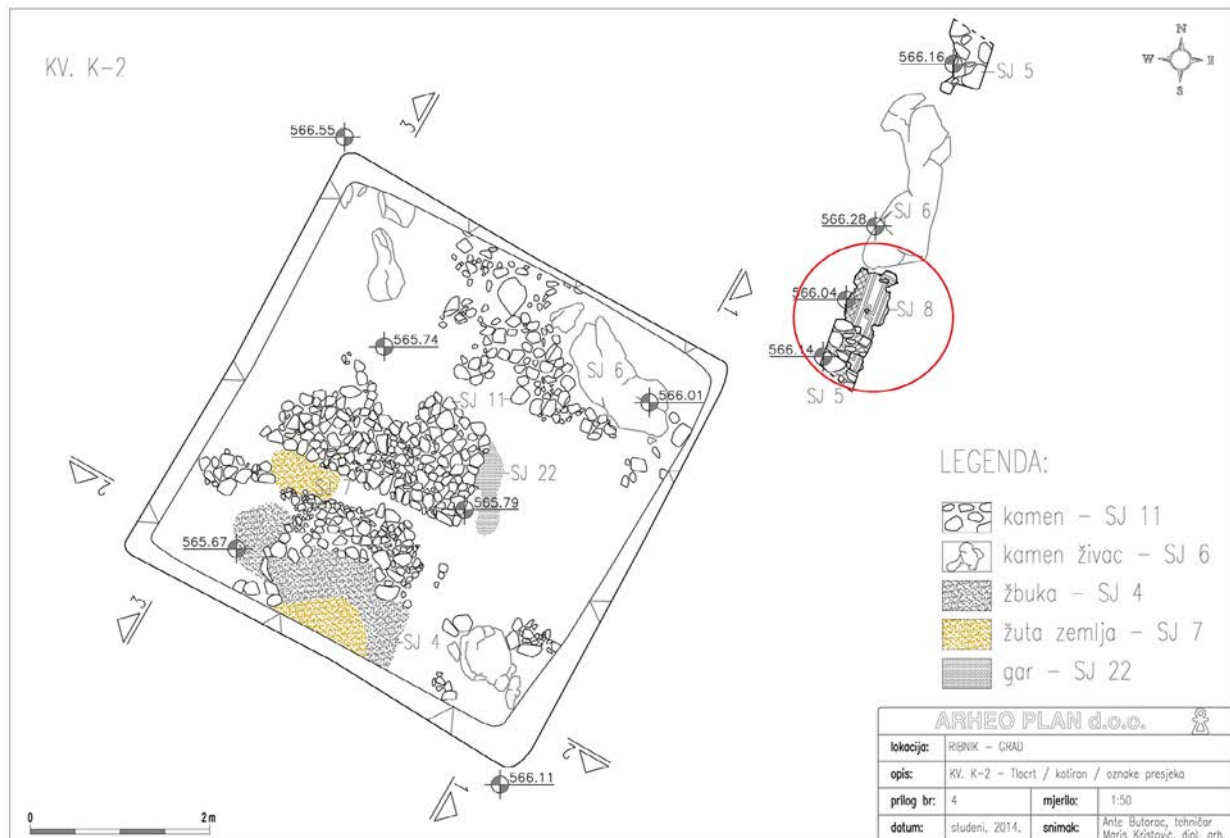
date this part of the site to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD (Fig. 10).<sup>24</sup> The archaeobotanical analysis and archaeological remains also confirm that this was as a kitchen area.<sup>25</sup> It has not been fully excavated, but it is clear that the room was large enough for all the activities that are connected with food preparation. It is also possible that this was the place where the slaves or workers (*familia rustica*) could assemble after work and perhaps even perform certain types of indoor work.<sup>26</sup> A forge or smelting furnace was located to the west of the kitchen. This room contained a large amount of iron slag. The geophysical survey indicates that the kitchen area and the smelting area were separated

23 Buchi 1987, 109; Gazzetti 1979, 3; Matijašić 1998, 115–145; Suić 2003, 323.

24 Analyses by Ruđer Bošković Institute, Division of Experimental Physics, Zagreb.

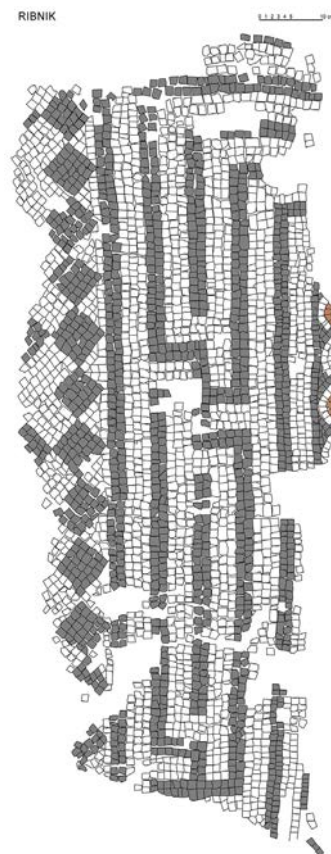
25 Analyses by Kelly Reed, in press.

26 Smith 1875; Suić 2003, 322.



**Figure 11** Lički Ribnik. Zone B, plan: mosaic remains, wall (N-S), Roman and prehistoric pits (Arheoplan d.o.o.).

by a large putatively open space, which may be interpreted as an *atrium*. This could be used as a working area and provided light to the rooms around it. The discovery of loomweights indicate that textile production was also present on the site. Worn, illegible Roman coins were found were also found in this area. They were possibly struck by *Marcus Aurelius* (121–180 AD) or *Verus Lucius* (139–169 AD). The residential zone of the villa owner was probably located in the southern part of the estate complex (zone B). The stratigraphy becomes much more complicated in this area (Fig. 11). The most important find in this area is part of a mosaic floor, which was found in during trial trenching in 2012. A later wall (5 m in length) ran in a north-south direction across the mosaic (Fig. 12). Only a small part of mosaic was extant preserved (dimensions: 90 (120 cm) × 50 cm). It survived beneath the wall collapse, and due to the shallow depth of the bedrock, which discouraged plowing in this area. The remains of the mosaic indicate that the mosaic pavement exhibited polychrome geometric designs in *opus tessellatum*. Two borders



**Figure 12** Lički Ribnik. Remains of the mosaic (Arheoplan d.o.o.).

are composed of a black and white meander pattern with integrated swastika and a black, white and red braid. The borders probably formed a frame around field of black rhombs on a white foundation, which may have surrounded a small rhomboid or square panel with a decoration inside. Similar decoration has been found in Valbadon, Istria.<sup>27</sup> This type of largely black and white geometric mosaic pavement with a double braid can be dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>28</sup>

The stratigraphy in the southernmost part of the excavated area differs from the rest of the site. The layers are up to 150 cm deep and contain prehistoric pottery. The layer with prehistoric finds was recorded in cracks in the bedrock and seems to represent a layer that was leveled to form the villa floor in the Roman period. This levelled layer contained small copper coins (AE4) of Theodosius I, which were perhaps struck in Aquileia in 383–388 AD. A sesterius of Gordian III, minted in Rome in 241–243 AD was found in a layer about 30 cm above this, which indicates that the layers were badly disturbed. Finds of tubuli indicate that some of the rooms were furnished with a hypocaust.

The excavations show that the site was occupied from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. The primary phase in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD is not reflected in the structural remains, but is based on the presence of ceramic finds of this date, e.g. the *Sarius* cup (Fig. 13).<sup>29</sup> The pavement mosaic, the kitchen area and the smelting area are contemporary and date to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. The villa had at least one open space or atrium in this phase, in the *pars rustica*, but probably had a second *atrium* in the elite residential area. The wall extension that covered (and preserved) the pavement mosaic was traced in the geophysical survey and shows a slight divergence from the orientation of the 2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century AD villa. This wall is probably part of a building that date to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. Further excavation will hopefully reveal more data and answer the open questions about the stratigraphy of the site.

27 Meder 2003, 49, Tab. XV: 2.

28 Meder 2003, 19–20, 92–93.

29 Schindler Kaudelka 1980, Tab. 65: 185.



**Figure 13** *Lički Ribnik. Sarius cup sherd* (photo T. Kolak).

## Conclusion

The lack of evidence for the existence of a *mansio* or *mutatio* at Žuta Lokva suggests that it was a private inn, similar to those that existed along the major roads in Italy.<sup>30</sup> There is no reason why such establishment should not exist on the *Senia–Siscia* road, which was one of the most important roads, linking Dalmatia and Pannonia. Initially, it was probably connected with the movement of troops. After the conquest, the innkeeper at Žuta Lokva brought new Roman habits in serving and drinking to the *caupona*, which continued to operate for the following one and a half centuries. The analysis of the pottery from Žuta Lokva has revealed the transport and use of goods, the connection between Dalmatia (and the Mediterranean) and Pannonia, as well as revealing some new aspects of life.

The *villa rustica* at Lički Ribnik was situated on a promontory, which was occupied from the Prehistoric

30 *Horatio Sat.* I.5.

period to the Medieval period. The excavations have provide us with a glimpse of its significance and the activities that were carried out there. It was an important rural site in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and first half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD with a luxurious elite residential building and a large area occupied by the slaves and workers. There are indications that iron smelting process was carried out intensively on the site. Textile production was also an activity carried out on the site in Roman times. Indeed, sheep herding and wool processing are still present in this region. When the archaeobotanical analyses are completed it will be possible to gain much more information about the types of crops that were planted in the vicinity. The archaeological evidence suggest that the site represents a typical *villa rustica*, which functioned as a kind of autonomous micro-world, where the urban way of life was com-

bined with rural life ways. The resources produced on the the property provided most of the needs of the inhabitants. *Villae rusticae* changed after this period due increasing economic problems, changing and becoming smaller, losing their luxurious details and becoming more focused on simple rural life.<sup>31</sup> The finds indicate that the *villa rustica* at Lički Ribnik continued to be occupied, but the nature and duration of this occupation is unclear.

This article has presented two recently discovered sites that show different aspects of Roman life in the Lika region. The preliminary results of the excavations have been presented in this paper. The excavated material is still undergoing analysis and a multidisciplinary approach to the interpretation of the sites will give provide much more additional information in the future.

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## Pottery workshops in the coastal area of Roman Dalmatia: landscape, spatial organization, ownership\*

Lončarske delavnice na obalnem delu rimskodobne Dalmacije:  
krajina, prostorska organizacija, lastništvo

Ana Konestra, Goranka Lipovac Vrkljan

**Izvleček:** V prispevku poskušamo oceniti lončarske in keramične modele, ki so prisotni v rimski provinci Dalmaciji, natančneje v njenem najsevernejšem delu (*Liburnia*), in sicer: na eni strani s povzemanjem znanih podatkov o proizvodnih zmogljivostih, lokaciji in izkoriščanju krajine ter na drugi s samimi izdelki in njihovo distribucijo. Širok spekter različnih podatkov, ki segajo od arheoloških in zgodovinskih do geoloških in palinoloških, se uporablja za rekonstrukcijo kronologije lončarske in keramične proizvodnje v Dalmaciji in Liburniji ter povezovanje te industrije z drugimi vejami antičnega gospodarstva. Glede na rezultate nedavnih raziskav lahko prepoznamo modele, ki pomagajo razumeti organizacijo poselitve, proizvodnjo in povpraševanje na trgu ter nam nenazadnje tudi pomagajo pri rekonstrukciji vseh kulturnih sprememb in družbenih procesov, ki so zaznamovali zgodnje cesarsko obdobje na vzhodnem Jadranu, pa tudi gospodarski razvoj v poznejših obdobjih.

**Ključne besede:** lončenina in keramična produkcija, peči, *figlinae*, rimska Dalmacija, Liburnija, gospodarski procesi, kulturna krajina

**Abstract:** The paper's aim is to try to assess pottery and ceramics production models present in the Roman province *Dalmatia*, more specifically for its northernmost part (*Liburnia*), by summarising known data on production facilities, location and landscape exploitation as well as products and their distribution. A wide array of typologically different data, spanning from archaeological and historical to geological and palinological, is used to reconstruct the onset and the chronology of pottery and ceramic production in Dalmatia and Liburnia, and to link this industry to other branches of the ancient economy. Though still in progress, recent research shows that some general models can be discerned, helping understanding rural settlement organisation, urban production and market demands as well, and finally aiding the reconstruction of all those cultural changes and social processes that marked the early Imperial period on the eastern Adriatic, but also the economic developments occurring at later periods.

**Keywords:** pottery and ceramics production, kilns, *figlinae*, Roman Dalmatia, Liburnia, economic processes, cultural landscape

From the late Hellenistic period Dalmatia has intensively joined Mediterranean commerce, not only as importer of foreign pottery, but also, thanks to its landscape characteristics, natural resources and regional economic developments, as a producer.

Production, commerce, exchange and consumption of goods have all widely influenced the formation of

a cultural landscape and the dynamisms of economic and social processes. Depending on the richness of natural resources, communication infrastructure and market demands, local, regional and provincial pottery workshops began to develop. On the basis of the differentiation and/or specialization of their produce assortment and its quantities, along with the awareness to the application of wider trends and fashions, it is possible to reconstruct the level of technological development of the various categories of workshops and follow the mobility of knowledge

\* This paper stems from the activities carried out within the project RED – Roman economy in Dalmatia: production, distribution and demand in the light of pottery workshops (HRZZ, IP-11-2013-3973).

and skills of the various artisans or the workshop's orientation to either regional or provincial markets. In the light of economic and cultural integration, or acculturation, of different areas of the province Dalmatia in the Roman world, pottery production centres, their products and their distribution destinations can provide us with a whole set of new data. This paper will focus on Roman pottery production using as a case study the northernmost region of province Dalmatia, ancient Liburnia (North-eastern Adriatic) (*Fig 1*).

### The environment of the Dalmatian coast

The eastern Adriatic coast and adjacent islands are part of the Croatian karst belt,<sup>1</sup> which presents essentially two major geological features, the dominant Mesozoic and Tertiary rocks (limestone and dolomite) and occasional Eocene flysch deposits between the limestone.<sup>2</sup> Such geological setting is influenced by the relief's characteristics, synclines and anticlines, that form coastal mountain ranges (Velebit) and hilly ridges on the major islands.<sup>3</sup> These, in combination with climatic factors,<sup>4</sup> favour the erosion and dispersion of soil deposits from the coastal bedrock, in particular in the flysch zones, while preserving it in the woodland and pasture areas, and create different karst formations such as sinkholes, *dolinas* and karst valleys.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, it is the rare flysch areas, which present different lithological sediments, including clay or marl,<sup>6</sup> that areas suitable for cultivation are more common.<sup>7</sup> Large flysch areas occur in particular in Istria, Ravni Kotari, in Central (Kaštela-Split) and Southern Dalmatia.<sup>8</sup> Smaller flysch areas are present in

the Kvarner coastal area and on some of the islands, in particular the Vinodol valley and the island of Rab.<sup>9</sup> Relief and geological features unique to the karst have been shaped by anthropogenic activity to create a cultivated landscapes, adapting it to the needs of agriculture and pastoralism, which main feature are dry-wall structures enclosing and dividing the land.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, along the coast, the numerous coves and bays, often characterised by stream's or river's confluences, have been key in the development of stable settlement.

Paleoclimatic and archeobotanic data for the Liburnian region is scarce, just as are ancient sources, providing only sporadic mentions of the potential economic activities of the eastern Adriatic: wool production,<sup>11</sup> wine and olive oil,<sup>12</sup> while cereals are mentioned for the japodian hinterland.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, some information for the Kvarner area is provided by karst lake sediments (Lake Vrana, Cres island) which seem to indicate changes in the vegetation and an onset of deforestation as early as the Bronze age (or even the Neolithic).<sup>14</sup> The formation of most of the current vegetation layer occurred in later prehistory and Roman times with the onset of *Quercus ilicis* forest,<sup>15</sup> while a sharp change in vegetation has been noted during the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC with the appearance of walnut and chestnut, which are usually recorded in the period of transition to Roman occupation.<sup>16</sup> *Olea* and *Vitis*, also present in the sediment dated to this time might indicate cultivation, while other data is indicative of settlement in the area of the lake.<sup>17</sup> In continental northern Dalmatia (Ravni Kotari) soil analysis has detected landscape melioration from the Bronze Age onwards, with an increase

1 Bogunović, Bensa 2006, 1.

2 Mihevc, Prelovšek 2010.

3 Vujović 2009, 1.

4 i.e. seasonal heavy rain, Topić *et al.* 2006, 130, 135.

5 Anić, Perica 2003, 175; Topić *et al.* 2006, 128; Butorac *et al.* 2009, 166.

6 Babić, Zupanić 1998, 176, 190; Toševski *et al.* 2012, 50–52.

7 Bogunović, Bensa 2006, 1.

8 Marjanac, Čosović 2000, 93; for a complete list of flysch areas see Toševski *et al.* 2012, 48, Tab. 1.

9 Benac *et al.* 2007, 201–202, sl. 1.

10 Anić, Perica 2003, 175.

11 Martial, Epigrammata, XIII, 140; Pliny, Naturalis Historia, 8. 191; Varon, De re rustica, 2.10.6.

12 Apicius, De re coquinaria, 1.5 in Matijašić 1998; Glicksman 2005, 201–212; Jadrić 2007.

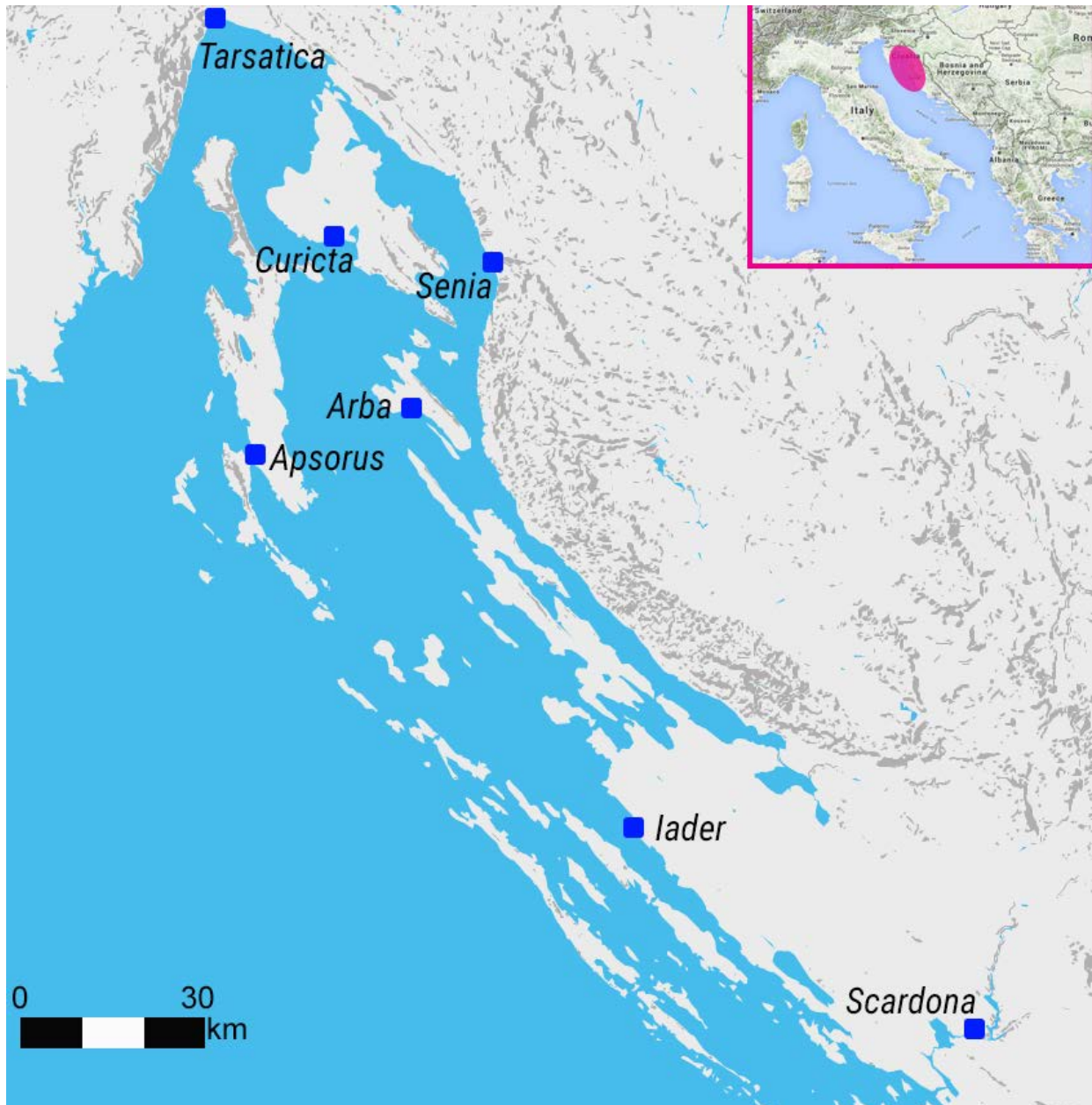
13 Spelt and proso millet, Strabo, VII 5,4 in Sanader 2006, 162.

14 Schmidt *et al.* 2000, 126.

15 Schmidt *et al.* 2000, 127.

16 Schmidt *et al.* 2000, 126 with earlier bibliography.

17 Schmidt *et al.* 2000, 126, 127.



**Figure 1** Area of ancient Liburnia with noted some of the major Roman settlements (base map: Google maps/Snazzy maps).

during Roman times, and with substantial loss of good pasture.<sup>18</sup> More details gained from the Bokinjačko blato sediments show anthropogenic influences on the vegetation from the Eneolithic onwards, mainly with indicators of a pastoral economy, while antiquity is again marked by a peak in *Olea* and *Vitis* pollen.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, results gained from archeobotanic studies on the vegetation in the area of the Roman harbour of Zaton show a typical Mediterranean crop

agriculture,<sup>20</sup> while sites in the hinterland (Danilo), show signs of cereal cultivation from Roman times onwards.<sup>21</sup> A similar situation<sup>22</sup> has been detected for Istria as well.<sup>23</sup>

Such changes occurring in the landscape of the Kvarner region during the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, but also in the neighbouring areas of Istria and northern Dalmatia,

18 Shiel, Chapman 1988 39, 42, fig. 2.2.

19 Šoštarić 2005, 386 with earlier bibliography.

20 Šoštarić 2005, 386; Gluščević *et al.* 2006, 155.

21 Šoštarić 2005, 386–387.

22 i.e. the importance of olives, followed by *Vitis vinifera*, *Ficus carica*, *Pinus pinea*.

23 Šoštarić, Küster 2001; Šoštarić 2005, 387.



**Figure 2** Identified pottery and CBM kiln/figlinae of Roman date in the Province Dalmatia (base map: Google maps).

indicate that a change in land management and rural activities coincided with the establishment of more stable contacts with Rome and the later formal establishment of Roman rule. Moreover, they are indicative of new economic possibilities that these new cultures (olive, grape) brought forward. Roman style pottery production is one of the markers of this process of landscape and cultural change characterizing the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, while in central Dalmatia this process was already in action during Hellenistic times with the production of various greyware pottery and probably amphorae.<sup>24</sup>

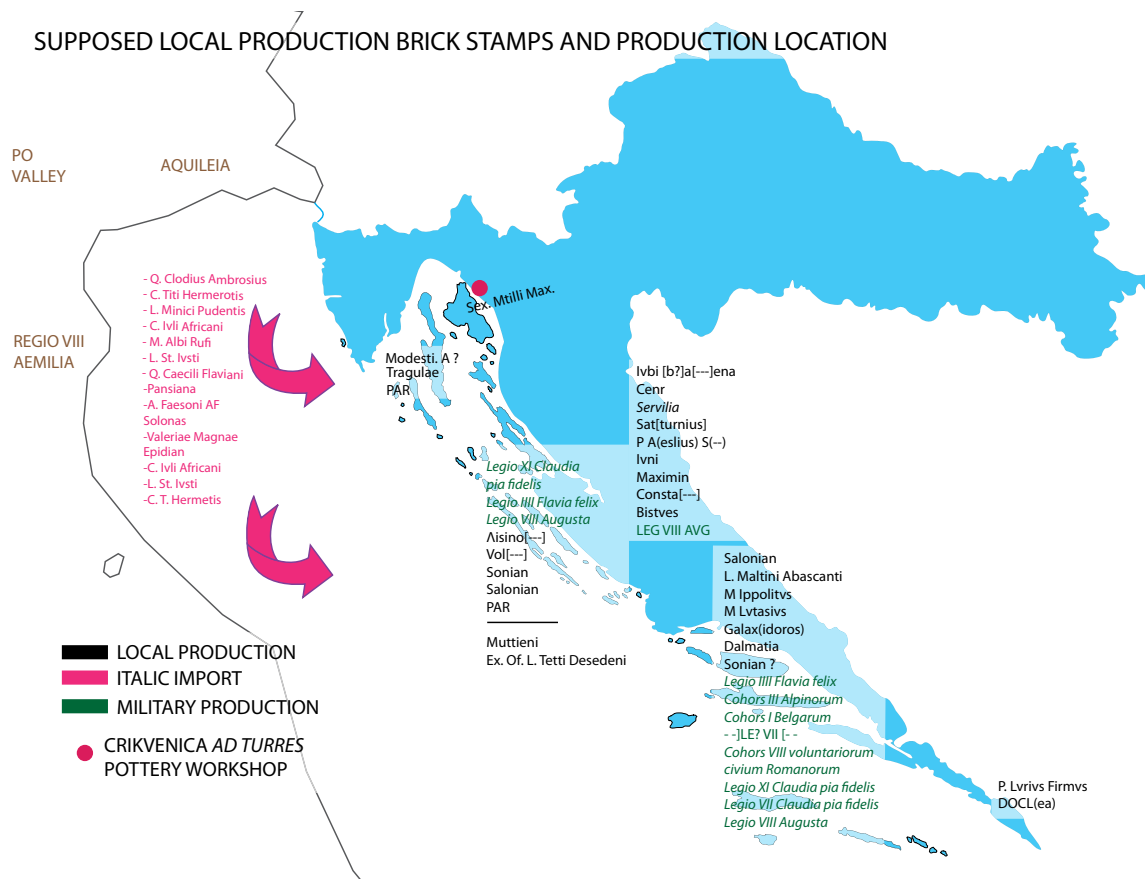
### Pottery production in the province Dalmatia: an overview

Research on pottery workshops in the province Dalmatia (Fig. 2) has so far been oriented to their identification on the basis of archaeological remains interpreted as workshop facilities. As no kilns datable to earlier times have been discovered,<sup>25</sup> Bronze and Iron age pottery production is supposed on the bases of material's examinations only.<sup>26</sup> The earliest pottery kilns are those excavated at Vis (*Issa*) where Hellenistic and Roman pottery production is inferred on the basis of these, but also finds of numerous pottery

24 Brusić 2000, 7–17; Kirigin *et al.* 2002; Kirigin *et al.* 2005, 13–15.

25 Barbarić 2012, 37.

26 Šešelj, Vuković 2012/2013, 347.



**Figure 3** Distribution of imported and locally produced stamped tiles in the Province Dalmatia (based on: Matijašić 1983; 1988; Mardešić 2006; Dodig 2007; Pedišić, Podrug 2008; Lipovac Vrkljan 2009; Tončinić et al. 2011; Ilkić, Parica 2017; and bibliography therein).

wasters.<sup>27</sup> At Hvar (*Pharos*) amphorae production datable to Hellenistic times has also been supposed, accompanied by that of CBM, loom-weights, fine, coarse and cooking wares, and terracotta figurines.<sup>28</sup> Recently, archaeometric analysis is being carried out on materials from the Hellenistic settlements and sanctuaries of central Dalmatia in order to further characterize their pottery production.<sup>29</sup> The first mention of certain traces of Roman CBM production is that linked to the military camp in *Burnum* (Ivoševci near Kistanje in continental northern Dalmatia), more precisely to the nearby site Smrdelje - Rivine where, in 1895, L. Marun identified four pottery kilns, which, linked to the numerous finds of legionary brick stamps, brought forward

the possibility of CBM production.<sup>30</sup> Although the kilns are now lost, the area still abounds with finds of wasters and localized clay deposits are present, just as a water source.<sup>31</sup> On the bases of tile stamps CBM production at Smrdelje can be traced from the mid-1<sup>st</sup> to the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>32</sup> In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century another pottery production has been inferred on the basis of *tegulae* stamps<sup>33</sup> from the site sv. Petar – Soline and Risika – Paprata on the island of Krk.<sup>34</sup> Sticotti and Nowotny state the toponym *le fornaci* for the location at sv. Petar-Soline, and both K. Patch and J. J. Wilkes localized Sex-

27 Čargo, Miše 2010.

28 Katić 1999–2000; Kirigin et al. 2002; Jeličić Radonić, Katić 2015, 140–145.

29 Šegvić et al. 2012; Miše et al. 2015; Šegvić et al. 2016.

30 Pedišić, Podrug 2008, 85–86 with earlier bibliography; Miletić 2011, 267.

31 Pedišić, Podrug 2008, 85, n. 4; Miletić 2011, 267.

32 Borzić 2014, 292.

33 DE SALT(u) SEX(ti) M(e)TILLI MAX(imi).

34 Sticotti, Nowotny 1896, 167–168.

tus' figlina in the area of Soline bay.<sup>35</sup>

Numerous other, mainly CBM productions, have been supposed on the eastern Adriatic coast on the bases of tile stamps, and which have been summarised in (Fig. 3). Pottery production, on the other hand, has been supposed on the basis of finds such as thin-walled ware<sup>36</sup> (Fig. 4) and jugs with inscriptions bearing local toponyms<sup>37</sup> (*Felix Arba, Salona*).

The next site linked with pottery production identified on the basis of kiln finds is that of Dinjiška, and an amphorae and pottery workshop has been supposed at Novalja, both on the island of Pag.<sup>38</sup>

In the last decade, a number of direct indicators of production have been identified in the northern part of the province Dalmatia (Liburnia), adding new insights to the aforementioned data, which was, as well, concentrated in Liburnia.<sup>39</sup> The first major discovery was that of Crikvenica's pottery workshop<sup>40</sup> which allowed to locate the production of the aforementioned *Sex. Metilius Maximus* stamps in this *figlina*. Nevertheless, Soline bay still remains a viable candidate for a pottery workshop, maybe even belonging to the same owner, as later research recorded the presence of overfired pottery and other wasters.<sup>41</sup> A single isolated kiln has been excavated at the site Rakitnica-Tri bunara in the hinterland of Vodice.<sup>42</sup> After a series of test trenches and geophysical surveying, no other structure has been located at the site, and all finds are limited to *tegulae* and coarse pottery.<sup>43</sup>

On the island of Rab (Lopar municipality), pottery production has been confirmed at two sites, in Podšilo and Mahučine bays. In the first case, a seemingly isolated kiln has been excavated<sup>44</sup> and later linked to



**Figure 4** Example of thin-walled ware beaker of supposedly local eastern-Adriatic production (courtesy of Janaf collection, photo and drawing A. Konestra).

the nearby sites of Beli grad and Podkućine, which present architectural remains and finds of Roman pottery.<sup>45</sup> At Mahučine bay, on the basis of a large quantity of pottery wasters and kiln fragments, the location of one or more pottery kilns has been supposed, and later backed up by geophysical surveying.<sup>46</sup> No other ancient structures have so far been confirmed at the site, but on cape Zidine, located across the Loparska vala cove, a large, probably later Roman rural site, has been identified.<sup>47</sup> A third, recently identified kiln, is located at Gonar (Rab municipality), and might be connected to the nearby roman estate of Kaštelina in Kampor.<sup>48</sup> The most recent find is that of Plemići bay (Rtina, Ražanac municipality) to the north of Nin (*Aenona*).<sup>49</sup> The sporadic finds of two tile stamps (*M[VTTIENI]* and *EX OF L TETTI DE[SEDES]*)<sup>50</sup> support the possibility to locate here a long-lasting and complex

35 Sticotti, Nowotny 1896, 168; Wilkes 1979, 501; Wilkes 1979, 70; Pedišić, Podrug 2008, 103 with earlier bibliography.

36 Brusić 1999, 30–31, 118–119.

37 see in Nedved 1990, 7: CIL III 14336; Brusić *et al.* 2012, 108, Fig. 8.

38 Gluščević 1988, 73–74, 82.

39 For an overview see also Lipovac Vrkljan, Šiljeg 2012.

40 Starac 1991; Lipovac Vrkljan 2009.

41 Lipovac Vrkljan, Starac 2007; Lipovac Vrkljan, Šiljeg 2012, 18.

42 Brajković 2011.

43 Brajković 2011, 98–100.

44 Lipovac Vrkljan, Šiljeg 2010.

45 Lipovac Vrkljan, Šiljeg 2012, 21, 28; Lipovac Vrkljan *et al.* 2014, 206.

46 Lipovac Vrkljan *et al.* 2015.

47 Skelac, Radić Rossi 2006.

48 The site has been identified during filed surveys carried out by R. Starac, who we thank for this information. Upon visiting the site no clear evidence of the nature and dating of the kiln could be confirmed, as its structure is severely damaged by sea erosion, though a few *tegulae* fragments have been collected on the nearby beach.

49 Ilkić 2013.

50 Ilkić, Parica 2017.

CBM and probably amphorae production centre, whose features are though still to be defined.

### Production typology, chronology, scale and distribution

Recent data sheds new light on the problem of pottery production in Roman Dalmatia, pointing to a series of issues that can now be outlined in more depth. Firstly, in addition to military production, this new evidence can be typologically divided in isolated kilns, kilns connected to rural sites (*villas*), while only Crikvenica's workshop can with certainty be defined as such and interpreted as a protoindustrial pottery production complex. As far as regarding kilns or facilities connected with urban settlements they seem to belong to an earlier date – mostly late Hellenistic in the case of Vis and the supposed pottery production on Hvar and at Resnik.<sup>51</sup> Production in *Salona* and *Asseria*, hinted by both stamps and other pottery types, is yet to be located. Such subdivision can underline the different aims for setting up pottery production, but also the degree of specialisation the production achieved and how longstanding its duration was. It can also give us a hint to the economic significance of the products of each within a broader, regional, or local market.

Of particular interest is the typology of products which have so far been identified for the aforementioned sites, and their chronology. The earliest phase of Roman pottery production is that of Crikvenica's *figlina*, and with all probability the one localised in Plemići bay. For Crikvenica, evidence of a wide range of products has been established, while imported finds and <sup>14</sup>C dates place the initial phases of production setup in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. The end of production is additionally supported by the find of graves within the *figlina*'s waste<sup>52</sup> placing it before the half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Tile stamp from Crikvenica's pottery production centre allowed to determine its owner, *Sex. Metillius Maximus*, and un-

derstand its connection to the estate which he must have possessed in the environs (*a saltus*). At Crikvenica all ceramics and pottery classes are typologically rather diverse, with six types of CBM, more than 90 types of household pottery and 13 types of amphorae, to which loom-weights and particular shapes can be added,<sup>53</sup> so this production established itself as a general supplier of ceramic goods to the wider market of the region. In fact, Crikvenica's exports have been identified in the area spanning from Tarsatica in the north to the river Krka (*Titius*) in the south.<sup>54</sup> But typological and distribution data points also to the commercialisation of agricultural products from Sextus Metillius' saltus which must have been carried in the amphorae produced at the *figlina*.

At the site in Plemići bay, spatial extension, wasters concentration and typology, although still to be defined with more precision, do confirm the existence of a larger complex producing various classes of materials, so far identified as CBM and amphorae.<sup>55</sup> Dating of this complex can only be supposed on the basis of amphorae typology<sup>56</sup> which, on the trail of italic amphorae types such as Forlimpopoli, can be dated from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, but was probably confined within the early Imperial times.<sup>57</sup> The afore-mentioned presence of two types of stamps of supposedly local production might indicate two phases of production marked by two different owners and/or organisational systems.

Spatial organisation within the workshops has so far been explored only at Crikvenica, thanks to ten years of systematic excavations. This allowed to define the main features of the workshop, such as kilns, clay decanting pits, open-air areas, but also roofed spaces.<sup>58</sup> The production possibilities of the *figlina* can be seen as a full-time enterprise, as the diversification of

53 Ožanić Roguljić 2012.

54 Lipovac Vrkljan, Ožanić Roguljić 2013, 259–261.

55 Ilkić 2013; Bekić, Pešić 2014, 103, t. 5; Ilkić, Parica 2017; and personal assessment by the authors.

56 flat-bottomed Adriatic amphorae, Bekić, Pešić 2014, 103, t. 5.

57 A fragment of a Shindler Kaudelka 68 thin-walled cup (Schindler Kaudelka 1975) has been found during field survey, providing a mid-1<sup>st</sup> century date.

58 presenting different phases, Lipovac Vrkljan *et al.* 2016.

51 Kirigin *et al.* 2002; Šegvić *et al.* 2012.

52 Konestra, Ožanić Roguljić 2016.

facilities, presenting both open-air and roofed spaces, allowed all-year production within the complex.<sup>59</sup>

On the other hand, both sites on the island of Rab point to CBM production only, and <sup>14</sup>C dates of samples from the kiln in Podršilo bay place it in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>60</sup> The same products typology has been identified at Rakitnica – Tri bunara, whose chronology has not been established due to a lack of datable evidence.<sup>61</sup> The site could be linked to the nearby Velika Mrdakovica late Iron age hillfort and Roman settlement, but also to a site which might have been located on the plains in its vicinity.<sup>62</sup> In any case, Rakitnica's find point to a short-lived production, perhaps established to fulfil the needs of a particular construction phase of one of the nearby sites. Similarly, the sites on Lopar seem to have been destined to provide CBM for the rural estates of Cape Zidine and those in Podšilo bay. Although, an interesting connection could also be established with a phase of urban infrastructure improvement at the nearby urban sites of *Arba* and *Senia* testified by late 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century inscriptions.<sup>63</sup> A similar interpretation has been proposed for the *DALMATIA* tile stamps whose production has been localised in the environs of Diocletian's palace, for the construction of which it might have been established.<sup>64</sup>

The lack of structures around the aforementioned kilns, doubtful only in the Podšilo case, could provide additional support for the temporary (or seasonal) character of the Mahučina and Rakitnica kilns.

These finds and some of their features provide interesting insights for a broader reconstruction of the economy of ancient Liburnia. Amphorae production at both Crikvenica and Plemići support the integration of this facility within larger rural and coastal estates, as has been recorded for several Istrian<sup>65</sup> and

north Italian sites. This is certainly true for Crikvenica, where data on ownership and location is given by tile stamps. Tile distribution, in addition to that of amphorae, does provide evidence for a commercial aim of CBM production which could be linked to an early phase of urban development in *Liburnia*.<sup>66</sup> A tile stamp occurring within the Plemići bay waste has been identified at nearby *Aenona*.<sup>67</sup>

Whether the examples from the island of Rab point to a different nature of the estates they might be connected to is doubtful, as more research is needed to better understand their nature and activities, just as the range of their distribution. In any case, distribution data from Crikvenica's workshop supports the existence of a regional pottery and CBM trading network parallel to that of imported wares and *tegulae* (see *Fig. 2* for the main stamps), and the new finds from Plemići might be indicative of this as well.

### Productive landscapes: the choice of location

Finally, a tentative interpretation of the locations chosen for setting up pottery production will be discussed.

Setting up pottery production occurs in those areas where clay availability is present, but two other factors, water and fuel, are key as well.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, according to D. Arnold, the availability of good quality raw materials triggers not as much the onset of ceramic's production, which might occur either way, as it influences its development into full-time specialisation.<sup>69</sup> Another key factor is the distance to those resources.<sup>70</sup> Ethnographic studies have shown that distance covered to clay resources depends on the re-

59 Arnold 2011, 91.

60 Lipovac Vrkljan, Šiljeg 2009, 27; Lipovac Vrkljan *et al.* 2014.

61 Brajković 2011, 99–100.

62 Brajković 2011, 100.

63 i. e. Balnea renovation inscription from Senj, CIL III, 10054; for Rab see Nedved 1990, 19–25.

64 Sanader 2006, 175.

65 Loron, Červar and Fažana see Bulić, Koncani Uhač 2011; Carre, Tassaix 2012.

66 *Sex. Metillius Maximus* tile stamps are present at Tarsatica – first phase of the thermal complex, Cickini rural estate (?) on the island of Krk, *Arrupium*, Preko on the island of Ugljan, and on two shipwrecks off Lošinj and Susak islands, Lipovac Vrkljan, Ožanić Roguljić 2013.

67 Ilkić, Parica, 2017, 105, n. 4.

68 Degryse, Poblome 2008, 233; Rieger, Möller 2011, 159–160.

69 Arnold 1985, 32.

70 Arnold 1985, 32–33; Arnold 2011, 85.



lief and transport technology, varying for clays used to shape the body, those for the slip, and for temper material, but staying within 1 and 50 km. More precisely, profitable sourcing of clay for shaping the bodies happens between 1 and 7 km, while for late Antique Sagalassos distances for good quality clay are around eight km.<sup>71</sup> In Roman Britain distances have been proven to arrive at 20 km, as wheeled carts and probably roads could have been used for transport.<sup>72</sup> As discernible from its geology, areas of clay deposits in northern Dalmatia, usually linked with the flysch geology, are limited. Nevertheless, they do occur in those areas where Roman pottery workshops have been identified (i. e. Crikvenica, Plemići, Lopar). Even more significant is the location of some of the identified workshops directly within clay deposits, as it is the case of Crikvenica and Plemići bay, which often present substantial thickness, allowing for the use of raw materials found on site. The same has been noted for the Rakitnica – Tri bunara kiln.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, the location of Crikvenica's workshop presents the possibility to source clay from deposits located at some distance, allowing, perhaps, for a differentiation of raw materials within the different productions.<sup>74</sup> In fact around Crikvenica, various clay and marl deposits have been located, with a major outcrop at the landslide Slani potok located at less than 4 km from the *figlina* site, while the others are located even closer. Nevertheless, so far no evidence of ancient clay pits has been identified.

On the other hand, the kilns on the island of Rab seem to have been located at somewhat different locations, though Podšilo bay is characterized by flysch with silty sand deposits. On Rab, no large clay deposits have been identified, so the located kilns must have utilized material available in smaller deposits, which, in the case of Podšilo, might have washed away due to erosion. In the vicinity of Mahučine bay, two ponds and a deposit of clayey soil

have been identified above the site,<sup>75</sup> but the coastal area of Lopar bay is highly eroded due to recent anthropic interventions.<sup>76</sup>

If clay availability might have been a key element in broadly choosing pottery workshops locations, water must have been a micro-topographic factor, as all sites are located close to permanent or periodic streams or ponds. Crikvenica's *figlina* is located on the shores of the river Dubračina, which might also be responsible for the thick clay deposit on which the site lays and which covered the site prior to excavation, as investigations at its estuary showed significant sediment accumulation.<sup>77</sup> The other sites lay also close to water sources: at Plemići the Jaruga stream, at Smredelje the Kukalj stream, at Podšilo a temporary stream, at Mahučine and Rakitnica ponds and wells, while only at Gonar, at this point, no water source was detected. Similarly, a small lake (Jezerca) and some ponds located close to Soline bay (island of Krk) could have provided both water and clay for the supposed pottery production facilities.

The third resource to be secured was the combustible, which is, due to the current state of research, the hardest to pinpoint and analyse. In the cases of the so far excavated kilns in Liburnia, wood stands out as the primarily, if not only, combustion material. Crikvenica's tile stamp additionally confirms this as it states the placement of the *figlina* within a *saltus*, usually understood as, on the one hand, a large wooded property, while on the other, as a land subjected to particular fiscal policies.<sup>78</sup> *Figlinas* functioning within *salti* have been noted in various regions, most notably in northern Italy with the Pansiana operating within an imperial *saltus*,<sup>79</sup> or in *Gallia*, where the *saltus Arverne* hosted, among other industries, that of ceramics production, with its most prominent centre in Lezoux.<sup>80</sup> One of the main products of this *saltus*, and also a prerogative for other activities (mining, pottery production) are the large quantities of

71 Degryse, Poblome 2008, 233, 245 with earlier bibliography.

72 Arnold 2011, 89.

73 Brajković 2011.

74 for a similar situation see Degryse, Poblome 2008, 245; for different sourcing possibilities see Graham 2006, 47.

75 Lipovac Vrkljan *et al.* 2014; Lipovac Vrkljan *et al.* 2015.

76 Benac *et al.* 2012.

77 Crmarić *et al.* 2007.

78 Soricelli 2004, 97–98.

79 Pellicioni 2012, 73 ss.

80 Vigouroux 1962, 212, 216.

wood that the *saltus* could provide.<sup>81</sup> Whether this analogies could explain the role *Sex. Metillius' saltus* is yet to be determined, but our current understanding seems to point in that direction, while further research should explore the scope and extension of this property and its economic possibilities. For other production centres or isolated kilns information on the setting within a larger property is scanty, thus nothing is known on character of the surrounding areas with significant certainty. New data from Plemići, with tegulae bearing the *EX OF* notation,<sup>82</sup> broaden the varieties of workshop settings present in Liburnia and provide us with potential new data on workshop organisation.

Nevertheless, all areas could have provided enough wood at least for temporary or seasonal production. Such data can be gathered on the basis of current woodland coverage, historic data provided by later sources, and for Antiquity, by palinology (see above). In fact, from the late Middle Ages onwards the eastern Adriatic played a key role in supplying Venice with high quality wood: in particular areas such as Istria, Krk island, the environs of Rijeka, Bakar and Senj<sup>83</sup> and the island of Rab<sup>84</sup> provided wood mainly for shipbuilding. Other sources bear evidence of the existence of vast forests along the coast, southwards at least to Zadar, and subsequent intense deforestation.<sup>85</sup>

Finally, location is closely connected to the possibilities of transportation which allow for products marketing. While all but one (Rakitnica) so far identified production centres are located by the shore, thus allowing for seaborne transport, only Crikvenica and Plemići have so far yielded evidence for the existence of docking facilities. At Plemići these have been identified as two docks crossing the bay at either side of the site,<sup>86</sup> while at Crikvenica the existence of such facilities has been inferred on the basis of small finds, underwater finds and the geo-morpholo-

gy of the area prior to recent coastal rearrangements and fillings. Road connections are, on the other hand, fairly evident as Crikvenica (*Ad Turres*) was part of the road networks crossing the eastern Adriatic from Aquileia to Salona and Diracchium, as demonstrated by the Peutinger's Map (section IV)<sup>87</sup> and possibly by traces of the road located on various sites of the Vinodol hinterland.<sup>88</sup>

### Spreading of a know-how and emergence of diverse production models

It is in the imports that local *figlinas* found their inspiration, as Roman style CBM was unknown in the region previous to the arrival of the first italic products<sup>89</sup> and the connection with italic flat-bottom amphorae has already been mentioned.

This familiarity with italic shapes is noticeable in other classes as well. In fact, an abrupt change in pottery style is visible at the late Iron age – Roman imperial age passage. Though some authors note a resemblance of certain coarse ware shapes of the two periods,<sup>90</sup> there is a clear typological break between the two traditions as new classes are being introduced. The spread of Roman style pottery happened as early as the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (greco-italic and Lamboglia 2 amphorae, black-glazed fine wares, early thin-walled ware shapes), but local production began at a much later date and could be linked with the actual arrival of Italics who aided the establishment of pottery production either on their newly acquired estates. This process of gradual land acquisition and production establishment is visible in the configuration of Crikvenica's workshop but also in the kilns' typologies identified in the Liburnian region, which are always of the Cuomo di Caprio IIb type, while, though still unrecorded, previous pottery production

81 Vigouroux 1962, 214–216.

82 Ilkić, Parica 2017, 106, n. 6.

83 Lazzarini 2014, 31, 37.

84 Rauš, Matić 1987, 100, 102.

85 Štefanec 2003, 340–345.

86 Ilkić, Parica 2017, 105.

87 [http://www.euratlas.net/cartogra/peutinger/4\\_picenium/](http://www.euratlas.net/cartogra/peutinger/4_picenium/) (1.4.2016).

88 Lipovac Vrkljan, Starac 2014, 97.

89 I.e. Pansiana tegulae, Matijašić 1989, 63–64; Pedišić, Podrug 2008, 88–94.

90 Borzić 2014, 292.

was certainly carried out in differently shaped kilns.<sup>91</sup> This makes the possibility of foreign ownership providing also foreign know-how for the establishment of production as a viable explanation for the first phase of production identified through the 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, while the role of the local potters is yet to be determined and could be connected to location choices linked to raw material availability.

By analysing landscape features, workshop's organisation, ownership models, product distribution and chronology so far discussed, a set of different production models arises.

The early organisation of ceramics production sees it within larger estates (such as *saltus*) which seem to follow the integration of Liburnia in the Roman state and the subsequent arrival of entrepreneurs from Italy. Such characteristics are discernible at Crikvenica and perhaps at Plemići as well. These sites point towards production models that integrate a vast scale infrastructure and full-time commitment of a skilled labour force that acts on behalf of an independent owner, though the seasonality of certain tasks is not excluded (i.e. kiln firing). Another feature of this production model is vast availabilities of raw materials which favour full-time specialisation<sup>92</sup> and allow for a market oriented production.

Early production onset is discernible at military production sites as well, but they developed in a different context<sup>93</sup> and their market orientation is, with all probability, fairly limited. Smaller scale production facilities, which are seen at sites on Rab and at Rakitnica, seems to have a later onset, a more limited production output and smaller scale distribution. In fact, these latter cases do have in common a more

targeted production, developed for the needs of the rural estates they operated in and seemingly comprising exclusively of CBM. A similar situation can be implied for those production facilities identified or supposed within towns (*Vis, Asseria, Salona* etc.). A major very evident difference is certainly that of production diversification, so while at Crikvenica a large array of products might imply a larger work force and different market demands, the second phase kilns seem to have aimed at satisfying the needs of a local community (being it a rural estate, a town or a smaller settlement).

The first model of production, which can be linked to the manufactory model proposed by Peacock,<sup>94</sup> though presenting similarities with the nucleated workshop models as well,<sup>95</sup> seems to interest the early Imperial age, as activities at this *figlinas*, from the currently available evidence, cease with the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Such evolution could be linked with similar production centres of the western Adriatic, whose typological evolution (from Dr. 2–4 to flat-bottomed amphorae) Crikvenica seems to follow at least within its amphorae production, but whose activities span well into the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>96</sup> Its demise can also, just as that of similar Italic productions, be linked to the ever more prominent import of amphorae born commodities from the Eastern Mediterranean and Northern Africa.<sup>97</sup>

The second and later model, more readily connectable with estate production models, is that of the seemingly isolated kilns whose purpose could be that of providing CBM for the construction phases of the nearby rural estates, and would thus fit within a time frame when Italic *tegulae* stopped arriving on the eastern Adriatic, at least at the scale recorded before.<sup>98</sup>

The possibility that these kilns could have provided CBM for a wave of urban reconstruction recorded for Rab, Senj and *Tarsatica*, is yet to be analysed.

91 Earlier pottery was fired on open fires or within pits (Barbarić 2012, 16–17; for a general overview Šimić-Kanaet 1996, 151–153). A potential parallel for kiln's construction could be that of the Bronze age kilns uncovered at Monkodonja hillfort in Istria (see Buršić Matijašić 1998, 29, 49–50), though no kilns have been so far identified on Liburnian territory (for present-day Dalmatia see Barbarić 2012, 37).

92 Arnold 1985, 32.

93 That of government participation, Peacock 1987, 15–21, which can be compared to the retainer workshop model as seen by Costin 1991, 9.

94 Peacock 1997, 18–19.

95 Costin 1991, 8.

96 Pannella 1989, 156–161, 163.

97 For wine see Pannella 1989, 166.

98 Matijašić 1989, 65–66.

## Concluding remarks

By combining data gathered from landscape, production facilities and products, and products' distribution analysis, a preliminary overview of the models of pottery and CBM production on the Eastern Adriatic has been proposed.

As some data is still being processed (such as archaeometric analysis of clays and pottery from Liburnia<sup>99</sup>), this picture is open to re-elaboration, reinterpretation and integration, being in fact a starting point to be tested as new information is obtained. Also, future finds of pottery and CBM kilns or *figlinae* will help to broaden our understanding of all analysed aspects. While pottery and CBM production holds a dual value as indicator of ancient economic activities, being a product in its own right, but also an indirect indi-

cator of other production activities such as agriculture, its role in shedding light on the ancient economy is being ever more recognised. Thus, by analysing this industry we have also tried to establish a link to a more general productive and economic picture of the north-eastern Adriatic through the first centuries of Roman rule in the area. Though indirectly, a vibrant agro-pastoral landscape has been supposed, organised within differently organised rural estates, while links to maritime resources and woodland exploitation can be also inferred, backed by data gathered through interdisciplinary research activities. Further analysis on each of the afore-mentioned sites will help in pinpointing local specificities, creating a more detailed local economic picture and helping answer those questions that have here been only preliminarily tackled.

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## Rimskodobni lončarski obrat na Otoku pri Metliki

### The Roman Pottery Manufacturing Site at Otok near Metlika

Katarina Udovč, Manca Vinazza

**Izvleček:** Na severnem robu belokranjske vasi Otok pri Metliki smo med letoma 2012 in 2013 izkopali lončarski obrat. Odkrili smo štiri manjše dvodelne peči, okroglega ali ovalnega tlorisa s sredinskim podpornim stebrom in masivnimi rešetkami s trikotnimi ali pravokotnimi odprtini. Med otoško lončenino je bila najdena široka paleta keramičnih oblik, tako kuhinjskega kot namiznega posodja, izključno lokalne proizvodnje. Izpostavljamo posode „vazaste“ oziroma valjaste oblike z izvihanim ustjem, katerim smo našli primerjave v bližnjih grobiščih na Otoku in v Rosalnicah. Gre za pivsko posodje iz 1. in 2. stoletja n. št., sicer razširjeno tudi na širšem dolenskem prostoru. Med otoškim gradivom izstopajo odlomki keramike, okrašene z aplikami kač in kuščarja, ki jih lahko uvrstimo v sklop t. i. *Schlangengefässe*. Povezujemo jih s kultom, čaščenim v domačem oziroma družinskem okolju, saj je kača tudi simbol oz. zaščitnica hiše in družine. Lončarski obrat, na osnovi izkopanega gradiva, časovno opredeljujemo med 1. in 2. stoletje n. št. Ugodne pogoje za razvoj lončarske obrti je omogočala bližina gozda, kakovostna glina in reka Kolpa.

**Ključne besede:** Bela krajina, rimsko obdobje, lončarski obrat, lokalna proizvodnja keramike, vzhodni kult

**Abstract:** A pottery production site was excavated in the village of Otok near Metlika on the upper terraces of the river Kolpa in 2012–2013. Four small bipartite kilns were excavated. These were circular or oval in plan and were equipped with a central pedestal and a massive kiln floor, which was pierced with triangular and rectangular openings. A wide range of pottery forms were found at the Otok pottery production site. These included both cooking and tableware of exclusively local production. The „vase“ shaped or cylindrical jar with everted rim is of particular note. Examples of this vessel type are known from the cemeteries at Otok and Rosalnice in the vicinity of the site. These are drinking vessels, which were also found throughout Dolenjska in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD. The Otok assemblage also contains numerous potsherds that are decorated with snake and lizard appliqués, which are classified by the authors as part of the so-called „Schlangengefässe“ category. They are probably related to a cult in the domestic or private domain. The pottery production site dates from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD. The development of the pottery workshop and the transport of its products were facilitated by proximity to the river Kolpa, which was navigable in the Roman period and represented the shortest possible route between *Siscia* and the Adriatic Sea.

**Keywords:** Bela Krajina, Roman period, pottery production site, local pottery production, Eastern cults

### Uvod

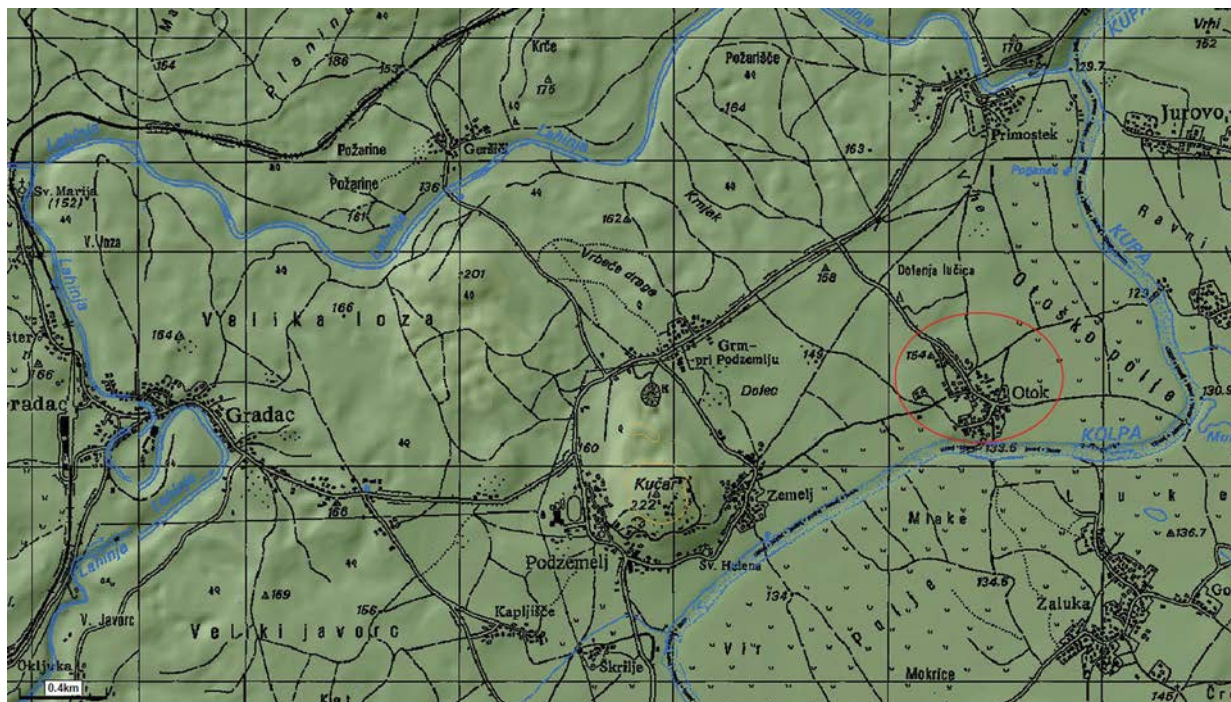
Vas Otok pri Metliki<sup>1</sup> leži ob reki Kolpi v Beli krajini (*sl.* 1). Območje današnje Bele krajine je bilo ob koncu 1. stoletja pr. n. št. priključeno rimskemu cesarstvu in je predstavljalo mejno območje med provincama Panonijo in Dalmacijo. Upravno je bila Bela krajina v času flavijske dinastije (69–96) vključena v provinco Panonijo, pred tem je bila po-

drejena vojni upravi v Iliriku.<sup>2</sup> Arheološke najdbe pričajo o postopni romanizaciji podeželskega prostora brez večjih urbanih središč. Na belokranjskem območju se za čas med 1. in 2. stoletjem n. št. domneva obstoj več podeželskih vil (*villae rusticae*). Rezultati geofizikalnih raziskav so to potrdili v Ogušlinu pri Vinici, na Jakovčičevem vrtu v Cerkvišču in Loki pri Črnomlju, vendar jih večina ostaja še neraziskanih.<sup>3</sup> V vasi Otok, v neposredni bliži-

1 V starejši literaturi se omenja tudi kot Otok pri Podzemlju.

2 Dular 1985, 30.

3 Prim. Mason 2012, sl. 2.



Slika 1 Vas Otok (po Atlas okolja).

ni obravnavanega območja raziskav (sl. 2), so bili na vrtu stanovanjske stavbe najdeni temelji stavb. Rimskodobna grobišča poznamo v vasi Otok, v Rosalnicah in Borštku pri Metliki.<sup>4</sup> V vasi Rožanec, blizu Črnomlja, je stal mitrej.<sup>5</sup> V letih 2012 in 2013 so, na podlagi pozitivnih rezultatov predhodnih arheoloških raziskav iz leta 2011, znotraj registrirane enote kulturne dediščine *Otok – Arheološko najdišče Otoško polje* (EŠD 11115),<sup>6</sup> potekala arheološka izkopavanja rimskodobnega lončarskega kompleksa. Raziskovali smo na severnem robu vasi Otok, na poljih izven današnje strnjene pozidave (sl. 1–2). Območje leži na zgornjih aluvialnih terasah reke Kolpe izven poplavno ogroženega območja, zato je bil ta prostor primeren tako za poselitev kot za poljedelstvo.<sup>7</sup> Lončarstvo in transport izdelkov je najverjetneje omogočila in olajšala, v rimskem času plovna reka Kolpa, po kateri je potekala najkrajša povezava med Siscijo in Jadranskim morjem.<sup>8</sup>

4 Mason 2008, 32.

5 Curk 1990, 97.

6 Mason, Pinter 2013, 90–91.

7 Vlašič 2010, 19.

8 Strabon, IV 207 in VII 314.

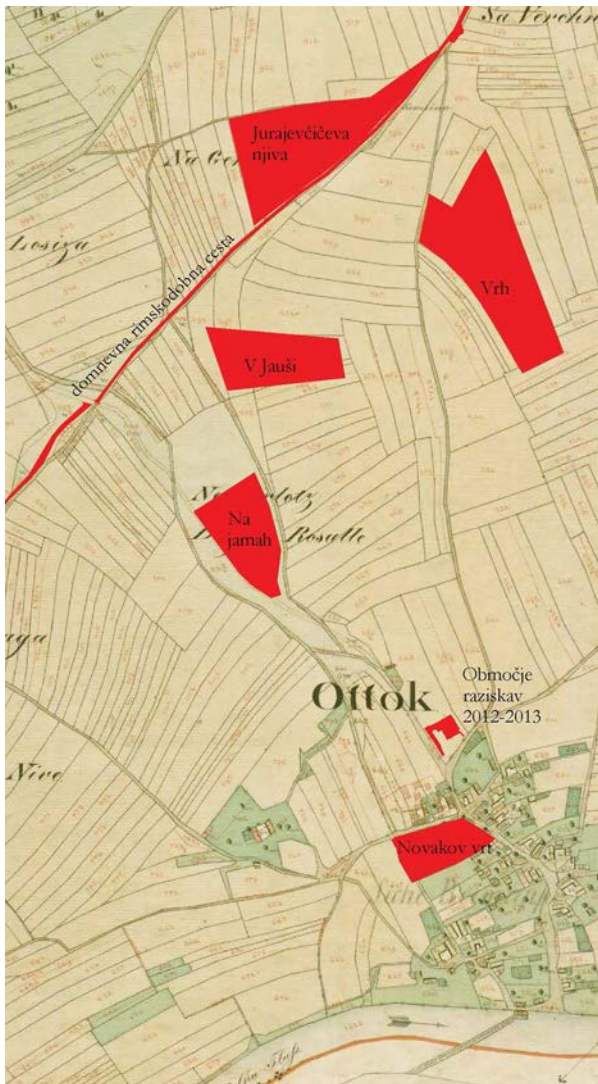
## Zgodovina raziskav na otoku

V vasi in njeni bližnji okolici je znanih več najdišč iz različnih obdobij, večina jih sodi v rimski čas. Arheološke raziskave na tem območju potekajo že od konca 19. stoletja, natančneje od leta 1890, ko so bili najdeni prvi rimskodobni žgani grobovi.<sup>9</sup> Josef Szombathy je pri sondiranjih na Novakovem vrtu (sl. 2) naletel na vodnjaku podobno kamnito strukturo z 0,8 m široko in 1,2 m dolgo ovalno odprtino ter z več kot 1 m debelim zidom, ki je v globino segala več kot 2 m. Notranjost je bila zatrpna z rimskodobnimi najdbami (keramika, živalske kosti, kovina). Kljub temu, da so domačini večkrat naleteli na rimskodobno keramiko, se raziskave niso nadaljevale.<sup>10</sup> Slabo grajene zidove domnevno rimskodobne naselbine, je na Novakovem vrtu med izkopavanji leta 1897 odkril tudi Jernej Pečnik.<sup>11</sup> Ker ni prišlo do pravih izkopavanj, ni uspel ugotoviti ali gre za obzidane grobove ali za ostanke rimskodobne naselbine. Janez Dular predvideva, da se enaka situacija nadaljuje proti

9 Dolenjske Novice VI/24 (15. 12. 1890), št. 24, 192.

10 Dular 1985, 77.

11 Pečnik 1904, 190.



**Slika 2** Ledinska imena obravnavana v tekstu in območje raziskav iz let 2012–2013 (prirejeno po karti Franciscejskega katastra za Kranjsko iz leta 1823–1869 (AS 176 Mapa: N220) (izvedba M. Vinazza).

zahodu in jugu.<sup>12</sup> Glede na raziskave med letoma 2012 in 2013 menimo, da se sledovi naselbine širijo tudi proti severu. Druga lokacija, kjer so bili najdeni sledovi poselitve, je Jurajevčičeva njiva (parc. št. 916, k. o. Primostek; sl. 2). Lastniki so na njej skoraj vsako leto pri oranju naleteli na več metrov dolg z malto vezan kamnit zid, ki je potekal v smeri sever–jug. Drugih najdb niso našli.<sup>13</sup>

V vasi Otok sta bili najdeni tudi dve rimskodobni grobišči,<sup>14</sup> in sicer severno od današnje vasi (ledina *Na Jasi*, *V Javši*, *Vrh*, *Na jamah*) in v vasi (*Novakov*

*vrh*). Leta 1890 so na ledini *Na jamah* (sl. 2) potekala izkopavanja podzemeljskega župnika J. Rometa, tekom katerih so ugotovili, da so bile žare položene ali v preprosto jamo ali v grobno skrinjo, zgrajeno iz kamnitih plošč. Med drugim so odkrili dve oljenki, dva lakrimarija, uhana, steklen okras v podobi kače in tri novce. Tri žgane grobove je Na jamah izkopal tudi Pečnik, najdbe danes hrani Naravoslovni muzej na Dunaju.<sup>15</sup> Grobišče se nadaljuje tudi proti ledini *V Jauši* (sl. 2) in na sosednjo njivo, kjer sta leta 1897 Novak in Pečnik izkopala več grobov.<sup>16</sup> Nadaljevanje grobišča proti vzhodu predstavlja registrirana enota dediščine *Otok - Arheološko najdišče Vrh* (EŠD 11117), kjer je Szombathy leta 1891 našel iz kamnov zidan ovalen grob.<sup>17</sup> Pred drugo svetovno vojno so pri rigolanju istega zemljišča naleteli še na kamnite plošče in ostanke keramičnih posod (sl. 2). Szombathy je leta 1888, v času ko je raziskoval grobišče v Zemlju, v Otoku registriral žgan rimski grob, ki je podrobneje nelokaliziran.<sup>18</sup> Pri izkopavanjih pod vodstvom Alfonsa Müllnerja, ki so potekala na *Furlanovi njivi* (podrobneje nelokalizirani), so odkrili grobove s skromnimi pridatki, ki so bili zaradi intenzivnega kmetovanja močno poškodovani.<sup>19</sup> Najdbe iz grobov, ki jih je izkopal Pečnik na ledini *Na jamah* je Anja Dular opredelila na konec 1. in začetek 2. stoletja n. št.<sup>20</sup>

Leta 2008 je bila v okviru predhodnih arheoloških raziskav jugozahodno od območja naših raziskav v koluvialni plasti najdena prazgodovinska keramika,<sup>21</sup> leta 2011 pa še rimskodobna. Slednja je bila najdena tudi severovzhodno<sup>22</sup> od obravnavanega območja.

Poljska pot, ki poteka od Primostka do Zemlja čez Otoško polje, naj bi bila po ustnem izročilu iz rimskega obdobja.<sup>23</sup> Z naseljem na Otoku povezuje

12 Dular 1985, 77.

13 Dular 1985, 76.

14 Dular 1977, 196.

15 Dolenjske Novice X/24 (15.12. 1894), str. 192; Dular 1985, 77.

16 Pečnik 1904, 190; Knez, Petru 1975, 242.

17 Dular 1977, 196.

18 Dular 1985, 77–78.

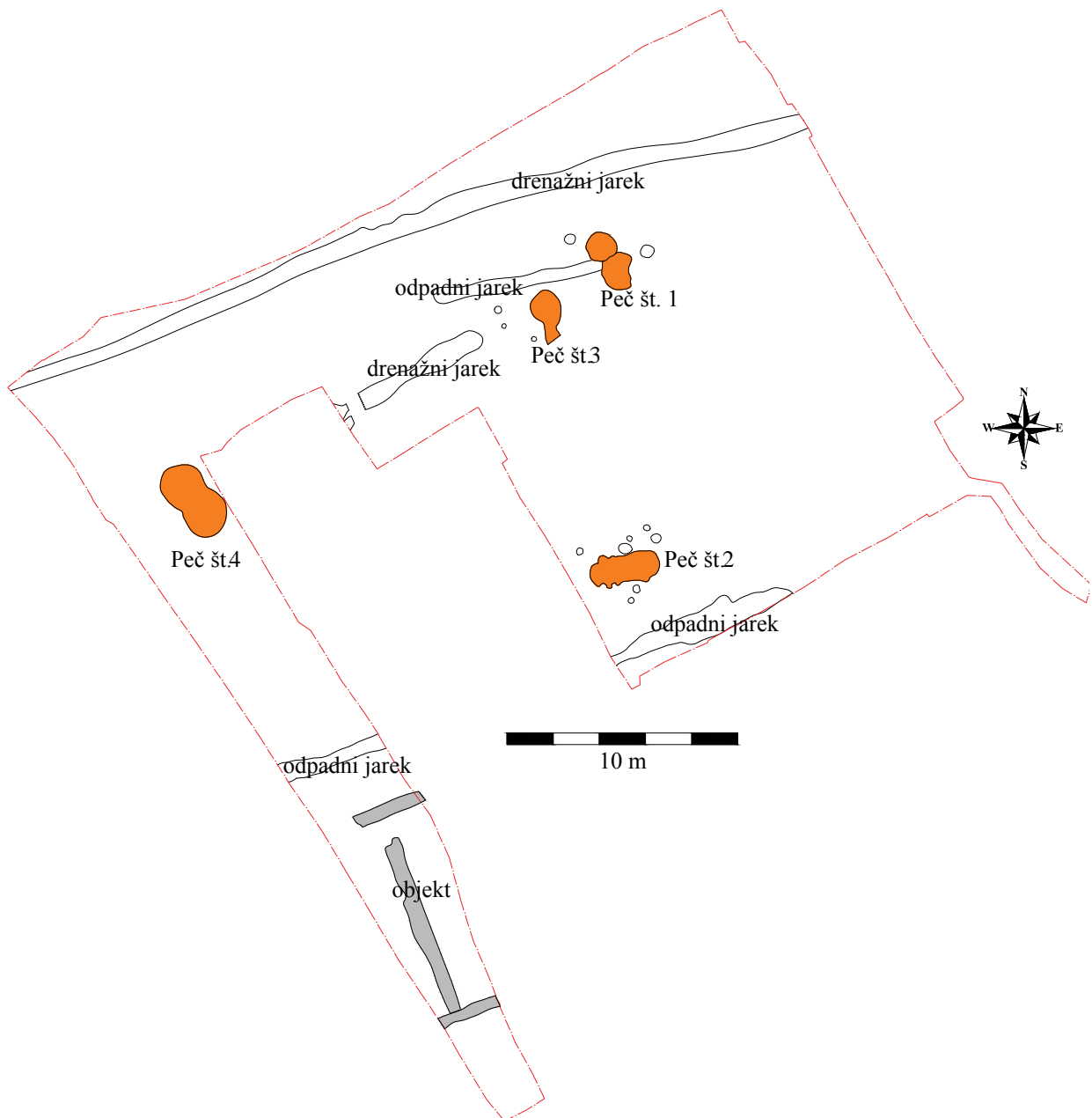
19 Rutar 1891, 194.

20 Dular 1977, 201.

21 Mason, Sakara Sučević 2010, 259.

22 Kovač 2011.

23 Knez, Petru 1975, 243; Dular 1985, 177.



**Slika 3** Lončarski obrat na Otoku, izkopan v letih 2012–2013 (izris M. Vinazza).

Dular<sup>24</sup> žrtvenik, ki je bil najden kot gradbeni material v cerkvi iz 5. do 6. stoletja na Kučarju.<sup>25</sup> Z grobišči iz Otoka pa Balduin Saria povezuje tudi slabo berljiva rimska nagrobnika, ki sta bila vzdana pri vhodu na grajski vrt gradu Gradac.<sup>26</sup>

### Lončaski obrat

Raziskave med letoma 2012 in 2013 so potekale na zemljišču (parc. št. 862/3, k. o. Primostek), ki je na franciscejskem katastru (sl. 2) vrisano kot njivska površina, do takrat pa je bil v uporabi kot travnik, čeprav so domačini večkrat omenjali, da je bila na zemljišču zasajena tudi vinska trta. Izkopno polje, velikosti 715 m<sup>2</sup>, je bilo omejeno na območje predvidene gradnje stanovanjske hiše in njene dovozne poti. Na osnovi izkopanih štirih lončarskih peči, več ognjišč in jam, treh drenažnih jarkov, ruševin lesene

24 Dular 1985, 32.

25 Šašel 1977, 114–117.

26 Dular 1985, 73.

konstrukcije, več stojk in dveh jarkov, zasutih s keramiko lahko sklenemo, da smo odkrili lončarski obrat. V jarkih smo med lončenino izkopal tudi dele deformiranih oziroma ponesrečenih posod. Do deformacij je prišlo zaradi neprimernih pogojev med žganjem. Podobno situacijo poznamo iz Spodnje Hajdine pri Ptujju.<sup>27</sup> Na zahodnem delu izkopnega polja, kjer so bile zgornje plasti že odstranjene s posegi v sodobnem času, smo odkrili temelje zidane stavbe, zgrajene iz lomljenecv. Stavbo na osnovi najdb uvrščamo v 2. in 3. stoletje n. št.

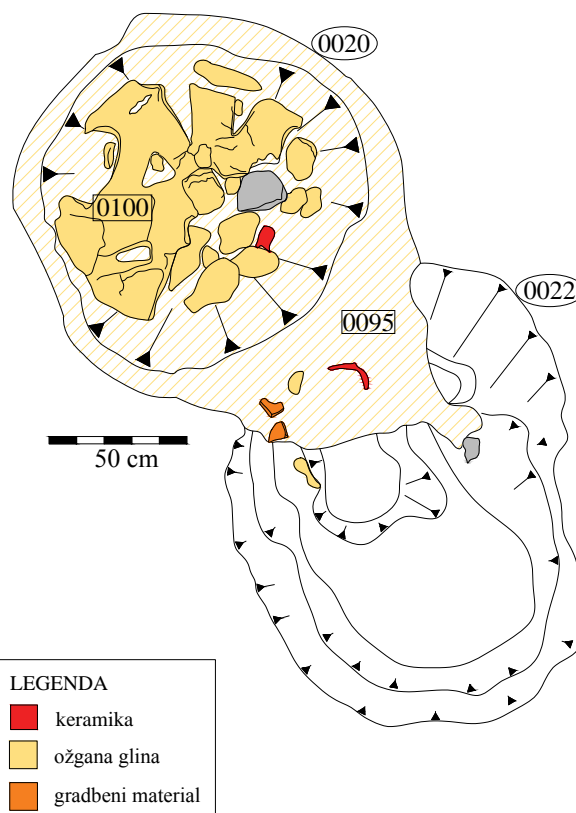
V nadaljevanju predstavljamo lončarski obrat s podarkom na lončarskih pečeh (sl. 3), ki predstavljajo izjemno odkritje na širšem prostoru Bele krajine in Dolenjske.

Gre za štiri lončarske peči za žganje keramike. Večinoma so se ohranile le do višine rešetke. Kot ruševine kupole smo interpretirali od 0,10–0,25 m debelo plast ožgane glin, ki je prekrivala rešetko in obod peči.

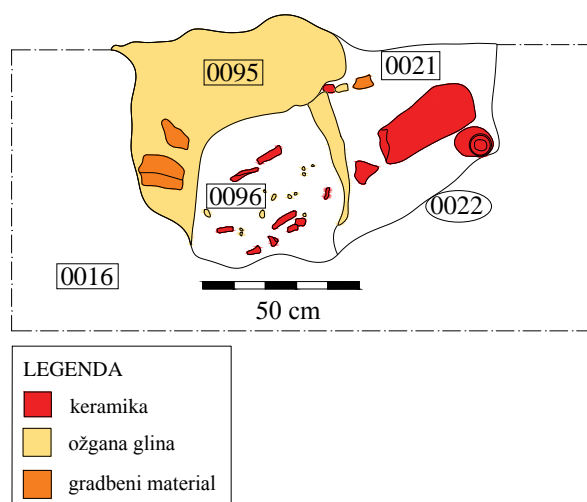
### Peč št. 1

Peč št. 1 je imela okrogel obod (SE 0095) premera 1,33 m, debelina stene je variirala od 0,05 do 0,12 m. Po odstranitvi ruševine kupole smo našli robustno, 0,04 m debelo, okroglo rešetko (SE 0100; sl. 4) s trikotnimi odprtinami, velikosti 0,14 × 0,12 m. Na njej ni bilo predmetov namenjenih žganju. Rešetko je v sredini podpiral ovalni steber, velikosti 0,13 × 0,16 m. Pred pečjo je bil 1,34 × 1,08 × 0,64 m velik manipulativni prostor (SE 0022) iz katerega je v peč vodil kuriščni kanal (SE 0096) banjaste oblike. Manipulativni prostor je bil zapolnjen s številnimi odlomki keramike in ogljem (SE 0021). V tlorisu je bil nepravilne oblike in se kotanjasto zoževal proti dnu. Dno je bilo zamazano z zbito ilovico. V manipulativnem prostoru smo našli celi posodi ter opeke, ki so jih najverjetneje uporabili za konstrukcijo oboka oz. za zatesnitev stranske odprtine v kuriščno-zgorevalni komori (sl. 5, sl. 6). Enaki posodi sta bili izkopani v manipulativnem prostoru peči št. 2 (t. 1: 2). Peč št. 1

je bila dovolj dobro ohranjena, da smo jo zaščitili in utrdili ter predali v nadaljnjo hrambo v Belokranjski muzej v Metliki. (sl. 6), zato smo jo očistili in dokumentirali le do nivoja rešetke in do vhoda v kuriščni kanal.



**Slika 4** Peč št. 1 po odstranitvi ruševine kupole in izpraznitvi manipulativnega prostora. Pogled proti severu (izris M. Vinazza).



**Slika 5** Vhodni del peči št. 1. Pogled proti severu (izris M. Vinazza).

27 Istenič, Tomanič Jevremov 2004, 313, 329.

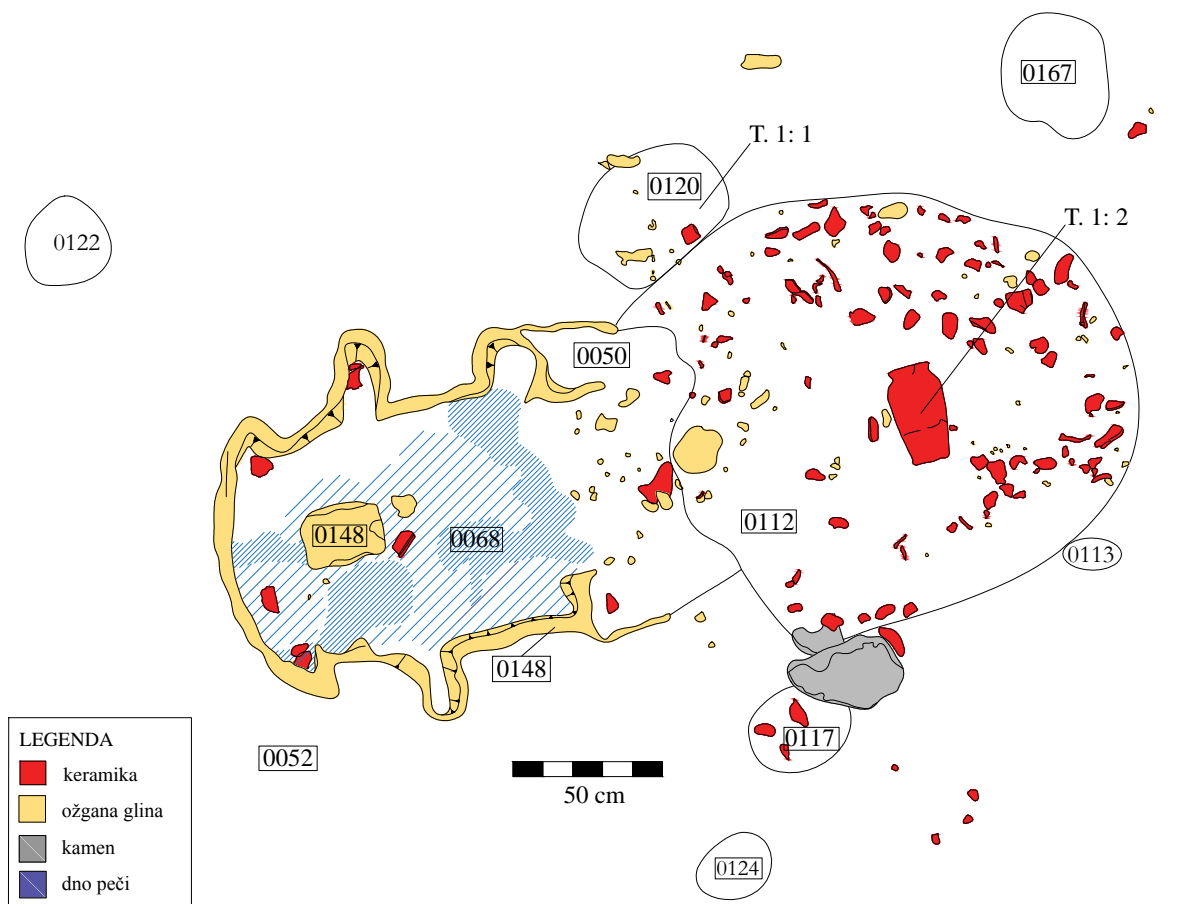


**Slika 6** 3D model peči št. 1 z označenimi osnovnimi deli (izvedba M. Vinazza).

## Peč št. 2

Ruševina peči št. 2 (SE 0050) je bila vidna že na globini 0,30 m. Tekom izkopavanj se je izkazalo, da je bila v tlorisu ovalne oblike, dolga 1,30 m in široka od

0,9 do 1,15 m. Debelina stene oboda oziroma konstrukcije peči je znašala 0,04 m. Ohranil se je spodnji del peči (SE 0068), podporni stebel (SE 0148) in manipulativni prostor (SE 0112/0113). Zgornji del, rešetka s kupolo, ni bil ohranjen. Peč je imela glinen sredinski stebel pravokotne oblike velikosti 0,25 × 0,16 × 0,20 m (SE 0148). Za utrditev so vanj vgradili tudi odlomke keramičnih posod. Pred kurišnim kanalom je bil manipulativni prostor, skoraj polkrožne oblike, velikosti 1,3 × 1,55 × 0,20 m (SE 0112). Zapolnjen je bil večinoma z ogljem in odlomki keramike (SE 0113), med katerimi je bila tudi v celoti ohranjena posoda (*t. 1: 2; sl. 7*). Ob peči so bile najdene štiri stojke (SE 0120/0121, 0122/0123, 0126/0127, 0118/0119), ki jih interpretiramo kot ostanke konstrukcije nadstreška, na kar nakazuje tudi njihova razporeditev okoli peči. Na nivoju stojke SE 0120/0121 je bila najdena sidrasta fibula (*t. 1: 1*), ki sodi v 2. stoletje n. št.<sup>28</sup>



**Slika 7** Peč št. 2 z manipulativnim prostorom in stojkami, ki predstavljajo del nadstreška ob peči. Pogled proti severu (izris M. Vinazza).

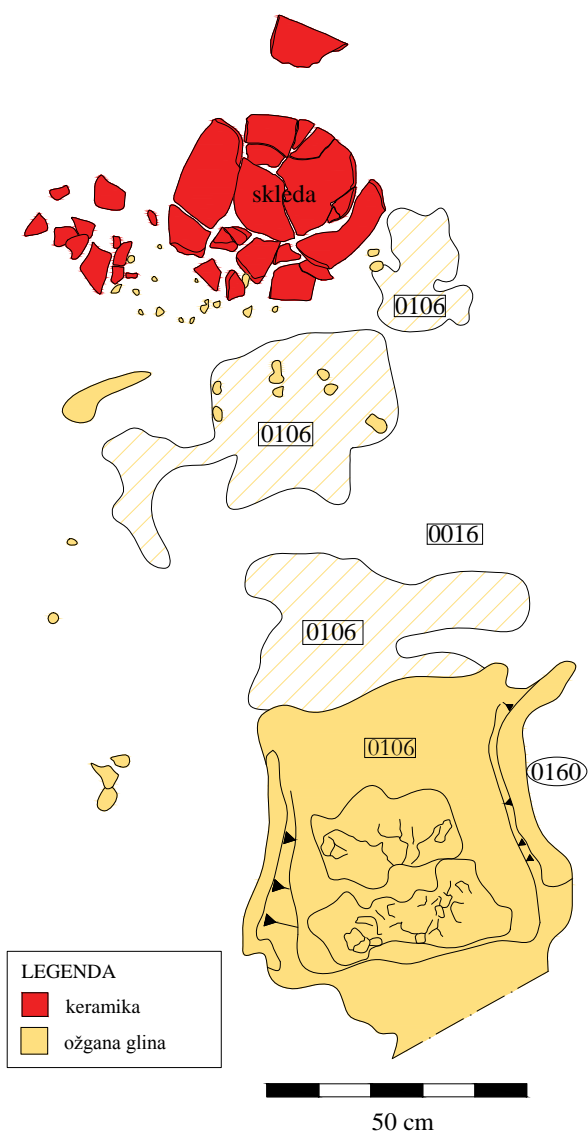
28 Košćević 1980, 25.

**Peč št. 3**

Peč št. 3 (*sl. 8*) je bila najslabše ohranjena med vsemi, saj jo je presekala sodoben vkop za postavitve električnega droga. Ohranjeno je bilo le njeno dno (SE 0106), del stene kurišnega kanala (SE 0159) ter manipulativni prostor (SE 0160/0161), v katerem je bila najdena skleda.

**Peč št. 4**

Največja peč, peč št. 4 (*sl. 9*) je bila v tlorisu ovalne oblike (obod SE 0276), velikosti 1,60 × 1,96 × 1,26 m, s polkrožno oblikovano robustno rešetko (SE 316; *sl. 10*). Rešetka, debeline 0,07 m, je imela pravokotne

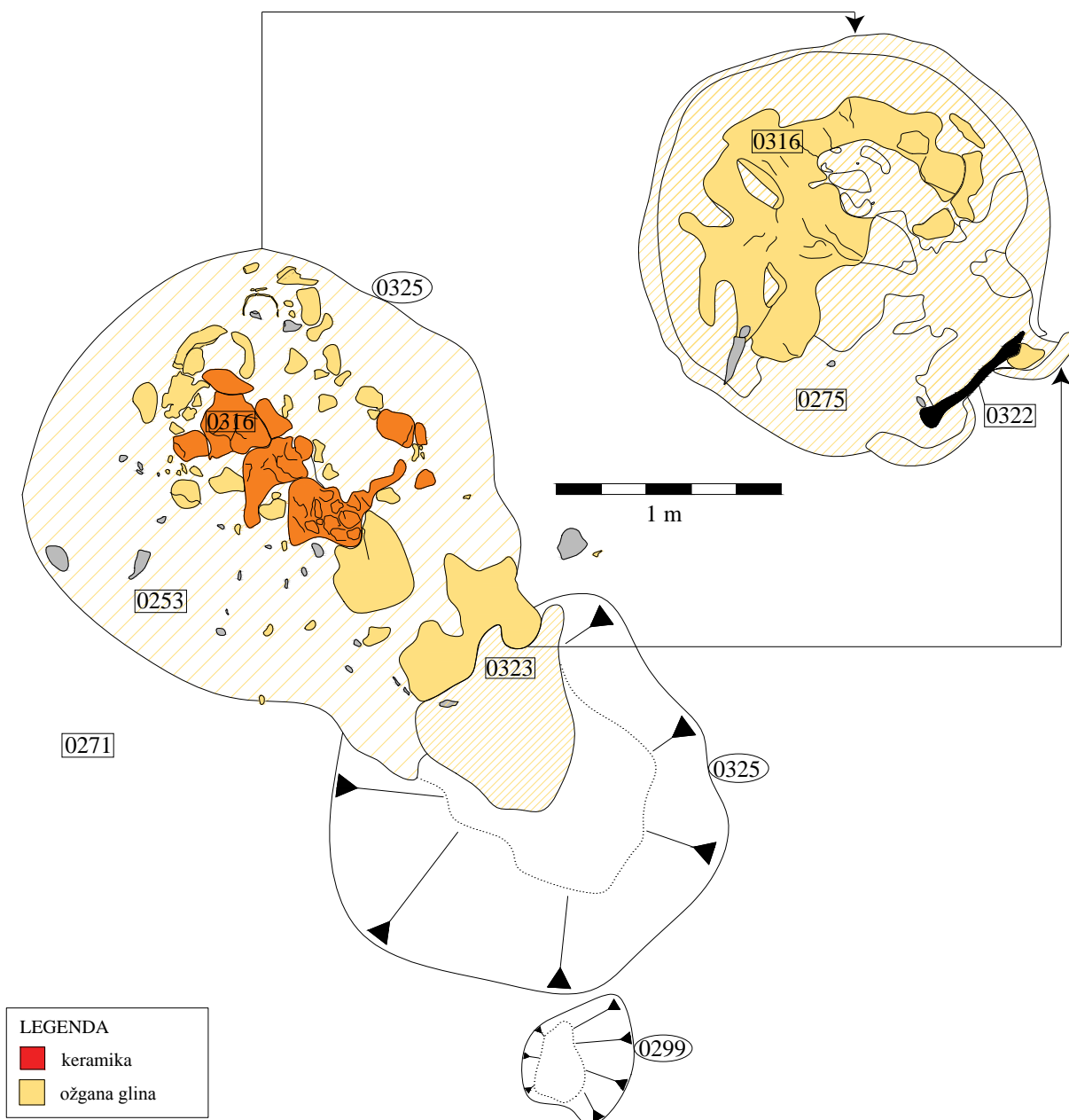


**Slika 8** Delno ohranjena peč št. 3. Pogled proti severu (izris M. Vmažarja).

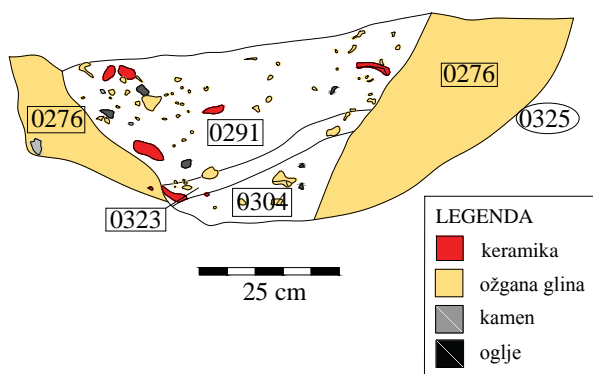


**Slika 9** Peč št. 4 (foto D. Ansec).

in trikotne odprtine, velikosti 0,20 × 0,10 do 0,27 × 0,12 m. Podpirala sta jo glinena sredinska stebra. Manjši okrogel steber je imel premer približno 0,25 m in višino 0,27 m, ovalen je bil velikosti 0,34 × 0,21 × 0,27 m. Dno peči, ki ga je prekrivala tanka plast oglja (SE 0322), je bilo ravno in prežgano, medtem ko je bilo dno manipulativnega prostora (SE 0325) kotanjasto. Kurišni kanal (SE 0323) višine 0,35 m je imel trapezoidni obok (*sl. 10*). Peč je imela manj izrazito ruševinsko plast od peči št. 1. V njej nismo našli posod, zato sklepamo, da je bila pred opustitvijo izpraznjena. Ugotovili smo, da je bil manipulativni prostor (SE 0292) zapolnjen z najmanj dvema zasutjema (SE 0291, 0304; *sl. 11*).



**Slika 10** Peč št. 4. Ruševina kupole (SE 0253) (levo) in situacija po odstranjeni ruševini, ko je vidna rešetka (SE 0316) (desno). Pogled proti severu (izris M. Vinazza).



**Slika 11** Presek vhoda v peč št. 4. Pogled proti severozahodu (risba M. Vinazza).

## Razprava

Otoške peči uvrščamo med manjše dvodelne vertikalne peči. Dvodelne zato, ker rešetka deli peč na spodnji kuriščni in zgornji žgalni del – komoro s kupolo.<sup>29</sup> Kuriščno-zgorevalna komora je bila zaradi boljše toplotne izolacije vkopana v zemljo. Nad njo je bila žgalna komora s kupolo, v katero je skozi predrtine na rešetki prihajal vroč zrak. Predvideva se,

<sup>29</sup> Šimić Kanaet 1996, 155; Cuomo di Caprio 1978–1979, 23; Swan 1984, 23.



da je imela kupola na vrhu odprtino za izpust plinov. Po dognanjih Pascala Duhamela je število dvodelnih peči poskočilo v srednji in pozni bronasti dobi, v starejši železni dobi so izginile in se nato ponovno pojavile v mlajši železni dobi ter ostale v uporabi vse do srednjega veka.<sup>30</sup> Dvodelne vertikalne peči predstavljajo tako tehnološko kot tudi glede na izkoristek toplote in prostora najrazvitejši tip peči. Z ločevanjem prostora za kurjenje od prostora za žganje z izgradnjo rešetke in različnimi sistemi za kroženje zraka, je bila vzpostavljena osnovna „infrastruktura“ za specializacijo žganja posameznih keramičnih oblik predmetov. Najenostavnejše so bile zgrajene iz gline, opeke ali v kombinaciji gline, opeke in kamna.<sup>31</sup> Joachim Henning je dvodelne peči razdelil na tri tipe. Peči podobne otoškimi oziroma peči okroglega tlorisa s podpornim stebrom je uvrstil v tip A, najstarejše peči tega tipa naj bi bile izkopane v grških mestih oziroma kolonijah ob obali Črnega morja (*Histria, Olbia, Nimphaion*). V rimskih provincah so jih v večjem obsegu začeli uporabljati v 2. oz. 3. stoletju n. št., vendar jih le malo poznamo izven območja rimskega cesarstva. Pogosto so jih uporabljali v vzhodnih Karpatih, na območju Černjahovske kulture.<sup>32</sup> Po tipologiji Ninine Cuomo di Caprio tovrstne peči spadajo v tip I/a. Zanj je značilen podporni steber, ki je stal v središču kuriščno-zgorevalne komore. Podpiral je rešetko in ji pomagal nositi težo keramičnih posod, namenjenih žganju.<sup>33</sup> Sredinski podporni stebri so bili različnih oblik, okrogli ali pravokotni in zgrajeni iz različnih gradbenih materialov. Pri manjših pečeh so bili zgrajeni iz gline, pri večjih pa iz kamna ali opeke. Največkrat so bili stebri okrogle oblike, ker je okrogla oblika omogočala boljše kroženje zraka.<sup>34</sup> V Veliki Britaniji je rimske lončarske peči preučevala Vivienne Swan. Ugotovila je, da so se peči s podpornim stebrom prvič pojavile v času zgodnjega rimskega osvajanja, oz. v času vladavine cesarja Klavdija po letu 43 n. št. Gradili so jih lončarji, ki so sledili rimski

vojski s celine ali pa jih je za oskrbo z lončenino pripeljala vojska sama, vendar tovrstne peči niso imele dolgoročnejšega vpliva na nadaljnji razvoj tamkajšnje lončarske tehnologije.<sup>35</sup> Rimskodobne peči za žganje keramike so imele žgalni del peči v celoti nad nivojem tal. Za polnjenje in praznjenje peči so imele urejeno odprtino,<sup>36</sup> za katero ne vemo ali je bila na vrhu ali ob strani.

Otoške peči spadajo med manjše vertikalne, dvodelne peči. Njihov premer variira od 1,33 do 1,55 m. Domneva se, da je bil kuriščni kanal oz. peč običajno obrnjen v smer, od koder je pihal veter, česar za otoške zaradi različne usmeritve vhodov (*sl. 3*) ne moremo trditi. Peči, ne glede na to ali sodijo v čas mlajše železne dobe ali rimski čas, imajo večinoma rešetke z okroglimi predrtinami za kroženje zraka, otoške pa so imele obliko mreže in predrtine trikotne ali pravokotne oblike. Enostavne dvodelne peči so pogoste na najdiščih iz rimske dobe v Sloveniji, npr. na Ptujju, v Celju, Drnovem in Cogetincih.<sup>37</sup> V Drnovem je bil izkopan enak tip peči kot na Otoku, torej s sredinskim podpornim stebrom, vendar z okroglimi predrtinami rešetke.<sup>38</sup> Otoškimi podobno rešetko in vhod, vendar s sredinsko pregrado, ki sega do kurišča, je imela tudi rimskodobna peč iz Strebersdorfa.<sup>39</sup> Najdbe, lončarski obrat in peči, časovno uvrščajo v 1.–2. stoletje n. št., medtem ko je bil zidan objekt po vsej verjetnosti v uporabi še v tretjem stoletju.

### Posode lokalne proizvodnje in posode z aplikacijami kač

Med otoško lončenino najdemo široko paleto oblik, žganih v različnih atmosferah in iz različnih glinenih mas. Med izkopanim gradivom (99.275 odlomkov) je zastopano tako kuhinjsko kot namizno posodje. Prevladujejo vrči, sklede, kadilnice, melnice in čaše. Izpostaviti velja sklede s pečatno okrašenim ostentjem in posode „vazaste“ oziroma valjaste oblike z

30 Duhamel 1978–1979, 55–56.

31 Šimić Kanaet 1996, 165.

32 Henning 1977, 193–194.

33 Cuomo di Caprio 1978–1979, 24–25; Cuomo di Caprio 1988, 142.

34 Šimić Kanaet 1996, 158.

35 Swan 1984, 86.

36 Drews 1978–1979, 44, sl. 26.

37 Horvat 2013, 31–36.

38 Topličanec 2008, 58.

39 Sauer *et al.* 2013, Abb. 7.

izvihanim ustjem (*t. 1: 2*). Tovrstne večje posode je Dularjeva poimenovala vaze, manjše pa čaše.<sup>40</sup> Polkroglaste skledе s prstanastim dnom in s pečati ali kaneluro okrašenim ostenjem posnemajo sigillatno obliko Drag. 37.<sup>41</sup> Primerjave najdbam iz manipulativnih prostorov peči št. 1 in št. 2 najdemo v grobu 9 iz Rosalnic,<sup>42</sup> t. i. čaše pa je Pečnik izkopal tudi na Novakovem vrtu na Otoku ter v grobu 10 v Rosalnicah. Rosalniški grobni inventar je datiran od konca 1. do začetka 2. stoletja,<sup>43</sup> kar sovpada s proizvodnjo v otoškem lončarskem obratu. Tovrstno pivsko posode je razširjeno tudi na širšem dolenjskem prostoru, npr. na grobiščih v Globodolu,<sup>44</sup> Dolenjem Polju, Ruhni vasi in Rojah<sup>45</sup> ter Novemu mestu – Beletov vrt,<sup>46</sup> kjer se je podeželsko, staroselsko prebivalstvo počasi romaniziralo. V 1. in 2. stoletju n. št. je bila še vedno močno prisotna stara tradicija, kar potrjuje v latenski oziroma lokalni tradiciji izdelana lončenina. Za najdbe z otoških grobišč in grobišča iz Rosalnic lahko na osnovi makroskopskega opazovanja keramike in primerjave gradiva domnevamo, da so jih izdelovali prav v obravnavanem lončarskem obratu. Natančnejšo distribucijo izdelkov bomo lahko ugotovili le z nadaljnjimi petrografskimi analizami. Med otoškim gradivom izstopajo številni odlomki keramike, okrašeni z aplikami kač in kuščarja, ki jih uvrščamo v sklop posod, ki je v literaturi znan kot *Schlangengefäße*. Tovrstno okrašene posode raziskovalci povezujejo s čaščenjem različnih kultov, zato jih največkrat interpretirajo kot kultne. Z gotovostjo lahko z določenim bogom ali kultom povežemo le tiste, ki so bile izkopane v svetiščih. V nadaljevanju predstavljamo nekaj kultov, s katerimi se povezujejo aplikacije s kačami in kuščarji.<sup>47</sup> Pogosto so jih namreč našli v svetiščih posvečenih Mitri ali v njihovi bližnji okolici, zato jih raziskovalci najpogosteje povezuje-

jo z mitraizmom, v okviru katerega predstavlja kača simbol zemlje. V kontekst mitraizma ne sodijo posode, na katerih so poleg kač upodobljene tudi želva, žaba ali kuščar. Omenjene živali povezujejo tudi s Sabazijevim kultom. Kača je poleg petelina, koze in želve tudi atribut Merkurja, zaščitnika trgovcev in rokodelcev, ki so ga častili v zahodnih provincah. Najdbe iz Karnunta, Dakije in Zgornje Mezije povezujejo s kultom Libera in Libere. Vámos je zapisal, da je bila objavljena manjšina posod z aplikami omenjenih živali. Izjemi sta Karnuntum in Petoviona. Posamezne primerke poznamo iz najdišč: *Gorsium*, *Vindobona*, *Intervisa*, *Aquincum*, *Brigetio* in *Sala*.<sup>48</sup> S čaščenjem italškega boga Libera, ki so ga častili osvobodenci je povezan arkadni krater okrašen z aplikami kač, najden v *temenos Augusteum* v Naroni.<sup>49</sup> Tovrstno okrašene posode povezujejo tudi s čaščenjem hišnih oziroma privatnih bogov. Za najdišči Kaiseraugst in Augst se predvideva, da so jih po vsej verjetnosti uporabljali skupaj s kadilnicami od 1. stoletja n. št. dalje, in sicer v privatnem kultu znotraj družine, saj kača predstavlja tudi zaščitnico družine in domačega ognjišča.<sup>50</sup> V vzhodni četrti Petovione, današnji Rabelčji vasi, so našli ostanke velikega lončarskega obrata s sedmimi lončarskimi in opekarskimi pečmi, obenem pa tudi posode, okrašene z aplikami v obliki kač. Posode so bile izdelane v poetovionskih delavnicah iz fine prečiščene, oksidacijsko žgane glin, ki po vsej verjetnosti izvirajo iz odpadlega materiala delavnic. Okvirno so datirane v 2. in 3. stoletje n. št.<sup>51</sup> V Petovioni so jih našli tudi v petem<sup>52</sup> in tretjem mitreju na Zgornjem Bregu.<sup>53</sup>

V otoškem lončarskem obratu smo aplikacije kač in odlomke posod, okrašenih s kačami in kuščarji, izkopali v jarkih ob peči št. 1 in št. 2, ki smo jih interpretirali kot jarke z odpadnim gradivom. Odlomek je bil odkrit na nekdanji hodni površini (SE 0055). Skupaj smo našli torej tri odlomke z upodobljenim oziroma apliciranim kuščarjem (*t. 1: 3*), odlomek z vidno

40 Dular 1977, 200.

41 Vidrih Perko 2006, 90–91.

42 Dular 1977, t. 6: 3, 5.

43 Dular 1977, t. 7: 4; t. 16: 11–12.

44 Petru 1969, t. 4: 4; t. 8: 6.

45 Dolenje Polje, Ruhna vas in Roje: Knez 1969, t. 2: 3; t. 4: 2; t. 5: 3.

46 Knez 1992, t. 29: 10 (grob 78).

47 Predstavitev kultov je povzeta po Vámos 2009.

48 Vámos 2009, 538, 544 z nadaljnjo literaturo.

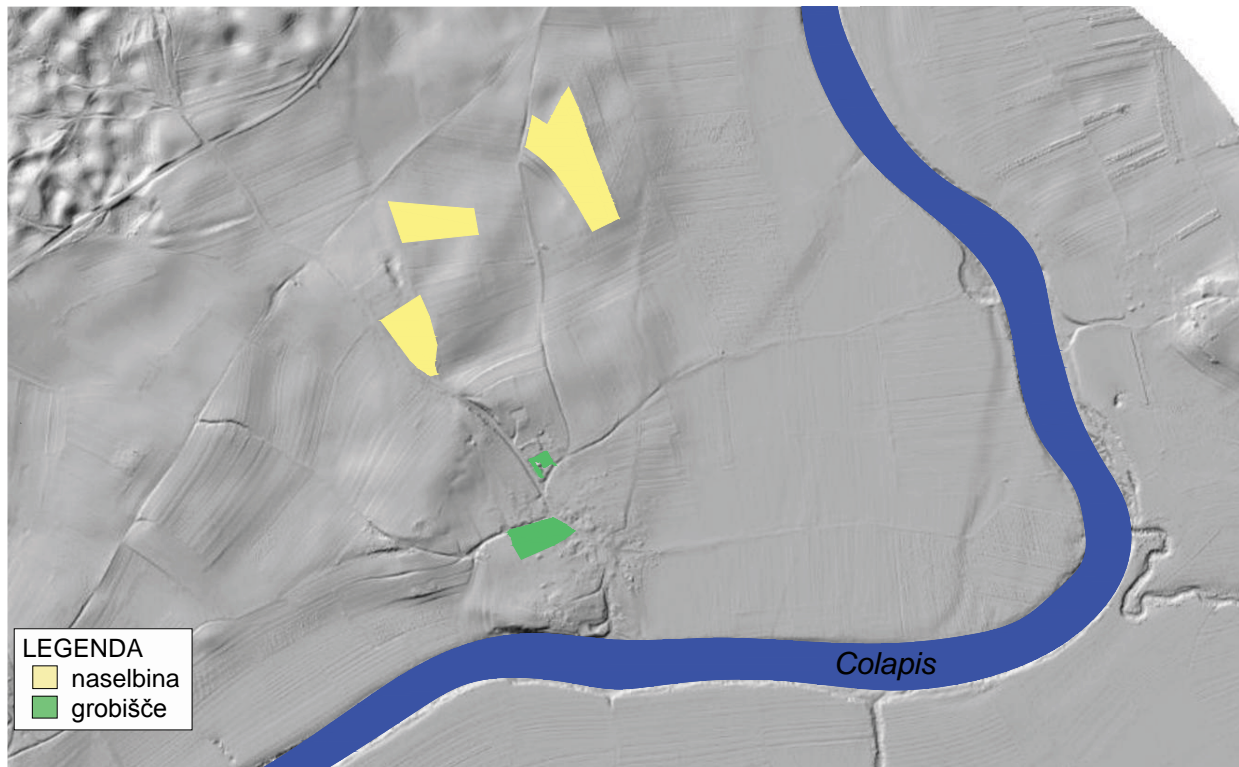
49 Topić 2011, 545–546.

50 Schmid 1991, 68.

51 Horvat, Tomanič Jevremov 2001, 359.

52 Tušek 2001, 198.

53 Žižek 2001, 132.



**Slika 12** Naselbina s pripadajočim grobiščem v rimskem času (izvedba M. Vinařza).

okončino, po vsej verjetnosti kuščarja, in odlomek z okončino in trupom, sedem odlomkov aplik z zavito oblikovanimi kačjimi telesi (*t. 1: 4*) ter odlomek ustja z aplicirano kačo (*t. 1: 5*). Aplikе oziroma telesa kač, v preseku ovalne oblike, so okrašene z različno globokimi, okroglimi odtisi, ki dajejo vtis pikčastega vzorca oziroma lusk. Najgloblje so vtisnjene oči. Glava kače je v primerjavi z glavo kuščarja bolj zašiljena in manj ploščata. Glave so preprosto oblikovane, gobec pa zaprt. Obravnavane najdbe z lončarskega obrata na Otoku ne bodo pomagale razjasniti povezav z različnimi kulti kot so npr. mitraizem, Sabazijev kult, hišni ali morebitni lokalni kulti. V že omenjenem mitreju iz Rožanca, ki je od Otoka oddaljen ca. 10 km zračne črte, so leta 1982 potekala manjša arheološka sondiranja.<sup>54</sup> Med izkopanim keramičnim gradivom iz mitreja ni bilo odkritih tovrstnih aplik. V otoškem primeru, kjer smo izkopali večje število različno okrašenih kadilnic in več aplik ter s kuščarji in kačo apliciranih odlomkov posod, je najverjetnejša povezava s kultom domače oziroma privatne sfere.<sup>55</sup> Latenske oblike posod kažejo na lokalno tradicijo oblikovanja

in proizvodnje keramike v lončarskem obratu iz 1. in 2. stoletja n. št., ki je deloval ob rimskem naselju. Da gre tukaj za širši poselitveno območje, kažejo izsledki historične analize, s pomočjo katere lahko rekonstruiramo takratno situacijo na Otoku (*sl. 12*). Rimska naselbina se je torej razprostirala na območju Novakovega vrta, kjer gre najverjetneje za takšne objekte, kot smo jih izkopali v zahodnem delu območja raziskav v letih 2012 in 2013, ki pa jih pa na tem mestu ne obravnavamo. Nadaljuje se severno od Novakovega vrta, kjer je stal lončarski obrat. Še severneje pa se je razprostiralo precej veliko grobišče.

Gospodarski vpliv in pomen naselbine znotraj širšega območja bomo lahko razumeli šele z nadaljnjimi raziskavami, najprej v smislu ovrednotenja celotnega keramičnega korpusa z Otoka tako s tipološkega, kronološkega kot tudi kemično mineraloškega vidika ter s primerjavo tega z gradivom s širšega območja Bele krajine, Dolenjske in bližnjih najdišč na Hrvaškem, ki ležijo ob takrat plovni reki Kolpi (*Colapis*). Nadaljnje arheološke raziskave ob bodočih različnih gradbenih in infrastrukturnih posegih na Otoku bodo nedvomno razjasnile prostorsko organiziranost.

54 Curk 1990, 97.

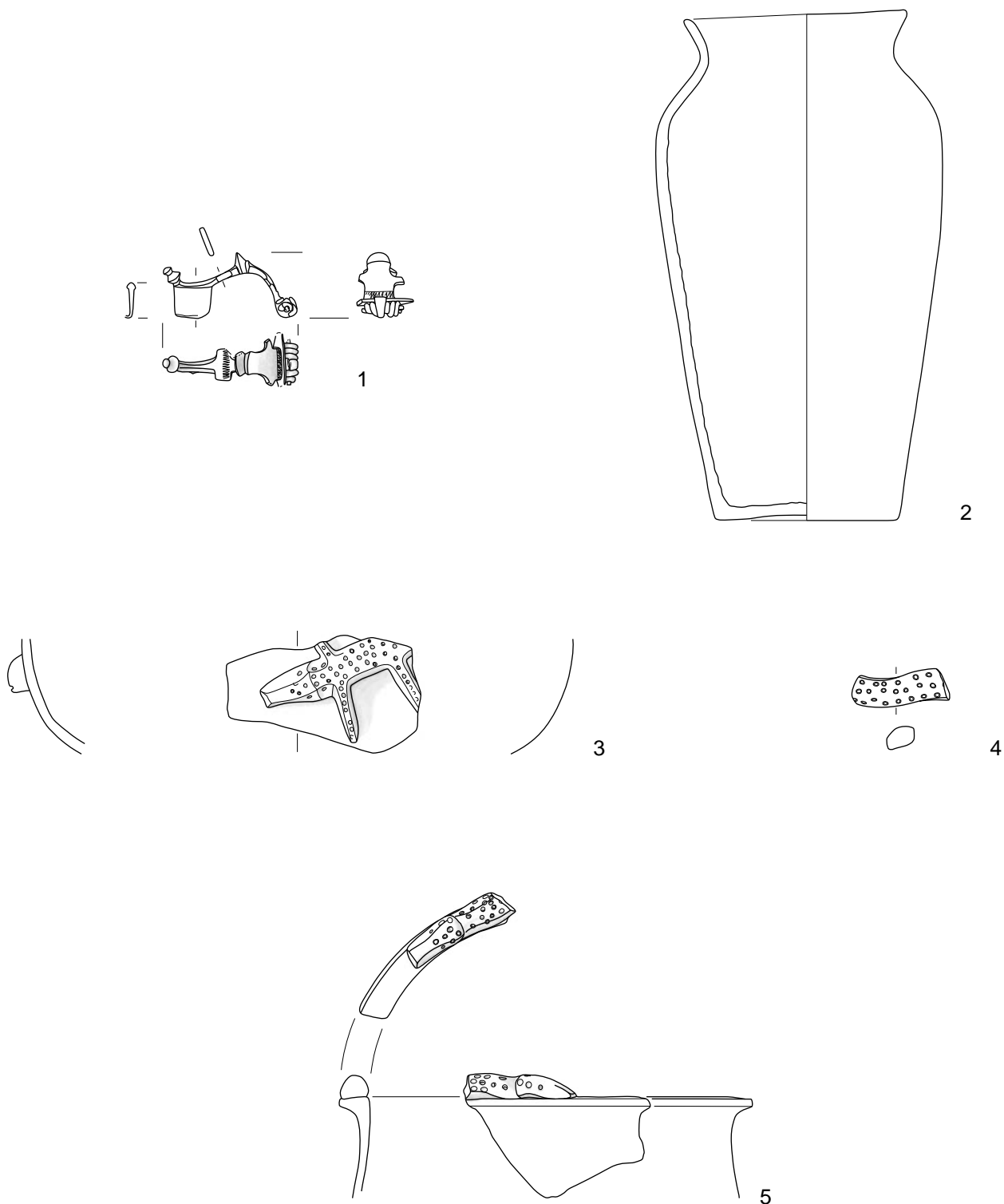
55 Glej opombo 47.

## Katalog<sup>56</sup>

1. Bronasta sidrasta fibula brez ohranjene igle. Prehod iz peresovine na samostrel je okrašen s tremo-lirnimi vrezi, prav tako tudi lok. Noga ima J preseki. Mere: dolžina 4 cm.
2. Posoda valjaste oziroma vazaste oblike z ravnim dnom, izvihanim ustjem in neizrazitim prehodom ustja v trup. Sestava: fino prečiščena glina, površina: prašnata, barva rozasto siva (7,5 YR 6/2) do siva (10 YR 6/1). Mere: višina 25 cm, premer ustja 11 cm.
3. Okrašen odlomek posode. Sestava: zelo fino prečiščena glina, površina gladka in prašnata; okras: aplikacija z motivom kuščarja z odtisi; barva: zelo blede rjava (10 YR 8/3). Mere: ohr. dolžina 9,5 cm; širina 3,4 × 6,5 cm.
4. Odlomek okrašene posode. Sestava: zelo fino prečiščena glina; površina gladka; okras: aplikacija z motivom kuščarja s plitvimi odtisi; barva: temno siva (2.5 Y 4/1). Mere: ohr. velikost 5,0 × 1,6 cm.
5. Odlomek ustja vrča. Sestava: zelo fino prečiščena glina, površina gladka in prašnata; okras: aplikacija z motivom kuščarja, okrašena z odtisi; barva: zelo blede rjava (10 YR 8/4). Mere: ohr. dolžina 9,2 cm, ohr. širina 4,8 × 3 cm.

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<sup>56</sup> Tehnologija keramike je bila izdelana po M. Horvat (1999).



**Tabla 1** Izbor najdb iz najdišča Otok. 1 M 1:2; 2–5 M 1:3. 1 bron, 2–5 keramika (izris S. Ohman).

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## Dokumentiranje poškodb žledoloma – naselbina Ivanjk, Šmartno v Tuhinjski dolini

The documentation of damages due to frost breaking trees –  
the settlement of Ivanjk, Šmartno in Tuhinj valley, Slovenia

Maja Jerala, Dimitrij Mlekuž, Blaž Orehek

**Izvleček:** V letu 2014 je bila večina Slovenije poškodovana zaradi posledic žledoloma, kar se je odrazilo tudi na poškodbah kulturne dediščine. Eno od takih najdišč predstavlja naselbina Ivanjk nad Šmartnem pri Cerkljah, ki je bilo deloma poškodovano z izrivanimi panji podrtih dreves, najbolj pa z vsekano vlečno potjo na severni strani pobočja. Na podlagi zračnega laserskega skeniranja je bil izdelan digitalni model terena, na katerem smo prepoznali 56 teras nepravilne oblike, ki se prilagajajo terenu ter 7 gomil, ki so od naselbine ločene s kratkim jarkom. Terasa na vrhu so bolj izrazite, sam vrh pa je izravnano v teraso skoraj pravokotne oblike. Spodnje ležeče terase so ožje in bolj nepravilnih oblik, na podlagi česar bi lahko sklepali, da je bil spodnji del kasnejši. Ta hipoteza je bila potrjena z analizo drobnih najdb, saj odlomki posod, najdenih na vrhu platoja, pripadajo prazgodovinskemu obdobju. Vlečna pot je na spodnjem delu presekala objekt z materialom, ki ga lahko opredelimo v poznolatsko/zgodnjerimsko obdobje, ki pa je sicer za prostor Gorenjske zelo slabo poznano. Izvedene raziskave začetek naselbine torej postavljajo na vrh vzpetine in časovno uvrščajo v čas starejše železne dobe s pripadajočim gomilnim grobiščem na vzhodnem grebenu, ki so ga morda uporabljali tudi še v poznem latenu. V tem času oziroma v zgodnjem rimskem obdobju se naselbina razširi nižje po terasah, temu obdobju pa pripada tudi objekt izven naselbine, ki je morda predstavljal lončarsko delavnico.

**Ključne besede:** žledolom, Gorenjska, Ivanjk, lidar, gradišče, latenska doba, zgodnjerimska doba

**Abstract:** In the beginning of 2014 the majority of Slovenia's forest was damaged due to the ice storm which resulted in extensive damages to the archaeological heritage. One of damaged sites is Ivanjk above Šmartno in the Tuhinj valley, Gorenjska, by treefalls and new forrest road built to clear the damage done. Airborne laser scanning (ALS) of the area revealed 56 settlement terraces mostly on the northern, eastern and western slope. Terraces become more prominent near the summit of the hill, which is artificialy leveled into a large plateau. Lower, less prominent terraces are obvious latter, which is also proved by the small finds, mainly potter. Destruction by new forrest road in the lower part of the settlement revealed material dated to late La Tene/Early roman period, a period very poorly know in this area. Settlement summit, was obviously settled in the early Iron Age and has been in use until La Tene, Barrows on the ridge east of settlement can be associated with early Iron Age settlement. In the La tene period, the settlement expanded on the lower terraces, outside the settlement where evidence of pottery workshop was found.

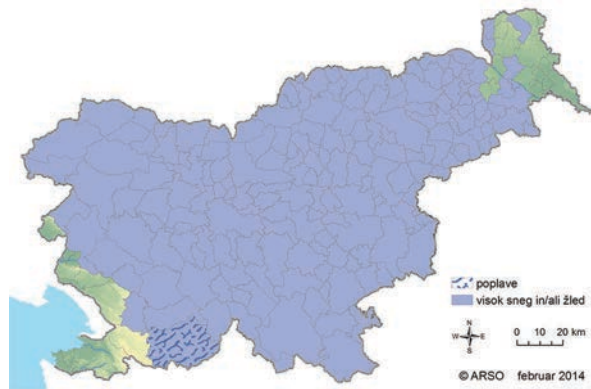
**Key words:** ice storm, Gorenjska, Ivanjk, hillfort, La Tene period, Early Roman period

### Uvod

Konec januarja in začetek februarja 2014 je Slovenija zaradi nizkih temperatur in dežja prizadel uničujoč žled, ki je poškodoval večji del Slovenije, predvsem pa območje Primorske in Gorenjske.<sup>1</sup> Gre za

rekordne vrednosti padavin in nizkih temperatur v zadnjih 50 letih. Večja količina dežja, ki je marsikje zmrzoval v stiku s tlemi in na objektih, je privedla do obsežnega žledoloma. Izjemni gmotni škodi sta se izognila le skrajni jugozahod in severovzhod (*sl. 1*), s tem pa se žled v letu 2014 uvršča med redke posamezne vremenske dogodke s takim obsegom

1 Poročilo urada za meteorologijo 2014.

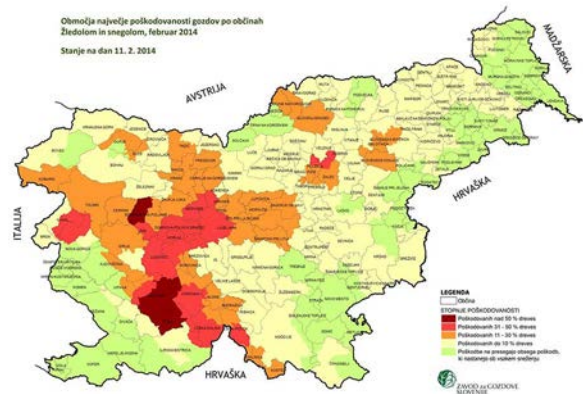


**Slika 1** Karta občin z gmotno škodo zaradi visokega snega in žleda (vijolično) in poplav (modra šrafjura) v obdobju od 30. januarja do 3. februarja 2014. Vir podatkov: Dnevno-informativni bilten Uprave RS za zaščito in reševanje (vir: Poročilo urada za meteorologijo 2014).

poškodb, ki ga lahko uvrstimo na seznam največjih naravnih katastrof v Sloveniji.<sup>2</sup>

Načrt sanacije posledic žledoloma, ki ga je pripravil Zavod za gozdove Slovenije, je zajel 51 % površine gozdov Slovenije in zajema površine, kjer je bila potrebna sanitarna sečnja ter ukrepi za obnovo in revitalizacijo poškodovanih gozdov. Najbolj so bili poškodovani gorenjski, goriški, osrednjeslovenski in notranjski gozdovi (sl. 2).

Glede ukrepov in aktivnosti za sanacijo posledic žledoloma je bil sprejet tudi t. i. interventni zakon, ki je uredil področje financiranja, sanacijo, izvedbo sanacijskih ukrepov.<sup>3</sup> V okviru sklepa Republike Slovenije glede ocenjene neposredne škode je bila ocenjena splošna gmotna škoda, med drugim tudi na stvareh in stavbah kulturne dediščine, s katerim je iz naslova pomoči, ki je določena z Zakonom o odpravi posledic naravnih nesreč, zagotovila sredstva za odpravo poškodb.<sup>4</sup> V okviru Programa odprave posledic poplav, visokega snega in žleda med 30. januarjem in 27. februarjem 2014 na stvareh za obdobje 2015–2020 z izhodišči za izvedbo v letu 2015 so bile opredeljene dosedanje aktivnosti in program posledice na stvareh. Na tej osnovi je Ministrstvo za kulturo Zavodu za varstvo kulturne dediščine v izvedbo naročilo pregled in dokumentiranje škode, nastale na arheoloških



**Slika 2** Pregledna karta največje poškodovanosti gozdov po občinah (po [www.mkgp.gov.si](http://www.mkgp.gov.si), dne 11. 2. 2014).

lokacijah na območju ZVKDS OE Kranj in ZVKDS OE Nova Gorica. Ogled in dokumentiranje škode, nastale na območju OE Kranj, je bilo opravljeno v marcu 2014, v okviru katerega je bilo opredeljenih 25 lokacij, ki večinoma predstavljajo poznoantična naselja, gomilna grobišča in razvaline gradov v gozdovih. Pregled je bil omejen na lokacije pod 900 m nadmorske višine, ker žled ni segal višje.<sup>5</sup> Na podlagi opravljenega poročila je Ministrstvo za kulturo Centru za preventivno arheologijo naročilo arheološke raziskave v obliki arheološkega dokumentiranja posledic žledoloma na območjih registriranih arheoloških najdišč na območju OE Nova Gorica in Kranj. Na območju OE Kranj je bilo za nadaljnje raziskave določenih 6 enot, od katerih v tem prispevku predstavljamo naselbino Ivanjk pri Šmartnem v Tuhinjski dolini.

## Naselbina Ivanjk

Naselbina Ivanjk (tudi Ivank)<sup>6</sup> leži na visokem grebenu nad Šmartnim v Tuhinjski dolini in južno od pomembnega prometnega prehoda skozi Tuhinjsko dolino (sl. 3). Greben je na severnem, severozahodnem in jugovzhodnem pobočju preoblikovan s približno 50 antropogenimi naselbinskimi terasami, ki so bile

2 Poročilo urada za meteorologijo 2014.

3 Žledolom 2014.

4 Sklep vlade glede ocene škode 2014.

5 Sagadin 2014.

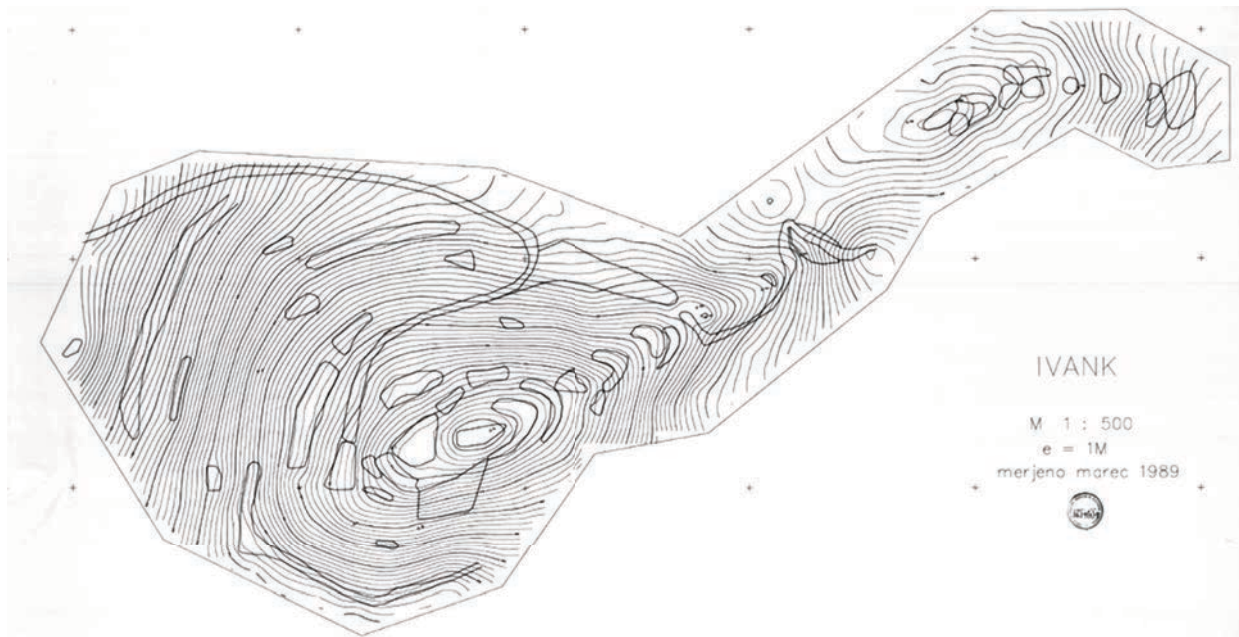
6 Šmartno v Tuhinju – naselbina Ivanjk, EŠD 11351; 682 m.n.v.). Površina območja EŠD znaša skoraj 21 ha.



Slika 3 Lokacija Ivanjka pri Šmartnem (po Podatki državnega lidarskega snemanja, obdelava podatkov D. Mlekuž).



Slika 4 Pogled na Šmartno pri Tuhinju, vrh naselbine Ivanjka in prehod proti vzhodu (po Podatki državnega lidarskega snemanja, obdelava podatkov D. Mlekuž).



**Slika 5** Geodetski načrt naselbine Ivanjk iz leta 1989.

poseljene v prazgodovini in pozni antiki.<sup>7</sup> Pobočje najbolj strmo pada proti Tuhinjski dolini oziroma naselju Šmartno, greben pa se bolj položno nadaljuje proti Pšajnovici in Zlatemu polju (sl. 4). Območje hriba Ivanjk je danes v celoti poraslo z gozdom. Na njegovem južnem robu poteka prometna povezava proti Zlatemu polju in dolini Črnega grabna, na njegovi severni strani pa se v smeri vzhod-zahod razteza dolina ob potokih Nevljica in Tuhinjščica, kjer je predvsem ob meandrastem toku Nevljice površje terasasto preoblikovano. V dolini Nevljice in Tuhinjščice ter v dolinah ob njenih hudourniških pritokih so glavne obdelovalne površine, ki so jih verjetno izkoriščali tudi v preteklosti.

Na sami naselbini Ivanjk do sedaj ni bilo arheoloških raziskav, ki bi podrobneje opredelile značaj in datacijo naselbine. V letu 1989 je bil opravljen le geodetski posnetek z namenom lociranja antropogenih teras (sl. 5).

Pri analizi naselbine se zato lahko naslonimo na historično analizo oziroma na predhodne podatke o arheološki poselitvi širšega prostora. Domnevno v okolici Šmartnega v Tuhinjski dolini so bile najdene bronasta in steklena zapestnica ter bronasta fibula srednjelatenske sheme, ki se zdaj nahajajo v Sadni-

karjevi zbirki.<sup>8</sup> Ob severnem vznožju hriba Ivanjk, na t. i. Rosovih grobljah, so okoli leta 1880 odkrili poznoantični mozaik,<sup>9</sup> omenjajo pa se tudi najdbe sarkofagov in drugih antičnih ostankov.<sup>10</sup> Na tej lokaciji se predvideva poznoantična vila ali starokrščanska cerkev, na holocenski rečni terasi zahodno od nje pa antična naselbina.<sup>11</sup> Posamezne naključne antične najdbe ob gradbenih delih v naselju Sidol kažejo na antično naselbino,<sup>12</sup> poročajo pa tudi o najdbi bronastega kipca rimskega božanstva na tem območju.<sup>13</sup> Na območju stare šole v naselju Šmartno se predvideva prazgodovinsko in rimsko žarno grobišče, na kar kažejo naključne najdbe<sup>14</sup> in najdba rimskega žganega groba z oljenkama ob gradnji šole.<sup>15</sup> Zgodnj srednjeveška poselitev se predvideva na območju zaselka Selišče, ob farni cerkvi sv. Martina pa zgodnj srednjeveško grobišče.<sup>16</sup> Prazgodovinska gradišča naj bi bila še na Malem Rakitovcu in na Gabrovnici, ki ležita jugovzhodno od Ivanjka, poznoan-

7 RKD.

8 Gabrovec 1965, 103.

9 ANSL 1975, 203.

10 RKD.

11 RKD.

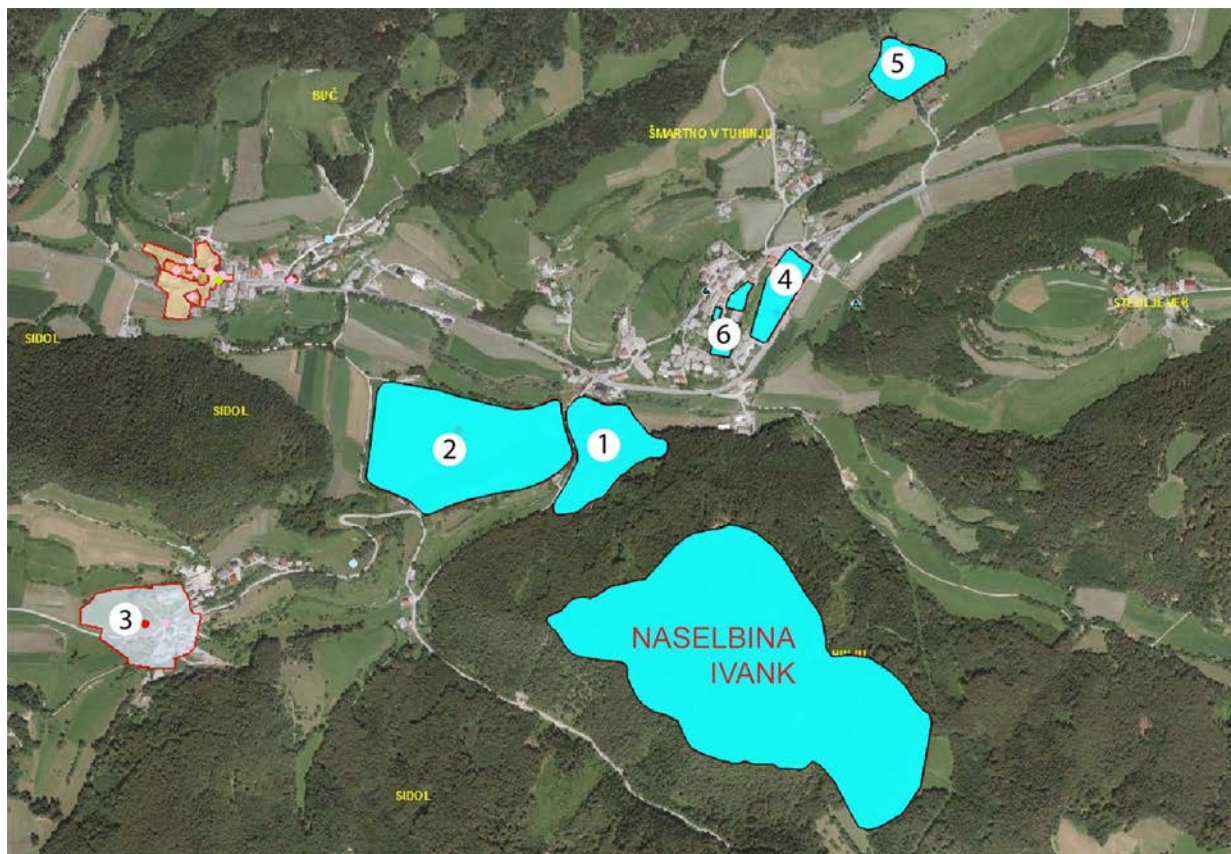
12 RKD.

13 ANSL 1975, 203.

14 RKD.

15 ANSL 1975, 203.

16 RKD.



**Slika 6** Lokacije bližnjih najdišč (po RKD).

tična naselbina pa na Gradišču v Tuhinju, severno od Šmartnega<sup>17</sup> (sl. 6).

## Metodologija raziskave

Zaradi obsežnosti zaščitene območja smo prostor raziskave zamejili na zgornji del grebena do višine, kjer se še pojavljajo terase (sl. 7). Tekom dokumentiranja poškodb po žledolomu smo podrobno dokumentirali vse poškodbe, ki so nastale zaradi izruvanega drevja na območjih teras in v njihovi bližini. Poškodbe, ki so bile zaradi odstranitve debla zakrite, smo samo prostorsko umestili, poškodbe na strmih pobočjih zunaj teras nismo pregledovali. Zelo poškodovano je bilo zlasti severno pobočje hriba, kjer naj še posebej izpostavimo vsekano cesto zaradi vlake, ki je poškodovala objekt z debelo plastjo žganine in arheološkimi najdbami (sl. 7, sl. 8). Veliko poškodb smo zasledili tudi na območju s terasami na jugovzhodu,

na splošno pa v poškodbah panjev nismo nikjer odkrili arheoloških struktur ali plasti z več najdbami. Nekaj keramičnih najdb se je v poškodbah izruvanih panjev pojavljalo le na severozahodnem pobočju, zanimivo pa je tudi, da na samem grebenu in na terasah proti jugovzhodu ni bilo najdb, kjer so izruvana drevesa poškodovala predvsem plast gozdne ruše in ponekod izruvala bloke matične kamnine.

Po žledolomu so v pobočje, na nižji legi kot so najbolj spodnje terase, na severovzhodni strani grebena, v pobočje tudi več kot 3 m globoko vsekali novo gozdno pot, ki je dolga približno 770 m. V najbolj zahodnem delu nove gozdne poti smo dokumentirali presek v treh delih, in sicer na mestih, kjer so se pojavljale najdbe, kulturne plasti in jame.<sup>18</sup>

Na vzhodnem delu, kjer se predvideva gomilno grobišče, smo opravili terenski pregled, vendar nismo odkrili poškodb, ki bi poškodovale podpovršje (sl. 10). Zračno lasersko skeniranje območja razkriva obseg naselbine ter terasasto preoblikovano površje. Po-

17 ANSL 1975, 203.

18 Lokacije 13, 44 in 45.

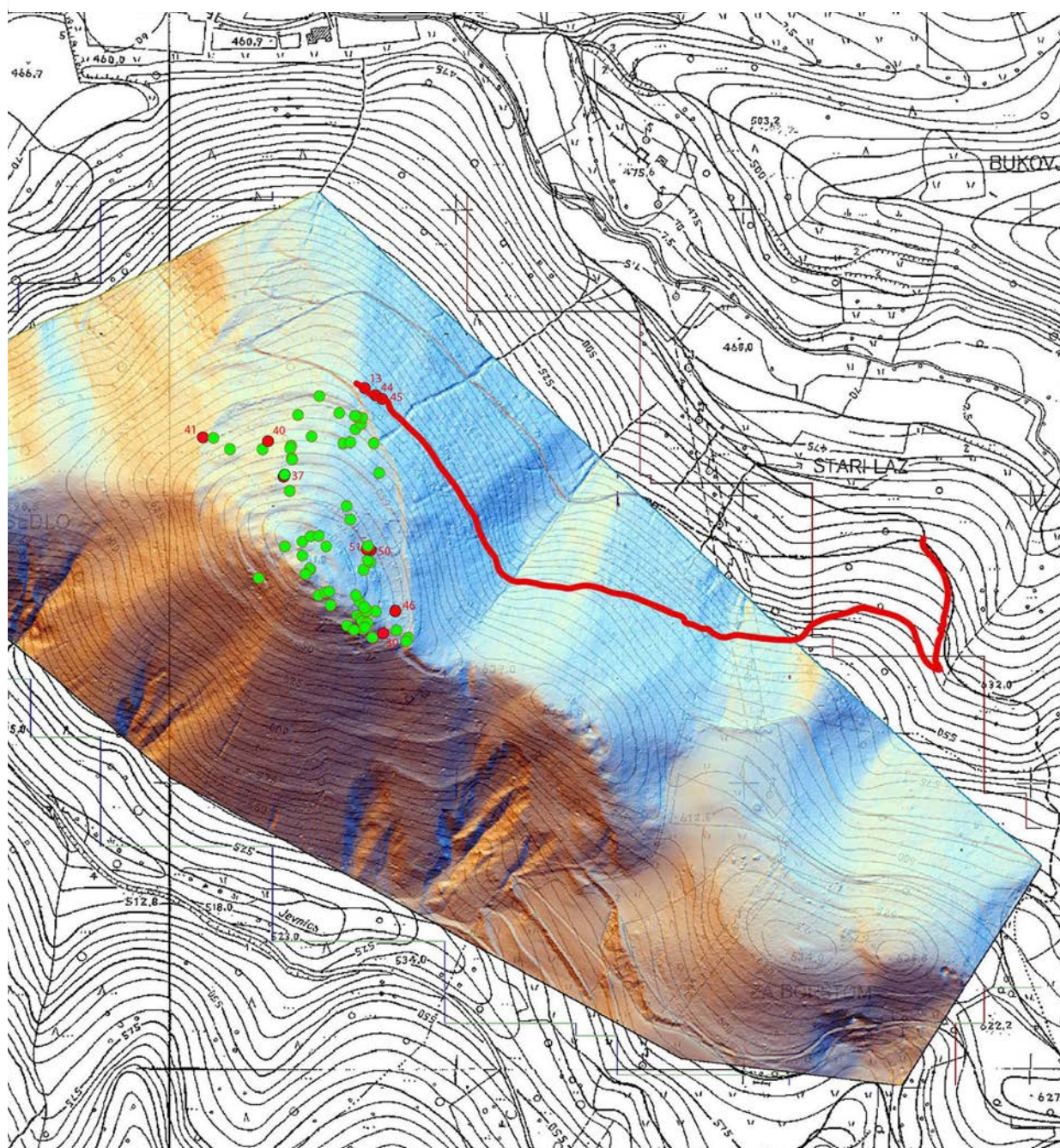
snetek je potrdil naša terenska opazanja o zamejitvi naselbine, in postavlja objekt z naselbinskimi ostanki izven ožjega območja naselbine.

### Analiza visokoločljivih topografskih podatkov zračnega laserskega skeniranja

Daljinsko zaznavanje je nabor metod s katerimi lahko od daleč – običajno iz zraka – opazujemo površje

Zemlje. Sem uvrščamo aerofotografijo, satelitske posnetke, lasersko snemanje, termično snemanje ... Opazovanja iz zraka so hiter, sistematičen, neinvaziven in relativno cenen način pridobivanja podatkov o arheoloških najdiščih in zgodovini krajine.

V Sloveniji, kjer je večina površja prkritega s vegetacijo se za izredno uspešno metodo izkazalo je lasersko skeniranje površja. Besedna zveza lasersko skeniranje opisuje vsako tehnologijo, ki natančno in pogosto meri razdaljo od naprave do cilja s pomočjo



**Slika 7** Lokacije poškodb in trasa nove gozdne poti na najdišču Ivanjke; rdeče označene točke predstavljajo arheološko pozitivne lokacije, zeleno označene predstavljajo arheološko negativne lokacije (obdelava podatkov zračnega laserskega skeniranja D. Mlekuž).



**Slika 8** Severno pobočje hriba Ivanjk z novo gozdno vlako (foto M. Jerala).



**Slika 10** Območje ozkega vzhodnega grebena (foto M. Jerala).



**Slika 9** Presek nove gozdne vlake (lokacija 44 in 45) z žganinsko plastjo (foto M. Jerala).

laserja. Te meritve zbere kot množico koordinat, ali oblak točk, iz katerega je moč pridobiti podatke o obliki predmeta, ki ga skaniramo.

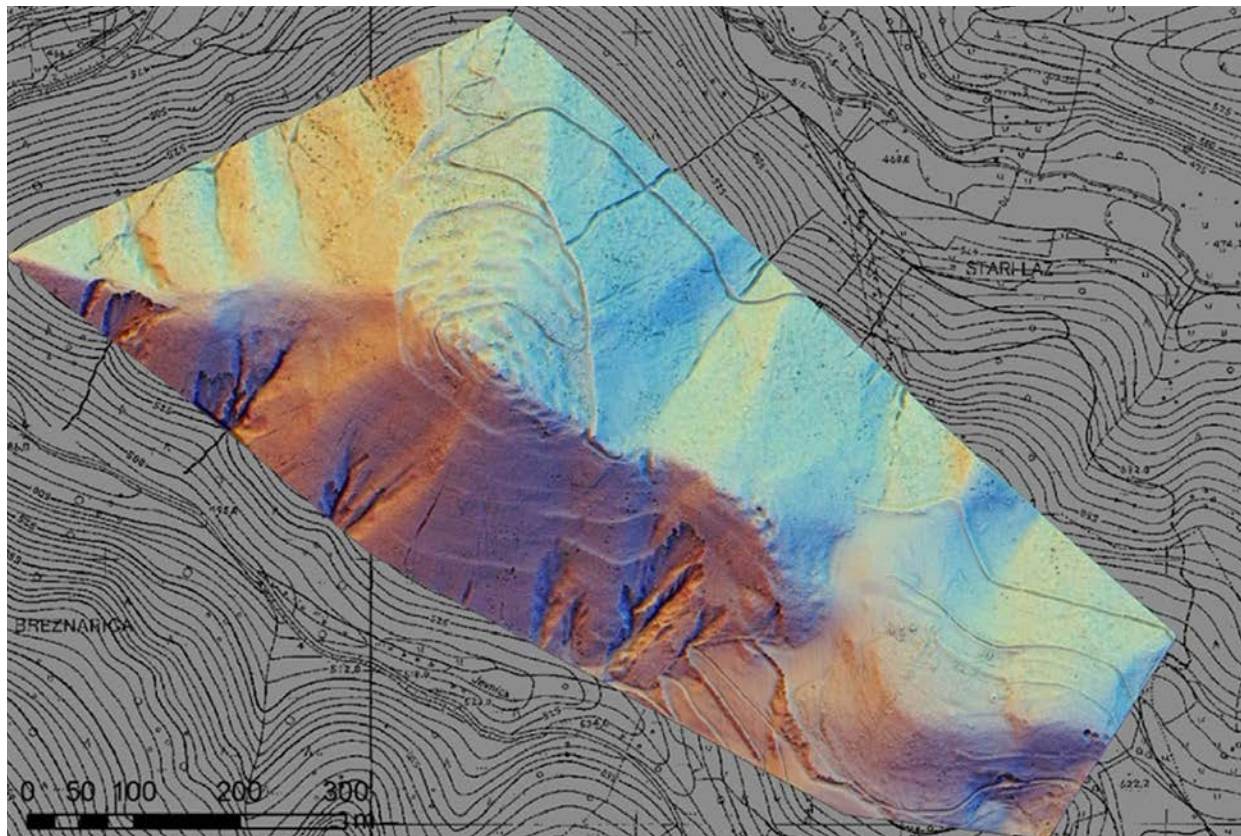
Z ZLS tako opazujemo površje zemlje njeno obliko in vse predmete, ki ležijo na površju zemlje. Da lahko z lidarjem opazimo arheološke sledove morajo biti vidni na površju kot grbine in izbokline sledovi kot nasipi, zidovi, groblje, ali vkopov, jam in jarkov. ZLS je zaradi svoje zmožnosti opazovanja tal pod gozdnim pokrovom zelo primerna za uporabo v Sloveniji. Velike površine, ki so bile prej zaprte za sistematično opazovanje so postale vidne. Gozdovi so prostori, kjer so zaradi omejenih človeških posegov arheoloških sledovi zelo dobro ohranjeni.<sup>19</sup>

Vzpetina, na kateri leži Ivank je poraščena s gozdom. Je grebenaste oblike, greben se nadaljuje proti jugovzhodu. Na severni in južni strani so strma pobočja, predvsem na južni strani lahko prepoznamo

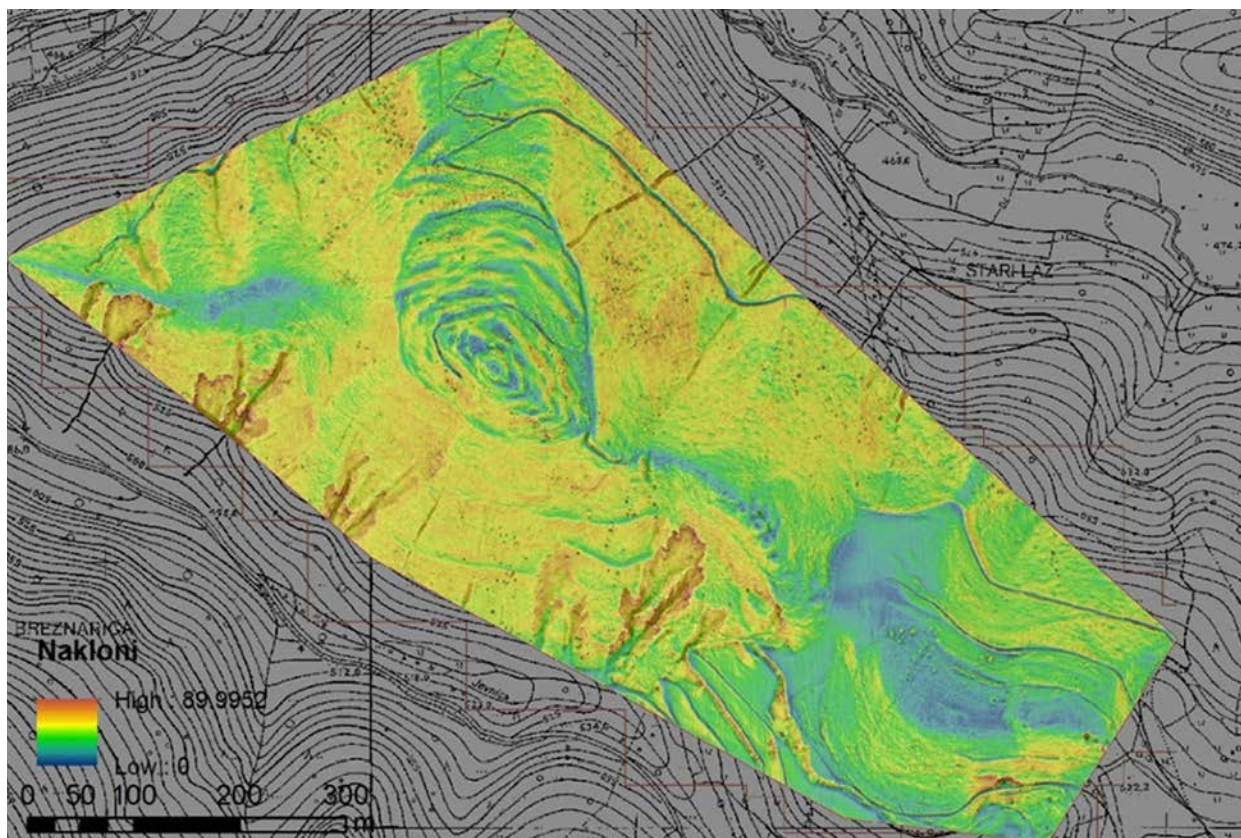
tudi sledove plazov in erozijskih jarkov. Iz severa na vrh vzpetine vodi gozdna pot. Različne vizualizacije DMT pokažejo, da na množico teras nepravilne oblike, ki se prilagajajo obliki terena (sl. 11, sl. 12, sl. 14–16). Prepoznali smo 56 teras (sl. 13). Terasa na vrhu vzpetine so bolj izrazite in preoblikujejo površje v skorajda pravilen, pravokoten raster. Sam vrh vzpetine je izravnano, na njem lahko prepoznamo teraso pravokotne oblike, približnih dimenzij 10 × 10 m. V spodnjem delu najdišča so terase ožje in nepravilnih oblik. Zdi se, da je najdišče sestavljeno iz dveh delov, zgornjega pravilnejšega in intenzivneje preoblikovanega, in spodnjega, ki se širi predvsem proti severu z ožjimi in bolj nepravilnimi terasami. Spodnji del bi lahko bil kasnejši. Naselbina ni obdana z obrambnim nasipom, obodu naselbine se da slediti kot nizki terasi. Po severnem robu naselbine teče gozdna pot, ki je uničila potencialno teraso.

Nekaj teras je tudi izven naselbine. Na strmih južnih pobočjih je nekaj oblim, podobnih terasam.

<sup>19</sup> Opitz 2013; Doneus et al. 2008; Mlekuž 2009; Mlekuž 2011; Mlekuž 2012.

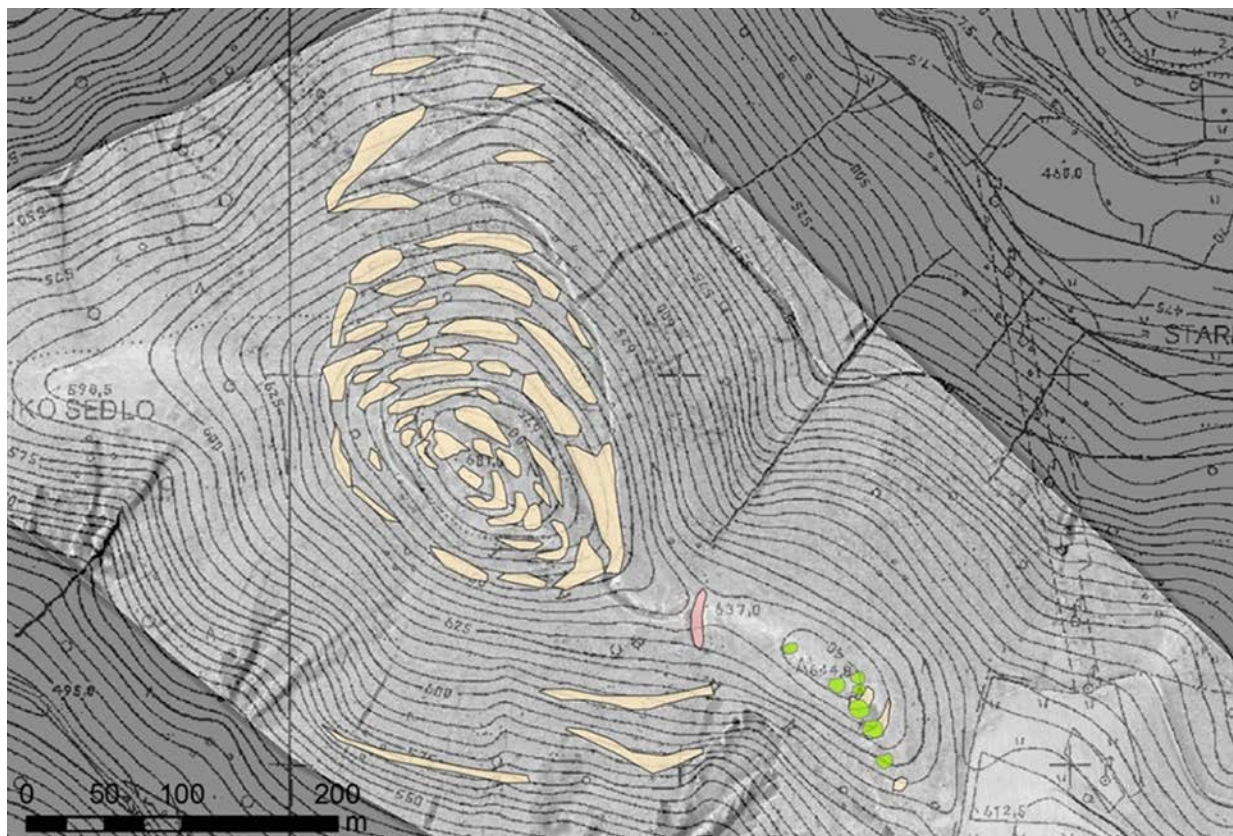


Slika 11 Iz treh strani senčen digitalni model terena (izvedba D. Mlekuž).

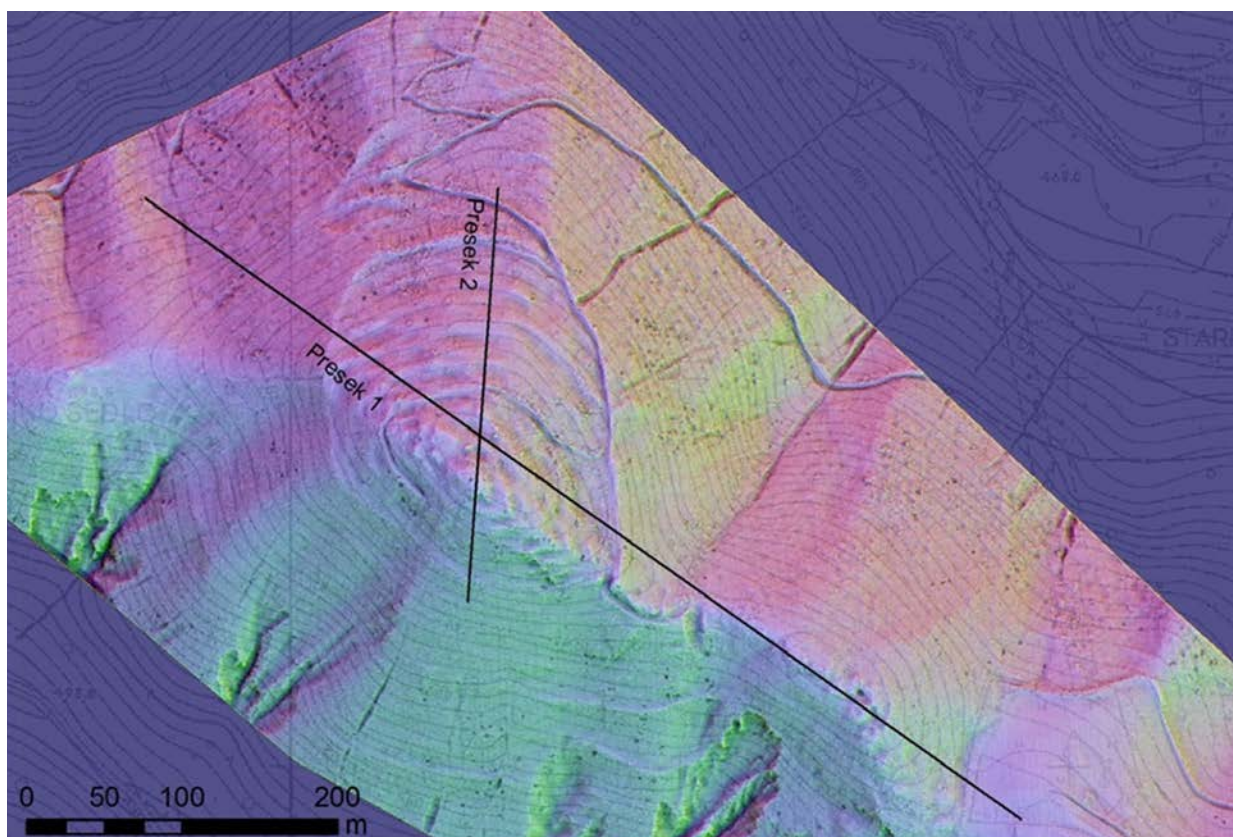


Slika 12 Karta naklonov. Terasa (ozirroma izravnana območja) so obarvane modro (izvedba D. Mlekuž).





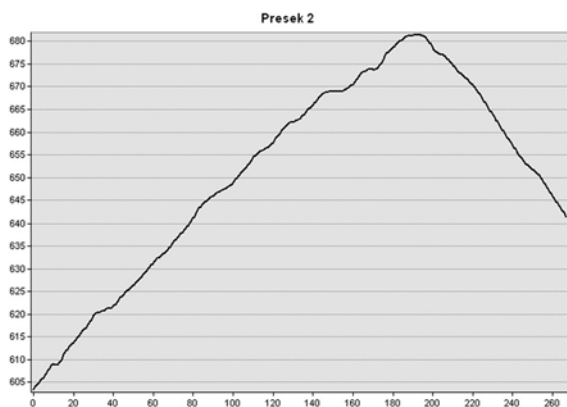
Slika 13 Kartirane značilnosti. Z bež barvo so označene terase, z zeleno gomile in z rdečo jarek (izvedba D. Mlekuž).



Slika 14 Položaj presekov čez najdišče (izvedba D. Mlekuž).



Slika 15 Presek 1



Slika 16 Presek 2

Gre najbrž za plastovitost geološke podlage, lahko pa so terase tudi antropogenega nastanka. Tera-se na severnem pobočju, bi lahko interpretirali kot ostanke poti, ki je vodila na naselbine. Presekane so z gozdno potjo.

Na vzhodnem grebenu lahko prepoznamo 7 gomil, ki so od naselbine ločene s kratkim jarkom. Naselbi-ne proti jarku vodi ugreznjena pot. Gomile ležijo na majhnih terasah.

## Najdbe

Tekom pregleda posledic žledoloma na Ivanjku smo odkrili 3 odlomke prazgodovinske lončenine, 72 odlomkov poznolatenske ali zgodnjjerimske lončenine, 109 odlomkov ožgane glinice in kos lepa, kos žindre, del žrmlja (*t. 1, 16*), nedoločljiv del železnega predmeta, več živalskih zob in kosti ter 14 odlomkov svitkov (*t. 1, 10–15*). Odlomki prazgodovinske keramike so bili najdeni v kotanji podrtega drevesa na sedlu

hriba. Večina poznolatenske ali zgodnjjerimske lončenine (36 odlomkov), ožgane glinice (66 odlomkov), lepa, žindre, živalskih zob in kosti ter vsi svitki so bili najdeni v žganinski plasti domnevnega lončarskega objekta izven naselbine. Ostale najdbe so bile najdene v kotanjah prevrnjenih dreves na sedlu in na severnem pobočju hriba. Analogije za odlomke lončenine lahko najdemo na najdišču Straža nad Šmartnim pri Cerkljah, kjer so bili prav tako kot na Ivanjku najdeni svetlo sivi in svetlo oranžni odlomki posod iz prečiščene glinice. Odlomki velikih loncev in pekev so bili izdelani iz grobozrnate glinice, bili so rjave in sive barve ter delani na roko.<sup>20</sup> Podobna lončenina naj bi bila najdena tudi v najzgodnejših plasteh najdišča Mošnje pri Radovljici in na Malem gradu v Kamniku<sup>21</sup>. Nekatere posode pa so bile že delane na lončarskem vretenu (*t. 1: 3–5*), med katerimi bi obliko enega kosa (*t. 1: 5*) lahko opredelili kot latensko glinenko.<sup>22</sup> Lonec z odebeljenim ustjem (*t. 1: 2*) je bil izdelan iz grobozrnate keramike, ki ima izrazite bele primesi in je malo porozna. Lahko bi ga primerjali z lonci z odebeljenim ustjem iz grobozrnate glinice.<sup>23</sup> Keramika z najdišča Straža nad Šmartnim pri Cerkljah je na podlagi kombinacije latenske keramike in rimske vojaške opreme opredeljena v čas med 1. stoletjem pr. n. št. in 1. stoletjem n. št. Lončenina kaže na kombiniranje prazgodovinskih (latenskih) form ter rimskih inovacij. Izrazit predstavnik prazgodovinskih form je del ostenja z rebri in izvlečeno stožčasto bradavico (*t. 1: 6*). Bradavice, ki so bile sicer lahko izvlečene iz ostenja posod ali pa nanj aplicirane, se le redko pojavljajo pri sestavljenih okrasih in so imele poleg okrasa tudi uporabno vlogo.<sup>24</sup> Po drugi strani barvni premaz (*t. 1: 5*) kaže na prevzemanje rimskih inovacij, pri čemer glinena zmes še vedno ostaja grobozrnata.

20 Primerjava s Horvat 2015: t. 5: 5–6; t. 6: 8; t. 5: 8–10 in t. 6: 2-3, 6-7, 10-11, 15, 19.

21 dr. Jana Horvat, ustna informacija.

22 Prim. Horvat 2015, t. 5: 5, 6.

23 Prim. npr. Horvat 2015, t. 5: 9.

24 Grahek 2013, 165.

## Sklep

Na območju EŠD 11351 (Šmartno v Tuhinju – Naselbina Ivanjk) je bil že leta 1989 narejen geodetski načrt terena<sup>25</sup> (sl. 5), kjer so bile označene zamejitve ca. 50 naselbinskih teras in gomil, ki se razprostirajo po nižje ležečem sedlu in poleg topografskih ogledov predstavlja edino informacijo glede poznavanja tega najdišča. V okviru dokumentacije poškodb žledoloma je bil izveden posnetek zračnega laserskega skeniranja (sl. 17), ki je potrdil številne naselbinske terase predvsem na severnem, vzhodnem in zahodnem pobočju, ki se dviguje nad Tuhinjsko dolino, po kateri je potekala cestna komunikacija med Ljubljansko kotlino in Štajersko. Že pri samem ogledu teras na Ivanjku smo opazili, da se oblika, lega in velikost razlikuje od značilnih teras zgodnjersrednjeveških naselbin (npr. Gradišče nad Bašljem (EŠD 5547) ali Gradavov hrib (EŠD 11342) (sl. 5). Pri nadaljnjem pregledu keramičnih najdb<sup>26</sup> smo ugotovili, da pripadajo času poznega latena oziroma zgodnjega rimskega obdobja. Poselitev Gorenjske v latenskem obdobju je sicer slabo poznana, saj so znane le tiste lokacije, ki so se navezovala na predhodna starejšezelznodobna središča. Ležale so na območju Kranja, Bleda, Bohinja (Ajdovski gradec), Mengša (Gobavica), Šmartna pri Cerkljah (Straža) in Lukovice (Gradišče). Posebej naj izpostavimo najdišče Straža nad Šmartnim, kjer najdbe delov vojaške opreme naselbinske znake uvrščajo v dva časovna obdobja: od sredine 1. stoletja pr. n. št. do zgodnjavgustejskega časa oziroma zgodnjeterberskega časa. Od srednjavgustejskega časa dalje gradišče ni bilo več poseljeno, saj se je težišče poselitve prestavilo v ravnino.<sup>27</sup> Podobno situacijo bi lahko pričakovali v primeru poznolatske naselbine na Ivanjku, pri čemer se je poselitev v rimskem času prestavila na ravnino; v vasi Šmartno se na levem bregu Nevljice ob severnem vznožju hriba Ivanjk predvideva poznoantična vila oziroma starokrščan-

ska cerkev. V neposredni bližini se na holocenski rečni terasi zato predvideva antična naselbina (EŠD 11350 Šmartno v Tuhinju – Antična naselbina), zahodno od naselbine Ivanjk pa se zaradi posameznih antičnih najdb najdenih ob gradbenih delih predvideva še en del antične naselbine (EŠD 1859 Sidol – Antična naselbina) (sl. 6). V primeru Šmartnega pri Cerkljah so na robu ravnine in po bližnjih vzpetinah znana arheološka najdišča iz različnih obdobj, na griču Straža tako najdemo ostanke naselbine z drobnimi najdbami iz starejše in mlajše železne dobe ter iz zgodnjerske in poznorimske dobe. Na Straži se sicer predvideva prazgodovinska naselbina, grobišča pa so se širila po vznožju hriba.<sup>28</sup> Podobno lahko tudi v primeru naselbine na Ivanjku predvidevamo že starejšezelznodobno naselbino, saj v prazgodovinsko obdobje uvrščamo tudi ostanke grobišča okoli cerkve sv. Martina v Šmartnem in na prostoru med Šmartnim in cesto Kamnik – Ločica pri Vranskem (EŠD 11353 Šmartno v Tuhinju – Prazgodovinsko grobišče v okolici stare šole) (sl. 6). Na Straži so lepo vidne naselbinske terase na zahodnem, južnem in vzhodnem pobočju, na severu pa pod vrhom leži sedelce, ki prehaja v nižji vrh, najdbe pa sicer obsegajo obdobje od prazgodovine do srednjega veka.<sup>29</sup> Podobno situacijo lahko vidimo na Ivanjku, kjer na južni strani grebena leži sedlo, ki se potem razprostira v nižji vrh, kjer se nahaja območje z gomilami, sicer tudi dobro vidnimi na posnetku zračnega laserskega skeniranja (sl. 17). V primeru Straže so blizu južnega roba naselbine v koreninah štora našli 9 kg keramičnih črepinj, prežgano ilovico, žlindro, železo, bakrove zlitine, oranžne prežgane kamne in živalske kosti.<sup>30</sup> Podobno smo tudi na Ivanjku na severnem robu oziroma že izven naselbine pri vrezu vlake zaradi sanacije podrtih dreves tekom žledoloma odkrili bogato žganinsko plast z večjo količino keramike, vijčkov, živalskih kosti in ožganih kamnov (lokacije 13, 44, 45; tabela 1). Na lokacijah 44, 45 je v preseku vidna žganinska plast, katera je nakazovala na obstoj objekta (dl. 7,9 m), ki

25 ZVKDS OE Kranj.

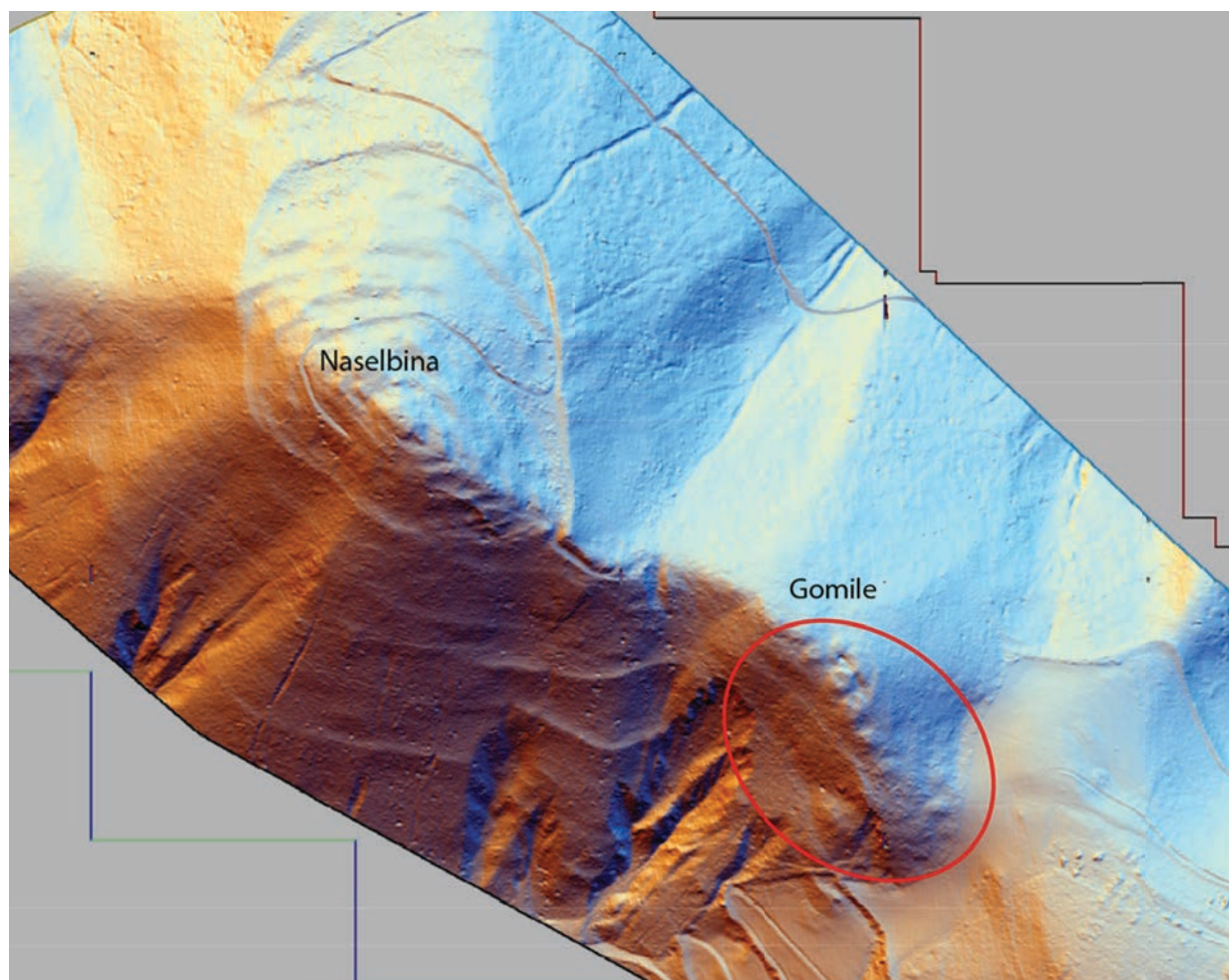
26 Za posvet in pomoč pri opredelitvi keramike se na tem mestu zahvaljujem Diani Džidić, dr. Tini Žerjal (Arhej d.o.o.) in dr. Jani Horvat (ZRC SAZU).

27 Horvat 2015.

28 Horvat 2015.

29 Horvat 2015.

30 Horvat 2015.



**Slika 17** Vidljivost naselbinskih teras in gomil na posnetku zračnega laserskega skeniranja (izvedba D. Mlekuž, M. Jerala).

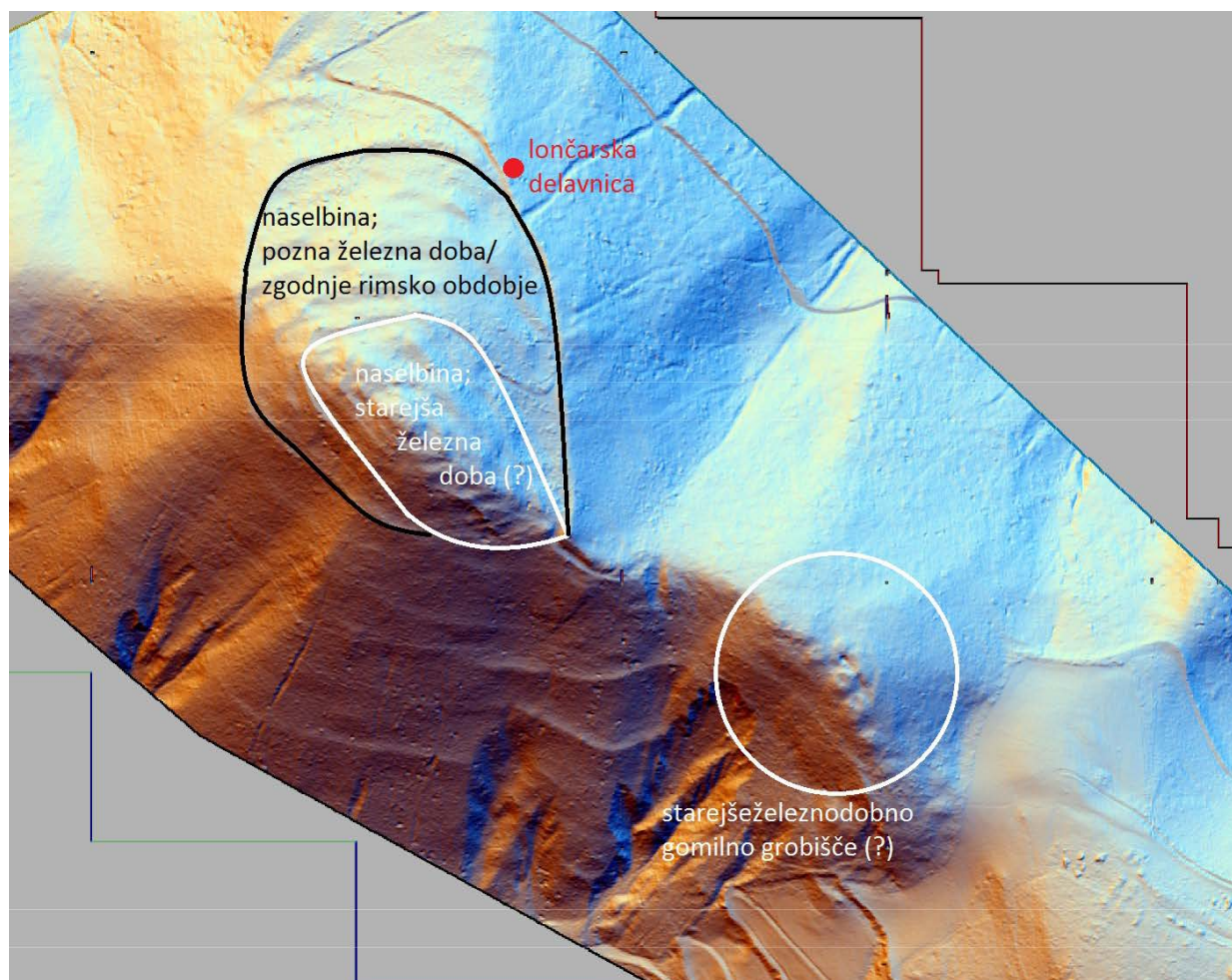
smo ga glede na najdbe in lego izven naselbine interpretirali kot poznolatensko lončarsko delavnico. Na poznolatensko poselitev Straže pri Šmartnem kažejo kovinske drobne najdbe<sup>31</sup> in tudi keramika. Manjkajo ostaline iz zgodnjeavgustejskega obdobja, zato se predvideva, da je bila naselbina takrat že opuščena oziroma prestavljena v ravnino. Zaradi tega ostanke s Straže interpretirajo kot občasno prisotnost rimske vojske, morda kot manjšo postojanko, ki je obstajala od sredine 1. stoletja pr. n. št. do zgodnjeti-berijskega obdobja. V poznoantičnem času pa Straža verjetno ni bila poseljena.<sup>32</sup> Z območja Ivanjka zanekrat ni znanih najdb vojaške narave, zato lahko naselbino opredelimo zgolj kot civilno poznolatensko naselbino. Vrh naselbine, kjer smo v panjih podrtih dreves našli tudi odlomke starejšeželeznodobne lon-

čenine (lokacija 30) in del utrjenih teras je bil verjetno poseljen že v obdobju starejše železne dobe, verjetno pa so bile v tem času nastale tudi gomile na jugovzhodnem delu naselbine. Poselitev se je nadaljevala tudi v poznolatenskem obdobju, ko bi lahko pričakovali tudi naknadne pokope v starejšeželeznodobne gomile (sl. 18).

Tradicijo naknadnega vkopavanja latenskodobnih grobov v starejšeželeznodobne gomile lahko sicer opazujemo tudi v primeru gomilnega grobišča na Vrtnjaku. V rimskem času se je poselitev prestavila v dolino, človekova prisotnost v nižini se je verjetno nadaljevala še v poznoantičnem času, saj se na območju zaselka Selišče okoli stare cerkve na podlagi patrocinija in ljudskega izročila predvideva zgodnesrednjeveška naselbina (EŠD 11355 Šmartno v Tuhinju – Naselbina na Selišču) in zgodnesrednjeveško grobišče (EŠD 11354 Šmartno v Tuhinju – Arheološko območje stare cerkve) (sl. 6). Zaključni

31 Odkrite pri površinskem pregledu ali z detektorjem kovin.

32 Horvat 2015.



**Slika 18** Hipotetična interpretacija naselbine Ivanjk v Tuhinjski dolini (izvedba D. Mlekuž, M. Jerala).

mo lahko, da je dokumentiranje posledic poškodb žledoloma na podlagi tako terenskih podatkov kot rezultatov zračnega laserskega skeniranja bistveno doprineslo k boljšemu poznavanju tega sicer dokaj nepoznanega arheološkega najdišča. Kljub skromnemu številu najdb in neinvazivnim metodam dela

osvetljuje področje kontinuirane višinske poselitve od starejše železne dobe do mlajše železne dobe ali zgodnjorimskega obdobja. Hkrati predstavlja prispevek tudi k sicer slabemu poznavanju poselitve v času poznega latena oziroma zgodnjorimskega obdobja na prostoru Gorenjske.

## Katalog

1. Odlomek dna posode. Grobozrnata keramika, porozna, oranžna. Lokacija 40.



2. Odlomek ustja lonca. Grobozrnata keramika, malo porozna, oranžna. Izdelana prostoročno. Presek nove gozdne vlake.



3. Odlomek ustja posode. Grobozrnata keramika, neporozna, siva. Izdelava na lončarskem vretenu. Lokacija 13.



4. Odlomek ustja posode. Grobozrnata keramika, neporozna, siva. Izdelava na lončarskem vretenu. Lokacija 45, SE 010.



5. Odlomek ustja vrča z rdečim premazom. Grobozrnata keramika, neporozna, oranžna. Izdelava na lončarskem vretenu. Lokacija 45, SE 010.



6. Odlomek ostenja posode z rebri in izbočenim delom. Grobozrnata keramika, malo porozna, oranžna. Izdelana prostoročno. Lokacija 45, SE 010.



7. Odlomek dna posode. Grobozrnata keramika, malo porozna, črna. Izdelana prostoročno. Lokacija 45, SE 010.



8. Odlomek dna posode. Grobozrnata keramika, neporozna, oranžna. Izdelavana lončarskem vretenu. Lokacija 45, SE 010.



9. Odlomek dna posode. Grobozrnata keramika, porozna, siva. Izdelava na lončarskem vretenu. Lokacija 45, SE 010.



10. Del svitka. Grobozrnata keramika, neporozna, oranžna. Izdelana prostoročno. Lokacija 45, SE 010.



11. Dva dela svitka, na enem viden okras križca. Grobozrnata keramika, neporozna, oranžna. Izdelana prostoročno. Lokacija 45, SE 010.



12. Del svitka. Grobozrnata keramika, neporozna, oranžna. Izdelana prostoročno. Lokacija 45, SE 010.



13. Del svitka. Grobozrnata keramika, neporozna, oranžna. Izdelana prostoročno. Lokacija 45, SE 010.

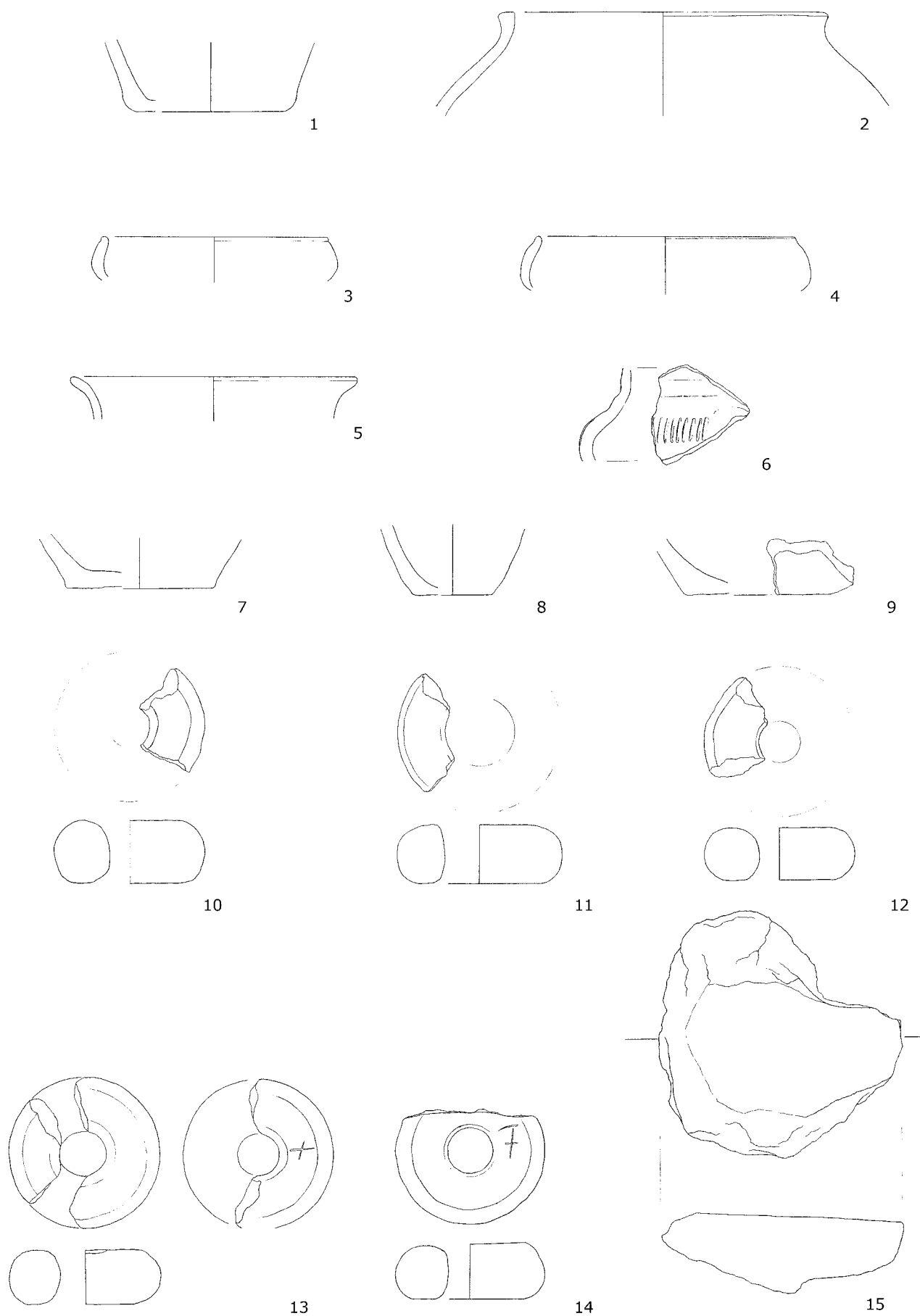


14. Dva dela svitka, na enem viden okras križca. Grobozrnata keramika, neporozna, oranžna. Izdelana prostoročno. Lokacija 45, SE 010.



15. Del kamnitega žrmlja. Lokacija 45, SE 010.





**Tabla 1** 1–4 keramika, 15 kamen; M 1:4 (izris najdb S. Obman, foto S. Pukšič).

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## From Crucium to Uinperch: new approaches to the Roman period in the middle Krka valley in eastern Slovenia

Od naselja *Crucium* do kraja *Uinperch*: novi pristopi k rimskemu obdobju v osrednji dolini reke Krke v vzhodni Sloveniji.

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**Izvleček:** Zadnje raziskave na območju večjih posegov v prostor razsvetljujejo naravo rimskodobne poselitve v osrednjem delu doline reke Krke v zahodnem delu province *Pannonia Superior*. Prispevek obravnava podatke iz zadnjih izvedenih arheoloških terenskih raziskav na trasah avtoceste Ljubljana – Obrežje in večjih infrastrukturnih projektov, kakor tudi na območjih industrijskih in poslovnih con, ki kažejo na potek trase glavne rimske državne ceste *Emona* (Ljubljana)–*Neviodunum* (Drnovo)–*Siscia* (Sisak) in na lokacije poštnih postaj. Po mnenju avtorja podatki kažejo na ponavljajoči se vzorec pri izbiri in trajanju lokacij poselitve. Posebna pozornost je posvečena novim dokazom za lokacijo poštna postaja *Crucium*, ki jo je zdaj možno locirati na obe strani potoka pri naselju Draga vzhodno od naselja Bela Cerkev, pod železnodobnim gradiščem na planoti Vinjega vrha. Izkopavanja od l. 2002 do 2010 kažejo na prisotnost večjega obcestnega naselbinskega kompleksa, ki je bil poseljen tekom rimske dobe in v zgodnjem srednjem veku do ustanovitve prafare v Beli Cerkvi (*apud Uinperch* pri Vinjem vrhu) v njegovi neposredni bližini v 11. stoletju.

**Ključne besede:** rimske obcestne naselbine, *Crucium*, Draga, Latobiki, *Neviodun*, Panonija

**Abstract:** Recent research from large scale interventions has thrown new light on the nature of Roman settlement in the middle Krka valley in the western part of the province of *Pannonia Superior*. The paper looks at new evidence that has been provided by archaeological fieldwork on the Ljubljana – Obrežje motorway, major services and large scale development of industrial and commercial zones for the line of the main Roman road between *Emona* (Ljubljana), *Neviodunum* (Drnovo) and *Siscia* (Sisak) and for the locations of post stations along it. It is posited that this reveals a recurring pattern in the choice of site locations and the duration of occupation. In particular, the new evidence for the site of *Crucium* is considered. This can now be plausibly located to a site on either side of the Draga stream near Bela Cerkev, below the major Iron Age hillfort on the Vinji vrh massif. Excavation in the area between 2002 and 2010 have revealed the presence of a major road side settlement complex with evidence of occupation throughout the Roman and into the Early Medieval period, culminating in the 11<sup>th</sup> century in the foundation of an early parish at Bela Cerkev (*apud Uinperch* – at the Weinberg/Vinji vrh).

**Keywords:** Roman roadside settlement, *Crucium*, Draga, Latobici, *Neviodunum*, Pannonia

Recent research in advance of large scale interventions in space – the proposed routes for the construction of major infrastructure, has thrown new light on the nature of Roman settlement in the middle Krka valley, which lies within the regions of Dolenjska and Posavje in south-eastern Slovenia (Fig. 1). This area was part of the civitas of the Latobici, which is essentially defined as being the catchment of the river Krka and the Krško polje basin between the river Sava and the Gorjanci hills in the western part

of the Roman province of *Pannonia Superior*, close to the border with the X. region of Italy.<sup>1</sup>

This area of south-eastern Slovenia had already been subject to the construction of the Ljubljana–Zagreb–Belgrade highway in the 1950s, but archaeological work on this project was accompanied by a watching brief, largely in the area of previously known sites and with little or no rescue excavation

1 Lovenjak 2003, 93.

in advance of construction.<sup>2</sup> However this situation changed with the motorway construction project between 1994 and the first two decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, which represented the first large-scale investor funded archaeological project on major long distance infrastructure in Slovenia, the SAAS project.<sup>3</sup>

The SAAS project based on the employment of a unified methodology of extensive surface and sub-surface field survey on the entire route of the various motorway sections, intensive surface and sub-surface field survey on newly discovered concentrations of archaeological material (newly identified sites) and previously known sites, test pitting and, finally, excavation of newly identified sites within the motorway route.<sup>4</sup> This methodology was applied to all of the sub-sections of the motorway route in Dolenjska and Posavje (Višnja gora–Bič, Bič–Korenitka, Korenitka–Hrastje–Lešnica, Lešnica–Kronovo, Kronovo–Smednik, Smednik–Krška vas, Krška vas–Obrežje). It has also been applied to other large scale linear infrastructure projects in the region, e.g. the 3<sup>rd</sup> Developmental Axis, hydroelectric projects, interregional and local infrastructure and services e.g. the Bela krajina watermain, the Črnomelj bypass, and a growing number of industrial zones and business parks, e.g. PSCM Mačkovec, which often follow the major road projects.<sup>5</sup> Excavation in advance of the redevelopment of urban areas, including historical town centres and greenfield housing developments, e.g. in Trebnje,<sup>6</sup> have also contributed to an increasing awareness of the nature and extent of Roman period settlement in the region.

The recent archaeological fieldwork associated with these projects has provided new evidence for the line of the main Roman road and the locations of post stations between *Emona* (Ljubljana), *Neviodunum* (Drnovo) and *Siscia* (Sisak), which is actually

followed by the motorway route on the sub-sections Kronovo–Smednik and Krška vas–Obrežje. There is also new evidence for non-elite rural settlements, e.g. Zagorica and Mačkovec in the area.<sup>7</sup> Site categories that formed a traditional focus of archaeological research are also well represented with the partial excavation of villa estate centres in the hinterland close to the civitas capital, *Neviodunum*, e.g. at Veliki Dol near Veliki vasi<sup>8</sup> and at Pečina near Gorenje Skopice.<sup>9</sup> Valuable evidence of military installations from the period of the Roman conquest in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD have also been discovered to the route of the main Roman road, or in its immediate hinterland, e.g. Dolenje Kronovo, Skopice–Sv. Urh, Čatež–Sredno polje, and the Obrežje border crossing (*Fig. 1*).<sup>10</sup>

This recent archaeological fieldwork has revealed a recurring pattern in the choice of site locations and the duration of occupation for the Roman post stations and/or roadside settlements on the line of the *via publica*.<sup>11</sup> This is particularly clear at Ribnica. Excavation on this site in the 1950s had already defined identified the Roman settlement remains in this area as being those of the Roman post and customs station Romula.<sup>12</sup> However excavation between 2001 and 2003 revealed the structure of the station in greater detail, as well as producing finds of graffiti on potsherds, bearing the name of the settlement. The morphology of the station also became clear. It was constructed on either side of a deeply incised stream on the narrow terrace between the river Sava and the Gorjanci hills on southern side of the Sava valley. The administrative, industrial and residential buildings lie on either side of the stream and are flanked by a western and eastern cemetery, which define the extremities of the station area. Thus the post and customs station was located at a point on the state highway,

2 Petru 1960a, 300, 302; Petru 1960b, 300, 304, 306; Petru 1975a, 250; Petru 1975b, 250; Petru 1975c, 259; Petru 1975d, 259; Šribar 1960, 251–270.

3 SAAS – Skupina za arheologijo na avtocestah Slovenije / Slovene Motorway Archaeology Group.

4 Djurić 2005, 9–28.

5 Mason 2012, 143–157.

6 Bavec 2010, 383.

7 Vičič, Slapšak 2005, 77–80.

8 Novaković, Novšak pers. com.

9 Bavec, pers. com.

10 Guštin 2003, 69–75; Guštin 2005, 255–256; Mason 2008, 193–196; Murko, Ciglar 2012, 14–24, 25–26.

11 State road.

12 Lovenjak 2006, 40; Petru 1975c, 259; Petru 1975d, 259.



**Figure 1** The Krka and Sava valley in Slovenia, western Croatia and the location of the sites mentioned in the text (drawn by I. Pintér after Horvat 1999, Fig. 1).

which permitted control of traffic and also the levying of tolls and taxes. Furthermore, finds from the settlement also suggest that it served as a collecting point for textiles or wool.<sup>13</sup>

A further example of the structure of post and custom stations can be recognised in the recent excavations that have taken place on the eastern outskirts and in the centre of Trebnje (*Praetorium Latobicorum*), a major customs post and roadside settlement in the Temenica valley to the northwest of Novo mesto. These have revealed the presence of a complex of warehouses and fullers/weavers workshops industrial buildings lining the state road on the eastern edge of the marshy Širokenca valley, which divided it from the cemetery at Pristava.<sup>14</sup> The state road runs on in an easterly direction through the building complex in the centre of the modern town, which were was partial-

ly excavated in 2014–2015.<sup>15</sup> It should also be noted that there is an extensive area of Roman settlement at Benečija to the south of the river Temenica, which is contemporary with the customs post in the town itself.<sup>16</sup>

It is now appropriate to turn to the middle Krka valley, where excavation between 2002 and 2003 on the Kronovo–Smednik sub-section of the Ljubljana–Obrežje motorway has provided evidence of intensive settlement along on the narrow terrace at the foot of the Vinji vrh massif between the Toplica stream in the west and the marshy valley of the Radulja in the east. The sites in this area were already partially known from the previous archaeological watching brief in the 1950s.<sup>17</sup> The recent motorway excavations have provided more coherent evidence for the presence of a major road side settlement complex.

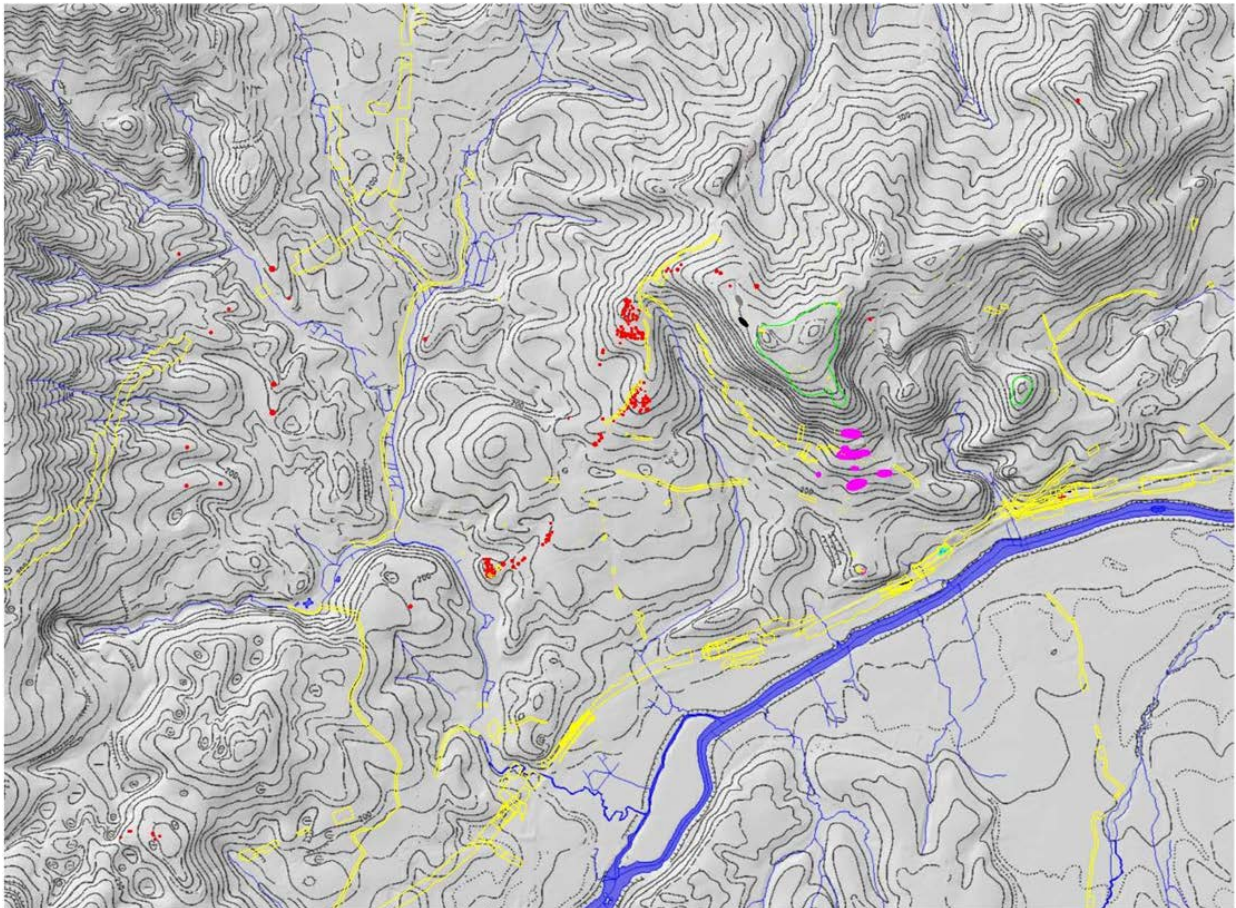
13 Breščak 2003a; Breščak 2003b; Breščak 2005, 237–239; Breščak 2006, 63–65.

14 Bavec 2010, 383–385.

15 Bavec pers. com.

16 Breščak 1989, 220–221.

17 See footnote 2.



**Figure 2** *The Vinji vrh massif showing the LBA settlement at Vibra, the ELA hillfort on Veliki Vinji vrh with associated ELA barrows and LLA flat cemeteries. The areas of archaeological fieldwork are marked in yellow (drawn by I. Pintér after Dular 1991, fig. 3.; Mlekuž 2014; archive IPCH, CPA).*

The confluence of the Toplica stream with the river Krka represents the southern end of a route running past the western edge of the Vinji vrh massif from the Radulja valley and ultimately from the Mirna–Temenica valley and the Posavsko hribovlje, between the Krka and the Sava. The southern end of this route is dominated by the Roman period settlement at Požarnica, which lies directly on the route of the state road (Fig. 1, Fig. 2).<sup>18</sup> The northern of the Prionec–Toplica stream is dominated by the recently discovered Roman settlement in Šmarjeta, overlooking the valley of the Radulja at the point that it emerges from the confines of the Klevevž gorge.<sup>19</sup> The south eastern part of the terrace below the Vinji vrh massif is also dominated by a Roman settlement complex at Stranje, which was discovered in during the construction of the Ljubljana–Zagreb

road in 1950s and was subject to further excavation in 2002 prior to the construction of the Ljubljana–Obrežje motorway (Fig. 1, Fig. 2).<sup>20</sup> It is situated at the southern end of the route along western side of the Radulje valley along the eastern edge of the Vinji vrh massif, close to the route of the state road across the Radulje valley and on into the marshy Krakovski gozd (Fig. 1).

The main Roman roadside settlement was located on the narrow terrace and colluvial/alluvial deposits at foot of the Vinji vrh massif. The settlement is divided into two parts by the deeply incised north-south valley of the Draga stream (Fig. 2, Fig. 3). The western settlement area comprises the stone-built buildings of the Draga 2 complex, immediately to the west of the Draga stream, and the Dolge njive complex of timber buildings, associated pits, bread ovens and

18 Tica 2005a, 233–235; Topličanec, Tica 2006, 53–53.

19 Mason *et al.* 2013, 35–36.

20 Gabrovec 1975b; Petru 1960b, 300, 304, 306; Petru 1961, 194; Tica 2005b, 257–258.



**Figure 3** Plan of the excavated Roman features at Dolge njive, Draga 1, Draga 2 and Draga 3 (archive ZVKDS, drawn by D. Cvetko) (Draga 1, Draga 2 and Draga 3 redrawn by permission of the excavators, B. Križ, Dolenjski muzej Novo mesto and Primož Predan, PJP d.o.o.).



**Figure 4** The Roman structure at Draga 2 from the west, during excavation in 2002 (archive ZVKDS, photo P. Predan).



**Figure 5** *Dolge njive during excavation in 2002, looking towards the Bela Cerkev promontory in the west (archive ZVKDS, photo T. Pungerčar).*

four post storage structures, broadly dated to the period from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, which lies on the slopes, further to the northwest, below the rocky cliffs of the Bela Cerkev promontory (Fig. 4, Fig. 5).<sup>21</sup> The western edge of this part of the settlement was marked by a cemetery to the southwest of the village of Bela Cerkev. It was, composed of a stone-kerbed burial plot and a second stone built structure, possibly a mausoleum. Only a single cremation grave and a single inhumation grave survived on the site.<sup>22</sup> The eastern part of the Roman roadside settlement with associated cemetery was discovered in the area of the archaeological sites at Draga 1 and 3.<sup>23</sup> It is dominated by a second large stone-built structure that



**Figure 6** *The Roman cemetery at Draga 1 from the south, during excavation in 2002 (archive Dolenjski muzej Novo mesto, photo B. Križ).*

was located on the Krka terrace immediately to east of the Draga stream (Fig. 5). To the north of this was an area of timber buildings, dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. A Roman cemetery, first recorded in during the construction of the Ljubljana-Zagreb highway in the 1950s, marked the eastern edge of the settlement in the 2<sup>nd</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. It comprised 20 cremation

21 Djurić, Pinter 2001a; Mason 2003; Mason 2005, 123–125, Mason 2006, 55–57.

22 Gabrovec 1975a, 226; Šribar 1960, 251–270; Urleb, Petru 1960, 298–299.

23 Djurić, Pinter 2001b; Bavec, Predan 2003; Križ 2003a; Križ 2003b; Križ 2005, 128–129; Križ 2006, 58–59; Lovenjak 1998, 219–220.

graves and five inhumation graves arranged around a stone-kerbed plot, containing three robbed-out cremation graves (Fig. 6).<sup>24</sup> However the Draga 3 settlement of timber buildings, dated to the Late Roman period. Some of the finds from this part of the site suggest that it had a military character.<sup>25</sup>

The settlement extended for a distance of *circa* 1000 m towards the east along the main road between Aquileia and Siscia and lay on both sides of the deeply incised Draga stream, which drains into the river Krka at the Draga underpass. The morphology of the settlement is thus extremely similar to that of the post station and customs post at *Romula* (Ribnica), which is described above. Thus it is evident that the morphology of the Dolge njive/Draga complex is similar to that of the other known post stations on the *Emona–Siscia* state road. The location of the Dolge njive/Draga complex is compatible with the location of the roadside settlement/post station at Crucium, mentioned in both the Tabula Peutingeriana and in the Ravenna Cosmography. The former gives the location of Crucium as being located between *Neviodunum* (Drnovo) and *Praetorium Latobiorum* (Trebnje).<sup>26</sup>

The debate about the location of the site of *Crucium* began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the location was the post station was suggested in such diverse locations as Hrast pri Jugorju in northern Bela krajina, Bučna vas to the north of Novo mesto and the area at the southern foot of the Vinji vrh massif.<sup>27</sup> I. Pirkovič supported the opinion given by B. Saria and suggested that the roadside settlement of *Crucium* was located at the Roman site in the village of Groblje in the Šentjernejsko polje. This site is located well to the south of the line of the Roman road beneath the Vinji vrh massif and would also require a considerable detour from this line, a fact which Pirkovič accommodated by suggesting the road was diverted from its original line due to climatic deterioration in

the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>28</sup> However, it should be noted that the finds from the Roman site at Groblje suggest that it is the site of a *villa rustica*, on the southern edge of the Šentjernejsko polje.<sup>29</sup> It is located in open country and is one of a series of *villae rusticae* located on the broad interfluvies between the streams, which flow down from the Gorjanci hills to run into the right bank of the river Krka. This is not location, from which it is possible to control both road and river traffic, as is the case with Ribnica, or for that matter with the Dolge njive/Draga complex.

The toponym *Crucium* is probably of Celtic origin. The same element is present in the Roman settlement and *mutationes Pennocrucium* at Water Eaton in Staffordshire, England.<sup>30</sup> The site is mentioned by name in the Antonine Itinerary and means a hill summit or the end of a ridge (ibid., Pennocrucium-Water Eaton). The word „*crug*“ means „hill“ or „hillock“ in the modern Welsh language.<sup>31</sup> It has also been suggested that the toponym is derived from a hypothetical Pannonian place name element of similar meaning.<sup>32</sup>

The potential Celtic nature of the toponym and its meaning was also mentioned by Pirkovič, although he linked this to barrows or even the low mounds over flat graves in a Roman cemetery.<sup>33</sup> However, given the concentration of Roman occupation along the Roman road below Vinji vrh, it is much more likely that this toponym is related to the Vinji vrh massif, which rises directly above the Dolge njive/Draga site. Veliki Vinji vrh was an important Late Bronze Age, Early Iron Age and Late Iron Age centre, which dominated the Šentjernejsko polje. The roadside settlement in the area of Dolge njive/Draga could thus have taken its name from the prehistoric centre. However, if this name were to relate to a barrow, or barrows as Pirkovič suggested,<sup>34</sup> then this description

24 Križ 2003b, 19–37; Urleb 1960, 302.

25 Bavec, Predan 2003, 22–23.

26 Šašel 1975a, 75–76, 80–82.

27 Pirkovič 1968, 8–10.

28 Ibid, 10–32, 43–6.

29 Petru, S. 1975, 221–222.

30 <http://www.roman-britain.org/main.htm> 2005, The Antonine Itinerary, Iter Britanniarum, Iter II.

31 [http://www.geiriadur.net/Y\\_Geiriadur\\_ar-lein\\_o\\_Adran\\_y\\_Gymraeg](http://www.geiriadur.net/Y_Geiriadur_ar-lein_o_Adran_y_Gymraeg).

32 Repanšek 2014, 194–196.

33 Pirkovič 1968, 61.

34 Ibid.

might also be applied to the narrower area of Dolge njive, where three Early Iron Age barrows were excavated close to the mid to late Roman stone buildings at Draga 1 and Draga 2. These barrows were partially buried under colluvial deposits and later damaged by the construction of the wooden structures at Dolge njive in the 3<sup>rd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> century AD. Thus it is possible to equate the Dolge njive/Draga Roman roadside settlement complex with the Roman roadside settlement of *Crucium* on the basis of site morphology, the written sources and onomastics, as well as the archaeological finds and structures.

The Dolge njive/Draga 1/Draga 2/Draga 3 roadside settlement was also occupied in the late Roman period and into the Early Medieval period. Indeed the late phases of the midden on the north-western edge of Dolge njive have produced finds, which can be dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century AD. Recent archaeological fieldwork in 2009 and 2010 around the parish church of Sv Andrej in the village of Bela Cerkev resulted in the discovery of an Early Slavic cemetery, which was probably associated with the earliest church in the village.<sup>35</sup> This suggests that the

village of Bela Cerkev represents the place „apud Uinperch“, where a church was built in 1074 at the behest of the Patriarch of Aquileia.<sup>36</sup> Similar developments can also be seen in other Roman settlements in Dolenjska, e.g. Trebnje, where a Slavic cemetery is also present around the parish church in the town centre.<sup>37</sup>

In conclusion, it may be seen that the application of new archaeological methodologies in the context of recent archaeological research in advance of large scale interventions has thrown new light on many aspects of the Roman period in general and the Roman settlement in particular in the middle Krka valley. This paper has been largely concerned with new data for the line of the main Roman road between *Emona* (Ljubljana), *Neviodunum* (Drnovo) and *Siscia* (Sisak) and for the locations of post stations along it. The data have revealed a recurring pattern in the choice of site locations and the duration of occupation for these sites and has given new insights into their structure and development, as well as their continuing importance in the Early Medieval period.

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35 Mason, Tiran 2010, 23.

36 Höfler 2013, 284–285.

37 Šašel 1975b, 232.



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## Izgubljeni relief s krilatim genijem iz Celje

### The lost relief of the winged genius from Celje

Katarina Šmid

**Izvleček:** Prispevek obravnava danes izgubljeni relief iz Celeje, ki ga je leta 1821 skiciral Peter Fendi. To preprosto risbo je leta 1829 objavil Anton Steinbüchel (*[Wiener] Jahrbücher der Literatur*, 1829) med nedavno najdenimi rimskimi reliefi, zatem pa je isto skico objavil še Otto Jahn (*Archäologische Beiträge*, 1847). Upodobljen je genij z metuljevimi krili, ki se z levim komolcem naslanja na steber, v desnici pa drži navzdol obrnjeno baklo. Nad njim lebdi metulj. Na zadnji strani reliefa je napis, ki navaja, da je spomenik postavil Kupit za svojo partnerko. Figura je bila označena kot Genij večnega spanja, uvrščena pa je bila tudi med upodobitve Erosa in Psihe, katere atribut so ravno metuljeva krila. Zaradi navzdol obrnjene bakle in metuljevih kril lahko predstavlja *Somnus*, čeprav z držo lik posnema žalujočega genija (nem. *Trauergenius*) oz. erota, ki so značilni okras funeralnih spomenikov Norika in *Regio X Venetia et Histria*.

**Ključne besede:** *Celeia*, Celje, eroti, *Eros*, žalujoči genij (nem. *Trauergenius*), *Somnus*, *Psyche*

**Abstract:** The article discusses the lost relief from *Celeia*, which was drawn by Peter Fendi in 1821. It was first published among the recently found Roman reliefs in the territory of the Austrian Empire (*[Wiener] Jahrbücher der Literatur*, 1829) and later by Otto Jahn (*Archäologische Beiträge*, 1847). It depicts a youth with butterfly wings, who rests his left elbow at the pillar. He holds a reversed torch in his right hand and a butterfly hovers above him. The reverse bears an epitaph which states that the monument was erected by *Cupitus* for his *contubernalis*. The figure was labeled as the *Genius des ewigen Schlafes* and also listed among the depictions of *Eros* and *Psyche*, whose common attribute are butterfly wings. However, he can also be interpreted as *Somnus* due to the reversed torch and butterfly wings, although his posture and attribute resemble to a great extent the mourning genius (*Trauergenius*) or one of the funerary *Erotes*, which are widely spread in *Noricum* and the *Regio X Venetia et Histria*.

**Key words:** *Celeia*, Celje, funerary *Erotes*, *Eros*, *Trauergenius*, *Somnus*, *Psyche*

Med razširitvijo tedanje vojašnice v Knežjem dvoru v Celju („Cilli“) v 20. letih 19. stoletja je bil odkrit rimski relief s krilatim mladeničem, ki se naslanja na steber.<sup>1</sup> Kamen je izgubljen vse od štiridesetih let 19. stoletja dalje.<sup>2</sup>

A Roman slab with the relief of the winged youth, leaning on a pillar, was found during the extension of the military barracks in the Princely Palace (slov. Knežji dvor, Ger. Fürstenhof) in Celje („Cilli“) in the 1820's.<sup>1</sup> It was lost by 1847 at the latest.<sup>2</sup>

1 V času odkritja kvadra je bila v Knežjem dvoru vojašnica, v katero je dvorec med letoma 1748-1750 predelala cesarica Marija Terezija (Stopar 1999, 103). O rimskih najdbah na območju Knežjega dvora: Lazar 1997.

2 Nekaj neskladij je tako okoli leta najdbe, kakor tudi leta izginotja. Paginirana stran v Fendijevi skicirki je označena kot „Cili (!) von 2. April 1821“, kar je torej *terminus post quem*, četudi večina avtorjev trdi, da je bil kamen najden po letu 1825. Po Ignacu Orožnu je bil odkrit med letoma 1825 in 1826 med „erweiterung der Kasarne“, v kasarni naj bi bil vse do leta 1840, nakar se je za njim izgubila

1 In the time of the discovery Princely Palace was used as military barracks, which were built there during 1748-1750 under the Empress Maria Theresia (Stopar 1999, 103). For the other Roman finds from the Princely Palace see: Lazar 1997.

2 There are some discrepancies regarding the year of discovery, as well as its disappearance. As the page in Peter Fendi's sketchbook is marked „Cili (!) von 2. April 1821“, it was certainly found before that date. However, most of the authors claim that it was found after the year 1825. According to Ignac Orožen, it was found between 1825

Risba figuralnega reliefa je bila prvič objavljena leta 1829 med nedavno odkritimi rimskimi kamni znotraj meja Avstrijskega cesarstva kot ilustracija k podlistku *Alterthümer in der Österreichischen Monarchie* v suplementu *Anzeiger Blatt* k *[Wiener] Jahrbücher der Literatur* (sl. 1).<sup>3</sup> Napravil jo je avstrijski slikar Peter Fendi (1796–1842) aprila leta 1821, ko je spremljal direktorja *k.k. Münz- und Antikenkabinett* Antona Steinbüchel von Rheinwalla (1790–1883) na službeno pot v Benetke.<sup>4</sup> Upodobljen je gol mladenič na podstavku. Teža telesa počiva na desni nogi v ospredju, medtem ko je leva noga potisnjena nazaj, tako da se s prsti dotika talne površine. Na desni, ob figuri, je steber, ki nudi podporo levemu komolcu, na katerega se naslanja. Drugo roko ima pokršeno v komolcu, v njej pa drži navzdol usmerjeno baklo. Nad njegovo glavo lebdi metulj, nenavaden detajl pa so velika metuljeva krila na hrbtu figure.

Na drugi strani kvadra je epitaf,<sup>5</sup> sodeč po katerem je bil nagrobni spomenik postavljen za pokojno Kupidovo partnerko, Klavdijo Sekundo, ki je umrla pri dvaintridesetih letih (po R. Wedenigu):<sup>6</sup>

1 *Claudiae*  
*Secundae*  
*annor(um) XXXII*  
*contubernali*

5 *h(ic) s(ita) et*  
*C(aio) Cornelio Felici et*  
*vivis et sibi Cupitus*  
*Celeian(orum) scil. servus) [f(aciendum)] curavi[t].*<sup>7</sup>

vsaka sled (Orožen 1854, 303, št. 49; Johann Gabriel Seidl je odkritje razpel med leti 1825–1828 (Seidl 1846, 9, d)). Od leta 1847 naj bi bil izgubljen po: CIL III 5228; Lupa 4070; Wedenig 1997, 126, št. C 18. V Knežjem dvorcu je kvader zadnji omenil zgodovinar Albert von Muchar (von Muchar 1844, 360, Taf. I: 1).

3 Von Steinbüchel 1829, 101, Taf. II: 3.

4 Adolph 1963, 9; Kehl-Baierle 2007, 168.

5 Četudi je bil epitaf vselej ločeno objavljen, je običajno naveden kot del istega nagrobnega spomenika (cf. CIL III 5228; von Muchar 1844, 360; Seidl 1846, 9, d; Wedenig 1997, 126, št. C 18).

6 Wedenig 1997, 126, št. C 18.

7 O epitafu: CIL III 5228, nekaj popravkov k branju je v CIL III, 1830; von Steinbüchel 1829, 95, št. 286; Seidl 1846, 9, d; Gubo 1909, 13; Šašel 1970, 140, št. 16; Alföldy

A drawing of the figural relief was first published among the newly found Roman stones within the borders of the Austrian Empire as an illustration in the sequel article *Alterthümer in der Österreichischen Monarchie* in the supplement *Anzeiger Blatt of the [Wiener] Jahrbücher der Literatur* (Fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> It was sketched in April 1821 by the Austrian artist Peter Fendi (1796–1842), who accompanied the director of *k.k. Münz- und Antikenkabinett*, Anton Steinbüchel von Rheinwall (1790–1883) on his business trip to Venice.<sup>4</sup>

A young male nude is depicted on a pedestal on the obverse. The body weight is transferred to the right leg in the foreground, whilst the left leg is bent backwards and touches the ground with the toes. There is a pillar in front of the figure, on the right, which gives support to the left elbow, on which he reposes. His other arm is bent at the elbow and he holds a reversed torch in his hand. A butterfly hovers above his head. The large butterfly wings on his back are a special and quite uncommon feature.

There is an epitaph on the reverse of the slab.<sup>5</sup> According to the epitaph, the grave monument was dedicated to the deceased partner, *contubernalis* of *Cupidus*, *Claudia Secunda*, who died at the age of 32 (after R. Wedenig):<sup>6</sup>

1 *Claudiae*  
*Secundae*  
*annor(um) XXXII*  
*contubernali*

and 1826 during the „erweiterung der Kasarne“, where it was preserved until 1840 (Orožen 1854, 303, no. 49; Johann Gabriel Seidl states that it was found between 1825–1828 (Seidl 1846, 9, d)). It has been lost since 1847, according: CIL III 5228; Lupa 4070; Wedenig 1997, 126, no. C 18. The slab was last mentioned in Princely Palace by the historian Albert von Muchar (von Muchar 1844, 360, Taf. I, 1).

3 Von Steinbüchel 1829, 101, Taf. II, 3.

4 Adolph 1963, 9; Kehl-Baierle 2007, 168.

5 Although the epitaph was always separately published, it was regularly mentioned as an integral part of the grave monument (cf. CIL III 5228; von Muchar 1844, 360; Seidl 1846, 9, d; Wedenig 1997, 126, no. C 18).

6 Wedenig 1997, 126, no. C 18.



**Slika/Figure 1** *Krilati genij iz Celja. / Winged genius from Celje.*

Poglejmo natančneje figuralni relief. Potrebno je posebej poudariti, da so vse skice rimskih reliefov iz Desete regije Italije in Norika, ki jih je Fendi napravil na omenjenem potovanju, zelo natančne, zaradi česar upravičeno domnevamo, da ni nobenega avtorjevega domišljjskega dodatka.<sup>8</sup>

Anton Steinbüchel von Rheinwall je figuro razložil kot Genija večnega spanca (*Genius des ewigen Schlafes*).<sup>9</sup> Na relief je v poglavju *Eros und Psyche* v odmevnem delu *Archäologische Beiträge* (1847) opozoril nemški arheolog Otto Jahn. Avtor ni prevzel le Fendijeve risbe, temveč tudi Steinbüchelovo interpretacijo. Poudaril je, da se Genija večnega spanca prepozna zaradi njegovega običajnega atributa,

1974, 267, 274; Wedenig 1997, 126, št. C 18.

<sup>8</sup> Skicirka je objavljena na spletni strani Albertine (<http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/#adb67146-0b38-45cf-b441-60f022346f31>). Za namig o skicirki se zahvaljujem dr. Draganu Božiču.

<sup>9</sup> Steinbüchel 1829, Taf. III: 2.

5 *h(ic) s(itae) et  
C(aio) Cornelio Felici et  
vivi et sibi Cupitus  
Celeian(orum scil. servus) [[(aciendum)] curavi[.]*<sup>7</sup>

A close examination of the figural relief will now be undertaken. It should be noted at the outset that all of the Fendi sketches of the Roman reliefs from *Regio X Venetia et Histria* and *Noricum*, drawn on the above mentioned business trip, are very accurate. Thus it is right to assume that there is no artist's license or imaginative additions.<sup>8</sup>

Anton Steinbüchel von Rheinwall interpreted the figure as the Genius of Eternal Sleep (*Genius des ewigen Schlafes*).<sup>9</sup> A prominent German scholar, Otto Jahn, however, drew attention to it in a chapter entitled *Eros und Psyche* in his widely reached scholarly work *Archäologische Beiträge* (1847). He not only accepted the Fendi's drawing, but also the Steinbüchel's interpretation. He stressed that the Genius of Eternal Sleep can be recognised through his common attribute, the reversed torch, and that the butterfly wings mark the god of Sleep.<sup>10</sup>

Carl Robert (1907) listed the Celje-relief among the representations of the same loving couple in the extensive lexicon *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. He labeled the winged youth as „eine Art Todesgenius“ and stressed that the butterfly wings are characteristic for Psyche, but can also be featured by her counterpart, Eros, especially in conjunction with her. The butterfly, on the other hand, is a common attribute of Psyche and can even be her *pars pro toto*.<sup>11</sup>

The *Genius des ewigen Schlafes*, *Hypnos* or *Somnus* is depicted in a variety of ways in the visual arts of the

<sup>7</sup> On the epitaph: CIL III 5228: some corrections of the reading in CIL III, 1830; von Steinbüchel 1829, 95, no. 286; Seidl 1846, 9, d; Gubo 1909, 13; Šašel 1970, 140, no. 16; Alföldy 1974, 267, 274; Wedenig 1997, 126, no. C 18.

<sup>8</sup> The sketchbook is available online on the Albertina website (<http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/#adb67146-0b38-45cf-b441-60f022346f31>). For the hint about the sketchbook I am grateful to Dr. Dragan Božič.

<sup>9</sup> Steinbüchel 1829, Taf. III, 2.

<sup>10</sup> Jahn 1847, 182–183, Taf. III, 2.

<sup>11</sup> Robert 1907, 534.

navzdol obrnjene bakle, in da metuljeva krila kažejo na boga Spanja.<sup>10</sup>

Med upodobitve istega para je v obsežnem leksikonu *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (1907) celjski relief umestil tudi Carl Robert. Krilatega mladeniča je označil kot „eine Art Todesgenius“ in poudaril, da so metuljeva krila značilna za Psihe, a jih ima lahko tudi njen ljubimec, Eros, še posebej, ko nastopa v paru z njo. Na drugi strani pa je tudi metulj Psihin atribut in celo njen *pars pro toto*.<sup>11</sup>

V likovni umetnosti rimske dobe je *Genius des ewigen Schlafes*, *Hypnos* ali *Somnus*, različno upodobljen. Lahko je bodisi v podobi Erosa, mladeniča ali starca (kar je njegova najbolj pogosta upodobitev).<sup>12</sup> Značilen zanj je par kril (v največ primerih ptičjih), ki so ali na hrbtu ali na glavi, tik za ušesi.<sup>13</sup>

V redkih primerih ima bog na svojem hrbtu metuljeva krila in kot tak na nagrobnih spomenikih simbolizira večer spanec.<sup>14</sup> Na marmorni nagrobni steli iz Suaze, ki jo je v 1. stoletju pr. n. št. postavil osvobodjenec Sekst Titij za svojo ljubico (*concupina*), Lukanijo Benigno, je na desni stranici (čeprav tokrat obrnjen proti levi), upodobljen golobrad mladenič v podobni razmišljujoči pozi kakor figura v Celju (*Ancona, Museo Archeologico Nazionale delle Marche*, inv. št. 73; sl. 2).<sup>15</sup> Podobno se *Somnus* s komolcem naslanja na steber in si podpira brado, medtem ko je druga roka spuščena in drži venec, v čemer se razlikuje od celjske figure. Prav tako je njegova desna noga prekrížana pred levo nogo in ne *vice versa*. *Per analogiam* sta si obe figuri sorodni ravno v drži in metuljevih krilih.

10 Jahn 1847, 182–183, Taf. III: 2.

11 Robert 1907, 534.

12 Cf. Lochin 1990, 607.

13 Lochin 1990, 591, 607. Za Somnusove upodobitve: cf. Lochin 1990, 596–598, kat. št. 35–60 (cf. Stat. *Silv.* 5, 4; Tib. *Elegiae* 2.1, 89–90; Sil. *Pun.* 10, 344–345; Sen. *Her.* F. 1066–1069).

14 Macchioro 1909, 32; Sauer 1884–1890, 2850–2851; Lochin 1990, 607.

15 Henzenn 1872; Lochin 1990, 643, št. 1. Na levi stranici reliefa iz Suaze je bradata figura v podobni pozi - njegov dvojček Tanatos, ki je bil dokaj pogost v grški umetnosti (zlasti v atiškem vaznem slikarstvu 5. stoletja pr. n. št.), a je bil v umetnosti rimske dobe le redka izjema (Bažant 1994, 906–907).



**Slika/Figure 2** *Somnus, Ancona, Museo Archeologico Nazionale delle Marche, inv. št. 73. / Somnus, Ancona, Museo Archeologico Nazionale delle Marche, inv. nr. 73 (Koppermann, Neg. D-DAI-Rom-61.279).*

Roman period. He is either shown in the form of Eros, the youth or the old man (his most common representation).<sup>12</sup> His characteristic is the pair of wings (in far most cases bird wings), which are either on his back or head, just behind the ears.<sup>13</sup>

Nevertheless, in rare cases the god has the wings of a butterfly on his back and as such he symbolizes

12 Cf. Lochin 1990, 607.

13 Lochin 1990, 591, 607. For the depictions of Somnus cf. Lochin 1990, 596–598, nos. 35–60 (cf. Stat. *Silv.* 5, 4; Tib. *Elegiae* 2.1, 89–90; Sil. *Pun.* 10, 344–345; Sen. *Her.* F. 1066–1069).



**Slika/Figure 3** *Somnus, Muzej v Elbasanu. / Somnus, Elbasan Museum.*

Drug redek primer je nagrobna stela iz peščenjaka iz Skampe v osrednji Albaniji iz 2. stoletja n. št. (sl. 3).<sup>16</sup> Četudi tako drži kot oblačilo ne ustrežata mladeniške-mu liku iz Celja, so obema skupni metuljeva krila in pa navzdol obrnjena bakla v roki.

<sup>16</sup> Praschniker, Schober 1919, 53; Koch 1989, 157; Koch 2013, 841.

eternal sleep on funerary monuments.<sup>14</sup> A beardless youth, *Somnus*, in the similar deliberating posture (although turned to the left) as the figure from Celje is located on the right hand lateral side on the marble grave stele from Suasa, which was erected in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC by a freedman Sextus Titius for his *concupina*, Lucania Benigna (Fig. 2).<sup>15</sup> In close similarity to the Celje-relief, *Somnus* leans with one elbow on the pillar and supports his chin. However his other arm differs in being lowered and holding a wreath. His right leg, unlike that of the figure from *Celeia*, is crossed before his left leg and not *vice versa*. *Per analogiam*, the figures obviously share the butterfly wings and the posture.

Another rare case is a sandstone grave stele from Scampa in central Albania (Elbasan Museum), which dates to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (Fig. 3).<sup>16</sup> Although the posture and the garment of the young male figure generally strongly differ from those of the Celje relief, both figures share the butterfly wings and the reversed torch in one hand.

A reversed torch is a customary attribute of the funerary Eroses or of the Genius of Death (Ger. *Graberot, Trauergenius, Todesgenius*) in Hellenistic-Roman and especially in Roman provincial art.<sup>17</sup> What is more, the German classical archaeologist Carl Robert and the Styrian historian Albert von Muchar even labelled the figure from the Celje relief as *Genius des Todes*.<sup>18</sup>

Thus, the reversed torch without doubt follows a certain type of Eros that was transmitted to funerary Eroses, which are a frequent adornment of the lateral sides of the funerary altars and sarcophagi from *Regio*

<sup>14</sup> Macchioro 1909, 32; Sauer 1884–1890, 2850–2851; Lochin 1990, 607.

<sup>15</sup> Henzen 1872; Lochin 1990, 643, no. 1. The counterpart of *Somnus* on the left lateral side in the relief from Suasa is a bearded figure of the similar posture – his twin brother Thanatos, who is quite common in Greek art. (especially in the Attic vase painting from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC), but was in Roman art a rare exception (Bažant 1994, 906–907).

<sup>16</sup> Praschniker, Schober 1919, 53; Koch 1989, 157; Koch 2013, 841.

<sup>17</sup> Blanc, Gury 1986, 907; Cumont 1942, 409–410; Kolšek 1991a, 139; Kolšek 1991b, 1; Pflug 1989, 118–119; Pochmarski 1996, 136; Walde 2005, 119; Cambi 2010, 48.

<sup>18</sup> Robert 1907, 534; von Muchar 1844, 360.

V helenistično-rimski in še posebej v rimski provincialni umetnosti je navzdol obrnjena bakla stalen atribut nagrobnih Erotov oziroma Genija smrti (nem. *Graberot, Trauergenius, Todesgenius*).<sup>17</sup> Opozoriti velja, da sta tudi nemški klasični arheolog Carl Robert in zgodovinar Albert von Muchar označila figuro kot *Genius des Todes*.<sup>18</sup>

Obrnjena bakla je brez dvoma značilna za določen tip Erosa, ki je bil prenešen na nagrobne Erote, ti pa so stalni okras stranske stranice oltarnih nagrobnikov in sarkofagov iz *Regio X Venetia et Histria* vse od 2. stoletja pr. n. št. do pozne rimske dobe.<sup>19</sup> Upodobitev se je kot alegorija žalovanja domnevno razširila iz Akvileje v Norik (vključno s Celejo in pripadajočim teritorijem).<sup>20</sup> Genij smrti v Deseti regiji Italije in tudi Noriku je običajno upodobljen na sledeč način: stoji frontalno, tako da so noge prekrizane. Ena roka sloni na prsih, dlan pa polaga na nasprotno ramo, na katero naslanja glavo (prim. *sl. 4*). Druga roka je spuščena in se opira na navzdol obrnjeno baklo, v roki lahko drži venec ali grozd.<sup>21</sup>

Dobro razvidna so številna neskladja med zelo razširjenim tipom Genija smrti in med figuro na izgubljenem reliefu – oba si *de facto* delita zgolj obrnjeno baklo in goloto. Tudi metuljeva krila niso v nobenem primeru niti atribut Genija smrti niti Erotov na nagrobnih spomenikih.<sup>22</sup>

17 Blanc, Gury 1986, 907; Cumont 1942, 409–410; Kolšek 1991a, 139; Kolšek 1991b, 1; Pflug 1989, 118–119; Pochmarski 1996, 136; Walde 2005, 119; Cambi 2010, 48.

18 Robert 1907, 534; von Muchar 1844, 360.

19 Collignon 1911, 329–333; Blanc, Gury 1986, 1047; Gabelmann 1973, 64; Pochmarski 1996, 135–136; Walde 2005, 117–119; Drack 2008, 84–124. Na sarkofagih se je prvič pojavil iz delavnic v mestu Rim (*stadtrömische Sarkophag*), na katerih je bil najbolj pogost v srednjem antoninskem obdobju (Koch 1993, 86).

20 O Genijih smrti v Celeji z agrom: Kolšek 1991a; Kolšek 1991b.

21 Erwin Pochmarski je za upodobitve Erotov na virunskih nagrobnih spomenikih domneval, da je njihov razvoj potekal od otroških do bolj mladostnih figur podobno, kakor naj bi se razvili Eroti z girlandami. Tako naj bi vitkejši in mladostnejši Eroti spadali v severno dobo (Pochmarski 1996, 135–137; Pochmarski 1997, 212–213).

22 Cf. Blanc, Gury 1986, 1047. Metuljeva krila imajo lahko na hrbtu sicer tudi Eroti, kakor kaže npr. stenska slika v grobnici Oktavije Pavline na *Via Triumphalis* v Rimu iz okoli leta 220 n. št. (zdaj Rim, Museo Nazionale Romano;



**Slika/ Figure 4** *Nagrobni Erot, Grobnica Enijcev, Šempeter v Savinjski dolini. / Funerary Erot, The Ennii tomb, Šempeter in the Savinja Valley.*

*X Venetia et Histria* from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC until the late Roman period.<sup>19</sup> The depiction as an allegory

19 Collignon 1911, 329–333; Blanc, Gury 1986, 1047; Gabelmann 1973, 64; Pochmarski 1996, 135–136; Walde 2005, 117–119; Drack 2008, 84–124. On the sarcophagi they first appeared on the sarcophagi from the workshops in Rome (*stadtrömische Sarkophag*) that are in their greatest extent dated in the middle Antonine era (Koch 1993, 86).





**Slika/Figure 5** *Psibe, Benevento, Museo del Sannio, inv. št. 644.* / *Psyche, Benevento, Museo del Sannio, inv. no. 644.*

Še najbolj so metuljeva krila značilna za Psihe, čeprav jih ima lahko tudi njen ljubimec Eros – nenazadnje je celo Carl Robert uvrstil motiv na celjskem reliefu med upodobitve Erosa in Psihe.<sup>23</sup> Psihe na reliefu iz Beneventa, npr., v drži (stoji s prekrizanimi nogami, z roko sloni na stebri in si z dlanjo podpira brado) povsem ustreza celjski figuri (sl. 5).<sup>24</sup>

Nazadnje je pozornost potrebno usmeriti še na metulja.<sup>25</sup> Vse od 6. stoletja pr. n. št. je metulj simboliziral

Bandinelli 1922, 428–436, sl. 4; Cumont 1942, 345–346; Andreae 1963, 64; Icard-Gianolio 1994, 573, št. 54).

<sup>23</sup> *Vide supra.*

<sup>24</sup> Heydemann 1868, 102–103, št. 6; Icard - Gianolio 1994, 569, št. 4.

<sup>25</sup> Ker je ta risba edina ohranjena upodobitev tega reliefa,

of grief presumably spread from *Aquileia* to *Noricum* (including *Celeia* with its adjoining territory).<sup>20</sup> The Genius of Death in *Regio X Venetia et Histria*, as well as in *Noricum*, is conventionally portrayed in the following manner: he is depicted standing from a frontal viewpoint with his legs crossed. One arm is bent towards the chest; the hand is laid on the opposite shoulder on which he reclines (cf. *Fig. 4*). The other arm is lowered and is supported by the reversed torch, whilst a wreath or bunch of grapes may be held in the hand.<sup>21</sup>

There are numerous differences between the widespread type of the Genius of Death and the figure on the lost relief from Celje, only sharing *de facto* the reversed torch and nakedness. Indeed, the butterfly wings are neither an attribute of the Genius of Death nor of the funerary Eroses.<sup>22</sup>

As mentioned above, the butterfly wings are a characteristic of Psyche and can also be borne by her lover Eros. Moreover, Carl Robert even listed the motif on the Celje-relief among the depictions of Eros and Psyche.<sup>23</sup> Psyche on the relief from Benevento (*Fig. 5*),<sup>24</sup> for example, is quite close in her posture to the figure from *Celeia* (crossed legs, leaning on the pillar, supporting her chin with the hand).

Finally, attention should also be paid to the butterfly itself.<sup>25</sup> The butterfly has been the symbol of the

<sup>20</sup> On Genius of Death in *Celeia* with ager see Kolšek 1991a; Kolšek 1991b.

<sup>21</sup> Erwin Pochmarski tried to derive the iconographic development of funerary Eroses from Virunum from childish to youth figures, the same development he has applied to the Eroses with garlands. Therefore the sleek youth funerary Eroses would be dated into Severan period (Pochmarski 1996, 135–137; Pochmarski 1997, 212–213).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Blanc, Gury 1986, 1047. The wings of the butterfly can, however, also adorn the backs of the Eroses, as is seen in the tomb of Octavia Paulina in Via Triumphalis in Rome from around 220 AD (now Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano; Bandinelli 1922, 428–436, Fig. 4; Cumont 1942, 345–346; Andreae 1963, 64; Icard-Gianolio 1994, 573, no. 54).

<sup>23</sup> *Vide supra.*

<sup>24</sup> Heydemann 1868, 102–103, no. 6; Icard - Gianolio 1994, 569, no. 4.

<sup>25</sup> Needless to say, as this drawing is the only depiction of the lost relief, it is hard to see whether a butterfly or perhaps a bee hovers above, as both of them can symbolize the soul (Waser 1902–1909, 3221). With regard to the

odhajajočo dušo, skozi svojo metamorfozo iz bube pa je postal tudi simbol nesmrtnosti.<sup>26</sup> Slavno zgodbo o Erosu in Psihe (Apul. *Met.* 4.28–6.24) se je v simbolnem pomenu razlagalo kot metaforo za dušo, ki se je, po potovanju skozi življenje, zemeljsko trpljenje in smrt, končno združila z Božanskim tako, kot se je smrtnica Psihe združila z nesmrtnim Erosom.<sup>27</sup>

Če na koncu povežemo napis z nenavadno upodobitvijo, dobimo zanimivo sliko. Nagrobni spomenik je bil postavljen za pokojno partnerko v zakonski zvezi med sužnjema, *contubernalis*, Klavdijo Sekundo.<sup>28</sup> Njena odhajajoča duša, ψυχή, ali celo ona sama, bi lahko bila predstavljena v metulju. Žalujoči mladenič, ki spominja tako na Hipnosa-Somnusa (metuljeva krila), Erote na nagrobnih spomenikih ali Erosa (obrnjena bakla) pa bi lahko simboliziral Kupita, ki žaluje za svojo pokojno soprogo, katere duše je bila ravnokar zapustila tuzemsko življenje.

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entire picture, I am of the opinion that the butterfly is in fact depicted here.  
 26 Waser 1902–1909, 3234, 3237–3238; Robert 1907, 531–533; Cumont 1942, 409; Deonna 1954, 63; Huskinson 1996, 53; Lübker 2005, 867. In fact, the word ψυχή, as indicated by Aristotle (*Hist. An.* 5.19), can stand either for the soul or the butterfly (Macchioro 1909, 31–32; Bremmer 1983, 82).  
 27 Kenney 1990, 12, 16.  
 28 About *contubernium*. Rawson 1974, 293–295; Visočnik 2007, 58–59.

je težko razločiti ali je zgoraj metulj ali čebela, oba sicer lahko simbolizirata dušo (Waser 1902–1909, 3221). Po mojem mnenju je – tudi glede na celotno sliko – upodobljen metulj.

26 Waser 1902–1909, 3234, 3237–3238; Robert 1907, 531–533; Cumont 1942, 409; Deonna 1954, 63; Huskinson 1996, 53; Lübker 2005, 867. Kakor je namignil Aristotel (*Hist. An.* 5.19), naj bi beseda ψυχή pomenila tako dušo kot metulja (Macchioro 1909, 31–32; Bremmer 1983, 82).

27 Kenney 1990, 12, 16.

28 O *contubernium*. Rawson 1974, 293–295; Visočnik 2007, 58–59.

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# Votivni daritvi z Drnovega

## Votive offerings from Drnovo

Eva Butina

**Izvleček:** Leta 2011 sta bili na robu rimskega Navioduna, v današnjem Drnovem, odkriti dve najdbi, ki sta bili interpretirani kot votivni najdbi. Prva je del bronaste konjske opreme v obliki solze, ki je bila položena na plast ožgane zemlje skupaj s štirimi hišicami vrtnih polžev in dvema odlomkoma lončenine. Drugo predstavlja železna ploščica, ki je bila položena v jamo za stojko skupaj z živalskimi kostmi. Prispevek ponuja različne interpretacije rimskih votivnih običajev.

**Ključne besede:** *Neviodynamum*, arheološka izkopavanja, votivne daritve, rimski kult

**Abstract:** In 2011, two archaeological finds interpreted as votive offering, were found on the edge of roman *Neviodynamum*, in modern day Drnovo. The first find is a tear-shaped part of a bronze horse harness that was deposited on a layer of burned clay together with four snail shells and two pottery fragments. The second find represents a small iron plate deposited in a post pit together with animal bones. The paper presents different interpretations of roman custom of votive offering.

**Keywords:** *Neviodynamum*, archaeological excavations, votive offerings, Roman cults

### Uvod

V letih 2010 in 2011 je ekipa Centra za preventivno arheologijo, ZVKDS, izvedla predhodne arheološke raziskave na območju predvidene gradnje enostanovanjske hiše na parceli 34/10, k.o. Drnovo, znotraj območja registrirane enote kulturne dediščine *Drnovo - Arheološko najdišče Neviodynamum*. Na prostoru ob nekdanji strugi reke Save je bilo na južnem delu nekdanjega rimskega mesta Neviodynam (*sl. 1*) raziskano območje v velikosti 170 m<sup>2</sup>. Odkrili smo objekte s preprostimi temelji iz večjih in manjših kamnitih lomljencev, položenih na zemljeno nasutje in najverjetneje z lesenimi stenami. Večje število kurišč, ostanki kvadratne peči neznanega namena, večjega ognjišča in številne najdbe uvoženega finega namiznega posodja (tere sigilate) ter steklenega posodja govorijo v prid stanovanjskim objektom. Med gradivom izstopata najdbi, najdeni v dveh različnih kontekstih, ki vsak po svoje nakazujeta morebitni namen votivne daritve.

### Arheološka izkopavanja in mesto morebitnih votivnih najdb

Po strojni odstranitvi travne ruše sadovnjaka in sodobnih nasutij hišnega vrta smo prišli do pokopane ornice z dobro vidnimi sledovi oranja in redkimi najdbami, ki časovno segajo od zgodnjega srednjega do novega veka. Spodaj ležeče plasti in strukture, ki so ležale oz. so bile vkopane v geološko podlago aluvialnih nanosov proda, so bile zaradi močnega oranja poškodovane in premešane do globine 30 cm, arheološke najdbe pa kažejo sledi poselitve s časovnim razponom od 1. do začetka 5. stoletja n. št. Najstarejše vkope neznanih funkcij so kasneje prekrila nasutja za izravnavo terena, v katero sta bila vkopana jarek in manjša jama za stojko ter preprost objekt s slabo ohranjenimi kamnitimi temelji v obliki črke Z (*sl. 2*). Objekt je imel, glede na preprosto gradnjo temeljev iz tanke plasti večjih in manjših oblic peščenjaka in nekaj lomljencev apnenca skupaj z opeko in brez veziva, najverjetneje lesene stene. V njegovi notranjosti



**Slika 1** Lega najdišča na karti rimskih mest in cestnih povezav na slovenskem ozemlju (izris E. Butina po J. Šašel 1975, 67).

ali ob stenah so bili na preprostih kamnitih postamentih v obliki večjih ploščatih kamnov postavljene najverjetneje lesene sohe oz. stebri. Izjema je postament za stojko, ki predstavlja kamnito oporo v obliki črke L, vkopano v zemljo. Na temelje objekta sta se na jugozahodu naslanjala še dva ostanka temeljev, kar nakazuje, da je imel objekt verjetno več prostorov ali prizidek. V tej fazi nastane večina t. i. kurišč, ki jih predstavljajo manjše ali večje koncentracije ožgane gline, ostanek manjše kvadratne peči na zahodnem robu izkopnega polja, drenažni jarek na severovzhodu z maltnim estrihom ter obe t. i. votivni daritvi. Objekti so bili, glede na več nivojev nasutij s prodrom premešane meljaste gline v in ob objektih, ki najverjetneje predstavljajo hodne površine, v uporabi dlje časa.

Odkrite najdbe in naselbinski elementi na tem prostoru dopolnjujejo sliko rimske naselbine, mesta *Nevidunum*, med 1. in 4. stoletjem. Raziskano najdišče in številne manjše raziskave v bližnji okolici kažejo na to, da se je naselbinski del Neviduna razprostriral

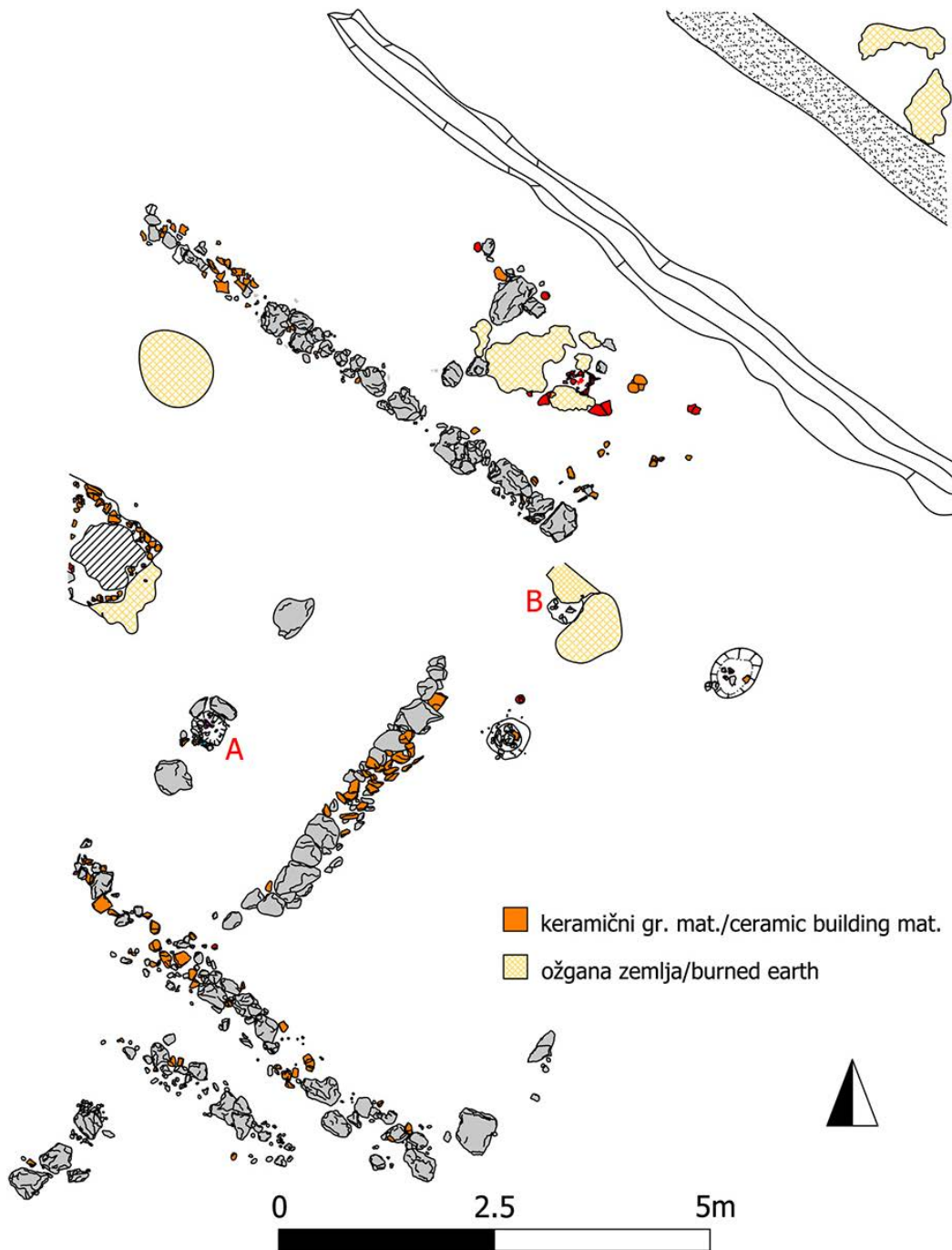
tudi na južnem delu Drnovega med obema južnima grobiščema. Leta 2009 so v bližini raziskanega območja izkopali ročne sonde in odkrili odlomke rimske in prazgodovinske lončenine.<sup>1</sup> Istega leta so pri arheoloških izkopavanjih na sosednji parceli (parcela št. 34/5, k.o. Drnovo) odkrili rimski objekt in ostanke kamnitih temeljev pripadajočih lesenih objektov ter številne rimskodobne najdbe: odlomke lončenine, stekla, železnih in bronastih predmetov ter novce.<sup>2</sup>

### Rimske votivne daritve

Religija je predstavljala pomemben del rimskega vsakdana, pri čemer so daritve predstavljale večji del religioznega življenja. Pri Rimljanih so bile votivne daritve običajno izvajane na dva načina: kot inicialna daritev in kot bolj radodarna zahvalna daritev. Najpogosteje so bile daritve darovane po izpolnitvi za-

1 Žorž, Nadbath 2009.

2 Olič 2009, 37.



**Slika 2** Lega votivnih daritev A in B glede na odkrite antropogene kontekste Faze Ic (izris E. Butina).

obljube. Vendar pa votivne daritve niso samo daritve temveč tudi znamenja, saj poleg vrednosti predstavljajo komunikacijo med prosilcem in božanstvom.<sup>3</sup> Daritve imajo lahko velik razpon v vrednosti ter v obliki in velikosti. Votivne daritve, narejene iz raznovrstnega materiala, so prodajali v trgovinah v pomembnejših templjih in svetiščih. V nekaterih primerih ti predmeti niso bili lokalni proizvodi. Običajno so bili

naprodaj kamniti reliefi, bronaste figurice, votivne ploščice s podobami bogov ali napisom v tehniki *ce-liziranja*, votivne daritve v obliki listov ali peres, bronaste črke in kovinski modeli orodja in orožja ali celo keramični deli človeških teles za medicinske namene. V primeru posvetilnih napisov ali kadar simbolizirajo prosilca v konkretni ali abstraktni obliki, ti predmeti predstavljajo prošnjo samo ali kultno dejanje.<sup>4</sup>

3 Frevel 2007, 198.

4 Frevel 2007, 198.

Kovinske votivne ploščice, listi in peresa imajo pogosto luknjo s pomočjo katere so bili pribiti ali obešeni v notranjosti ali v neposredni bližini templja. V intimnem okolju doma se kot kovinske votivne daritve pojavljajo bronaste figurice bogov in boginj, najpogosteje v obliki prstanov in brošk (bron, zlato in srebro) ali novcev z upodobitvijo božanstev.

V vseh primerih je simbolno dejanje darovanja bogovom še povečano, saj se darovalec odpoveduje resničnemu delu svojega premoženja oz. imetja.<sup>5</sup> Predmet darovanja je lahko narejen namenoma za darovanje (kot npr. figurice in miniature), lahko pa gre za predmet iz vsakdanjega življenja (nakit, orodje), ki so ga uporabili kot votivni objekt z namenom medija med božanskim in prosilcem.<sup>6</sup>

### Morebitni votivni daritvi iz Drnovega

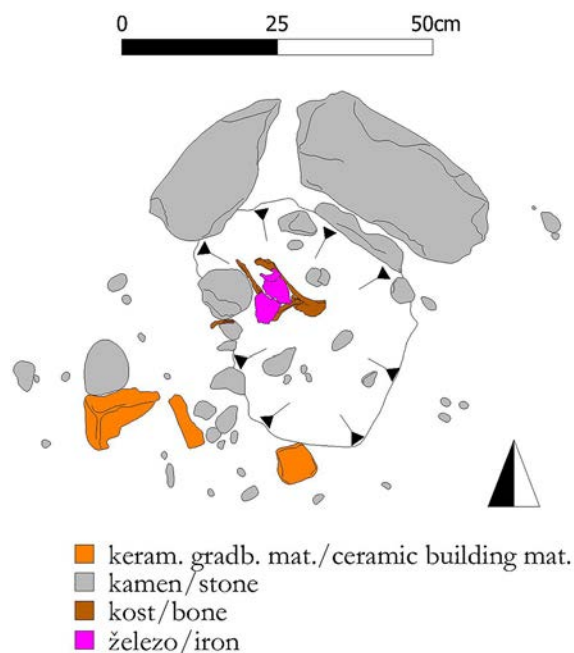
Obe najdbi, ki sta interpretirani kot votivni daritvi na najdišču, izstopata zaradi specifičnosti kontekstov v katerih sta bili odkriti. V nadaljevanju bomo govorili o votivni daritvi A in o votivni daritvi B.

Votivna daritev A predstavlja železno ploščico položeno na živalske kosti (sl. 3), ki je bila v jami za stojko SE 95 skupaj z barvanim kosom ometa (sl. 4). Sama najdba predmetov v jamah za stojke ni nič neobičajnega, saj so drobni predmeti pogosto del polnil vkopov. Običajno polnila predstavljajo zasutja mešanih zemljenih plasti in odlomkov lončenine ali keramičnega gradbenega materiala. Vendar pa omejeni kontekst na najdišču izstopa. To je edina izmed štirih jam postamentov oz. podpornih elementov v obliki močno utrjene jame za stojko, ki tvorijo linijo nadstreška ali strehe objekta z najdbami. Zaradi velikosti ploščice (približno 8 × 14 cm) in njene specifične lege (položena neposredno na živalske kosti), menimo, da kontekst ne more biti posledica zasipa jame, ki je relativno majhna (premer *circa* 40 cm) in ima dobro definirane in dokaj strme stene.

Nekoliko bolj problematičen v smislu namernega ali nenamernega deponiranja, je kos ometa, ki prav tako

<sup>5</sup> Adkins, Adkins 2004, 334.

<sup>6</sup> Frevel 2007; Osborne 2004.



**Slika 3** Votivna daritev A in kontekst odkritja (izris E. Butina).

predstavlja edino najdbo te vrste na najdišču. Odlomek ometa (velik približno 10 cm in debel približno 1,5 cm) ima na vrhni strani ohranjeno plast rdečega opleska iz mešanice apna in gline bogate z železom.<sup>7</sup> Glede na lego v jami za stojko (pokončno ob steni vkopa), je bil lahko vanjo položen namerno ali pa je bil posledica zasipa samega vkopa (sl. 4).



**Slika 4** Odlomek ometa v jami za stojko SE 95 (foto S. Pukšič).

<sup>7</sup> Zalar Serjun, Mladenović 2016.





**Slika 5** Votivna daritev B in kontekst odkritja (foto in situ E. Butina, S. Pukšič).

Za interpretacijo najdbe kot votivno daritev so ključne določene podobnosti našega konteksta z določenimi rimskimi religioznimi praksami. Železna ploščica na živalskih kosteh<sup>8</sup> v jami postamenta bi lahko bila t. i. gradbena daritev ali *Bauopfer* (nemško). Iz Viruna je znan primer namernega deponiranja več novcev in keramične figurice divjega petelina v jamo za temelje.<sup>9</sup> Odločilna za interpretacijo takih najdb kot namerne daritve ob gradnji v sklopu hišnih kultov, je lokacija v sami zgradbi. Kljub temu ni možno določiti, ali je treba takšno daritev razumeti kot zahvalo za uspešno gradnjo ali kot prošnjo za zaščito bogov.<sup>10</sup>

Samo železno ploščico bi lahko povezali z darovanjem običajno svinčenih ploščic z uroki, ki so v primeru uresničitve uroka obljubljali daritev (običajno svinjo) bogovom podzemlja. Tovrstne daritve so bile v rimskem cesarstvu izredno priljubljene.<sup>11</sup> Čeprav ploščica z Drnovega nima ohranjenega napisa (če je le-ta obstajal), pa bi jo lahko v primeru, da so kosti ob ploščici pripadale svinji (ob uresničitvi uroka), interpretirali kot namerno daritev najverjetneje božanstvom podzemlja.

Votivno daritev B predstavlja bronasta ploščica konjske opreme položena na plast ožgane zemlje. Delno odlomljena bronasta ploščica brez okrasa v obliki solze s kratkim zaobljenim pecljem je dolga *circa* 11 cm in ima na eni strani trn za pritrnitev.

Glede na primerjave gre za del konjske opreme, natančneje za okras, ki je bil obešen ali tudi pritrjen s pomočjo trna na usnjene dele konjske opreme. Po Bishopu gre za tip 5e, ki je močno razširjen del opreme v 1. stoletju n. št. Številni primerki so bili najdeni v Avstriji, Nemčiji in Angliji ter posamezni v Švici in Franciji.<sup>12</sup> Poleg bronaste ploščice konjske opreme sta bila poleg še dva majhna odlomka ostenja keramičke tankih sten.

Ploščico so na vogalih obdajale štiri hišice vrtnih polžev (*sl.* 5). Polži so veljali za mistična bitja že od pradavnine in so imeli v rimskem cesarstvu več simbolnih pomenov. Zaradi svoje dvospolnosti (hermafroditi) naj bi imeli zmožnost določati dvojne ali dvomljive dogodke.<sup>13</sup> Zaradi svojega več ur trajajočega parjenja pa so bili tudi simbol čutnosti in erotizma ter posledično povezani z mitom o Afroditu, boginji ljubezni.<sup>14</sup> Iz Grčije so znane votivne daritve

8 Kostni so v času oddaje prispevka še v analizi.

9 Pollers 2007, 123.

10 Pollers 2007, 123.

11 Pollers 2007, 124.

12 Bishop 1988, 147–150, Unz, Deschler-Erb 1997, 44, Tab. 54.

13 Leland 2010, 340–341.

14 Cattaneo-Vietti 2016, 39.

magistratov in drugih uradnikov, ki so darovali Afroditi ob zaključku vojaške ali uradniške službe ali pa v želji za uspešno poslovanje oz. za harmonijo med ljudmi, ki sklepajo posle.<sup>15</sup> Kakorkoli je navezava interpretacije daritve B na kult Afrodite v smislu darovanj v okviru vojaške službe ter sklepanja poslov zelo oddaljena, pa dobi smisel v povezavi s konjsko opremo iz 1. stoletja in dejstva, da je Drnovo v tem času še vojaška postojanka.<sup>16</sup>

Drugačna interpretacija se ponuja na podlagi lokacije konteksta. Najdba konjske opreme obdane s polži se je nahajala v bližini prehoda ali vhoda (?) v objekt (*sl.* 2), v neposredni bližini večje plasti ožgane gline, ki jo lahko interpretiramo kot kurišče. V rimski religiji imajo hišna božanstva pomembno vlogo pri varovanju določenih delov stanovanjskih prostorov kot so vhod, ognjišče in shramba. Eno najpomembnejših božanstev je bil Janus, ki je varoval vhod v bivališče pred sovražniki, hkrati pa je bil zaščitnik začetka vseh pomembnih podvigov in poslov.<sup>17</sup> Glede na najdiščno lego bi lahko v našem primeru govorili o t. i. ustanovitvenem deponiranju predmetov, ki ustvarja tudi poseben status prostora. Tovrstno deponirani predmeti označujejo pomembnost tega, kar je ustanovljeno z vzpostavitvijo povezave med strukturo in božanskimi silami ter hkrati označuje poseben odnos do prostora in sakralizacijo prostora.<sup>18</sup>

Komunikacija med prostori je najpomembnejši ključ za definiranje namena njihove uporabe.<sup>19</sup> V našem primeru so temelji za interpretacijo rabe prostorov preslabo ohranjeni. Naša hipoteza, da gre za namensko deponirano votivno najdbo na prostoru vhoda oziroma prehoda, v povezavi z Janusovim kultom, je tako samo ena od možnih interpretacij.

Votivna daritev B bi glede na zgoraj navedene povezave na kult Afrodite in Janusov kult, lahko nastala kot daritev ob koncu vojaške službe (polži kot daritev Afroditi) in pričetku (novega) civilnega življenja.

Dokaz za to lahko vidimo v lokaciji ob vhodu in v neposredni bližini ognjišča, ki nadomešča oltar.

## Sklep

Najdbi z Drnovega ne predstavljata tipični rimski votivni daritvi, vseeno pa njuna konteksta vsebuje ta elemente, zaradi katerih ju lahko interpretiramo kot votivni daritevi. Darovanje je del večine kultov verovanja. Odvisno od ritualnega konteksta in od božanstev, ki so bila čaščena, so se daritve različno izvajale. V rimski dobi se je v domačem okolju običajno uporabljalo začasen ali permanenten oltar, ki je bil postavljen v enem od skupnih prostorov v hiši.<sup>20</sup> Na najdišču v Drnovem je bil odkrit tudi manjši kamnit artefakt, ki smo ga preliminarno interpretirali kot miniaturno aro (*sl.* 6).<sup>21</sup> Oltarji se uporabljajo kot mize za žrtvovanje in so nepogrešljive v kultih večine bogov. Darovanje se je v primeru, da ni bilo oltarja, lahko opravljalo tudi na domačem ognjišču.<sup>22</sup> Izjema so bili bogovi podzemlja (npr. Pluton in Prozerpina), kjer so daritve darovali v manjšo jamo izkopano v tla.<sup>23</sup>

Ob tem pa spomnimo še na prazgodovinsko tradicijo darovanja v jame v naselbinskih kontekstih. V bronasti dobi so bile votivne daritve v (manjših) jamah v tleh, skrite pod kamni, v skalnih špranjah ali kraških jamah, razširjene po celotni Evropi. Manjše daritve hišnih uporabnih predmetov kot so orodje, manjše orožje in nakit, deponirane v bližini naselbin so najverjetneje darovali posamezniki ali manjše skupine.<sup>24</sup> V železni dobi so daritve deponirane v obrednih jamah in jaških znotraj naselbine ali

15 Edwards 1996, 93–94.

16 Lovenjak 2003, 95.

17 Dunstan 2011, 31.

18 Osborne 2004, 8.

19 Smith 2002, 28.

20 Scheid 2007.

21 Predmet je v konservaciji in še ni bil natančneje analiziran.

22 Adkins, Adkins 2004, 333.

23 McIntosh 2009, 253.

24 Dular 1999, 97. Z bronastodobnega najdišča Hajdusamson (Madžarska) pa je znan primer mečev in sekir položenih neposredno na tla (McIntosh 2009, 258).



**Slika 6** Miniaturna ara iz peščenjaka (foto E. Butina).

posebnega obrednega prostora, kjer so bile lahko položene neposredno na tla.<sup>25</sup>

Kontinuiteto poselitve prostora iz pozne prazgodovine v rimsko dobo nakazujejo tudi ostanki železodobne naselbine in gomile na območju cestninske postaje Drnovo v neposredni bližini vasi.<sup>26</sup> Kasneje, v sredini 1. stoletja pr. n. št., so območje okoli Drnovega poselili keltski Latobiki. V latensko fazo spada tudi nastanek keltskega opida *Neviodunum*, iz katerega se je na začetku 1. stoletja n. št. razvil rimski municipij *Flavium Latobiorum Neviodunum* (status rimskega municipija je naselbina dobila v času cesarja Vespazijana (69–79 n. št.)), najprej kot vojaška postojanka, ki pa kasneje dobi civilno upravo. Sprva

25 Prazgodovinske daritve od neolitika do bronaste dobe so v temeljih stavb ponavadi vključevale daritve predmetov, živali in redko tudi ljudi. V Sloveniji poznamo iz bronaste in železne dobe več manjših depojev orožja, orodja in delov noše v manjših jamah znotraj naselbinskih kontekstov na nižinskem najdišču Gobavice nad Mengšem, kjer najdiščni kontekst kaže na votivni značaj depojev (Pavlin 2014, 52), depoji znotraj višinskih utrjenih naselij pa so bili odkriti tudi v Kranju in Gradišču nad Gornjo Košano (Pavlin 2014, 53). Iz Rima je poznan depo po sestavi podoben številnim italjskim votivnim zakladom iz 7. in 6. stoletja pr. n. št. Nad depojem, ki je bil položen v jamo obdan s kamnitimi ploščami, so bili postavljeni temelji svetišča (Pavlin, Turk 2014, 52).

26 Pavlovič 2007.

je mesto pripadalo provinci Panoniji, po začetku 2. stoletja pa Zgornji Panoniji. Upravno območje (*ager*) *Nevioduna* je zajemalo celotno Dolenjsko. Romanizacija Dolenjske sredi 1. stoletja je gotovo vključevala tudi romanizacijo religioznega življenja lokalnih prebivalcev. Na *Interpretatio Romana* lahko gledamo kot na mehanizem za kontrolo lokalnega prebivalstva, lahko pa jo interpretiramo kot željo lokalnih prebivalcev, da se poistovetijo z rimskim načinom življenja in se istočasno opredelijo kot posebna etnična skupina znotraj cesarstva.<sup>27</sup> Romanizacija je potekala predvsem v centrih provinc s pomočjo vojakov, ki so bili prvi naseljenci, in administracije, ki je neredko vključevala lokalne predstavnike plemstva, bogatih predstavnikov skupnosti in včasih tudi pomembne trgovce, ki so pridobili rimsko državljanstvo. Izven municipalnih centrov pa je lokalna staroselska kultura živela nemoteno naprej.<sup>28</sup>

Razumevanje najdb iz Drnovega kot votivni daritvi ima podporo predvsem v dejstvu, da so Rimljani v svoje religiozno življenje vključevali številne prakse in elemente drugih religij. Odstopanje obeh primerkov z Drnovega od običajnih rimskih oblik votivnih daritev in prostora darovanja, bi lahko glede na zgoraj omenjene primere darovanja in datacijo drnovskih najdb v 1. stoletje n. št., interpretirali kot del prazgodovinske tradicije darovanja znotraj naselja.

Po mnenju Derksa ima vsaka družba jasne ideje o tem kaj je primerno za darovanje. Ti pojmi tvorijo ideologijo te družbe ter se izražajo predvsem v samih ritualih.<sup>29</sup> Kot je že zgoraj omenjeno lahko namensko deponirani (votivni) predmeti nastopajo v različnih oblikah in zato je, kot pravi Osborne, potrebno obravnavati kontekst deponiranih najdb glede na celoten zbir najdb in na kontekste v katerih se le-te nahajajo na celotnem najdišču.<sup>30</sup>

V arheologiji je še vedno močno prisoten problem prepoznavanja obrednih depozitov. Previden odnos arheologov do deduciranja verovanj samo iz materialnih dokazov se prepleta z nepripravljenostjo spre-

27 McLaughlin 2011.

28 Saddington 1991, 417.

29 Derks 1997.

30 Osborne 2004, 5.

jemanja osnovne pomembnosti namensko deponiranega predmeta. To je delno zaradi odsotnosti enotno dogovorjenega termina, ki se nanaša na namerno deponirane predmete, za označitev ali vzpostavitev izmenjave s transcendentnimi silami. Ob različnih priložnostih, se ti predmeti lahko imenujejo posvetilo, daritev, votivna daritev, depo ali preprosto „depozit“. Kot raziskava izrazov kaže, večina od njih prinaša določene predpostavke o naravi zbira najdb, ki se lahko zdi, da prehiteva vprašanje interpretacije.<sup>31</sup> Eden izmed kazalcev, da gre za ritualen depozit, je samo mesto depozita, še posebej v primeru, če deponirani predmet sam po sebi ni poseben. V tem primeru lahko mesto depozita, ki iz različnih razlogov izstopa, nakazuje na to, da gre za ritualno deponiranje.<sup>32</sup>

Interpretacija obeh najdb kot votivni daritvi ima svoje razloge. Kot že omenjeno, sta bili obe najdbi odkriti v kontekstih, ki znotraj najdišča izstopata. V obeh primerih gre za nedotaknjena zaprta konteksta, kar govori v prid namenskem deponiranju najdb in ne za sekundarno lego predmetov kot posledico poškodb in mešanja plasti. Kljub temu, da nobena od obravnavanih votivnih daritev ne predstavlja tipične rimske votivne daritve, pa glede na zgoraj navedeno obstaja več podobnosti z aspekti različnih rimskih kultov. Zaradi pomanjkanja primerjav pa sta interpretaciji votivnih daritev, samo ena od možnosti.

Poleg vprašanj o nastanku kontekstov obeh najdb, ostaja tudi vprašanje, kdo so ljudje, ki so deponirali omenjeni najdbi. Konteksta obeh najdb sta bila odkrita v ostankih preprostih lesenih objektov na južnem obrobju naselbine, datirane v 1. stoletje n. št., torej v sam začetek romanizacije Dolenjske. Del konjske opreme, namensko deponiran sredi naselbinskega prostora, lahko nakazuje na tesne stike stanovalcev z rimsko vojsko, najverjetneje v smislu rimskih kolonistov ali veteranov. Morda bi lahko, glede na netipičnost drnovskih votivnih daritev in razumevanje njunih kontekstov kot del v prostoru prisotne prazgodovinske tradicije (deponiranja daritev v jame in uporaba netipično rimskih predmetov za daritev),

govorili tudi o predstavniku staroselskega lokalnega prebivalstva, ki je imel tesen stik z rimskimi vojaki.

Omenjeni najdbi z Drnovega odsevata težavno delo arheologov pri interpretaciji netipičnih (čeprav nedotaknjenih) kontekstov, ki nimajo primerjav in se dotikajo arheoloških tem kot je vprašanje namernega deponiranja predmetov. Prispevek na podlagi najdiščnih podatkov in nekonvencionalnih primerjav ponuja interpretacije obeh najdb kot (netipični) obliki hišnih rimskih votivnih daritev prebivalcev Drnovega v 1. stoletju.

## Summary

In 2010 and 2011, Center for Preventive Archeology, ZVKDS, carried out archaeological excavations in the area along the former Sava riverbank, in the southern part of the former Roman town of *Neviodunum*.

Under the upper layers containing medieval and post-medieval finds, we discovered a part of the Roman building with simple foundations and most probably wooden walls. In the interior of the building or beside it, on simple stone bedding in the form of large flat stones, stood supports for roof, most probably in the form of wooden posts. A large number of fireplaces, remains of a square furnace of unknown purpose and numerous finds dating back between 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries were also found. Among the artefacts, two finds were found in two different contexts, each of which indicate the potential interpretation of those finds as votive offerings (hereinafter referred to as votive offerings A and B).

The votive offering A represents a small iron plate laid on the animal bones (*Fig. 3*) and placed in the post pit. The mentioned context stands out, since it is the only one of the four supporting elements, which contained finds. Due to the size of the iron plate and its specific location (laid directly on the animal bones), we believe that the context can not be the result of natural filling of the pit. For the interpretation, certain similarities of our context with certain Roman religious practices are key. The votive

31 Osborne 2004, 5.

32 Osborne 2004, 7.

offering A could be interpreted as a building sacrifice (depositing in the foundations) or as a sacrifice to the deities of the underworld (in the event that the bones belonged to the pig).

The votive offering B represents part of a horse equipment in the form a tear shaped bronze plaque, placed on a layer of burnt soil (Fig. 5) together with two small pottery fragments. On the four corners, garden snails shells surrounded the plaque. Here, too, the paper offers two interpretations. The snails could be linked to Aphrodite's cult in terms of donations within the military service and business, which makes sense in connection with horse equipment from the 1<sup>st</sup> century and the fact that Drnovo is at that time a military post. A different interpretation is based on the location of the context: near the passage or entrance (?) into the building, in the immediate vicinity of the fireplace. However, in our case, the building's plan is unknown therefore the hypothesis that this is a deliberately deposited votive find in the space of the entrance or transition in connection with Janus' cult, is thus just one of the possible interpretations. According to the above references to the cult of Aphrodite and Janus' cult, the votive offering B could be result of a sacrifice at the end of the military service (snails as the offering

to Aphrodite) and at the beginning of a (new) civilian life. The evidence for this is seen in the location at the entrance and the immediate vicinity of the fireplace, which in some roman religious practices replaces the altar. The exception were the gods of the underworld (eg Pluto and Prozerpina), where sacrifices were deposited into a smaller pit dug into the ground. In the Iron Age, the offerings were deposited in ritual pits and shafts within the settlement or special ritual space, where they could be placed directly on the ground. The emergence of the Celtic *oppidum Nevioudunum* also dates back to the late iron age, from which, at the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, the Roman town Flavium Latobiorum *Neviodunum* developed, first as a military post, which later received civil administration in the time of Emperor Vespasian (69–79 AD).

The deviation of both finds from Drnovo, from the usual Roman forms and location of votive offerings could, according to the above-mentioned examples of donation and dating of finds to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, that is, at the very beginning of the Romanization of Dolenjska region, be interpreted as part of the prehistoric tradition of a representative of the local Indigenous population who had close contact with Roman soldiers.

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## Bustum pokop v Navportu (Vrhnika) The bustum burial in Nauportus (Vrhnika)

Tadeja Mulh, Mija Černe

**Izvleček:** Od avgusta do decembra 2013 in aprila 2014 so znotraj naselja Vrhnika na vznožju nižjega kraškega obronka hriba Sv. Trojice, potekala arheološka izkopavanja. Gre za prva sistematična izkopavanja dela grobišča na Vrhniku, pri katerih je bilo izkopanih preko 60 grobov. Med odkritimi grobovi glede na način pokopa izstopata dva grobova tipa *bustum*. Med seboj se razlikujeta tako po količini in reprezentativnosti pridatkov kot tudi po izvedbi samega pokopa. Sodita v čas od 1. do začetka 2. stoletja n. št. Najzgodnejši pokopi te oblike so bili odkriti v severni Italiji in sodijo v čas okrog leta 50 pr. n. št. V 1. stoletju n. št. pa se ta oblika pokopa razširi tudi v province, predvsem na mejno območje Porenja ter Podonavja.

**Ključne besede:** *Nauportus*, rimsko grobišče, *bustum*

**Abstract:** The archaeological excavation of a site in the town of Vrhnika took place from August to December 2013 and in April 2014. The site was located on an artificial terrace at the foot of the low outlying karstic Sv. Trojica hill. It was the first systematic excavation of part of a cemetery in Vrhnika. Over 60 graves were excavated on the site. The two excavated *bustum* type graves stand out on the grounds of their burial rite. They differ from each other in terms of the number and quality of the grave goods, as well as in the realisation of the burial. They are dated to the period from 1<sup>st</sup> to the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, which is contemporary with the appearance of this burial type within the Roman Empire. The earliest burials of this type were discovered in northern Italy and are dated to the period around 50 BC. In the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD they supposedly spread from this area into the provinces, above all into the frontier area along the Rhine and the Danube, as well as into the Balkans.

**Key words:** *Nauportus*, Roman cemetery, *bustum*

### Uvod

S sistematičnimi arheološkimi raziskavami je bil v letih 2013 in 2014 raziskan del grobišča rimskega vikusa Navporta (*Nauportus*), ki je ležal na območju današnje Vrhnike. Lega antičnega naselja ob glavni poti iz Italije v Podonavje in na začetku plovne poti do Črnega morja je omogočala Navportu pomembno vlogo v času rimskega prodora v jugovzhodne Alpe in v poznoantičnem obdobju.<sup>1</sup>

Sama rimskodobna naselbina je že zelo dobro raziskana,<sup>2</sup> kar pa ne velja za grobišče oz. grobišča, ki so ji pripadala. Do sedaj so bili pri različnih gradbenih posegih odkriti samo posamezni grobovi. Ti so bili

### Introduction

Systematic archaeological excavations took place in 2013 and 2014 on part of the cemetery of the *vicus* of *Nauportus* located in the area of the modern town of Vrhnika. The location of the Roman settlement on the the main route from Italy into the Danubian region and the beginning of the navigable route to the Black Sea gave *Nauportus* an important role in the period of the Roman penetration into the Southeastern Alpine region and in the Late Roman period.<sup>1</sup>

The Roman settlement is well studied,<sup>2</sup> but this does not apply to its associated cemetery or cemeteries.

1 Horvat 1990, 15.

2 Horvat 1990; Mušič, Horvat 2007, 219–283.

1 Horvat 1990, 15.

2 Horvat 1990; Mušič, Horvat 2007, 219–283.

predvsem žgani, le leta 1846 je bil pri gradnji hleva najden sarkofag z napisom na pokrovu, ki pa so ga že takrat uničili.<sup>3</sup> Potek rimske ceste je deloma dokumentiran tudi na Vrhniku in sicer je trasa rimske ceste potekala pod današnjo Staro cesto.<sup>4</sup>

Raziskano območje, kjer so v letih 2013 in 2014 potekala arheološka izkopavanja, se nahaja na umetno narejeni terasi ob vznožju nižjega kraškega obronka hriba Sv. Trojice (nekdanj imenovanem tudi Vijola gora), ki se dviga nad starim trškim jedrom Vrhnik. Leži na severozahodni strani Stare ceste, in je od nje oddaljeno približno 30 m (zračna linija) (*sl. 1*).

Na zgoraj opisanem območju je bil torej odkrit del grobišča rimskega Navporta. Na območju v velikosti okoli 290 m<sup>2</sup> je bilo odkritih preko 60 grobov. Večina grobov je bila žganih, skeletni grobovi<sup>5</sup> pa so bili v manjšini. Kot je razvidno iz načrta grobišča (*sl. 2*) se je pri pokopih upoštevalo naravne danosti. Geološko osnovo raziskanega predela predstavljata *terra rosa* in apnenec. Ugotovili smo, da grobov ni bilo na delu, kjer se je apnenčasta geološka osnova videla že na površju. Kjer je bila apnenčasta geološka osnova plitka pa je bilo bistveno manj grobov kot tam, kjer so geološko osnovo predstavljala glinena tla (*terra rossa*). Na območju slednje so bili grobovi vkopani na gosto, pogosto tudi kar drug čez drugega.

Grobovi so bili razporejeni v smeri SV–JZ ter so bili med seboj oddaljeni od 0,7 do 1,5 m. Nekatere od teh so v zgornjem delu presekali mlajši grobovi. Osnovna oblika grobov je bila preprosta grobna jama, ki je bila pri nekaterih obdana z vencem apnenčastih kamnov na dnu in ob stenah jame. Nekaj grobov je imelo tudi kamnite ali opečnate konstrukcije. Pri kamnitih grobnih konstrukcijah so kot surovino uporabili lokalni apnenec. Ta je lahko bil neobdelan ali v obliki deloma obdelanih plošč, ki so jih prislonili na stene grobne jame, tako da so tvorile skrinjo, v katero so

Only isolated graves have been discovered in the various building interventions in the area. These were largely cremation graves. It was only in 1846 that a sarcophagus with an inscription on the lid was found during the construction of a stable, but this was destroyed at the same time.<sup>3</sup> The course of a Roman road has also been partially documented in Vrhnika, where it runs beneath the modern Stara cesta (Old Road).<sup>4</sup>

The area of archaeological excavation in 2013 and 2014 is located on an artificial terrace at the foot of the low outlying karstic Sv. Trojica hill (formerly known as Vijola gora), which rises above the central old market town of Vrhnika. It lies on the north-western side of Stara cesta, and is about 30 m (as the crow flies) from the road (*Fig. 1*).

Part of the cemetery of Roman Nauportus was thus discovered in the above described area. Over 60 graves, were found in an area of *circa* 290 m<sup>2</sup>. Most of them were cremation graves, inhumation graves<sup>5</sup> were in a minority. The burials respected the natural situation of the land as can be seen from the plan (*Fig. 2*). The underlying geology of the excavated area is composed of *terra rossa* and limestone. Excavation revealed that graves were not present in areas where the limestone bedrock outcropped on the surface. There were significantly fewer graves in areas where the limestone bedrock lay at a shallow depth than in those areas where the underlying geology was clay (*terra rossa*). Graves were densely packed in the latter areas and frequent cut or overlaid earlier graves. The graves were oriented in a NE–SW direction and laid out at a distance of 0.70 m to 1.5 m between them. The basic grave form was that of a simple grave cut, which was in some cases lined with lime fieldstone on the base and sides of the cut. Some of the graves had stone or brick linings. The stone

3 Horvat 1990, 72–73.

4 Horvat 1990, 42–43.

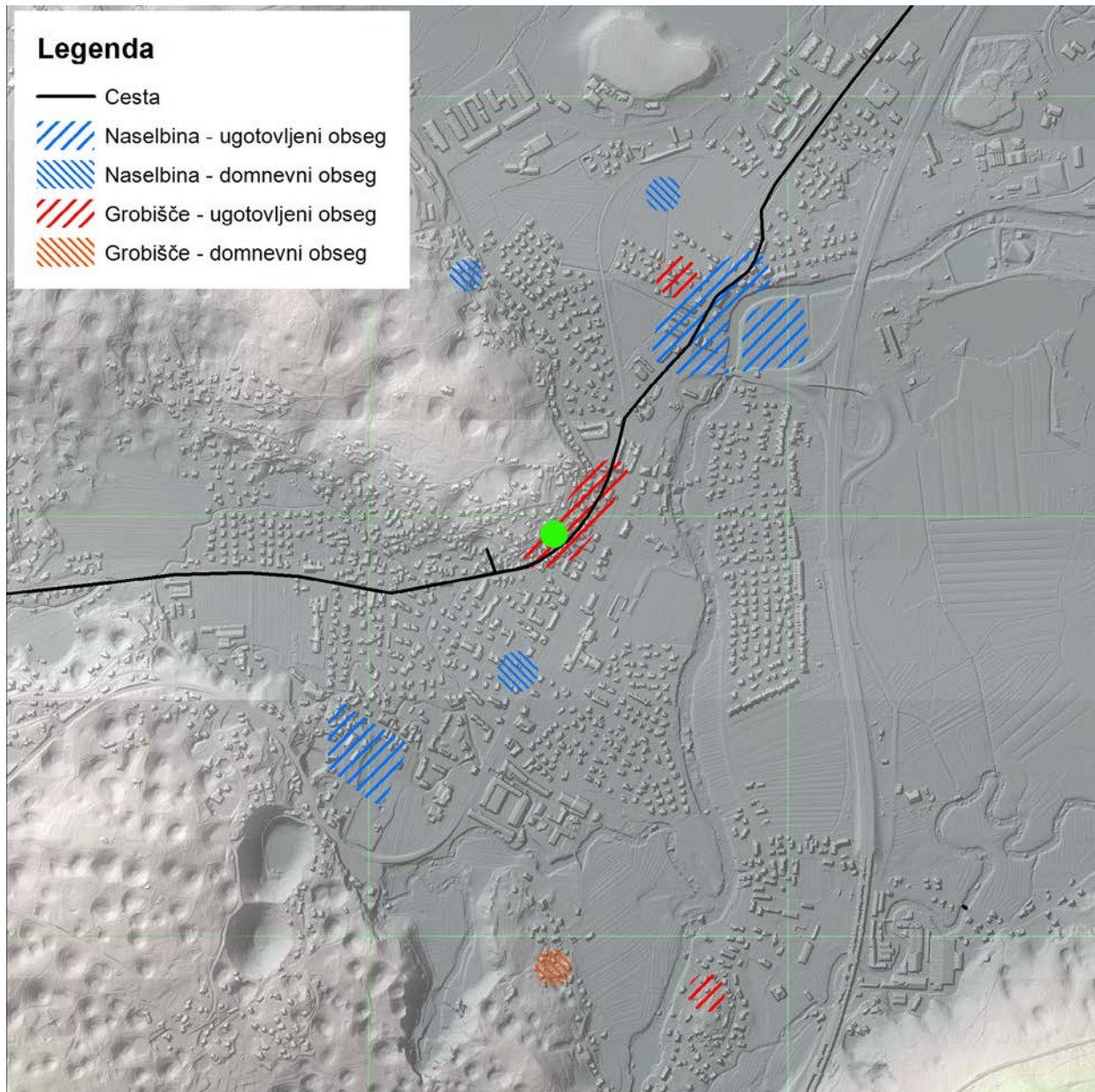
5 Večina skeletov se ni ohranila, saj so bili grobovi vkopani razmeroma plitko in s tem bolj izpostavljeni kmetijski obdelavi zemljišča. Ugotovili smo prav tako, da so se tudi nepoškodovani skeleti, zaradi agresivnega delovanja zemlje ohranili le deloma ohranili oziroma se sploh niso (ohranile so se le posamezne najdbe).

3 Horvat 1990, 72–73.

4 Horvat 1990, 42–43.

5 Skeletal remains were mostly not preserved because the inhumations were buried at a shallower depth and disturbed or destroyed by intensive agricultural activity. However, the undamaged inhumations were only partially extant or absent (only occasional finds survived), because of the aggressive nature of the subsoil.





**Slika/Figure 1** Rimskodobna Vrhnika z označeno lokacijo izvedenih arheoloških izkopavanj v letih 2013–2014 (Evidenca arheoloških raziskav CPA, izvedba G. Rutar). / Vrhnika in the Roman period, showing the location of the archaeological excavations in 2013–2014 (Archaeological research record, IPCHS, PAC, compiled by G. Rutar).

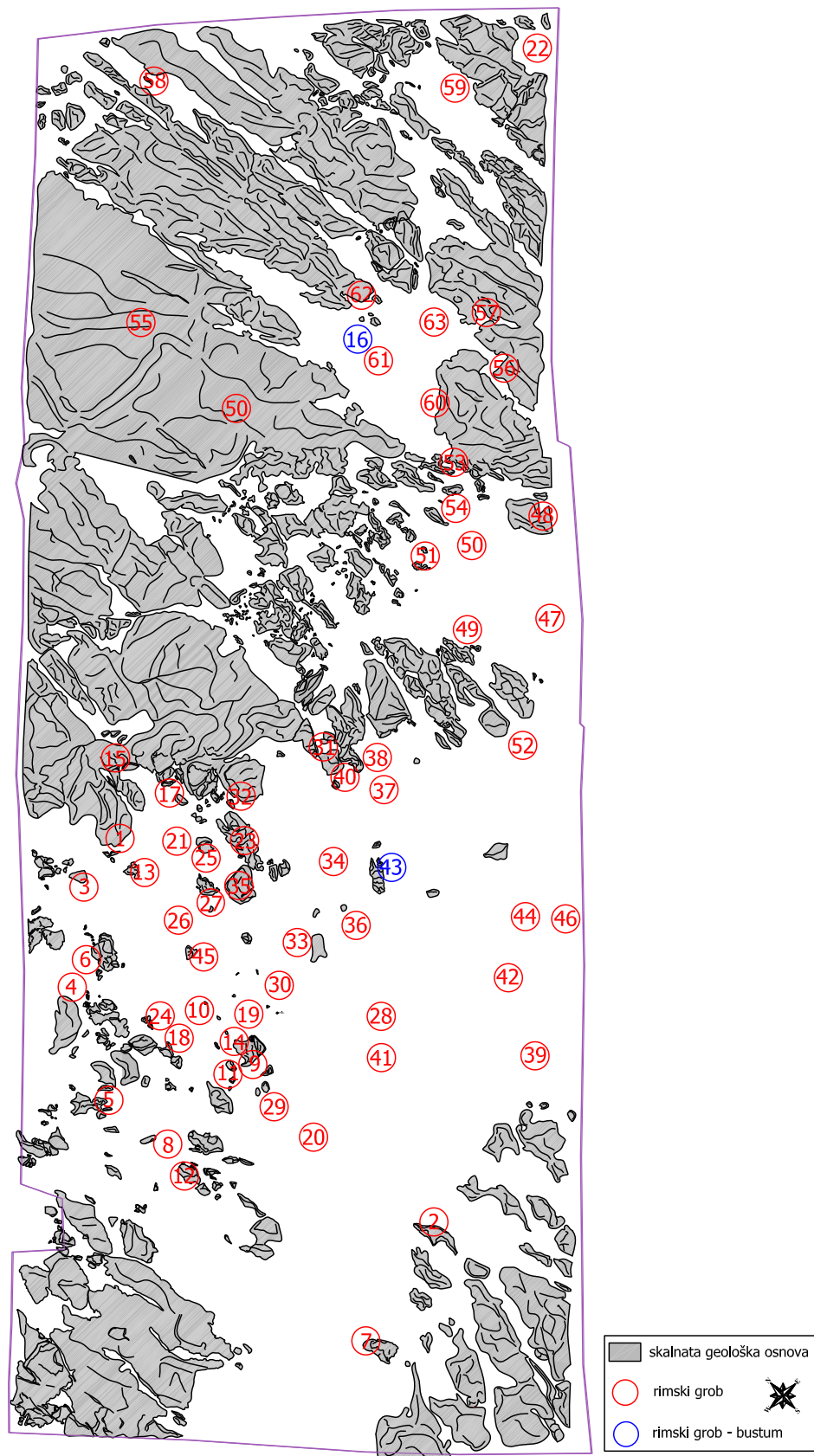
položili grobne pridatke in žganino. V dveh primerih pa so bile za izdelavo grobne konstrukcije uporabljene obdelane peščenjakove<sup>6</sup> plošče. Za izdelavo opečnatih grobnih konstrukcij so uporabili gradbeni material, kot so tegule in tlakovci.

Dosti odkritih grobov je bilo izropanih že v rimskem času. Roparske jame oziroma jarki niso bili izkopani sistematično, ampak so večinoma sledili vkopom grobnih jam. V polnilu roparskih jam smo dokumentirali

<sup>6</sup> Peščenjak ni lokalnega izvora, najbližje nahajališče je pri Ligoniji in na Drenovem Griču (Verbič 2013, 92).

mortuary structures were composed of local limestone. This might be raw or in the form of roughly worked slabs, which lined the grave walls to form a stone box, in which the grave goods and the cremated remains were placed. Worked sandstone<sup>6</sup> slabs were used in the mortuary structure in two cases. The brick mortuary structures employed building materials such as tegulae and floor tiles.

<sup>6</sup> Sandstone is not of local origin, the nearest deposits are at Ligonja and at the Drenov Grič (Verbič 2013, 92).



**Slika/Figure 2** Karta rimskodobnega grobišča raziskanega v letih 2013–2014 (izvedba N. Dolinar, T. Mulh). / Plan of the Roman period cemetery, excavated in 2013–2014 (compiled by N. Dolinar, T. Mulh).

veliko kosov grobnih konstrukcij, ožganih kosti in grobnih pridakov. Zanimiva je tudi ugotovitev, da čeprav so bili nekateri grobovi v celoti poškodovani, so določeni pridatki, kot so oljenke, žare, stekleno in keramično posodje, ostali v grobni jami ali pa so bili še nepoškodovani (tukaj predvsem oljenke) odkriti v polnilu roparskih jam. Od vseh grobov so ostali nepoškodovani le globlje ležeči grobovi ali tisti, ki so bili vkopani v glinene vrzeli med skalno osnovo oziroma so bili pokriti z neobdelanimi apnenčevimi kamni, ki so bili na videz zelo podobni skalnati geološki osnovi.<sup>7</sup> Glede na način pokopa izstopata dva grobova tipa *bustum*. Grobova sta bila v zgornjem delu poškodovana z roparsko jamo oziroma jarkom že v rimskem času, deloma pa s kmetijsko obdelavo v novejših obdobjih.

### ***Bustum***

*Bustum* je oblika pokopa, kjer sta upepelitev in pokop pokojnika potekala na istem mestu. Sežig pokojnika je potekal nad izkopano grobno jamo, na katero so postavili leseno konstrukcijo – grmado, nanjo pa so položili pokojnika in daritve, katerih ostanki so med sežigom padali v jamo. Po zaključku upepeljevanja so grob zasuli, ponekod pa so pred tem večje ožgane kosti prebrali ter jih položili na očiščeni del grobne jame ali v žaro.<sup>8</sup>

Večinoma so grobni pridatki v teh grobovih skromni, prevladujejo pa predvsem odlomki lončenine, žebliji in žeblički ter kosi stopljenih kovinskih predmetov. Pri redkih grobovih so bili pridatki položeni po upepelitvi.<sup>9</sup>

Po obliki grobne jame izstopata dva osnovna tipa te vrste pokopa. Najpogostejšo obliko predstavlja pravokotna, ovalna ali nepravilna grobna jama. Stene so navpične ali rahlo poševne in prehajajo v ravno ali konkavno dno. Tako na stenah kot na dnu so neenakomerne sledi žganja, na zgornjem robu jame pa je viden rdeče oranžen pas ožgane zemlje. Debelina ožgane plasti je odvisna od intenzivnosti ognja,

Many of the excavated graves had already been robbed in the Roman period. The robber pits or trenches were not dug systematically, but largely followed the grave cuts. The fills of the robber trenches contained large pieces of the mortuary structures, burnt bone and grave goods. Despite the fact that some graves were badly disturbed, certain grave goods such as oil lamps, urns, glass and pottery vessels, remained in the grave or were discovered undamaged (above all oil lamps) in the fills of the robber trenches. The only undamaged graves were those that lay at a greater depth, those cut into the clay deposits between the bedrock outcrops, or those covered with unworked lime fieldstone, very similar to limestone bedrock in appearance.<sup>7</sup>

Two graves of *bustum* type stand out amongst the range of burial rites on the site. The upper part of both graves was damaged by robber pits or trenches in the Roman period and by agricultural activity in the more recent past.

### ***Bustum***

*Bustum* is a burial type, in which cremation and burial of the deceased took place at the same location above the open grave pit, over which a wooden pyre structure had been erected. The deceased and the grave goods were placed on the pyre and their remains fell into the pit during the cremation. The grave was backfilled after the cremation, but in some cases large pieces of cremated bone were collected and placed in a specially cleaned part of the grave pit or in an urn.<sup>8</sup>

Most of the grave goods in these graves were poor, predominantly comprising potsherds, nails and hobnails, as well as melted metal artefacts. In some rare cases the grave goods were placed in the grave after the cremation.<sup>9</sup>

Two basic forms of grave pit appear in this type of burial. The most common forms are rectangular, oval

7 Mulh *et al.* 2014, 123–124.

8 Leleković 2012, 322.

9 Damian, Simion 2007, 143.

7 Mulh *et al.* 2014, 123–124.

8 Leleković 2012, 322.

9 Damian, Simion 2007, 143.

značilnosti prsti in od različnih zunanjih dejavnikov, kot so atmosferski pogoji, hlapne snovi ali količina lesa, ki se je uporabila pri postopku upepeljevanja. Pri drugi obliki grobne jame je znotraj večje grobne jame, izkopana še ena manjša grobna jama.<sup>10</sup> Tako zunanja kot notranja grobna jama sta pravokotne oblike, pri čemer zunanja meri od 1,42–3,6 m v dolžino ter 0,92–1,95 v širino. Stene so navpične ali nekoliko razširjene navzven, dno je večinoma ravno oziroma posnema morfologijo terena. Na dnu zunanje grobne jame večinoma ni sledov žganine, ki so prisotni pri manjši jami.<sup>11</sup>

Poleg grobov tipa *bustum* z grobno jamo so se pojavljali tudi taki, kjer so pokojnika upepelili na hodni površini, nato pa so to prekrili z gomilo.<sup>12</sup>

Izvor pokopa v obliki busta ni znan. Prva omemba tovrstnega pokopa izhaja iz pozno republikanskega obdobja, kjer je v leksikonu *De verborum significatu* pojasnjen pomen izraza *bustum* kot: „*Bustum... proprie dicitur locus, in quo mortuus est combustus et sepultus*“<sup>43,14</sup> Najzgodnejši pokopi te oblike so odkriti v severni Italiji in datirajo v čas okrog leta 50 pr. n. št.<sup>15</sup>

Na podlagi tega se je razvila teorija, da *bustum* izhaja iz severne Italije in so ta način pokopa v 1. stoletju n. št. legionarji prenesli v province, predvsem na mejno območje Porenja ter Podonavja/Balkan.<sup>16</sup> Vendar ta teorija ni potrjena, saj je bil takšen način pokopa odkrit tudi pri drugih prazgodovinskih skupnostih. Poleg tega ni neposredne povezave med prazgodovinskimi pokopi v obliki busta ter rimskodobnimi busti, ki so se začeli pojavljati v drugi polovici 1. stoletja n. št.<sup>17</sup> Kontinuiteta od stare Grčije do Rimskega imperija je pri pokopih v obliki busta opazna le na grobiščih grških kolonij ob Črnem morju, ter na območju keltsko-germanskega plemena Treverov. Na slednjem je bil opazen kontinuiran pokop v ob-

or irregular grave cuts. The sides of the grave cut are vertical or slightly sloping and run into a flat or concave base. Irregular traces of burning are found on both the sides and the base of the pit, whilst a reddish-orange zone of burnt soil is visible on the upper edge of the grave pit. The depth of the burnt layer depends on the intensity of burning, the soil characteristics and various other external factors, such as atmospheric conditions, volatile substances or the quantities of timber used in the cremation process. The second form of grave pit has a smaller grave pit cut into the base of a larger one.<sup>10</sup> The external and internal grave pits are rectangular in plan, with external dimensions of 1.42–3.6 m in length and 0.92–1.95 m in width. The sides are vertical or widen slightly, the base is relatively flat or follows the morphology of the terrain. The base of the outer grave cut is usually without traces of burning, which are otherwise present in the smaller, inner cut.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to *bustum* type graves with a grave pit, there are also graves in which the deceased was cremated on the ground surfaces and then covered with a barrow mound.<sup>12</sup>

The origin of the *bustum* type burial is unknown. The first mention of this burial type is found in the Late Republican period, when the *De verborum significatu* lexicon defines the meaning of the term *bustum* as: „*Bustum... proprie dicitur locus, in quo mortuus est combustus et sepultus*“<sup>43,14</sup> The earliest burials of this form were discovered in northern Italy and are dated to the period around 50 BC.<sup>15</sup>

The theory developed on the basis of this data suggests that the *bustum* burial rite originated in northern Italy and was spread by legionaries into the provinces in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, above all into the frontier areas of the Rhine valley and the Danube valley/

10 V tuji strokovni literaturi se za to obliko pokopa uporablja izraz *en etage* ali *step pit*.

11 Damian, Simion 2007, 142–143.

12 Struck 1993, 83–84.

13 *Bustum* se imenuje kraj, kjer je pokojnik sežgan in pokopan...

14 Klestil 2013, 9.

15 Klestil 2013, 12.

16 Leleković 2012, 321.

17 Struck 1993, 92.

10 Specialist works use the term *en etage* or *step pit* for this form of burial.

11 Damian, Simion 2007, 142–143.

12 Struck 1993, 83–84.

13 *Bustum* is used to describe the place, where the deceased was cremated and buried...

14 Klestil 2013, 9.

15 Klestil 2013, 12.

liki busta, ki pa ni imel grobne jame, temveč je sežig potekal na površini, katero so nato prekrili z gomilo. Šele v rimskem času se je vzporedno s to obliko pojavil tudi pokop busta z grobno jamo, ki ga nekateri interpretirajo kot obuditev staroselski običajev in ne kot pojav romanizacije.<sup>18</sup>

Ker se je tip grobov *bustum* pojavil predvsem na območju nekdanjega rimskega limesa in v utrjenih mestih konec 1. stoletja do 4. stoletja n. št., se je razvila teorija, da so ta način pokopa prinesli najemniški vojaki iz vzhodnega predela rimskega imperija.<sup>19</sup> Po eni izmed teorij naj bi ti vojaki izhajali iz območja Mezije in Spodnje Panonije, ker je na tem območju 60–90% vseh grobov oblike *bustum*, medtem ko je bil delež te oblike v preostalem delu imperija izredno nizek.<sup>20</sup> Ti naj bi bili romanizirana oblika tračanskega pokopa z etažno grobno jamo pod gomilo.<sup>21</sup>

Po mnenju Ota<sup>22</sup> rimskodobni busti niso podobni bogatim tračanskim, temveč je bil ta običaj na območje Spodnje Mezije prinesen z romanizacijo.

## Bustum na grobišču Navporta

Na grobišču Navporta sta bila dokumentirana dva grobova tipa *bustum*. V grobu 16 so bili grobni pridatki skromnejši; odkrit je bil železen nož, vsaj 20 železnih žebličkov, 3 žebliji, 3 steklene jagode in keramičen enoročajni vrč. Železen nož s trnom za ročaj ima rezilo s trikotnim presekom in trn, ki je kvadratnega preseka. Vse odkrite steklene jagode so modre barve, od tega sta dve enojni, ena pa je dvojna.<sup>23</sup> Keramični enoročajni vrči ima trikotno oblikovano ustje. Vrči te vrste se pogosto pojavljajo v daljšem časovnem obdobju na območju celotnega rimskega imperija. Na Štalenski gori je ta oblika značilna za 1. stoletje.<sup>24</sup> Odkriti pa so bili tudi v emonskih grobovih, med drugim tudi v grobu 630, kjer je bila poleg

Balkans.<sup>16</sup> However, this cannot be confirmed, because this burial rite has also been discovered amongst prehistoric communities. However there is no direct link between the prehistoric *bustum* burials and the Roman period *bustum* burials, which began to appear in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>17</sup> Continuity of *bustum* burial from Classical Greece to the Roman Empire has only been noted in the cemeteries of the Greek colonies around the Black Sea and in the region of the Celto-Germanic Treveri. While been noted in the latter area that there was continuous use of a *bustum* burial rite, which did not involve the use of a grave pit. The cremation took place on the ground surface and was then covered with a burial mound. It was only in the Roman period that *bustum* burial in a grave pit appeared in parallel with the above rite, while has been interpreted by some authors as the re-awakening of native traditions and not as a sign of Romanisation.<sup>18</sup>

The fact that *bustum* burial appeared above all in the region of the former Roman *limes* and fortified towns from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD has led to the formulation of the theory that this burial rite was brought by mercenary soldiers from the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire.<sup>19</sup> One of these theories suggests that these soldiers came from the regions of Moesia and Pannonia Inferior, because 60–90% of all graves in this region are of *bustum* type, while the percentage in the other regions of the Empire is extremely small.<sup>20</sup> These *busta* are supposed to be the romanised form of the Thracian burial in a stepped pit beneath a barrow.<sup>21</sup>

Ota<sup>22</sup> suggests that the Roman period *bustum* burials are not similar to the rich Thracian *bustum* burials, but that the rite was a facette of romanisation in the region of Lower Moesia.

18 Struck 1993, 92.

19 Struck 1993, 91.

20 Jovanović 2000, 205–206.

21 Jovanović 1984.

22 Ota 2007, 86.

23 Glej Riha 1990, 88, Taf. 31.

24 Schindler Kaudelka 1989, Taf. 6, 18.

16 Leleković 2012, 321.

17 Struck 1993, 92.

18 Struck 1993, 92.

19 Struck 1993, 91.

20 Jovanović 2000, 205–206.

21 Jovanović 1984.

22 Ota 2007, 86.

odkrita tudi oljenka tipa Loeschcke 1C.<sup>25</sup> Grob glede na ugotovljeno datiramo v 1. stoletje. Lega in ohranjenost pridatkov kaže, da so bili le ti najverjetneje skupaj s pokojnikom položeni na grmado, ki se je sesedla v grobno jamo.

Drugi pokop te vrste je bil dokumentiran v grobu 43. Pridatki so bili tukaj številčnejši ter bogatejši; odkrit je bil železen prstan z vstavljeno gemo, železen nož, odlomki železnih okovov, 14 železnih žebeljev, vsaj 84 železnih žebličkov, keramična čaša, dve keramični skodelici tankih sten, keramičen enoročajni vrč, lonec z dvema ročajema ter keramična pečatna oljenka. Železen prstan ima vstavljeno ovalno gravirano gemo iz kalcedona z opalom.<sup>26</sup> Na njej je upodobljena četverovprega (*quadriga*) z voznikom (*auriga*), ki v levi roki drži bič, v desni pa vajeti in palmovo vejico kot simbol zmagovalca. Gre za motiviko, ki se pojavlja skozi celotno rimsko obdobje in je bila priljubljena tako med sužnji, kot višjim slojem rimskega prebivalstva.<sup>27</sup> Železen nož ima rezilo s trikotnim presekom in delno ohranjen nastavek za ročaj, hrbet noža je rahlo ukrivljen. Železni okovi skupaj s številnimi železnimi žebli in žeblički verjetno predstavljajo ostanke skrinje oziroma zaboja. Keramične čaše s cilindričnim vratom so poznane iz emonskih grobišč in datirane od flavijskega obdobja do konca 2. stoletja<sup>28</sup> oziroma v predmarkomansko obdobje<sup>29</sup>. V grobni celoti sta bili odkriti tudi dve skodelici tankih sten. Prva je cilindrične oblike, neokrašena z žlebom pod ustjem. Analogije ji lahko najdemo v materialu iz vile rustike v Školaricah,<sup>30</sup> v Emoni v drugi polovici 1. stoletja<sup>31</sup> in v Akvileji v odpadku iz sredine 1. stoletja n. št.<sup>32</sup> Druga je polkrožne do cilindrične oblike okrašena z barbotinom. Motiv okrasa je sestavljen iz linije buncic v obliki grozdov oziroma trikotnikov, ki se pojavljajo pod profiliranim ustjem. Cilindrične in

25 Glej Plesničar Gec 1972, 107, T. CXLV (grob 630) in Mikl Curk 1987.

26 Rižnar 2016.

27 Glej Humphrey 1986, 204; Vioque 2002, 61, 206, 411, 205–206.

28 Plesničar Gec 1977, 47–48.

29 Mikl Curk 1987, 119, T 40: 13.

30 Žerjal 2008, 75.

31 Plesničar Gec 1977, 14–15, T. I: 5, 6, 8.

32 Maselli Scotti 1984, 54–55, T. 1:9.

## Bustum in the cemetery at Nauportus

Two types of *bustum* burials have been recorded in the cemetery at Nauportus. The grave goods in Grave 16 were more humble in appearance, comprising an iron knife, at least 20 iron hobnails, three nails, three glass beads and a single-handled pottery flagon. The iron tang-hilted knife had a blade of triangular cross-section and a tang of square cross-section. All of the glass beads excavated on the site were blue. Two of them were single beads, while one was a double bead.<sup>23</sup> The single-handled pottery flagon has a triangular rim. This type of jug frequently appears over a longer period of time throughout the Roman Empire. They appeared on the Magdalensberg (Štalenska gora), where this is a 1<sup>st</sup> century shape.<sup>24</sup> They were also excavated in the graves in the cemeteries of Emona, among others in grave 630 together with a lamp Loeschcke 1C.<sup>25</sup> According to analogies the grave can be dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century. The position and preservation of the grave goods indicate that they were most probably placed with the deceased on the pyre, which then collapsed into the grave pit during the cremation.

The other burial of this type was recorded in Grave 43. The grave goods were more numerous and richer in nature. They comprise an iron finger ring with a mounted gem, iron knife, fragments of iron mounts, 14 iron nails, a minimum of 84 small iron nails, a pottery beaker, two thin-walled cups, a single-handled flagon, a two-handled jar and a firm lamp. The iron finger ring has a mounted chalcedony and opal gem.<sup>26</sup> It bears the image of a four-horse chariot (*quadriga*) and driver (*auriga*), who holds a whip in his left hand. In his right hand he holds the reins and a palm branch as a symbol of victory. It is a motif which appears throughout the Roman period and was popular amongst all social classes, from slaves to the

23 See Riha 1990, 88, Taf. 31.

24 Schindler Kaudelka 1989 Taf. 6, 18.

25 See Plesničar Gec 1972, 107, T. CXLV (grave 630) and Mikl Curk 1987.

26 Rižnar 2016.

bikonične skodelice so bile v klavdijsko-flavijskem obdobju pogosto okrašene z barbotinskim okrasom. Okras iz barbotina je bil poznan že od začetka 1. stoletja, vendar pa je prav v tem obdobju čas njegovega razcveta in kreativnosti v iznajdbi novih motivov in kombinacij.<sup>33</sup> Keramični enoročajni vrči s klekasto oblikovanim ustjem, podobni temu iz groba 43 so datirani v čas 1. stoletja n. št.<sup>34</sup> Jajčasti lonci s čašastim ustjem in dvema trakastima ročajema, kakršen je v tem grobu pa so bili pogosti po celem imperiju v 1. in 2. stoletju. Ti lonci so bili verjetno namenjeni za prodajo in transport ribjih omak, saj so se v Pompejih v takšnih loncih ohranili ostanki ribjih kosti.<sup>35</sup> V grobu je bila odkrita tudi pečatna oljenka tipa Loeschcke IX c z žigom *FORTIS*, ki je lokalne izdelave. Glede na odkrite najdbe je grob datiran v čas od sredine 1. stoletja do začetka 2. stoletja n. št. V tem grobu lahko opazimo nekoliko drugačen potek pokopa. Pri kovinskih pridatkih in keramičnem loncu z dvema ročajema lahko glede na ohranjenost predvidevamo, da so bili priloženi na grmado, medtem ko je bilo preostalo keramično posodje in oljenka, posebej postavljeno v grobno jamo, po končanem sežigu in po tem ko je bila grobna jama očiščena lesenih ostankov grmade. Na čiščenje grobne jame po sežigu domnevamo na podlagi žganine, ki je bila ob stenah grobne jame bolj nakopičena, v osrednjem delu grobne jame pa poravnana. Znake izpostavljenosti v ognju kaže tudi železen prstan z gemo (površina kalcedona je namreč popokana), kar je povsem razumljivo, saj gre za del pokojnikove noše.

Kot kaže imamo na Vrhniki opraviti z dvema istima načinoma pokopa, ki pa sta bila izvedena različno. V prvem primeru grobna jama po končanem sežigu ne kaže znakov dodatne priprave oziroma čiščenja, medtem, ko je v drugem primeru opaziti, da so bili ostanki grmade skupaj s sežganimi železnimi najdbami (žebliji in žeblički) in keramičnim loncem z dvema ročajema nekako potisnjeni ob robove grobne jame,

upper classes of Roman society.<sup>27</sup> The iron knife has a blade with a triangular cross section and partially extant handle tang, the back of the blade is slightly curved. The iron mounts with numerous large and small iron nails probably represent the remains of a casket or chest. Pottery beakers with everted or cavetto rims are known from the cemeteries in Emona, where they are dated from the Flavian period to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD<sup>28</sup> or to the pre-Marcomannic period.<sup>29</sup> Two thin-walled cups were also found in the grave. The first is cylindrical in form, undecorated, with a groove below the rim. Analogies for this form are present in the material from the villa rustica at Školarice,<sup>30</sup> in Emona in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD<sup>31</sup> and in the burnt stack from the mid 1<sup>st</sup> century AD in Aquileia.<sup>32</sup> The second is hemispherical to cylindrical with barbotine decoration. The decorative motif is composed of lines of dots in the form of bunches of grapes or triangles below the moulded rim. Cylindrical and biconical cups were frequently decorated with barbotine decoration in the Claudian-Flavian period. Barbotine decoration was already known from the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, but the period of its greatest flourish and creativity in innovative new motifs and combinations was precisely in the aforementioned period.<sup>33</sup> The single-handled pottery flagon with everted rim, similar to the example in grave 43 are dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>34</sup> Ovoid pots with double strap handles like the one found here are common throughout the Empire in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. These vessels were probably used in sale and transport of fish sauce, because the remains of fish bones were found in such vessels in Pompeii.<sup>35</sup> A lamp of Loeschcke

33 Žerjal 2008, 76; glej tudi Maioli 1973, 69; Sena Chiesa 1985, 405; Ricci 1985, 321–343.

34 Mikl Curk 1987, 115, T. 33: 4.

35 Žerjal 2008, 185; glej tudi Gasperetti 1996, 31; Olcese 2003, 86.

27 See Humphrey 1986, 204; Vioque 2002, 61, 206, 411, 205–206.

28 Plesničar Gec 1977, 47–48.

29 Mikl Curk 1987, 119, T40: 13.

30 Žerjal 2008, 75.

31 Plesničar Gec 1977, 14–15, T. I: 5, 6, 8.

32 Maselli Scotti 1984, 54–55, T. 1: 9.

33 Žerjal 2008, 76; see also Maioli 1973, 69; Sena Chiesa 1985, 405; Ricci 1985, 321–343.

34 Mikl Curk 1987, 115, T 33: 4.

35 Žerjal 2008, 185; see also Gasperetti 1996, 31; Olcese 2003, 86.

še posebej je bila ta koncentracija vidna v zahodnem vogalu grobne jame (deloma tudi v severnem vogalu in ob severozahodni stranici), kjer je bila odkrita tudi večina odlomkov železnega okovja. Preostali keramični pridatki so bili v grob 43 zagotovo priloženi, po končanem sežigu, na severozahodni, južni in vzhodni del očiščene grobne jame. Pri grobu 16, verjetno tudi zaradi bistveno manjšega števila grobnih pridatkov, tega ni mogoče opaziti, zato domnevamo, da ta pokop ni bil deležen te vrste rituala, vendar ne izključujemo možnosti, da je bila tudi ta grobna jama posebej pripravljena.

type IX c in a local fabric with a *FORTIS* stamp was also found in the grave. Thus the grave may be dated to the period from the mid 1<sup>st</sup> century AD up to the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD on the basis of the grave goods. A slightly different burial ritual may be observed in this grave. The condition of the metal grave goods and the two-handled pottery jar suggests that they were placed on the pyre, while the remaining vessels and the lamp were placed separately in the grave pit after the cremation and the removal of the wooden pyre remains. The evidence for the cleaning of the grave pit after the cremation is based on the burnt bone and pyre debris, which was piled up against the sides of the pit, but leveled in the centre. The iron finger ring with mounted gem also shows evidence of exposure to fire (the surface of the chacedony is cracked), which is understandable, given that it formed part of the attire of the deceased.

There are two different examples of the same burial type present at Vrhnika. The grave pit in the first case does not exhibit evidence of additional preparation or cleaning after the conclusion of the cremation, however in the second case it is possible to observe that the pyre remains, burnt iron artefacts (nails and small nails) and the two-handled jar were pushed up against the sides of the grave pit. There was a particular concentration of this material in the western corner of the grave pit (and also partly in the northern corner and along the north-western side), where most of the fragments of the iron mounts were found. The remaining ceramic grave goods were definitely placed in the northwestern, southern and eastern parts of the cleaned grave pit of Grave 43 after the end of the cremation. Due to the much smaller number of grave goods, this cannot be observed in Grave 16. Thus it is assumed that this burial was not subject to the same type of ritual, but one should not rule out the possibility that this grave pit was also subject to special preparation.



**Grob 16 (sl. 3, t. 1)**

Grob 16 v obliki *bustuma* je skoraj pravokotne oblike v tlorisu ( $1,37 \times 0,62 \times 0,6$  m). Ožgane stene so strmo in ostro prehajale v ravno dno. V zgornjem delu je bilo 0,45 m debelo polnilo rumenkasto rjave in rumeno rdeče meljasto glinaste ilovice z manjšimi apnenčastimi oblicami, s katero so prekriili 0,15 m debelo žganino. Najdbe so bile odkrite v zasutju nad žganino. V plasti žganine je bil poleg drobcev ožganih kosti tudi železen nož.

*Antropološka analiza:*<sup>36</sup>

*Tafonomija:* material je dobro žgan in fragmentarno ohranjen, bele barve. Prevladujejo manjši fragmenti, pri čemer je povprečni v velikosti  $30 \times 18$  mm.

*Prepoznani elementi:* fragmentirani ostanki lobanje (del senčnice in zob) in postkranialnega skeleta.

*Spol:* nedoločljiv, otrok.

*Starost v času smrti:* 3–5 let.

*Patološke spremembe:* *Periostitis* v blagi obliki je prisoten na fragmentiranih diafizah dolgih kosti.

*Pridatki:*

Nož s trnom za ročaj, rezilo s trikotnim presekom, trn s kvadratnim presekom, železo. Dolžina: 15,5 cm, širina: 2,1 cm (*t. 1: 1*).

Žebelj, železo. Dolžina: 6,7 cm, širina glavice: do 1,8 cm (*t. 1: 2*).

Žebelj, železo. Dolžina: 4,5 cm, širina glavice: 2,4 cm.

Žebelj, železo. Dolžina: 5,7 cm, širina glavice: 1,8 cm.

Žebliček, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 1,5 cm, širina glavice: do 1 cm (*t. 1: 3*).

Vsaj še 19 žebličkov, železo. Ohranjene dolžine od 0,7 do 1,9 cm, širina glavice od 0,8 do 1 cm.

Jagoda, temno modro steklo. Premer: 0,4 cm (*t. 1: 4*).

Jagoda, temno modro steklo. Premer: 0,35 cm (*t. 1: 5*).

Jagoda, temno modro steklo. Dolžina: 0,6 cm, širina: 0,5 cm (*t. 1: 6*).

Enoročajni vrč s trikotno oblikovanim ustjem, keramika rdečkasto rumene barve (5YR 7/8 Munsell soil

**Grave 16 (Fig. 3, Tab. 1)**

Grave 16 is a *bustum* type with an almost rectangular form in plan ( $1.37 \times 0.62 \times 0.6$  m). The burnt sides are steep and run at a sharp angle into the flat base of the grave pit. The upper fill was 0.45 m deep and comprised a yellowish brown to yellow red silty clay loam layer with small limestone river pebble inclusions. It lay above a layer of pyre debris and burnt bone, which was 0.15 m thick. The finds were excavated in the upper fill above the layer of pyre debris. In addition to burnt bone fragments, the layer of pyre contained an iron knife in fragments.

*Anthropological analysis:*<sup>36</sup>

*Taphonomy:* the cremated fragments are white in colour. The material is moderately fragmented with fragments measuring  $30 \times 18$  mm on average.

*Sex:* indeterminable, subadult.

*Age at death:* 3–5 years at time of death.

*Identified skeletal elements:* pars petrous, tooth root, very fragmented elements of cranium and postcranium.

*Pathological features:* mild periostitis (inflammation of the *periosteum*) is present on the fragments of the diaphysis of long bones.

*Grave goods:*

Knife with tang hilt, blade triangular with cross section, tang with square cross section, iron. Length: 15.5 cm, width: 2.1 cm. (*Tab. 1: 1*).

Nail, iron. Length: 6.7 cm, head width: up to 1.8 cm (*Tab. 1: 2*).

Nail, iron. Length: 4.5 cm, head width: 2.4 cm.

Nail, iron. Length: 5.7 cm, head width: 1.8 cm.

Small nail, iron. Extant length: 1.5 cm, head width: up to 1 cm (*Tab. 1: 3*).

19+ Small nails, iron. Extant length: 0.7–1.9 cm, head width: 0.8–1 cm.

Bead, dark blue glass. Diameter: 0.4 cm (*Tab. 1: 4*).

Bead, dark blue glass. Diameter: 0.35 cm (*Tab. 1: 5*).

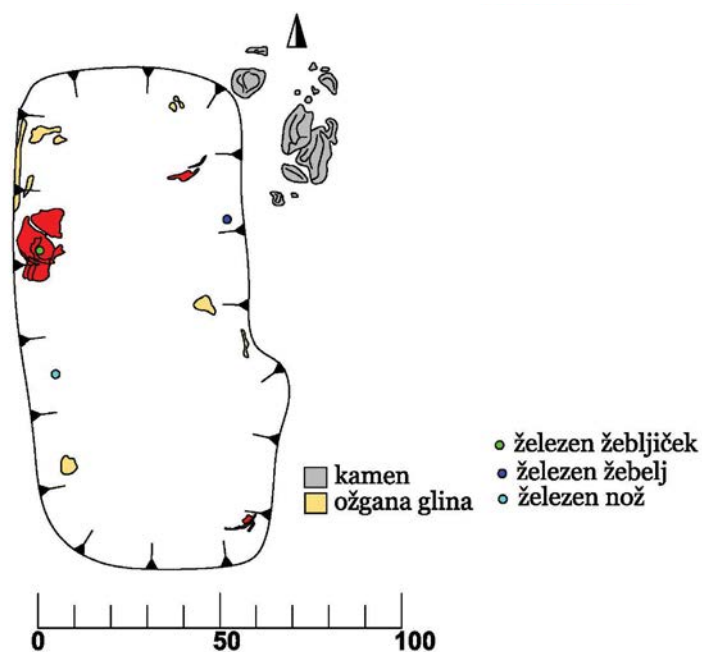
Bead, dark blue glass. Diameter: 0.6 cm, width: 0.5 cm (*Tab. 1: 6*).

36 Antropološka analiza kostnih ostankov iz obeh grobov je bila izvedena v laboratoriju Antropološkega centra Hrvaške akademije znanosti in umetnosti pod vodstvom prof. dr. Maria Šlause s sodelavci (glej Šlaus, Vyroubal, Bedić 2016).

36 Anthropological analysis of cremated human remains from both graves was made by Dr. Mario Šlaus and his co-workers at the Anthropological Centre Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (see Šlaus, Vyroubal, Bedić 2016).

chart), sive lise na površini (vrč je bil prežgan). Premer ustja: 4 cm, rekonstruirana višina: 19 cm (*t. 1: 7*).  
*Datacija:* 1. stoletje n. št.

Single-handed flagon, rim triangular in section, fabric colour: reddish yellow (5YR 7/8 Munsell soil chart), grey patches on surface (the jug was burnt). Rim diameter: 4 cm, reconstructed height: 19 cm (*Tab. 1: 7*).  
*Date:* 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.



**Slika/Figure 3** Grob 16: a. delno izpraznjen grob (v grobu še žganina), b. risba – interpretacija (foto in risba N. Dolinar, T. Mulh). / Grave 16: a. the partially excavated grave (the grave still contains pyre debris), b. drawing – interpretation (photo and drawing N. Dolinar, T. Mulh).

**Grob 43 (sl. 4, t. 2–5)**

Grob 43 v obliki *bustuma* je skoraj kvadratne oblike v tlorisu (1,03 × 0,94 × 0,58 m). Ožgane stene so strmo in ostro prehajale v ravno dno. V zgornjem delu je 0,38 m debelo polnilo sivkasto rjave meljaste gline z apnenčevim gruščem, s katero so prekrili 0,20 m debelo žganino. Kovinske najdbe so bile odkrite v žganini, keramične pa so bile položene na njo.

*Antropološka analiza:*

*Tafonomija:* material je zelo dobro žgan in fragmentarno ohranjen, prevladuje bela barva, med katero so tudi sivi fragmenti in nekaj rdečerjavih fragmentov (zaradi oksidacije kovin). Prevladujejo manjši fragmenti, pri čemer je povprečni velikosti 5 × 5 mm.

*Prepoznani elementi:* fragmentirani ostanki lobanje (del čelnice, desna ličnica, del maksile in mandibule) in postkranialnega skeleta (epifize in diafize femurja (stegenice) in tibije (golenice)).

*Spol:* nedoločljiv.

*Starost ob času smrti:* 25–50 let.

*Patološke spremembe:* niso prisotne.

*Pridatki:*

Prstan z gemo; železo in kalcedon z opalom. Gravi-rana ovalna gema dimenzij 1,38 × 1,11 cm (*t. 2: 1*).

Nož, rezilo s trikotnim presekom, delno ohranjen nastavek za ročaj, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 7,7 cm, širina 1,5 cm (*t. 2: 2*).

Okovi, železo. Ohranjenih 9 kosov, v dolžini od 2,8 do 22,7 cm (*t. 2: 3*).

Žebelj, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 3,8 cm, širina glavi-ce: do 1 cm (*t. 3: 1*).

Žebelj, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 3,1 cm, širina glavi-ce: do 2 cm (*t. 3: 2*).

Žebelj, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 2,6 cm, širina glavi-ce: do 1,1 cm (*t. 3: 3*).

Žebelj, železo. Dolžina: 11 cm, širina glavi-ce: do 1,9 cm (*t. 3: 4*).

Žebelj, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 6,9 cm (*t. 3: 5*).

Žebelj, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 1,9 cm (*t. 3: 6*).

Žebelj, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 5,1 cm (*t. 3: 7*).

Žebelj, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 2 cm, širina glavi-ce: do 1,7 cm (*t. 3: 8*).

Žebelj, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 7,3 cm, širina glavi-ce: do 2,3 cm (*t. 3: 9*).

**Grave 43 (Fig. 4, Tab. 2–5)**

Grave 43 is a *bustum* type with an almost square form in plan (1.03 × 0.94 × 0.58 m). The burnt sides are steep and merge sharply with the flat base. The upper fill is a greyish brown silty clay with limestone rubble inclusions (depth: 0.38 m), which lay above a layer of cremated material (depth 0.20 m). The metal artefacts were found in the burnt layer, while the pottery artefacts were placed on top of it.

*Anthropological analysis:*

*Taphonomy:* the cremated fragments are gray and white in colour. The material is very fragmented with fragments measuring 5 × 5 mm on average. Several fragments exhibit metal oxidation stains.

*Sex:* indeterminable.

*Age at death:* 20–50 years at time of death.

*Identified skeletal elements:* fragmented elements of the cranium (frontal bone, right zygomatic, maxilla, mandible) and postcranium (femur, tibia).

*Pathological features:* not present.

*Grave goods:*

Finger ring with gem; iron and chalcedony with opal. Engraved oval gem; dimensions: 1.38 × 1.11 cm (*Tab. 2: 1*).

Knife, blade with triangular section, partially extant handle tang, iron. Extant length: 7.7 cm, width 1.5 cm (*Tab. 2: 2*).

Mounts, iron. 9 pieces extant, length: 2.8–22.7 cm (*Tab. 2: 3*).

Nail, iron. Extant length: 3.8 cm, head width: up to 1 cm (*Tab. 3: 1*).

Nail, iron. Extant length: 3.1 cm, head width: up to 2 cm (*Tab. 3: 2*).

Nail, iron. Extant length: 2.6 cm, head width: up to 1.1 cm (*Tab. 3: 3*).

Nail, iron. Length: 11 cm, head width: up to 1.9 cm (*Tab. 3: 4*).

Nail, iron. Extant length: 6.9 cm (*Tab. 3: 5*).

Nail, iron. Extant length: 1.9 cm (*Tab. 3: 6*).

Nail, iron. Extant length: 5.1 cm (*Tab. 3: 7*).

Nail, iron. Extant length: 2 cm, head width: up to 1.7 cm (*Tab. 3: 8*).

Nail, iron. Extant length: 7.3 cm, head width: up to 2.3 cm (*Tab. 3: 9*).

- Žebelj, železo. Dolžina: 9 cm, širina glavice: do 1,8 cm (*t. 3: 10*).
- Žebelj, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 6,6 cm, širina glavice: do 1,8 cm (*t. 3: 11*).
- Žebelj, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 6,9 cm, širina glavice: do 2,1 cm (*t. 3: 12*).
- Žebelj, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 2,3 cm, širina glavice: do 1,1 cm (*t. 3: 13*).
- Žebelj, železo. Ohranjena dolžina 4,4 cm, širina glavice 1,2 cm.
- Žebliček, železo. Dolžina: 1,3 cm, širina glavice: do 1,3 cm (*t. 3: 14*).
- Žebliček, železo. Dolžina: 1,3 cm, širina glavice: do 1,2 cm (*t. 3: 15*).
- Žebliček, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 1,5 cm, širina glavice: do 1,3 cm (*t. 3: 16*).
- Žebliček, železo. Dolžina: 1,5 cm, širina glavice: do 1,2 cm (*t. 3: 17*).
- Žebliček, železo. Dolžina: 1,8 cm, širina glavice: do 1,2 cm (*t. 3: 18*).
- Žebliček, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 1,4 cm, širina glavice: do 1,3 cm (*t. 3: 19*).
- Žebliček, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 1,3 cm, širina glavice: do 1,1 cm (*t. 3: 20*).
- Žebliček, železo. Dolžina: 1,8 cm, širina glavice: do 1,2 cm (*t. 3: 21*).
- Žebliček, železo. Dolžina: 2 cm, širina glavice: do 1,2 cm (*t. 3: 22*).
- Žebliček, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 1,4 cm, širina glavice: do 1,2 cm (*t. 3: 23*).
- Žebliček, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 0,9 cm, širina glavice: do 1,3 cm (*t. 3: 24*).
- Žebliček, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 1,1 cm, širina glavice: do 1,4 cm (*t. 3: 25*).
- Žebliček, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 1,5 cm, širina glavice: do 1,3 cm (*t. 3: 26*).
- Žebliček, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 0,7 cm, širina glavice: do 1,1 cm (*t. 3: 27*).
- Žebliček, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 2 cm, širina glavice: do 1,3 cm (*t. 3: 28*).
- Žebliček, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 0,9 cm, širina glavice: do 1,2 cm (*t. 3: 29*).
- Žebliček, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 0,7 cm, širina glavice: do 1,2 cm (*t. 3: 30*).
- Nail, iron. Length: 9 cm, head, width: up to 1.8 cm (*Tab. 3: 10*).
- Nail, iron. Extant length: 6.6 cm, head width: up to 1.8 cm (*Tab. 3: 11*).
- Nail, iron. Extant length: 6.9 cm, head width: up to 2.1 cm (*Tab. 3: 12*).
- Nail, iron. Extant length: 2.3 cm, head width: up to 1.1 cm (*Tab. 3: 13*).
- Nail, iron. Extant length 4.4 cm, head width: 1.2 cm. Small nail, iron. Length: 1.3 cm, head width: up to 1.3 cm (*Tab. 3: 14*).
- Small nail, iron. Length: 1.3 cm, head width: up to 1.2 cm (*Tab. 3: 15*).
- Small nail, iron. Extant length: 1.5 cm, head, width: up to 1.3 cm (*Tab. 3: 16*).
- Small nail, iron. Length: 1.5 cm, head width: up to 1.2 cm (*Tab. 3: 17*).
- Small nail, iron. Length: 1.8 cm, head width: up to 1.2 cm (*Tab. 3: 18*).
- Small nail, iron. Extant length: 1.4 cm, head width: up to 1.3 cm (*Tab. 3: 19*).
- Small nail, iron. Extant length: 1.3 cm, head width: up to 1.1 cm (*Tab. 3: 20*).
- Small nail, iron. Length: 1.8 cm, head width: up to 1.2 cm (*Tab. 3: 21*).
- Small nail, iron. Length: 2 cm, head, width: up to 1.2 cm (*Tab. 3: 22*).
- Small nail, iron. Extant length: 1.4 cm, head, width: up to 1.2 cm (*Tab. 3: 23*).
- Small nail, iron. Extant length: 0.9 cm, head width: up to 1.3 cm (*Tab. 3: 24*).
- Small nail, iron. Extant length: 1.1 cm, head width: up to 1.4 cm (*Tab. 3: 25*).
- Small nail, iron. Extant length: 1.5 cm, head width: up to 1.3 cm (*Tab. 3: 26*).
- Small nail, iron. Extant length: 0.7 cm, head width: up to 1.1 cm (*Tab. 3: 27*).
- Small nail, iron. Extant length: 2 cm, head width: up to 1.3 cm (*Tab. 3: 28*).
- Small nail, iron. Extant length: 0.9 cm, head width: up to 1.2 cm (*Tab. 3: 29*).
- Small nail, iron. Extant length: 0.7 cm, head width: up to 1.2 cm (*Tab. 3: 30*).

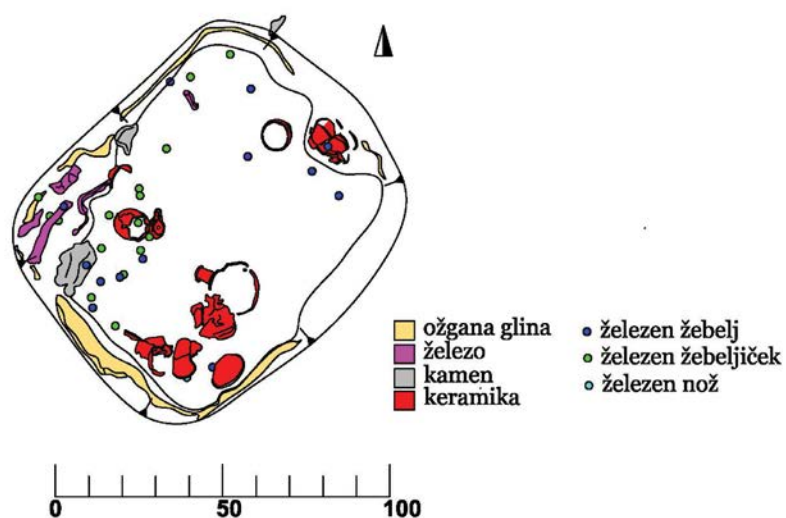
- Žebliček, železo. Dolžina: 1,2 cm, širina glavnice: do 1,4 cm (*t. 3: 31*).
- Žebliček, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 1,1 cm, širina glavnice: do 1,3 cm (*t. 3: 32*).
- Žebliček, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 1,1 cm, širina glavnice: do 1,6 cm (*t. 3: 33*).
- Žebliček, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 0,9 cm, širina glavnice: do 1,2 cm (*t. 3: 34*).
- Žebliček, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 1,1 cm, širina glavnice: do 1,4 cm (*t. 3: 35*).
- Žebliček, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 0,8 cm, širina glavnice: do 1 cm (*t. 3: 36*).
- Žebliček, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 1,4 cm, širina glavnice: do 1,2 cm (*t. 3: 37*).
- Žebliček, železo. Ohranjena dolžina: 1,4 cm, širina glavnice: do 1,2 cm (*t. 3: 38*).
- Vsaj še 66 žebličkov, železo. Ohranjene dolžine od 1,1 do 2 cm, širina glavnice od 0,5 do 1,6 cm.
- Jagoda, posebren bron. Premer 0,3 cm (*t. 3: 39*).
- Mozaična kocka. Dolžina 1 cm, širina 0,8 cm, višina 0,8 cm.
- Čaša s cilindričnim vratom, keramika zelo blede rjave barve (10YR 7/4 Munsell soil chart), zelo slabo ohranjen močno rjav premaz na zunanji površini (7,5YR 5/6 Munsell soil chart). Premer ustja: 8,8 cm, višina: 10,7 cm (*t. 4: 1*).
- Skodelica tankih sten cilindrične oblike, keramika sive barve (2,5Y 5/1 Munsell soil chart), zelo slabo ohranjen črn premaz na zunanji površini (2,5Y 2.5/1 Munsell soil chart). Premer ustja: 14,4 cm, višina: 6,4 cm (*t. 4: 2*).
- Skodelica tankih sten okrašena z barbotinom, keramika sive barve (2,5Y 5/1 Munsell soil chart), zelo slabo ohranjen črn premaz na zunanji površini (2,5Y 2.5/1 Munsell soil chart). Premer ustja: 10 cm, višina: 4,5 cm (*t. 4: 3*).
- Enoročajni vrč s klekasto oblikovanim ustjem, keramika rdečkasto rumene barve (5YR 6/8 Munsell soil chart). Premer ustja: 5 cm, višina: 24,1 cm (*t. 4: 4*).
- Lonec s čašastim ustjem in dvema trakastima ročajema, keramika rdečkasto rumene barve (7,5YR 7/6 Munsell soil chart), skoraj v celoti prežgan. Premer ustja: 11,1 cm, višina: 18,3 cm (*t. 5: 1*).
- Small nail, iron. Length: 1.2 cm, head width: up to 1.4 cm (*Tab. 3: 31*).
- Small nail, iron. Extant length: 1.1 cm, head width: up to 1.3 cm (*Tab. 3: 32*).
- Small nail, iron. Extant length: 1.1 cm, head width: up to 1.6 cm (*Tab. 3: 33*).
- Small nail, iron. Extant length: 0.9 cm, head width: up to 1.2 cm (*Tab. 3: 34*).
- Small nail, iron. Extant length: 1.1 cm, head width: up to 1.4 cm (*Tab. 3: 35*).
- Small nail, iron. Extant length: 0.8 cm, head width: up to 1 cm (*Tab. 3: 36*).
- Small nail, iron. Extant length: 1.4 cm, head width: up to 1.2 cm (*Tab. 3: 37*).
- Small nail, iron. Extant length: 1.4 cm, head width: up to 1.2 cm (*Tab. 3: 38*).
- At least 66 small nails, iron; head width: from 1.1 to 2 cm, head width: from 0.5 to 1.6 cm.
- Bead, silvered bronze. Diameter 0.3 cm (*Tab. 3: 39*).
- Mosaic cube. Length 1 cm, width 0.8 cm, height 0.8 cm.
- Beaker, everted rim, fabric colour: very pale brown (10YR 7/4 Munsell soil chart), very poorly preserved strong brown slip on exterior (7,5YR 5/6 Munsell soil chart). Rim diameter: 8.8 cm, height: 10.7 cm (*Tab. 4: 1*).
- Thin-walled cup, cylindrical form, fabric colour: grey (2,5Y 5/1 Munsell soil chart), very poorly preserved black slip on exterior (2,5Y 2.5/1 Munsell soil chart). Rim diameter: 14.4 cm, height: 6.4 cm (*Tab. 4: 2*).
- Thin walled cup with barbotine decoration, fabric colour: grey (2,5Y 5/1 Munsell soil chart), very poorly preserved black slip on exterior (2,5Y 2.5/1 Munsell soil chart). Rim diameter: 10 cm, height: 4.5 cm (*Tab. 4: 3*).
- Single-handled flagon with everted rim, outer edge cut vertically; fabric colour: reddish yellow (5YR 6/8 Munsell soil chart). Rim diameter: 5 cm, height: 24.1 cm (*Tab. 4: 4*).
- Jar with everted rim and two strap handles; fabric colour: reddish yellow (7,5YR 7/6 Munsell soil chart), almost completely refired. Rim diameter: 11.1 cm, height: 18.3 cm (*Tab. 5: 1*).

Pečatna oljenka; keramika rumenkasto rdeče barve (5YR 5/8 Munsell soil chart), Loeschcke IX c z žigom FORTIS. Dolžina: 10,5 cm, širina: 6,8 cm, višina: 3,5 cm (*t. 5: 2*).

*Datacija:* sredina 1. stoletja–začetek 2. stoletja n. št.

Lamp; fabric colour: yellowish red (5YR 5/8 Munsell soil chart), Loeschcke IX c with FORTIS stamp. Length: 10.5 cm, width: 6.8 cm, height: 3.5 cm (*Tab. 5: 2*).

*Date:* mid 1<sup>st</sup>–beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.



**Slika/Figure 3** Grob 43: a. grobna celota, b. risba – interpretacija (foto N. Dolinar; risba N. Dolinar, T. Mulh). / Grave 43: a. the mortuary lot, b. drawing – interpretation (photo N. Dolinar, drawing N. Dolinar, T. Mulh).

## Zaključek

Grobova tipa *bustum*, ki sta bila odkrita med izkopavanjem manjšega dela grobišča Navportu, sta datirana v čas od sredine 1. stoletja do začetka 2. stoletja n. št. Gre za grobova, kjer je bil pokop pokojnika izveden s sežigom nad grobno jamo, vendar pa je bil sam potek pokopa, kot lahko sklepamo iz pridatkov, v obeh primerih verjetno nekoliko drugačen. V grobu 43 so bili pridatki številčnejši ter bogatejši kot v grobu 16. V tem primeru lahko, glede na lego in ohranjenost pridatkov, sklepamo, na posebno pripravo grobne jame, saj so bili ostanki grmade skupaj s sežiganimi železnimi najdbami (okovi, žblji in žbljički) in keramičnim loncem z dvema ročajema (grob 43, *t. 5:1*) nekako potisnjeni ob robove grobne jame (največja koncentracija železnih najdb se pojavlja v zahodnem in deloma tudi severnem vogalu, ter ob severozahodnem robu grobne jame, odlomki keramičnega lonca pa so bili raztreseni v zahodni polovici groba). Preostali keramični pridatki so bili v grob priloženi, po končanem sežigu, na očiščene dele grobne jame (v severovzhodni del jame ter v južni in zahodni del jame). Drugačno situacijo vidimo v grobu 16, kjer so bili grobni pridatki skromni. Tukaj lahko glede na lego in ohranjenost pridatkov<sup>37</sup> domnevamo, da so bili le ti skupaj s pokojnikom položeni na grmado, ki se je sesedla v grobno jamo, sama jama pa po končanem sežigu ne kaže znakov dodatne priprave oziroma čiščenja. Potrebno pa je opozoriti, da tudi v tem primeru možnost ritualnega čiščenja grobne jame ni popolnoma izključena, saj so grobni pridatki v primerjavi z grobom 43 premalo številni, da bi lahko na podlagi njih podali dokončne zaključke.

## Conclusion

The two *bustum* graves found during the excavation of a small part of the cemetery of *Navportus*, are dated from the period between the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. These belong to a type of grave, in which the burial of the deceased involved cremation directly above the grave pit. However, it may be concluded that the organisation of the burial rite, as indicated by the grave goods, probably differed in both cases. The grave goods in Grave 43 are richer and more numerous than those in Grave 16. Their preservation and location in this grave, provide insights into the specific preparation of the grave pit, because the pyre remains together with the burnt iron artefacts (mounts, nails and small nails) and the two-handled pottery jar, (Grave 43, *Tab. 5: 1*) were pushed to the edges of the grave pit (the greatest concentration of iron artefacts appears in the western and partly in the northern corners, as well as along the northwestern edge of the grave pit, while the sherds of the pottery jar were strewn over the western half of the the grave). The remaining pottery grave goods were placed in the grave in a cleaned part of the grave pit after the cremation (in the northeastern, southern and western part of the pit). A different situation is apparent in Grave 16, where the grave goods were more humble in nature. The position and condition of the grave goods<sup>37</sup> suggest that they were placed with the deceased on the pyre, which fell into the pit on cremation. The grave pit does not exhibit any signs of additional activity or cleaning after the end of the cremation. It should also be noted that the possibility of ritual cleaning of the grave pit cannot be completely discounted, because the grave goods were too few in comparison to those in Grave 43, for final conclusions to be made on the basis of them alone.

<sup>37</sup> Keramični vrč je bil izpostavljen ognju.

<sup>37</sup> The pottery jug was exposed to fire.

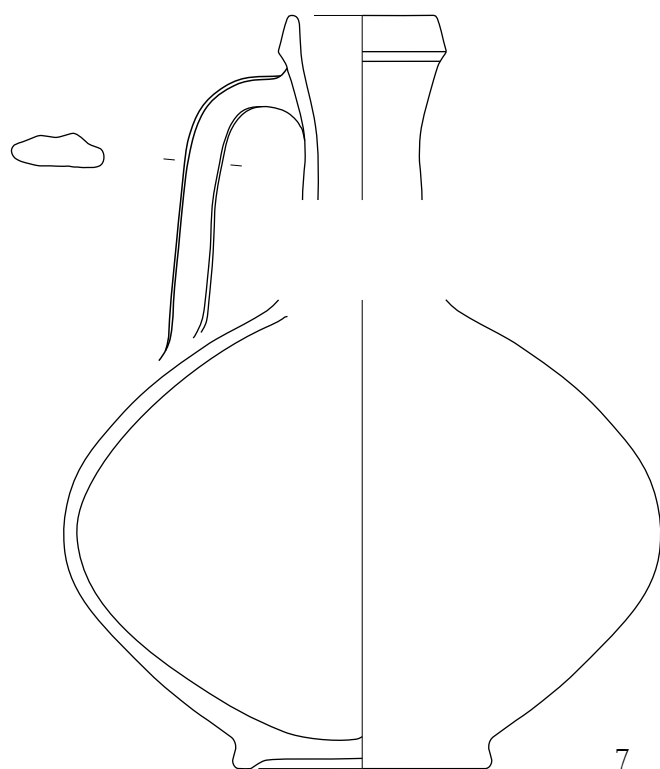
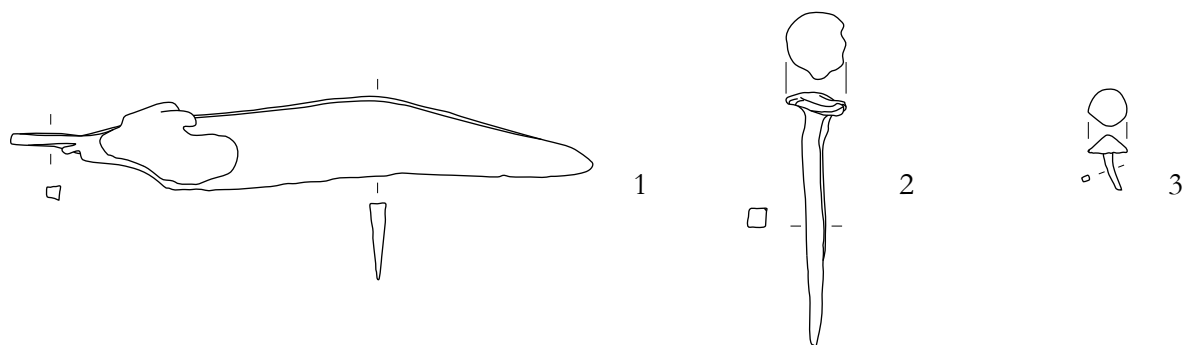
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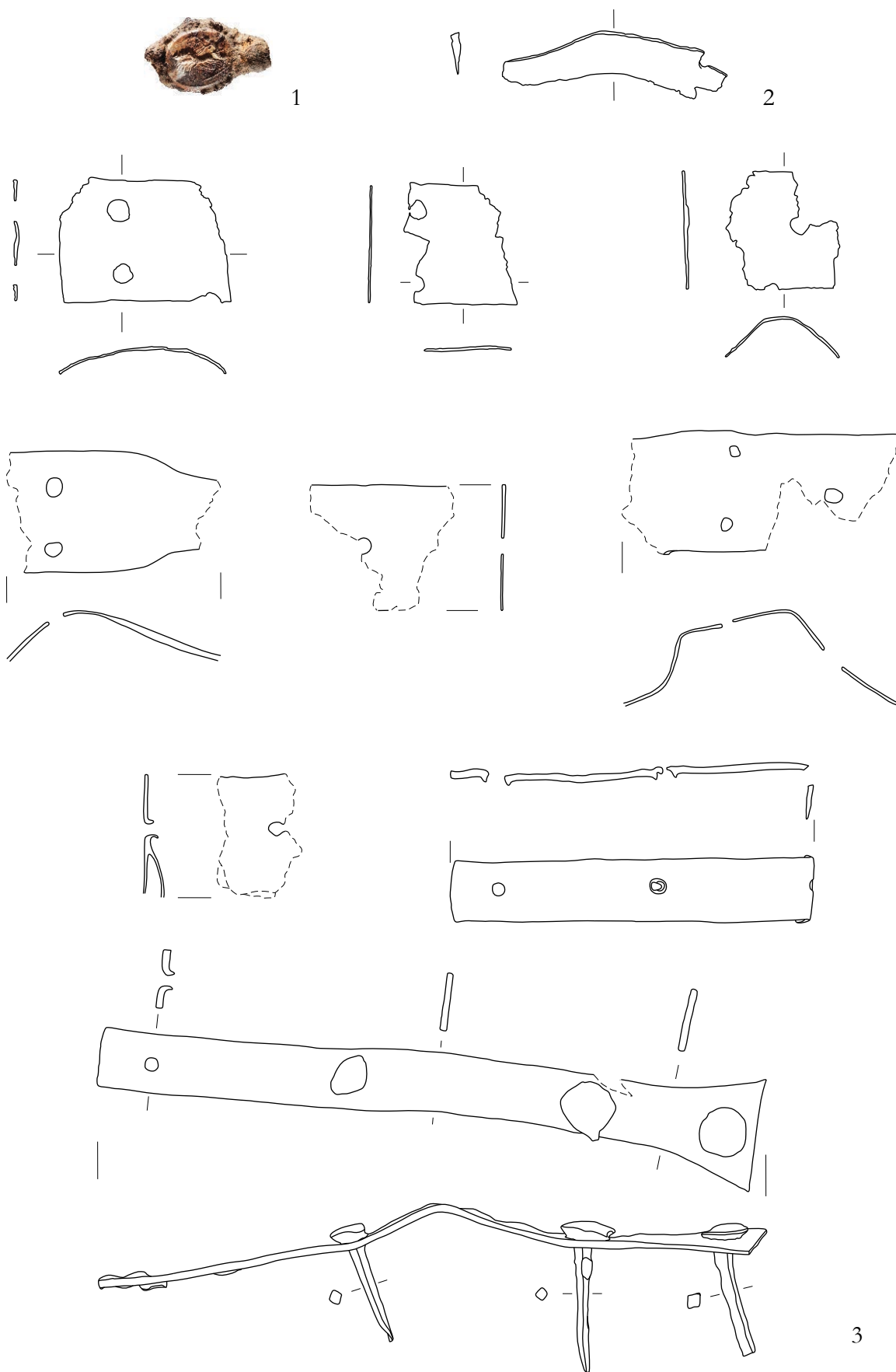
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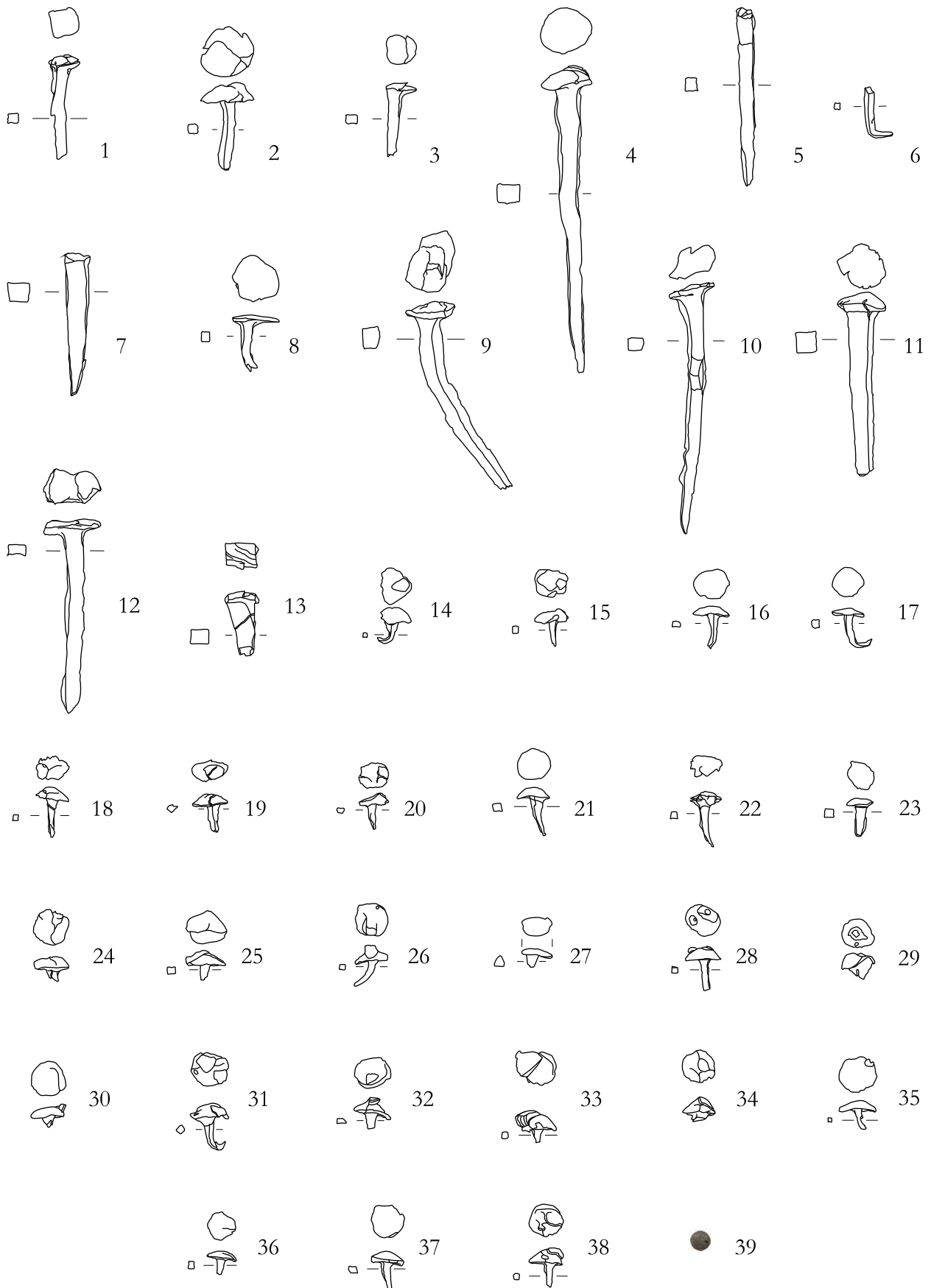




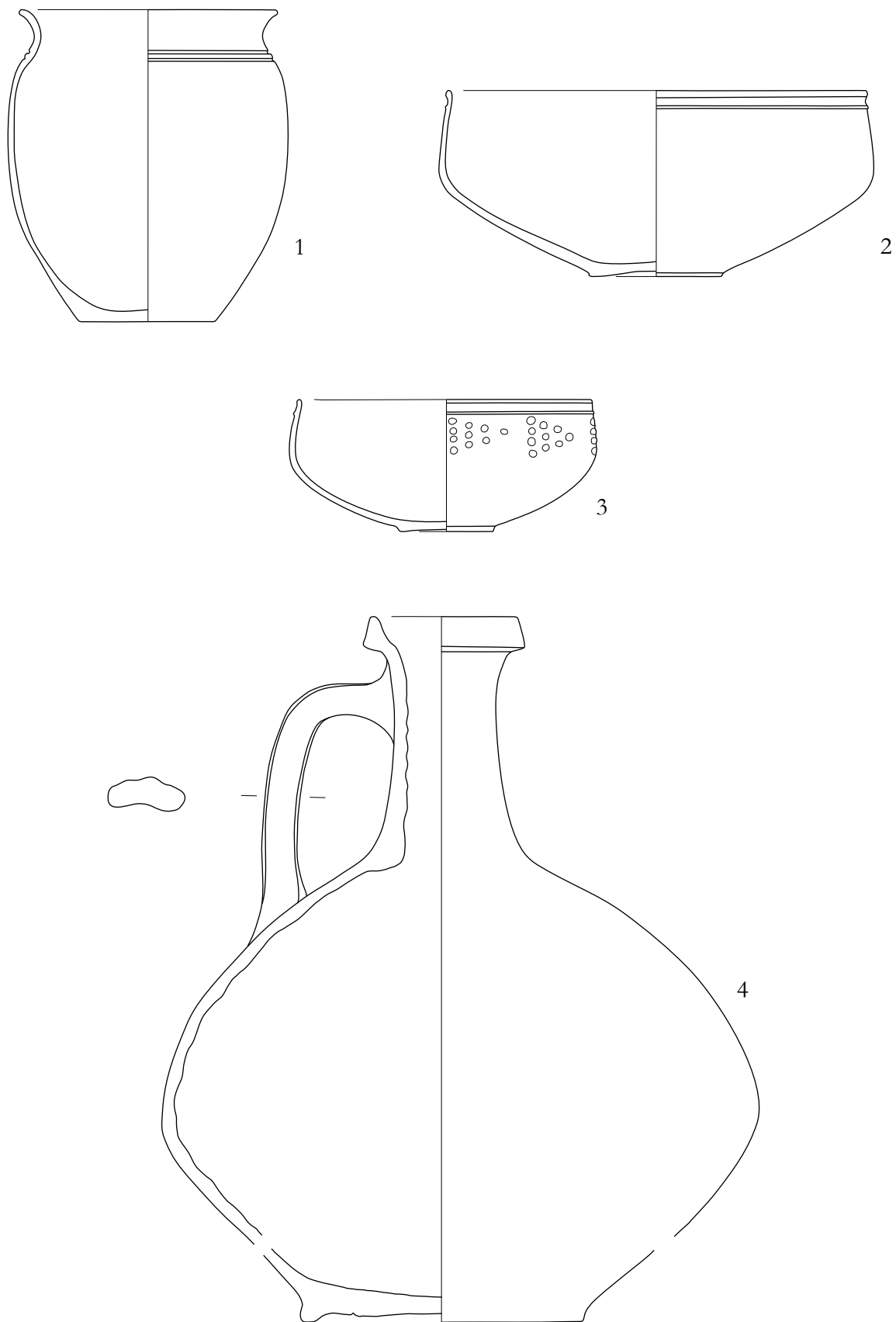
**Tabla/Table 1** 4–6 M 1:1; 1–3, 7 M 1:2 (izris najdb S. Ohman, M. Arb, fotografije najdb S. Pukšič / finds drawn by S. Ohman, M. Arb, finds photographed by S. Pukšič).



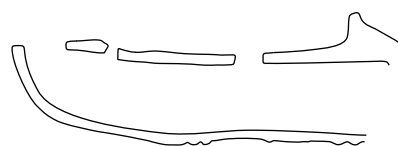
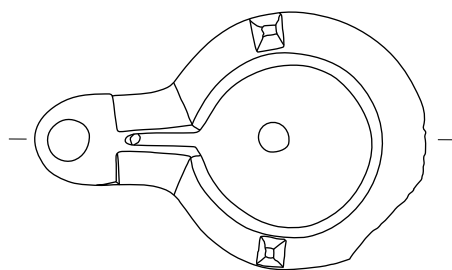
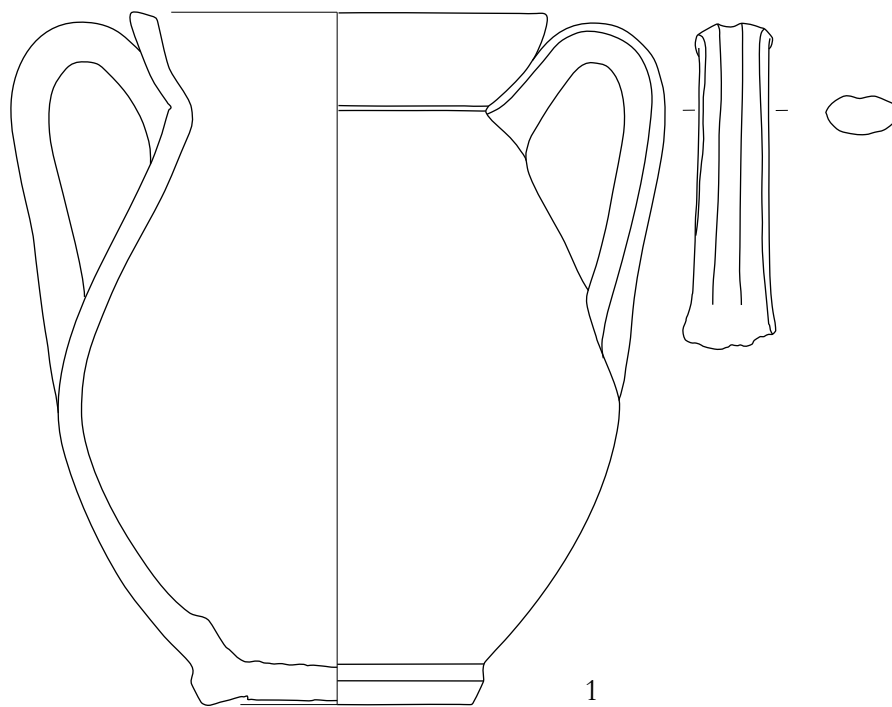
**Tabla/Table 2** 1 M 1:1; 2, 3 M 1:2 (izris najdb S. Ohman, M. Arb, fotografija najdbe B. Farič / finds drawn by S. Ohman, M. Arb, find photographed by B. Farič).



**Tabla/Table 3** 1–38 M 1:2, 39 M 1:1 (izris najdb S. Ohman, M. Arb, fotografija najdbe S. Pukšič / finds drawn by S. Ohman, M. Arb, find photographed by S. Pukšič).



**Tabla/Table 4** M 1:2 (*izbris najdb S. Obman, M. Arb / finds drawn by S. Obman, M. Arb*).



**Tabla/Table 5** *M 1:2 (izbris najdb S. Obman, M. Arh / finds drawn by S. Obman, M. Arh).*



# A chance epigraphic discovery in Spodnja Šiška (Ljubljana, Slovenia)

## Naključno epigrafsko odkritje v Spodnji Šiški (Ljubljana, Slovenija)

Julijana Visočnik, Bernarda Županek

**Izvleček:** Pred več kot dvema letoma je bil na parkirišču v Spodnji Šiški odkrit odlomek napisnega kamna (verjetno iz podpeškega apnenca) z nagrobnim napisom. Najin prispevek začne s epigrafsko analizo in nadaljujeva z možnimi onomastičnimi rešitvami. Poleg tega preverjamo možnost povezave nagrobnika bodisi s severnim grobiščem kolonije Julije Emone bodisi z manjšo naselbino na območju Stare cerkve v Spodnji Šiški.

**Ključne besede:** *Emona*, rimski nagrobnik, epigrafska analiza, 3D modeliranje

**Abstract:** A fragment of an inscription slab (probably made of Podpeč limestone) with a funerary inscription has been found more than 2 years ago at a parking lot in Spodnja Šiška, Ljubljana (Slovenia). Our paper begins with the epigraphic analysis of the inscription and continues with the potential onomastic solutions. Additionally, we discuss its possible connection to the northern necropolis of Colonia Iulia *Emona* (Ljubljana), or alternatively, to a small settlement nucleus near Stara cerkev in Spodnja Šiška.

**Key Words:** *Emona*, Roman tombstone, epigraphic analysis, 3D modelling

### An unexpected find

In August 2015 a fragment of a Roman inscription slab with a funerary inscription was found by a passing citizen in a car park in Spodnja Šiška in Ljubljana. The fragment has the right part of the inscription field preserved, with four lines of inscription. The inscription field is bordered by a profiled frame on the right side.

The part of the inscription surface that was exposed on the site is damaged due to mechanical damage caused by exposure to traffic in the car park (and possibly before) and long exposure to the elements. The other part of the inscription surface was covered with plaster, which meant that thorough mechanical cleaning was necessary to reveal the inscription.

However, even after cleaning the inscription was not fully legible. A 3D model was generated from several photographs of the fragment with Agisoft Photoscan to improve legibility, using different texturing to highlight the damaged parts of the inscription.

### Epigraphic analysis

Transcription:

----- ++  
 --- [e]t Caepariae  
 [Secun?]dinae an(norum) XXV  
 [con]iugi carissim(a)e  
 5 [---]ivs Secun(dinus)

Dimensions: 22.4 x 43 x 14.5 cm; letter height: 3.5 (l. 1), 2.5–3 (l. 2–3), 4 (l. 4) cm.

Line 1: the remains of two vertical strokes are still visible at the end of the first extant line, after the break; these could be the remains of letters: *I*, *T*, *N*, or similar.

Line 2: the remains of the letter *E* can be seen, preceding the first completely extant letter *T*. The letter *T* is followed by a clearly distinguishable triangular punctuation mark; the letter *R* is followed by an *I*, which is smaller than the other letters, suggesting



**Figure 1** *The site with the fragment before excavation (photo M. Bizjak, MGML).*

that the stonemason probably incised it later as the consequence of a mistake.

Line 3: there seems to be a punctuation mark between *E* and *A*. The two letters in front of the punctuation mark are relatively poorly visible due to surface wear, nevertheless, this seems to be the ending *AE*. There is also a punctuation mark between *N* and *X*, and as well as after *V* at the end of the line.

Line 4: a triangular punctuation mark between *I* and *C*.

Line 5: a triangular punctuation mark between the two *SS*. A smaller *V* is incised within the letter *C*.

The gentilicium attested in the second line is *Caeparius*, in the feminine gender form, therefore *CAEPAR-IA*.<sup>1</sup> The *Caeparia* gens was a Roman family during the late Republic. It is best known for two individu-

als: *Marcus Caeparius* of Tarracina, one of the Catiline conspirators, and *Marcus Caeparius*, mentioned by Cicero in 46 BC.<sup>2</sup> This name is known from Italy and Pannonia, in both feminine and masculine forms, so that its appearance in *Emona* is not unusual. This name is rarely attested; there are only 7 examples known from Italy.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the name has already been attested in *Emona*, on an inscription found at Križanke in 1956<sup>4</sup>:

Reading from *ILJug*:

-----  
 [A]cceptae, Caesernia[e]  
 Sex. f. Secundae,  
 [C]aeserniae Sex. f. Vital[i],  
 [C]aepariae Cn. f. Tertiae  
 uxori obitae.

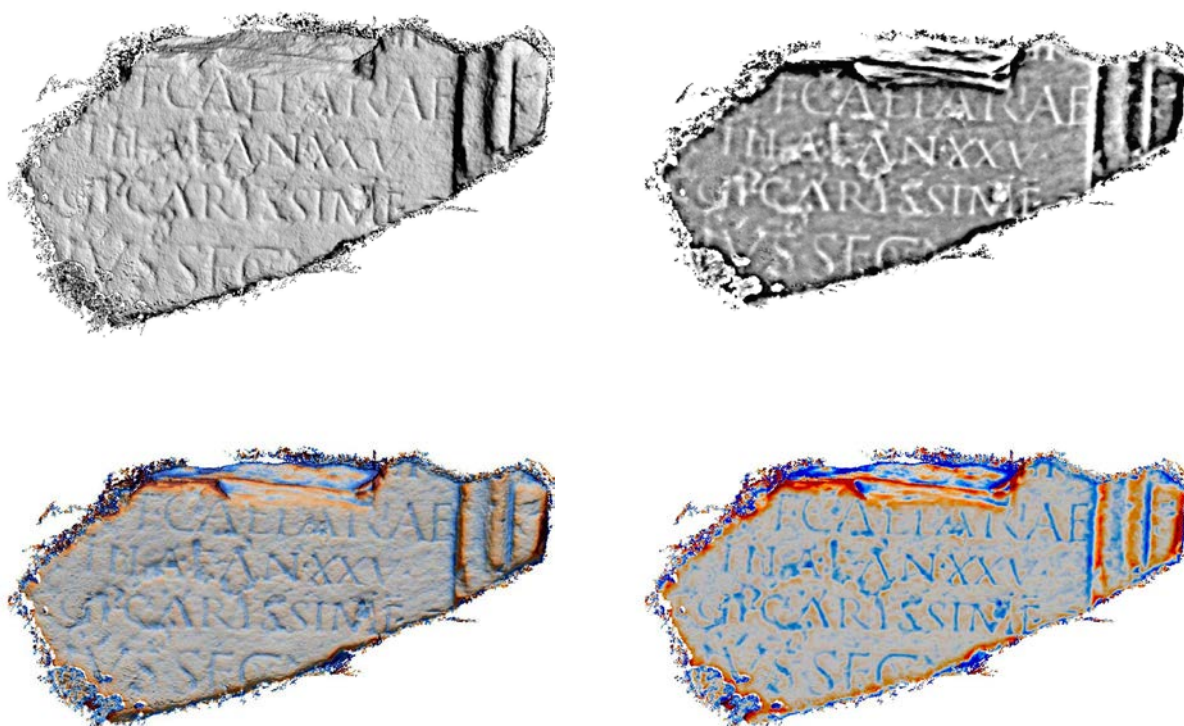
1 The origin of the name could possibly be derived from the Latin word *cepa* (*caepa*), meaning onion. According to Kajanto (1965, 335) it would, therefore, belong to the group of names derived from plant names.

2 Cf. Münzer 1897, 1279.

3 Cf. *OPEL* II, 18: *ILJug* 308 is ascribed to Pannonia here.

4 *ILJug* 308, Fig. 3.





**Figure 2** 3D model of the fragment in different textures (author D. Mlekuž).

In the next line (line 3), the gentilicium could have been followed by a filiation, i.e. the name of *Caeparia's* father. After that the cognomen is preserved. The letters are hardly legible due to heavy wear precisely in this place, but it seems that the name ends in *-INA*. Latin onomastics abound in such names, but the probability of this being the same name is substantial

considering the frequency of the name *Secundin-us/a* in *Emona*.

The fourth line tells us that the tombstone was erected by a husband to his dearest wife: *coniugi carissim(a)e*. This phrase is occasionally used and has also been attested in *Emona*, cf. *RINMS* 43: *Aureliae Ursae coniugi karissime(!)*.<sup>5</sup>

The situation in line 5 is also similar to that in line 3, namely with the supplementation of the man's gentilicium. Names ending in *-IUS* are numerous, and many appear more than once in the index of gentilicia in *RINMS*. It is very difficult to establish a preference, because too little of the name is extant and it is not clear how much of the slab is missing on the left.

It is not possible to talk about exact dating criteria, therefore the time frame of the erection is rather broad: it can be probably dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> or to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.



**Figure 3** The inscription from Križanke (*ILJug* 308), also attesting the name *Caeparia* in *Emona* (photo A. Peunik, *MGML*).

<sup>5</sup> *Karissime* is used here instead of the correct form *carissimae*.



**Figure 4** *Emona with its cemeteries. The site in question is marked on the upper left and the cemetery is hypothetically extended up to location of Stara cerkev (author D. Mlekuž).*

## Tombstone provenance

The inscription surface of the fragment was covered with plaster. It must have been immured in the building at no. 41 Celovška cesta (parc. no. 1321, k.o. spodnja Šiška). The building was demolished several years ago and levelled for the car park. We have thoroughly examined the environs of the site, but no similar artefacts were found.

The tombstone fragment of an inscription slab (made of Podpeč or Glinica limestone) under discussion could be connected with the northern cemetery of *Colonia Iulia Emona*. The north-western part of this cemetery was formed around a road leading through the area towards *Carnium* (Kranj). However, the graves of the cemetery that have been documented so far are located at some distance from the site

of the fragment in question<sup>6</sup> and it is unclear whether our fragment might have once marked one of the graves on this necropolis.

It seems more plausible that our tombstone fragment is connected to a small settlement nucleus near Stara cerkev (Engl.: Old Church) in spodnja Šiška, with documented layers with Roman remains<sup>7</sup>. Several inscriptions are known from this area, mostly built into the walls of the church in Stara cerkev.<sup>8</sup>

As this fragment was used as a spolia, it is thought best to keep both options in mind.

6 Klemenc 1955, 342; Plesničar Gec 1967.

7 Müllner 1892, 35–36.

8 RINMS 54; CIL III 14354, 13; CIL III 14354, 14; AIJ 202; cf. Müllner 1892, 33–34.



**Figure 5** *Fragment of the inscription slab from Celovška cesta 41, Ljubljana, after cleaning (photo M. Paternoster, MGML).*

## Conclusion

The fortuitous find of an inscription slab at Celovška cesta 41 in Ljubljana attested another example of the name *Caeparia* in *Emona*. Additionally, it highlighted the possible relationship between the western part of the northern cemetery of *Emona* and a small Roman set-

tlement with a cemetery around Stara cerkev, along the road towards *Carnium*. Last but not least, it should be noted that the use of a 3D model in this analysis was a useful tool when attempting to read the partly damaged inscription.

The tombstone fragment is now kept at the City Museum of Ljubljana under the inventory number 510: LJU; 0061375.

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## Abbreviations

- AIJ*: Hoffiller, V. and S. Balduin, *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien. Heft I: Noricum und Pannonia Superior*. – Zagreb, 1938.  
*CIL*: *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*.  
*ILJug*: Šašel, A. and J. Šašel, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Ingoslavia inter annos, repertae et editae sunt* (Situla 5), Ljubljana, 1963; (Situla 19), Ljubljana, 1978; (Situla 25), Ljubljana, 1986.  
*OPEL*: Lőrincz, B. *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, Vol. I: *Aba – Bysanus*, Budapest 2005; II: *Cabalicius – Ixus*, Wien 1999; III: *Labareus – Pythea*, Wien 2000; IV: *Quadrata – Zures*, Wien 2002.

- RE*: Wissowa, G. *et al.*, *Pauly Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 1893–1980.  
*RINMS*: Šašel Kos, M. *Lapidarij Narodnega muzeja Slovenije / The Roman Inscriptions in the National Museum of Slovenia* (Situla 36), Ljubljana, 1997.

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## Sledi metalurško-kovaške dejavnosti na najdišču Polje pri Vodichah

### Traces of Metallurgical-Forging Activities at the Polje pri Vodichah Archaeological Site

Maja Lavrič, Maja Bricelj

**Izvleček:** Najdišče *Polje pri Vodichah* – *Antično grobišče* (EŠD 16971) se nahaja na severnem delu Skaručenskega polja, približno 26 km severno od Ljubljane. Zaradi izgradnje plinovoda so bila v letu 2013 izvedena zaščitna arheološka izkopavanja, ki so razkrila več gradbenih faz rimske vile rustike z gospodarskim, metalurško-kovaškim obratom ter pripadajočim grobiščem. Na osnovi drobnega gradiva najdišče umeščamo v čas od 2. do konca 4. stoletja in prve polovice 5. stoletja n. št. V prispevku je predstavljen gospodarski segment vile, s poudarkom na predstavitvi metalurško-kovaške dejavnosti.

**Ključne besede:** rimska doba, rimska vila rustika, metalurško-kovaška dejavnost, kovaško ognjišče, talilna peč

**Abstract:** The Polje pri Vodichah – Roman Cemetery (EŠD 16971) archaeological site is situated in the northern part of the Skaručna Plain, approximately 26 km north of Ljubljana. In 2013, the construction of a gas line prompted a rescue archaeological excavation, which revealed several construction phases of a Roman *villa rustica* with a metallurgical-forging workshop and a corresponding cemetery. Small finds date the site between the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD. This article presents the economic segment of the villa with the emphasis on the metallurgical-forging activities.

**Keywords:** Roman period, Roman *villa rustica*, metallurgical-forging activities, forging hearth, smelting furnace

## Uvod

Zahodni rob zavarovanega arheološkega najdišča Polje pri Vodichah smo zaradi izgradnje plinovoda raziskali v dolžini 525 metrov in širini 16 metrov.<sup>1</sup> Z arheološkimi izkopavanji vzdolž ceste med Skaručno in Vodichami smo zaobjeli del treh večjih vrtač, kjer je bil stratigrafski zapis najbolj ohranjen (globina do 1,3 m), medtem ko je bil na ravninskih predelih, zaradi kulture prostora, že močno poškodovan (globina 0,25 m). Razgiban relief na območju Skaručenskega polja je del večje Ljubljanske udornine.<sup>2</sup>

1 Izkopno polje (z izhodiščnimi koordinatami: x: 460711,10, y: 113362,68) smo razdelili na 4 sektorje, znotraj teh pa na kvadrante vel. 5 × 5 m v ortogonalni mreži.

2 Ljubljansko udornino, ki je nastala med starejšim pleistocenom in današnjim časom, sestavljajo Ljubljansko barje, Ljubljansko polje, Mengeško-Kamniško polje in

Prostor med Kamniškobistriško ravnico, Kranjskim in Ljubljanskim poljem je del konglomeratnih teras z okoliškimi osamelci. Najbližji so Tršanca na severozahodu, Koseški hrib na severovzhodu, Rašica na jugovzhodu in najvišja, Šmarna gora na jugozahodu.<sup>3</sup> Najdišče Polje pri Vodichah je bilo zavarovano na podlagi, leta 1950 odkritega, žganega rimskega groba, pokritega s kamnitim pokrovom. V grobu je bila večja posoda s pepelom, s kroglasto stekleno posodo, steklenico, oljenko z okrasom girlande, z delom pasne sponse in z odlomki dveh posodic v imitaciji tere sigilate. Južno od žganega groba so bile na njivah tudi večje količine kamenja.<sup>4</sup> Pri izkopavanjih na

Kranjsko polje. Občasna seizmična delovanja kažejo, da oblikovanje udornine še ni zaključeno (Premru, Cajhen 1983, 33, 48).

3 Pak 1998, 84–85.

4 Grafenauer 1953, 144–147.

trasi plinovoda smo na južnem delu raziskali tudi del grobišča z 32 žganimi in 24 skeletnimi grobovi, ki jih umeščamo v čas 2. stoletja, morda še v prvo polovico 3. stoletja n. št.<sup>5</sup>

## Oris naselbinskega dela

Največja koncentracija naselbinskih arheoloških ostalin je bila na severnem delu izkopnega polja, kjer smo lahko sledili zahodnemu delu rimske vile rustike z gospodarskimi stavbami v več fazah.<sup>6</sup> Raziskali smo del gospodarskih poslopij, grajenih v tehniki s stojkami in stavbe z zidanimi temelji. Naselbini pripadajoče grobišče je bilo oddaljeno 200 metrov proti jugu in z izkopavanji smo, glede na grob, najden leta 1950, objavili njegov zahodni rob. Prvo rimsko poselitveno fazo smo dokumentirali v severnem delu izkopnega polja, v vrtači<sup>7</sup> ter južno od vrtače, na južnem predelu rimske vile. Raziskali smo lahko samo severozahodni rob in del dna vrtače. Večina stavb (1, 2, 3, 6 in 7) je bila grajenih v tehniki s stojkami, kar kaže na gradnjo preprostih lesenih poslopij, ki so lahko služili v shrambne, gospodarske ali bivalne namene. V objektih so bile večje jame različnih namembnosti, kurišči in domnevna lončarska peč. Drobne najdbe in radiokarbonska analiza oglja iz peči stavbe 6 kažejo na čas druge polovice 2. in 3. stoletje n. št. Na severnem delu izkopnega polja je v smeri severovzhod–jugozahod potekal večji jarek, ki je verjetno služil kot drenaža že v rimskem času, v uporabi pa je bil daljše obdobje in še danes sovpada z obstoječo parcelno mejo. V vrtači so bili ohranjeni le skromni deli zidanih temeljev, s katerimi so verjetno utrdili lesene konstrukcije stavb 2 in 3. Njihovo natančno usmeritev je zaradi slabe ohranjenosti težko določiti, vendar se zdi, da lahko ostanke zidanih temeljev pripišemo že k prvi fazi stavb, opustitveno fazo pa predstavljajo porušeni ostanke kamnitih temeljev.

5 Lazar 2014; Žerjal, v tem zborniku.

6 Arheološki zapis se je dobro ohranil na območju manjše depresije in v večji kotanji, medtem ko je bil na višje ležečih predelih zaradi oranja precej uničen.

7 Rižnar 2014.

Ruševina iz apnenčevih in peščenjakovih prodnikov ter lomljencev in konglomeratnih kamnov se je nahajala po celotnem robu kotanje. Območje vrtače so po opustitvi uporabljali kot odpadno jamo. Uporaba prostora se je širila na reliefno najvišjih predelih izkopnega polja, zahodno in južno od vrtače. Zahodno od vrtače smo rekonstruirali manjšo stavbo 4 z metalurškim obratom (kovaški ognjišči in talilna peč) in z večjimi jamami (*sl.* 2), južno od nje pa večjo stavbo 5, znotraj katerega je delovala manjša talilna peč, ter večje jame različnih namembnosti. Na južnem delu naselbinskega kompleksa je bil precej dobro ohranjen kamnit temelj pravokotne stavbe 8, z veliko kosov rimskega gradbenega materiala. Znotraj te stavbe je bilo iz nivoja hodne površine vkopanih nekaj jam, večja shrambna jama, zidana peč, dve kurišči in kamnit postament, ki skupaj z jamami za stojke morda predstavlja ostanek nosilcev strešne konstrukcije. Po opustitvi stavbe 8 in z njo povezanih nekaterih večjih shrambnih jam<sup>8</sup> in peči<sup>9</sup> je bila zgrajena stavba 9.

Z geofizikalnimi raziskavami severovzhodno od izkopnega polja smo pridobili tudi podatke oz. tlorise ostalih stavb z zidanimi temelji z osrednjim dvoriščem in indice morebitnih ognjišč. Tako ocenjujemo velikost vile na ca 1,6 hektarja. Najbolj reprezentativen je podolgovat objekt,<sup>10</sup> ki smo ga delno dokumentirali z izkopavanji in dodatno z geofizikalnimi izsledki (*sl.* 1).<sup>11</sup> Stratigrafija mlajših plasti (pozni srednji vek, zgodnji novi vek) je kazala znake poplave, saj smo od severa proti jugu dokumentirali debelo plast aluvija, ki se je proti jugu počasi izklinjala.

## Metalurško-kovaška dejavnost

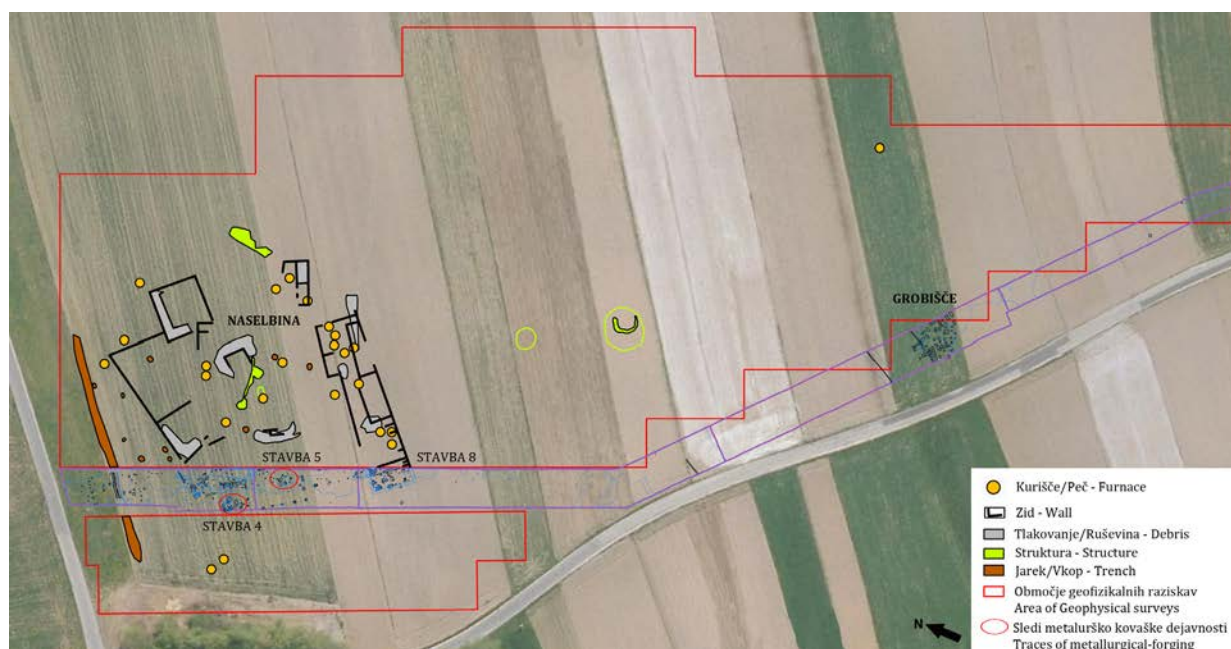
V bližini vrtače so bili ostanki metalurško–kovaške dejavnosti (*sl.* 2). Vrtača je bila daljše obdobje v uporabi kot odpadna jama. V njej in drugih odpadnih

8 Plast 2147, ki je bila zasuta s podobnim kamnitim materialom kot temelj kasnejše stavbe 9.

9 Peč (SE 2242) je bila sekundarno uporabljena kot odpadna jama, zasuta z zelo veliko odlomkov lončenine in kamenjem.

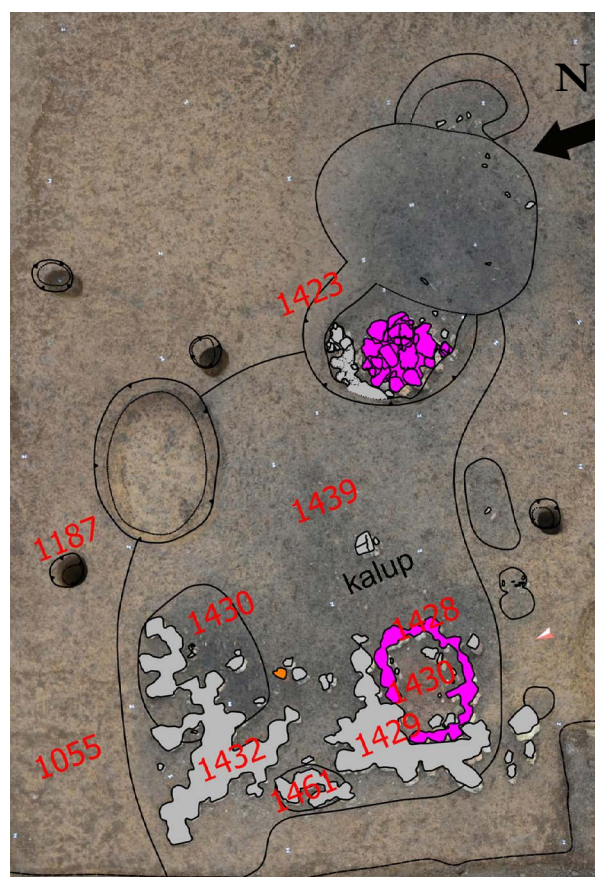
10 Smith 1997, 56, Fig. 16.

11 Plesničar 2014.



**Slika 1** Ostanke vile rustike z izsledki raziskav geofizikalnih meritev (izris R. Plesničar, M. Lavrič, arhiv ZVKDS, CPA).

jamah smo odkrili velike količine žindre (1103 kosov, 38637 g), ki je izjemnega pomena za razumevanje metalurških procesov.<sup>12</sup> Makroskopsko pregledani vzorci žindre kažejo, da pretežni del vzorcev predstavlja talilniško žindro in v manjši meri kovaško žindro.<sup>13</sup> Značilnost manjših železarskih obratov v rimskem času, kot so Polje pri Vodichah, je prisotnost obeh postopkov – taljenje in kovanje rude. Tako sta se vse do srednjega veka v eni delavnici izvajala oba postopka, ločena sta bila le na območjih, kjer so intenzivno izdelovali in posredovali surovo železo.<sup>14</sup> Prav tako je bil del predelave rude pražilno ognjišče (sl. 3), s katerim so pred topljenjem rudo toplotno obdelali. Tako je ruda postala porozna, kar je omogočalo lažje drobljenje.<sup>15</sup> Na skrajnem severovzhodnem robu vrtače se je nahajalo pražilno ognjišče (velikosti  $2,72 \times 1,65$  in globine 0,70 m). Po celotnem dnu jame je bila močno ožgana plast (sl. 3), na kateri so ležali veliki ožgani prodniki in večji apnenčasti kamni, pomešani z večjimi kosi oglja, zbitimi kosi prežganega apnenčevega kamnja in s posameznimi kosi opeke. Med njimi smo našli izrabljen bronasti novc cesarja Galijena, kar lahko nakazuje uporabo pra-



**Slika 2** Sledi metalurško-kovaške dejavnosti (foto K. Dremelj, arhiv ZVKDS, CPA).

12 Horvat *et al.* 2007, 35.

13 Mladenović 2016, 53.

14 Cleere 1976, 53; Inkret 2013, 3.

15 Pleiner 2000, 108.



**Slika 3** Pražilno ognjišče (foto K. Dremelj, arhiv ZVKDS, CPA).

žilnega ognjišča že v drugi polovici 3. stoletja n. št. Glede na več podobnih polnil v jami predvidevamo, da so rudo pražili v več ciklih. Jamo je tako zapolnjeval temno sivkasto rjav glinen melj z drobcu malte, oglja in ožgane gline. Nad žganino je bila plast zbitega pepela z drobnim peskom. Najdbe pražene rude so redke,<sup>16</sup> pogosto se ohrani le veliko pepela, saj so za praženje uporabljali suhi les.<sup>17</sup> Pražilno ognjišče je bilo ob opustitvi zapolnjeno z večjim kamenjem.

Jugozahodno od vrtače so se nahajali ostanki jam za stojke stavbe 4 (velikosti  $6 \times 3$  m), v kateri je bila metalurško–kovaška delavnica s slabo ohranjenim kovaškim ognjiščem (velikosti  $1 \times 0,90$  m). Običajno so bili kovaški obrati zaradi zavetrja in ohranjanja toplote pokriti z nadstreškom.<sup>18</sup> Ohranili so se le spodnji deli ognjišč, zato je posamezen tip včasih težko določiti. Ognjišče je delovalo na višini tal, skupaj z drugimi

jamami različnih namembnosti (severno od ognjišča sta bili dve večji odpadni jami, med seboj povezani, večkrat presekan in zapolnjeni). Ohranjeni deli ognjišča nam podajo osnovno obliko (sl. 2). Sprednji del ognjišča pravokotne oblike so predstavljali večji kamni z ravno zgornjo površino, ki je verjetno služila za prvo odlaganje predmeta iz ognjišča. Na sprednji del je bila v polkrogu naslonjena prva linija kamenja iz peščenjakovih prodnikov in apnenčevih lomljenec. Notranjost ognjišča je bila večkrat premazana z glino, saj smo dokumentirali tri debelejšje rdečkasto rumene glinene premaze. Na ožgani glini v notranjosti ognjišča sta bili dve plošči iz peščenjkovega lomljenca in opeke, ki sta verjetno služili za namestitev predmeta v ognjišču. Na zunanjem jugovzhodnem robu ognjišča so se nahajali ostanki majhnih luknjic, t. i. sapnic, ki so služile za dovod zraka v ognjišče. Običajno so bile ob zunanji strani kovaškega ognjišča manjše jame, v katerih so imeli vodo za hlajenje kovanega

<sup>16</sup> Buchwald 2005, 91; Inkret 2013, 6.

<sup>17</sup> Inkret 2013, 6.

<sup>18</sup> Steiner 1995, Fig. 13; Horvat *et al.* 2007, 35, sl. 74; Skelj Ivančan 2016, 124, sl. 4.



predmeta.<sup>19</sup> V našem primeru najverjetneje takšno jamo predstavlja manjša jama na vzhodnem robu ognjišča (SE 1217). Prav tako je bil vzhodno od kovaškega ognjišča *in situ* ohranjen večji kos kamna (velikosti 0,30 × 0,25 m), ki so ga verjetno uporabili kot kalup (lokacija na tlorisu *sl. 2, sl. 4*). V neposredni bližini je bilo dvojno ognjišče z manipulativnim prostorom na sredini (*sl. 5*). Ta je služil kot odpadna jama (SE 1418) z zasutjem velike količine žindre, oglja in tudi nekaj odlomkov lončenine. V danem primeru zaradi slabe ohranjenosti ognjišč težko z gotovostjo zagovarjamo razlago o talilni peči, saj so bile te navadno večje, ker je bilo potrebno v ognjišču zagotoviti delovni prostor z redukcijsko atmosfero do vsaj 1200 stopinj celzija.<sup>20</sup> Glede na ostanke talilniške žindre, vseeno dopuščamo možnost preprostega talilnega ognjišča<sup>21</sup> na vzhodni strani odpadne jame (SE 1466). Ognjišče je delovalo na tedanji hodni površini, ostanki ožgane gline ob straneh pa nakazujejo morebitno nadgradnjo. Žindro so v tem primeru čistili v osrednjo jamo (SE



**Slika 4** Večji kos obdelanega kamna, ki so ga verjetno uporabljali kot kalup (foto K. Dremelj, arhiv ZVKDS, CPA).

1418). Zahodno od te jame je bilo drugo preprosto kovaško ognjišče<sup>22</sup> (velikosti 0,45 m), na dnu katerega so bili močno ožgani apnenčevi in peščenjakovi lomljenci. Odpadna jama (SE 1418) je bila poleg žindre zapolnjena z veliko količino glajene keramike oz. keramike z glajenim okrasom, značilne za drugo polovico 4. in 5. stoletje n. št. Prav tako je bila glaje-



**Slika 5** Dvojno ognjišče z manipulativnim prostorom (foto K. Dremelj, arhiv ZVKDS, CPA).

19 Horvat *et al.* 2007, 31, sl. 55.

20 Cleere 1972, 8.

21 Tipologija talilnih peči po Cleere 1072, Fig 14.

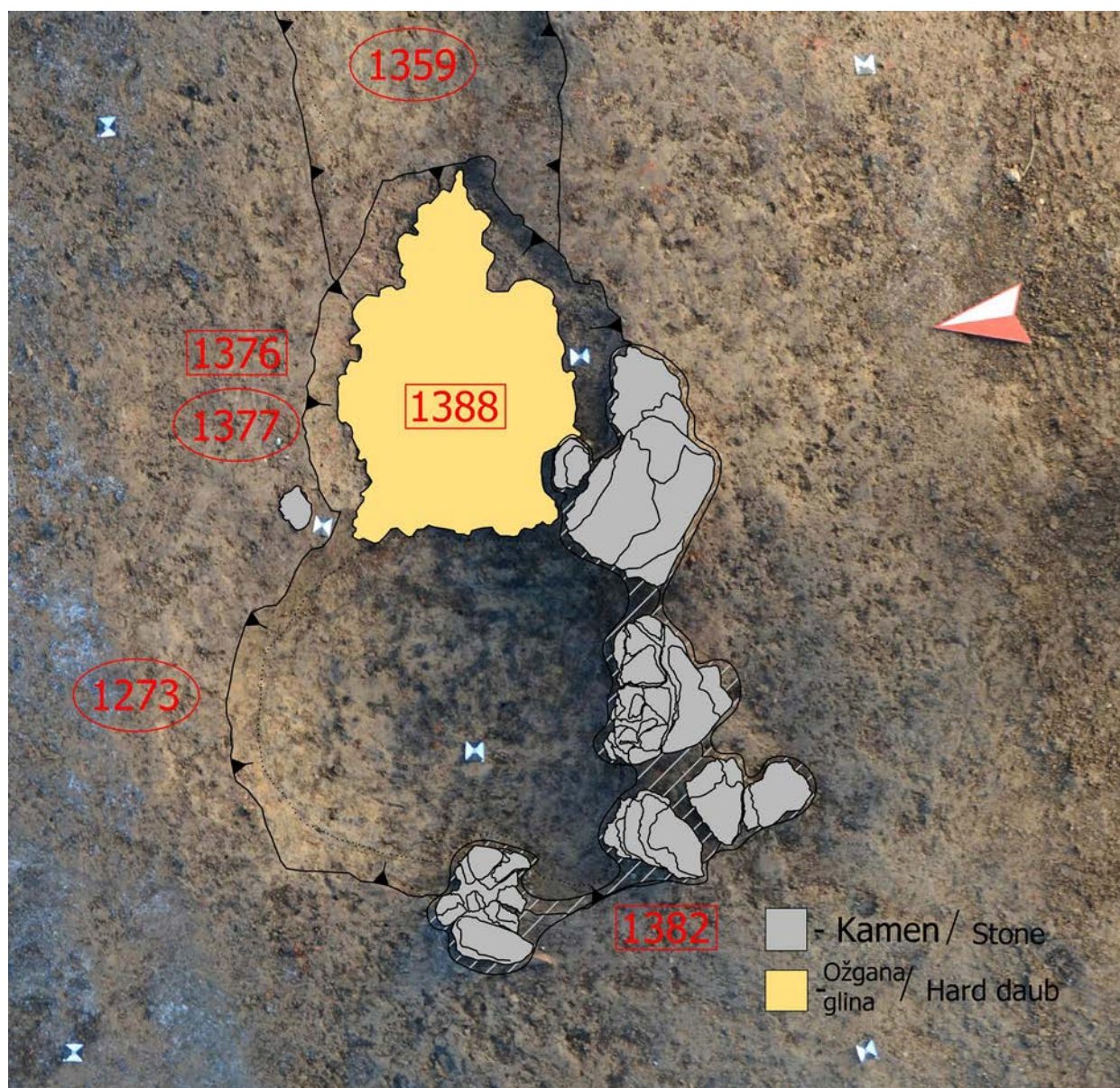
22 Horvat *et al.* 2007, 30, sl. 53.

na keramika najdena v žganinskih zasutih ognjišča in v vrhnji ruševini (SE 1457, 1436), v katerih so bili tudi odlomki afriških amfor, odlomki celih kuhinjskih loncev zelo poznih oblik, ki kažejo predvsem na čas opustitve ognjišča iz konca 4. in prve polovice 5. stoletja n. št.

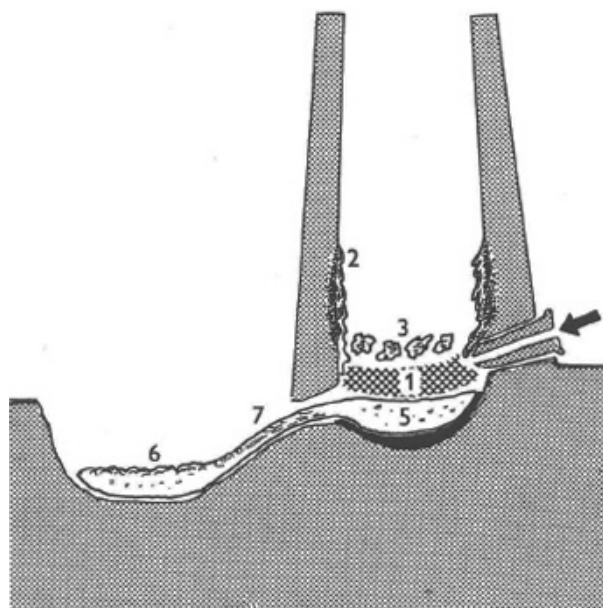
Severozahodno od ognjišč z manipulativnim prostorom je bila odkrita odpadna jama (SE 1202; velikosti  $1,34 \times 1$  m in globine 0,21 m) z odlomki keramike, kovine in s kamenjem ob robu jame. Odlomek krožnika Hayes 50B afriške sigilate C iz druge polovice 4. stoletja n. št., odlomki kuhinjskih

loncev in skled ter odlomki glajene keramike postavljajo kontekst v drugo polovico 4. in 5. stoletje. V polnilu jame je bila tudi posebna najdba železne talilne posodice.

Jugovzhodno od omenjenih peči se je nahajala še ena plitko vkopana talilna peč (velikosti  $0,77 \times 0,64$  m) s plitkim čistilnim kanalčkom v sprednjem delu in z odpadno jamo (sl. 6). Peč je bila na dnu premazana z glino, kosi ožgane gline pa so bili tudi v okolici ognjišča, kar lahko kaže na ostanke zgornjega dela peči. Ostanek strukture kamnitega dela ognjišča so predstavljali večji kosi peščenjakovih lomljenec na



**Slika 6** Ostanke talilne peči (foto K. Dremelj, arhiv ZVKDS, CPA).



**Slika 7** Rekonstrukcija talilne peči s plitkim čistilnim kanalčkom v sprednjem delu in odpadno jamo (Pleiner 2000, 258, Fig. 67).

jugovzhodnem robu ognjišča (sl. 6). Talilne peči so bile v splošnem grajene iz kamna in gline iz lokalno dostopnih materialov<sup>23</sup> in imajo kupolasto ali cilindrično nadgradnjo z odprtini za vpihovanje zraka in za odtekanje žlindre. Žlindra lahko odteka tudi v jamo na dnu peči, se sprime s stenami peči, nad njo pa se nabira železna goba.<sup>24</sup> Peči z jamami za zbiranje žlindre so bile namenjene za enkratno uporabo, zato v našem primeru, glede na čistilni kanal, ki je vodil iz peči v odpadno jamo, predvidevamo, da so talilno peč uporabili večkrat (sl. 7).

Del metalurško-kovaškega procesa je tudi uporaba orodij, ki jim je omogočala rokovanje z vročimi predmeti. Med njimi so kladivo, klešče, tehtnica, pihalnice, talilne posodice, nakovala in kalupi.<sup>25</sup> Na obravnavanem najdišču smo poleg že prej omenjenega kalupa (sl. 4) in talilne posodice v neposredni bližini talilne peči, v jami (SE 1283/1282) našli pet predmetov, ki so se uporabljali v metalurško-kovaški dejavnosti. Ker so predmeti še v postopku konservacije, lahko sedaj omenimo le klešče in najverjetneje dele tehtnice.

23 Pleiner 2000, 251.

24 Paynter 2007, 209.

25 Coulon 2000, 23; Horvat 2007, 30.

## Zaključek

Rezultati raziskav na najdišču Polje pri Vodica kažejo posamezne indice za uporabo prostora v prazgodovini, predvsem pa odkrite ostaline kažejo na rimskodobno poselitev, s stanovanjskimi objekti in metalurško-kovaškim obratom vile rustike ter s pripadajočim grobiščem. Skaručenska ravan je bila tako poseljena vsaj od 2. do konca 4. in prve polovice 5. stoletja n. št.

Metalurško-kovaška dejavnost na področju vile rustike je bila prisotna od konca 3. stoletja naprej. Z izkopavanji<sup>26</sup> smo določili uporabo dveh kovaških ognjišč in dveh talilni peči. Zaradi globokega oranja sta bili ognjišči in peči slabo ohranjeni. Na najdišču sta potekala dva procesa, ki sta značilna za pridobivanje kovin: predelava kovin do polizdelkov (taljenje rude) in izdelava končnih izdelkov (kovanje). Prav tako smo našli velike količine odpadkov, ki so povezani s taljenjem in predelavo rude. Makroskopske analize so potrdile obstoj kovaške in talilniške žlindre. V veliko večji meri je zastopana talilniška žlindra, ki smo jo našli v polnilih odpadnih jamah. Kovaška dejavnost je potekala v stavbi 4, kjer smo raziskali dve kovaški ognjišči. Obe ognjišči sta delovali iz tal. Prvo je imelo v sprednjem delu položeno kamenje, namenjeno odlaganju vročih predmetov iz ognjišča. Ob jugovzhodni strani ognjišča smo dokumentirali t. i. sapnice, ki so služile za dovod zraka v ognjišče. Drugi del ognjišča je verjetno na osnovi ohranjenega kamenja in ožgane gline, predstavljala kupola. V neposredni bližini je delovalo drugo preprosto kovaško ognjišče, ki je imelo skupen manipulativen prostor (odpadna jama) s talilno pečjo. Ognjišče je bilo plitko vkopano, ostankov sapnic in kupole nismo zasledili. Zahodno od omenjenega kovaškega ognjišča je bil *in situ* najden kamnit kalup, z obdelano vdrtino v obliki

26 Izkopavanja je izvedla ekipa Centra za preventivno arheologijo, ZVKDS; vodja raziskav: M. Bricelj, vodje sektorjev: M. Lavrič, E. Lazar, M. Ravnik, dr. P. Mason. Sodelovalo je tudi podjetje PJP, d.o.o., zanj M. Ravnik in H. Bešter, ter tehnična ekipa arheologov in študentov arheologije. Odgovorna konservatorica je bila M. Topličanec, ZVKDS OE Ljubljana. Avtorici prispevka se za dobro sodelovanje vsem lepo zahvaljujeva.

rezila. V odpadni jami v bližini ognjišča se je nahajala talilna posodica. V stavbi 4 je bila prav tako manjša talilna peč, ki je delovala iz tal in je imela skupen manipulativen prostor s kovaškim ognjiščem. Druga talilna peč se je nahajala v stavbi 5. Peči sta bili plitko vkopani, v notranjosti premazani z več plastmi gline, ob straneh obdani s kamenjem. Obe peči sta imeli odpadni jami kamor so čistili žlindro. Obe talilni peči uvrščamo med obliko peči na volka z izpuščeno tekočo žlindro (tip peči, ki je namenjen večkratni uporabi). Glavnino najdb na področju, kjer je potekala metalurško-kovaška dejavnost, predstavljajo kovaški odpadki, kovaška in talilniška žlindra, odpadna kovina in redko orodje. V neposredni bližini stavbe 5 smo v jami (SE 1283) našli klešče, tehtnico in še nekatere kose orodja, ki jih zaradi postopka konservacije še ne moremo natančno opredeliti.

## Conclusion

The results of the investigations of the Polje pri Vodica archaeological site indicate some traces of the use of the area in the prehistoric period, but above all a Roman-period settlement with residential buildings and a metallurgical forging workshop belonging to a villa rustica with a corresponding cemetery. This means that the Skaručna Plain was populated at least from the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD.

Metallurgical-forging activities can be traced in the area of the villa rustica from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century onwards. The excavations<sup>27</sup> revealed that two forging hearths and two smelting furnaces had been in use. The hearths and furnaces were in bad condition

due to the damage caused by deep ploughing. Traces of two metallurgical processes were discovered at the site: the production of intermediate (ore smelting) and final products (forging). Furthermore, large quantities of waste associated with the smelting and processing of ore were discovered. Slag from forging and smelting was confirmed by macroscopic analysis. Smelting slag, which was discovered in the fill of waste pits, was far more common. Forging took place in Building 4, where two forging hearths were investigated. Both hearths were dug into the floor. There were stones in front of the first hearth, where hot objects from the hearth could be put down. The so-called tuyeres, through which air was blown into the hearth, were documented on the southeastern side of the hearth. The preserved stones and burnt clay indicate that the remaining part of the hearth was probably a cupola. There was a second simple forging hearth in the immediate vicinity, sharing the manipulation area (waste pit) with a smelting furnace. The hearth was dug shallowly into the ground and no remains of the tuyeres or the cupola were discovered. To the west of the above-mentioned forging hearth, a stone mould with a worked blade-shaped hollow was found *in situ*. There was a smelting bowl in a waste-pit near the hearth. Building 4 also contained a smaller smelting furnace, which lay on the floor and shared the manipulation area with the forging hearth. The second smelting furnace was in Building 5, which was of posthole construction. The two furnaces were shallowly dug into the ground, their interior was coated with several layers of clay and their sides were lined with stones. Each of the two furnaces had a waste-pit for slag. Both smelting furnaces can be classified as bloomeries from which molten slag is let out (the type of furnace to be used multiple times). The finds from the area of the metallurgical-forging activities are mostly forging waste, forging and smelting slag, waste metal, and, rarely, tools. A pair of pincers (PN 1325) and a scale (PN 1328) were discovered in a pit (1283) in the immediate vicinity of Building 5, along with some other tools, which are still undergoing conservation and therefore cannot be precisely defined yet.

<sup>27</sup> The excavation was conducted by a team from the Centre for Preventive Archaeology at the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia; director of the excavation: M. Bricelj, heads of sectors: M. Lavrič, E. Lazar, M. Ravnik, Dr. P. Mason. Other participants were the PJP d.o.o. (M. Ravnik and H. Bešter), as well as a team of archaeologists and archaeology students. The conservator responsible was M. Topličanec from the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia, Ljubljana Regional Office. The authors would like to thank all of them for good cooperation.

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## Rimskodobna zemljiška razdelitev v Prekmurju

### Roman land division in the Prekmurje region

Gašper Rutar

**Izvleček:** V prispevku so podani rezultati arheološke aerofoto interpretacije območja Prekmurja, kjer se kažejo številna nova najdišča. V članku tokrat izpostavljam predvsem dva aspekta: sledove nekdanjih cestnih mrež in starejših zemljiških delitev, ki kažejo na obstoj rimskodobne zemljiške razdelitve (centuriacije) dimenzij 710 × 710 m. Na koncu se odpira tudi vprašanje strategije varovanja tovrstnih najdišč na območjih intenzivne kmetijske obdelave.

**Ključne besede:** aerofotografija, rimska zemljiška razdelitev (centuriacija)

**Abstract:** Article sums up the results of aerial photo interpretation in the Prekmurje region. Numerous new sites were discovered but the emphasis is on series of linear ditches that group into orthogonal grid with dimensions of 710 × 710 meters. This grid together with adjacent structures (ring ditches, tumuli, buildings etc.) suggests that we are dealing with the remains of roman land division (centuriatio). Finally we bring to the attention the question of managing and protecting these sites in intensively cultivated areas.

**Keywords:** aerial prospection, Roman land division (*centuriatio*)

## Uvod

Sledovi rimskodobne zemljiške razdelitve (centuriacije) na območju Slovenije so bili, še toliko bolj zaradi tovrstnih razdelitev v naši neposredni okolici v Istri, Furlaniji, Avstriji in na Madžarskem,<sup>1</sup> vedno v zavesti slovenskih arheologov, pa vendar neoprijemljivi. Pred 33 leti je Iva Mikl Curk ob študiju kart, katastrov in zračnih posnetkov Dravskega polja nakazala možnost obstoja, predvsem pa poudarila potrebo po nadaljnjih raziskavah rimskodobne zemljiške razdelitve.<sup>2</sup> Podobna opažanja o možnih sledovih parcelacije v navezavi s sočasno itinerarsko cesto je imel tudi P. Petru za območje Drnovega.<sup>3</sup> Razvoj metod daljinskega zaznavanja, je v zadnjih desetletjih prinesel velike spremembe in napredek v arheološki prospekciji,

prvič pa so se pokazali tudi jasni sledovi rimskodobne centuriacije v okolici Tomaja.<sup>4</sup> Tokrat bodo predstavljeni rezultati arheološke aerofoto interpretacije, ki pri nas, kljub dobrim rezultatom v posameznih regijah<sup>5</sup> ni ravno pogosta, toliko bolj ko govorimo o njeni sistematični spremljavi in uporabi za potrebe konservatorstva. Pregledali in interpretirali smo šest serij digitalnih ortofoto posnetkov (DOF) cikličnih aerosnemanj (CAS) območja Pomurja. Posnetki so iz obdobja med leti 1995<sup>6</sup> in 2014, mestoma so rezultate dopolnjevali izseki iz drugih spletnih virov (*Google* in *Bing*), le na manjših območjih ohranjenih gozdov smo analizo dopolnili še s pregledom posnetkov ZLS (zračnega laserskega skeniranja). Odkrita so bila številna nova potencialna arheološka najdišča, ki tokrat predvsem v kvantitativnem smislu, potrjujejo nov

1 Chevallier 1961; Matijašič 1988; Gugl, Doneus, Doneus 2008; Marchiori 2010; Franceschelli, Marabini 2007; Mocsy 1965; Tóth 1977; Bődöcs, 2013; Bődöcs, Kovács, Anderkó 2014; Bődöcs, 2013 idr.

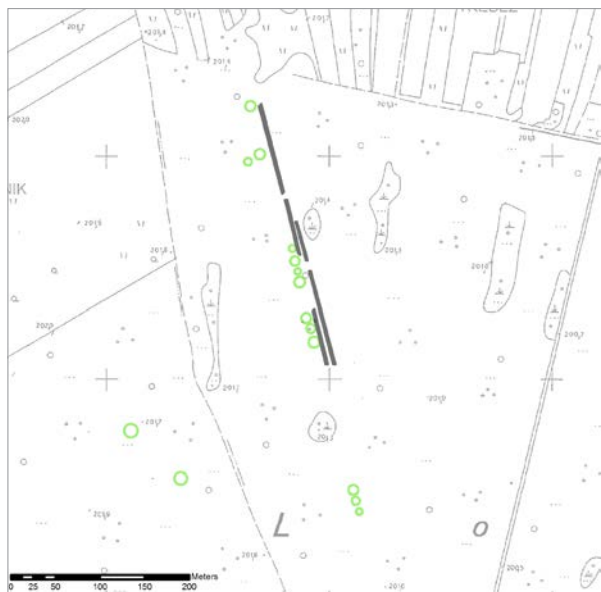
2 Mikl Curk 1983.

3 Petru, Petru 1978, 28–29.

4 Mlekuž 2014, 27, sl. 20.

5 Glej Grosman 1996; Kerman 1999; Kerman 2013.

6 Posnetkov iz let 1995–2001 je dejansko zelo malo. Večina izmed posnetkov, ki so služili za interpretacijo je bila posneta od leta 2004 dalje.



**Slika 1** Lemerje – Gomilno grobišče (EŠD 6770).  
Prepoznane gomile in potek ceste.

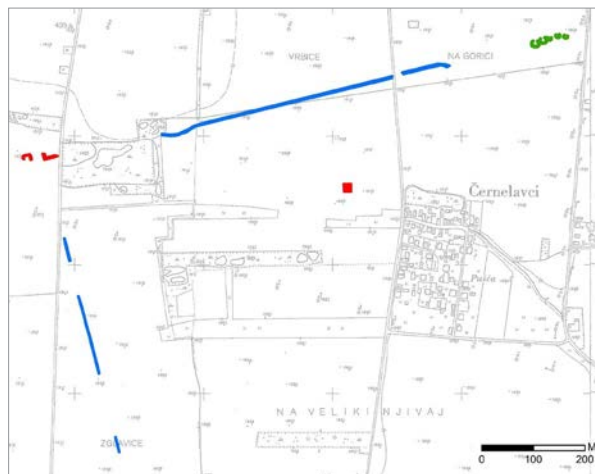
pogled na preteklo poselitev Prekmurja, ki ga je prinesla izkušnja ob izgradnji avtocest in aeroposnetki snemanj B. Kermana.<sup>7</sup> V članku izpostavljam predvsem dva aspekta; sledove nekdanjih cestnih mrež in starejših zemljiških delitev, ki nakazujejo obstoj rimskodobne zemljiške razdelitve (centuracije) in problematiko varovanja tovrstnih najdišč na območjih intenzivne kmetijske obdelave.

## Pokopana krajina

Za arheološko interpretacijo so se, tako zaradi spremenjene tehnologije snemanja<sup>8</sup> in ločljivosti pa tudi sicer bolj posrečenih razmer v času snemanj, kot bolj izpovedni pokazali posnetki (štirih serij) od leta 2006 dalje. Vsa ciklična snemanja na območju obdelave so potekala meseca junija ali julija, torej v času polne vegetacije, zato je bila velika večina arheoloških sledov prepoznana preko vegetacijskih znakov. Skupno je bilo na aeroposnetkih prepoznanih preko 150

<sup>7</sup> Kerman 2013.

<sup>8</sup> Tega leta je bilo prvič aerofotografirano celotno območje Slovenije, prvič je bil uporabljen digitalni aerofotoapar, aerofotografiranje je bilo izvedeno v barvnem (RGB) in infrardečem spektru. Običajno je velikost slikovnega elementa na terenu – dolžina talnega intervala (DTI) 0,25m (splet 1).



**Slika 2** Prepoznani jarki, krožni jarki (gomile) in druge strukture med Puščo, Černelavci in Veščico.

lokacij na katerih so bili identificirani tlorisi objektov, krožni ali pravokotni jarki, slednji pogosto tudi v navezavi z linearnimi jarki, ki označujejo poteke nekdanjih cest. Le izjemoma je bilo mogoče interpretacije dopolnjevati z interpretacijo posnetkov ZLS, saj so topografski sledovi zaradi intenzivne kmetijske obdelave večinoma zabrisani, ohranjena območja starejšega strnjene gozda pa so zelo redka. Večinoma pa lidar posnetki kažejo popolnoma drugačno sliko oz. kažejo sledove večjih dimenzij.

Tokrat velja izpostaviti predvsem številne linearne jarke in nasipe, slednji so razkropljeni po prostoru in po serijah posnetkov, a jih je bilo mogoče ob sistematičnem kartiranju povezati v pravilno pravokotno mrežo. Sledove jarkov z enako usmeritvijo je mogoče zaznati vse od naselja Lemerje na severozahodu pa do Ivanjcev na vzhodu, največji sklop pa je ohranjen severno od Gančanov. V nadaljevanju je prikazanih nekaj lokacij, kjer so sledovi bolj zgoščeni in ilustrativni.

Na gomilnem grobišču Lemerje (EŠD 6770), le 100 metrov zahodno od ledine Kastelišče z registriranim najdiščem *Puževci – Villa rustica in gomili* (EŠD 6762) je ohranjen 300 metrski odsek nekdanje ceste in trinajst gomil, ki so razporejene vzdolž nje, še dve gomili pa ležita zahodneje v gozdu (sl. 1). V eni od gomil so že v 19. stoletju našli kamnit sarkofag, ki





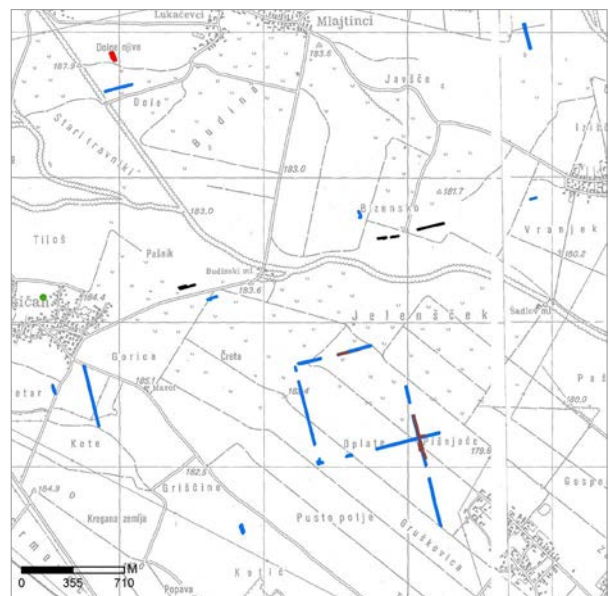
**Slika 3** Sledovi objektov rimske vile pri Kupšincih (EŠD 6757), ki sledijo usmeritvi zemljiške razdelitve.

gomilno grobišče datira v rimsko dobo.<sup>9</sup> Na lokaciji Pušča – Na Gorici (*sl. 2*) je na skrajnem vzhodnem delu serija petih krožnih jarkov (gomil) premera med 9 in 16 metrov nanizanih v ravni vrsti. Proti zahodu poteka linearni jarek, ki nadaljuje enako usmerjenost v dolžini 550 metrov do gramoznice. Na njeni zahodni strani na lokaciji Veščica – Veliki dol, sta dva pravokotna jarka, ponovno z enako usmeritvijo. Zahodni ima vidne tri stranice, zato lahko v eni smeri določimo dimenzijo premera na 15 m, vzhodni, ki je na posnetkih videti širši in močnejši, bi bil glede na lego lahko tudi vogalni jarek centurije. Njegov zahodni vogal je namreč poravnan s smerjo 450 m dolgega jarka, ki poteka južneje pravokotno na doslej opisane strukture in tako tvori drugo os centurije. Tudi približno kilometer severozahodno ležeča rimska vila pri Kupšincih (EŠD 6757, *sl. 3*) oziroma eden od njenih objektov ima enako usmeritev.<sup>10</sup>

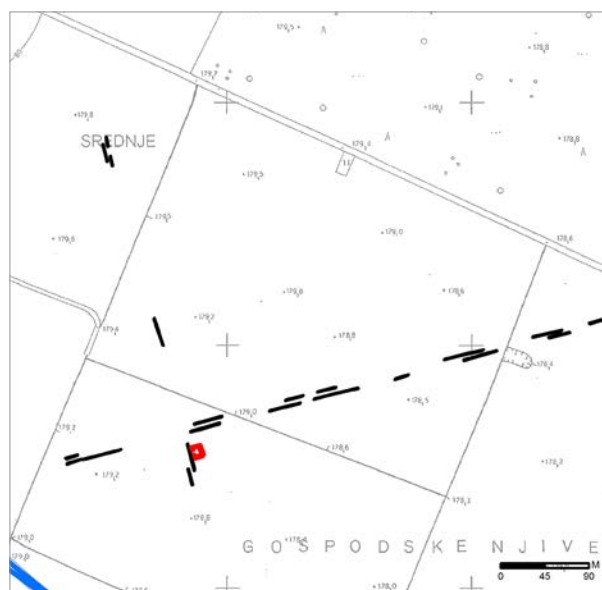
<sup>9</sup> Turcsányi 1871, 131.

<sup>10</sup> Glej Rutar *et al.* 2015, sl. 8.

Največji ohranjeni sklop je doslej dokumentiran med Noršinci in Mlajtinci na severu, Gančani na jugu, Ivanci na vzhodu in Rakičanom na zahodu (*sl. 4*), kjer lahko opazujemo ostanke treh linij v obeh smereh, na ledini Oplate pa obod skoraj celotne centurije.



**Slika 4** Ohranjeni sledovi zemljiške razdelitve severno od Gančanov.



**Slika 5** Sledovi ceste (s sečiščem centurij) in pravokotne strukture pri Ivanjcib.

Sledovom je mogoče slediti deloma kot linijskim jarkom na aeroposnetkih, deloma kot jarkom s spremljajočimi nasipi na lidar posnetku.

Dva kilometra vzhodno na Gospodskih njivah pri Ivanjcib je v posevkih ponovno mogoče zaslediti obe osi v seriji paralelnih jarkov ter nezaključenem pravokotnem jarku dimenzij  $12 \times 10$  m (sl. 5).

Na lokaciji Bakovske Muzge – Nova tabla med Bakovci in Lipovci lahko dvojnemu jarku najverjetneje nekdanje ceste (širine pribl. 7 m) sledimo v dolžini skoraj enega kilometra. Na njenem zahodnem delu je na južni strani še pravokoten jarek dimenzij  $16 \times 17$  m popolnoma poravnani s smerjo ceste, 200 metrov zahodneje pa na isti strani še krožni jarek premera 13 m (sl. 6: B–D). Severovzhodno (sl. 6: A) je bil na aeroposnetku prepoznan dvojni jarek prav tako širine okoli 7 m, južni se konča z vogalom, ki natančno ustreza vogalu rekonstruirane centurije (primerjaj sl. 7).

Zelo kmalu se je pokazalo, da v orientaciji in razprostranjenosti jarkov (in cest) obstaja pravilen vzorec, ki ga je bilo mogoče rekonstruirati. Usmeritev je za približno 14 stopinj zamaknjena glede na smeri neba (os sever-jug ima tako azimut 166 stopinj<sup>11</sup>). Razdalje med ortogonalnimi linijami pa kažejo na

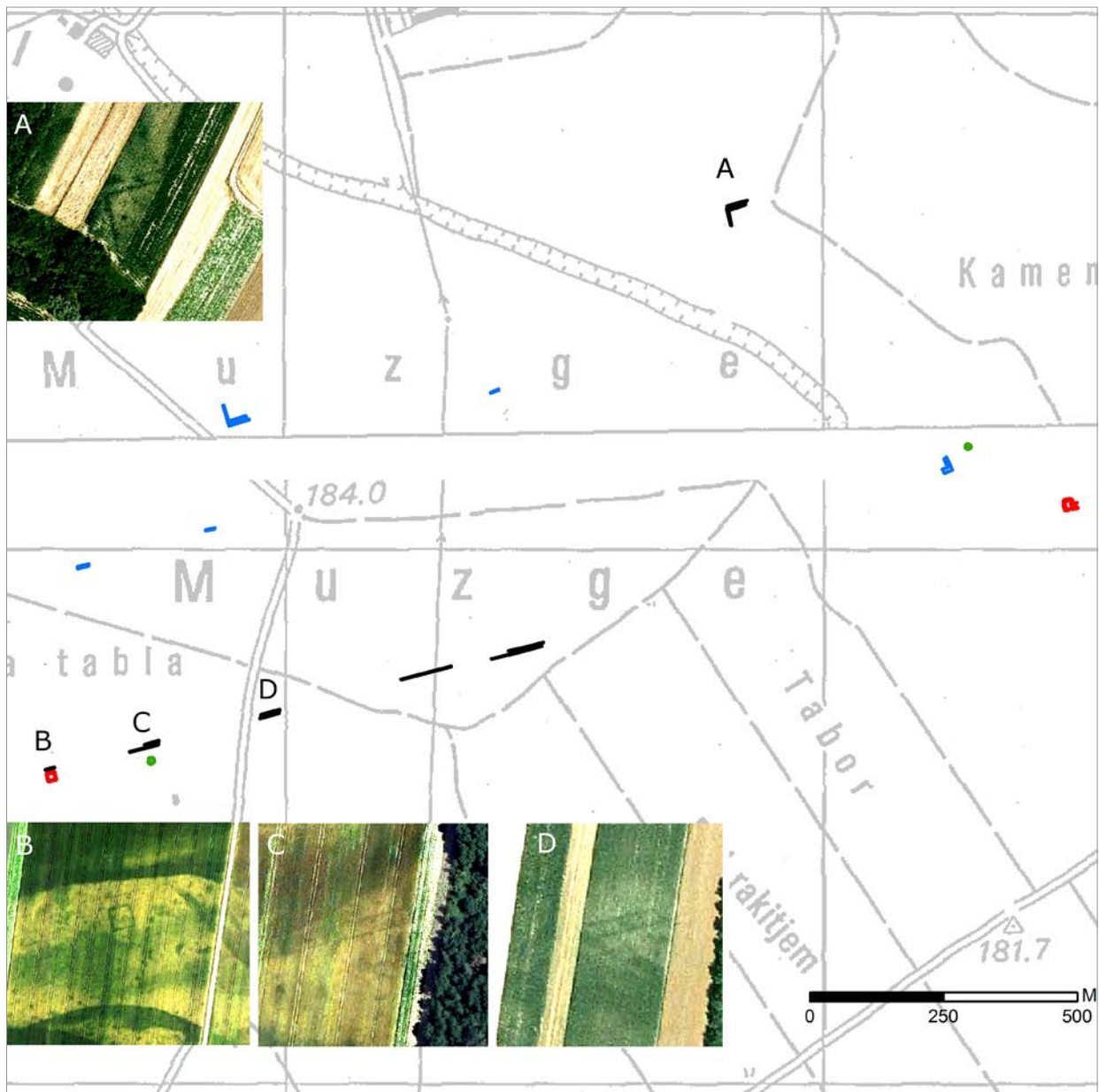
delitev na pravilne kvadrate s stranicami dolžine 710,4 m (20 *actus*), kar kaže zelo sorodno sliko zadnjim predlogom centuriacije teritorija Savarije, ki je bila potrjena tudi na terenu.<sup>12</sup> Pregledni načrt (sl. 7) prikazuje vse interpretirane značilnosti, ki odstopajo od današnje rabe oz. zemljiške razdelitve, vključno z novoveškimi potmi, ki jih lahko prepoznamo še na kartah 19. stoletja. Samo število in gostota sledov ter njihovo dosledno ujemanje na večjem območju je preveliko, da bi njihovo pojavnost lahko opredelili kot naključno. Trenutno lahko govorimo o več kot dvajsetih lokacijah, kjer je mogoče najti ujemanje prepoznanih sledov (cest, jarkov ter gomil, krožnih ali kvadratnih jarkov ob njih) z rekonstruirano mrežo centuriacije. Tako kot na primeru Veščice, Ivanjcev kot pri Bakovskih Muzgah se pravokotni jarki pojavljajo ob sečišču osi centuriacije, kar je vsekakor pomenljivo. Zaenkrat je prezgodaj za ugibanje ali gre za grobiščni, naselbinski ali kakšen drug kontekst, ter kakšno je bilo razmerje med tradicionalno rabo prostora in poselitvijo ter novo zemljiško razdelitvijo. V vsaj enem primeru (gomilno grobišče Lemerje) imamo še ohranjeno rimskodobno gomilno grobišče v vrsti ob osi ene od cest na osi centuriacije. Tako orientacija, kot lega ob mejah oziroma poteh in križiščih le teh, pa vsaj posredno namigujeta tudi o možni dataciji in funkciji teh struktur. Večina prepoznanih jarkov je enojnih, vendar tudi dvojni, ki jih razumemo kot cestne jarke, niso redki. Če odštejemo tiste, ki jih na podlagi historičnih kart zanesljivo opredeljujemo kot (še) novoveške, se kaže precej ustaljen vzorec širine domnevnega cestišča med 4,5 in 7 m (variacija je seveda tudi posledica merjenja na sekundarnem vegetacijskem kazalcu na posnetkih z ločljivostjo 0,5 m).<sup>13</sup> Prav tako usmerjenost precejšnjega števila dvojnih jarkov (cest in poti) ustreza predlagani centuriaciji.

Rekonstruirana centuriacija je vsekakor lahko izhodišče za opazovanje in dokumentiranje, za podajanje prostorskega, krajinskega konteksta nekaterim novim

11 V GK D-48 koordinatnem sistemu.

12 Glej Bődöcs 2013; Bődöcs 2014.

13 Širina ceste *Poetovio-Savaria-Carnuntum* pri Lendavi je bila pri sondiranjih izmerjena v povprečju 7,8 m (Horvat Šavel 1985, 172).



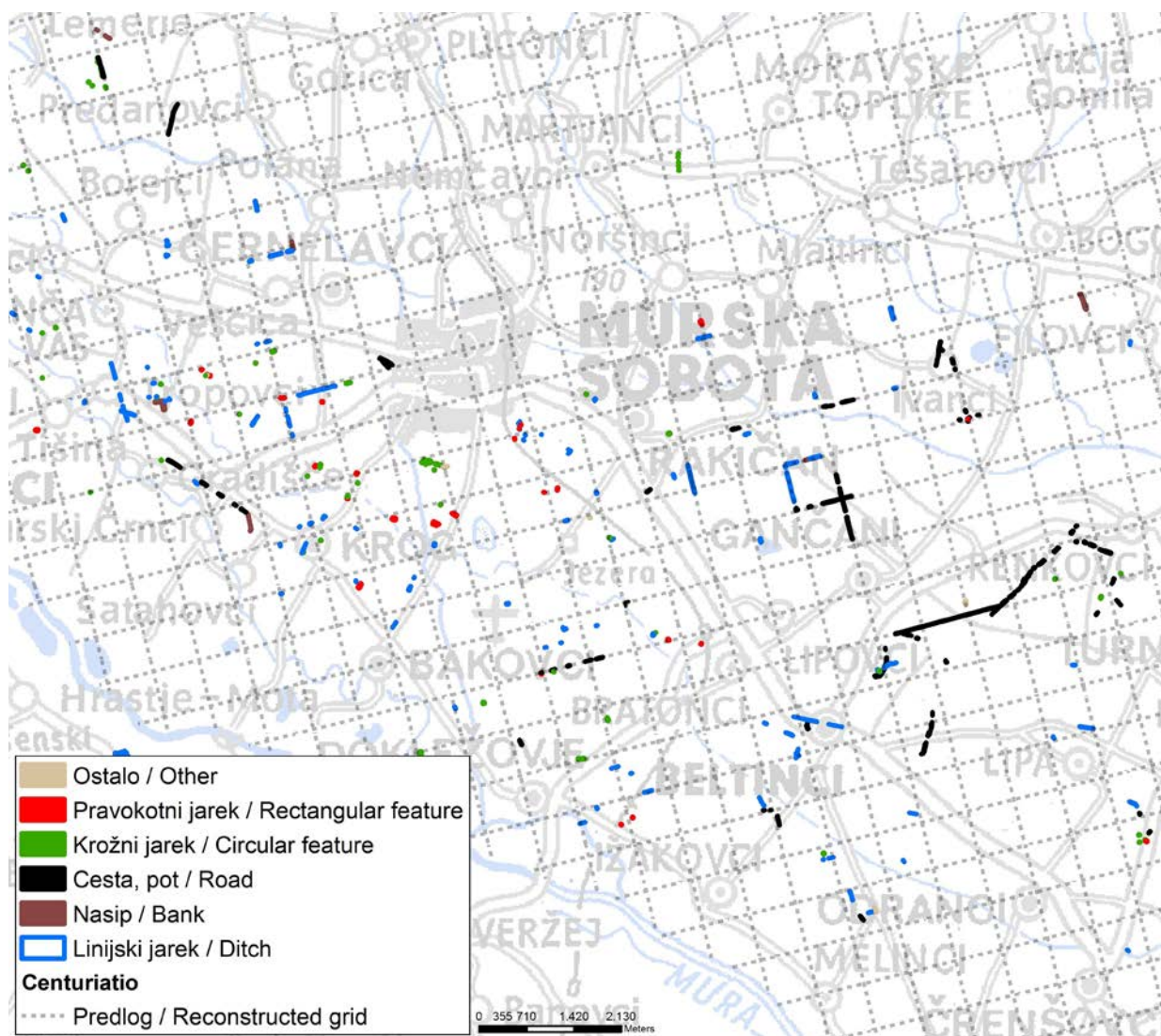
Slika 6 Sledovi cest in struktur na lokaciji Bakovske Mužge.

ali starim nikoli popolnoma raziskanim najdiščem. Vendar je potrebno opozoriti tudi, da v vsakem primeru, sploh pa ko gre za ciklična snemanja, ki niso opravljena v optimalnem času za detekcijo arheoloških struktur, upravičeno lahko domnevamo, da je tovrstnih ostankov ob zaznanih in povsod vmes še vsaj nekajkrat toliko. Ponujajo torej izhodišče, ne nujno pa tudi končni cilj nadaljnjih raziskav. Prepoznanih sledov ne moremo jemati kot izolirane strukture, temveč so zelo verjetno del obsežnejšega najdišča, ti pa so del še obsežnejše (arheološke) krajine. Delno nam to ilustrira primer najdišča *Murska Sobota – Arheološko najdišče Grofovsko II* (EŠD 15540), kjer je bilo na

šestih serijah DOF zaznanih vsega šest krožnih jarkov, na poševnem posnetku B. Kermana<sup>14</sup> ob pravih razmerah jih je 23, dodatne dopolnitve pa so na isti lokaciji ponudile še geofizikalne raziskave,<sup>15</sup> ki niso odvisne od poljske razdelitve, posevkov in rasti vegetacije. Naslednje kar moramo vzeti v obzir pa je možnost (ali verjetnost?), da so sledovi, ki smo jih zaznali na aerofotografiji, mogoče vidni prav zato ker so zelo poškodovani. Bolje ohranjeni ostanki pa mogoče ležijo v njihovi neposredni bližini, kar bi sicer lahko

14 Kerman 1999, sl. 12.

15 Glej Mušič 2013, sl. 18.



Slika 7 Načrt vseh interpretiranih sledov in rekonstruirana zemljiška razdelitev (centuriacija) (izvedba G. Rutar).

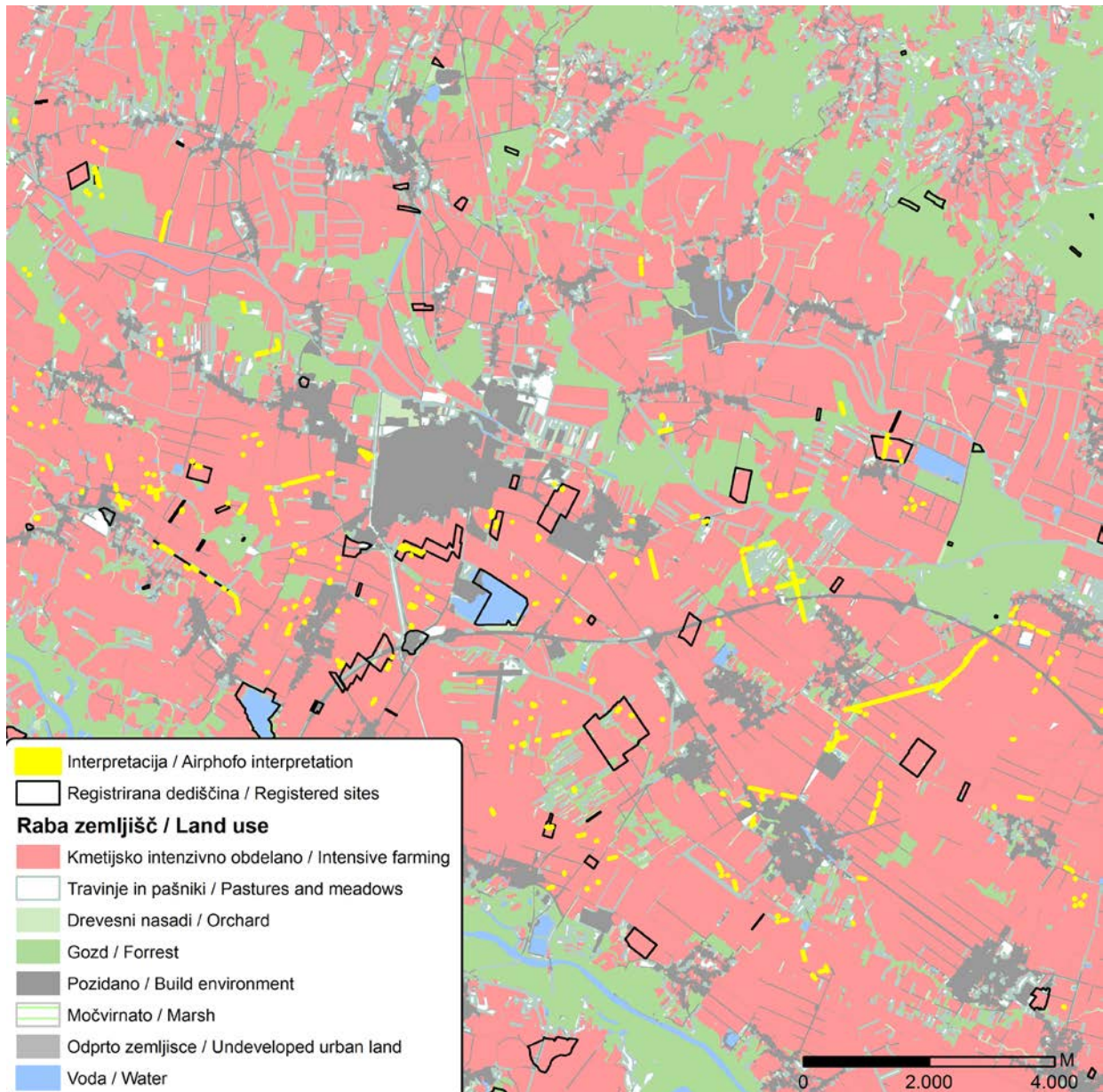
ugotavljali z integracijo posnetkov ZLS, geofizikalnih raziskav in tudi ciljnega sondiranja.

## Za konec nov začetek

Na tem mestu se lahko dotaknemo še vprašanja varovanja in dolgoročnega upravljanja s tovrstno dediščino. Pri pregledu registriranih gomilnih grobišč na ZLS posnetkih Prekmurja lahko namreč ugotovimo precej alarmantno stanje. Zanje imamo precej dobre podatke in popise,<sup>16</sup> ob dostopnih podatkih lidar snemanj pa je sedaj mogoče opraviti hiter pregled stanja, saj nam ohranjenost nasutja plašča gomile

nekaj pove tudi o njeni ohranjenosti. Na 50% najdišč registriranih kot gomilno grobišče, na lidar posnetkih v topografiji ni opaziti nobene gomile več, v 29% primerov so pretežno poškodovane ali le še komaj zaznavne, le v 21% gomil še zaznamo v obliki in številu zabeleženim pred desetletji ali celo le nekaj leti. Analiza rabe zemljišč znotraj registrirane arheološke dediščine na ozemlju celotne Slovenije kaže, da je 12% površine intenzivno kmetijsko obdelano, 53% pod gozdom, 16% pod pašniki in 17% površine registriranih najdišč pozidanih (oz. gre za ceste, poti ipd). V Pomurju je intenzivno obdelana kar polovica (50%) zemljišč znotraj območij registrirane arheološke dediščine, 24% zemljišč je pozidanih, na 20% površine raste gozd. Dolgoročni vpliv oranja na arheološke depozite v ravninskih predelih

16 Glej npr. Pahič 1960–1961; Šavel 1991.



Slika 8 Registrirana območja arheološke dediščine, interpretirani sledovi in raba zemljišč.

je očiten, čeprav je bilo v nekaterih primerih uničevanje gomil pospešeno tudi z načrtnim odvažanjem zemlje, predvsem v drugi polovici 20. stoletja.<sup>17</sup> Na drugi strani pa imamo sedaj še 135 novih potencialnih<sup>18</sup> najdišč, na katerih so vidni krožni in pravokotni jarki, vsi zaznani na intenzivno obdelanih kmetijskih površinah (*sl. 8*) in na le šestih serijah cikličnega snemanja, ki niso optimalni za arheološko aerofoto interpretacijo.

Vpliv in stanje dediščine na kmetijskih površinah sta pri nas, tako kot marsikje drugod po Evropi,

že zaradi samega obsega problematike, največkrat potisnjena na stran.<sup>19</sup> Vendar pa na nujnost sistematičnega pristopa do obravnave, vrednotenja, varovanja in upravljanja dediščine na kmetijsko intenzivno obdelanih površinah nazorno kaže analiza stanja na primeru gomilnih grobišč. Pasivno varovanje se v tem primeru dolgoročno ne obnese, zato bo potrebna proaktivna politika varovanja in raziskovanja, ki pomeni tudi aktivnejšo vlogo pri oblikovanju prihodnje kmetijske politike.

17 Glej npr. Šavel 1991, 72, 80; Pahič 1960–1961, 103.

18 Ceste, jarki in nasipi domnevne centuriacije niso všteti.

19 Glej Trow 2010.

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## Pokrajine umrlih: struktura in dinamika severnega grobišča Emone

### Landscapes of the deceased: the structure and dynamics of the northern Emona necropolis

Bernarda Županek

**Izvleček:** V prispevku se osredotočamo na strukturo in dinamiko pokopov v severnem grobišču rimske kolonije Julije Emone (Ljubljana, Slovenija) ter razvoj samega grobišča. To obsežno grobišče je bilo intenzivno raziskovano, in doslej je bilo odkritih že prek 3000 grobov. Za našo analizo se opiramo predvsem na najnovejše raziskave, predvsem na arheološka izkopavanja najdišč Kozolec 2 in Slovenska cesta 55a. Odgovoriti skušamo na naslednja vprašanja: kako je bilo severno grobišče strukturirano? Kako se je širilo oziroma razvijalo skozi čas? Osvetliti skušamo vzroke za strukturno različna območja pokopa znotraj severnega grobišča, kot tudi njegovo infrastrukturo in odnos do severne ceste in bližnjih industrijskih območij.

**Ključne besede:** Emona, rimski čas, rimsko grobišče, struktura in dinamika pokopov

**Abstract:** The paper focuses on the structure, burial dynamics and evolution of the northern necropolis of the Roman colony Iulia Emona (Ljubljana, Slovenia). This large necropolis has been extensively excavated and to date approximately 3000 graves have been discovered. This analysis relies mostly on the latest excavations, especially those at the sites Kozolec II and Slovenska cesta 55a. The aim is to shed some light on the question of how the northern necropolis was structured and how it evolved over time. There is also a discussion of structurally differentiated burial areas in the necropolis, as well as its infrastructure and relation to the northern road and industrial areas in the vicinity.

**Key-words:** Emona, Roman period, Roman necropolis, structure and dynamics of burials

#### Kolonija Emona in njena grobišča

Rimska kolonija Emona je bila zgrajena na začetku 1. stoletja našega štetja. Mesto z domnevno okoli 3000 prebivalci je živelo več stoletij, po mnenju nekaterih nekako do polovice<sup>1</sup> oz. največ do konca petega<sup>2</sup>, po mnenju drugih pa še dlje, do polovice šestega stoletja<sup>3</sup> ali celo čez.<sup>4</sup> Emona je imela 3 velika grobišča, ki so se razprostirala ob treh glavnih mestnih vpadnicah. Vzhodno grobišče je ležalo ob cesti na Neviodun in naprej na Siscijo; severno ob cesti v Celejo in Petoviono; zahodno ob cesti v Akvilejo.

1 Ciglencčki 1997, 192.

2 Prim. Horvat 1999, 249.

3 Mikl Curk 2006.

4 Plesničar Gec 2006, 70.

#### The Emona colony and its necropolises

The Roman colony of Emona was built in the early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. The town with a population of approximately 3000 existed for a few centuries: according to some experts, until roughly the middle of<sup>1</sup> or, at the latest, until the late fifth<sup>2</sup> century, while some believe it lasted even longer, until the middle of the sixth<sup>3</sup> century or even later.<sup>4</sup> Emona had 3 large necropolises along the three main town arteries: the eastern necropolis along the road towards *Neviodunum* and onwards towards *Siscia*; the northern necropolis along the road leading to *Celeia* and *Poetovio*; and the

1 Ciglencčki 1997, 192.

2 Cf. Horvat 1999, 249.

3 Mikl Curk 2006.

4 Plesničar Gec 2006, 70.

Med emonskimi grobišči je najbolj poznano severno, ki so ga raziskovali že od sredine 17. stoletja naprej. V 1960-tih je velike odseke raziskovala Ljudmila Plesničar Gec;<sup>5</sup> to so bila prva sodobna raziskovanja severnega grobišča Emone, v nezavidljivih okoliščinah, ki so vplivale na kvaliteto arheološkega dela. Starejše raziskave emonskih grobišč je zbrala in objavila Sonja Petru.<sup>6</sup>

V zadnjih 15 letih je bilo na območju severnega grobišča Emone nekaj večjih arheoloških raziskav. Po številu odkritih grobov daleč največje je bilo izkopavanje Potniški center Ljubljana oz. Emonika<sup>7</sup> z več kot 400 grobovi; potem Kozolec II in Slovenska cesta 55c s skupaj 69 grobovi;<sup>8</sup> SNG Opera s 2 groboma;<sup>9</sup> Kongresni trg<sup>10</sup> z vsaj 21 grobovi,<sup>11</sup> Štefanova 4 z 20 grobovi<sup>12</sup> in Slovenska cesta-sever z 8 grobovi.<sup>13</sup> Do danes je bilo na prostoru grobišča, od Kongresnega trga do Linhartove ceste, ter od Komenskega in Miklošičeve ulice do Delavskega doma ter SNG Opere odkritih okoli 3000 grobov.

## Rimski pokop in severno emonsko grobišče

Pokop je hkrati sredstvo družbene komunikacije in zelo simbolno dejanje, katerega pomen je tesno zvezan z izkušnjami, ki jih delijo umrli in tisti, ki ga pokopavajo. Pogrebi so bili ena od ceremonij, skozi katere so Grki in Rimljani oblikovali in diskutirali pomen svoje sveta.<sup>14</sup> Proces priprave na pokop, pogreb in popogrebne aktivnosti niso pasivna odslkava

western necropolis along the road to *Aquileia*.

The best known is the northern Emona necropolis, which was first excavated in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. In the 1960s, extensive stretches were excavated by Ljudmila Plesničar Gec.<sup>5</sup> These were the first modern excavations on the territory of the northern necropolis, in unenviable conditions that affected the quality of the archaeological work. The older studies of the Emona necropolises were collected and published by Sonja Petru.<sup>6</sup>

Over the last 15 years, a number of large-scale archaeological excavations have taken place in the area of the northern Emona necropolis. With regard to the number of graves found, the most extensive excavations took place on the location of the planned Emonika Transport Centre Ljubljana (TCL)<sup>7</sup> with over 400 graves; this is followed by the locations Kozolec II and Slovenska cesta 55c with a total of 69 graves;<sup>8</sup> the Opera House with 2 graves;<sup>9</sup> the square Kongresni trg<sup>10</sup> with at least 21 graves,<sup>11</sup> Štefanova 4 with 20 graves<sup>12</sup> and Slovenska cesta – North with 8 graves.<sup>13</sup>

## Roman burial and the northern Emona necropolis

Burials are both a means of social communication and a highly symbolic act, the significance of which is closely connected with the experiences shared by the deceased and those burying them. Funerals were

5 Plesničar Gec 1972.

6 Petru 1972.

7 Mulh 2008.

8 Županek, Klasinc, Draksler v tisku.

9 Dirjec *et al.* 2012.

10 Badovinac *et al.* 2011.

11 Iz poročila ni jasno, koliko skeletov otrok je antičnih in koliko prazgodovinskih, zato skupne številke grobov ni moč fiksirati; prim. Badovinac *et al.* 2011.

12 Tomažinčič *et al.* 2014.

13 Poročilo o raziskavah na Slovenski cesti leta 2014 je bilo v času oddaje tega teksta v pripravi. Zahvaljujem se kolegom iz Skupine Stik, še posebej Roku Klasincu, za vse posredovane informacije.

14 Morris 1992.

5 Plesničar Gec 1972.

6 Petru 1972.

7 Mulh 2008.

8 Županek, Klasinc, Draksler in print.

9 Dirjec *et al.* 2012.

10 Badovinac *et al.* 2011.

11 The report does not make it clear how many children's burials are from Antiquity and how many are prehistoric, so the total number of graves cannot be fixed; cf. Badovinac *et al.* 2011.

12 Tomažinčič *et al.* 2014.

13 At the time this article was submitted, the report on the excavations on Slovenska cesta in 2014 was still being drawn up. I wish to thank my colleagues from Skupina Stik, particularly Rok Klasinc, for all the information they supplied.



identitete, pač pa obred, in kot tak del vzpostavljanja in obnavljanja identitete žalovalcev in širše skupnosti. Glede na kontekstualne odnose do smrti so identitete v kontekstu pogrebnega rituala aktivno transformirane tako, da predstavljajo ideološko verzijo družbene strukture.<sup>15</sup>

Pri rimskem pokopu sta bila odločilna dejavnika družbeni status in vzrok smrti. Ob bogastvu virov za različne pokope, na primer omemb v pisnih virih, arheoloških in epigrafskih virov, kipov in reliefov, je poudarek raziskovalcev še vedno na študiju spomenikov, aktivnosti in obnašanja višjih slojev ali tistih posameznikov, ki so se potrudili za legitimacijo svoje (nove) identitete in pozicije znotraj družbe, kot npr. osvobodenci. Zato je tipična procedura za pokope premožnih, uglednih rimskih državljanov dovolj dobro dokumentirana. Manj pa vemo o revnejšem segmentu prebivalstva in ubožnih; predstavnikov obeh slednjih kategorij je bilo v primerjavi s prvo veliko več. Diskrepanca med podatki, ki jih imamo iz pisnih virov in umetniških del, ter tistimi iz arheoloških virov, se pojavlja predvsem pri vprašanih kot so posebne kategorije umrlih (npr. otroci), obravnava trupla, starostne kategorije. Naše vedenje o pokopih in komemorativnih praksah v rimskem svetu in še posebej v Emoni je omejeno na relativno majhen del populacije in majhen del možnih vprašanj.

Severno emonsko grobišče je topografsko kompleksno pokopališča z zelo veliko pokopi in dolgim trajanjem. Doslej odkritih v severni nekropoli je okoli 3.000 grobov. V Emoni naj bi živelo okoli 3.000–5.000 prebivalcev,<sup>16</sup> s povprečno življenjsko dobo 30 let,<sup>17</sup> okvirno torej tri generacije na stoletje. Če predpostavimo zgolj štiri stoletja uporabe severnega grobišča (glej spodaj poglavje o poznih grobovih), je ocenjeno skupno število grobov prebivalcev Emone okoli 36.000–60.000. Izračun nam pokaže, da načeloma poznamo le 250 grobov iz vsake generacije, torej manj kot 10% domnevanega obsega prebivalstva v generaciji. Skupno število doslej odkritih grobov v severnem grobišču prav tako ne predstavlja niti desetine

one of the ceremonies through which ancient Greeks and Romans shaped and discussed the meanings of their world.<sup>14</sup> The process of preparation for burial and the post-funeral activities are not a passive reflection of identity, but a performance, and thus part of the establishment and restoration of the identity of the mourners and the wider community. According to the contextual attitudes to death, identities are actively transformed during the funerary ritual in such a way that they represent an ideological version of the social structure.<sup>15</sup>

The decisive factors in the Roman burial were social status and the cause of death. With the multitude of available sources in connection with various burials – such as records in written sources, archaeological and epigraphic sources, statues and reliefs, etc. – the research emphasis still lies on the study of monuments and the activities and behaviour of the higher classes, as well as individuals making an effort to legitimise their (new) identity and position within society (e.g. freedmen). This is why the typical burial procedure of wealthy Roman citizens is sufficiently well documented. However, less is known about the not so well-off segments of the population and the impoverished; after all, there were many more representatives of the latter two categories than the former. The gap between the data available from written sources and works of art, and those from the archaeological sources is particularly apparent in relation to issues such as special categories of the dead (e.g. children), the treatment of the corpse and age categories. In short, our knowledge about burials and commemorative practices in the Roman world and especially in Emona is limited to a relatively small proportion of the population and a small number of possible questions.

The northern Emona necropolis is a topographically complex burial ground with a large number of burials over a long period. So far, approximately 3000 graves have been discovered in all of Emona's necropolises. It is thought that between 3000 and 5000 people lived

15 Shanks, Tilley 1982.

16 Prim. Gaspari 2010, 136.

17 Tomazo Ravnik 1984, 52.

14 Morris 1992.

15 Shanks, Tilley 1982.

celotnega prebivalstva Emone v štirih stoletjih, niti po najnižji oceni ne. Tudi če vzamemo v račun, da je enako število umrlih pokopanih v obeh drugih emonskih grobiščih – zahodnem in vzhodnem (čeprav je glede na današnje poznavanje severno grobišče daleč največje) – in da je določeno število grobov spregledanih ali izgubljenih, in da jih bo določeno število še izkopanih, pa je vendarle videti, da večina emonskih pokojnikov ni pustila vidnih sledi. To pomeni, da je naš vzorec za raziskavo v resnici zelo majhen in da moramo biti previdni pri iskanju vzorcev in interpretaciji.

V tem prispevku si o severnem grobišču Emone zastavljamo več vprašanj. Prvenstveno nas zanima, kako je bilo strukturirano, in kako se je razvijalo in širilo skozi čas. Ali je imelo območja, ki so bila drugačna, posebna, namenjena posebnim pokopom? Zadnja izkopavanja enako kvalitetno kot same grobove raziščejo tudi prostore med grobovi in ob njih, zato si lahko pogledamo tudi nekaj podatkov o grobiščni infrastrukturi. Zanima nas tudi, kakšen je bil odnos med grobiščem in severno cesto ter doslej znanimi industrijskimi območji.

## Kronološki razvoj

Najstarejši doslej odkriti grobovi, srednje do poznogustejski, so s Kongresnega trga,<sup>18</sup> ki je hkrati tudi geografski začetek severnega grobišča Emone. Videti je, da je bilo celotno grobišče zasnovano in razdeljeno ob začetku kolonije, saj nekateri od grobov pri Gospodarskem razstavišču, torej na ugotovljenem koncu grobišča, niso veliko kasnejši.<sup>19</sup> Drži torej, kot piše Plesničarjeva, da je bilo že v 1. stoletju zasedeno celotno območje ob današnji Slovenski cesti od Kongresnega trga do Gospodarskega razstavišča.<sup>20</sup> Takrat so bile najverjetneje že zasnovane in razdeljene tudi družinske parcele ob glavni cesti.<sup>21</sup> Le-te prvič jasno odkrijejo pazljiva izkopavanja najdišča PCL,<sup>22</sup>

in Emona,<sup>16</sup> with an average lifetime of 30 years,<sup>17</sup> which means roughly three generations per century. If we assume that the Emona necropolises were used for four centuries, the estimated total number of graves of Emona residents is between 36,000 and 60,000. This shows that only 250 graves from each generation are known to us, i.e. less than 10 % of the alleged size of the population within a generation. Moreover, the total number of the hitherto discovered graves in the Emona necropolises represents less than a tenth of the total Emona population over the four centuries, even according to the lowest estimates. And even if we take into account that a certain number of graves have been overlooked/lost, and that a certain number are yet to be excavated, it still seems that most of the Emona dead left no visible trace. This means that our research sample is very small and that we must be very cautious in the search for patterns and in our interpretations.

This article poses a number of questions about the northern Emona necropolis. The main issue is how it was structured and how it developed and grew through the time. Did it have areas that were different, special, intended for special burials? The latest excavations studied to the same high standards not only the graves but also the spaces between and alongside them, which is why there is now more information about the necropolis infrastructure. Another interesting issue is the relationship between the necropolis and the northern road and the known industrial areas.

## Chronological development

The oldest graves discovered so far, from the mid-to the late Augustan period, are in Kongresni trg,<sup>18</sup> which is also the geographical beginning of the northern Emona necropolis. It seems that the whole necropolis was designed and divided at the beginning of the colony, since some of the graves next to the

18 Bekljanov Zidanšek 2012; Gaspari *et al.* 2015.

19 Prim. Plesničar Gec 1972; Ložar 1933.

20 Plesničar Gec 1972.

21 Plesničar Gec 1972, 12.

22 Mulh 2008.

16 Cf. Gaspari 2010, 136.

17 Tomazo Ravnik 1984, 52.

18 Bekljanov Zidanšek 2012; Gaspari *et al.* 2015.

kasneje pa domnevno tudi Kozolec<sup>23</sup> in Slovenska cesta 2014.<sup>24</sup> Severno grobišče pa kmalu raste tudi v širino, že v 2. polovici 1. stoletja vse do Komenskega ulice<sup>25</sup> na vzhodu, na zahodu pa do Lattermanovega drevoreda oz. današnje Bleiweisove.<sup>26</sup>

Družinske grobne parcele so orientirane glede na cesto, bodisi glavno ali stransko.<sup>27</sup> Kako je z grobiščno infrastrukturo? Z drugih območij v imperiju poznamo primere dopolnjevanja grobnih parcel z različnimi grajenimi zavetji, skupaj z drevesi, rožami, vodnjaki ipd. Ponekje so bile grobne parcele dovolj velike, da so nanje postavili stavbe za sužnje in osvobojeence. Tovrstna infrastruktura je bila uporabljena za praznovanja obletnic in podobno. Vodnjak, odkrit na lokaciji Kozolec2, bi bil lahko narejen za potrebe grobišča.<sup>28</sup> Morda lahko govorimo o svetišču, in sicer boginje Ekorne, na prostoru samega grobišča.<sup>29</sup> V tem primeru je bil verjetno na fizično in simbolično ločenem delu, kot je običajno v antičnem svetu, kjer ritualno onesnaženje, ki ga pomenijo mrtvi, skruni svetišče. Odkrita so bila različna nagrobna obeležja in monumentalni grob t. i. Emonca oz. emonskega meščana, nagrobno obeležje na cesarskem nivoju.<sup>30</sup>

## Prvi grobovi

Arheološka izkopavanja na območju Kongresnega trga v Ljubljani v letih 2009–2010 so med drugim odkrila gomilno grobišče in več posameznih planih grobov iz starejše železne dobe.<sup>31</sup> Ista izkopavanja so odkrila tudi dve skupini zelo zgodnjih, v srednje- in poznoavgustejski čas postavljenih grobov, torej

Exhibition and Convention Centre, i.e. at what is now considered to be the end of the burial ground, do not date from much later.<sup>19</sup> Plesničar was thus right when she wrote that even in the 1<sup>st</sup> century the whole area along today's Slovenska cesta, from Kongresni trg to the Exhibition and Convention Centre, was occupied.<sup>20</sup> At that time, the family plots along the main roads were most likely already created and divided.<sup>21</sup> These became clearly seen for the first time by the careful excavations on the site TCL,<sup>22</sup> and later also on the sites Kozolec II<sup>23</sup> and Slovenska cesta – North<sup>24</sup> (cf. *Fig. 7*). But the northern necropolis soon began to grow width-wise as well; in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century it already extended all the way to what is today the street Komenskega ulica<sup>25</sup> in the east and in the west to Lattermanov drevored, i.e. today's Bleiweisova cesta.<sup>26</sup>

Family grave plots are orientated with regard to the road, be it the main road or the side road.<sup>27</sup> What about other necropolis infrastructure? From other areas within the Empire, there are examples of grave plots being supplemented with various constructed shelters, together with trees, flowers, wells, etc. In some places, grave plots were big enough for buildings for slaves and freedmen. This type of infrastructure was used for anniversary celebrations and similar. The well found on the location Kozolec II could have been created for the requirements of the necropolis.<sup>28</sup> In addition, we can perhaps talk about a temple of the goddess Aecorna in the necropolis itself,<sup>29</sup> of course in a physically and symbolically separate section, as was customary in Antiquity, where the ritual pollution signified by the dead was considered to desecrate a temple. Also found were typologically different grave monuments and the monumental

23 Županek, Klasinc, Draksler v tisku.

24 Poročilo o raziskavah na Slovenski cesti leta 2014 je bilo v času oddaje tega teksta v pripravi. Zahvaljujem se kolegom iz Skupine Stik, še posebej Roku Klasincu, za vse posredovane informacije.

25 Slabe 1968.

26 Mullner 1894, 39; Plesničar Gec 1967.

27 Prim. Slovenska cesta 2014; Mulh 2008, priloga 4.

28 Županek, Klasinc, Draksler v tisku.

29 Šašel Kos 1992, 9.

30 Istenič 2012.

31 Badovinac *et al.* 2011, VII, 114–118.

19 Cf. Plesničar Gec 1972; Ložar 1933.

20 Plesničar Gec 1972.

21 Plesničar Gec 1972, 12.

22 Mulh 2008.

23 Županek, Klasinc, Draksler in print.

24 See note 13.

25 Slabe 1968.

26 Mullner 1894, 39; Plesničar Gec 1967.

27 Cf. Slovenska cesta 2014; Mulh 2008, attachment 4.

28 Županek, Klasinc, Draksler in print.

29 Šašel Kos 1992, 9.

glede na sedanje vedenje, čas pred in med izgradnjo kolonije Emone.<sup>32</sup>

Prva skupina, 5 grobov, je ležala neposredno ob prazgodovinskih gomilah. Dva objavljena, 1042 in 1039, sta interpretirana kot vojaška, kot grobova keltiziranih staroselcev, ki sta služila v rimski vojski.<sup>33</sup> Prvi, št. 1042, je postavljen v čas od 20/15 pr. n. št. – 5/15 n. št.; grobova št. 1038 in 1039 sta poznoavgustejska.<sup>34</sup> Avtorji menijo, da so bile ob koncu 1. stoletje n. št., torej v času teh prvih pokopov, gomile še jasno vidne. Pokopi neposredno ob še vidnih monumentalnih grobovih staroselcev bi bili torej lahko namerni, kot izjava o povezavi pokopanih s herojsko preteklostjo in predniki, ali kot okupacija tudi tega, grobiščnega prostora. Oba vojaška grobova sta domnevno pokopa pripadnikov lokalne vojaške elite, ki se je na novo situacijo odzivala različno, tudi z zavezništvom, najemništvom oz. službo v pomožnih enotah.<sup>35</sup>

Arheološka izkopavanja so okoli 50 m južneje od opisane skupine odkrila še šest zgodnjericinskih grobov. Obe skupini – skupaj 11 grobov – sta časovno in prostorsko povezani<sup>36</sup> in lahko predstavljata celoto. Edini doslej objavljen grob v južni skupini, grob 1007, je datiran v srednje- do poznoavgustejsko obdobje in sodi pred do sedaj najzgodnejše objavljene grobove severnega grobišča.<sup>37</sup> Celotno skupino teh srednje- in poznoavgustejskih grobov lahko postavimo v čas tik pred formalno ureditvijo severnega grobišča, saj so vsaj nekateri očitno vezani na železnodobne gomile, le-te pa so bile poškodovane oz. zravnane ob urejanju severnega grobišča Emone.<sup>38</sup> Tudi ob upoštevanju zamika med časom nastanka in časom uporabe pridatkov v grobovih, najzgodnejši rimski grobovi s Kongresnega trga datirajo v čas pred kolonijo na levem bregu Ljubljanice, in odpirajo vprašanja o poreklu pokojnih in njihovi nasebini.

grave of the so called Emonec – an Emona citizen, a grave monument on the imperial level.<sup>30</sup>

## The first graves

During the archaeological excavations at Kongresni trg in Ljubljana between 2009-2010 a burial ground with tumuli and a number of individual flat graves from the Early Iron Age was found.<sup>31</sup> The same excavations also uncovered two groups of very early graves, dated to the mid- and late-Augustan period, i.e. according to the current knowledge, to the time before and during the construction of the colony of Emona.<sup>32</sup>

The first group, a total of 5 graves, lay directly next to the pre-historical tumuli. Two published graves, nos. 1042 and 1039, are interpreted as military, belonging to two Celticized indigenous individuals who served in the Roman army.<sup>33</sup> The first grave, no. 1042, is dated to the time between the years 20/15 BC and AD 5/15, while the graves no. 1038 and 1039 are late-Augustan.<sup>34</sup> The researchers believe that in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, i.e. at the time of these first burials, the tumuli were clearly visible. The burials directly next to the still visible monumental graves of the indigenous people could be intentional, as a statement about a connection between those buried and the heroic past and forebears, or as a symbolic or actual occupation of the burial area. The indigenous local military elite responded to the new situation in different ways, including forming alliances, serving as mercenaries or in auxiliary units.<sup>35</sup>

The archaeological excavations found another six Early-Roman graves around 50 metres south of the group discussed above. Both groups – altogether 11 graves – are connected with regard to time and space<sup>36</sup> and may represent a whole. Like the graves in

32 Prim. Slapšak 2014.

33 Gaspari *et al.* 2015.

34 Gaspari *et al.* 2015.

35 Gaspari *et al.* 2015; prim. Dizdar, Radman-Livaja 2012.

36 Bekljanov Zidanšek 2012, 15.

37 Bekljanov Zidanšek 2012, 15, 20.

38 Gaspari *et al.* 2015, 131.

30 Istenič 2012.

31 Badovinac *et al.* 2011, VII, 114-118.

32 Cf. Slapšak 2014.

33 Gaspari *et al.* 2015.

34 Gaspari *et al.* 2015.

35 Gaspari *et al.* 2015; Dizdar, Radman-Livaja 2012.

36 Bekljanov Zidanšek 2012, 15.

## Struktura grobišča

Rimska grobišča so pogosto razdeljena v družinske parcele z različno razporejenimi grobovi v njih. Izkopavanja na najdišču PCL<sup>39</sup> so poleg ostalega odkrila pet grobnih parcel, grajenih iz prodnikov, ki so bili ponekod še vedno vezani z malto. Na najdišču Kozolec2 so bile meje družinskih grobnih parcel ravni, pravokotno se sekajočimi jarki, nekoč verjetno zasajeni z nizko vegetacijo.<sup>40</sup> Družinske parcele je mestna uprava razdeljevala prebivalcem mest, in na njih so si slednji pogosto še za življenja postavljali nagrobnike. Parcele so bile urejene: običajno ograjene, zasajena z vegetacijo, nanje so bile postavljene klopce ali manjši objekti itd. Ureditev grobne parcele je bil del socialne kompeticije in še ena priložnost za razkazovanje moči in statusa družine ali posameznika, ki je lahko dosegla ogromne razsežnosti.<sup>41</sup>

Pokopi v družinskih parcelah so ena podoba severnega grobišča Emone. Druga so različno „gosti“ deli grobišča brez sledov grobnih parcel. Morda lahko ponekod identificiramo nekaj goriščnih grobov, okoli katerih se razporejajo drugi grobovi.<sup>42</sup> Tretja podoba so različno orientirani, blizu drug drugega vkopani grobovi, za katere se ponekje zdi, da so razporejeni v vrste<sup>43</sup> na drugi strani.

To pomeni tudi – v severnem grobišču Emone ne zelo razločno vidno – razliko med monumentalnimi, razkošno urejenimi in okrašenimi grobnicami bogatih ter skromne grobove revnih na eni strani, ter relativno uniformiranim grobiščem, kar se izkazovanja statusa tiče. To razliko delno zaznavamo kot razliko med sočasnimi grobovi z veliko in malo podatki na nekaterih delih grobišča (npr. PCL z nekaj

the first group, the only hitherto published grave in the southern group, grave 1007, is also dated to the mid- to late-Augustan period and thus before the earliest graves in the northern necropolis published so far.<sup>37</sup> Both groups can thus be placed in the time just before the formal establishment of the northern necropolis since at least some graves are tied to the Iron Age tumuli which were damaged or flattened during the establishment of the northern Emona necropolis.<sup>38</sup> Even taking into account the delay between the time of the graves' appearance and the time of the introduction of the custom of grave goods being put in graves, the earliest Roman graves from Kongresni trg are from the time before the appearance of the colony on the left bank of the River Ljubljanica and open up questions about the origin of the deceased and their settlement.

## The necropolis structure

Roman necropolises are often divided into family plots containing differently arranged graves. Family plots were allocated to the townspeople by the town administration and the former often erected grave-stones for themselves even during their lifetime. The plots were usually fenced off, planted with vegetation, there were benches and smaller constructions, and so on. The arrangement of grave plots was part of social competitiveness and yet another opportunity for showing off the strength and status of a family or an individual, which could reach huge proportions.<sup>39</sup> Among other things, the excavation at the site TCL<sup>40</sup> revealed five grave plots built from pebbles that were in places still bound with mortar. At the site Kozolec II, the borders of family plots consisted

39 Mulh 2008.

40 Županek, Klasinc, Draksler v tisku.

41 Plinij Starejši na primer omenja pogreb osvobojenca leta 8 pr. n. št., ki je z oporoko velel, da se za njegov pokop potroši 1.100.000 sestercev. V drugem primeru, iz leta 152 pr. n. št., pa je omenjen strošek 1 milijon asov, kar bi v tistem času zadoščala za enoletno preživetje 800 manjših kmetij (Rope 2007, 88).

42 Prim. Mulh 2008, priloga 1.

43 Npr. Štefanova 4, Tomažinčič *et al.* 2014, 11; Mulh 2008, 242.

37 Bekljanov Zidanšek 2012, 15, 20.

38 Gaspari *et al.* 2015, 131.

39 Pliny the Elder, for example, mentions the funeral of a freedman in 8 BC, who in his will ordered that 1,100,000 sesterces should be used for his burial. In another example from 152 BC, the expense of 1 million asses is mentioned, which at the time sufficed for a year's survival of 800 smaller farms (Rope 2007, 88).

40 Mulh 2008.

zelo bogatimi ženskimi grobovi)<sup>44</sup> in deli grobišča z malo pridatki v vseh grobovih; ti grobovi so običajno poznoantični (npr. Štefanova 4;<sup>45</sup> Kozolec2<sup>46</sup>). V prvih stoletjih je variabilnost med številom in vrednostjo pridatkov v grobovih dosti večja kot kasneje; razločimo lahko več stopenj bogatih in revnih grobov. Prav tako je med nošo in pridatki več artefaktov, ki pričajo o življenju elit, o *otium* – igre na srečo, hrana in pijača, kopanje, ludi, pisanje/pismenost. Očitno je to način reprezentacije emonskih elit v grobovih, ustrezno z družbenimi pričakovanji kovanja bogastva in statusa v smrti. Videti je, da je v tem prikazu pravzaprav malo razlike med ženskami in moškimi pripadniki višjih slojev.

Kasneje so kulturna in družbena pričakovanja očitno drugačna. Slika, ki nam jo kažejo poznoantični grobovi v severnem grobišču Emone je dosti bolj uniformna, ni izjemno bogatih grobov z zelo veliko artefakti in/ali artefakti iz dragocenih materialov. Pa vendar je tudi v pozni antiki rimska družba zelo stratificirana, še več, stratificiranost je v primerjavi z zgodnjo antiko bolj fiksna, vendar pokopi tega ne odsevajo več v enaki meri. Mogoče je homogenost poznoantičnega grobišča hotena, kot kontrast močno diferencirani družbi, ki je pokopavala, kot nek poskus enakosti v smrti. Podobni pokopi in skupna grobišča imajo lahko inkluzivno vlogo, združujejo različne družbene skupine in tako doprinejajo k konstrukciji skupne identitete. Razkošni pokopi kot del socialnega in ekonomskega tekmovanja med posameznimi družinami v mestu v času, ko tudi upravno-administrativno oblast v rimskem mestu prevzame zgodnjekrščanska Cerkev, mogoče niso več zaželeni. Tekmovalnost, ki jo cerkev dovoli pri pokopih, je običajno tista vezana na bližino iz verskih razlogov posebnih grobov. Torej, kompetitivnost, ki je v zgodnji antiki vezana na pomembne družine in posameznike, je v času razmaha krščanstva izražena predvsem v verskih terminih.<sup>47</sup> Pokopov, ki bi jih lahko interpretirali kot *ad sanctos*, ali pokope okoli sakralnih zgradb, kot so *martyria*,

of straight ditches that intersected each other at right angles, which were probably in the past planted with low vegetation.<sup>41</sup>

Burials on family plots are one aspect of the northern Emona necropolis. Another aspect consists of the varyingly „dense“ parts of the necropolis without any trace of grave plots. Perhaps a few focal graves can be identified in places, around which other graves are arranged.<sup>42</sup> The third aspect is varyingly oriented, mostly Late-Roman graves, located beside each other, which in places seem to be arranged in rows.<sup>43</sup>

There is thus a difference (although not particularly obvious in the northern Emona necropolis) between burial ground areas with monumental, lavishly planned and decorated tombs of the rich alongside the modest graves of the poor, and relatively uniform areas where displays of status are not all that apparent. This difference is partly perceived as one between contemporary graves with many grave goods and those with few grave goods in some parts of the necropolis (e.g. the site TCL with a few very rich women's graves<sup>44</sup>) and parts with only a few grave goods in all the graves; these graves are usually from Late Antiquity (e.g. Štefanova 4<sup>45</sup>; Kozolec II<sup>46</sup>). In the early centuries the variability between the number and value of grave goods is much greater than later and several degrees of rich and poor graves can be distinguished. In addition, there are more artefacts among the attire and the grave goods, which bear witness to the life of the elites, to the *otium*: objects connected with gaming, wonderful food and beverages, bathing, ludi, writing/literacy. This is obviously the way in which the Emona elites demonstrated their wealth and status in death, in line with social expectations. In this demonstration there is very little difference between the female and male members of the higher classes.

44 Mulh 2008.

45 Tomažinčič *et al.* 2014.

46 Županek, Klasinc, Draksler v tisku.

47 Petts 1997, 115ss.

41 Županek, Klasinc, Draksler in print.

42 Cf. Mulh 2008, appendix 1.

43 E.g. Štefanova 4, Tomažinčič *et al.* 2014, 11; Mulh 2008, 242.

44 Mulh 2008.

45 Tomažinčič *et al.* 2014.

46 Županek, Klasinc, Draksler in print.

*memoria* itd., v emonskih grobiščih (še) nismo zasledili. Videti je, da je ta običaj nekoliko kasnejši kot so najmlajši zanesljivo datirani grobovi v severnem emonskem grobišču<sup>48</sup> in da so mlajša tudi izključno krščanska grobišča v provincah.<sup>49</sup> Nekatere razlike med obema obdobjema pa arheološko sploh niso vidne: na primer, obiski grobov so v tem času skupinski in javni, ne več zasebni in družinski.

Grobna arhitektura v severnem grobišču Emone je zelo različna, od preprostih grobnih jam do zidanih grobnic.<sup>50</sup> Slednje so bile v redkih primerih tudi poslikane (*sl. 1*). Enako velja za nagrobno arhitekturo, kjer nam nagrobne stele,<sup>51</sup> oltarji (*sl. 2*), ograje (*sl. 3*) in monumentalni spomeniki<sup>52</sup> vsaj v nekem delu kažejo emonsko severno *Gräberstrasse* v vsem sijaju.

Inhumacije so pogosto interpretirane kot pokopi v krstah, zaradi pogostih in dostokrat številnih žebeljev v grobu. Ena od interpretacij so tudi žebliji kot ostanek pogrebne postelje; v primeru kremacij se jih običajno povezuje s skrinjicami oz. skrinjami.

Včasih za tak zaključek ni potrebnih elementov, in poudariti je treba, da je bil fenomen pridajanja žebeljev v grobove razširjen po imperiju.<sup>53</sup> Interpretiran je, poleg drugih praks, kot del vraževernega zaščitnega obnašanja živih, ki so se želeli zaščititi pred nevarnimi „nemirnimi umrlimi“.<sup>54</sup> Žebelj oz. žebliji so simbolično pribili umrlega v grob in preprečili škodo živim. Po drugi strani pa so bili žebliji v antiki sami po sebi posebni predmeti z apotropijsko vrednostjo, in prisotnost enega ali več žebeljev v grobu bi lahko imela oba pomena.<sup>55</sup>

Za strukturo grobišča sta pomembni dve pogosto soodvisni stvari: označevanje grobov in obdobja neuporabe grobišča, oz. obdobja, ko je drugače vzdrževano in urejano grobišče prepuščeno propadu. Glede na vire in analogije domnevamo, da je bil vsaj del

Later, the cultural and social expectations were evidently different. The picture shown by the Late Antiquity graves in the northern Emona necropolis is much more uniform, there are no exceptionally rich graves with many artefacts and/or with artefacts made from precious materials. And yet in the Late Antiquity society was still very stratified, even more, the stratification was much more fixed in comparison to Early Antiquity. But this is no longer reflected to the same extent in burials. Perhaps the homogeneity of the Late Antiquity burial ground is deliberate, as a contrast to the highly differentiated society and an attempt at equality in death. Such graves and joint burial grounds may play an inclusive role, uniting various social groups and thus contributing to the construction of a common identity. Perhaps lavish burials as part of the social and economic competition among individual town families were no longer appropriate at the time when the administrative power in this Roman town was taken by the early Christian Church. The competitiveness permitted by the Church with regard to burials was usually connected to the proximity of special graves with religious significance. Thus, the competitiveness that in Early Antiquity had been connected with important families and individuals was thus at the time of the growth of Christianity expressed mostly in religious terms.<sup>47</sup> Burials that could be interpreted as *ad sanctos*, i.e. burials in the proximity of sacral buildings, such as *martyria*, *memoria* etc., have so far not been found in the Emona necropolises. It seems that this custom is slightly younger than the latest reliably dated graves in the northern Emona necropolis<sup>48</sup> and that the exclusively Christian necropolises in the provinces are also from later.<sup>49</sup> Some differences between the two periods are archaeologically not visible at all: for example, the visits to graves were in Late Antiquity public and conducted in groups, rather than personally or within the family.

The grave architecture in the northern Emona necropolis is very different, from simple grave pits to

48 Prim. Luciano 2013.

49 Prim. Román Punzón 2009.

50 Pregled v Plesničar Gec 1972, T. CCXII-CCXVII; Petru 1972, 11–16.

51 Prim. Šašel Kos 1997, 183ss.

52 Istenič 2012, sl. 1.

53 Prim. Alfaye Villa 2010, tabela 2.

54 Alfaye 2009; Alfaye Villa 2010, 445–448.

55 Alfaye Villa 2010, 449.

47 Petts 1997, 115ss.

48 Cf. Luciano 2013.

49 Cf. Román Punzón 2009.



**Slika/Figure 1** Manjša zidana grobnica z deljenim pokrovom. Notranjost groba je bila ometana z grobim ometom in poslikana z rastlinskim motivom. Najdišče: Pošta, grob 117, oz. grob 424 v Plesničar Gec 1972. Arhiv MGML. / A smaller masonry tomb construction with a divided cover. The inside of the tomb was covered with rough plaster and painted with a plant motif. Site: Pošta (Post Office), grave 117, or grave 424 in Plesničar Gec 1972 (MGML Archives).

grobov v severnem grobišču na nek način označen,<sup>56</sup> vendar je direktnih dokazov za to malo. Možne sledove vkopov ali baz za označbo groba je moč slediti pri natančnem izkopu.<sup>57</sup> Kljub domnevnom označevanju poznamo dosti primerov, ko nekaj generacij mlajši pokopi posežejo v starejše in jih vsaj deloma poškodujejo (prim. Kozolec2, grobova 1004 in 26). Prav tako poznamo nekaj ponovno uporabljene zgodnjerske grobne arhitekture v druge namene, npr.

<sup>56</sup> Toynbee 1971, 73ss.

<sup>57</sup> Prim. Županek, Klasinc, Draksler v tisku, Slovenska 55c, grobovi 2, 4 in 7.

constructed tombs.<sup>50</sup> The latter were in rare cases also painted (Fig. 1). The same applies to the funerary architecture, where the stele,<sup>51</sup> altars (Fig. 2), fences (F) and the colossal monuments<sup>52</sup> show the northern Emona *Gräberstrasse* in all its glory.

Inhumation is often interpreted as burial in a coffin, due to the frequently found and often copious nails in the graves. One of the interpretations of nails is that they are sometimes part of the construction of the funerary bed; in the case of cremations they are usually connected with chests. Sometimes there are no elements justifying such a conclusion and it must be stressed that the phenomenon of putting iron nails into graves as a grave good was widespread in the Roman Empire.<sup>53</sup> It has been interpreted as part of the superstitiously protective behaviour of the living, who wished to be guarded against the dangerous, restless dead.<sup>54</sup> A nail or nails symbolically nailed the deceased into their graves and prevented any harm to the living. On the other hand, iron nails in themselves were in Antiquity special objects with an apotropaic value and the presence of one or more nails in a grave could have both significances.<sup>55</sup>

Two often co-dependent things are important with regard to the necropolis structure: the marking of graves and the periods when the burial ground was not used, i.e. periods when the otherwise maintained necropolis was allowed to decline. In view of the sources and analogies it is assumed that at least a proportion of the graves in the northern necropolis were marked in some way,<sup>56</sup> but there is very little direct evidence for this. Possible traces of entrenchments or bases for grave marking can sometimes be found during a detailed excavation.<sup>57</sup> In spite of the fact that the practice of marking graves is attested to, the examples of burials a few generations later,

<sup>50</sup> Overview in Plesničar Gec 1972, T. CCXII-CCXVII; Petru 1972, 11–16.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Šašel Kos 1997, 183ss.

<sup>52</sup> Istenič 2012; Fig. 1.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Alfaye Villa 2010, Tab. 2.

<sup>54</sup> Alfaye 2009; Alfaye Villa 2010, 445–448.

<sup>55</sup> Alfaye Villa 2010, 449.

<sup>56</sup> Toynbee 1971, 73ss.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Županek, Klasinc, Draksler in print, Slovenska 55c, graves 2, 4 and 7.





**Slika/Figure 2** *Dela nagrobnih oltarjev iz debeložrnatega marmorja. Levi je bil odkrit pri arheoloških raziskavah na lokaciji NUK II kot eden od kamnov, s katerimi je bil sekundarno pokrit del kloake pod cesto F. Hrani ga MGML (inv. št. 510:LJU;0059558) (foto M. Paternoster, MGML). Desni stoji v okenski niši velikega dvorišča Križank. (foto A. Peunik, MGML). / Parts of funerary altars made of coarse-grained marble. The part on the left was found during archaeological excavations at the location NUK II, as one of the stones secondarily covering a section of the cloaca beneath the road F (It is kept by MGLM (inv. no. 510:LJU;0059558), photo M. Paternoster, MGML). The part on the right is positioned in the window niche of the large courtyard in Križanke (photo A. Peunik, MGML).*

popravilo kloake pod cesto J z deli grobne ograje (sl. ž).<sup>58</sup> Menimo, da je veliko grobov z nagrobnimi stelami in drugimi spomeniki propadlo oz. bilo odstranjenih, ko so družine, ki so jih imele v lasti, izumrle. Določen delež grobov je, glede na analogije, označeval nezaset zgornji del žare oz. amfore, ki je hkrati služil za libacije. Najdbe struktur za libacije so v emonskem severnem grobišču redke (vendar prim. sl. 4).

encroaching into the older graves and damaging them at least partly (e.g. Kozolec II, graves 1004 and 26), are relatively common. In addition, some re-uses of the early Roman grave architecture for other purposes are also known, e.g. the repair of the cloaca beneath road J with parts of a grave fence.<sup>58</sup> It is assumed that many graves with stele and other monuments were ruined or removed when the families owning them died out. A certain proportion of the graves could, with regard to analogies, be marked by the unfilled upper part of an urn/amphora, which also served for libation. Finds of libation structures are rare in the northern Emona necropolis, but not completely unknown (cf. Fig. 4).

### The transition to inhumation

Funerary customs were usually conservative. In spite of this, in a large part of the Roman Empire during the time between the late first century and the late second century – i. e. a relatively short period – there occurred a change in the funerary practices, which is today seen as the biggest change in antique burials, i.e. transition from cremation to inhumation. As in the rest of the Empire, this change can be observed in Emona as early as in the late first century (e.g. Pl 396).

The transition to inhumation was connected with Christianity, both in Emona and the rest of the Empire.<sup>59</sup> Inhumations as burials of Christians are assumed to have involved fewer or no grave goods<sup>60</sup> and a specific orientation, but at least in Emona, this does not apply: Emona inhumations vary greatly. Some are also considerably earlier than the first traces of Christianity in Emona (Pl 19; Pl 223; Pl 396; Pl 110; Pl 198; Pl 247; Pl 917; Mulh 327).

No justified causal connection between Christianity and inhumation has so far been found. It seems that the domination of inhumation burials was the result of a series of social and political variables rather than

58 Plesničar Gec 1999, 40, sl. 57, 58.

58 Plesničar Gec 1999, 40, Fig. 57, 58.

59 For Emona, cf. Klemenc 1962, 12; Plesničar Gec 1984, 17.

60 Plesničar Gec 1984, 17.



**Slika/Figure 3** *Deli nagrobne ograje, sekundarno uporabljeni za pokrivanje kloake. Najdišče: Sektor C–Čemažar, med OŠ Majde Vrhovnik in Igriško ulico. Arhiv MGML / A part of a funerary fence discovered during the excavations on the street Slovenska cesta in 2016 in the filled in cloaca (Kept by MGML (no. PG0071489), photo M. Paternoster, MGML).*

### Prehod k inhumiranju

Pogrebni običaji so navadno konservativni. Kljub temu se po velikem delu imperija v času od poznega prvega do poznega drugega stoletja – torej v relativno kratkem času – zgodi sprememba v pogrebni praksi, ki jo danes vidimo kot največjo spremembo pri antičnem pokopu, tj. prehod iz kremacije v inhumacijo. Kot drugje v imperiju jo lahko tudi v Emoni opazimo že konec 1. stoletja (npr. Pl 396).

Prehod k inhumiranju je bil tako po imperiju kot v Emoni pripisovan krščanstvu.<sup>59</sup> Inhumacije naj bi, ker so pokopi kristjanov, imele manj ali sploh nič pridatkov<sup>60</sup> in določeno orientacijo, vendar vsaj za Emono to ne drži: emonske inhumacije so zelo različne. Nekatere so precej zgodnejše od prvih sledov krščanstva v Emoni (Pl 19; Pl 223; Pl 396; Pl 110; Pl 198; Pl 247; Pl 917; Mulh 327). Smiselna vzročna povezava med krščanstvom in inhumacijo doslej ni bila najdena. Videti je še, da je prevlada inhumacije rezultat vrste družbenih in političnih spremenljivk, ne religiozne identitete. Eno od pojasnil izpostavlja emulacijo vsega grškega s strani rimske elite; grški Vzhodni del imperija namreč ni uporabljal kremacije.

<sup>59</sup> Za Emono prim. Klemenc 1962, 12; Plesničar Gec 1984, 17.

<sup>60</sup> Plesničar Gec 1984, 17.

of religious identity. One of the explanations focuses on the emulation of everything Greek by the Roman elites; the Greek eastern part of the Empire did not use cremation. But in fact, in the northern Emona necropolis there is only one grave that can with some probability be labelled as Christian (Pe 679). At the same time, Christianity was strongly present in Emona from at least the 4<sup>th</sup> century onwards.<sup>61</sup> In addition to the church complex with the baptistry, at least one church and the bishop's premises in Insula XXXII, with a previous assembly hall, two other church sites are assumed to have existed in Insulae XII<sup>62</sup> and XI-II.<sup>63</sup> A number of oil lamps with Christograms and the circle of a labarum have also been found in Emona. It is certain that there were still pagan priests<sup>64</sup> in Emona as late as 388, that is at the time when the above mentioned archaeological remains, as well as the written sources (e.g. Hieronimo's letters, notices about Emona bishops, etc.) lead us to assume that there was a strongly developed community of Emona Christians, and at the time when inhumations completely prevailed in the northern Emona necropolis. However, there is not enough evidence to talk about sections of the necropolis that were definitely Christian, as suggested by Klemenc<sup>65</sup> in relation to the street Gosposvetska cesta. Klemenc believed that a burial in a sarcophagus was always Christian: „[...] Gosposvetska cesta lies on nothing but sarcophagi, i.e. mostly on Christian graves.“ But the sarcophagi found in no way attest to Christian burials; they are, above all, a show of wealth and status rather than of religious beliefs. Neither is there a typical Christian necropolis infrastructure. However, it is worth mentioning that even Rome with its large Christian community did not have explicitly Christian necropolises

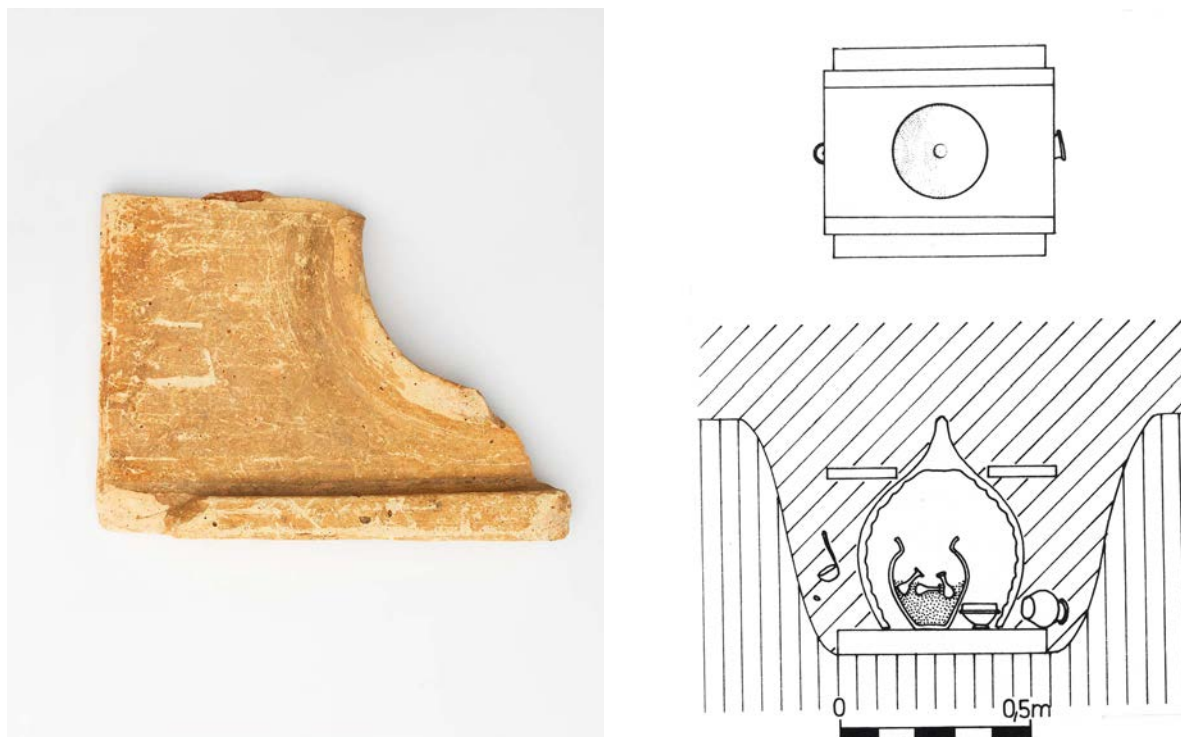
<sup>61</sup> Both chapels, cf. Plesničar Gec *et al.* 1983; Djurić 2012; but cf. Klemenc 1962, 6., with regard to the possibility of the existence of a diocese a century earlier, and with regard to early Christianity in the surrounding towns. With regard to Christianity in Aquileia in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, cf. Cuscito 2015, 25.

<sup>62</sup> Klemenc 1962, 8–10.

<sup>63</sup> Djurić 2012.

<sup>64</sup> Latini Pacati Drepanii Panegyricus Theodosio Augusto Dictus, c. 37.

<sup>65</sup> Klemenc 1962, 11.



**Slika/Figure 4** Ostanke infrastrukture za libacije: leta 1962 odkrita tegula z modelirano odprtino polmera 11,8 cm (brani MGML, inv. št. 510:LJU;0059565). Tegula je bila povezana na amforo, ki je pokrivala žaro z žganino in prdatke pokopa 656 na Titovi cesti (danes Slovenska cesta). Foto M. Paternoster, MGML; desno risba strukture pokopa v Plesničar 1972, T. CLI. / The remains of the infrastructure for libation: a tegula discovered in 1962 with a modelled opening with a radius of 11.8 cm (kept by MGML, inv. no. 510:LJU;0059565). The tegula was placed on top of the amphora that covered the urn with the ashes and the grave goods of burial 656 on the street Titova cesta (now Slovenska cesta) (photo M. Paternoster, MGML); on the right, a drawing of the burial structure in Plesničar Gec 1972, T. CLI.

Pravzaprav imamo iz severnega grobišča Emone en sam grob, ki mu z neko verjetnostjo rečemo krščanski (Pe 679). Hkrati pa je bilo v Emoni krščanstvo dobro vidno vsaj od sredine 4. stoletja naprej.<sup>61</sup> Poleg cerkvenega kompleksa s krstilnico, vsaj eno insulo in prostori za škofa na območju insule XXXII, s predhodno *aulo primitivo*, se cerkvena objekta, domnevata še na območju insule XII<sup>62</sup> in XIII.<sup>63</sup> Iz Emone je znanih tudi nekaj najdb oljenk s kristogrami in kolo labaruma.

before Emperor Constantinius,<sup>66</sup> while outside Rome such necropolises were of an even later origin, e.g. in Baetica they are from the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>67</sup>

With regard to the interpretation of the Emona inhumations as Christian burials, the possibility has been expressed that the early inhumations in Emona are burials of members of the Jewish community. But the abolition of cremations was all too widespread for it to be explained in this way.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, with regard to burials, a differentiation between Christians and Jews can be made on the basis of the specific Jewish iconography, which does not appear around

61 Obe molilnici, prim. Plesničar Gec *et al.* 1983; Djurić 2012; vendar prim. Klemenc 1962, 6, za možnost obstoja škofije že stoletje prej, ter za zgodnje krščanstvo okoliških mest; za krščanstvo v Akvileji v drugi. polovici 2. stoletja prim. Cuscito 2015, 25.

62 Klemenc 1962, 8–10.

63 Djurić 2012.

66 With regard to the catacombs it was believed for a long time that they were exclusively Christian necropolises, but it has now been proven that they grew from pagan subterranean burial grounds and often included them. Moreover, there have been attested Christian burials in pagan family graves.

67 Román Punzón 2009.

68 Toynbee 1971, 40.

Vsekakor so bili v Emoni še leta 388 tudi poganski svečeniki,<sup>64</sup> torej v času, ko lahko tako iz arheoloških ostankov kot virov (npr. Hieronimovi pismi, notice o emonskih škofih itd.) sklepamo na močno razvito skupnost emonskih kristjanov – in hkrati v času, ko je skeletni pokop na severnem grobišču povsem prevladal. Vendar nam za definitivno krščanske odseke grobišča – kot predlaga Klemenc<sup>65</sup> za Gosposvetsko cesto – manjka dokazov. Klemenc je mnenja, da je pokop v sarkofagih praviloma krščanski: „... leži Gosposvetska cesta na samih sarkofagih, t.j. večinoma na krščanskih grobovih.“ Odkriti sarkofagi pa z ničemer ne izpričujejo, da bi bili pokopi v njih krščanski; sarkofagi so predvsem izkaz bogastva in statusa, ne verskega prepričanja. Prav tako nimamo tipične krščanski grobiščne infrastrukture. Velja pa izpostaviti, da niti Rim, s tamkajšnjo veliko krščansko skupnostjo, nima izrecno krščanskih grobišč vse do časa cesarja Konstantina,<sup>66</sup> izven Rima pa so le-ta še mlajša, npr. v Betiki v 6. in 7. stoletju.<sup>67</sup>

V luči razlage emonskih inhumacij kot krščanskih pokopov je bila izražena možnost, da so zelo zgodnje emonske inhumacije pokopi pripadnikov judovske skupnosti. Vendar pa je bilo opuščanje kremacije že v času pred velikim razmahom krščanstva vse preveč splošno, da bi jo lahko pojasnili na ta način.<sup>68</sup> Poleg tega pa lahko pri pokopih ločujemo med kristjani in Judi samo po specifični judovski ikonografiji, ki pa se po imperiju pojavi šele v 3. stoletju.<sup>69</sup> Prav gotovo je bilo izven izobražene elite v praksi težko ločevati med „krščanskim“, „judovskimi“ in nekaterimi „poganskimi“ kulturi. Judje so v rimskem času povsem integrirani v rimsko družbo, del bogatega etničnega mozaika rimskega sveta in privzamejo in oponašajo rimske oblike pokopavanja, do te mere, da jih je ne-

the Empire until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (Rutgers 1995, 366). Even contemporaries, with the exception of the educated elite, must have found it difficult to differentiate between „Christian“, „Jewish“ and some „pagan“ cults, as the differences were in some respects very small. Above all, in Roman times Jews were completely integrated into Roman society, a part of the rich ethnic mosaic of the Roman world. They took on and imitated the Roman forms of burial to the extent that it is impossible to tell them apart from the „true Roman“ burials.<sup>69</sup> Of course Jewish burials, irrespective of the form and expression of the wealth and status of the deceased,<sup>70</sup> were always inhumations, but they are practically impossible to differentiate from the Christian ones or, of course, pagan ones. So far in Emona no remains of a distinctively Jewish architecture, such as a mikveh or a synagogue, have been found. But it is certain that the large northern necropolis was the space where people of different religions and following different cults were buried, the only question is to what extent this can be found in the archaeological records.

In short, there are a number of different factors that contributed to the gradual process of inhumations taking over from cremations, both in Emona and elsewhere. It certainly partly involves social and not only religious changes. However, considering how widespread Jewish communities were, including in the nearby Aquileia, at an early stage, it cannot be excluded that some of the Emona inhumation burials involve the members of this religious community. It should be reiterated here that at such an early time there was no sharp dividing line between the two religions – Judaism and Christianity. In addition, for the time being it is assumed that there is no known specifically Christian burial ground in the northern Emona necropolis, that the Christians and pagans buried their dead together, which was common in other parts of the Empire<sup>71</sup> and that this is why Christian graves are very difficult to define as such without any specific grave goods or inscriptions.

64 Latini Pacati Drepanii Panegyricus Theodosio Augusto Dictus, c. 37.

65 Klemenc 1962, 11.

66 Za katakombe se je dolgo verjelo, da so povsem krščanska grobišča, vendar je zdaj dokazano, da so zrasle iz poganskih podzemnih grobišč, in jih pogosto vključevale. Po drugi strani so izpričani pokopi kristjanov v družinskih poganskih grobovih.

67 Román Punzón 2009.

68 Prim. Toynebee 1971, 40.

69 Rutgers 1995, 366

69 Fine 2010, 442.

70 Cf. Fine 2010, 442ss; 455.

71 Rutgers 1992, 109ss.

mogoče ločiti od „pravih rimskih“.<sup>70</sup> Seveda pa so bili judovski grobovi, ne glede na obliko in izkaz bogastva in statusa pokopanega<sup>71</sup> vedno skeletni, vendar jih je praktično nemogoče ločiti od krščanskih – ali, seveda, od poganskih. Prav tako v Emoni doslej ni bilo odkritih ostankov distinktivno judovske arhitekture, kot je mikveh in sinagoga. Gotovo pa je bilo veliko severno grobišče prostor, kjer so pokopavali različno verujoče, sledilci različnih kultov, vprašanje pa je, koliko lahko temu sledimo v arheološkem zapisu.

Skratka, za postopno prevlado inhumacije nad kremacijo tako v Emoni kot drugod stoji cela vrsta različnih faktorjev; gre za del družbenih in ne le religioznih sprememb. Glede na razširjenost judovskih skupnosti tudi tako blizu, kot je Akvileja, že zelo zgodaj, pa vsekakor ni za izključiti, da je del emonskih skeletnih grobov pokop članov te verske skupnosti. Znova pristavljamo, da v tako zgodnjem času ostre ločnice med obema religijama – torej judovsko in krščansko – ni bilo. Poleg tega zaključujemo, da zaenkrat v severnem emonskem grobišču ne poznamo posebnega krščanskega pokopališča, da so kristjani in pogani pokopavali skupaj, tako kot je bilo pogosto drugje po imperiju<sup>72</sup> in da zato krščanske grobove, brez specifičnih pridatkov ali nagrobnih napisov, zelo težko prepoznamo kot take. Krščanska identiteta umrlih je bila – če sploh – lahko izkazovana na arheološko neviden, nematerialen ali minljiv način.

### Pokopi bogatih nevest, vojakov in starostnikov

V severnem grobišču Emone pri našem kratkem pregledu pokopov zasledimo nekaj zanimivih vzorcev. Med pokopi žensk po ugotovitvah Kaje Štemberger<sup>73</sup> izstopa 8–9 zelo bogatih grobov, z zlatim nakitom in apotropijskimi predmeti. Verjetno gre za mlade ženske, ki so bile še brez otrok, saj bi drugače nakit

The Christian identity of the dead could have been marked – if at all – in an archaeologically invisible or transient way.

### Burials of wealthy brides, soldiers and the elderly

In this short overview of burials in the northern Emona necropolis, a number of interesting patterns can be observed. According to the findings by Kaja Štemberger,<sup>72</sup> among the burials of women, 8 or 9 very rich graves stand out, involving gold jewellery and apotropaic objects. These were probably young women who were still childless, as otherwise the jewellery would have been inherited by the children.<sup>73</sup> Apotropaic objects are relatively common in children's and adolescents' graves, due to the belief that their death was *mors immature*, and that those who die prematurely are especially dangerous to the living.<sup>74</sup> Young women's graves rich with grave goods appear elsewhere around the Empire, with a typical selection of attire and grave goods, and the interpretation that the girls died prior to marriage.<sup>75</sup>

In Roman necropolises there is often, with regard to the number of graves,<sup>76</sup> a tendency for the domination of male inhumation graves compared to women's.<sup>77</sup> It is considered that in pre-industrial populations the mortality of women in the category *maturus*, i.e. women of childbearing age, was twice as high as that of men in the same age range.<sup>78</sup> However, there are no known graves of pregnant women in the northern Emona necropolis and in general, they are rare in Roman necropolises, even though at that time pregnancy and birth signified the greatest risk to women's life. In addition, the high mortality of small children meant

72 Štemberger 2014.

73 Štemberger 2014, 71.

74 Cf. Alfaye 2009, 184–186.

75 Cf. Martin-Kilcher 2000, 64ss.

76 Cf. Pearce 2011, 246ss.

77 Tomazo Ravnik 1984, 52; Mulh 2008; Berdnik *et al.* 2013.

78 With regard to populations in the pre-modern archaeological records a similar demography is assumed as with regard to modern, pre-industrial societies.

70 Fine 2010, 442.

71 Prim. Fine 2010, 442ss; 455.

72 Rutgers 1992, 109ss.

73 Štemberger 2014.

podedovali le-ti.<sup>74</sup> Apotropejski predmeti so v grobovih otrok in adolescentov relativno pogosti, zaradi verovanja, da je bila njihova smrt *mors immatura*, in da so prezgodaj umrli še posebej nevarni živim.<sup>75</sup> Tovrstni po bogatih pridatkih izstopajoči grobovi mladih žensk se pojavljajo tudi drugje po imperiju, s tipičnim naborom noše in pridatkov ter interpretacijo, da so dekleta umrla pred poroko.<sup>76</sup>

Nenavaden, vendar na rimskih grobiščih pogost,<sup>77</sup> je trend številčne prevlade moških skeletov v primerjavi z ženskimi.<sup>78</sup> Ocenjuje se, da je smrtnost žensk v obdobju *maturus*, torej okvirno žensk v rodni dobi, v predindustrijskih populacijah še enkrat večja kot smrtnost moških v enakem starostnem obdobju.<sup>79</sup> Vendar grobov nosečnic iz severnega grobišča Emone ne poznamo, in so tudi na splošno v rimskih grobiščih zelo redki, čeprav sta ravno nosečnost in porod pomenila eno večjih življenjskih tveganj za ženske v tem času. Poleg tega je visoka smrtnost majhnih otrok pomenila, da je morala ženska v povprečju donositi in roditi vsaj 4 otroke, da se je populacija ohranjala. Torej je bila vsaj 3 leta svojega življenja noseča. Običajne razlage za odsotnost nosečnic v rimskih grobiščih so krhkost/slabša prepoznavnost kosti fetusa, pokopavanje nosečnic izven regularnih grobišč ali sploh ne, ter možnost, da so otroka izrezali iz matere preden so jo pokopali, kot je določal *lex regia* Nume Pompilija.

Pri pokopih moških v severnem grobišču je orožje le izjemoma pridano v grobove.<sup>80</sup> Pač pa se predvsem v 4. stoletju začne relativno pogosto pojavljati noša (prim. Štefanova 4, grob 18; Kozolec 2, grobovi 17, 32, 39; P1170; Pe130; Pe544; Pe569; Pe793; Pe801; PCL, grob 86), ki je pogosto interpretirana kot vojaška. Nedvomno vojaški element je le pas, medtem

that, on average, a woman had to carry to term and give birth to at least 4 children for the population to be preserved. This means that women were pregnant for at least 3 years of their life. The usual explanations for the absence of pregnant women in Roman necropolises are the fragility/lower recognisability of the foetal bones, burying pregnant women outside regular burial grounds or not at all, and the possibility that babies were cut out of the mothers before burial, as determined by the Numa Pompilius's *lex regia*.

As elsewhere, in the northern Emona necropolis men are more difficult to recognise on the basis of their attire and grave goods.<sup>79</sup> Men were clearly commemorated on the gravestones, which they themselves usually erected. Women were only rarely mentioned on grave stones on their own, but usually through their relationship to the man (e.g. „wife/mother/daughter [...] of such and such“) who was also buried in the same grave or had the gravestone erected. Inscriptions on the gravestones included and emphasised all the important characteristics and functions of a man, such as citizenship, vocation, relations, military successes, etc. In the very patriarchal Roman society men were thus very explicitly represented by their gravestones and not necessarily parts of their attire or the grave goods, preserved in the graves. At the same time the difference between the representation of women and men in graves and on gravestones is also the difference between the representation of the private and the public, i.e. between the idealised dichotomy of the spheres in which the two sexes moved.

In the northern necropolis, weapons were only rarely placed in men's graves.<sup>80</sup> However, particularly in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, attire begins to appear relatively frequently (cf. Štefanova 4, grave 18; Kozolec II, graves 17, 32, 39; P1170; Pe130; Pe544; Pe569; Pe793; Pe801; TCL, grave 86), and is usually interpreted as military. According to Irena Sivec (2002, 248), the military attire in these graves is never complete, which is why the author opens up the

74 Štemberger 2014, 71.

75 Prim. Alfaye 2009, 184–186.

76 Prim. Martin-Kilcher 2000, 64ss.

77 Prim. Pearce 2011, 246s.

78 Tomazo Ravnik 1984, 52; Mulh 2008; Berdnik *et al.* 2013.

79 Za populacije v predmodernem arheološkem zapisu se načeloma domneva podobna demografija kot za moderne predindustrijske družbe.

80 Prim. Gaspari *et al.* 2015, kjer gre za posebno skupino grobov; bodalo v Pe930.

79 Cf. Štemberger 2014, 77.

80 Cf. Gaspari *et al.* 2015, which involves a special group of graves; the dagger in Pe930.

ko so fibule lahko nosili tudi civilni uradniki.<sup>81</sup> Skelet mladega pokojnika (*iuvēnis*) v grobu 18 na lokaciji Kozolec2 je antropološka analiza določila kot ženska; ali gre za drugačno uporabo noše ali pa za zelo gracilen moški skelet utegnejo pokazati nadaljnje raziskave.

Moški so skozi nošo in pridatke v grobovih tudi v emonskem severnem grobišču težje zaznavni.<sup>82</sup> Spomniti se velja, da so bili moški jasno komemorirani na nagrobnikih, ki so jih najpogosteje tudi postavljali. Ženske so bile na nagrobnikih le redko komemorirane same po sebi, pač pa večinoma skozi svoj odnos do moškega (npr. „žena/mati/hči...tega in tega“), ki je bil ravno tako pokopan v istem grobu ali pa je dal postaviti nagrobnik. Napis na nagrobniku je zajel in izpostavil vse pomembne lastnosti in funkcije moškega, npr. državljanstvo, poklic, sorodstvene zveze, vojaške uspehe itd. V – močno patriarhalni – rimski družbi je torej moške zelo eksplicitno reprezentiral nagrobnik, ne nujno delci noše, ki so se nam ohranili v grobu, in grobni pridatki. Hkrati pa je razlika med reprezentacijo žensk in moških v in na grobovih tudi razlika med reprezentacijo privatnega in javnega, razlika med idealizirano dihonomijo sfer gibanja obeh spolov.

Posebno vprašanje so grobovi starejših Emoncev. Čeprav imamo glede na epigrafske spomenike drugačna pričakovanja, je videti, da v severnem grobišču Emone praktično ni inhumacij prebivalcev, ki bi bili starejši od 61 let.<sup>83</sup> Omembe visoke, celo stoletne starosti v Emoni in okolici so resda pogosto rezultat pretiravanj in zaokroževanj,<sup>84</sup> vendar je tako nizek delež starejših od 61 let v severnem emonskem grobišču presenetljiv.

question of the symbiosis with the civilian population. The indubitably military element in these graves is usually the belt, whilst fibulae were also worn by civilian clerks.<sup>81</sup> The skeleton of young person (*iuvēnis*) in the grave with military attire no. 18 at Kozolec II was determined by the anthropological analysis as female. This either involves a less common use of the attire or future research might show that it is a very graceful male skeleton.

A special issue are the graves of the older Emona inhabitants. Although, considering the epigraphic monuments, a different picture would be expected, it seems that in the northern Emona necropolis there are practically no inhumations of inhabitants older than 61.<sup>82</sup> Even though records of very mature ages, including centenarians, in Emona and its surroundings are often the result of exaggeration and rounding up,<sup>83</sup> the low proportion of those over the age of 61 in the northern Emona necropolis is surprising. This problem is not limited to Emona and it seems that this is the consequence of the techniques that are in use for the determination of the age of the skeletal remains of adults. Most of these techniques show a tendency to setting the age of older persons lower than their real age.<sup>84</sup>

### Where are the children?

Irrespective of their size, in most Roman necropolises few children's graves have been found, considering the very high mortality rate among children. This was highest in the first year of life, between 20% and 40%.<sup>85</sup> Considering that approximately half the children born did not reach adulthood,<sup>86</sup> a high number of children's burials would be expected and, as mentioned above, burials of pregnant women and still-

81 Hoss 2010.

82 Prim. Štemberger 2014, 77.

83 Prim. Tomazo Ravnik 1984 in antropološke rezultate v poročilih Mulh 2008; Tomažinčič *et al.* 2014; Berdnik *et al.* 2013.

84 Prim. Šašel Kos 2006.

81 Hoss 2010.

82 Cf. Tomazo Ravnik 1984 and the anthropological results in the reports Mulh 2008; Tomažinčič *et al.* 2014; Berdnik *et al.* 2013.

83 Cf. Šašel Kos 2006.

84 Cf. Aykroyd *et al.* 1999.

85 Carroll 2011, 102ss.

86 Pearce 2000, 125; Carroll 2011, 102.

## Kje so pokopani dojenčki?

V večini rimskih grobišč, ne glede na njihovo velikost, je bilo odkritih malo otroških grobov glede na zelo visoko smrtnost otrok. Le-ta je bila najvišja v prvem letu življenja, med 20% – 40%.<sup>85</sup> Glede na to, da okoli polovica rojenih otrok ni dočkala odraslosti,<sup>86</sup> bi pričakovali zelo veliko število otroških pokopov, in, kot smo že rekli, tudi pokopov nosečih žensk ter mrtvorojenih otrok. Tega tudi v Emoni doslej ni.

Zdi se, da je razlog predvsem v slabši ohranjenosti in prepoznavnosti otroških pokopov.<sup>87</sup> Otroški skeleti se na splošno veliko slabše ohranijo kot skeleti odraslih, saj so njihove kosti manjše, manj goste, bolj porozne in z manjšim deležem mineralov in kolagena. Poleg tega so plitvi otroški grobovi bolj občutljivi za postdepozicijske motnje, npr. kasnejšo uporabo grobišča in plenilce, vpliv korenin, oranje in erozijo.

Običajni pokop majhnih otrok, dojenčkov – mrtvorojenih, novorojenih ter starih do okoli pol leta – je v zgodnji antiki inhumacija, o čemer pričajo tako pisni kot arheološki viri. Zakaj? Glede na vire naj za zelo mladimi otroci ne bi žalovali, ali vsaj le malo, ker še niso povsem ljudje, in pokopavalo naj bi se jih nesežgane na posebna območja.<sup>88</sup> Prav tako naj bi ne potrebovali ritualov, ki se jih je običajno izvajalo za umrle. Viri nam govore o mnenju elit, na katerega očitno vpliva stoicizem kot dominantna filozofija tega obdobja. V tej luči je zanimivo, da otroci, ki jih prikazuje nagrobna umetnost, niso nikdar novorojenčki, in da je število napisov, posvečenih otrokom mlajšim od enega leta, majhno.<sup>89</sup> Gre pa verjetno bolj za poglede elit kot široke populacije. V literaturi se običajno domneva, da so se zaradi visoke smrtnosti otrok skušali čustveno nekako odmakniti od

born babies. But in Emona, as elsewhere, hardly any such graves have been found.

It seems that the reason lies mostly in the worse preservation and recognisability of children's burials.<sup>87</sup> Children's skeletons in general do not remain as well preserved as those of adults since children's bones are smaller, with lower density and greater porosity and with a lower share of minerals and collagen. In addition, the shallow children's graves are more sensitive to post-depositional disturbances, such as the later use of the burial ground, predators, and the influence of roots, ploughing and erosion.

In Early Antiquity, the usual burial of small children and babies – stillborn, newly born and up to around half a year old – was inhumation, as attested to by both written and archaeological sources. Why? According to the sources, very young children were not mourned, or were mourned only a little, since they were not quite yet people, and they were buried in special areas without cremation.<sup>88</sup> Moreover, none of the rituals usually performed for the dead were required. Sources state the opinion of the elites, which was influenced a great deal by stoicism as the dominant philosophy of the time. In this light it is interesting that children shown by the funerary art are never new-borns and that the number of inscriptions dedicated to children younger than a year is low.<sup>89</sup> Usually it is assumed that Roman society, due to the high mortality rate of children, tried to remain emotionally distant from them by socially defining them slightly differently so that the pain upon a loss was smaller.<sup>90</sup> This could also be the reason for the late naming of children, etc., and the marginal position of children in Roman society, where the focus was on adult citizens, and the allegedly smaller pollution<sup>91</sup> brought by a child's death compared to an adult's death.

87 Pearce 2001, 130–131.

88 Plin. H. N. 7 15.72, Juv. 15.140, Fulgent. de prisc. serm. 7.

89 Sources lead to the conclusion that children acquired the basic form of personality through naming on their *dies lustricus*, when they officially entered the family and society.

90 Carroll 2011, 100.

91 The Romans saw death as pollution and in connection with it grappled with a whole series of religious worries and practical problems.

85 Carroll 2011, 102s.

86 Pearce 2001, 125; Carroll 2011, 102.

87 Prim. Pearce 2001, 130–131.

88 Plin. H. N. 7 15.72, Juv. 15.140, Fulgent. de prisc. serm. 7.

89 Iz virov je sklepati, da so otroci pridobili osnovno obliko osebnosti z imenovanjem na svoj *dies lustricus*, ko so uradno vstopili v družino in družbo.





**Slika/Figure 5** *Grob 1000, eden od pokopov novorojenčkov na Kongresnem trgu. Skelet brez pridatkov je pokopan v konstrukciji iz opek (foto D. Badovinac, arhiv MGML). / Grave 1000, one of the new-born burials in Kongresni trg. The skeleton without any grave goods is buried in a brick construction. Photo David Badovinac, MGML Archives.*

njih, jih socialno definirati drugače, da so bile bolečine ob izgubi manjše.<sup>90</sup> Temu naj bi služilo tudi pozno poimenovanje ipd., marginalna pozicija otrok v rimski družbi, kjer je bil fokus na odraslem državljanu in domnevno manjše onesnaženje,<sup>91</sup> ki jo prinese otroška smrt v primerjavi z odraslo.

Zgodnjeantični skeletni pokopi dojenčkov in otrok v severnem grobišču Emone so bili morda odkriti v posebnem delu tega grobišča, v severnem delu Kongresnega trga. Locirani so torej na samem začetku severnega grobišča, blizu velike severne vpadnice, in blizu tam odkritega gomilnega grobišča iz železne dobe. Iz Poročila je videti, da naj bi bile prazgodovinske gomile v zgodnji antiki še vidne, in da so bili otroci pokopani ob njihovem zunanem robu.<sup>92</sup> Vseeno pa ostaja nejasno, ali so ti otroški grobovi nastali

The Early Antiquity burials of babies and children in the northern Emona necropolis were perhaps found in a special part of this necropolis, in the northern part of Kongresni trg. They were thus located at the very start of the northern necropolis, close to the large northern artery and near the Iron Age tumuli found there. The report states that the pre-historic mounds must have still been visible in Early Antiquity and that children were buried at their edge.<sup>92</sup> But it still remains unclear whether these children's graves appeared before the formal establishment of the northern necropolis, as the tumuli were allegedly damaged or flattened during the landscaping of this necropolis.<sup>93</sup> The discovered children's graves do not contain grave goods. If they are all from Early Antiquity (cf. Fig. 5) – rather than from the Iron Age – the situation is similar to that in Britain and Gallia, where small children were buried

90 Caroll 2011, 100.

91 Rimljani so videli smrt kot onesnaženje, in so v zvezi s tem imeli celo vrsto religioznih skrbi in praktičnih problemov.

92 Badovinac *et al.* 2011, VII, 75–79 in I, 14–15.

92 Badovinac *et al.* 2011, VII, 75–79 and I, 14–15.

93 Gaspari *et al.* 2015, 131.

pred formalno ureditvijo severnega grobišča, saj naj bi bile gomile poškodovane oz. zrvnane ob urejanju severnega grobišča.<sup>93</sup> Odkriti otroški grobovi so brez pridakov. Če so vsi zgodnjeantični (kot ta na *sl.* 5) – in ne železnodobni – imamo podobno situacijo kot v Britaniji in Galiji, kjer so bili majhni otroci pokopavani na robove grobišč.<sup>94</sup> Pokop otrok na rob grobišča je bil lahko del inauguracije uporabe grobišča ali pa je ločeval grobišče od okolice, ki je bila drugačnega značaja.<sup>95</sup> Drugačen primer so skeleti novorojenčkov v vzhodnem grobišču Celeje. Tam so odkrili pet skeletov novorojenčkov iz časa od Flavijcev do konca 2. stoletja, pokopanih med žganimi grobovi odraslih v regularnem delu grobišča.<sup>96</sup>

Z najdišča Kongresni trg imamo tudi dva zgodnje-rimska pokopa otrok pod stavbami.<sup>97</sup> Najdišče je sicer izven mestnega obzidja, a ima v 1. in 2. stoletju poselitev na urbani ravni. Obe inhumaciji sta brez pridakov, stratigrafsko pa sodita v zgodnjo antiko. To ni izjemno, primere inhumacij otrok tako na formalnih pokopališčih kot pod urbani in ruralnimi objekti imamo tudi v rimski Galiji in Italiji.<sup>98</sup> Na ruralnih najdiščih Britanije pa otroški pokop pogosto zaznamuje začetek gradnje ali konec uporabe neke zgradbe.<sup>99</sup>

V pozni antiki so na severnem grobišču Emona otroški skeleti pokopani med odraslimi v relativno visokem odstotku, med 18–24%.<sup>100</sup> Ti pokopi imajo pogosto prdatke, ki se ne razlikujejo bistveno od pridakov odraslih, in odlikujejo njihov položaj, ki je načeloma prirojen, ne pridobljen. Vendar je v emonskem severnem grobišču tudi odstotek pozno-rimskih otroških grobov prenizek glede na ocene smrtnosti.

at the edge of necropolises.<sup>94</sup> The burial of children in this way may have been part of the inauguration of the use of the necropolis or it separated it from the surroundings, which had a different character.<sup>95</sup> A different example involves the skeletons of new-borns in the eastern Celeia necropolis. There, five skeletons of new-borns were found from the time between the Flavians and the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century, buried among the cremation graves of adults in the regular part of the necropolis.<sup>96</sup>

At the Kongresni trg site there are also two children's burials from Early Antiquity beneath the buildings.<sup>97</sup> Although the site is outside the town walls, there was an urban settlement there in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries. Both inhumations are without grave goods, while stratigraphically they belong to the Early Antiquity. Similar examples of children's inhumations both in formal necropolises and beneath urban and rural buildings are known also from the Roman Gallia and Italy.<sup>98</sup> In the British rural sites, children's burials are often marked by the start of a construction of or the end of the use of a building.<sup>99</sup>

In Late Antiquity, there is a relatively high percentage of children's skeletons buried in the northern Emona necropolis among adults, between 18 and 24%,<sup>100</sup> but still too low considering the estimated mortality rate. These burials often do involve grave goods, which do not differ much from those of adults and reflect their social position, which is usually acquired at birth rather than later. There are also a few examples of „special“ grave goods, such as toys, miniature vessels and bells – which could be part of the *crepundia* or appear as sonorous objects with an apotropaic significance in themselves – amulets and individual iron nails (e.g. Pl 39, Pe490, Pe 791, Pe 842, Kozolec II gr. 23). At least some

93 Gaspari *et al.* 2015, 131.

94 Pearce 2001, 136.

95 Pearce 2001, 136.

96 Mackensen 1978.

97 Badovinac *et al.* 2011, zvezek III, 22.

98 Carroll 2011, 110–111.

99 Pearce 2001, 127.

100 Prim. Tomazo Ravnik 1984, 52; Mulh 2008; Županek, Klasinc, Draksler v tisku.

94 Pearce 2001, 136.

95 Pearce 2001, 136.

96 Mackensen 1978.

97 Badovinac *et al.* 2011, volume III, 22.

98 Carroll 2011, 110–111.

99 Pearce 2001, 127.

100 Cf. Tomazo Ravnik 1984, 52; Mulh 2008; Županek, Klasinc, Draksler in print.

## Rast prebivalstva v 4. stoletju in manjkajoči grobovi 5. in 6. stoletja

V severnem grobišču je grobove mlajše od sredine 2. stoletja težje natančno datirati. Predvsem je temu vzrok upad sigilatnega posodja kot pridatka ter ohlapno datiranje bolj lokalnih proizvodov. Zdi pa se, da število grobov upada, tja vse do konca 3. stoletja. Plesničarjeva to opaža na lokaciji Delavski dom,<sup>101</sup> in sicer kot časovni hiatus med žganimi in skeletnimi grobovi.

Podobno situacijo, tj. zelo malo grobov, ki bi jih bilo možno trdno postaviti v drugo polovico 2. stoletja in v 3. stoletje, opažamo tudi na lokaciji Kozolec2.<sup>102</sup> Domnevamo, da gre za že omenjene težave z natančnim datiranjem grobov, ali pa morda upad emonskega prebivalstva, ki zato ne pokopava na obrobni lokacijah severnega grobišča, kot sta Delavski dom in Kozolec2. Pojav sovпада s t. i. krizo 3. stoletja, ki je zaznavna tudi v novčnem obtoku Emone.<sup>103</sup> Peter Kos upad v novčnem obtoku razlaga z depopulacijo Emone zaradi kuge, ki v tem času puščajo po imperiju.<sup>104</sup> Po tej razlagi nam manjkajo številni grobovi umrlih zaradi kuge.

Za razliko od 3. stoletja pa je številne grobove moč datirati skozi celotno 4. stoletje, od teh precejšen delež v njegovo drugo polovico in konec. Sočasno imamo jasne kazalnike ekonomskega vzpona Emone v tem času.<sup>105</sup> V Emoni v 4. stoletju obnovijo obzidje, forum, izgradijo termalni kompleks v insulah XVII, XIII in XXVII itd.<sup>106</sup> Domneva se porast prebivalstva in morda tudi doseljevanje oz. prihod vojakov v povezavi s Claustro Alpium Iuliarum in utrjevanjem Emone.<sup>107</sup> V severnem grobišču imamo na Štefanovi 4 zgolj grobove 4. stoletja,<sup>108</sup> kar lahko razumemo kot širitev grobišča čez robove zaradi populacijskega pritiska. Hkrati pa je Štefanova 4 tudi odsek, kjer

categories of these objects have an apotropaic connection with the dead children, dangerous because of their *mors immatura*.<sup>101</sup>

## Population growth in the 4<sup>th</sup> century and the missing graves from the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries

In the northern necropolis, the graves from after the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century are more difficult to date precisely. The main reason for this is the decline of the terra sigillata appearing as grave goods and the loose dating of the more local products. But it seems that the number of graves kept falling until the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Plesničar observed this at the Delavski dom location<sup>102</sup> as a temporal hiatus between cremation and inhumation burials. A similar situation, i.e. very few graves that could be firmly placed in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, has also been observed at the site Kozolec II.<sup>103</sup> The assumption is that the reason is a decline in Emona's population and consequently burials not taking place in the marginal locations of the northern necropolis, such as Delavski dom and Kozolec II, since there was enough space elsewhere. The phenomenon coincides with the „crisis“ in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, which can also be observed in the coin circulation in Emona.<sup>104</sup> Peter Kos explains the decline in the coin circulation with the depopulation of Emona because of a pandemic, known as the Antonine Plague, which was ravaging the Empire around that time.<sup>105</sup> The pandemic is thought to have reduced the population by at least 20% and the previous population level was not to be reached again until 75 years later.<sup>106</sup>

In contrast to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, numerous graves can be dated to the whole of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, particularly the second half and end of that century. At the same time there are clear indicators of an economic boom

101 Plesničar Gec 1967, 146.

102 Županek, Klasinc, Draksler v tisku.

103 Kos 1986.

104 Kos 1986.

105 Plesničar Gec 1997; Kos 1986, 246.

106 Plesničar Gec 2005, 401.

107 Plesničar Gec 2005, 404; Gaspari 2014, 235ss.

108 Tomažinčič *et al.* 2014.

101 Cf. Martin-Kilcher 2000.

102 Plesničar Gec 1967, 146.

103 Županek, Klasinc, Draksler in print.

104 Kos 1986.

105 Kos 1986.

106 Laurence, Esmonde Cleary, Sears 2011, 315.



**Slika/Figure 6** Slovenska cesta 2014, pokop 7002, inhumacija brez pridatkov, vkopana v severno vpadnico (arhiv MGML). / Archaeological excavations on the north part of the street Slovenska cesta in 2015: burial 7002, inhumation without grave goods, entrenched in the Emona northern artery (MGML archives).

se – najbrž le nekaj desetletij – starejših grobov ne spoštuje in se jih ob pokopu novega pokojnika poškoduje ali uniči. Ali so bili grobovi neoznačeni? Ali pa „prava rimska“ pravila o nedotakljivosti grobov niso več veljala?

Ob obilici grobov v 4. stoletju in nekaj grobovih prve polovice 5. stoletja pa praktično ni grobov, ki bi jih lahko postavili v drugo polovico 5. stoletja ali celo 6. stoletje, ko naj bi mesto še živelo.<sup>109</sup> Plesničarjeva postavlja poznoantične grobove emonskih grobišč do sredine 5. stoletja,<sup>110</sup> kar nova odkritja grobov s pridatki potrjujejo. Plesničarjeva meni, da je večina poznih pokopov iz Emone skeletnih grobov brez pridatkov.<sup>111</sup> So torej inhumacije brez pridatkov pokopi iz 5. in 6. stoletja? Ali grobove iz 5. stoletja datiramo prenizko? Se gradivo, ki ga datiramo v konec 4. stoletja, v grobove pridaja še precej kasneje?<sup>112</sup> Ena od možnosti so tudi manjša grobišča bližje mestu, npr. na Salendrovi<sup>113</sup> ali, morda, Knafljevem prehodu<sup>114</sup>.

109 Za Emono v drugo polovico 5. in v 6. stoletja prim. Plesničar, Sivec 1978; Plesničar Gec 2005, 406–408; za drugačno stališče prim. Ciglencečki 2012.

110 Plesničar Gec 1984, 19.

111 Plesničar Gec 1984, 19.

112 Prim. Migotti, Leleković 2013 za daljši razpon datacij sorodnega gradiva.

113 Korošec 1951.

114 Masaryk, Tomazo Ravnik, Bekljanov Zidanšek 2011.

in Emona during that time.<sup>107</sup> In the 4<sup>th</sup> century, Emona renovated its walls and the forum, and built a thermal complex in Insulae XVII, XIII and XXVII, etc.<sup>108</sup> It is assumed that the population grew and that there was an arrival of soldiers in connection with the lively events in connection with the *Claustri Alipium Iuliarum* and the reinforcements of Emona.<sup>109</sup> In the northern necropolis, at the site Štefanova 4, there are only graves from the 4<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>110</sup> which can be interpreted as the spreading of the necropolis because of population pressures. At the same time this site is also a section where graves, only a few decades older, were not respected and were, upon the burial of a new body, damaged or destroyed. Had the graves been unmarked? Or did the „truly Roman“ rules on the inviolability of graves no longer apply?

After the multitude of graves from the 4<sup>th</sup> century and a small number of graves that can be placed in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, there are practically no graves that could be dated to the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century or even the 6<sup>th</sup> century, when Emona is said to have still existed.<sup>111</sup> Plesničar also dated the Late Antiquity Emona graves only up to the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>112</sup> which is confirmed by the new discoveries of graves with grave goods. Plesničar thought that most of the late burials in Emona were inhumations without grave goods.<sup>113</sup> Are inhumations without grave goods thus in fact burials from the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> or perhaps even 6<sup>th</sup> century? Are the graves from the late 4<sup>th</sup> century being dated too early? Was the material dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup> century put in graves considerably later?<sup>114</sup> Another possibility regarding 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> century graves is the smaller burial grounds nearer the town, e.g. in the street Salendrova<sup>115</sup> or,

107 Plesničar Gec 1997; Kos 1986, 246.

108 Plesničar Gec 2005, 401.

109 Plesničar Gec 2005, 404; Gaspari 2014, 235ss.

110 Tomažinčič *et al.* 2014.

111 For Emona in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> and in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, cf. Plesničar, Sivec 1978; Plesničar Gec 2005, 406–408; for a different view, cf. Ciglencečki 2012.

112 Plesničar Gec 1984, 19.

113 Plesničar Gec 1984, 19.

114 Cf. Migotti, Leleković 2013 for a longer range of the dating of related material.

115 Korošec 1951.



**Slika/Figure 7** Slovenska cesta 2014, mejni zid med cesto in območjem grobišča. Arhiv MGML. / Archaeological excavations on the north part of the street Slovenska cesta in 2015: the border wall between the road and the burial ground (MGML archives).

Iz istega obdobja bi lahko bili tudi grobovi, vkopani v severno vpadnico<sup>115</sup> (sl. 6).

### Odnos severnega grobišča do ceste in obrtnih območij

Severno grobišče je bilo vsaj na nekaterih delih jasno zamejeno. Na Kozolcu2 smo zasledili mejni jarek med območjem grobišča in območjem, kjer pokopov ni bilo.<sup>116</sup> Raziskave na Slovenski cesti-sever leta 2014 so odkrile zid, ki je razmejeval območje ceste od območja grobišča (sl. 7). Zaenkrat pa ni videti meje med industrijskimi območji (lončarske peči na Štefanovi,<sup>117</sup> jame mesno-predelovalnih aktivnosti na Operi SNG<sup>118</sup>) in grobiščem; morda mejno območje še ni bilo odkrito. Doslej odkrite lončarske peči so bile okvirno sočasne z grobiščem, medtem ko je situacija na lokaciji Opera SNG zaporedna: najprej odpadne jame, v pozni antiki grobovi. Prav tako ni povsem jasno, kako je bila, če sploh, definirana meja med grobovi in stavbami, ki jih odkrijejo izkopavanja na ploščadi Borisa Kraigherja,<sup>119</sup> na Kongresnem trgu<sup>120</sup> in

115 Plesničar Gec 1992, 95.

116 Županek, Klasinc, Draksler v tisku.

117 Plesničar Gec 1999, 85.

118 Dirjec *et al.* 2012.

119 Plesničar Gec 1992, 95.

120 Badovinac *et al.* 2011.

perhaps, the passageway Knafljev prehod.<sup>116</sup> The graves entrenched into the northern artery could also be from the same period<sup>117</sup> (cf. Fig. 6).

### The connection between the northern necropolis and the road and craft areas

The northern necropolis was at least in some parts clearly delimited. At the site Kozolec II a border ditch was found between the necropolis and an area where there were no burials.<sup>118</sup> Excavations on Slovenska cesta – North uncovered a wall that served as a border between the road and the necropolis (Fig. 6). But so far no border between the industrial areas (clay kilns in Štefanova,<sup>119</sup> the pits connected with meat-processing activities at the Opera House site<sup>120</sup>) and the necropolis itself can be seen; perhaps the border area has not yet been found. The kilns discovered so far were from roughly the same time as the necropolis, while the situation at the Opera House location was successive: initially there were waste pits and then in Late Antiquity graves. Neither is it clear everywhere how, if at all, the border was defined between the graves and buildings discovered by the excavations at the site ploščad Borisa Kraigherja,<sup>121</sup> on Kongresni trg<sup>122</sup> and on Slovenska cesta – North, where in places the border wall is also the wall of a house.<sup>123</sup>

With regard to the contact area between the northern necropolis and the town, the relationship changed: excavations on Kongresni trg showed that in phase VI there was a settlement similar in shape and quality to the one inside the walls, with hypocausts, mosaics,

116 Masaryk, Tomazo Ravnik, Bekljanov Zidanšek 2011.

117 Plesničar Gec 1992, 95.

118 Županek, Klasinc, Draksler in print.

119 Plesničar Gec 1999, 85.

120 Dirjec *et al.* 2012.

121 Plesničar Gec 1992, 95.

122 Badovinac *et al.* 2011.

123 Masaryk R. presentation „Slovenska cesta 2014“, at the meeting Archaeology in 1015, National Museum of Slovenia, 31 March 2016.

Slovenski cesti-sever, kjer je mestoma mejni zid tudi zid hiše.<sup>121</sup>

Kar se tiče stika severnega grobišča z mestom, se je razmerje spreminjalo: pri raziskavah na Kongresnem trgu se je pokazalo, da je tu v VI. fazi poselitev, po obliki in kvaliteti podobna tisti znotraj obzidja, s hipokavstnim gretjem, mozaiki, freskami, odtočnimi kanali itd.<sup>122</sup> Glede na citirano Poročilo menimo, da gre lahko za kontinuirano poselitev izven obzidja, ki jo antični avtorji predvsem v jurističnih razpravah označujejo s *continentia aedificia*.<sup>123</sup> Gosta, urbanemu načinu podobna poselitev je bila, čeprav *extra muros*, običajno obravnavana kot del mesta, del urbane periferije.

## Zaključek

Grobišča so pomemben del topografije rimskih naselij. Ti javni prostori ob prometnih glavnih cestah so bili stalno na vidiku lokalnih prebivalcev in popotnikov, saj mrtvi v rimskem času niso bili odrinjeni stran iz vsakodnevnega življenja. Nasprotno, bili so prvi, ki si jih srečal na poti v neko mesto, in zadnji ko si mesto zapuščal, pokopani tam in tako, da so bili vidni za žive in del njihovega življenja. Grobovi so bili urejeni za to, da bodo nagovarjali občinstvo, in ob glavnih cestah v in iz mesta je bilo občinstvo zagotovljeno. Kot javne zgradbe ali privatna arhitektura je bil tudi grob, z različno ikonografsko ali arhitekturno kompleksnim označevalcem, prostor in medij za izražanje identitete in statusa v obliki, ki je trajala še dolgo po samem pokopu. Enako kot pridatki v samem grobu tudi nagrobno obeležje ni odsev neke absolutne realnosti, ampak del konstrukcije idealnega.

V mestih kot je bila Emona so grobišča okupirala velik del urbane morfologije. Svoje mesto so mrtvi dobili že na začetku, pri dedukciji kolonije, kot del binarnih opozicij ki jih je kolonija pomenila: zunaj-znotraj, ugodno-neugodno, varno-nevarno. Mesto

frescos, drainage channels, etc.<sup>124</sup> In view of the cited report it is believed that the settlement continued outside the walls, as described by authors in Antiquity, particularly in legal discussions, as *continentia aedificia*.<sup>125</sup> Although *extra muros*, the dense settlement, similar to that within town walls, was usually treated as part of the town, an urban periphery.

## Conclusion

Necropolises are an important part of the topography of Roman settlements. These public spaces along main roads were constantly visible to local inhabitants and travellers, since the dead in Roman times were not pushed out of everyday life. On the contrary, they were the first thing to be seen when approaching a town and the last thing when leaving it, buried in a place and manner visible to the living and thus part of their life. Graves were created with the intention of addressing an audience and alongside the main roads into or out of town, an audience was guaranteed. Like public buildings or private architecture, the different, complex iconographic or architectural markers of graves were also a space and medium for expressing identity and status in a form that lasted long after burial. Like the grave goods in the grave itself, the funerary monuments were not the reflection of an absolute reality but part of the construction of an ideal.

In towns like Emona, necropolises occupied a large part of the urban morphology. The dead acquired their place right at the beginning, during the deduction of the colony as part of the binary oppositions the colony itself signified: without-within, favourable-unfavourable, safe-dangerous. The town surrounded itself with forebears, which gradually contributed to the new town acquiring an appearance of having been there for ever, of being ancient, with all the rights accompanying old age, tradition and continuity. The northern necropolis of the colony of Emona in no significant way deviates from compa-

121 Masaryk R., predstavitev „Slovenska cesta 2014“, na srečanju Arheologija v letu 2015, Narodni muzej Slovenije, 31.3.2016.

122 Badovinac *et al.* 2011.

123 Prim. Goodman 2006, 14ss.

124 Badovinac *et al.* 2011.

125 Cf. Goodman 2006, 14ss.

se je obdajalo s predniki, kar je sčasoma pripomoglo, da se je novo mesto zdelo tu od nekdanj, staro, davno, z vsemi pravicami, ki pritičejo starosti in tradiciji in kontinuiteti. Severno grobišče kolonije Emone v ničemer signifikantno ne odstopa od primerljivih grobišč po imperiju. Kot slednja je bilo tudi emonsko severno grobišče prostor, namenjen pogledom, pokopom in različnim ritualom, zelo aktiven prostor, ki se je stalno spreminjal in preoblikoval glede na potrebe in preference živih. V skladu z le-temi je bilo severno grobišče sčasoma tudi delno oz. v celoti opuščeno. Poseben izziv za nadaljnje raziskave je znatno število relativno dobro objavljenih grobov, kar omogoča primerjave in različne analize, in mestoma dobro raziskana grobišča na infrastruktura.

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# Keramični skupek vile rustike Polje pri Vodichah

## Ceramic Assemblages from the Roman Site Polje pri Vodichah

Tina Žerjal

**Izvleček:** Leta 2013 so bili v Polju pri Vodichah izkopani ostanki rimske vile rustike z grobiščem. Keramične najdbe obsegajo predvsem lokalno izdelano namizno in kuhinjsko keramiko, ki najdišče povezuje z lončarsko proizvodnjo emonskega agra, predvsem na Gorenjskem, in samim mestom Emono. Oljenke oblike Loeschcke X (pečatne oljenke) so večinoma izdelali lokalni lončarji in so datirane od 2. stoletja dalje. Afriške oljenke oblike Atlante VIII in njihovi lokalni posnetki pa datirajo konec grobišča v čas od konca 4. do začetka 5. stoletja.

**Ključne besede:** Slovenija, Deseta regija, Emona, rimska keramika, vila rustika

**Abstract:** At Polje pri Vodichah the remains of a Roman villa rustica with a cemetery were excavated in 2013. The ceramic finds encompass mainly local table and kitchen ware that links the site to the ceramic production in the Emonian ager, especially in Gorenjska region, and the city of Emona. The oil lamps of Loeschcke X type (Firmalampen) were predominantly of local production and dated from the 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries onwards. African lamps Atlante VIII types and their local imitations date the end of the cemetery to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

**Key words:** Slovenia, Regio X, Emona, Roman pottery, *villa rustica*

### Uvod

Arheološke raziskave leta 2013 so na poljih južno in jugozahodno od vasi Polje pri Vodichah razkrila del tlorisa rimske kmetije (*villa rustica*) in njenega grobišča. Izkopavanja so zajela le pas posega za postavitev plinovoda – torej pas širine 15 ali 16 m in dolžine okoli 525 m.<sup>1</sup>

Med tem, ko so na trasi plinovoda izkopavanja že potekala, so bile na poljih med Skaručno in Poljem pri Vodichah opravljene tudi geofizikalne raziskave. Le-te so razkrile celoten tloris rimske vile rustike. Različna poslopja so bila organizirana okoli pravokotnega dvorišča. Pri tem moramo poudariti, da so bile z geofizikalnimi metodami zaznane le zidane stavbe ali stavbe s kamnitimi temelji, ne pa tlorisi lesenih stavb.

Izkopavanja so tako zajela skrajni zahodni rob rimske kmetije, najverjetneje le gospodarska poslopja – *pars rustica*. Izkazalo se je, da so imeli le nekateri prostori in stavbe kamnite temelje (vkopane ali nadzemne). Večinoma pa so bila odkrita lesena poslopja in celo manjše lope, ki so služile za razna kmečka opravila, za shranjevanje pridelka, ozimnico, krmo, morda za hleve in za obrtniško dejavnost na posesti. Med kopico stojk in jam so bile namreč odkrite lončarske peči, shrambene jame, ognjišča, krušne peči in najpomembnejše – metalurški obrat iz mlajšega obdobja vile rustike.<sup>2</sup> Temu ustreza tudi keramični skupek odkrit v arheoloških plasteh, za katerega domnevamo, da je nastal v obdobju od 2. stoletja do prve polovice ali prve četrtine 5. stoletja.

1 Bricelj, Lavrič v tem zborniku.

2 Natančneje Bricelj, Lavrič v tem zborniku.

## Študij rimske lončenine v emonskem agru

V Emoni so že v 1. stoletju lokalni lončarji vzpostavili dobro lončarsko proizvodnjo, ki je dokumentirana z odkritimi lončarskimi obrati in arheometričnimi analizami.<sup>3</sup>

Na osnovi grobov severnega emonskega grobišča<sup>4</sup> je Ljudmila Plesničar Gec v sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja izdelala tipo-kronološko sekvenco oblik lončenine izdelane v Emoni.<sup>5</sup> Njeno obsežno delo je bilo takrat in je še danes zelo pomembno tudi za širši prostor tega dela rimskega imperija. Pri analizah rimske lončenine v osrednji in velikokrat vzhodni Sloveniji se uporablja kot ključna literatura. Toda v štirih desetletjih so keramične analize napredovale, napredovali so tudi metodološki pristopi do arheoloških in grobiščnih kontekstov.<sup>6</sup> Delo Plesničarjeve je potrebno ponovno kritično pretehtati. Njena datiranja grobov slonijo na uvoženi italški sigilati, oljenkah in novcih.<sup>7</sup> V zgodnjih grobovih je imela Plesničarjeva na razpolago veliko uvoženih italških izdelkov, ki so ji omogočili zanesljivo datiranje emonske keramike. V času srednjega in poznega cesarstva oz. že dejansko od konca 1. in začetkov 2. stoletja se razmerje med uvoženimi in lokalnimi izdelki spremeni v prid slednjih, kar datiranje močno oteži.<sup>8</sup> Žal je datiranje Plesničarjeve na osnovi oljenk skoraj popolnoma zastarelo, saj je večino pečatnih oljenk z žigom proizvajalca po takrat razpoložljivi literaturi uvrstila v čas prve polovice 2. stoletja. Danes vemo, da so jih izdelovali bistveno dlje, vsaj do 4. stoletja (glej v nadaljevanju). Ločimo lahko tudi med uvoženimi in lokalnimi ali regionalnimi izdelki.<sup>9</sup> Pri izdelavi svoje tipologije Plesničarjeva tudi ni upoštevala različnih tehnoloških skupin, kar ji je Iva Mikl Curk očitala že ob izdaji

knjige.<sup>10</sup> Arheometrične analize so celo pokazale, da je večina posodja keramike tankih sten uvožena iz severne Italije in niso lokalni izdelek.<sup>11</sup> Že nekaj časa vemo, da tudi novci v grobovih niso dobro datacijsko sredstvo. Omogočajo le datacijo *ante quem non*.<sup>12</sup> Tako domnevamo dokaj izkrivljeno sliko obravnavane tipologije emonske keramike za drugo polovico 2. in predvsem za 3. stoletje, ki je bilo tudi za nas precej trd oreh.

Tudi Iva Mikl Curk se je s pronicljivo natančnostjo v svojih člankih spopadla z emonsko keramiko in sicer z uvoženo zgodnjo sigilato severnoemonskih grobišč<sup>13</sup> in kuhinjsko keramiko<sup>14</sup> ter z najdbami in lončenino posameznih najdišč v mestu in okolici.<sup>15</sup> Emonska lončenina je vklopila tudi v svoja pregledna dela o rimski lončenini na Slovenskem.<sup>16</sup>

Posebno pozornost so do sedaj raziskovalci v Emoni posvetili tudi amforam,<sup>17</sup> afriški sigilati,<sup>18</sup> lokalni keramiki<sup>19</sup> in oljenkam.<sup>20</sup>

Žal je bilo do sedaj v Emoni in njeni okolici razen grobov objavljenih zelo malo arheoloških kontekstov s celotnim gradivom iz časa od 2. stoletja dalje. Objave zgodnjih kontekstov 1. stoletja pr. n. št. in 1. stoletja n. št. so pogostejše: Vrhnika,<sup>21</sup> *Emona* (Ljubljana),<sup>22</sup>

3 Istenič, Daszkiewicz, Schneider 2003; Istenič, Plesničar Gec 2001; Plesničar Gec 1985; Istenič 2010.

4 Plesničar Gec 1972; Petru 1972.

5 Plesničar Gec 1977.

6 Prim. Mikl Curk 1997; Istenič 1999; Novšak 2011.

7 Plesničar Gec 1977, 9–11.

8 Prim. Plesničar Gec 1977, 62; Mikl Curk 1987, 48.

9 Istenič, Daszkiewicz, Schneider 2003; Schneider, Daszkiewicz 2011, Istenič 2010.

10 Mikl Curk 1978.

11 Istenič, Daszkiewicz, Schneider 2003; prim. Plesničar Gec 1987.

12 Kos 1997; Miškec 2012.

13 Mikl Curk 1977; Mikl Curk 1979a; Mikl Curk 1992; Mikl Curk 2006.

14 Mikl Curk 1973.

15 Mikl Curk 1972/73; Mikl Curk 1979b; Mikl Curk 1986; Mikl Curk 2006.

16 Npr. Mikl Curk 1969; Mikl Curk 1985; Mikl Curk 1987; Mikl Curk, Petru, Šubic 1973.

17 Bezeczky 1994; Vidrih Perko 1994; Vidrih Perko 2000; Vidrih Perko 2006b.

18 Perko, Plesničar Gec 1991; Vidrih Perko 1992b.

19 Plesničar Gec, Vidrih Perko 1993; Istenič, Daszkiewicz, Schneider 2003.

20 Šubic 1975; Istenič, Daszkiewicz, Schneider 2003; Perko 2012.

21 Horvat 1990; Horvat 2012; Mušič, Horvat 2007; Horvat, Peterle Udovič, Tolar, Toškan 2016.

22 Forum: Plesničar Gec 2006; NUK II: Gaspari 2010; desni breg: Vičič 1993, Vičič 1994, Vičič 2002; Ravnik, Županek 2017; Novšak, Bekljanov Zidanšek, Vojakovič 2017; Žerjal 2017.

Rodine,<sup>23</sup> Kranj.<sup>24</sup> Zaradi velikih količin uvoženih izdelkov so ti konteksti primerljivi v širši regiji.

Med mlajšimi arheološkimi konteksti v sami Ljubljani poznamo le publikacijo izkopavanj starokrščanskega centra pri osnovni šoli Majde Vrhovnik,<sup>25</sup> za večje naselbine na Gorenjskem pa objave raziskav manjšega obsega v Kranju<sup>26</sup> in Mengšu.<sup>27</sup> Na Gorenjskem je bilo odkritih kar nekaj podeželskih posesti ali vil rustik, ki se na Kranjskem polju skoncentrirajo na razdaljo 1,4 km prav v okolici Mengša.<sup>28</sup> Žal še nobena ni bila povsem izkopana in objavljena. Najdbe so površinske ali pridobljene med manjšimi sondiranjimi.<sup>29</sup> Le za redke vile vemo, da so bile zgrajene že v 1. ali 2. stoletju. Gradivo iz 3. stoletja je zelo slabo poznano. Večino kmetij ali vil rustik se na osnovi malega obsega najdb datira predvsem v 4. stoletje, živijo pa verjetno še vsaj prvo polovico 5. stoletja.<sup>30</sup>

## Lončenina vile rustike Polje pri Vodica

### Emonska namizna keramika s premazom

V zgodnjih grobovih in najstarejših kontekstih naselbine se pojavljajo ostanki posod namizne keramike z rdečim premazom ali posnetki italške sigilate. Odlomki imajo praviloma zelo prečiščeno fakturo, večinoma se šele pri kasnejših oblikah pojavljajo vključki (največkrat redka zrnca zdrobljene keramike in pogoste luske zelo fine in fine sljude). Večina je žgana v oksidacijski atmosferi, barva keramike je roza do zelo blede rjave ali bež barve z rdečim premazom. V skromnem deležu smo odkrili tudi ostanke redukcijsko žganih posod s keramiko sive do temno sive barve in črnim do zelo temno sivim premazom.

23 Valič, Petru 1964/65.

24 Sagadin 2003; Sagadin 2008.

25 Plesničar Gec 1983.

26 Sagadin 2008.

27 Sagadin 1995a; Železnikar 1999.

28 Sagadin 2008, 174.

29 Pregled Sagadin 1995a; Sagadin 1995b; Sagadin 2002; Sagadin 2006.

30 Sagadin 1995b; Sagadin 2008; Vidrih Perko, Sagadin 2004; Vidrih Perko 2011; Horvat, Sagadin 2017.

Domnevamo, da so vsaj najkvalitetnejše izdelke izdelovali v najbližjem večjem centru – mestu *Emona*, čeprav ne moremo izključiti tudi drugih delavnic v agru ali v vili sami. Zato te odlomke prištevamo k emonski namizni keramiki s premazom, emonskim posnetkom sigilate oz. boljše emonski sigilati.<sup>31</sup> Odkrita keramika spada v sklop lončarskih proizvedenih posnetkov sigilatnih servisov, kakor je proizvodnja panonske loščene keramike<sup>32</sup> 2. stoletja in prve polovice 3. stoletja,<sup>33</sup> ali poznih proizvedenih finega namiznega posodja, kakor je proizvodnja severnoitalske sigilate srednjega cesarskega obdobja druge polovice 2. in 3. stoletja.<sup>34</sup>

Lokalni lončarji v emonskem prostoru s prihodom Rimljanov niso opustili svojega delovanja, kar se odraža v nadaljevanju staroselske keramike in njenih oblik. Z izdelavo posnetkov uvožene rdeče sigilate naj bi v Emoni začeli šele s flavijskim obdobjem ali v zadnji četrtini 1. stoletja.<sup>35</sup> Konec 1. in v začetku 2. stoletja so lokalne lončarske delavnice postopno prevzele tržišče s svojimi izdelki, ki so posnemali italške, predvsem poznopadske vzore (flavijske oblike

31 Tu uvajamo nova poimenovanja primerljiva s podobnimi proizvodnjami v naši bližini. Zaradi namena lončarjev po izdelavi sigilatnega posodja, je izraz „emonska sigilata“ za kvalitetno izdelano posodje najprimernejši.

32 Slovenski prevod nemškega izraza *Pannonische Glanztonware* (PGW) – po Adler-Wöfl 2004; nazadnje Leleković 2016. V slovenščini je bila ta vrst poimenovana tudi panonska žigosana keramika ali posnetki oz. imitacija *terre sigillate*. Vsi uporabljeni izrazi so deloma problematični, saj ne odražajo ne razprostranjenosti proizvodnje (ki presega okvirje province Panonije) in ne vseh lastnosti izdelave. Za problematiko izrazoslovja glej še npr. Istenič 1999, 91; Vidrih Perko 2006a, 87. Beseda lošč morda tudi ni najboljša, saj se v slovenski literaturi uporablja predvsem za točno določene srednjeveške in novoveške premaze. Za najkvalitetnejše primerke bi ustrezal izraz „panonska sigilata“.

33 Istenič 1999, 91–103; Adler-Wöfl 2004; Leleković 2016.

34 Fontana 2005.

35 Na Ptujju naj bi se lokalna proizvodnja posnetkov sigilate sicer začela že s posnetki sigilatnih oblik tiberijsko-klavdijskega obdobja (Istenič 1999, 102). Najstarejši posnetki sigilatnega posodja (PGW) drugje po Panoniji sodijo predvsem v flavijsko obdobje (Adler-Wöfl 2004; nazadnje Leleković 2016, 609–610), kakor v Emoni.

Consp. 39–45 in Consp. 34),<sup>36</sup> kasneje pa tudi galsko in afriško sigilato.

Na grobišču se zelo pogosto pojavljajo odlomki skodelic ali krožnikov, ki posnemajo poznopadske servise oblikovne skupine B (oblike Consp. 39–46, morda tudi oblike Consp. 47–49 in Consp. 34) ali servise južnogalske sigilate (oblike Dragendorff 35/36 ipd). Na emonske lončarje so imeli nedvomno največji vpliv poznopadski lončarji, saj so njihove izdelke v velikih količinah uvažali.<sup>37</sup> Poznopadski krožniki in skodelice oblikovne skupine B, predvsem servis A oz. obliki Consp. 39 in 43,<sup>38</sup> so predstavljali glavno obliko flavijskega časa v padskem in noriško-panonskem prostoru. V poznopadski sigilati so jih izdelovali do sredine 2. stoletja.<sup>39</sup>

Lokalni posnetki sigilatnih oblik Consp. 39–49 so številni v Emoni, Celeji in Ptuju.<sup>40</sup> V Karnuntu se pojavljajo od flavijskega časa in še celo 2. stoletje.<sup>41</sup> Na emonskih grobiščih naj bi se lokalni posnetki, ki so večinoma oksidacijsko žgani z oranžno-rdečim premazom, redki pa tudi redukcijsko žgani s temno sivim premazom, pojavljali le v žganih grobovih od konca 1. pa vsaj do konca 2. stoletja.<sup>42</sup> Na zahodnih grobiščih Ptuja se npr. lokalni posnetki PTS7–11, 13 pojavljajo predvsem v grobovih, ki so datirani od flavijskega časa ali konca 1. do sredine 2. stoletja.<sup>43</sup>

Zaradi velikega deleža odlomkov ožjega prstanastega dna lahko domnevamo, da gre med odlomki s Polja pri Vodica predvsem za skodelice. Te skodelice so bile le redko pridane v grobove kot prdatki ali popotnica pokojniku. Najpogosteje so zelo prežgane, obrabljene in močno fragmentirane. Domnevamo lahko, da so bile dodane na ustrino ali uporabljene pri določenih obredih na grobišču pri praznikih kakor so

parentalije ipd. To je opazila tudi Ljudmila Plesničar Gec na severnem emonskem grobišču.<sup>44</sup>

V žganem grobu 3033 sta bili odkriti dve celi in delno ohranjena tretja skodelica z navzven izvihanim ustjem - posnetki oblike Consp. 43 (*sl. 8: 1–3*), pečatna oljenka Loeschcke Xb z žigom *VIBLANI* in obrabljen novc 1. ali 2. stoletja. Mnogi grobovi v Emoni imajo natančno enako sestavo kakor grob 3033. Količino časa so posnetke Consp. 43 izdelovali v Emoni oz. v tem jugovzhodnoalpskem in panonskem območju še ni dorečeno. Morda bi njihovo uporabo lahko potegnili tudi v začetek ali prvo tretjino 3. stoletja, saj se skodelice Drag. 35 in krožniki Drag. 36 v galski sigilati izdelujejo vsaj še prvo tretjino 3. stoletja.

Najštevilčnejši so odlomki skodel in krožnikov z različnimi oblikami vodoravnih ustij, ki so okrašena s kanelurami in včasih peresnim okrasom (*sl. 8: 4–11*), kar je pogosto tudi v Karnuntu.<sup>45</sup> Množica variant nedvomno posnema oblike poznopadskih servisov D z vodoravnim ustjem in pokončnim robom (obliki Consp. 41 in 45 – *sl. 8: 4–5, 8–11*). Nekoliko zaobljen prehod pri skodelici (*sl. 8: 10*) bi spominjal tudi na skodelice Hayes 75 vzhodne sigilate B.

Manj številni so posnetki že omenjenega servisa A z izvihanim ustjem (obliki Consp. 43 in Consp. 39 – *sl. 8: 1–3*) in servisa B z vodoravnim ustjem (obliki Consp. 44 in Consp. 40 – *sl. 8: 6–7, 11*). Pri nekaterih skodelicah rob ustja postopno prehaja v ostenje skodelice z globljim recipientom – kakor pri oblikah poznopadskega servisa C s pokončnim robom ustja (oblike Consp. 47, 48 in 49).

V naselbini se pojavljajo popolnoma drugačne oblike namizne keramike s premazom. Odlomek krožnika ali pokrova z rdečim premazom je na zunanji površini okrašen s koleščkanjem ali peresnim okrasom (*sl. 8: 15*). Morda bi lahko posnemal obliko krožnika Consp. 3 poznopadske sigilate, ki je značilna za čas do sredine ali konca 2. stoletja.<sup>46</sup> Tak okras zanj sicer ni značilen.

Najpogostejša oblika premazane namizne keramike v naselbini so čaše. Pojavljajo se tako oksidacijsko žgane

36 Plesničar Gec 1977, 60–67; Mikl Curk 1987, 47–48; Mikl Curk 1979a, 354.

37 Mikl Curk 1979a.

38 Conspectus 1990, 49–50.

39 Conspectus 1990, 120–136; Zabehlicky Scheffenecker 1992, 421–422.

40 Vidrih Perko 2006a, 87; Istenič 1999, 96–100.

41 Adler-Wöfl 2004, 84–85; Skodelice Sa 2.4, Sa 2.5, krožniki Te 2.4, Te 2.5, Te 2.6.

42 Plesničar Gec 1977, 52–53, T 7: 1–9.

43 Istenič 1999, 96–99.

44 Plesničar Gec 1977, 52–53.

45 Prim. Adler-Wöfl 2004.

46 Conspectus 1990, 56; Žerjal 2005.

z rdečim premazom (*sl. 8: 13–14*) kakor redukcijsko žgane s temno sivim premazom (*sl. 8: 12*). Čaše imajo pokončno cilindrično profilirano ali trikotno ustje, trebušast trup, ki je na zunanji površini okrašen s koleščkanjem in ozko, rahlo prstanasto dno. Predvsem čaše s cilindričnim ustjem bi lahko po obliki pripisali posnetkom retijskih čaš.<sup>47</sup> Originale so množično izdelovali celotno 2. in do sredine 3. stoletja.<sup>48</sup>

Posnetke teh oblik pa so izdelovali v mnogih delavnicah, domnevno tudi v Emoni.<sup>49</sup> Proizvodnja posnetkov je za 2. in vsaj začetke 3. stoletja dokumentirana na Ptuj<sup>50</sup> in v Celju,<sup>51</sup> v Mauternu v drugi polovici 2. in prvi polovici 3. stoletja.<sup>52</sup> Podobno oblikovane čaše najdemo tudi na Ilovici pri Vranskem, kjer se najdbe datirajo do sredine 3. stoletja,<sup>53</sup> in v Hrastniku, kjer je najdišče datirano do začetkov 4. stoletja, z zgostitvijo najdb v 2. in 3. stoletju.<sup>54</sup>

Zelo fini redukcijsko žgani keramiki s sivim premazom pripada odlomek ramena čaše z reliefnim okrasom, na kateri se prepozna moža z dolgim nosom (*sl. 1*). Ali pripada izdelek izjemni proizvodnji v okviru panonske žigosane keramike?

V mlajših plasteh in grobovih 4. in 5. stoletja je tudi nekaj namizne keramike z rdečim premazom, npr. nekaj vrčev z izlivom trolistne oblike (*sl. 9: 37*) in skled z vodoravnim ali poševnim ustjem (*sl. 8: 27*). Skleda spadajo že v sklop posnetkov večjih skled afriške sigilate in melnic glazirane keramike, ki so značilne za prehranjevalne navade poznorimskega obdobja. Enake oblike ustij namizne keramike brez premaza (*sl. 8: 23, 25, 26*) so drugje prevlečene z rdečim premazom ali zeleno olivno glazuro. Podobni posnetki se v Mauternu datirajo različno: od druge polovice 2. stoletja,<sup>55</sup> predvsem pa v 3., 4. in 5. stoletje, pač odvisno od variante.<sup>56</sup> Na Hrušici je bilo najdenih

47 Prim. Istenič 1999, 134.

48 Varga 2016.

49 Vidrih Perko 2006a, 88; Plesničar Gec 1977, 47, 49.

50 Istenič 1999, 134.

51 Krajšek, Stergar 2007, 249.

52 Groh, Sedlmayer 2002, 194–195.

53 Vidrih Perko 2006a, 88–89.

54 Krajšek, Stergar 2007, 249–250.

55 Groh, Sedlmayer 2002, 177, pri posnetku skleda severnoitalskih izdelkov Consp 37.2.

56 Groh, Sedlmayer 2002, 183–185.



**Slika 1** Odlomek sive keramike s temnim premazom z reliefnim okrasom (foto S. Pukešič).

veliko skled ali melnic z vodoravnim ustjem in robom, ki je bilo lahko različno okrašeno. Izdelane so bile iz namizne keramike z rdečim premazom. Nekatere so imele v notranjosti dna kamenčke kakor glazirane melnice.<sup>57</sup>

### Fina keramika z zeleno engobo

V žgani grob 3024 je bil pridan lonec (*sl. 2, sl. 8: 16*) z valovnico in vodoravnimi pasovi glavničenja ter temno zeleno engobo ali neblešččim premazom, ki skorajda ni bila več ohranjena. Keramika sama je zelo fina, prečiščena in sive barve, saj je bila žgana v



**Slika 2** Posoda z zeleno engobo (foto D. Kovačič).

57 Giesler 1981, 86, T. 37.

redukcijski atmosferi. Trebušast lonec ima enostavno navpično ustje in ravno dno. Najbližji analogiji smo našli v dveh žganih grobovih v Emoni. Pridatki v grobu 182 kažejo na čas od konca 1. do sredine 2. stoletja ali morda do konca 2. stoletja.<sup>58</sup> Drugi pridatki v grobu 215 ne nudijo boljše datacije konteksta,<sup>59</sup> je pa lonček ali čaša iz groba 215 premazan s temno rdečo engobo.<sup>60</sup> Podoben lonček se je nahajal v grobu odkritem ob gradnji temeljev za gimnazijo v Prežihovi ulici leta 1896, kjer grobna celota ni znana.<sup>61</sup> V Narodnem muzeju je shranjena še ena neobjavljena cela posodica<sup>62</sup> zelo podobne oblike z enakim okrasom in olivno zelenim premazom, toda bistveno manjših dimenzij. Žal izvira iz neznane lokacije nekih starejših izkopavanj (verjetno Walterja Schmidta) v Emoni.<sup>63</sup>

### Siva keramika s temnim premazom in vtisnjenim okrasom

Med inventarjem izstopa lonec iz skeletnega groba 3043 izdelan iz fine redukcijsko žgane prečiščene fine keramike sive do temno sive barve s premazom črne ali zelo temno sive barve (sl. 3, sl. 8: 17). Na zunanji površini ramena sta vidna dva pasova kratkih polkrožnih potegov z glavnikom. Podoben okras je krasil lonec, sicer z narebrenim vratom, iz skeletnega groba 216 severnega emonskega grobišča.<sup>64</sup> Podobne oblike loncev ali vaz Plesničarjeva uvršča v čas do druge polovice 4. stoletja, saj je bil grobu 175 dodan tudi novec Konstancija II.<sup>65</sup>

Morda je lonec izdelek pozne proizvodnje lokalne redukcijsko žgane keramike s premazom ali glajene keramike (v nadaljevanju). Na Hrušici je bila pre-



Slika 3 Posoda z vtisnjenim okrasom (foto D. Kovačič).

poznana po opisu podobna keramika poimenovana „*Hellgrau Feinkeramik mit dunklem Uberzug*“ ali „*Hellgrau Feinkeramik mit schwarzem Uberzug*“.<sup>66</sup>

### Afriška sigilata

V naselbini smo odkrili nekaj odlomkov afriške sigilate. Najštevilčnejši so odlomki krožnikov Hayes 50B afriške sigilate C3/4, ki so značilni za drugo polovico 4. stoletja.<sup>67</sup> Odlomek ustja posebno fine proizvodnje, morda afriške sigilate C3/4 ali C/E, bi lahko pripadal krožniku oblike Hayes 57 (290 ali 300–375) ali Hayes 58A.<sup>68</sup>

Ostali odlomki pripadajo delavnicam severne Tunizije ali proizvodnji D. Krožniki oblike Hayes 61A so datirani v čas od leta 320 oz. 330 do začetkov 5. stoletja,<sup>69</sup> veliki pladnji oblike Hayes 59A z navpično kaneluro na ostenju pa sočasno od leta 320 oz. 330 do 400 oz. 420.<sup>70</sup>

58 Plesničar Gec 1972, T. 50: 9–14.

59 Plesničar Gec 1972, T. 60: 15–21.

60 Zahvaljujem se Bernardi Županek za ogled najdbe.

61 Petru 1972, 139, št. 560, t. 110: 31, inv. št. Narodni muzej Slovenije R 2682.

62 Inv. št. Narodni muzej Slovenije R 15435.

63 Zahvaljujem se Janki Istenič in Heleni Bras za ogled najdbe in podatke o obeh lončkih iz Narodnega muzeja Slovenije.

64 Plesničar Gec 1972, T. 61: 1.

65 Plesničar Gec 1977, 44, T. 5: 12; Plesničar Gec 1972, T. 48: 10, 11.

66 Giesler 1981, 88–89, T. 38.

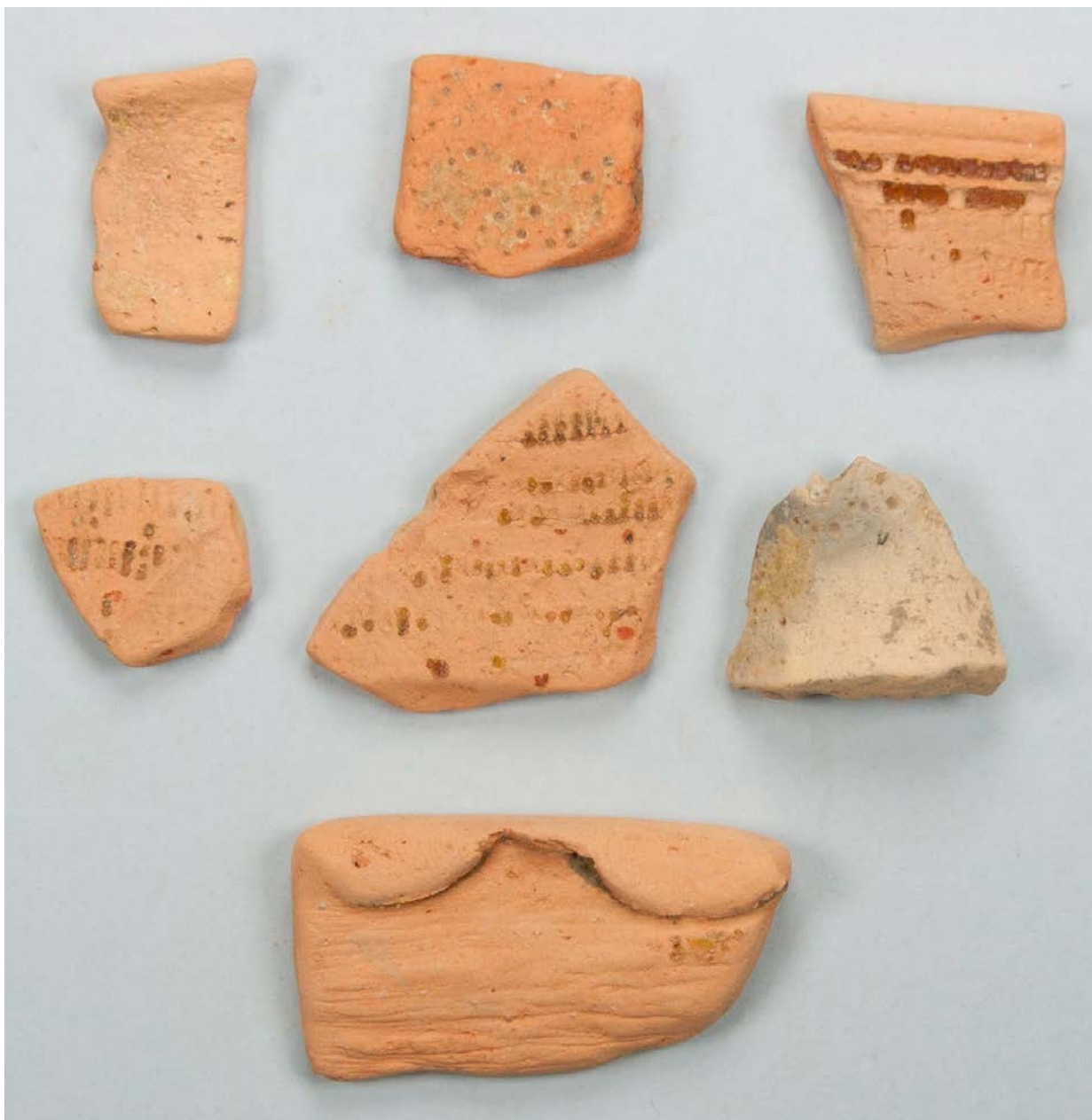
67 Hayes 1972, 73; Pröttel 1996, 32–33; LRFW working group 2011, 5; Quaresma 2011.

68 Hayes 1972, 91–96; Pröttel 1996, 34; LRFW 1.

69 Mackensen 1993, 319–320, 402–403.

70 Mackensen 1993, 401; LRFW working group 2011, 5, 18.





**Slika 4** Odlomki glazirane keramike (foto S. Pukšič).

### Glazirana keramika

Melnica z ovratnikom ali vodoravnim ustjem je ena od pogostejših oblik poznorimske glazirane keramike v vsem obdobju njene izdelave, od konca 3. do 6. stoletja.<sup>71</sup> To je razvidno tudi iz našega gradiva, saj je prisotnih nekaj različnih melnic z vodoravnim ustjem (*sl. 4, sl. 5, sl. 8: 23–25*) – take z le ukrivljenim ustjem in rebrom (*sl. 8: 23*), z vodoravnim ustjem in rebrom (*sl. 8: 24*), z vodoravnim ustjem in pokončnim žleb-

ljenim robom na koncu (*sl. 5* zgoraj desno). Popolnoma enake oblike so izdelovali tudi v namizni keramiki (*sl. 8: 23, 25, 26*). Zanimivo je ustje melnice ali skodelice z rjavo zeleno glazuro in valovitim robom (*sl. 4* spodaj). Z zeleno glazuro so bile prevlečene tudi druge posode. Trakast ročajček pripada vrčku. Kolečkan okras na zunanji površini se pojavi pri skodelici, skledi in večji posodi (*sl. 4* v sredini). Na grobišču je prisotna tudi glazirana oljenka.

Uporaba glazirane keramike se je razširila proti koncu 3. stoletja, množično pa od sredine 4. do 6. sto-

<sup>71</sup> Magrini, Sbarra 2007, 33–37; Magrini, Sbarra 2009.



**Slika 5** Odlomki glazirane keramike (foto S. Pukšič).



**Slika 6** Odlomki glajene keramike ali keramike z glajenim okrasom (foto S. Pukšič).

letja.<sup>72</sup> Postojanke v okviru sistema zapor *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* je oskrbovalo več lončarskih delavnic iz akvilejskega območja, kakor je znana delavnica v Carlinu,<sup>73</sup> in lokalnega območja, ki še niso ugotovljene.<sup>74</sup>

### Glajena keramika in keramika z glajenim okrasom

Med poznorimskim finim posodjem smo prepoznali odlomke glajene keramike ali keramike z glajenim okrasom<sup>75</sup> (sl. 5, sl. 8: 18–22). Izredno številčni so bili v stavbi 4. Posode so bile različno kvalitetno izdelane. Nekateri odlomki so izjemno kakovostni, tanki, iz zelo dobro prečiščene fine in trdo žgane keramike, ki vsebuje obilna fina in zelo fina zrnca sljude. Barva na površini je črna ali zelo temno siva, prelom je lahko temno sive ali svetlo sive do bele barve. Površine so zaglajene in na nekaterih smo zasledili glajen okras poševnih ali navpičnih črt, ki niso zamejene s kanalurami (sl. 8: 19). To naj bi bila značilnost zgodnje faze te proizvodnje iz druge polovice 4. stoletja.<sup>76</sup>

Poleg teh pa lahko opazujemo tudi celo paleto posod slabše izdelave, s pogostejšimi vključki (zrnca kremenaste sive, rjave in bele barve). Nekateri zelo porozni primerki se že približujejo kuhinjski keramiki. Vsa keramika ima bolj ali manj zaglajene površine, temno sive ali sive barve in prelom svetlo sive ali bele barve. Včasih je notranja površina ostala groba in svetla. Keramika je bila verjetno žgana pri nizki temperaturi in že med žganjem izpostavljena dimljenju ali močni redukcijski atmosferi.

Na osnovi najdenih ustij in številnih odlomkov ročajev, ki so praviloma pritrjeni na ustje, domnevamo, da jih večina pripada enoročajnim vrčem hruškaste oblike. Dna vrčev so večinoma ravna ali ob strani rahlo preoblikovana.

Glajeno keramiko so v Panoniji izdelovali že v drugi polovici 3. stoletja, toda množična proizvodnja naj

bi sledila šele po sredini 4. stoletja, ko lahko domnevamo njeno prisotnost tudi v našem prostoru. V poznem 4. in zgodnjem 5. stoletju je bila v Panoniji in sosednjih provincah izjemno priljubljena. Razvoj glajenih posod in glajenega okrasa, predvsem v 5. in 6. stoletju, se največkrat povezuje z germanskimi prišleki z vzhoda. Po zadnjih študijah so glajeno keramiko v 4. in 5. stoletju verjetno izdelovale tudi rimske lončarske delavnice, čeprav si teze o njenem izvoru še nasprotujejo.<sup>77</sup> Enoročajni vrči hruškaste oblike z glajenim okrasom, večinoma v obliki poševnih črt, so pogosta oblika med poznorimskim gradivom Panonije in tudi v Sloveniji so pogosti. Najboljše analogije najdemo v dveh vrčih iz druge polovice 4. stoletja iz Kosovelov v Vipavski dolini<sup>78</sup> in v loncu z glajenim okrasom iz rimskega vodnjaka v Dobovi, ki je datiran v čas od konca 4. oz. začetka 5. do sredine 5. stoletja.<sup>79</sup> Ta ima podobno obliko ustja in fakturo, krasi pa ga glajen okras mreže, ki se pojavi šele konec 4. stoletja, kasneje kakor okras prisoten na naših odlomkih. V Sloveniji naj bi v isti čas spadali tudi vrči najdeni na grobišču v Drnovem, v dveh grobovih na Zgornjem bregu na Ptujju, na Rifniku, odlomki na Ančnikovem gradišču in v Kranju.<sup>80</sup> Na Hrušici lahko po oblikah posod in vrčkov domnevamo, da gre pri keramiki poimenovani *Feine schwarze Glimmerware* za nekaj podobnega.<sup>81</sup>

### Amfore in druga uvožena keramika

Med gradivom smo ugotovili le en odlomek dna t. i. „pompejanskega“ pekača s premazom rdeče barve v notranjosti. Na tirenski obali srednje Italije so jih proizvajali do 3. stoletja.<sup>82</sup>

Iz antičnega mesta *Phocacia* na zahodnih obalah Male Azije je dospel mali narebreni lonček egejske kuhinjske keramike oblike *Knossos Cooking pot type* 4. V 2. in 3. stoletju se zelo množično pojavljajo v Atenah, na

72 Cvjetičanin 2006; Magrini, Sbarra 2007; Magrini, Sbarra 2009; Ottomanyi 2015.

73 Magrini, Sbarra 2007.

74 Magrini, Sbarra 2009.

75 V nadaljevanju uporabljam izraz glajena keramika.

76 Ottomanyi 2015.

77 Nazadnje pregled Modrijan, Novšak 2015; Ottomanyi 2015.

78 Knific, Žbona Trkman 2011.

79 Modrijan, Novšak 2015.

80 Sagadin 2008; nazadnje Modrijan, Novšak 2015.

81 Giesler 1981, 87, T. 39.

82 Di Giovanni 1996, 67–70, 82–86.

Jadranu in območju zahodne Slovenije.<sup>83</sup> Iz vzhodnega Sredozemlja je bil prinesen še vrč z lijakastim ustjem.

Odlomki amfor obsegajo celo paleto proizvodenj. Med zgodnjecesarske amfore spadajo odlomki vinskih amfor Dr. 2–4, katere so ponekod lahko izdelovali še do konca 2. ali v začetku 3. stoletja,<sup>84</sup> in dno vinske amfore z ravnim dnom, ki je ohranilo ostanke smole in ga datiramo med sredo 1. in 3. stoletja.<sup>85</sup>

Uvoz vina iz vzhodnega Sredozemlja nakazujejo temno rdeči odlomki egejskih dvoročajnih vrčev LRA3, izdelani v delavnicah maloazijskih obal od konca 4. vse do 6. oz. 7. stoletja,<sup>86</sup> in odlomki amfore LRA4 (amfora Gaza) iz območja Levanta.<sup>87</sup> Slednja ima nekoliko posebno fakturo, ki bi lahko pripadala drugi poznorimski vzhodnosredozemski amfori ali enemu od njenih severnoafriških posnetkov.

Najmlajši so odlomki amfor iz Prokonzularne Afrike, ki se v severnojadranskem prostoru pogosto pojavljajo v času od 3. do sredine 5. stoletja.<sup>88</sup> Večina slabo ohranjenih odlomkov je ožje težje določljiva. Prepoznali smo vinsko amforo oblike Dressel 30 severnoafriške proizvodnje iz časa od konca 2. do 4. stoletja<sup>89</sup> in ustja severnoafriških amfor srednjih dimenzij oblike Africana IIIA (=Keay 25.1) iz 3. in 4. stoletja ali oblike Africana IIIB (=Keay 25.2) iz konca 4. in sredine 5. stoletja.<sup>90</sup>

V kontekstih skupaj s poznorimskimi afriškimi amforami so prisotne še manjše amforice Dr. 6B s tipično istrsko fakturo, podobne tipu Fažana 1/Aquincum 78/Grado I ali Fažana 2/Bónis 31/5, značilne za 2., 3. in vsaj še 4. stoletje.<sup>91</sup>



**Slika 7** Pečatna oljenka posebne oblike (foto K. Dremelj).

## Oljenke

Oljenke so bile najdene predvsem v grobovih, kjer so bile položene ob pokojniku med pogrebnim običajem, da bi mu s svojo simboliko luči življenja lajšale bivanje v onostranstvu. Sedem od desetih oljenk iz grobov je bilo pečatnih oljenk oblike Loeschcke X lokalne ali regionalne izdelave, kar se odraža tudi v kvaliteti najdenih oljenk. Dve lahko uvrstimo v varianto L. Xa/b, dve v L. Xb, dve v L. Xb/c, eno v varianto L. Xc. Na treh oljenkah je na spodnji strani odtisnjen žig *VIBIANI*. Ime severnoitalskega izdelovalca so množično reproducirali tudi emonski lončarji, kakor je bilo potrjeno z arheometričnimi analizami.<sup>92</sup> Na emonskem grobiščih je to tretji najpogostejši žig pečatnih oljenk.<sup>93</sup> Z arheometričnimi analizami je bilo dokazano, da so emonski lončarji izdelovali pečatne oljenke različnih kvalitet: L. Xa, Xa/b, Xb, Xb/c in Xc.<sup>94</sup> Na zahodnih pujskih grobiščih se lokalno izdelane oljenke pojavijo že v prvi tretjini 2. stoletja. Variante Loeschcke Xa in Xa/b se najpogosteje pojavljajo v grobovih druge polovice 2. in prve polovice 3. stoletja, prisotne pa so še do tretje tretjine 3. stoletja. Varianta Loeschcke Xb je značilna za drugo polovico 2. in prvo polovico 3. stoletja, uporablja se še celotno 4. stoletje.<sup>95</sup> Najmlajše variante Loeschcke Xc se navadno datirajo

83 Hayes 1983, 106; Žerjal 2008b.

84 Pregled Panella 2001, 184–185, 194.

85 Panella 2001, 184–185.

86 Pieri 2005, 95–98, Modrijan 2014.

87 Pieri 2005, 110–114.

88 Vidrih Perko 2000; Vidrih Perko 2006b; Modrijan 2015.

89 Bonifay 2004a, 148–151: najbolj podobna obliki Ostia I, sl. 263.

90 Bonifay 2004, 111–122, fig. 57–63.

91 Pesavento Mattioli, Carre 2009; Vidrih Perko 2006b; Vidrih Perko, Župančič 2011.

92 Istenič, Daszkiewicz, Schneider 2003.

93 Perko 2012, 34.

94 Istenič, Daszkiewicz, Schneider 2003.

95 Istenič 1999, 153–160, 172.

v drugo polovico 3., 4. in 5. stoletje,<sup>96</sup> čeprav jih nekateri postavljajo že v drugo polovico 2. stoletja.<sup>97</sup> Žal datacije lokalnih pečatnih oljenk po kvaliteti izdelave za emonska grobišča še niso izdelane. Risbe objav pa niso najboljše izhodišče. Kljub temu vidimo, da se vsaj oljenke L. Xb z dobro vidnim žigom pojavljajo še v grobovih severnoemonskega grobišča z novci iz začetkov ali prve polovice 4. stoletja. Pri tem sta pomembna grob MM 115 z oljenkami L. Xb ali L. Xb/c z žigom Vibiani, tremi oljenkami z žigom Cresces in eno oljenko L. Xc ter novcem Maksimina Daia, kovanem med leti 310–311,<sup>98</sup> ter grob NM 513 z oljenko L. Xb z žigom Fortis in zlatnikom uzurpatorja Magnencija, kovan med leti 350 in 353.<sup>99</sup> Oljenka variante L. Xb/c z nečitljivim žigom je bila najdena v grobu MM 225 s poznorimskim kozarcem in tremi bronastimi novci (as Nerve, kovan med leti 96–98, novc Maksimijana, kovan med leti 296 in 297, ter folis Konstantina I., kovan okoli leta 317).<sup>100</sup> Oljenke L. Xc so bile pogosto najdene skupaj z novci 4. stoletja, npr. na Štefanovi ulici v grobu 18 z novcem Kostancija II. (kovan med leti 341–348).<sup>101</sup>

V večini grobov Polja pri Vodica pogosto ni drugih datacijskih elementov. Dve oljenki variante L. Xa/b sta bili najdeni v najstarejših grobovih s pridatki iz 2. stoletja (grob 3024 in 3033). Dve oljenki variante L. Xb/c sta premazani z rdečim premazom, ena je bila najdena v grobu z novcem iz druge polovice 2. stoletja, ki pa je na osnovi drugih najdb verjetno kasnejši. Grob z oljenko variante L. Xc pa vsebuje tudi druge pridatke iz 4. stoletja.

V naselbini je bila najdena zanimiva pečatna oljenka posebne oblike (sl. 7). Na disku je imela pokončen preluknjan držaj, na ramenu pa okras iz bunčic. Hruškasti trup spominja na obliko L. Xc.

V dveh grobovih sta bili severnoafriški oljenki. Obe pokojnici sta nosili ogrlice iz steklenih jagod. Oljenko v grobu 3019 krasi motiv rozete v sredini diska in

pas poševnih vrezov na obeh straneh. Pripada obliki Atlante VIII A2b iz druge polovice 4. stoletja.<sup>102</sup> Poleg 13 steklenih jagod ogrlice je bila v grobu 3028 najdena oljenka Atlante VIII z reliefnim okrasom konja v galopu ali leva v teku na disku in preluknjanim držajem. Spada v obliko Atlante VIII A1-2 razširjeno izven Prokonzularne Afrike v plasteh konca 4. in še pogosteje prve polovice 5. stoletja.<sup>103</sup> V naselbini so bili odkriti odlomki še ene afriške oljenke oblike Atlante VIII s polnim držajem in okrasom spiral na ramenu.

V grobu 3030 je bila oljenka iz poznorimske glazirane keramike. Telo je hruškaste oblike z navpičnim preluknjanim držajem in je na zunanji površini prevlečeno s svetlo zeleno glazuro.

### Namizna keramika

Lokalno namizno posodje (sl. 9) je najpogostejše v zgodnejših kontekstih druge polovice 2. stoletja in 3. stoletja, kjer najdemo številne odlomke krožnikov z ravnim dnom (sl. 9: 1–6) in različne lončke, med katerimi so tudi lokalni posnetki egejskih narebrenih lončkov (sl. 9: 14–17). V mlajših, poznorimskih kontekstih je namizno posodje redko, toda še zmeraj prisotno. Najbolj izpovedna sta grob 3025 iz prve polovice 4. stoletja z namiznim loncem ali vazo s trikotnim ustjem (sl. 9: 23) in grob 3027, datiran v 4. in prvo polovico 5. stoletja, z vrčem s trolistnim izlivom (sl. 9: 35). Pogosti so odlomki vaz s cilindričnim vratom (sl. 9: 18–22), ki imajo mnoge analogije v emonskih grobovih 2. do 4. stoletja,<sup>104</sup> na Ilovici pri Vranskem<sup>105</sup> in na Hrušici, kjer se pojavljajo različne velikosti in celo en primerek prevlečen s poznorimsko zeleno glazuro.<sup>106</sup> Najdemo pa tudi nekaj pokrovov (sl. 9: 42–45), skled (sl. 9: 8–13) in pladnjev (sl. 9: 7).

Na Hrušici se pojavlja tudi večina tehnoloških skupin najdenih na Polju pri Vodica: našo prečiščeno namizno keramiko je Gieslerjeva npr. poimenovala *Feine*

96 Istenič 1999, 157; Žerjal 2008a, 109–112; Perko 2012.

97 Žerjal 2008a, 109–112.

98 Plesničar Gec 1972, 172–173, T. 32: 1–6.

99 Petru 1972, 53, T. 34: 3.

100 Plesničar Gec 1972, 49, T. 63: 5–7.

101 Tomažinčič 2014.

102 Bonifay 2004, 359, 364, Bonifay lampe type 44.

103 Bonifay 2004, 358–364, Bonifay lampe type 45.

104 Plesničar Gec 1977, 49.

105 Vidrih Perko 2006a.

106 Giesler 1981, T. 41: 12.

*weisstonige Keramik*,<sup>107</sup> fakturo krožnikov pa bi lahko prepoznali v njeni *Feine zweifarbige Glimmerware*.<sup>108</sup>

## Kuhinjska keramika

V naselbinskih kontekstih prevladujejo odlomki kuhinjske keramike (*sl. 10, sl. 11*). Zgodnejše oblike so redke (*sl. 10: 1–4*), večinoma odlomki pripadajo poznorimskim trebušastim loncem (*sl. 10: 6–37*). Lonce z neznatno izvihanim ustjem in ravnim dnom različnih velikosti je Ciglenečki na Tinju pri Žusmu uvrstil v tip 1 (*sl. 10: 6–13*).<sup>109</sup> Prisoten je tudi njegov tip 2, predvsem pa je večina izvihanih ustij loncev na koncu prirezana ali odrezana (*sl. 10: 14–37*), kar je značilno za Ciglenečkijeve tipe 3, 4, in 5 ter za poznorimsko obdobje 4. in prvo polovico 5. stoletja ter kasnejši čas.<sup>110</sup> Najmlajši so lonci z visečim spodnjim robom ustja (*sl. 10: 31–36*), ki so na Tonovcovem gradu večinoma uvrščeni v tip 4 po Modrijan in datirani zelo pozno, od vsaj sredine 5. stoletja dalje, saj je njihova največja priljubljenost bila v 6. stoletju.<sup>111</sup>

Poleg tega so prisotni tudi manjši lončki (*sl. 10: 13, 39*), pokrovi (*sl. 11: 16–20*), trinožniki (*sl. 11: 15*), cedila za sir (*sl. 11: 14*) in tipične poznorimske skodelice ali sklede z ravnim dnom (*sl. 11: 1–13*) analogne tipom 1 in 2 s Tinja<sup>112</sup> ali tipom 1, 2 in 4 s Tonovcovega gradu.<sup>113</sup>

## Zaključek

Pregled najdb na grobišču in naselbini nam daje slutiti, da je bila vila rustika zgrajena v 2. stoletju. Med izkopanim gradivom manjkajo ključni uvoženi predmeti,

ki so značilni za rimske naselbine Gorenjske v 1. stoletju in prvi polovici 2. stoletja (padska, poznopadska ali italaska sigilata, keramika tankih sten iz severne Italije, modenske pečatne oljenke, starejše istrske amfore Dr. 6B in še kaj).

Najstarejša grobova na grobišču (grob 3024 in 3033) lahko široko datiramo v 2. stoletje, morda celo prvo polovico 3. stoletja. Sicer množica odlomkov emonskih posnetkov sigilatnih oblik Consp. 39–49 iz grobišča, njegov nastanek postavlja vsaj v 2. stoletje. To potrjuje tudi žgani grob, ki je bil pred letom 1950 med poljskimi deli odkrit ob poljski poti med Skaručno in Poljem pri Vodichah in v katerem so bili najdeni tudi zgodnji uvoženi izdelki.<sup>114</sup> Poleg steklene žare, balzamarija stožčaste oblike in drugih najdb smo prepoznali tudi dve skodelici sive keramike tankih sten s temnim premazom padske proizvodnje ali fabrikata E s Štalenske gore, ki je značilen za čas druge polovice 1. in prve polovice 2. stoletja.<sup>115</sup>

Predvsem v ruševinskih oz. kolumialnih plasteh zapolnitve kotanje v sektorju 1 (SE 1072) najdemo poleg prazgodovinske keramike tudi najstarejše novce iz 2. stoletja in keramične odlomke gradiva, ki ga lahko široko datiramo v čas od 1. do 3. stoletja. Le redke kontekste v izkopanem delu naselbine lahko uvrstimo široko v čas druge polovice 2. in prve polovice 3. stoletja. Domnevamo zato, da je bila kmetija ali vila rustika prvotno postavljena nekoliko izven območja izkopa proti vzhodu, kjer je bilo z geofizikalnimi raziskavami odkrita glavna arhitekturnega kompleksa (vsaj mlajše faze). Skozi stoletja življenja so se poslopja širila tudi proti zahodu, kjer so potekala izkopavanja leta 2013. Ostanke gradbenega materiala v podpornih strukturah najmlajšega obdobja kažejo na določen višji nivo bivanja tudi v zgodnjem času življenja v vili rustiki. Bivalni prostori so imeli določene ugodnosti. Prebivalcem so nudili ogrevane prostore (ostanki tubulov), tla reprezentativnih prostorov so bila tlakovana z belo-črnim kamnitim mozaikom. Zidane stavbe so

107 Giesler 1981, 93–95. Zahvaljujem se Jani Horvat, ki je prepoznala podobnosti med tehnološko skupino N1a in hrušiško belo namizno keramiko.

108 Giesler 1981, 88.

109 Ciglenečki 2000, 63–64.

110 Prim. Žerjal 2008a, 168–170; SKOL KK7; Ciglenečki 2000; Bausovac 2012; Modrijan, Milavec 2011; Ravnik 2006.

111 Modrijan, Milavec 2011, 188–190.

112 Ciglenečki 2000, 67.

113 Modrijan, Milavec 2011, 173–176; prim. Žerjal 2008a, 173–175, KK44–47.

114 Grafenauer 1953, 144–147; ANSI 1975, 206.

115 Naša interpretacija pridatkov se nekoliko razlikuje od originalne objave, je pa podana le na osnovi opisa, slik in risb objavljenega gradiva. Zelo verjetno vse najdbe niso del le ene same grobne celote.

bile prekrte s tegulami in korci (imbrekci). Kljub temu moramo ugotoviti, da so izkopane stavbe pripadale manjši ali kvečjemu srednje veliki posesti, torej nekoliko skromnejši „vili rustiki“ ali kmetiji, na kateri so se ukvarjali tudi s kovaštvom in predelavo železa.<sup>116</sup>

Grobovi si datacijsko lepo sledijo, tako da lahko domnevamo, da kmetija ni bila nikoli opuščena, temveč je živela neprekinjeno do prve polovice 5. stoletja.

V izkopanem predelu naselbine lahko gradivo uvrstimo predvsem v poznorimski čas, v 4. stoletje in prvo polovico 5. stoletja. Mnoge analogije najdemo na Hrušici<sup>117</sup> in drugih utrdbah zapornega sistema *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* npr. Martinj hrib pri Dolenjem Logatcu.<sup>118</sup> Na našem najdišču sicer ni toliko uvoženih izdelkov kakor na Hrušici, le posamezni kosi egejske kuhinjske keramike, afriške sigilate in različnih amfor (jadranske, afriške in vzhodnosredozemske amfore), saj je bila narava naselbine drugačna. Zanimivo pa je, da se na Hrušici pojavljajo skoraj vse tehnološke skupine in analogije za oblike lokalno ali regionalno izdelane keramike: prečiščena namizna keramika, melnice z rdečim premazom, glazirana keramika, glajena keramika, siva keramika s temnim premazom, kuhinjska keramika.<sup>119</sup> Dokler hrušiški material ne bo obdelan po kontekstih, lahko te številne primerke datiramo le široko v čas najbolj intenzivne poselitve hrušiške utrdbe – zadnja četrtina 3. stoletja in celo 4. stoletje do začetkov 5. stoletja.<sup>120</sup> Seveda najdemo mnoge analogije tudi v grobovih Emone, kjer pa imamo velike probleme z datacijami teh grobov, predvsem v 3. stoletju, pa tudi v poznorimskem času, če ni pridanih novcev.<sup>121</sup> Za zgodnje oblike 3. stoletja sicer najdemo analogije tako na Ilovi pri Vranskem<sup>122</sup> kakor v Hrastniku.<sup>123</sup> Najbližje analogije najdemo tudi v Mengšu<sup>124</sup> in v

Kranju.<sup>125</sup> Obe naselbini živita namreč zelo dolgo, od prazgodovine do pozne antike ali celo dalje v srednji vek. Najnovejše najdbe iz bližnjih Vodice, domnevne vaške naselbine (*vicus* ali *pagus*) od 1. do 4. stoletja, predstavljajo še najboljše analogije, a žal še niso objavljene.<sup>126</sup>

Pogoste analogije najdemo sicer tudi na višinskih poznorimskih in poznoantičnih naselbinah kakor so Tinje pri Žusmu, Ančnikovo Gradišče, Gradec pri Prapretnem, Tonovcov grad, Rifnik, Ajdovski gradec pri Vranju idr.,<sup>127</sup> ki so zelo dobro raziskane. Začenjajo se predvsem v drugi polovici ali proti koncu 4. stoletja in živijo še celo 5. in daleč v 6. in 7. stoletje. Morda bi lahko na osnovi odsotnosti nekaterih poznih tipov skled, kakor so sklede tipa 3 s Tinja, ki naj bi bile značilne predvsem za čas od druge polovice in konca 5. stoletja dalje, opustitev kmetije ali vile rustike pri Polju pri Vodicach lahko datirali v drugo četrtino ali v čas do sredine 5. stoletja.

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116 Bricelj, Lavrič v tem zborniku.

117 Ulbert 1981; Pflaum 2004; Kos 2014.

118 Leben, Šubic 1990.

119 Prim. Giesler 1981; Vidrih Perko 1992a.

120 Nazadnje datacije utrdbe Pflaum 2004; Kos 2012, 2014.

121 Prim. Plesničar Gec 1972; Plesničar Gec 1977; Petru 1972; Tomažinčič 2014.

122 Vidrih Perko 2006a.

123 Krajšek, Stergar 2007.

124 Sagadin 1995; Železnikar 1999.

125 Sagadin 2008.

126 Prim. Urek, Djokić, Rozman, Tomažinčič 2015.

127 Prim. Ciglencečki 2000, Bausovac 2012, Modrijan, Milavec 2011.

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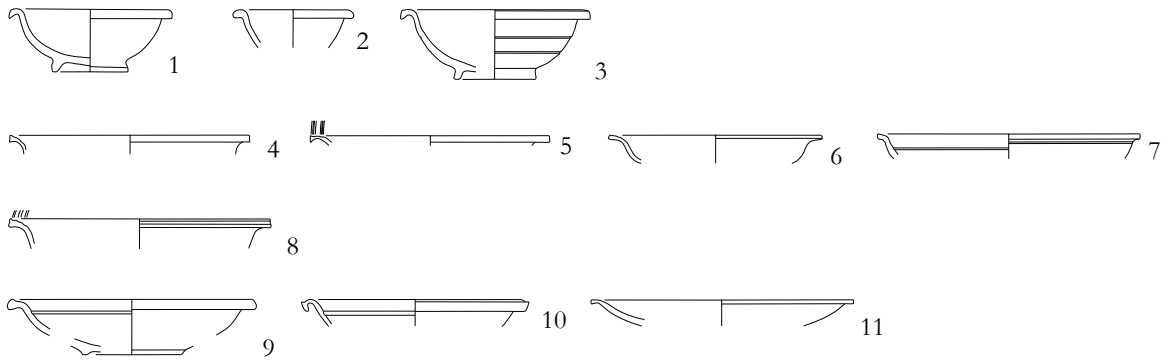
dr. Tina Žerjal

Ob Ljubljanici 2

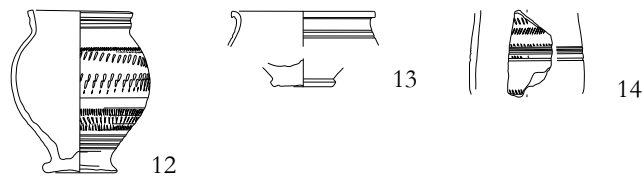
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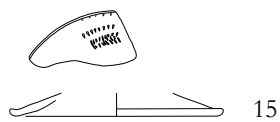
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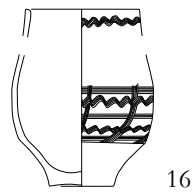
**Čaše**



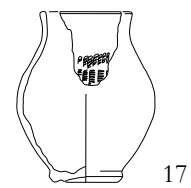
**Pokrov**



**Zelena engoba**



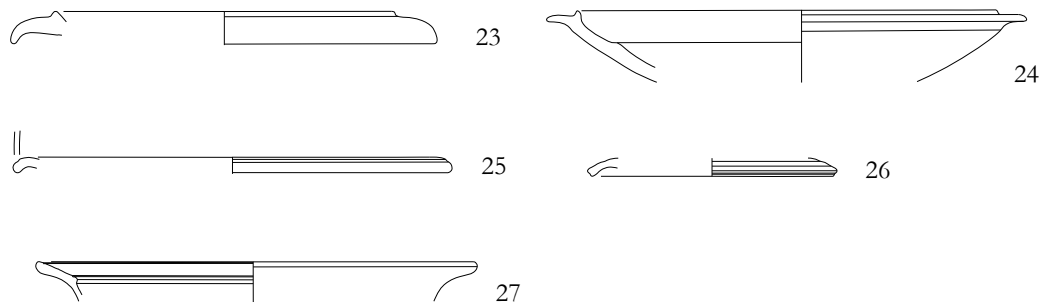
**Vtiskan okras**



**Glajena keramika**

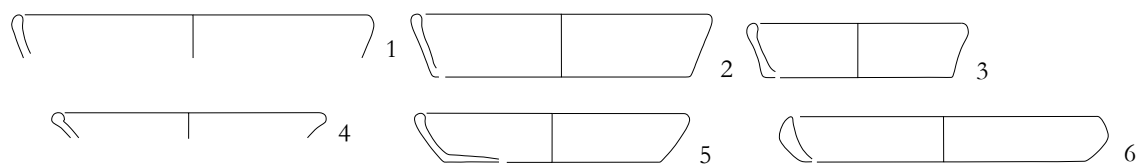


**Melnice**

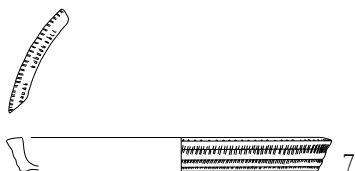


**Slika 8** Tipološka tabela – fino posodje, M 1:6 (izris S. Ohman, izdelava N. Svenšek).

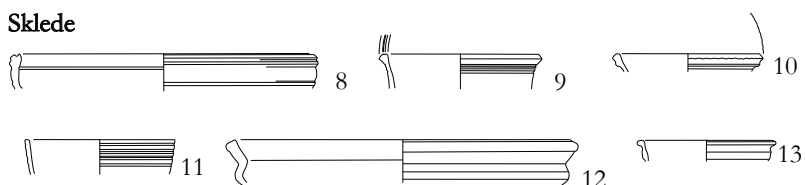
**Krožniki**



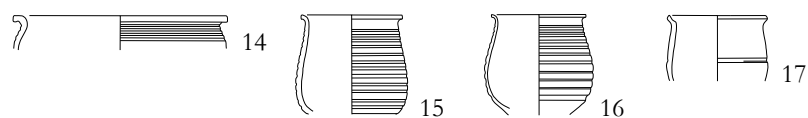
**Pekač ali široki krožnik**



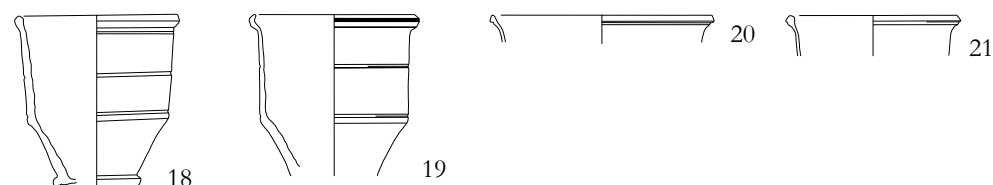
**Sklede**



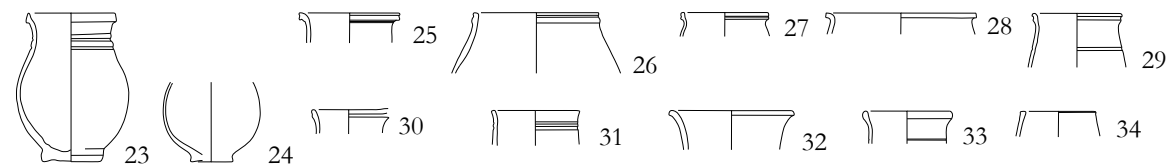
**Posnetki egejskih lončkov**



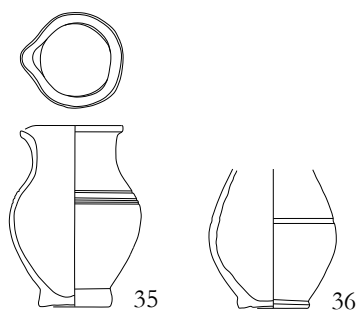
**Cilindrične vaze**



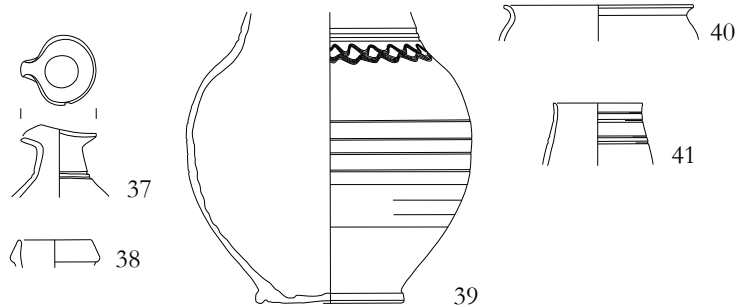
**Lončki/vaze/vrči**



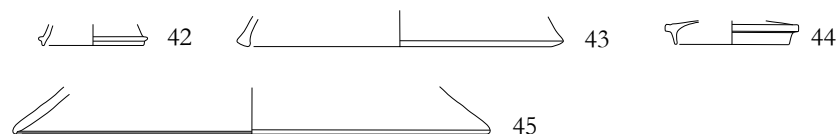
**Vrči**



**Lonci**

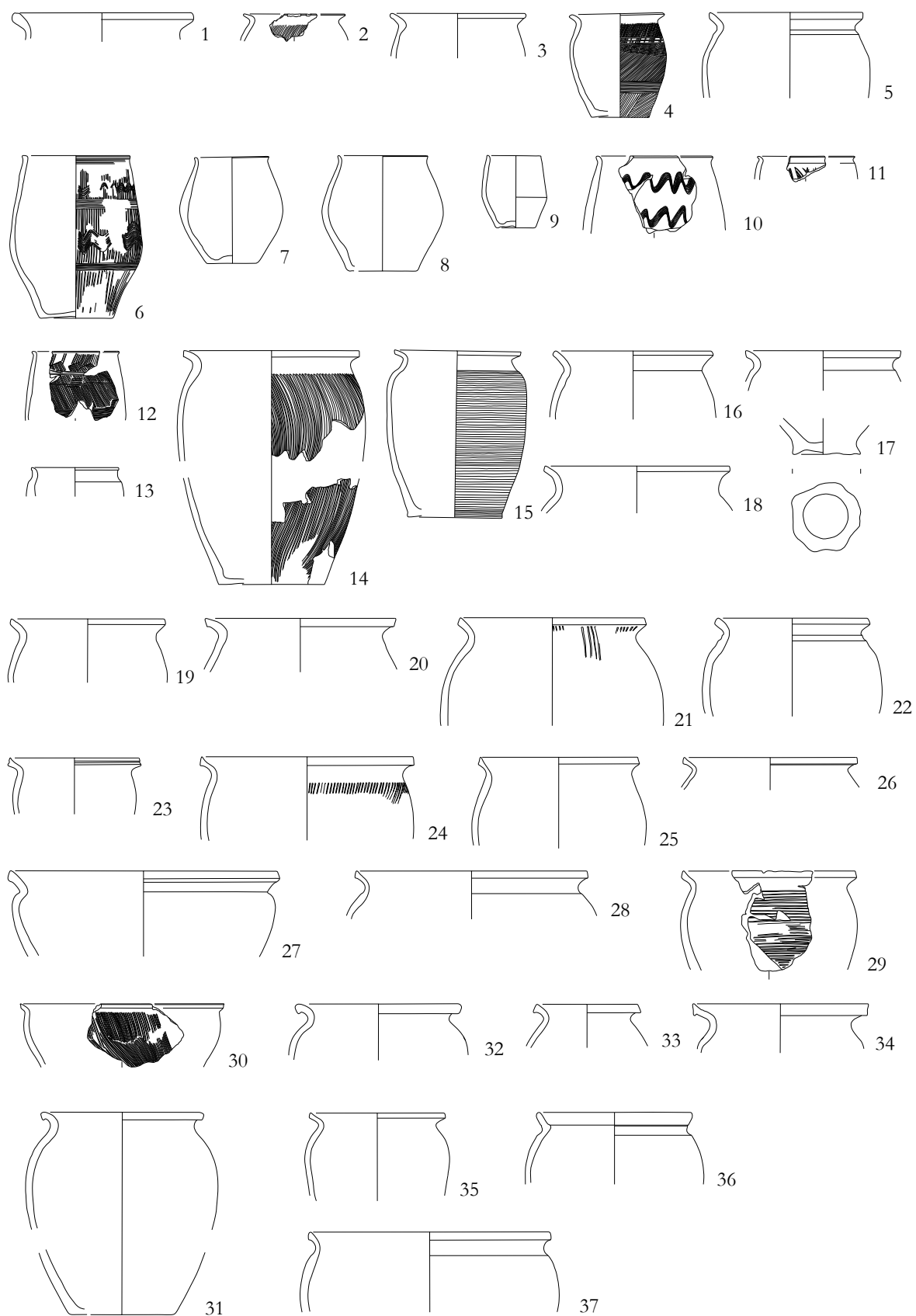


**Pokrovi**



Slika 9 Tipološka tabela – namizna keramika, M 1:6 (izris S. Ohman, izdelava N. Svenšek).

Lonci

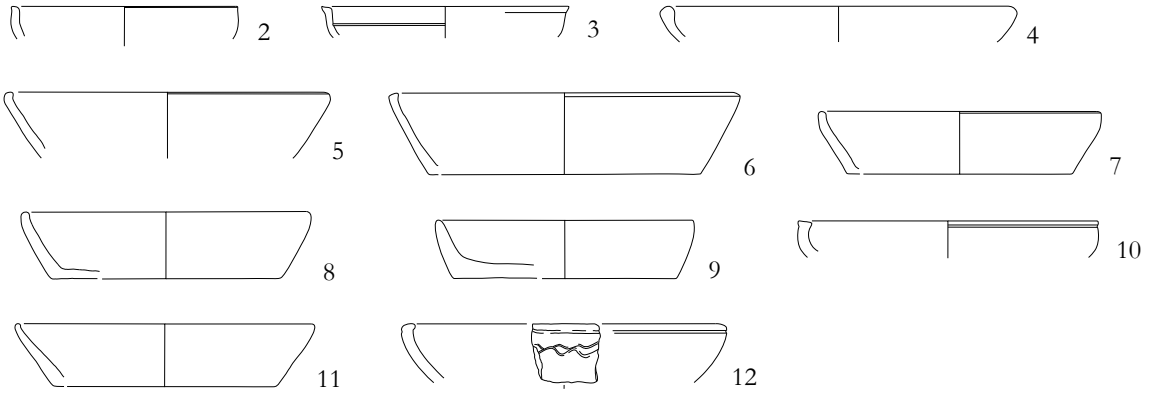


Slika 10 Tipološka tabela – kuhinjska keramika – lonci, M 1:6 (izris S. Ohman, izdelava N. Svenšek).

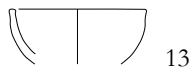
**Pladenj**



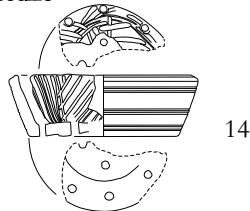
**Krožniki/sklede**



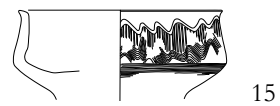
**Skodelica**



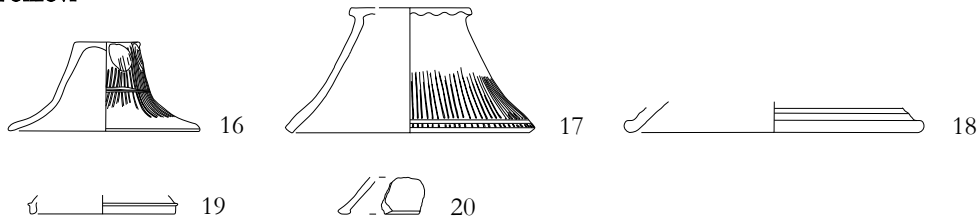
**Cedilo**



**Trinožnik**



**Pokrovi**



**Slika 11** Tipološka tabela – kuhinjska keramika – druge oblike, M 1:6 (izris S. Ohman, izdelava N. Svenšek).





## Arheološke raziskave na lokaciji I. osnovne šole v Celju

### Results of the Archaeological Investigation at the I. osnovna šola Site in Celje

Maja Bausovac

**Izvleček:** Med letoma 2014 in 2015 so zaradi izgradnje nove telovadnice na I. osnovni šoli v Celju potekale arheološke raziskave – sprva v obliki jedrnih vrtin in sondiranja, nato arheološkega izkopa celotnega območja predvidenega za gradnjo. Pri tem so se pokazali ostanki mlajše železnodobne ter rimskodobne poselitve. Kljub precejšnjemu uničenju zaradi oranja, je bilo ob robu nekdanje struge potoka Koprivnica moč prepoznati tlorise več antičnih objektov s kamnitimi temelji ter peč za žganje keramike iz začetka 1. stoletja n. št.

**Ključne besede:** Slovenija, Celje, mlajša železna doba, rimska doba, temelji objektov, lončarska peč

**Abstract:** The archaeological investigation conducted between 2014 and 2015 in advance of the construction of a new gymnasium at the First primary school in Celje (I. osnovna šola Celje) involved core drilling and trial trenching that revealed late La Tene and Roman period habitation traces. In spite of considerable damage caused by ploughing, this area, once the bank of the Koprivnica stream, yielded the ground plans of several buildings with stone foundation, as well as the lower part of a pottery kiln, all dating to the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

**Key words:** Slovenia, Celje, Late Iron age, Roman period, the foundations of the buildings, pottery kiln

V jeseni 2014 in delno še v zimi 2015 je ekipa Pokrajinskega muzeja Celje izvedla zaščitna arheološka izkopavanja na igrišču I. osnovne šole v Celju – t.j. na mestu gradnje bodoče šolske telovadnice. Po preliminarnih raziskavah, predvsem arheološkem sondiranju, je bilo jasno, da ima lokacija predvsem na svojem vzhodnem delu, precejšen arheološki potencial. Izkopavanja, ki so sledila, so bila omejena na velikost pravokotne gradbene jame v velikosti približno 31 × 60 m.

Po strojni odstranitvi popolnoma recentnih nasutij vzdolž celotnega raziskanega območja smo prišli do ornice, nekdanje obdelovalne površine, ki je predvidoma nastajala v obdobju med 17. in 19. stoletjem, ter vanjo vkopanih temeljev objektov in infrastrukture zbirnega taborišča za izgnance iz časa druge svetovne vojne.

Že v ornici odkrite arheološke najdbe so nakazovale, da imamo na tem mestu opravka z arheološkim najdiščem s časovnim razponom vsaj od 1. do 3.

stoletja n. št.<sup>1</sup> To se je ob nadaljevanju raziskav tudi potrdilo, saj smo na južnem delu naleteli na sledove poselitve iz obdobja poznega latena, temelji antičnih objektov pa so bili odkriti na različnih delih najdišča (*sl. 1, sl. 2*).

Ker so objekti nastali na nekoliko dvignjenih predelih, danes sicer izravnano zemljišče je bilo nekoč bolj razgibano, so bili njihovi temelji ter pripadajoče hodne površine s kasnejšim oranjem precej uničeni.

Vsi objekti so bili vkopani v ilovnate in peščene plasti, ki so se pojavljale po celotnem območju raziskav in so nastale z vodnim delovanjem. V neposredni bližini je namreč v preteklosti tekkel potok Koprivnica. Ta je skozi čas precej spreminjal svoj tok ter tako povzročil nastanek prodnatih in peščenih nasipin ter globeli, v katerih se je po premiku struge proti vzhodu odložil fin ilovnat sediment. Ostanki nekdanje rečne struge

1 V članku je predstavljeno predvsem keramično gradivo z jasnimi in datacijsko oprijemljivimi konteksti. Za pomoč pri opredelitvi se na tem mestu zahvaljujem Juretu Krajšku iz Pokrajinskega muzeja Celje.



**Slika 1** Pogled iz jugovzhoda na ostanke antičnih objektov (foto J. Krajšek).

so se tako pokazali v jugozahodnem ter v vzhodnem predelu najdišča. Na podlagi posameznih najdb v teh plasteh sklepamo, da je do njihovega nastanka prišlo v obdobju med starejšo železno dobo in latenom.

Še v času gradnje Okoliške deške (leta 1926), danes I. osnovne šole, je bilo to območje precej močvirno, zaradi česar so bili v srednjeveškem in novoveškem obdobju tu zgolj travniki in njive; o tem priča tako ledinsko ime Dolgo polje,<sup>2</sup> kot tudi upodobitve na vedutah in starih katastrih.<sup>3</sup>

Najstarejše sledove arhitekture na najdišču predstavljajo ostanki lesenih objektov, vidni v obliki jam za stojke, ki sodijo v obdobje poznega latena. Žal jih zaradi kasnejšega uničenja danes težko med seboj povezujemo v objekte.

V isto obdobje sodijo tudi večje jame nedefinirane funkcije v neposredni bližini, v katerih smo odkrili

odlomke poznolatenske keramike (sl. 3; t. 1: 4–9), odlomke lepa, v eni od njih celo koščen žeton (t. 1: 3) ter odlomek zlatega predmeta (t. 1: 2).

Kljub temu, da je bil najden v ornici, lahko istemu obdobju pripišemo tudi bronast gumb z vrezano rozeto (t. 1: 1). Poleg analogij v tuji literaturi<sup>4</sup> je bil namreč izredno podoben primerek najden še med latenskimi gradivom iz 1. stoletja pr. n. št. na Ljubični nad Zbelovsko goro<sup>5</sup> ter še eden v strugi Savinje v Celju.<sup>6</sup> Pri tem gre morda za dele čelad t. i. tipa Novo mesto (po Schaaffu).<sup>7</sup>

V antičnem obdobju oz. v času med 1. in 2. stoletjem n. št. je nastalo vsaj pet objektov, katerih temelji so bili odkriti na različnih delih najdišča (sl. 1, sl. 2).

Ob severnem robu izkopnega polja smo tako najprej naleteli na antičen Objekt 1, pri čemer je šlo za večjo pravokotno zgradbo z zunanjim premerom ok. 10 × 10 m. Ker so bili njegovi zidovi oz. temelji izropani, po vsej verjetnosti v času med 17. in 19. stoletjem, je bil njihov potek viden le še v obrisih. Novonastali vkopi, ki so merili v širino 1,1 m in v globino od 0,8 do 1,1 m, so bili namreč zasuti nazaj z zemljenim polnilom, ki je bilo za odtenek temnejše in se je tako že na prvi pogled ločilo od okoliške ilovnate plasti.

Le 4,5 m vzhodneje smo odkrili vzporedno potekajoče, ravno tako izropane temelje antičnega Objekta 3 z zunanjimi dimenzijami vsaj 6,5 × 16 m. Objekt je imel najmanj tri prostore; glede na globino (od 0,25 do 0,55 m) in širino (do 0,6 m) roparskih jarkov lahko sklepamo, da je bil precej nižji od Objekta 1 in je imel zelo verjetno leseno nadgradnjo.

Ob zahodni stranici objekta je bil najden spodnji del večjega kuhinjskega lonca v primarni legi, zgornji del je bil uničen z oranjem. V loncu so bili odlomki različnih keramičnih posod (sl. 4; t. 3: 6–10) in posamezne živalske kosti. Glede na okoliščine sklepamo, da gre za daritev ob izgradnji objekta, ki jo lahko na podlagi keramičnih najdb, predvsem sigilatne skodele galske produkcije (t. 3: 10), datiramo v sredino 2. stoletja n. št.

2 Orožen 1957, 54–55.

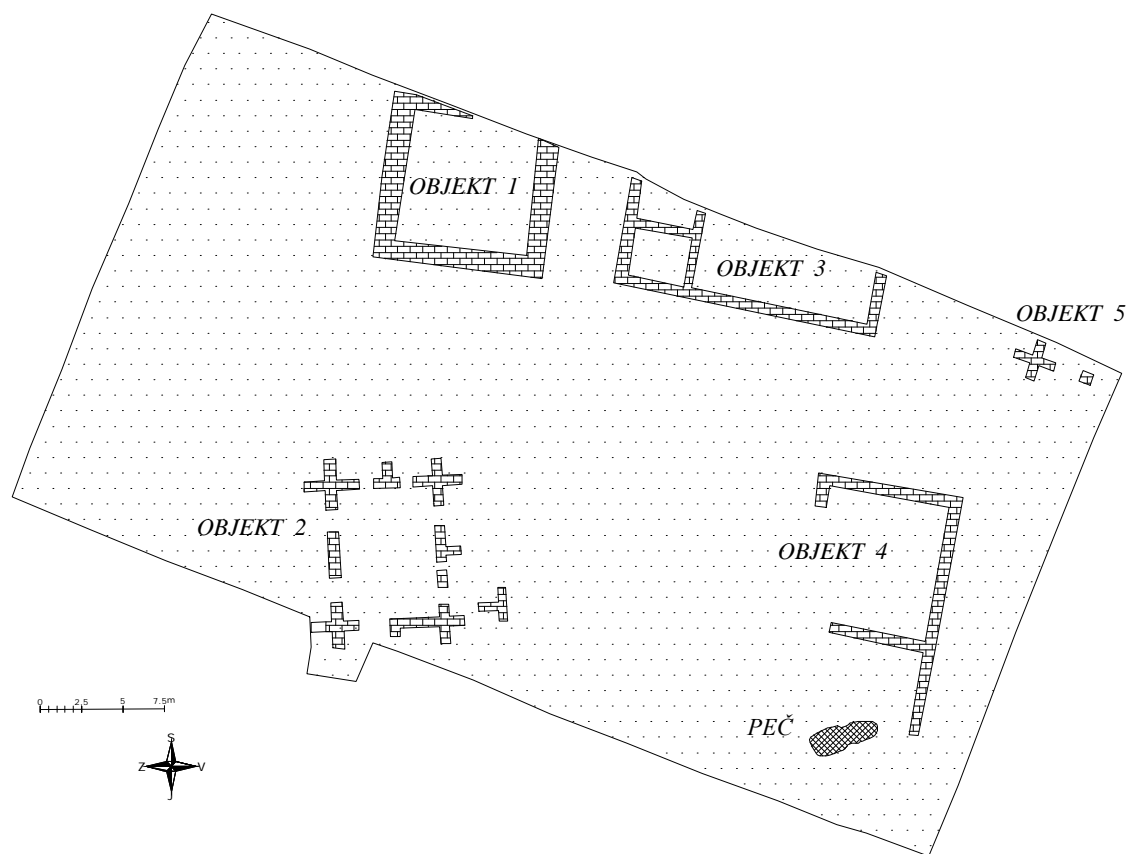
3 Na primer na franciscjskem katastru iz leta 1825 (Jeloussigovo kopijo originala hrani Zgodovinski arhiv Celje v Zbirki načrtov).

4 Challet 1992, Fig. 76: 118–121.

5 Pirkmajer 1991, t. 21: 142.

6 Lazar 1996, 290, t. 2: 8.

7 Schaaff 1980.



**Slika 2** Tloris antičnih objektov in struktur, odkritih na najdišču I. osnovna šola (izdelava F. Pašič).

Ob južni stranici delovišča je bil odkrit Objekt 2 z dimenzijami  $11 \times 9,5$  m. Delno že uničeni temelji širine 0,8 m, ki so se ohranili v globino do 0,45 m, so bili grajeni „na križ“. Zapolnjevale so jih povečini rečne oblice, med katerimi so bili številni odlomki amfor tipa Dressel 6B. Na podlagi slednjih izgradnjo objekta zgolj na grobo umeščamo v 1. stoletje n. št. Iz istega obdobja je po vsej verjetnosti podobno grajen, vendar nekoliko bolje ohranjen, Objekt 5 na severovzhodnem delu najdišča, od katerega je bil raziskan le jugozahodni vogal, medtem ko je večji del objekta izven izkopnega polja. Njegovi, iz nevezanih večjih oblic sestavljeni temelji, so bili delno vkopani v podlago (glob. vkopa: 0,5 m), delno nadgrajeni (ohr. viš. do 0,3 m).

Na vogalu objekta so bili ravno tako odkriti ostanki daritve, lonca, v katerem so bili odlomki vrča, amfore, opeke in posamezne živalske kosti, vendar jo na podlagi tipologije keramike ni možno natančneje časovno opredeliti.

Južno od Objekta 5 smo naleteli najprej na številna nasutja nastala tekom 1. stoletja n. št., ki so pokrila

proti vzhodu padajočo depresijo oz. rečno brežino. Po odstranitvi nasutij smo odkrili ostanke lončarske peči iz začetka 1. stoletja n. št.,<sup>8</sup> ki je bila vkopana v rob te depresije. Služila je za žganje grobih kuhinjskih loncev (*t. 2: 1–4*) kakršne najdemo povsod po Celju v kontekstih iz začetka 1. stoletja.<sup>9</sup>

Od peči se je do danes ohranil spodnji del žgalne komore ter spodnji del kurišča;<sup>10</sup> oba prostora sta med seboj ločena s kamnito pregrado, sestavljeno iz nevezanih večjih prodnikov in lomljencev, z dvema prepustoma (*sl. 5, sl. 6*). Ob straneh in vzdolž osrednjega dela žgalne komore potekajo linearne podpore rešetki, ob robu so še vidni ostanki rešetke v obliki vertikalnih predrtin okroglega preseka. Skupna dolžina peči znaša več kot 4,1 m, širina do 1,5 m.

8 Datacija je bila podana na podlagi stratigrafije in tipološke opredelitve keramike iz peči, potrdile pa so jo tudi analize oglja iz peči, ki so jo izvedli v Poznań Radiocarbon Laboratory na Poljskem.

9 Krajšek 2015.

10 Peč je bila izpraznjena in dokumentirana, potem pa zaščitena in zasuta nazaj; ker se nahaja pod nivojem gradbenih posegov, se bo ohranila v primarni legi.



**Slika 3** Keramika, odkrita v eni od poznolatenskih jam (foto M. Bausovac).

Prežgan ilovnat premaz ob notranjem robu kaže na njeno večkratno uporabo, ravno tako velika količina žganine in škartirane keramike, ki je bila pobrana v neposredni bližini vzdolž rečne brežine (*t. 1: 10–11, t. 2: 5–8, t. 3: 1–5*).

Zgornji del peči oz. njena kupola je bila po prenehanju uporabe porušena do tal, njen vkopani del, ki sega pribl. 0,5 m v globino, pa zasut s prežganimi apnenčevimi lomljenci, med katerimi so bili drobci oglja ter odlomki grobe kuhinjske keramike.

Nad pečjo je v času njene uporabe verjetno stal lesen nadstrešek, saj so bili v neposredni bližini vidni sočasni ostanki vsaj treh stojk.

Približno v sredini 1. stoletja, ko peč ni bila več v uporabi in je bil teren na njeni severni strani že precej izravnal, je nastal preprost Objekt 4, ki je imel dva prostora in katerega zunanje dimenzije so znašale približno 8,5 × 9,5 m. Najnižje ležeča vzhodna stranica ni bila le vkopana v podlago, ampak tudi precej visoko pozidana, pri čemer je služila kot podlaga leseni nadgradnji, pa tudi kot neke vrste škarpa. Hodna površina vzhodno od objekta je bila namreč v tem času za ok. 0,5 m nižja od površine v objektu.

V prvi polovici 2. stoletja se je z južne strani na Objekt 4 naslonil manjši temelj oz. škarpa, depresija na vzhodni strani pa je bila dokončno zasuta. V enem od zasutij je bil najden sekundarno uporabljen pasni zaključek noriško-panonske noše, kakršni so bili v uporabi od poznoavgustejskega



**Slika 4** Ostanke daritve ob izgradnji Objekta 3 (foto N. Sovdat).

do hadrijanskega obdobja,<sup>11</sup> kar sovpada s splošno datacijo plasti.

Ob arheoloških raziskavah na I. osnovni šoli Celje se je proti pričakovanjem pokazalo, da gre za multi-periodno najdišče, ki je v preteklosti svoj višek doseglo v antičnem obdobju, natančneje v celotnem 1. in še v prvi polovici 2. stoletja. Ker gre pri najdbah povečini za gradbeni material in lokalno izdelano kuhinjsko keramiko s širokim časovnim razponom, so edini indici ki kažejo, da je bilo to področje aktivno še tudi v 3. in 4. stoletju, novci. Natančneje, bronast kovanec Septimija Severa iz konca 2. oz. začetka 3. stoletja, ter manjši in slabše ohranjen bronast novc cesarja Konstantina I. iz prve polovice 4. stoletja. Žal njeni konteksti niso izpovedni, saj je bil prvi najden v ornici, drugi pa v recentnem zasutju roparskega jarka Objekta 3.

Težko določljiva je tudi funkcija objektov, saj imamo povečini opravka z roparskimi jarki ali s spodnjimi deli temeljev objektov, medtem ko so bile sočasne hodne površine, katerih nivo je bil približno enak srednjeveškim in novoveškim hodnim površinam, uničene s kasnejšo obdelavo zemljišča. To bi lahko bil razlog, da nismo našli sledove kakršnekoli komunikacije, verjetno v obliki makadamskega cestišča, ki bi, glede na lokacijo objektov, morala potekati v smeri vzhod-zahod oz. med Objektoma 2 in 4 na eni ter

<sup>11</sup> Garbsch 1965, 105.



**Slika 5** Pogled z vrha na ostanke peči za žganje keramike (foto N. Sovdat).



**Slika 6** Pogled na kamnito pregrado med žgalno komoro in kuriščem peči (foto N. Sovdat).

Objekti 1, 3 in 5 na drugi strani. Gre hkrati za usmeritev proti 350 m oddaljeni Mariborski cesti, kjer je bila pred leti odkrita rečna struga čez katero je v antičnem obdobju vodil lesen most; na severni strani struge so stala svetišča, ki so jih ob koncu 1. stoletja n. št. nadomestili stanovanjski objekti in obrtne delavnice, na južni strani je bilo v začetku 1. stoletja žarno grobišče ter lončarske delavnice, v čas med 3. in 5. stoletje pa so datirani odkriti skeletni grobovi.<sup>12</sup>

Glede na arheološke ostanke na I. osnovni šoli in glede na znane podatke iz sosednjih najdišč lahko zaključimo, da gre na obravnavani lokaciji v eni najstarejših faz za lončarsko delavnico, katere razsežnosti pa niso znane, saj se odkrita peč nahaja na skrajnem jugovzhodnem delu raziskanega območja. Časovno se približno ujema z lončarskimi delavnicami na Mariborski cesti, s to razliko, da so v slednjih izdelovali izključno namizno posodje, medtem ko je bila na območju I. osnovne šole doslej edina v Celju odkrita peč, ki je služila za žganje kuhinjske keramike. Zgolj na podlagi tega, da se Objekt 4 nahaja v neposredni bližini peči in da ne daje vtisa bivalnega objekta, sklepamo, da je služil obrtni, morda lončarski dejavnosti.

Med seboj podobno grajena in na podlagi stratigrafije in najdb sočasna Objekta 2 in 5 bi bila lahko ostanke z ograjo zamejenih grobnih parcel, kar pa

ne moremo potrditi, saj manjkajo predvsem grobne celote. Širok plitev vkop v katerem so bili najdeni nedoločljivi drobcji antične keramike in bronasta ločna fibula oblike A 236c (po Garbschu) le stežka opredelimo kot grob. Še ena boljše ohranjena fibula istega tipa je bila najdena v ornici na vzhodnem delu najdišča, njihov pojav pa je značilen za celotno 1. stoletje n. št.<sup>13</sup>

Med seboj vzporedna Objekta 1 in 3 sta verjetno funkcionirala istočasno. Objekt 1 po svoji pravilni kvadratni obliki, velikosti ter debelini in globini temeljev spominja na stolpe obrambnega značaja, medtem ko je bil Objekt 3, glede na velikost, globino in debelino temeljev ter razporeditev prostorov, verjetno bivalen. Morda gre pri prvem za obrambni stolp, pri drugem pa za pomožne ali bivalne prostore za vojaško posadko, ki funkcionirata kot izolirana celota v času, ko ostali objekti niso več v funkciji. Glede na lokacijo Konstantinovega novca v sicer recentnem zasutju Objekta 3, bi lahko bila oba objekta v rabi še v nemirnem poznorimskem obdobju, ko so tudi na Mariborski cesti objekti že povečini opuščeni in prostor služi še zgolj kot grobišče.

12 Krempuš 2005; Gaspari *et al.* 2007.

13 Garbsch 1965, 29–30.

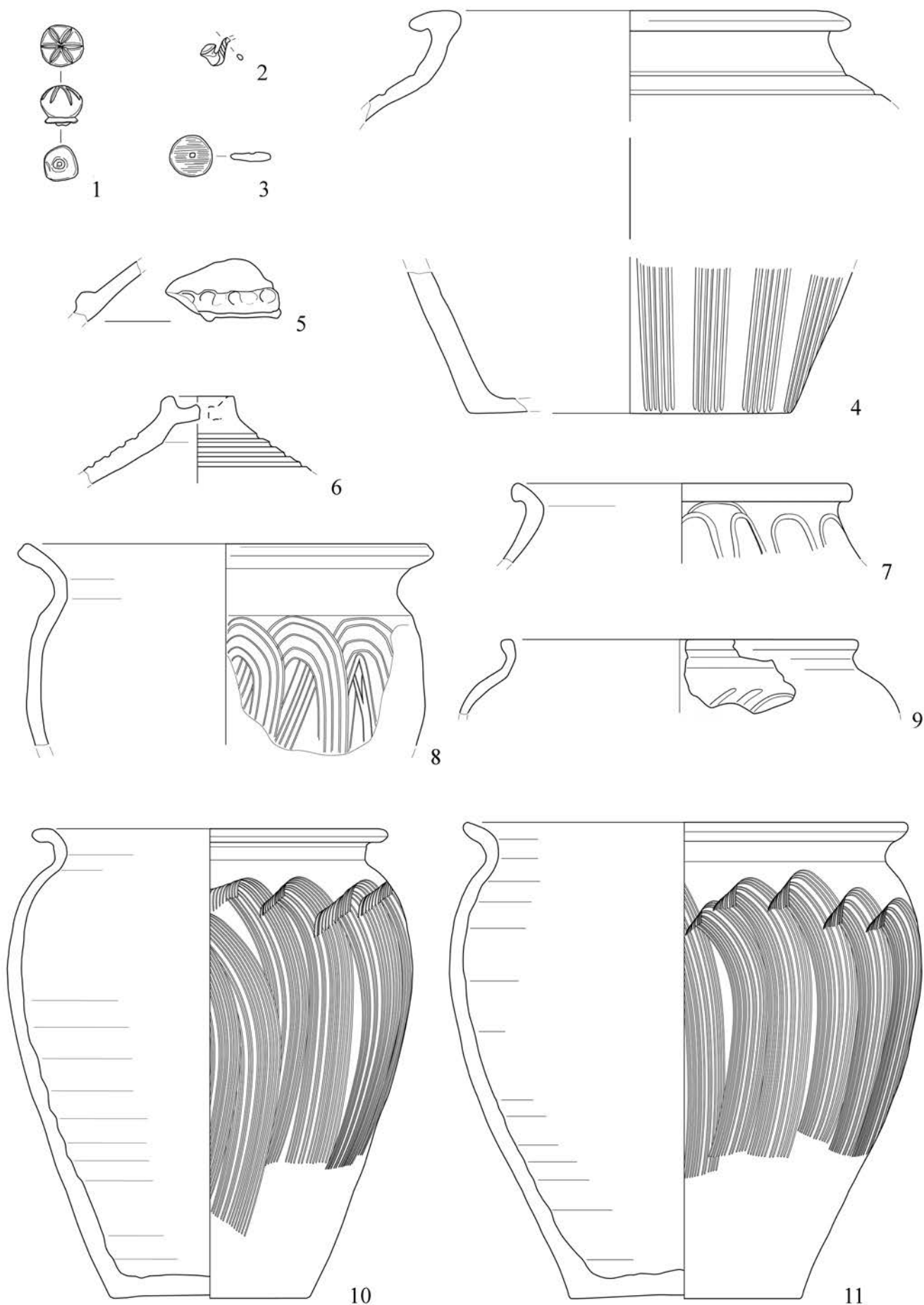
## Katalog predmetov

### Okrajšave:

B = barva  
 Bp = barva površine  
 Bpr = barva preloma  
 Bnp = barva notranje površine  
 Bzp = barva zunanje površine  
 Deb = debelina  
 Drag. = Dragendorff  
 Inv. št. = inventarna številka  
 Ohr. = ohranjen  
 P = premer  
 Pd = premer dna  
 Pr = premer ročaja / držaja  
 Pu = premer ustja / roba (pri pokrovih)  
 Rek. = rekonstruiran  
 SE = stratigrafska enota  
 Vel = velikost  
 Viš = višina

### Tabla 1

- 1** Masiven bronast gumb z vrezano rozeto, v kateri so ostanki rdečega emajla; na spodnji strani ostanek železnega nastavka za pritrdjanje. P: 1,6 cm; ohr. viš: 1,6 cm. SE 002; Inv. št.: R-25969.
- 2** Odlomek zlatega tordiranega predmeta. Ohr. viš: 0,6 cm, deb: do 0,25 cm. SE 091; Inv. št.: R-25970.
- 3** Koščen žeton. P: 1,5 cm, deb: 0,35 cm. SE 142; Inv. št.: R-25971.
- 4** Več odlomkov ustja z ostenjem ter dna z ostenjem lonca; horizontalne kanelure na vratu, vertikalne kanelure na spodnjem delu ostenja posode. Drobnozrnata masa z vključki; izdelan na vretenu in žgan v redukcijski atmosferi; sekundarno prežgan; površina porozna; bp: zelo temno siva do blede rjava (lisasta), bpr: zelo temno siva; pu: 25,0 cm, pd: 18,5 cm, ohr. viš: 8,0 cm in 5,0 cm. SE 091; Inv. št.: R-25972.
- 5** Več odlomkov pekve; na spodnjem delu ostenja horizontalno poudarjeno in s prsti preoblikovano rebro. Drobnozrnata masa z vključki; izdelana na počasnem vretenu in žgana v redukcijski atmosferi; površina sekundarno prežgana in porozna; bzp: oranžno rjava, bnp in bpr: črna; ohr. viš: 3,0 cm. SE 091; Inv. št.: R-25973.
- 6** Več odlomkov pokrova z globokimi horizontalnimi kanelurami na ostenju in vertikalno predrtino na vrhu. Drobnozrnata masa z vključki; izdelan na vretenu in žgan v redukcijski atmosferi; površina porozna; b: črna; pr: 4,1 cm, ohr.viš: 4,5 cm. SE 122; Inv. št.: R-25974.
- 7** Dva odlomka ustja z ostenjem lonca; tik pod ustjem vidni sledovi enojne valovnice. Drobnozrnata masa z vključki; izdelan na počasnem vretenu in žgan sprva v redukcijski, nato v oksidacijski atmosferi; površina delno porozna; bp: sivo rjava, bpr: zelo temno rjava siva; pu: 19,0 cm, ohr. viš: 4,5 cm. SE 091; Inv. št.: R-25975.
- 8** Več odlomkov ustja z ostenjem lonca; po celotnem ostenju globok, vertikalno glavničen okras, ki se na ramenu polkrožno zaključuje. Drobnozrnata masa z vključki; izdelan na vretenu, ročno dodelan in žgan v redukcijski atmosferi; sekundarno prežgan; površina porozna; bp: črna do blede rjava (lisasta), bpr: črna; pu: 23,0 cm, ohr. viš: 11,5 cm. SE 152; Inv. št.: R-25976.
- 9** Dva odlomka ustja z ostenjem posode; sledovi poševnih vrezov na ramenu. Drobnozrnata masa z vključki; izdelana na počasnem vretenu in žgana v redukcijski atmosferi; sekundarno prežgana; površina porozna; bzp: oranžno rjava do črna, bnp in bpr: črna; pu: 20,0 cm, ohr. viš: 4,2 cm. SE 122; Inv. št.: R-25977.
- 10** Več odlomkov ustja, ostenja in dna lonca; na zgornjih dveh tretjinah ostenja vertikalno glavničen okras, ki se na ramenu polkrožno zaključuje. Drobnozrnata masa z vključki; izdelan na vretenu in žgan v stihijski (?) atmosferi; sekundarno prežgan; površina porozna; bp: temno siva, bpr: blede oranžno rjava; pu: 19,0 cm, pd: 11,7 cm, viš: 26,4 cm. SE 280; Inv. št.: R-25978.
- 11** Več odlomkov ustja, ostenja in dna lonca; na zgornjih dveh tretjinah ostenja vertikalno glavničen okras, ki se na ramenu polkrožno zaključuje. Drobnozrnata masa z vključki; izdelan na vretenu in žgan v stihijski (?) atmosferi; sekundarno prežgan; površina porozna; bp: blede rjava do temno siva, bpr: blede oranžno rjava; pu: 24,0 cm, pd: 12,0 cm, viš: 26,8 cm. SE 280; Inv. št.: R-25979.



**Tabla 1** 1 bron, 2 zlato, 3 kost, 4–11 keramika. 2 M 1:1; 1, 3 M 1:2; 4–11 M 1:3.

## Tabla 2

**1** Dva odlomka ustja z ostenjem lonca; po ostenju vertikalno glavničen okras, ki se na ramenu posode polkrožno zaključí. Drobnozrnata masa z vključki; izdelan na vretenu in žgan v stihijski (?) atmosferi; sekundarno prežgan; površina porozna; bzp: bledo rjava, bnp: bledo rjava do siva, bpr: na zunanji strani svetlo oranžno rjava, na notranji strani siva; pu: 20,0 cm, ohr. viš: 10,4 cm.  
SE 296; Inv. št.: R-25980.

**2** Več odlomkov ustja z ostenjem lonca; po celotnem ostenju sledovi vertikalnega glavničenja. Drobnozrnata masa z vključki; izdelan na vretenu s sledovi ročne dodelave; žgan v redukcijski atmosferi, sekundarno prežgan; površina porozna; bzp: bledo rjava do temno siva, bnp: bledo rjava, bpr: zelo temno rjavo siva; pu: 21,0 cm, ohr. viš: 11,6 cm.  
SE 307, 280; Inv. št.: R-25981.

**3** Več odlomkov ustja z ostenjem lonca; po celotnem ostenju vertikalno glavničen okras, ki se na ramenu posode polkrožno zaključí. Drobnozrnata masa z vključki; izdelan na vretenu in žgan v redukcijski atmosferi; površina porozna; b: zelo temno siva; pu: 16,0 cm, ohr. viš: 17,5 cm.  
SE 261; Inv. št.: R-25982.

**4** Več odlomkov ustja z ostenjem lonca; na ostenju sledovi vertikalnega in poševnega glavničenja. Drobnozrnata masa z vključki; izdelan na vretenu in žgan sprva v redukcijski, nato v oksidacijski atmosferi; površina porozna; bp: bledo oranžno rjava, bpr: v osrednjem delu črna, ob straneh bledo oranžno rjava; pu: 26,0 cm, ohr. viš: 12,5 cm.  
SE 296, 280; Inv. št.: R-25983.

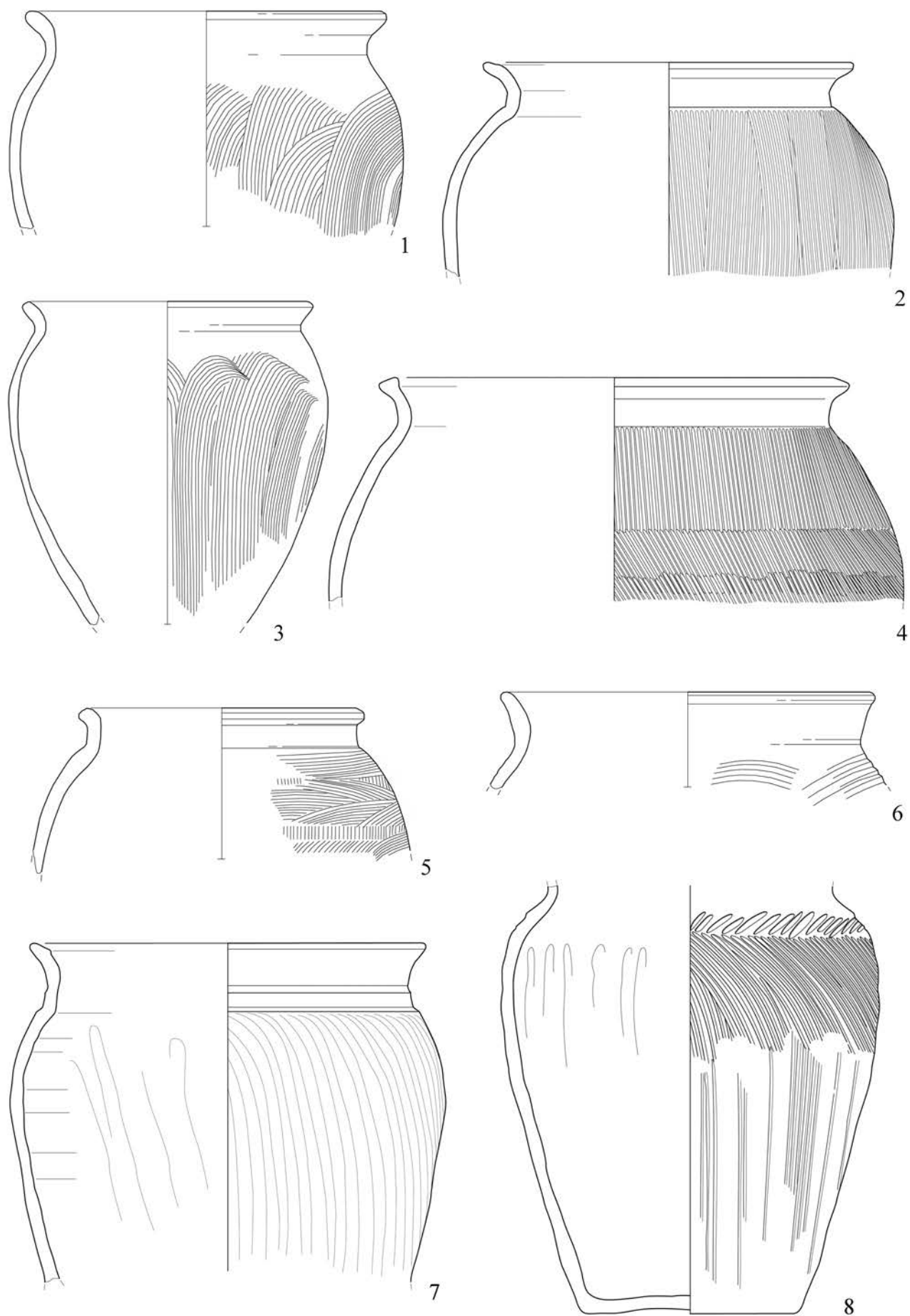
**5** Trije odlomki ustja z ostenjem lonca; sledovi horizontalnega, vertikalnega in poševnega glavničenja na ostenju. Drobnozrnata masa z vključki; izdelan na vretenu, ročno dodelan in žgan v redukcijski atmosferi; površina porozna; bp: črna, bpr: na notranji strani sivo rjava, na zunanji črna; pu: 16,0 cm, ohr. viš: 8,5 cm.  
SE 280; Inv. št.: R-25984.

**6** Odlomek ustja z ostenjem lonca; sledovi metliččenja na ramenu posode. Drobnozrnata masa z vključki; izdelan na vretenu, ročno dodelan; žgan v redukcijski atmosferi, sekundarno prežgan; površina porozna; bp: bledo rjava, bpr: črna; pu: 21,0 cm, ohr. viš: 5,3 cm.  
SE 280; Inv. št.: R-25985.

**7** Več odlomkov ustja z ostenjem lonca; sledovi poševnega metliččenja na ostenju. Drobnozrnata masa z vključki; izdelan na vretenu s sledovi ročne dodelave in žgan sprva v redukcijski, nato v oksidacijski atmosferi; površina porozna; bp: svetlo rjava, bpr: v osrednjem delu črna, na robovih svetlo rjava; pu: 22,0 cm, ohr. viš: 18,5 cm.  
SE 280; Inv. št.: R-25986.

**8** Več odlomkov dna z ostenjem lonca; kratki poševni vrezi na ramenu ter sledovi poševnega in vertikalnega glavničenja na ostenju posode. Drobnozrnata masa z vključki; izdelan na vretenu, ročno dodelan in žgan v redukcijski atmosferi; površina porozna; bp: sivo rjava do črna (lisasta), bpr: črna; pd: 12,0 cm, ohr. viš: 23,8 cm.  
SE 280, 291; Inv. št.: R-25987.





**Tabla 2** Vse keramika, M 1:3.

**Tabla 3**

**1** Več odlomkov ustja z ostenjem lonca; plitva horizontalna rebra na zgornjem delu ostenja.

Drobnozrnata masa z vključki; izdelan na vretenu in žgan v redukcijski atmosferi; površina porozna; bp: sivo rjava, bpr: zelo temno rjava; pu: 16,0 cm, ohr. viš: 10,6 cm.

SE 280; Inv. št.: R-25988.

**2** Več odlomkov glavničenega ostenja z večtračnima valovnicama in kratkimi vtisi glavničastega orodja na ramenu posode. Drobnozrnata masa z vključki; izdelana na vretenu in žgana sprva v oksidacijski, nato v redukcijski atmosferi; površina porozna; bp: temno siva, bpr: v osrednjem delu opečnata, ob robovih temno siva; po: do 26 cm, ohr. viš: 16,5 cm.

SE 280, 291; Inv. št.: R-25989.

**3** Več odlomkov roba z rahlo narebrenim ostenjem pekve. Drobnozrnata masa z vključki; izdelana na vretenu, žgana v redukcijski atmosferi, sekundarno prežgana; površina porozna; bp: blede rjava do oranžna, bpr: v osrednjem delu temno rjava siva, na robovih blede oranžno rjava; pu: 24,0 cm, ohr. viš: 6,2 cm.

SE 280; Inv. št.: R-25990.

**4** Dva odlomka roba z ostenjem pokrova; dve horizontalni kaneluri nad robom. Drobnozrnata masa z vključki; izdelan na vretenu, žgan v redukcijski atmosferi, sekundarno prežgan; površina porozna; bp: blede oranžno rjava, bpr: v osrednjem delu črna, na robovih blede oranžna; pu: 18,0 cm, ohr. viš: 3,0 cm.

SE 280; Inv. št.: R-25991.

**5** Odlomek roba z ostenjem pokrova; nad robom vrezane tri koncentrične kanelure in znak lončarja. Drobnozrnata masa z vključki; izdelan na vretenu s sledovi ročne dodelave; žgan v redukcijski atmosferi, sekundarno prežgan; površina porozna; bp: rjava do črna (liskasata), bpr: črna; pu: 30,0 cm, ohr. viš: 7,5 cm.

SE 280; Inv. št.: R-25992.

**6** Več odlomkov ustja, dna in ostenja čaše. Drobnozrnata masa z vključki (na površini dobro vidni lističi muskovitne sljude); izdelana na hitrem vretenu in žgana v redukcijski atmosferi; površina raskava in delno porozna; bp: črna, bpr: zelo temno rjava siva; pu: 16,0 cm, rek. viš: 15,7 cm.

SE 096; Inv. št.: R-25993.

**7** Več odlomkov dna z ostenjem hrambenega lonca. Drobnozrnata masa z vključki; izdelan na vretenu in žgan v redukcijski atmosferi; površina gladka, na zunanji strani porozna, na notranji delno porozna; bp: sivo rjava, bpr: črna; pd: 19,0 cm, ohr. viš: 10,7 cm.

SE 096; Inv. št.: R-25994.

**8** Dva odlomka držaja z ostenjem pokrova. Drobnozrnata masa z vključki; izdelan na hitrem vretenu in žgan v oksidacijski atmosferi; površina gladka in neporozna; bzp in bpr: blede oranžna, bnp: blede oranžna do črna (liskasata); pr: 4,3 cm, ohr. viš: 2,9 cm.

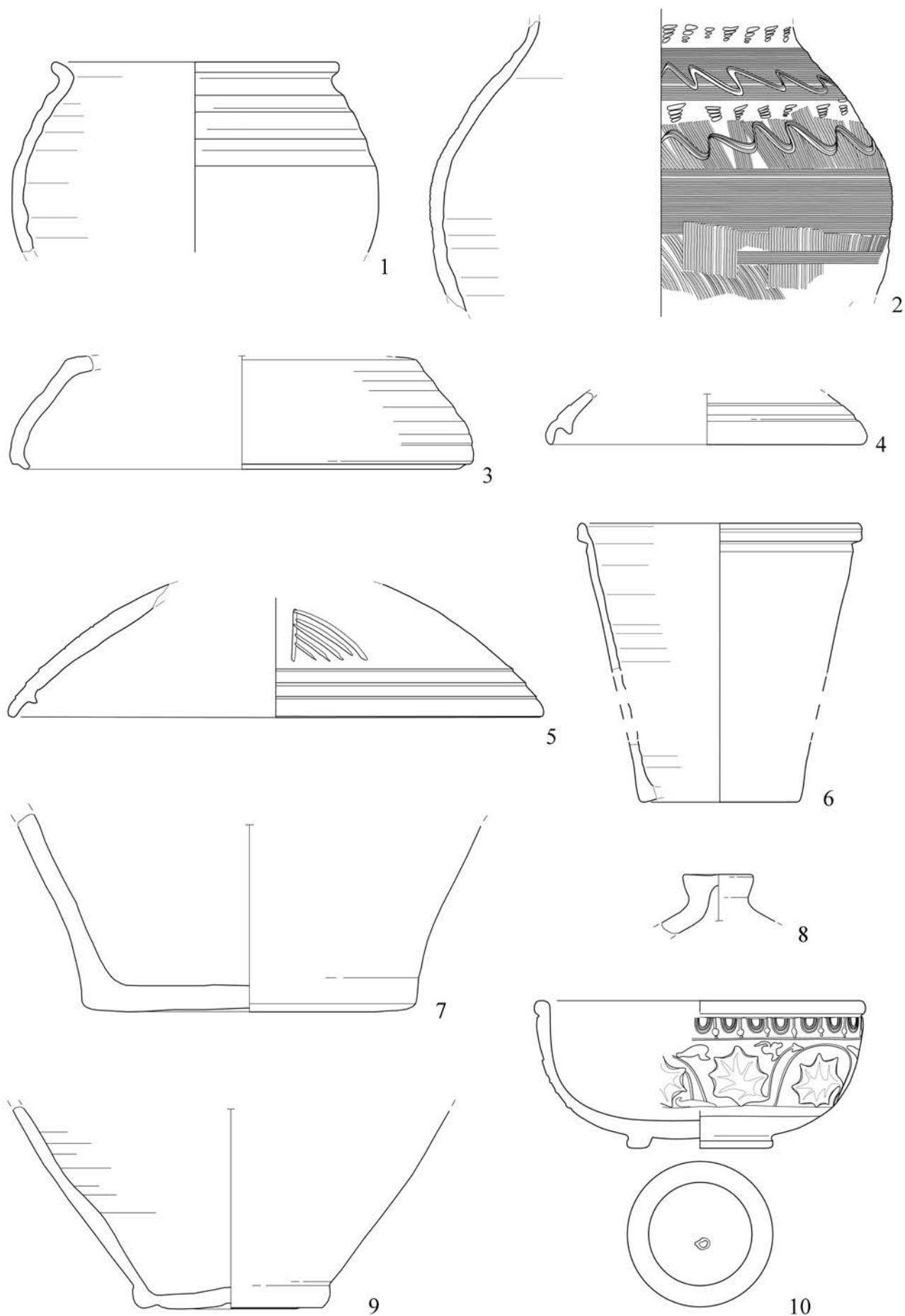
SE 096; Inv. št.: R-25995.

**9** Več odlomkov dna z ostenjem in trakastega ročaja vrča. Drobnozrnata masa z vključki; izdelan na hitrem vretenu in žgan v oksidacijski atmosferi; površina gladka in neporozna; b: blede oranžna; pd: 10,5 cm, ohr. viš: 11,2 cm.

SE 096; Inv. št.: R-25996.

**10** Več odlomkov ustja, polkroglastega ostenja in dna sigilatne skodele tipa Drag. 37; reliefni okras trtinah listov. Fina, prečiščena masa; zelo trdo žgana v oksidacijski atmosferi; površina svetleča; bp (premaza): rdeča (10R 4/6), bpr: svetlo rdeča (2.5YR 6/6); pu: 18,5 cm, pd: 7,8 cm, viš: 8,2 cm.

SE 096; Inv. št.: R-25997.



**Tabla 3** Vse keramika, M 1:3.

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## Lamps in Abruzzo: The Evidence from Monte Pallano

### Oljenke iz Abrucev: Gradivo iz Monte Pallana

Archer Martin

**Izvleček:** Zbira oljenk z arheoloških izkopavanj, ki jih vodita *Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Abruzzo* in *Sangro Valley Project* (SVP), sta doprinesla novo vedenje o oskrbovanju Monte Pallana z oljenkami. Tipološko se oljenke navezujejo na tirensko območje osrednje Italije. Gre predvsem za lokalno, kot tudi regionalno priljubljene izdelke, saj nekatere prihajajo iz tirenske osrednje Italije, pa tudi iz severne Italije in vzhodnega Sredozemlja. Analize kontekstov, kjer so bile oljenke odkrite, kažejo, da je Monte Pallano pozno sprejel oljenke in jih zmerno uporabljal. Sliko, kot se kaže za Monte Pallano, bo mogoče primerjati z drugimi konteksti odkritja oljenk v Abrucih, ko bodo ti dostopni.

**Ključne besede:** oljenke, Abruci, Monte Pallano

**Abstract:** Two assemblages, from excavations carried out by the Sangro Valley Project and the *Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Abruzzo*, provide information about the supply of lamps to Monte Pallano. Typologically, the lamps look decidedly toward Tyrrhenian central Italy. Most of them appear to have been produced locally or regionally, although some pieces come from Tyrrhenian central Italy, as well as from northern Italy and the eastern Mediterranean. The analysis of the stratified assemblages in which the lamps from the Sangro Valley Project's excavations were found suggests that Monte Pallano adopted lamps late and used them sparingly. The picture obtained for Monte Pallano can be tested against other lamp assemblages from Abruzzo as they become available.

**Key Words:** Lamps, Abruzzo, Monte Pallano

### The site of Monte Pallano

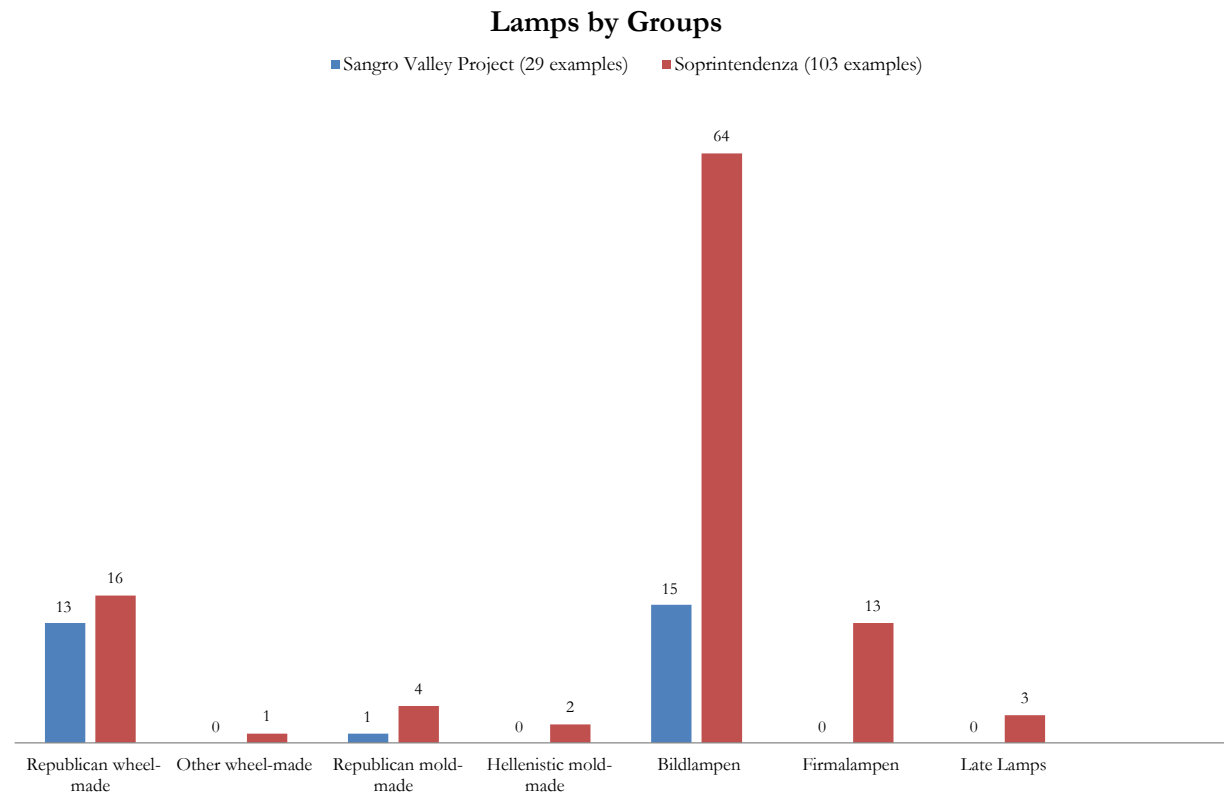
Monte Pallano is a mountain reaching a height of nearly 1000 m, located between the Sangro and Sinello Rivers in the province of Chieti in the region of Abruzzo and is thus close to the Adriatic but not on the coast.<sup>1</sup> It is usually considered to have begun as a proto-urban, hilltop settlement as early as the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC and to have continued under the Romans, until the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, perhaps as a pagus center. Monte Pallano appears to have been situated near the territory of several pre-Roman tribes, perhaps belonging as a central place to the northern Lucanians. Its most notable archaeological feature is a wall of polygonal masonry, which research in recent decades has come to see as a symbol of the

settlement rather than as a purely defensive element. The settlement also included a forum area and several cult areas.

Excavations were carried out by the *Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Abruzzo* and the Sangro Valley Project (sponsored by Oberlin College in conjunction with Oxford University) during the 1990s and 2000 on two sites near to each other within the walled area. The Soprintendenza's site is considered a forum. The one excavated by the SVP is thought to be associated with a sanctuary because of the discovery of decorative architectural terracotta plaques. The material considered here comes from these excavations.

The material from the Sangro Valley Project's excavations is very fragmentary and weathered. Nevertheless, it offers some important information because it has been quantified in a phased stratigraphic

<sup>1</sup> For the site in general see: Faustoferri and Riccitelli 2005; Colonna 2010; Kane 2011, 147.



**Figure 1** *Lamp groups attested at Monte Pallano.*

sequence. The material from the Soprintendenza's site, on the other hand, is richer and better preserved but has not yet been divided by phases or classified in its entirety. For this material, is possible only to make considerations within the assemblage of 103 whole or partial lamps, all those distinguished and set aside by the excavators.

The stratigraphic sequence of the Sangro Valley Project excavations is articulated in eight ancient structural phases. The first concerns the occasional frequentation of the site, with the most recent material dating to *circa* 200 BC. The succeeding Phases 2–8 concern the building and remodeling of terrace walls – Phase 2 with a *terminus post quem* of 125 BC, Phase 3 of AD 25, Phase 4 after Phase 3 on stratigraphic grounds but with no later *terminus post quem* from the material, Phase 5 no earlier than AD 75, Phases 6 and 7 with very little pottery and no *terminus post quem* later than Phase 5, Phase 8 with material no earlier than AD 50. It is to be noted that Phase 8 has no stratigraphic relationship to Phases 4–7 and therefore is not necessarily later than AD 75, although it may well be.

Although the stratigraphic sequence for the Soprintendenza's excavations has not been elaborated, there is some indication in the presence of African Red-Slip Ware A and C, as well as of the lamps, that this part of Monte Pallano continued to be frequented, perhaps on a reduced scale, for some time longer than the site investigated by the Sangro Valley Project.

### Lamp Groups at Monte Pallano

The lamps fit into four main groups and a few minor ones (*Fig. 1*). Wheel-made republican lamps account for 13 of the lamps in the stratified contexts of the Sangro Valley Project's excavations, while there are 16 in the material from the excavations of the Soprintendenza. One mold-made republican lamp comes from the excavations of the Sangro Valley Project and four from the Soprintendenza's. There are also a wheel-made and two mold-made lamps that come from the Hellenic world from the Soprintendenza's excavations. Fifteen Bildlampen complete the picture for the Sangro Valley Project, while the Soprintendenza has 64.

There are no Firmalampen among the stratified material of the Sangro Valley Project, although some were found in modern or otherwise unreliable contexts there, while the excavations of the Soprintendenza gave 13. The Soprintendenza's material also contains three later lamps. Thus, Bildlampen constitute the largest group both for the Sangro Valley Project and for the Soprintendenza, the former slightly and the latter overwhelmingly. Wheel-made republican lamps are the second most important group for both, while mold-made republican lamps are scarce for both. Firmalampen make up a certain presence. Lamps of other groups are represented by only a few pieces.

### Lamp Types Attested at Monte Pallano

Further typological discussion is possible mostly with the Soprintendenza's lamps. With few exceptions, they fit into standard typologies, principally for Rome and Tyrrhenian central Italy (Ricci and Dressel) but also for northern Italy (Loeschcke) and elsewhere (Howland).

Typologically, the wheel-made republican lamps correspond well to the series elaborated for the area of Rome. Ricci E (also known as the bi-conical Esquiline type), a lamp in black-gloss ware dated between *circa* 250 and 50 BC is the most important among the wheel-made republican lamps.<sup>2</sup> There are nine examples of it from the Soprintendenza's excavations and one from the Sangro Valley Project's (*Fig. 2*). Ricci H (also called the cylindrical Esquiline type), an unslipped lamp whose date ranges from 150 to 50 BC approximately, is the second most important lamp of this series,<sup>3</sup> with four examples among the Soprintendenza's lamps and one among the Sangro Valley Project's (*Fig. 3*). Single examples appear of Ricci C, which derives from Greek lamps that date as early as the 4<sup>th</sup> century and remains in production into the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (*Fig. 4*), and of Ricci D, another lamp



**Figure 2a** Ricci E – SBAA: US 454 (R 435).



**Figure 2b** Ricci E – SBAA: US 522 (R 526).



**Figure 3** Ricci H – SBAA: US 617 (R 737).



**Figure 4** Ricci C – SBAA: US 924 (R 998).

<sup>2</sup> Ricci 1973, 216–219; Pavolini 1981, 144–149; Ceci 2005, 312.

<sup>3</sup> Ricci 1973, 223–226; Pavolini 1981, 149–152; Ceci 2005, 312.

attested at Rome between the mid and late republican period (Fig. 5). There is also a curious wheel-made lamp with two nozzles attached opposite each other to a cylindrical body (Fig. 6). If it had only one nozzle, it would bear a certain resemblance to Ricci H, although the central opening has a high ring around it with two small holes on an axis perpendicular to the nozzles from which it could be hung.

One wheel-made lamp does not fit into the series of republican wheel-made lamps and is presumably an import from somewhere in the Greek world, where similar profiles are attested in various places (Fig. 7). Mold-made lamps of the late republican period with parallels in the area of Rome appear at Monte Pallano, although they are rare, with no type attested more than once in the two assemblages considered.

The best preserved are examples among the Soprintendenza's material of Dressel 2A (Fig. 8), a type datable between 100/80 BC and AD 15,<sup>4</sup> and Ricci G (Fig. 9), which is known between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>5</sup>

Smaller sherds also appear among the Soprintendenza's material – a Dressel 3 discus, a type datable between 100/80 BC and 10 BC;<sup>6</sup> and a Dressel 4 nozzle with the characteristic bird's head, a type datable between 50 BC and AD 15.<sup>7</sup> Otherwise, there are a few unidentifiable sherds from both sites.

There are also two more exotic finds, mold-made Hellenistic lamps among the material from the Soprintendenza's excavations. One is a Howland 49A lamp (Fig. 10), a product of Ephesos datable between the last quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and the first quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>8</sup> The fragment of a mold-made lamp with a petal inside the base-ring probably comes from a lamp made in the Greek East (Fig. 11).<sup>9</sup>

4 Ricci 1973, 187–190; Pavolini 1981, 162; Ceci 2005, 313.

5 Ricci 1973, 222–223.

6 Ricci 1973, 193–198; Pavolini 1981, 162; Ceci 2005, 313.

7 Ricci 1973, 200–205; Pavolini 1981, 162; Ceci 2005, 313.

8 Howland 1958, 168 (652); Bailey 1975, 90–93.

9 Bailey 1975, 202 (Q472).



**Figure 5** Ricci D – SBAA: US 363 (R 222).



**Figure 6** Unidentified two-nozzled, wheel-made lamp – SBAA: US 132 (R 18).



**Figure 7** Unidentified Hellenistic, wheel-made lamp – SBAA: US 363 (no inv.).



**Figure 8** Dressel 2A – SBAA: US 511 (R 561).





1 cm

**Figure 9** Ricci G – SBAA: US 518 (no inv.).



1 cm

**Figure 12b** Bailey Aiv – SBAA: US 354 - R 106).



1 cm

**Figure 10** Howland 49A – SBAA: US 132 (R19).



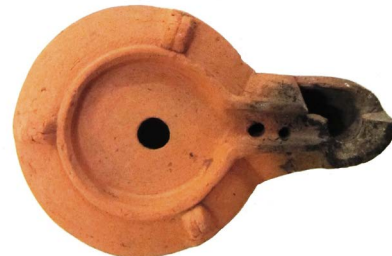
1 cm

**Figure 13** Loeschcke IX – SBAA: US 585 (R 640).



1 cm

**Figure 11** Unidentified Hellenistic, mold-made lamp – SBAA: US 863 (R 782).



1 cm

**Figure 14** Loeschcke X Normalform – SBAA: US 532 (R 612).



1 cm

**Figure 12a** Bailey Aiii – SBAA: US 349 (no inv.).



1 cm

**Figure 15** Loeschcke X Kurzform – SBAA: US 759 (R 1076).

Bildlampen, characterized by figural decorations on the disci, belong to a tradition without reference to Hellenistic predecessors emanating from the area of Rome. All the Bildlampen for which it is possible to give a more precise identification are volute lamps. They belong specifically to Bailey A with angular nozzle terminations (*Fig. 12*), which were produced from *circa* 20 BC to the Flavian period.<sup>10</sup>

Firmalampen were devised in northern Italy rather than in the area of Rome and began a tradition that rivaled that of Bildlampen, especially north of the Alps. Loeschcke IX (*Fig. 13*), whose production began between AD 60 and 75, is attested among the material from the Soprintendenza's excavations,<sup>11</sup> as are Loeschcke X Normalform (*Fig. 14*) and Loeschcke X Kurzform (*Fig. 15*), which started to be produced *circa* AD 90.<sup>12</sup>

The Roman tradition of mold-made lamps ends with Bailey Type R, current at Rome from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century, which has beaded decoration on the shoulder instead of images on the discus.<sup>13</sup> A nearly complete lamp from the Soprintendenza's excavations belongs to Bailey R (*Fig. 16*), as well as a fragment.

In Late Antiquity, it was Africa rather than Italy that provided the model for lamps. Even in Tyrrhenian central Italy, the lamps produced in this period derived ultimately from African prototypes.<sup>14</sup> A lamp from the Soprintendenza's excavations without close parallels (*Fig. 17*) can be assigned generically to this family of lamps because of its shape lacking a clear distinction between the nozzle and the discus.

### Fabrics on the Lamps at Monte Pallano

Most of the lamps appear to be of local or regional production. The wheel-made lamps in black-gloss ware can be attributed to one of the major local/

regional fabric groups for black-gloss ware, with the exception of an unidentifiable lamp in Campana A and another in an unknown black-gloss ware (both found among the Sangro Valley Project's material). The unslipped Ricci H lamps present the fabric used for local or regional thin-walled ware. A fabric equivalent to the local or regional cooking ware appears on the Ricci C and D lamps, as well as the two-nozzled one. The mold-made republican lamps may be imported. The two Hellenistic lamps are also imports – the Howland 49A lamp with its distinctive, highly micaceous, gray fabric and the base fragment in another grayish fabric. The fabric of the Bildlampen, as well as of the two Bailey R lamps, seems equivalent to that of the local or regional coarse ware. The Firmalampen, on the other hand, present the typical fabric of products from northern Italy.

### Decorations on the Lamps at Monte Pallano

The Bildlampen present various decorations, as one would expect. The most frequent (*Fig. 18*) is the frontal bust of a boy or cupid with an elaborate coiffure, present in four examples among the material from the Soprintendenza's excavations. It is tempting to think that this figure, attested also on another site in Abruzzo,<sup>15</sup> has some significance in the region. It is known, however, also at *Vindonissa* with five examples,<sup>16</sup> at Ljubljana with one and Sisak with two,<sup>17</sup> as well as without provenience in various collections.<sup>18</sup>

### Epigraphy on the Lamps at Monte Pallano

The epigraphy on the lamps from Monte Pallano concerns mostly Firmalampen. The best preserved

10 Bailey 1980, 126–127; Ceci 2005, 313, 323.

11 Ceci 2005, 313.

12 Ceci 2005, 313.

13 Bailey 1980, 377–380.

14 Pavolini 1986, 250; Ceci 2005, 323.

15 Buonocore e Staffa 2010, 163–164 (*Fig. 257*).

16 Loeschcke 1919, 390 (n. 355–359).

17 Iványi 1935, 40 (n. 42 – Ljubljana), 110 (n. 1042–1043 – Sisak).

18 Heres 1972, 89 (n. 598) with earlier literature.



1 cm

**Figure 16** *Bailey R* – SBAA: US 403 (R 310).



1 cm

**Figure 20** *Signature AVCTV on Bailey A or B* – SBAA: US 291 (R 109).



1 cm

**Figure 17** *Unidentified late-antique lamp* – SBAA: US 355 (R 437).



1 cm

**Figure 21** *Letter A and stamped mark on a Bildlampe* – SBAA: US 538 (no inv.).



1 cm

**Figure 18** *Discus of a Bildlampe with the bust of a boy or cupid with an elaborate coiffure* – SBAA: US 502 (R 627).



1 cm

**Figure 22a** *Circular motifs on Bailey Aiv* – SBAA: US 354 (R 106).



1 cm

**Figure 19** *Signature SEXTI on Loeschcke X Normalform* – SBAA: US 532 (R 612).



1 cm

**Figure 22b** *Circular motif on Bailey Aiii* – SBAA: US 530 (R 573)

example, from the excavations by the Soprintendenza, bears the signature *Sexti* (Fig. 19). Also from the Soprintendenza's excavations come the signatures *Cerialis*, *Litogenes*, and *Strobili*, while *Fortis* is attested in an unphased context of the Sangro Valley Project's excavations. These are all known lamp-producers in northern Italy in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries, attested also in CIL XV. *Fortis* is, of course, an extremely prolific and widely exported producer.<sup>19</sup> *Cerialis*,<sup>20</sup> *Communis*,<sup>21</sup> *Litogenes*<sup>22</sup> and *Strobilus*<sup>23</sup> are also widely documented names. *Sextus* is less well known.<sup>24</sup>

*AVCTVS* (Fig. 20), written before firing on the base of a Bailey A or B lamp from the excavations by the Soprintendenza, is the only signature not on a Firmalampe. Auctus is attested in CIL XV with a similar signature on a volute lamp.<sup>25</sup>

On a Bildlampe from the Soprintendenza's excavations, there is a letter A in relief derived from the mold accompanied by a mark stamped into the lamp consisting of four circular motifs arranged in a cross pattern (Fig. 21).

Circular motifs with various patterns stamped into the bases of Bildlampen from the Soprintendenza's excavations (Fig. 22), should probably also be considered workshop marks.

## Lamps Elsewhere in Abruzzo

The lack of publications dedicated to lamps from Abruzzo hampers the evaluation of the material from Monte Pallano in terms of the supply to the region in general. For the part of Abruzzo on or near

the coast, occasional mentions of lamps, often from grave contexts, make it clear that the main types attested at Monte Pallano appear there, although their relative importance is unknown, and that there are few types that are not attested at Monte Pallano – the bi-conical Esquiline type at Penne<sup>26</sup> and *Iuvanum*;<sup>27</sup> the cylindrical Esquiline type at Penne<sup>28</sup> and Loreto Aprutino;<sup>29</sup> volute lamps with angular nozzle terminations at Loreto Aprutino,<sup>30</sup> Penne<sup>31</sup> and *Iuvanum*;<sup>32</sup> a volute lamp with a rounded nozzle termination at *Iuvanum*;<sup>33</sup> a probable volute lamp stamped by the well-known Roman lamp-maker *C. Oppius Restitutus* at *Iuvanum*;<sup>34</sup> Firmalampen Loeschcke IX at Penne;<sup>35</sup> Firmalampen Loeschcke X at Loreto Aprutino<sup>36</sup> and Vasto;<sup>37</sup> Firmalampen and imitations at *Iuvanum*;<sup>38</sup> locally produced versions of Firmalampen Loeschcke X at S. Vito Chietino;<sup>39</sup> Bailey R lamps at *Iuvanum*.<sup>40</sup> The production of local versions of Firmalampen at S. Vito Chietino and the presence of imitations of Firmalampen at *Iuvanum* is the most significant difference with respect to Monte Pallano. Farther inland, at the villa of San Potito, the situation is different, undoubtedly both because its date range is later and because its location is much closer to Tyrrhenian central Italy – a number of Bailey M lamps<sup>41</sup> (usually little known outside the area of Rome) appear alongside a single Firmalampe Loeschcke X and some Loeschcke VIII lamps.<sup>42</sup> Also in the interior, there

19 CIL XV, 6450; Mercado 1973, 429; Bailey 1980, 275–276; Gualandi Genito 1986, 279–284.

20 CIL XV, 6365; Mercado 1973, 427; Gualandi Genito 1986, 271–272.

21 CIL XV, 6382; Mercado 1973, 428; Gualandi Genito 1986, 272–273.

22 CIL XV, 6517; Mercado 1973, 432; Gualandi Genito 1986, 286–287.

23 CIL XV, 6696; Mercado 1973, 436; Gualandi Genito 1986, 294–296.

24 CIL XV, 6690; Mercado 1973, 436; Loeschcke 1919, 109.

25 CIL XV, 6322; Mercado 1973, 426.

26 Buonocore e Staffa 2010, 35.

27 Fabbricotti 1996, 30, 34.

28 Buonocore e Staffa 2010, 35.

29 Staffa 1998b, 37, 39.

30 Staffa 1998b, 56–57.

31 Buonocore e Staffa 2010, 163–164.

32 Aromatario 1990, 108.

33 Nardecchia Marzolo 1996, 44–45, 48.

34 Tritapepe 1990, 126.

35 Buonocore e Staffa 2010, 163–164.

36 Staffa 1998b, 51–52.

37 Staffa 1995, 86–89.

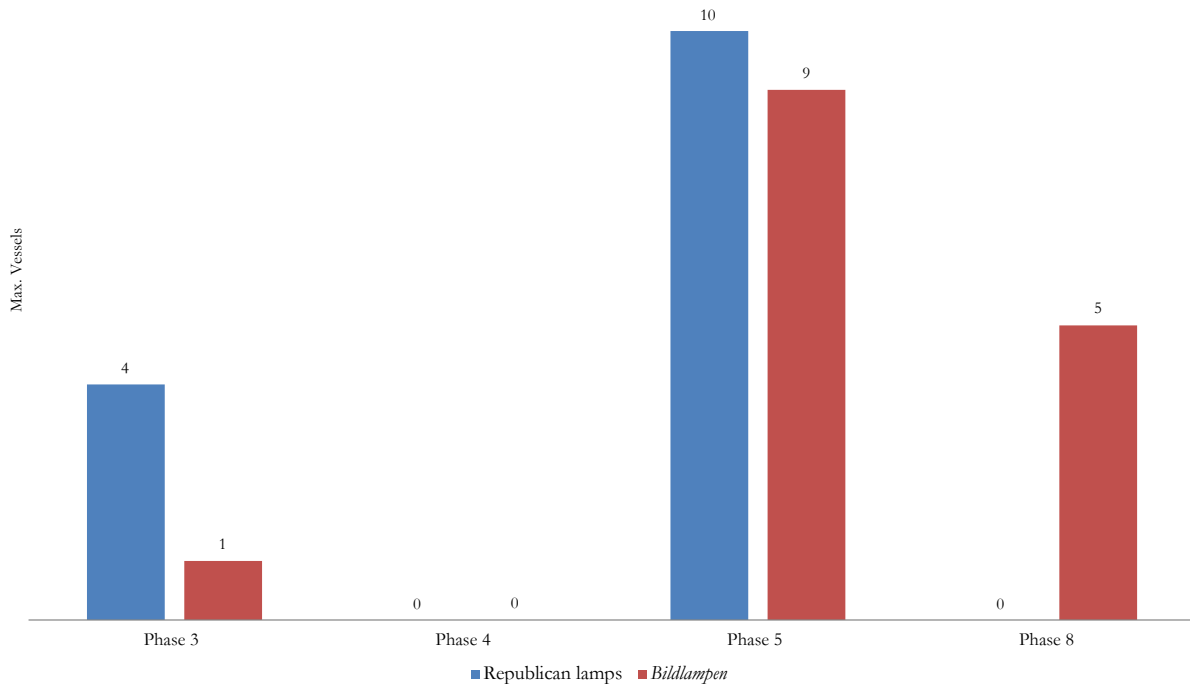
38 Aromatario 1990, 108; Tritapepe 1990, 126–127.

39 Odoardi e Staffa 1996, 453, 455; Staffa 1998a, 438; Staffa 2003, 117; Staffa 2015, 601.

40 Aromatario 1990, 108.

41 Gabler e Redó 2011, 221–222; Gabler 2015, 110 (attributed to Bailey O–P but Bailey M to judge by Fig. 16.5), 117 and 124.

42 Gabler e Redó 2009, 111; Gabler 2015, 124–127.



**Figure 23** *Sangro Valley Project – Comparison between black-gloss ware and sigillata; Comparison between republican lamps and Bildlampen.*

is the mention of a Bailey A lamp at *Alba Fucens*.<sup>43</sup> Thus, the material from Monte Pallano is probably typical of the lamp supply of the coastal part of Abruzzo, although perhaps not of the entire region.

## Discussion

It has been observed that Italy outside the areas of Hellenic settlement accepted the use of lamps many centuries later than the Greek motherland or *Magna Graecia*, apparently because it had sufficient supplies of forest products to use for lighting rather than such a precious product as olive oil, which could be eaten or employed for bathing or perfumes.<sup>44</sup> In the area of Rome, lamps began to be produced in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, with the bi-conical Esquiline type or Ricci E, followed in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century by the cylindrical Esquiline type or Ricci H. Therefore, from a typological point of view it is possible that lamps came into use at the same time at Monte Pallano, as these types are attested there.

There is some reason, however, to suspect that lamps were not adopted as early at Monte Pallano as in the area of Rome. No lamps appear in Phases 1 and 2 of the Sangro Valley Project's excavations, datable to no earlier than 200 and 125 BC respectively. They are attested in Phases 3, 5 and 8, that is, in the major phases datable to AD 25 or later. These phases are also by far the richest in the number of finds, and the lack of lamps in Phases 4, 6 and 7 is undoubtedly to be ascribed to the scant finds in them. On the other hand, as Phases 1 and 2 are also relatively rich in finds, the lack of lamps there should be considered significant. Apparently, Monte Pallano was a late adopter of illumination by lamps.

The consideration of the material in the later contexts suggests that this not merely by chance (*Fig. 23*). Republican lamps and black-gloss ware on the one hand and Bildlampen and sigillata on the other have approximately the same date ranges. However, from Phases 3 to 5, residual black-gloss ware dominates greatly over sigillata (mostly Italian Sigillata but with an example of Eastern Sigillata A and seven of Eastern Sigillata B in Phase 5) and is still a significant presence in Phase 8. On the other hand, residual republican lamps are

<sup>43</sup> Strazzula, Di Cesare e Liberatore 2009, 205.

<sup>44</sup> Pavolini 1981, 140–141; Pavolini 1982.

much less important in an admittedly very small sample. It is likely that black-gloss ware was used from the beginning at Monte Pallano but that republican lamps appeared only during the later part of their date range, therefore with few available to be included in the later secondary fills.

It is to be noted furthermore that Monte Pallano seems to have been far from an enthusiastic user of lamps, with 34 fragments from a maximum of 29 lamps in all the stratified contexts of the excavations of the Sangro Valley Project. Among the material from Phases 3–8, they account for 0.20% by sherd count (of a total of 16,829) and 0.18% by maximum vessels (of a total of 16,482). Scores ranging between nearly 0.5% and 1.5% appear to be normal in contexts dating from the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD in Tyrrhenian central Italy, while a rich site can show more than 2.5%.<sup>45</sup> As the calculations for Monte Pallano were made on large numbers of fragments and maximum vessels, this exceptionally low score is cannot be attributed to the aberration of a scanty assemblage. Nor is Monte Pallano, which scholars insist was a well connected central place, to be considered an isolated site unable to access the products desired there. It is more likely that Monte Pallano continued to be able to use forest products for lighting longer than Tyrrhenian central Italy and perhaps could ill spare oil for the purpose. A certain conservatism, to be seen elsewhere in the ceramic record, may also have played a role.

Monte Pallano was decidedly oriented in lamps toward the area of Rome. This is true from the wheel-made republican lamps right through to the volute and Bailey R lamps, all of which conform to prototypes developed and current there. The prevalent fabrics

indicate, however, that it is a question of local or regional lamp-producers following the typological lead of Tyrrhenian central Italy rather than large-scale importation of lamps themselves from there. On the other hand, Monte Pallano accepted some imports from elsewhere (particularly northern Italy but also from the Greek world) without recourse to imitations, unlike S. Vito Chietino and *Iuvanum*.

## Conclusion

The material from the two excavations at Monte Pallano has allowed a certain picture of its lamp supply to be drawn up – one in which the site seems to be a late and a sparing adopter of lamps, looking for its models toward Tyrrhenian central Italy but largely obtaining its lamps locally or regionally. There is nothing unusual in this. It is easy to imagine that the people at Monte Pallano preferred to use other sources of light than burning olive oil just as those in Tyrrhenian central Italy did as long as it was possible. Lamp workshops supplying limited markets with standardized products is also the pattern to be expected in Italy. Finally, an orientation toward Tyrrhenian central Italy is a long-standing tendency in the region, going back to pre-Roman times with bucchero and appearing in the fine wares from Monte Pallano, where importations from northern Italy or overseas are minor. What evidence there is of lamps elsewhere in Abruzzo seems compatible with the picture drawn here. Further work on the material from the Soprintendenza's excavations on Monte Pallano and, one hopes, from other sites will be necessary to confirm or modify it.

45 Martin 2016.

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## La ceramica comune depurata del Magdalensberg 2

### Keramika skupnosti na Štalenskem vrhu

Eleni Schindler Kaudelka, Valentina Mantovani

**Izvleček:** Trgovsko nadelbino Štalenski vrh so v Noriku ustanovili trgovci iz Akvileje. V njej se je odvijala tako distribucija uvoženega blaga kot produkcija visokokakovostnih izdelkov iz jekla in bronu. Stoletje njenega razcveta sovpada s hitrimi spremembami mode in bliskovitimi prilagoditvami prehranjevalnih navad staroselcev. Z nenehnimi gradnjami in povečano potrebo po zazidljivem prostoru se je oblikovala obsežna stratigrafija, ki pripada trem glavnim gradbenim fazam. Velik delež pozno republikanskih najdb ne odgovarja številu izkopanih struktur najstarejše gradbene faze, ki traja od sredine 1. stoletja pr. n. št. do leta 25 pr. n. št. Druga faza obsega avgustejski čas. Izrazita sprememba lončenega repertoarja, ki jo lahko opazujemo tako med uvoženimi dobrinami kot regionalno izdelano lončenino, je značilna za 3 obdobje, ki sodi v tiberijski in klavdijski čas. Sredi 1. stoletja n. št. se je življenje naselja končalo. 17 zvezkov „Archäologische Funde zu den Grabungen auf dem Magdalensberg“ pokriva tipokronologijo različnih zvrsti gradiva in se ne omejuje le na lončenino, temveč obsega tudi steklene, bronaste, železne in koščene predmete. Zadnjih 20 let je prineslo spremembo raziskovanja, ki se sedaj osredotoča na študijo kontekstov in njihove vsebine. Zbir uvožene keramike svetlooker barve, predvsem eno ali dvoročajnih vrčev in podobnih oblik, se je v zadnjih 30 letih od objave „Gewöhnliche Gebrauchskeramik vom Magdalensberg“ podvojila. Zato menimo, da je pravi čas za ovrednotenje novih oblik s študijo kontekstov.

**Ključne besede:** Štalenski vrh, uvožena lončenina, uvožena keramika svetlo oker barve, Lagynoi, enoročajni vrči, dvoročajne shrambene posode, komercializacija

**Abstract:** The market town on the Magdalensberg created in Noricum by merchants from Aquileia had a double vocation as a transfer centre for imported goods as well as off-shore facility for a high-tech steel and bronze production. Its hundred year floruit spans over a period characterised by fast fashion changes and comes combined with swift adaptation of the natives' eating habits. Due to constant modifications and the increasing need for building space the place has produced extensive levelling layers that belong to three main building phases. Although the high percentage of the late-republican finds does not correspond with the number of excavated structures, the first chronological feature lasts from the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC until 25 BC. Period 2 covers the Augustan age. The notable change in the pottery repertoire is not restricted to imported goods. It can be traced in regionally produced crockery as well. This remarkable pattern of switch within the repertoire is enhanced in period 3 that belongs to Tiberian and Claudian times. In the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD the town's life comes to an end. Seventeen volumes of the „Archäologische Funde zu den Grabungen auf dem Magdalensberg“ cover the typo chronology of different classes and define not only the pottery, but the glass, bronze, iron and bone objects as well. The last 20 years brought a change of the research which is now focused on the comprehensive study of the contexts and their content. The stock of buff-coloured imported pottery, mainly one or two handled jugs and related shapes, has almost doubled in 30 years since the publication of the „Gewöhnliche Gebrauchskeramik vom Magdalensberg“. Time has come to assess the new types in a context-based study.

**Key words:** Magdalensberg, imported pottery, buffcoloured wares, Lagynoi, one-handed jugs, double-handed containers, commercialization

## Introduzione

La prima edizione sulla ceramica comune depurata del Magdalensberg,<sup>1</sup> attualmente fuori commercio, che circola ormai sotto forma di brutte copie scansionate o fotocopiate, o ancora disponibile in open source nella homepage della Fondazione Austriaca delle Scienze,<sup>2</sup> rimane ancora oggi un valido aiuto per un iniziale orientamento allo studio della classe. Allora, correva l'anno 1989, il primo approccio a questi materiali è stato il risultato di quanto rimasto escluso dalle altre classi di manufatti<sup>3</sup> recuperate nel sito del Magdalensberg nel corso degli scavi tra il 1948 ed il 1984, e per questo motivo, estremamente eterogeneo e diversificato sotto il punto di vista delle forme, delle aree di provenienza e della funzione. In seguito, un solo altro consistente aggiornamento è stato proposto, ameno in parte, per questa classe, concentrandosi soprattutto sugli aspetti peculiari delle produzioni locali a pasta grigia al fine di trovare quali fossero le forme che componevano la batteria di stoviglie utilizzata in ogni casa (*Fig. 1*).<sup>4</sup>

In quell'occasione si è toccato solo marginalmente il problema relativo alla ceramica comune depurata a pasta rosata di importazione, e soprattutto in funzione della contestualizzazione del vero oggetto della trattazione, ovvero le stoviglie di produzione regionale, e la loro evoluzione morfologica nel tempo.

Ebbene, a quasi 30 anni dalla pubblicazione di „La ceramica comune depurata del Magdalensberg“ pare giunto quindi il momento di riprendere in mano quanto già edito aggiornandolo con i dati che nel corso degli ultimi anni il Magdalensberg ha offerto, e di rivalutarne alcune considerazioni iniziali.

Il panorama attuale delle conoscenze è ricco di nuovi esemplari, recuperati nel corso degli scavi che dal 1985 al 2012 hanno interessato almeno 4 aree del sito.<sup>5</sup>



**Figura 1** *Alcuni esemplari di brocche che componevano il set da tavola.*

Le novità non interessano esclusivamente aggiornamenti di carattere morfologico (poche nuove forme con minime nuove varianti), ma verranno ripresi qui alcuni materiali già editi nel 1989, per i quali sono necessarie alcune precisazioni - e dove possibile correzioni - relative alle interpretazioni funzionali e alle aree di produzione dei manufatti, oltre che alla loro datazione. A questi si aggiungono correzioni in merito a manufatti in precedenza ascritti ad altre classi di materiali, con particolare riferimento ai reperti oggetto di monografie tematiche, tralasciando volutamente tutti quelli sparsi qua e là nella moltitudine bibliografica sul Magdalensberg.

Gli aggiornamenti e le revisioni sono stati resi possibili grazie anche al prezioso confronto con numerosi studiosi, che qui ringraziamo,<sup>6</sup> i quali hanno messo a disposizione la loro conoscenza su materiali ancora inediti e ne hanno permesso la visione. Meno confortante è stata, invece, la consultazione bibliografica, per gli ovvi motivi e problematiche insite in questa classe. Si tratta, infatti, di materiali di fattura abbastanza ordinaria - prodotti con tecnologie semplici che decretano una moltitudine di „false“ varianti -

1 Schindler Kaudelka 1989.

2 Indirizzo: <https://fedora.e-book.fwf.ac.at/fedora/get/o:131/bdef:Asset/view>.

3 Così come definito tanti anni fa, nel corso di una animata discussione, da Michaela Kronberger.

4 Schindler Kaudelka 2012.

5 Si rimanda al paragrafo successivo.

6 Si ringraziano per il loro prezioso contributo, la disponibilità ed il confronto: Martin Auer, Tamas Bezczyk, Michel Bonifay, Rita Chinelli, Illuminata Faga, Ada Gabucci, Kordula Gostenčnik, Maja Janežič, Jure Krajšek, Donato Labate, Stefano Magnani, Stefania Mazzocchin, Brunella Portulano, Kathleen W. Slane, Marina Volonté, Susanne Zabežlicky Scheffenegger.



**Figura 2** *Mortai, VRP e vasi con orlo applicato forato.*

e privi, in molti casi, di elementi peculiari che ne permettano una identificazione certa solo attraverso il confronti di disegni e foto. Altresì, anche l'utilizzo di analisi archeometriche sembra del tutto superfluo in assenza di veri e propri gruppi di riferimento, così come ha dimostrato un approccio archeometrico alla ceramica comune depurata del Magdalensberg, condotto già nel 1985, dal quale non erano emersi risultati interessanti.<sup>7</sup>

Va sottolineato, per altro, che l'accesso ai materiali del Magdalensberg, ed in particolare agli esemplari che confluiscono in questo lavoro non è stato possibile dal 2012 ad oggi.

L'avanzare degli studi, la conoscenza di nuove produzioni e il raffinamento delle cronologie non ha permesso, tuttavia, di porre una soluzione alla grande eterogeneità dei manufatti che all'interno di questa classe si fanno confluire. La problematica interessa in maniera trasversale sia i vasi prodotti con argille più fini che quelli foggiate con argille più grossolane, e che rispondono entrambi all'espletamento di funzioni quotidiane e sui quali prevale l'aspetto utilitaristico rispetto a quello puramente estetico. Anche in merito alla denominazione di questa categoria il panorama risulta tutt'altro che unitario, sebbene „ceramica comune“ pare essere quello più riconosciuto<sup>8</sup> e maggiormente utilizzato.

7 Schindler Kaudelka 1985.

8 Cortese 2005, 325.

Tuttavia, l'estrema variabilità all'interno delle produzioni, difficilmente inquadrabili entro sistemi chiusi, e le molteplici lacune in merito alla conoscenza dei numerosissimi impianti produttivi dislocati in tutto l'Impero sono almeno in parte causa dell'assenza di repertori di riferimento.

D'altro canto, la storia degli studi ci insegna che numerosi sono stati fino ad oggi gli approcci classificatori dedicati alla ceramica comune depurata. Basti ricordare qui, a puro scopo esemplificativo, la pubblicazione di Mercedes Vegas, all'interno della quale compaiono anche contenitori anforari e ceramica fine decorata a matrice,<sup>9</sup> l'approccio di Stephen L. Dyson per i materiali di Cosa<sup>10</sup> che la definisce „utilitarian pottery“<sup>11</sup> o ancora quello francese di Odile Leblanc.<sup>12</sup> Questa varietà di metodi sembra dipendere, soprattutto, dalle abitudini e consuetudini dell'approccio scientifico che ciascuna istituzione segue, a livello nazionale, e in parte anche al taglio che ciascun studioso predilige per il proprio lavoro, condizionato anche dalle caratteristiche del materiale, sempre molto eterogeneo. In Francia e negli Stati Uniti, ad esempio, la ceramica comune depurata è considerata un tutt'uno con le batterie da cucina, e non si fanno grandi differenze tra materiale locale ed importato. Sul Magdalensberg la tradizione scientifica, supportata da dati quantitativi, credeva poi che la maggior parte della ceramica da cucina fosse di origine celtica, e le classificazioni erano limitate ad un piccolo gruppo di materiali importati, quali i tegami a vernice rossa interna<sup>13</sup> o le olle con orlo forato inserito (*Fig. 2*).<sup>14</sup>

In merito alla depurata, poi, esemplificativo è il modello dei balsamari e dei piccoli contenitori per unguenti, medicamenta e condimenti compresi nel 1975 nella trattazione della ceramica a pareti sottili<sup>15</sup> e, successivamente nel 1989, nel catalogo della

9 Vegas 1973.

10 Dyson 1976.

11 Schindler Kaudelka 2012.

12 Leblanc 2007.

13 Schindler Kaudelka 1986.

14 Zabehlicky Scheffenegger 1985; Zabehlicky Scheffenegger 1996; Schindler Kaudelka, Zabehlicky Scheffenegger 1995.

15 Schindler Kaudelka 1975, Tav. 33 e 34.

comune depurata.<sup>16</sup> Tale scelta è stata giustificata, allora da una volontà strettamente personale in relazione anche al materiale a disposizione ed alla possibilità di renderne noto il rinvenimento.

È importante sottolineare qui che le problematiche insite nella ceramica comune rimangono, quindi, quelle evidenziate in ciascuno dei lavori fondamentali su questi materiali<sup>17</sup> e ribadite anche nel primo approccio allo studio della depurata del Magdalensberg: non possiamo parlare di una vera e propria classe, quanto più di una categoria<sup>18</sup> di materiali che rispondono a necessità utilitaristiche, definendola quindi ceramica comune ad impasto depurato cotta in atmosfera ossidante, importata da varie aree dell'Impero. Coerenti con questa definizione si è deciso di continuare ad escludere dal lavoro di aggiornamento e sintesi tutti quei materiali attribuibili con certezza a produzioni locali o regionali, e che presentano tutti una pasta di colore grigio.<sup>19</sup>

Per la presente trattazione si è preferito discostarsi, almeno in parte dall'impostazione del lavoro utilizzata per il volume del 1989, basata sul sistema area di produzione - forma - tipo che si è rivelata, alla luce delle attuali conoscenze e della mancanza di analisi inequivocabili, artefatta, rischiosa e incompleta.

Le conoscenze, infatti, spesso non avanzano con il ritmo delle scoperte, bensì delle pubblicazioni, e non è sempre possibile posizionare ciascun tassello al proprio posto: la classificazione archeologica, ancor più in questo caso, è un artefatto umano che non rispecchia la complessità delle attività artigianali, commerciali, degli usi, costumi e mode del periodo in questione.

Pertanto, i materiali saranno presentati seguendo lo schema forma-tipo, e dove possibile, verranno indicate le produzioni e relativi confronti morfologici noti, editi o meno, quando utili all'inquadramento del manufatto. L'approccio non vuole avere la pretesa di essere una vera classificazione, quanto più un elenco

ordinato delle principali forme documentate, suddivise per caratteristiche macroscopiche, morfologiche e funzionali.

Lo studio è stato compiuto considerando i reperti qualitativamente innovativi di tutti i contesti del Magdalensberg, compresi quelli contaminati, secondo il consueto approccio per lo studio dei manufatti dell'emporio norico.<sup>20</sup>

Nella trattazione non sono stati inseriti, poi, tutti quei materiali di nuovo rinvenimento che possono essere però riferibili tranquillamente alla vecchia classificazione, e che non apportano, quindi, nuove informazioni di carattere qualitativo, ma solo quantitativo.

Il testo è corredato dalle tavole del catalogo e relative didascalie di riferimento nelle quali è possibile reperire le informazioni di dettaglio di ciascun esemplare trattato, e da una tabella nella quale sono raccolte tutte le correzioni o puntualizzazioni trattate nel testo (*Fig. 26*).

Conseguentemente, nel catalogo è stato inserito un singolo disegno per ciascuna delle nuove forme e varianti identificate, o per le forme in precedenza pubblicate ma sulle quali si apporta una revisione cronologica o di area di produzione, tralasciando le informazioni ridondanti.

## **Nuovi dati di carattere quantitativo e sui servizi da mensa**

Non ci si dilungherà qui sulla presentazione del sito del Magdalensberg, realtà ormai universalmente nota e oggetto di numerosissime monografie e articoli di varia natura.<sup>21</sup> Ciò che può essere rilevante, in questa sede, è evidenziare quali siano state le principali novità in merito alla natura e alla vita dell'emporio, rispetto quanto riportato nel volume del 1989.

La prima, e la più importante, è la revisione delle cronologie del sito che hanno corretto il tiro in merito

16 Schindler Kaudelka 1989, Tav. 36.

17 Vegas 1973; Dyson 1976; Frova 1977; Olcese 1993; Della Porta, Sfredda, Tassinari 1998; Olcese 2003, 7-8; Cortese 2005.

18 Olcese 1993, 45.

19 Baur, Schindler Kaudelka 2015.

20 Schindler Kaudelka 2004b.

21 Per un inquadramento del sito, funzionale anche alla comprensione degli aspetti di carattere economico e commerciale, si rimanda, da ultimo a Schindler Kaudelka 2012a; Schindler Kaudelka 2012b.

alla definizione di alcuni periodi e fasi,<sup>22</sup> con la conseguente necessità di ricalibrare le datazioni dei materiali in essi contenuti, per le quali si rimanda al paragrafo specifico.

A partire dal 1985, poi, i nuovi saggi stratigrafici condotti in alcune aree del sito hanno restituito nuovi esemplari di ceramiche comuni depurate. In particolare, di interesse per il presente lavoro sono la conclusione delle indagini nel settore Südhang dal quale provengono materiali già editi in maniera sintetica.<sup>23</sup> Altri esemplari provengono dallo scavo del Plateaubau, effettuato nel 1986,<sup>24</sup> dalle indagini sul lato a nord-ovest del Forum Mercantile (1987-1989), in un settore interessato da grandi perturbazioni post-antiche<sup>25</sup> e dallo scavo della centrale amministrativa imperiale delle miniere del Norico, a sud della attuale strada provinciale.<sup>26</sup> In tutti questi casi i relativi rinvenimenti di ceramiche comuni depurate sono stati resi noti, inserendoli però, solo nelle presentazioni dei contesti, privi di una trattazione esaustiva.<sup>27</sup>

L'avanzamento nello studio dei contesti del sito ha permesso, inoltre, l'identificazione di numerose identità funzionali (edifici amministrativi, negozi, magazzini, cucine, forni o cauponae e derversoria), per alcune delle quali lo studio analitico e sistematico dei reperti non si è ancora esaurito. È il caso dei magazzini bruciati NG/34, SH/4 e SH/5 all'interno dei quali sono stati recuperati migliaia di manufatti, ovvero stoviglie invendute, il cui numero consistente non ha ancora permesso un'edizione completa di ciascuna classe. Per la terra sigillata, ad esempio, sono editi i dati analitici degli esemplari bollati, mentre per i restanti manufatti privi di firma è stata realizzata una presentazione complessiva nella quale si forniscono



**Figura 3** Alcuni degli esemplari di brocche trilobate con decorazione sovradipinta da NG/34, SH/4 e SH/5.

dati di carattere puramente generale (Fig. 3).<sup>28</sup>

Si tratta, in totale, di 2685 nuovi ingressi, che vanno a sommarsi agli altrettanti rinvenimenti editi nel 1989, per un totale di 5370 esemplari, quasi sempre frammentati, in ceramica comune depurata. Il materiale qui trattato rappresenta, tuttavia, solo una piccola parte del totale. Sono stati selezionati 185 esemplari, dei quali si forniscono disegni e schede, pari a circa il 3,6 % del totale e poco più del 7,2% dei rinvenimenti effettuati tra il 1985 e il 2012. Ad un primo approccio il campione parrebbe poco rappresentativo, ma in questa valutazione vanno considerati aspetti come l'esiguità di numerosi frammenti, di difficile o impossibile identificazione morfologica, o ancora il ripetersi di forme triviali, senza perdere di vista che l'obiettivo di questo lavoro è l'aggiornamento di una precedente edizione.

Il gruppo della ceramica comune depurata a pasta rosata rappresenta un nucleo abbastanza contenuto di esemplari se confrontato, ad esempio, con la terra sigillata, la cui quantità è quattro volte più grande,

22 A questo proposito, per gli aggiornamenti in merito alla cronologia del sito si rimanda a Dolenz *et al.* 2009. Si rimanda, invece, a Baur, Schindler Kaudelka 2015 per le questioni relative alla nomenclatura e al significato della terminologia utilizzata per la definizione delle cronologie del Magdalensberg.

23 Schindler Kaudelka 2004d.

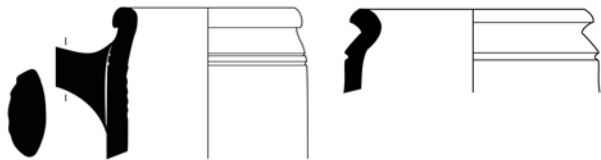
24 Schindler Kaudelka 2004c.

25 Schindler Kaudelka 1996; Schindler Kaudelka 2001.

26 Schindler Kaudelka, Zabehlicky Scheffenegger 2006.

27 Schindler Kaudelka 2008; Schindler Kaudelka 2010; Schindler Kaudelka 2012a.

28 Zabehlicky Scheffenegger 1998b.



**Figura 4** Esemplici di anfore Agora F65 precedentemente inseriti nella trattazione sulla ceramica comune (da Schindler Kaudelka 1989, tav. 14/38).

o con il numero dei contenitori da trasporto, quasi doppio.

L'utilizzo dei software di calcolo ha permesso una migliore e più veloce quantificazione dei manufatti e di conseguenza una più raffinata comprensione dei rapporti di carattere tipo-cronologico e della distribuzione spaziale dei reperti. Tuttavia, in questa sede non ci si soffermerà su informazioni di carattere quantitativo e percentuale le quali, anche alla luce dell'impossibilità di identificare con certezza le forme alle quali appartengono numerosi esemplari in frammenti, non aggiungono nessuna significativa informazione in merito alla cronologia e all'origine dei manufatti.

## Nuove tipologie e forme ceramiche

Poche sono le forme sostanzialmente nuove rispetto al panorama presentato nel 1989, ma rilevanti sono le correzioni da apportare a numerosi materiali, frutto allora di valutazioni errate dovute ad una scarsa conoscenza delle produzioni.

Innanzitutto, prima di procedere con l'analisi delle ceramiche comuni depurate, si sottolinea che alcuni dei materiali precedentemente inseriti come stoviglie per la miscita dei liquidi dovrebbero ora essere ora considerato contenitori per il trasporto di derrate alimentari (15/57-61, 17/91-92) quali le Agora F 65 (14/28, 33, 36, 38 del 1989) (Fig. 4), o l'anfora tronco-conica da olive (?) (18/5 del 1989) che, tuttavia



**Figura 5** Brocche biansate con marchi di fabbrica (da Schindler Kaudelka 1989, tav. 68).

non pare trovare in accordo gli specialisti anforologi. Si segnala, poi, un gruppo di ceramiche depurate (34/1-12, 36/1 del 1989) in precedenza denominate „Seltene Stücke“. Si tratta di contenitori aperti e chiusi (coppe, ciotole e olle), le cui forme rimandano al repertorio celtico del LTD2 e che non paiono essere del tutto frutto di mano romana. I pochi confronti morfologici, che rinviano genericamente alle aree di Gomolava o di Novo Mesto,<sup>29</sup> così come le argille, ricche di inclusi micacei, li avvicina alle produzioni slovene. L'assenza di confronti certi e di analisi archeometriche non ne permettono, tuttavia, una collocazione certa, tant'è che non sembra da escludere nemmeno la possibilità che si tratti di prodotti locali e, per tale motivo, non saranno oggetto di tale trattazione.

Sono stati volutamente esclusi dalla trattazione anche i mortaria, già materia di un approfondimento<sup>30</sup> (Fig. 2) e le brocche biansate con marchi di fabbrica<sup>31</sup> (Fig. 5) per i quali non si segnala nessun nuovo significativo ingresso.

Non sono documentati, poi, nuovi titoli picti, per i quali si rimanda al volume del 1989, Tav. 67.

Qualche dato in più si ha, invece per i materiali che andremo ora a presentare, e che sono stati suddivisi in gruppi sulla base di comuni caratteri morfologici, la maggior parte dei quali sono costituiti da nuove varianti di forme note.

<sup>29</sup> Schindler Kaudelka 1989, 65.

<sup>30</sup> Zabehlicky Scheffenegger 1996.

<sup>31</sup> Schindler Kaudelka 1989, Tav. 68.



**Figura 6** *Lagynos con decorazione a pastiglie applicate (cfr. Tav. 1: 1).*

Tale organizzazione morfologica, che riprende a grandi linee la vecchia scansione, è ancora una volta frutto di decisioni del tutto arbitrarie che non possono sempre rispettare una reale differenza formale e funzionale, soprattutto a causa della natura dei materiali molto frammentati, il cui sviluppo formale è più difficile da comprendere.

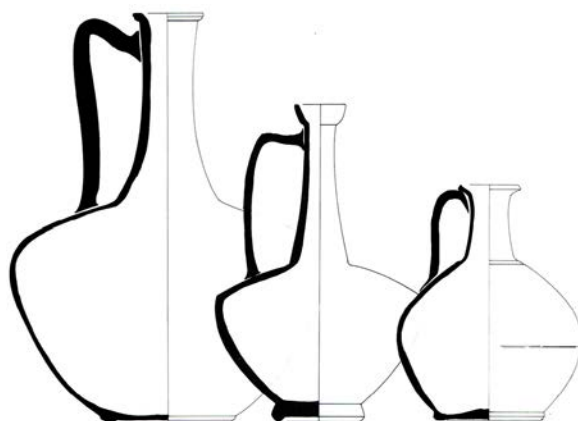
## Mensa, dispensa e preparazione dei cibi

### Lagynoi (Tav. 1)

I lagynoi, la cui forma trae ispirazione dal repertorio greco,<sup>32</sup> sono brocche caratterizzate da un rapporto collo/h. max solitamente di 1:1, dove il collo si presenta lungo e stretto e il corpo più o meno schiacciato ed espanso, caratterizzato da spalle con carena, sulla quale si imposta l'ansa che giunge fin sotto l'orlo. Le anse, caratterizzate da un gomito abbastanza accentuato in prossimità dell'orlo, presentano, solitamente, una sezione schiacciata, e possono essere decorate con costolature.

Questi contenitori, documentati anche nel repertorio metallico e vitreo di epoca romana, utilizzati per la miscita del vino, così come ci ricorda il graffito

<sup>32</sup> Roth-Rubi 2007, 226–229; Roth-Rubi 1979, 16; Schindler Kaudelka 1989, 31–32; De Mitri 2016.



**Figura 7** *Lagynoi con diverse capacità: a sinistra l'esemplare 35/1 del 1989.*

„Mulsum“ presente su un esemplare già edito del Magdalensberg (1/7 del 1989), sono solitamente caratterizzati da argille chiare, molto fini, e da pareti sottili.

Poche sono le novità morfologiche da evidenziare per questo gruppo, che si dimostra, tutto sommato coerente con i rinvenimenti precedenti. Si segnalano, in particolare, la presenza di decorazioni applicate a forma di pastiglie, posizionate nel punto di congiunzione dell'ansa, sotto all'orlo, e sulla sommità della stessa (Tav. 1: 1–3, 7) (Fig. 6).

Sono stati riconsiderati nella classe anche l'esemplare sottodimensionato di Tav. 1: 8 in precedenza inserito nella classe delle pareti sottili<sup>33</sup> e quelli di Tav. 1: 9 e 1: 10. Questi ultimi, documentati dall'ultima età repubblicana nella cantina OR/20c, fino alla tardissima epoca tiberiana nel magazzino della anfore, ricordano una analoga forma presente nel repertorio della ceramica comune e della terra sigillata.<sup>34</sup> Si tratta di un contenitore che, nella variante con dimensioni maggiori (si veda l'esemplare 35/1 del 1989), è atto alla conservazione della razione giornaliera di un soldato.<sup>35</sup> I tre vasi in questione potrebbero quindi rappresentare una mezza misura della razione giornaliera (Fig. 7).

<sup>33</sup> Schindler Kaudelka 1975, Tav. 33 : 3.

<sup>34</sup> Conspectus 1990, Tav. 63, Kd.

<sup>35</sup> Analogo fenomeno lo si osserva con i vasi Conspectus 51.1 prodotti anche in ceramica comune depurata. Cipriano, Sandrini 2014; Desbat 2016, Cipriano Sandrini c.s.



**Figura 8** Porzioni di spalle decorate con sovradipinture a bande di colore rosso corallo di probabile importazione slovena (cfr. *Tav. 2: 14*).

### Lagynoi con spalla carenata o decorata (*Tav. 2*)

Paiono afferenti a questo gruppo morfologico anche un insieme di lagynoi che si discostano dalla linea del modello originario, pur rispettandone le proporzioni. L'esemplare di *Tav. 2: 11*, di dimensioni considerevoli (diam. max 34 cm) ha una spalla caratterizzata da una doppia carena, decorata con rotellatura. Il tipo di argilla, saponoso e ricco di inclusi micacei sembrerebbe rimandare, per alcuni esemplari (*Tav. 2: 11, 13–14*) ad area slovena, soprattutto sulla base di confronto macroscopico diretto con altri manufatti proveniente da queste aree (ad esempio i biconici di *Tav. 13: 108* e le coppe con alto bordo convesso di *Tav. 15: 124–129*). A conferma di tale ipotesi sembra pertinente la presenza di analoghe brocche con spalla carenata e decorata a rotella nella necropoli di Celeia.<sup>36</sup> L'esemplare di *Tav. 2: 14*, per il quale sembra probabile una produzione slovena, ha invece corpo cilindrico e decorazione sovra dipinta a bande orizzontali

e parallele. A tale forma possono essere riferiti altri frammenti, non inseriti in catalogo perché di esigue dimensioni (*Fig. 8*).

### Brocche monoansate (*Tav. 3*)

In questo gruppo confluiscono tutti i contenitori chiusi per liquidi (brocche e olpi) caratterizzati da una sola ansa e privi di beccuccio versatorio.

Pochi sono gli esemplari dei quali si conosce lo sviluppo completo del corpo, che sembra qui attestato sia nella variante a trottola (*Tav. 3: 20–21*), globulare (*Tav. 3: 16*) e bulbiforme (*Tav. 3: 15*). Quest'ultima, in particolare, è discretamente documentata nel repertorio delle produzioni di Celeia<sup>37</sup> motivo per il quale si presuppone che l'esemplare del Magdalen-berg possa essere ascrivibile alle officine della città slovena.

Si segnalano, tra gli altri l'esemplare di *Tav. 3: 16* interamente rivestito nella parete interna con uno strati di colore rosso vivo. L'impasto, duro e non

<sup>36</sup> Kolšek 1972, Tomba 1, n. 10.

<sup>37</sup> Comunicazione orale di Jure Krajšek; Kolšek 1972, passim.





**Figura 9** Ansa e fondo di contenitore con rivestimento interno di colore corallo di probabile produzione cretese (cfr. Tav. 3: 16).

particolarmente micaceo, sembra del tutto analogo a quello dei contenitori da trasporto di produzione cretese (Fig. 9).

Altri due frammenti presentano evidenti colature di colore corallo (Tav. 3: 16), forse da mettere in relazione con la produzione delle olpi trilobate con spalla decorata (3/5-6, 4/7-12 del 1989), o di pece sull'orlo (Tav. 3: 18).

Infine, gli esemplari Tav. 3: 23, 24 sono caratterizzati da argille molto scure, probabilmente non bruciate, ascrivibili, forse, a produzione dell'Italia Settentrionale, mentre i frammenti di bordo di Tav. 3: 19, 20, 21 e 22 rappresentano nuove varianti degli innumerevoli esemplari di olpi rinvenute nel negozio incendiato, e giunte sull'emporio in età tardo-tiberiana.

#### **Brocche con spalla decorata (Tav. 4)**

L'esiguità dei frammenti non permette di comprendere la forma nella sua totalità, che pare essere del tutto analoga a quella delle brocche 5/3-7 del 1989, con alcune varianti nel tipo di decorazione a rotella. L'esemplare di Tav. 4: 31 presenta decorazione a sottile linea sinuosa di colore bruno sovradipinta (Fig. 10).

Per tutti questi esemplari mancano confronti



**Figura 10** Porzione di spalla di olpe con decorazione sovradipinta (cfr. Tav. 4: 31).

puntuali con le produzioni nord-italiche, ma non si esclude che il dato sia imputabile ad un vuoto nella documentazione archeologica.

#### **Brocche con beccuccio versatorio (Tav. 4)**

Oltre un centinaio di brocche con beccuccio versatorio e decorazione sovradipinta sulla spalla (analoghi a 3/5-6, 4/7-12 del 1989) provengono dall'ensemble della bottega SH/5 e trattasi, quindi, di manufatti pronti per la vendita e non ancora utilizzati. Poiché la morfologia e la decorazione sono analoghe a quelle documentate nella precedente edizione si è scelto qui di informare esclusivamente sull'incremento numerico della forma, senza riportarne i disegni in tavola (Fig. 3). La forma trova ancora oggi poche attestazioni in ambito cremonese,<sup>38</sup> dove forse è stata prodotta come sosteneva Giuseppe Pontirolli, adriese,<sup>39</sup> e nel più recente rinvenimento del relitto del fiume Stella (Palazzolo della Stella - UD).<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Schindler Kaudelka 1989, 58. Autopsia presso il museo di Ala Ponzzone. Si ringraziano Giuseppe Pontirolli e Maria Volontè per il confronto.

<sup>39</sup> Autopsia.

<sup>40</sup> Inedito, comunicazione personale di Stefano Magnani.

A questi esemplari, si aggiungono pochi altri frammenti di orli con beccuccio versatorio. Uno di essi (*Tav. 4: 32*) presenta un orlo con fascia interna, la cui conformazione rimanda ad ambito orientale, ed in particolar modo alla serie dei bollitori. Solitamente questi manufatti, attestati in area alto-adriatica (Chiunsano, Adria - via Retratto,<sup>41</sup> Trieste - via Crosada,<sup>42</sup> Aquileia - Casa delle Bestie ferite<sup>43</sup> e Slovenia,<sup>44</sup> solo per citarne alcuni) presentano una pasta molto dura, di colore grigio, e pareti sottili.<sup>45</sup> Il nostro esemplare è invece modellato con argille più brunastre, e documenta uno dei rari casi di contenitore per bollire le bevande, identificati sul sito, dato questo imputabile, con ogni probabilità alla bontà delle acque del Magdalensberg, le quali non necessitavano di nessun procedimento di disinfezione, decalcificazione o purificazione.

#### **Brocche con superficie a mica dorata (*Tav. 4*)**

Si tratta di contenitori per la conservazione e la miscita di liquidi caratterizzati da una pasta beige rosata, tenera e saponosa trattata nella parete esterna con applicazione di un sottile strato argilloso ricco di frequenti inclusi di mica dorata, che conferiscono al manufatto un aspetto molto lucente, ad imitazione delle stoviglie in metallo. Questa particolare lavorazione, tipica delle figlinae della Gallia del Nord, dove è stata prodotta tra il I e la metà del II sec.d.C.,<sup>46</sup> è talvolta considerata come ceramica fine ingobbata, in quanto imitante spesso le forme della terra sigillata, altre volte ancora inserita nella categoria delle ceramiche comuni.

A questa classe, non riconosciuta all'epoca della prima edizione sulla ceramica comune del Magdalensberg, rimandano i due pezzi di *Tav. 4: 35-36*, i quali non sono però assimilabili a vere e proprie imitazioni terra sigillata, trattandosi di orli di brocche con

profilo abbastanza semplice. Ad essi va aggiunto anche un frammento di ansa con sezione circolare (*Fig. 22*), purtroppo non ascrivibile ad una precisa forma.

L'esiguità delle attestazioni nell'emporio norico è da imputare, con ogni probabilità, a motivi di carattere cronologico, trattandosi di una produzione che ha la sua acme attorno alla metà del I sec. d.C., e a mode e preferenze tipiche delle province del Nord, che sfiorano solo marginalmente il gusto italico.

#### **Brocche da tavola bianse (*Tav. 5*)**

In questo insieme sono stati raggruppati gli esemplari di forma chiusa utilizzati in tavola per servire le bevande e riferibili agli esemplari delle tavv. 12-17 della pubblicazione del 1989.

La morfologia dei pezzi qui presentati propone nuove varianti delle forme già identificate: gli orli possono essere estroflessi semplici (*Tav. 5: 3839, 42, 45*), a fascia semplice (*Tav. 5: 37, 43*) o con profilo pendente (*Tav. 5: 40-41*). L'esiguità dei frammenti non permette di conoscere lo sviluppo del corpo.

È possibile, tuttavia, distinguere due principali gruppi, sulla base della presenza o meno di un collo sviluppato. Il primo gruppo è caratterizzato da esemplari con un orlo che si imposta su un collo abbastanza allungato (*Tav. 5: 37-42*), il secondo gruppo da un collo più tozzo (*Tav. 5: 43-47*).

Si tratta di manufatti abbastanza omogenei dal punto di vista della fattura, la maggior parte dei quali modellati con argille depurate di colore beige rosato o aranciato, depurate, abbastanza tenere e polverose, con eventuale lisciatura esterna, riconducibili ad ambito padano e, in un solo caso, ad area slovena, per la presenza di numerose miche nell'impasto (*Tav. 5: 42*). Si segnalano, poi due esemplari con impasto molto duro ed aranciato e coperta di sale, caratteristiche che rimanderebbero ad una produzione di area africana.

41 Autopsia.

42 Riccobono 2007, Tav. 14: 1-2.

43 Autopsia.

44 Istenič 2000, 344, Fig. 3.3.

45 Sul modello delle brocche di produzione egea (Hayes 1983, Tav. 6: n. 76).

46 Deru 1996, 190.

**Ollette (Tav. 6)**

Un sottogruppo è costituito da ollette in cui l'orlo si innesta direttamente sulla spalla del contenitore, con atrofizzazione completa del collo (Tav. 6: 49–54, 54–55, 57).

L'esemplare di Tav. 6: 49, in particolare, trova un preciso riscontro morfologico con le cosiddette „olle ad impasto refrattario“<sup>47</sup> documentate in area padana, ed adibite alla cottura dei cibi. Il frammento di orlo qui trattato presenta, tuttavia, un'argilla con inclusi di granulometria assai più fine, e per questo non adatto all'esposizione al fuoco. Si ricorda, inoltre, che analoghi contenitori di dimensioni inferiori sono documentati ad Adria. In quest'ultimo caso, la ridotta capacità dei vasi e l'estrema sottigliezza delle pareti propendono per una attribuzione alla classe della ceramica a pareti sottili.<sup>48</sup>

Tra gli esemplari più interessanti si segnalano poi quattro pezzi (Tav. 6: 50–52, 60) con rivestimento a coperta di sale, forse di produzione del mediterraneo meridionale. In particolare, l'esemplare di Tav. 6: 60 presenta una scialbatura ed un impasto del tutto analogo a quello delle anfore di produzione nord-africana. Potrebbe forse trattarsi di un contenitore di medie dimensioni, analogo per funzione a quello rinvenuto a Pompei, recante un *titulus pictus* che ne esplica l'utilizzo come „merce campione“, finalizzata a garantire quantità, proprietà e trasportatore di un carico di 15.200 moggi di grano, e a certificare, la qualità del carico spedito. L'anforetta campana conteneva, infatti, un campione del grano trasportato, che doveva risultare conforme a quello consegnato.<sup>49</sup>

L'olletta biansata con corto collo e corpo globulare di Tav. 6: 58 (Fig. 11) può essere invece attribuita a produzione di area modenese, sulla scorta di un confronto puntuale con un esemplare proveniente dal Santuario di Montegibbio (Sassuolo-MO)



**Figura 11** Olla di probabile produzione modenese (cfr. Tav. 6: 58).

utilizzato in quel contesto per le abluzioni rituali.<sup>50</sup> Rimanda invece ad ambito orientale-eggeo il pezzo di Tav. 6: 59, caratterizzato da un impasto di colore grigio molto duro.

**Piccoli contenitori da trasporto ovoidali con anse sporgenti connesse all'orlo (Tav. 7)**

Si tratta di una forma documentata per la prima volta sul Magdalensberg da tre esemplari frammentati che presentano orlo estroflesso semplice leggermente ingrossato, un collo più o meno sviluppato ed un corpo ovoidale o con spalla accentuata.

Tali contenitori, forse impiegati per il commercio delle derrate alimentari, potevano svolgere anche altre funzioni, come testimonierebbe l'esemplare adriese<sup>51</sup> internamente rivestito da uno spesso strato di calcare che ne indicherebbe un utilizzo come bollitore o come contenitore per la calce impiegata nella pittura muraria, come documentato a Bruckneudorf.<sup>52</sup> Va specificato, tuttavia, che il nostro esemplare non presenta un impasto refrattario e non essendo adatto all'esposizione al fuoco potrebbe quindi trattarsi

47 Della Porta *et al.* 1998, 147, olla n. 42.

48 Mantovani 2015, forma 44, Tav. XI: i–m.

49 Nutrire l'Impero 2015, 20–29.

50 Catalogo della mostra „Minerva Medica. Un santuario romano a Montegibbio“, (Sassuolo, 18 settembre–18 ottobre 2015). Si ringrazia Donato Labate per la segnalazione.

51 Materiale in corso di studio da parte di Valentina Mantovani.

52 Materiale inedito, comunicazione personale di Susanne Zabelicky Scheffnegger.

di un contenitore nel quale è ristagnata l'acqua. Le argille dei tre esemplari in oggetto si presentano depurate e di colore beige rosato, con consistenza variabile dal tenero al duro. Di particolare rilievo è l'esemplare di *Tav. 7: 63* che presenta rivestimento rosso sulla parete esterna, mentre nella porzione interna sono visibili numerosi residui di colore rosso almeno fino ad 1 cm dal bordo, interpretabili forse come resti di contenuto (vino?) (*Fig. 12*).

### Piccoli contenitori da trasporto ovoidali (*Tav. 8*)

In questo gruppo sono comprese le olle con corpo ovoidale, orlo estroflesso variamente conformato, fondo apodo e due anse che si innestano sotto l'orlo, e che corrispondono agli esemplari delle tav. 23-26 della pubblicazione del 1989, allora definiti „Doppelhenkelkrüge ohne Hals, sogenannte Honigkrüge“ sulla base della definizione data dalla Ettlinger per gli esemplari di Vindonissa.<sup>53</sup>

Va innanzitutto sottolineato che, alla luce di una serie di rinvenimenti più o meno recenti, tale attribuzione funzionale deve essere corretta. Questo vale, in particolar modo per i vasi del Magdalensberg di *Tav. 26* del 1989, per i quali non si segnalano nuovi ingressi.

Queste olle sono riferibili ad analoghe forme conosciute con il nome di Ostia II, 401,<sup>54</sup> nella variante a corpo piriforme, datata al I sec. d.C. I ritrovamenti di Sutri<sup>55</sup> e della Celsa<sup>56</sup> in associazione con gli impianti di produzione, del Forum Transitorium di Roma, di Ostia, di Pompei e di Stabbia, solo per citare i più conosciuti di ambito italico, li qualificano come „contenitori di salse di pesce“, per la presenza, al loro interno, di resti di pesci lavorati.<sup>57</sup> Numerose analoghi esemplari si segnalano nel relitto Arles-Rhone 3 che ne confermano un contenuto a base di salsamenta ottenute dalla macerazione di *Scomber scombrus* (sgombro), *Alosa fallax*



**Figura 12** Particolare di olletta con ansa sporgente connessa all'orlo nella quale sono visibili tracce di ingobbio (cfr. *Tav. 7: 63*).

(cheppia), *Sprattussprattus* (spratto), *Engraulis encrasicolus* (alice), e *Soleidae* (sogliola).<sup>58</sup>

In letteratura sono documentati altri casi di piccoli contenitori adibiti al commercio di derrate alimentari. Si tratta, per lo più di olle con corpo a trottola e piccolo orlo esoverso, molto diverse dal tipo Ostia II, 401 e più simili ai pezzi di *Tav. 8*.

Si ricordano poi i rinvenimenti di Bliesbruck, nella valle della Mosella, di circa una ventina di olle da dispensa nelle quali restano visibili tracce circolari all'interno - probabilmente corrispondenti all'impronta delle olive stesse - e un *titulus pictus* che menziona l'oliva picena.<sup>59</sup> Analoghi ritrovamenti si segnalano a Wiesbaden,<sup>60</sup> dove compare ancora una volta il riferimento all'oliva Picena, e a Mainz.<sup>61</sup>

Esemplari simili al tipo Ostia II, 401, così come le olle con piccolo orlo esoverso, ma privi di indicazioni sul contenuto, sono discretamente diffusi in tutto l'impero (Adria, Gabii, Bologna, Aquileia, Carnuntum, Emona e Vindonissa solo per citarne alcuni<sup>62</sup>), tra la fine del I sec. a.C. e la prima metà del I sec. d.C. In particolar modo le attestazioni nord-italiche - e tra queste rientrerebbero anche gli esemplari dell'emporio norico - nelle quali il profilo è più panciuto e l'orlo meno sviluppato in verticale rispetto al tipo Ostia II, 401 - andrebbero forse considerate imitazioni di

53 Ettlinger, Simonett 1952.

54 Ostia II 1969, Tav. XXII: 401; Tav. XXIII: 403-404.

55 Duncan 1964.

56 Carbonara, Messineo 1991-1992, 179-194, Fig. 249: 18.

57 Djaoui, Piquès, Botte 2014 e bibliografia precedente.

58 Djaoui, Piquès, Botte 2014, 178.

59 Albrecht 1998.

60 Paci 2005; Paci 2009; Pesavento Mattioli 2009, 335-348.

61 Ehmig 2006.

62 Schindler Kaudelka 1989, 63-64.



**Figura 13** Tipologie dei piccoli contenitori per il trasporto di derrate alimentari (*pot à garum*) e relative capacità.

questa forma (Fig. 13). In questi esemplari è presente, poi, una grande variabilità anche nel tipo con piccolo orlo esovero, il cui confronto con le olle da olive non è particolarmente puntuale.

Le caratteristiche macroscopiche delle argille dei pezzi del Magdalensberg, che si presentano perlopiù depurate e di colore beige rosato-aranciato, talvolta polverose e non particolarmente dure, rimandano a centri produttivi dell'area nord-italica o adriatica, ma sono documentati anche un certo numero di contenitori modellati con argille più dure, granulose e aranciate, e un rivestimento con coperta di sale che parrebbe rimandare ad area africana (Tav. 8: 64–65) (Fig. 14).

Nessuno degli esemplari in questione presenta residui di contenuto o di titoli picti, tantomeno sono visibili tracce di pece o di resina nelle pareti interne.

#### **Piccoli contenitori da trasporto ovoidali con spalla accentuata (Tav. 9)**

Sono presenti, poi, varianti con spalla caratterizzata da una carena più o meno evidenziata per mezzo di un sottile solco nel punto di passaggio dal collo. Già



**Figura 14** Orli di piccoli contenitori con coperta di sale di probabile produzione africana (cfr. Tav. 8: 64–65).

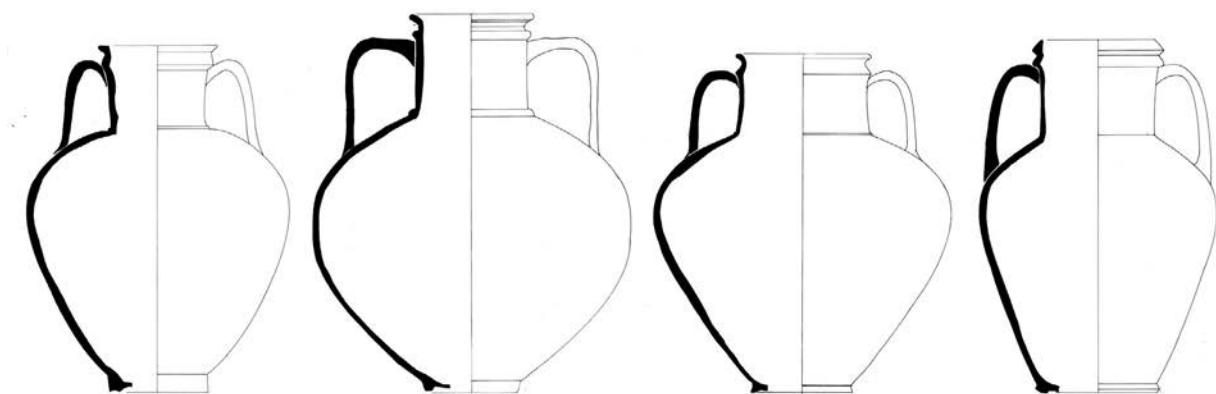
documentati al Magdalensberg nella variante con una o due anse (Tav. 27 e 28 del 1989), se ne ripropongono alcune nuove varianti che interessano soprattutto la conformazione dell'orlo.

Le paste sono abbastanza eterogenee: accanto ad esemplari di colore grigio (Tav. 9: 77–78), per i quali sembra difficile definirne l'area di provenienza, si segnala un altro esemplare monoansato riconducibile al tipo dei boccali da birra, forse di importazione slovena (Tav. 9: 75), area nella quale questi contenitori sono abbastanza comuni.

Mancano ad oggi confronti puntuali con la produzione dell'Italia settentrionale ma non si esclude fossero anch'essi utilizzati per il trasporto di prodotti alimentari come le brocche da olive o i pots à garum.

#### **Contenitori biansati con collarino/Dressel 28 e similis (Tav.10, 11)**

In questo insieme afferiscono grandi contenitori chiusi e biansati (h. 31-36 cm, diametro orlo 10-15 cm) con orlo a fascia caratterizzato da due principali modanature, poste lungo il bordo superiore e inferiore della fascia. Il collo è cilindrico, e il corpo a forma di trottola, con punto di massima espansione in corrispondenza della spalla. Il fondo è caratterizzato da un piede ad anello semplice e le anse si presentano a fascia molto larga lavorata con quattro modanature. Tale forma, documentata sul Magdalensberg per un totale di 287 esemplari (53 disegni presentati nell'edizione del 1989 e 12 di più recente rinvenimento) trova strette somiglianze morfologiche e dimensionali con l'anfora Dressel 28, contenitore prodotto in



**Figura 15** *Dressel 28 del Magdalensberg: esemplari integri a confronto e loro capacità.*

Lusitania, in Baetica<sup>63</sup> e in Gallia,<sup>64</sup> in un arco di tempo compreso tra la tarda età augustea e gli inizi del III sec. d.C. con apparenti attardamenti fino al IV. Le Dressel 28 di produzione spagnola vengono identificate come possibili contenitori vinari,<sup>65</sup> dato che sembrerebbe confermato anche da analogia vocazione della serie delle Gauloise 1-8, anch'essi contenitori a fondo piatto adibiti al trasporto e commercializzazione del vino. Altre ipotesi menzionano, come possibile contenuto delle Dressel 28 il miele, le olive o i molluschi.<sup>66</sup>

Sebbene riconosciute già dal Dressel, che per primo le classificò, ancora oggi gli studiosi di anfore mostrano una certa reticenza nel considerare tali contenitori, con caratteri più affini alla ceramica comune depurata, come anfore *tout court*, tanto da essere escluse dalla trattazione dei contenitori da trasporto del Magdalensberg.<sup>67</sup> Da allora l'avanzare degli studi non sembra aver portato ad una soluzione metodologica univoca: gli studiosi ritengono non sia corretto includerle nella classe, mentre di contro, non paiono poter essere trattate con la ceramica comune depurata perché da considerarsi più affini alle anfore, in quanto utilizzati per il trasporto ed il commercio delle derrate. Una soluzione accettabile, ma che non risolve le problematiche relative al reale uso e al contenuto di questi oggetti, parrebbe quella

proposta ed utilizzata dai ricercatori francesi, che si limitano a definire tali contenitori „*cruche-amphores*“, quindi brocche-anfore.

In linea con l'edizione del 1989, nella quale erano stati già pubblicati diversi esemplari di *cruche-amphores* sotto il nome di „*Große Krüge mit Halsring, Dressel 28*“ (tav. 18-22 del 1989) e definite come contenitori da trasporto si è deciso, pertanto, di proseguire su quella linea. Tale decisione è mossa a monte anche dall'eventualità che una loro esclusione da questa trattazione continui a rimandare la problematica, lasciando in ombra la forma.

Si tratta per il Magdalensberg, in ogni caso, di contenitori di medie dimensioni - con capacità abbastanza uniforme, circa 12-15 litri - (*Fig. 15*) impiegati per il trasporto di derrate alimentari, come documenterebbe il loro rinvenimento nelle tre cantine per lo stoccaggio delle anfore rinvenuto nel 1999<sup>68</sup>. Altri esemplari sono documentati nelle officine per la lavorazione del bronzo, e nella fabbrica auraria, mentre assenti sembrano nei laboratori del ferro.<sup>69</sup>

Nelle botteghe dei fabbri del Magalensberg non si esclude siano state reimpiegate anche come contenitori per l'acqua, e questo ne giustificherebbe la loro presenza nelle officine per la lavorazione del bronzo, anche se in questo caso specifico l'olio e i prodotti di pesce vanno esclusi come contenuto originale poiché renderebbero imbevibile l'acqua contenuta al loro interno.

63 Garcia Vargas 2000.

64 Tchernia, Villa 1977.

65 I rinvenimenti di Port-Vendres presentano impecatura scura (Colls *et al* 1977, 77).

66 Zevi 1966, 226.

67 Bezczyk 1994; Bezczyk 1998.

68 Schindler Kaudelka 2000.

69 Schindler Kaudelka 2004a.

Un sottoinsieme, precedentemente inserito nel gruppo delle olpi da tavola (Tav. 15 del 1989), è costituito da frammenti di orlo che ricordano in maniera meno diretta le Dressel 28. È qui presente una maggiore articolazione delle modanature, che interessano anche la parte centrale della fascia (Tav. 10: 82, 85), da rigonfiamenti dell'orlo stesso (Tav. 11: 88), che può presentarsi più estroflesso, come nel caso del frammento di Tav. 10: 83, o caratterizzato da una strozzatura nella sua porzione inferiore (Tav. 11: 89).

Di difficile inquadramento è, infine, la porzione di spalla con carena accentuata di Tav. 11: 91, pertinente agli esemplari 18/1 e 4 del 1989 che non richiama direttamente la conformazione delle cruche-amphores in oggetto, ma le cui dimensioni spingono verso l'interpretazione di un contenitore per il trasporto o la conservazione dei liquidi.

I vasi del Magdalensberg sono modellati con argille molto fini e dure (spessori tra gli 0,7 e i 0,9 cm), di colore beige rosato e prive di rivestimento, spesso con esterno liscio a stecca. In alcuni casi sono presenti frequenti miche.

In merito all'origine dei manufatti, esclusa la possibile provenienza lusitana per via delle argille estremamente depurate, si era pensato, almeno inizialmente, ad una produzione dell'Italia settentrionale. Tuttavia, nel 2004, in occasione di scavi preventivi presso il sito di Mariborska cesta, nel pieno centro di Celeia<sup>70</sup>, sono stati rinvenuti numerosi esemplari di Dressel 28 considerati di fattura locale. Da un'analisi macroscopica comparata tra i reperti di Mariborska cesta e del Magdalensberg non è stato possibile rilevare nessun tipo di differenze dal punto di vista delle argille. A questa produzione solvena, che Jure Krajssek tende a considerare come il risultato di un „atelier italico in ambiente celtico“, potrebbero quindi essere assegnati i contenitori del Magdalensberg.

Mancano, tuttavia, ad oggi, analisi archeometriche atte a supportare il dato macroscopico.

Un discreto numero di contenitori con caratteristiche morfologiche simili e con impasti chiari (bianco, giallo o giallo pallido, marrone chiaro e rosa) e

mediamente depurati sono stati rinvenuti anche in via Gattamelata, a Padova.<sup>71</sup>

Manca invece, ad oggi, un dato certo in merito alla loro presenza a Concordia e Aquileia, che permettano di seguirne la distribuzione fino all'emporio norico.

### **Ciotole biansate con corpo carenato (Tav. 12)**

Questi contenitori, la cui forma è tipica e facilmente riconoscibile, sono caratterizzati da un orlo verticale a fascia con scanalatura interna, corpo a trottola schiacciato, con carena accentuata nella porzione mediana, e due anse costolate che si innestano sotto l'orlo e in appoggio alla carena. Si tratta di ciotole già in precedenza ben documentate al Magdalensberg (Tav. 29 del 1989) e che, al di là del Noricum, trovano una discreta diffusione nel versante nord orientale della penisola italiana e in area panonica.<sup>72</sup>

Tali recipienti, sui quali possono essere presenti fasce e colature di colore rosso (32/44 del 1989), potevano essere utilizzati in cucina per espletare numerose funzioni, dal mescolamento e condimento degli alimenti fino al loro servizio in tavola. Sul Magdalensberg sono documentati principalmente in ambienti interpretati come *deversoria*, *cauponiae*, *tavernae*, forse indizio del fatto che venissero adoperati come contenitori per minestre o zuppe di legumi.

Le paste, depurate e di colore beige rosato ma non particolarmente dure, rimandano ad area padana.

### **Ciotole semplici (Tav. 12)**

Si aggiorna anche la panoramica delle ciotole prive di anse e senza particolari elementi morfologici distintivi, già attestate in precedenza (soprattutto Tav. 34 del 1989), e per le quali è ipotizzabile un uso come contenitori per la preparazione dei cibi o, forse, con funzione analoga alle ciotole in terra sigillata Dragendorff 29 e 37.

<sup>71</sup> Cipriano *et al.* 1991.

<sup>72</sup> Schindler Kaudelka 1989, 64. Ad Adria sono documentati sia in contesti necropoliari che di abitato (Necropoli: Dallemulle 1975, Fig. 3; abitato: autopsia).

<sup>70</sup> Gaspari 2010, Tav. 25.



**Figura 16** *Contenitori biconici: panoramica delle decorazioni e dei rivestimenti presenti (cfr. Tav. 13).*

Gli esemplari presentano argille depurate e di colore beige rosato non particolarmente dure che rimanda ad area padana, e in qualche caso un rivestimento esterno di colore rosso brunastro (Tav. 12: 99).

### **Grandi boccali biconici** (Tav. 13)

A questo gruppo afferiscono un discreto numero di esemplari di contenitori di forma chiusa, con corpo biconico e piccolo orlo estroflesso o convesso (Fig. 16).

La forma, molto frequente nell'ambito delle Pannonische Glanztonwaren,<sup>73</sup> sembra rappresentare una parziale ripresa e re-interpretazione di modelli pseudo celtici del periodo LTD1 e LTD2 caratterizzati da impasto grigio e decorazione di colore bianco e rosso.<sup>74</sup>

In merito ai nostri esemplari, la superficie esterna della parete, sovente trattata con steccature, è caratterizzata da cordonature orizzontali in numero variabile, tra le quali può essere inserita una decorazione a rotellatura. Le argille, depurate e non adatte all'esposizione al fuoco, ne indicano un utilizzo, con ogni probabilità, per servire pietanze liquide o semi-solidi. Gli esemplari possono essere suddivisi, sulla base della presenza o meno di decorazioni, in tre principali gruppi: il primo presenta un trattamento con sovradipintura di colore rosso o bruno, non sempre ben conservata (Tav. 13: 105–106, 107, 111, 112, 113, 114), al secondo gruppo afferiscono gli esemplari con decorazione „a gocce“ sulla porzione superiore della parete (Tav. 13: 103–104) applicata, con ogni

probabilità con un pennello o con le dita simile alle brocche con beccuccio versatorio, mentre l'ultimo insieme è costituito da manufatti privi di rivestimento o decorazioni (Tav. 13: 108–110).

I pezzi del primo e del terzo gruppo sono forgiati in argille ben depurate che variano dal beige chiaro, al rosato e al rosso carico, ricche di inclusi micacei e che al tatto risultano saponose.

In merito all'area di produzione per il primo gruppo, stringenti sono le somiglianze con i prodotti delle officine di Poetovio (fabriks F7, F8 e F7/8),<sup>75</sup> ma si rammenta che esemplari analoghi sono discretamente diffusi in Pannonia e nel Norico meridionale (Emona, Neviodunum, Novo Mesto, Vindobona).

Per quanto concerne invece il terzo gruppo, caratterizzato anch'esso da frequenti miche ma privo di rivestimento, si segnalano somiglianze con i manufatti di Celeia, anch'essi quasi sempre sprovvisti di decorazioni sovradipinte<sup>76</sup> ma quasi sempre con bande di rotellature.<sup>77</sup>

Il secondo gruppo di manufatti, caratterizzati da un orlo verticale a fascia leggermente convesso e con decorazioni a goccia presentano, invece, argille meno saponose e micacee, in alcuni casi con evidenti calcari. La decorazione ricorda quella presente sulle brocche con beccuccio versatorio di produzione cremone, ma l'attribuzione ad ambito padano rimane del tutto ipotetica.

73 Istenič 1999–2000, Fig. 123, 124.

74 Adler-Wölfel, Mosser 2015, 19, Abb. 9.

75 Istenič 2011, 205–211.

76 Autopsia e confronto con Jure Krajšek.

77 Bausovac 2014, Tav. 8: 3–4.



### Piccoli contenitori (Tav. 14)

Si tratta di contenitori di dimensioni ridotte e impiegati per la commercializzazione e il consumo di unguenti, di medicine, o semplicemente usati come saliere.

I nuovi rinvenimenti si riducono spesso a piccoli frammenti per lo più non attribuibili con certezza, dei quali si presentano qui gli esemplari meglio conservati.

In seguito alla consulenza di Kordula Gostenčnik, a cui si deve lo studio e la classificazione di questi reperti sul sito del Magdalensberg,<sup>78</sup> pare possibile identificare una saliera (Tav. 14: 115) e contenitori per pomate ed unguenti (Tav. 14: 116–118).

L'esemplare di Tav. 14: 119, sul quale è possibile intravedere l'attacco per una piccola ansa, rientra poi tra i materiali che Ljudmila Plesničar Gec aveva inizialmente classificato come „Bicchieri di Emona“, e che successivamente Janka Istenič<sup>79</sup> ha dimostrato trattarsi di un vaso erroneamente attribuito ad una fornace trovata in centro città. L'impasto beige chiaro, molto fine, un po' saponoso e liscio a stecca del nostro esemplare, è molto simile a quello del piccolo bicchiere di Tav. 14: 118 (Fig. 17).

L'attribuzione funzionale è meno certa per due potenziali contenitori per medicinali (Tav. 20: 183, 185). In questa ultima categoria debbono essere considerati anche un numero ridotto di piccoli contenitori globulari precedentemente editi nel volume sulle pareti sottili (34/5a-c).<sup>80</sup>

Consci del fatto che vasetti simili andrebbe sviluppata prendendo in considerazione anche i manufatti in metallo e vetro, se ne segnala qui la presenza funzionale alla rettifica della pubblicazione del 1975.

### Bicchieri (Tav. 14)

Poche ma significative sono le presenze di piccoli contenitori potori, utilizzati soprattutto per la mensa.



**Figura 17** Piccoli contenitori per unguenti, medicine o sale (cfr. Tav. 14: 118) (da Schindler Kaudelka 1975, tav. 34/5a-c).

Si tratta di bicchieri dalle forme semplici ma resi con decorazioni anche curate, come nel caso del frammento che presenta una lavorazione a fasci di linee orizzontali molto sottili e ordinate (Tav. 14: 121) documentato in altri due esemplari analoghi, sempre al Magdalensberg, o con decorazione a rosetta (Tav. 14: 120).

Si segnala, poi, un piccolo gruppo di boccalini (Tav. 14: 123) la cui forma e l'impasto rimandano ad area campana, ed in particolare con i materiali rinvenuti nel porto di Napoli.<sup>81</sup>

E' stato inserito in questo gruppo anche uno dei circa venti esemplari documentati, tra i quali si annoverano i pezzi inseriti nella trattazione sulle pareti sottili (34/4a-4e del 1975) la cui forma è del tutto avvicinabile ai cosiddetti „anforiscoli“ o „fritilli“ (Tav. 14: 122). Si tratta di contenitori dalla forma piriforme, con orlo verticale convesso e piccolo peduncolo, diffusi in tutto il bacino del mediterraneo per alcuni secoli, e per i quali non sembra essere ancora possibile definire una precisa funzione.

La loro prima rappresentazione grafica è da attribuire a Siegfried Loeschcke<sup>82</sup> che li definì e disegnò come tappi per contenitori anforacei, tesi ripresa e poi sviluppata da numerosi anforologi<sup>83</sup> anche in favore dell'uso come cucurbitulae (ventose per l'estrazione dei tappi).<sup>84</sup> Tuttavia, questa ipotesi non

78 Gostenčnik 2004, 357–442; Gostenčnik 2002, 161–177.

79 Istenič, Plesničar 2001, RCRF Acta 37.

80 Schindler Kaudelka 1975, 34: 5a–5c.

81 Faga 2008, 648, Fig. 4: 1–10.

82 Loeschcke 1939, 104–106.

83 Almagro 1955, 141, 146; Vegas 1973, 147–149; Pavolini 1980, 1009.

84 Rodriguez Almeida 1974, 813 e ss.



**Figura 18** Frammenti di vasi piriformi (cfr. Tav. 14:122).

sembra ancora oggi essere supportata da rinvenimenti in situ<sup>85</sup> (Fig. 18).

Altri studiosi sono inclini a considerarli come elementi di scarico delle volte leggere,<sup>86</sup> come nel caso dei rinvenimenti della Celsa, a Roma,<sup>87</sup> dove conservano ancora tracce di malta, bossoli per il gioco dei dadi,<sup>88</sup> o ancora contenitori per unguenti.<sup>89</sup>

Un recente lavoro su un considerevole numero di vasetti piriformi da Augusta Raurica sembrerebbe avvalorare proprio quest'ultima tesi, soprattutto sulla base dei dati provenienti dai luoghi di rinvenimento di questi oggetti - sepolture, santuari o edifici termali - e quasi mai in associazione con anfore, e supportati da alcuni riscontri iconografici nei quali sono visibili piccoli contenitori piriformi avvolti e sostenuti da piccoli spaghi.<sup>90</sup>

Ciononostante si è deciso di inserire l'esemplare qui trattato genericamente nel gruppo dei bicchieri, per una questione puramente di carattere morfologico che esula da qualsiasi interpretazione e significato di carattere funzionale. I dati in nostro possesso in merito al suo rinvenimento non permettono, infatti, di stabilirne l'esatta funzione.

85 Schmid 2014, in particolare nota 7, 802.

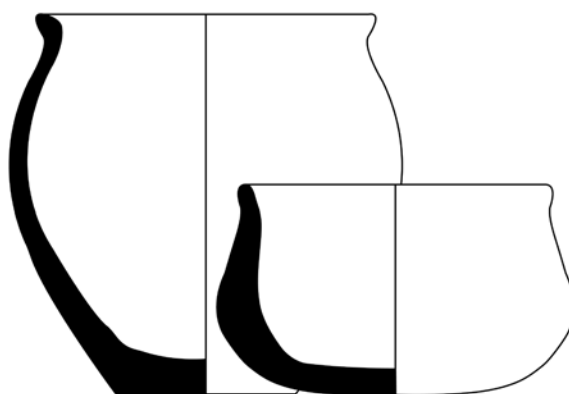
86 Bergau 1867, 405 e ss.

87 Materiali in corso di studio da parte di Matilde Carrara.

88 Pavolini 1980, 1012.

89 Beltran Lloris 1970; Lusuardi Siena 1973, 430; Bernat Casasola, Saéz Romero, Fig. 1c.

90 Schmid 2014, Fig. 3 e 4. Si veda anche July 2016.



**Figura 19** Piccoli bicchieri del Magdalensberg simili agli esemplari definiti dalla Plesničar Gec come produzioni locali di Emona (cfr. Tav. 14: 118, 119).

### Coppe con due anse e alto bordo convesso (Tav. 15)

Abbastanza uniforme è il gruppo delle coppe con alto bordo convesso, caratterizzate da una pasta molto depurata, di colore beige chiaro, ricca di miche e saponosa al tatto che rimanda ad area slovena. Un piccolo numero di queste coppette, per le quali in precedenza non era stata riconosciuta la forma (35/4 del 1989), presenta decorazioni a rotella o a pettine (Tav. 15: 125, 127, 131) distribuite nelle parti limitrofe al restringimento centrale (Fig. 19).

La forma, con la tipica strozzatura tra pancia e alto bordo convesso, ricorda quella delle coppe Marabini XXVI/Mayet 10 e delle coppe „tipo Sarius“.

Un nutrito gruppo di esemplari, sempre privi di decorazioni, proviene dal negozio incendiato NG/34 e fa parte di quel consistente nucleo di manufatti in vendita.

Sulla scorta proprio di questo lotto di materiali è possibile, inoltre, supporre queste coppe componessero parte del servizio, insieme con le brocche con beccuccio e spalla sovradipinta o i lagynoi, anch'essi recuperati in NG/34 (Fig. 20).

### Coppe senza anse (Tav. 15)

Variegato è, poi, il panorama delle rare coppe semplici. Si segnala un frammento (Tav. 15: 132) forse riferibile alla porzione inferiore di un esemplare del tutto analogo alle coppe con alto bordo convesso (Tav. 15:



**Figura 20** Coppe con alto bordo convesso: panoramica delle decorazioni presenti (cfr. Tav. 15).

124–131). Le dimensioni non permettono, tuttavia, un'identificazione morfologica puntuale.

Al territorio sloveno rimanda anche un altro esemplare di coppa (Tav. 15: 135) (n. 184) con parete caratterizzata da una evidente carenatura: pezzi simili sono stati identificati anche a Lubiana e interpretati come imitazioni locali di terra sigillata<sup>91</sup> e in una sepoltura di Poetovio, in associazione con una moneta di Calligola.<sup>92</sup>

È possibile, infine che l'esemplare con orlo esovero obliquo (Tav. 15: 133) fosse munito di un alto piede.

anche da Michel Bonifay, che si ringrazia per l'aiuto. La presenza di questi contenitori già in epoca tiberiano-claudia sul sito del Magdalensberg è confermata anche dalla presenza, in età tiberiana, di imitazioni locali a pasta grigia (circa 350 esemplari riferibili all'impasto 1 delle produzioni locali).<sup>93</sup>

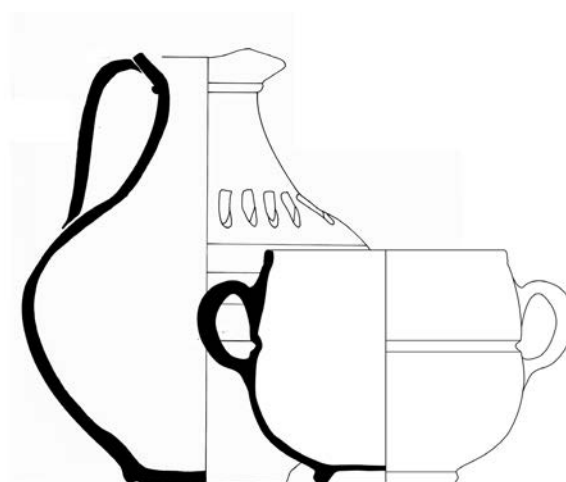
Un solo frammento, di dimensioni esigue, presenta, invece, argille più tenere, ruvide e ricche di mica, che rimandano ad ambito orientale.

## Cottura dei cibi

### Caccabi (Tav. 16)

In questo gruppo rientrano i contenitori con orlo a tesa caratterizzato dalla presenza di un battente interno per l'alloggiamento del coperchio e un corpo sub-cilindrico e fondo arrotondato. La forma, utilizzata per le cotture e le bolliture lente di carni e verdure, è documentata sul sito del Magdalensberg da sette esemplari provenienti da varie aree del sito, indagate tra il 1951 e il 1996, ma edite solo oggi.

Gli esemplari, che presentano quasi tutti un'argilla dura-molto dura, con inclusi micacei, calcarei e quarziferi, ricordano la pentola africana Hayes 198, nella sua variante più antica, confronto avvalorato



**Figura 21** Ipotetico set da mensa costituito da olpai con orlo trilobato e decorazione sovradipinta e coppe con alto bordo convesso di produzione slovena (cfr. Tav. 15: 124 e da Schindler Kaudelka 1975, tav. 3: 5).

91 Comunicazione personale di Jure Krajšek.

92 Istenič 1999–2000, sepoltura n. 104.

93 Schindler Kaudelka 1997, 81–86, Fig. 1–2.

**Pentole da gulash** (*Tav. 17*)

A questo gruppo afferiscono tre esemplari con corpo sub-sferico schiacciato, orlo estroflesso decorato da tre solcature e prese orizzontali decorate con impressioni digitali poste nel punto di massima espansione del corpo (*Fig. 22*).

Le argille sono abbastanza depurate, ricche di inclusi calcarei, e di colore aranciato carico.

Questi contenitori erano stati inizialmente considerati di fattura autoctona,<sup>94</sup> così come le imitazioni di pentole a tesa di cui si è appena parlato. In base ai più recenti rinvenimenti in area padana e slovena sembra invece possa trattarsi di materiale di importazione, alla cui presenza sul Magdalensberg sono seguite poche imitazioni in pasta grigia grezza locale.

Pentole con impasto di colore arancio ed analogo profilo, munito di tre piedini sospensorii sono presenti, infatti, tra i rinvenimenti di Celeia.<sup>95</sup> Sembra, tuttavia, che i confronti più puntuali siano con alcuni esemplari, ancora inediti, rinvenuti a Gazzo Veronese (VR) e definiti da Ada Gabucci e Brunella Portulano „ceramica refrattaria“ di probabile produzione locale (*Tav. 17: 143–144*), e con un esemplare da Mirandola (MO) (*Tav. 17: 145*).



**Figura 22** *Pentola da gulash di probabile produzione veronese (cfr. Tav. 17: 143–144).*

94 Schindler Kaudelka, Zabehlicky Scheffenegger 1994, 177–198, n. 146.

95 Autopsia.

**Tegami da fuoco** (*Tav. 17*)

I tegami da fuoco di importazione, atti alla cottura di pietanze semi-solide, erano già documentati sul Magdalensberg in numerose varianti a VRI di importazione campana, con uno esemplare di provenienza orientale (Pergamo?) con esemplari Agora XXX provenienti, anch'essi, dalle zone orientali dell'impero.<sup>96</sup> Se ne aggiorna qui la casistica, integrandola con nuovi frammenti e riprendendo alcuni esemplari precedentemente editi in altre pubblicazioni, come nel caso dell'esemplare n. 146, prima considerato di produzione regionale, per via del colore bruno-grigiastro, probabilmente conseguente ad esposizione al fuoco e oggi interpretabile come produzione padana (*Tav. 17: 146*), e altri due tegami già oggetto di un approfondimento sui materiali di importazione orientale al Magdalensberg (*Tav. 17: 148, 150*).<sup>97</sup>

A questi si aggiunge un esemplare che richiama la forma Hayes 19, di probabile produzione africana (*Tav. 17: 147*) - interessante, così come gli altri poco esemplari di importazione tunisina, perché testimone di una presenza precoce nel sito - ed un ultimo riferibile genericamente a figlinae microasiatiche.

**Varia****Coperchi** (*Tav. 18*)

Sono presenti anche alcuni esemplari di coperchi di modeste dimensioni, modellati con argille depurate di colore beige, utilizzati con ogni probabilità, fuori dal fuoco, perché privi di annerimenti. Uno solo di essi presenta, in una porzione di superficie interna, tracce di bruciatura, indice di una suo possibile utilizzo nelle fasi di cottura dei cibi.

96 Zabehlicky Scheffenegger 1998, 279–337.

97 Zabehlicky Scheffenegger 1998, Abb. 5: 1–2.



**Figura 23** Ansa con mica dorata e ansa pseudo-bifida.

### Anse (Tav. 18)

Numerose sono le nuove anse documentate. Tra gli esemplari più interessanti e significativi si segnalano i due frammenti con andamento tortile appartenenti - sulla base delle caratteristiche macroscopiche dell'argilla - ad area orientale (Tav. 18: 155) e africana (Tav. 18: 156), e una piccola ansa pseudo bifida ed un frammento di ansa con argilla a mica dorata (Fig. 23).

### Vasi da notte (Tav. 18)

Rientrano in questa categoria quei contenitori con corpo cilindrico e orlo a tesa adibiti alla raccolta delle espletazioni fisiologiche notturne, così come definito da Beatrix Petznek e Silvia Radbauer.<sup>98</sup>

I due soli esemplari rinvenuti al Magdalensberg implementano la casistica, ben documentata in tutto l'impero (Mediolanum, Herdonia, Aquileia, Carlino, Ariminum, Beneventum, Pollentia, Ortonovo, Taragona, Vindobona, Carnuntum, Singidunum, Sirmium, Cibalae, Augusta Trajana, Singidunum, Massilia, Aquitania e Knossos, per citarne alcuni<sup>99</sup>), tra il I ed il IV sec. d. C.

L'inquadramento funzionale dei nostri due frammenti è confermato anche dalla presenza di tracce di



**Figura 24** Vasi da notte (cfr. Tav. 18: 157-158).



**Figura 25** Frammenti di fondi: a) fondo con ispessimento interno (cfr. Tav. 19: 169); b) fondo con parete sterna „marmorizzata“ (cfr. Tav. 19: 170); c) fondo con invetriatura verde (cfr. Tav. 19: 165).

acido di urina sulla superficie interna di uno dei due contenitori qui presentati (Tav. 18: 158).

È interessante notare, infine, come i due pezzi, le cui paste rimanderebbero, forse, al mediterraneo meridionale, si collochino in una fase molto antica di questa specifica produzione romana, insieme a soli altri esemplari italici, indice questo di una rapida capacità di assorbimento dei modelli culturali romani anche sotto il punto di vista di usi e costumi non legati alla sfera „sociale“ dei rapporti (Fig. 24).

98 Petznek, Radbauer 2008, 51-91.

99 Petznek, Radbauer 2008, Tav. 11-14.

**Fondi non determinati** (*Tav. 19*)

Pochi e di esigue dimensioni i frammenti di fondi per i quali non è possibile reperire attacchi con altre porzioni di contenitori e definirne una forma, e per i quali si propongono qui interpretazioni morfologiche passibili di errore. Tra essi spiccano un esemplare forse di importazione orientale (*Tav. 19: 159*) ed un secondo forse di produzione africana, caratterizzato da un rivestimento a coperta di sale (*Tav. 19: 162*).

**Fondi con piede ad anello** (*Tav. 19*)

Si distinguono qui fondi con piede ad anello variamente conformato riferibili, forse, a brocche o olpi. Tra di essi si segnalano due esemplari che presentano sulla superficie interna un ispessimento consistente del fondo (*Tav. 19: 169*) e un grumo di argilla (*Tav. 19: 167*). Se nel secondo esemplare l'entità del grumo induce pensare si tratti di semplice incuria, per il fondo si potrebbe pensare ad un ispessimento volontario con conseguente aumento del peso del contenitore e minore capacità. Nel caso in cui si trattasse, quindi, di un contenitore utilizzato per il commercio di derrate alimentari, ne si potrebbe trarre un maggior guadagno. Fenomeni di alterazione volontaria della capacità e del peso dei contenitori sono documentato già in antico sulle lekythos ateniesi, le quali presentavano al loro interno un piccolo contenitore a forma di uovo perfettamente nascosto e di dimensioni nettamente inferiori a quelle esterne del vaso, che riduceva notevolmente la capacità di questi contenitori.<sup>100</sup>

Una particolare lavorazione presenta, poi, il fondo di *Tav. 19: 170*, nel quale comuni grumi di argilla rossastra conferiscono alla superficie esterna, di colore beige chiaro, un effetto marmorizzato.

E' presente, infine, un solo esemplare (*Tav. 19: 165*) con invetriatura verde oliva di qualità abbastanza scadente (*Fig. 24*).

**Fondi particolari** (*Tav. 19*)

Di ancor più difficile identificazione morfologica sono alcuni fondi. Forse pertinenti a calici sono gli esemplari di *Tav. 19: 172, 174*, mentre nessun tipo di suggestione evocano i restanti pezzi. Si tratta, ad ogni modo, di contenitori modellati con argille ben depurate e dure, verosimilmente di produzione padana.

**Varia** (*Tav. 20*)

In questo gruppo sono stati inseriti tutti quei frammenti di difficile inquadramento morfologico, per via dell'assenza di elementi diagnostici. Si tratta, tuttavia, di esemplari con elementi peculiari, quali fitte decorazioni a stecca orizzontale (*Tav. 20: 176*) interrotte da incisioni verticali non regolari (*Tav. 20: 177*), superfici con ondulature orizzontali (*Tav. 20: 178-179*), un probabile ugello per lavorazioni industriali (*Tav. 20: 181*) ed un beccuccio ripiegato (*Tav. 20: 184*) differente da quello presentato nel volume di 1989 *Tav. 35,6*.

In merito all'esemplare di (*Tav. 20: 177*) si sottolinea, infine, che non è possibile stabilire con certezza se si tratti di materiale di importazione o di fabbricazione locale. Tuttavia, come in precedenza dichiarato, sono stati esclusi dalla trattazione solo i materiali ascrivibili senza ombra di dubbio a fattura regionale. In questo specifico caso si è reputato quindi corretto inserire il frammento, poiché l'attribuzione risulta al momento problematica.

**Nuovi dati di carattere cronologico**

I materiali qui presentati coprono un arco cronologico che va dalla tarda età augustea fino all'epoca di Claudio, documentando in maniera più o meno consistente le importazioni di manufatti dal momento della fondazione dell'emporio fino al suo abbandono. Pochi, ma significativi sono i manufatti ascrivibili alla tarda età repubblicana, utili a rafforzare la presenza di alcune forme nel sito.

Tra questi si segnala il lagynos di *Tav. 1: 10*, facente parte di un vecchio lotto di materiali recuperati nel corso degli anni '60 in „OR/20c c“ completamente

100 Cuomo di Caprio 2007, 205-206, finestra XVII.

bruciati e di colore grigio. Solo alla morte di Gertrud Mossler, che per prima li attribuì a produzioni locali sulla base della colorazione dell'argilla, è stato possibile recuperare le cassette custodite dalla studiosa contenenti i manufatti in questione che si sono dimostrati, dopo il loro studio, tutti di importazione.<sup>101</sup> Il lagynos in questione documenta quindi la presenza della forma in un periodo più antico rispetto a quanto emerso dalle evidenze presentate nel 1989, dove tali manufatti iniziavano a comparire timidamente solo a partire dalla media età augustea (Periode II, Komplex 4), e in maniera più massiccia sotto il principato tiberiano-claudio (Periode III, Komplex 5).

Ad epoca tardo-repubblicana risalgono anche i 5-8 esemplari di piccolo bicchiere che trova stringenti somiglianze con il repertorio campano (*Tav. 14: 123*), i caccabi modellati con paste che richiamano ambito africano (*Tav. 16: 136-137*) e le pentole da gulash (*Tav. 17: 143-145*) somiglianti a quelle di Gazzo Veronese.

Una necessaria correzione interessa anche le prime testimonianze di cruche-amphores Dressel 28 rappresentate, fino ad oggi, dall'esemplare 20/26 del 1989, allora erroneamente inserito nel Komplex 1, di tarda età repubblicana. In seguito alla rilettura corretta di tali dati i materiali più antichi sarebbero quindi oggi documentati negli strati del „periodo 1, fase 2“ ed inquadrabili ad età augustea, così come il reperto di *Tav. 1: 90*, proveniente da SH/8. La presenza di queste cruche-amphores si fa poi più massiccia nel „periodo 3, fase 6“ (25/30-46/50 d.C.).

Da contesti di prima età augustea provengono, poi, una brocca monoansata (*Tav. 3: 17*), un'olletta (*Tav. 6: 49*), una coppa con alto bordo convesso di probabile produzione slovena (*Tav. 15: 127*), un vaso da notte (*Tav. 18: 157*) ed alcuni fondi non più precisamente inquadrabili dal punto di vista morfologico (*Tav. 19: 160, 175*).

A partire dalla piena età augustea le presenze incrementano, ed è interessante notare che circa la metà dei manufatti ascrivibili a questo periodo risultino essere importati da aree non particolarmente vicine

al sito. Tra i materiali più significativi a livello cronologico si citano qui la spalla con decorazione a rotella, forse di produzione africana (*Tav. 4: 36*), la brocca con beccuccio versatorio/bollitore di produzione orientale (*Tav. 4: 32*) e l'orlo di olpe con superficie a mica dorata, proveniente dalla Gallia del Nord (*Tav. 4: 35*).

La possibile presenza africana già nelle fasi 1-3 del sito, che ricordiamo qui non è al momento supportata da analisi archeometriche ma da semplice visione macroscopica degli impasti, è un dato assai interessante che conferma le poche altre timide testimonianze del sito. Ad analogo ambito produttivo rimandano, infatti, pochissimi altri esemplari di ceramica da cucina (non più di dieci frammenti) e circa una ventina di elementi diagnostici di contenitori da trasporto identificati da Ulrike Ehmig.<sup>102</sup>

Tra i materiali provenienti da contesti tardo-augustei si segnala poi un'olletta, forse di produzione africana (*Tav. 6: 52*).

Nuovi dati di carattere cronologico interessano anche le brocche con beccuccio versatorio e decorazione sovradipinta (3/5-6, 4/7-12 del 1989) i cui precedenti ritrovamenti le attestavano già a partire dallo strato tardo-repubblicano di livellamento del settore AA e nei livelli di costruzione della basilica del Foro. I cospicui rinvenimenti effettuati nelle botteghe incendiate SH/4, SH/5 e NG/34 ne sanciscono un'importazione massiccia soprattutto in età tiberiano-claudia. Nessun nuovo dato di particolare rilievo si segnala, invece, per la cronologia dei grandi boccali biconici, che paiono confermare quanto già emerso dallo studio dei precedenti reperti, la cui presenza sul sito è testimoniata già a partire da epoca tardo-repubblicana, fino all'abbandono dell'emporio. Non sembra peraltro possibile trovare, tra i reperti qui trattati, nessuna particolare peculiarità cronologica che aiuti o confermi l'ipotetica attribuzione alle produzioni di Celeia o Poetovio. Tutti i materiali per i quali si ipotizza la produzione presso uno di questi due centri è documentata, in maniera indistinta, nella varie fasi del sito. Sembrano invece concentrarsi solo in epoca

101 Schindler Kaudelka 2003, 163-176.

102 Materiale inedito.

tardo-augustea i due esemplari con sovradipintura a gocce e impasto privo di mica, che rimandano ad ambito nord-italico.

## Nuovi dati sull'origine e sul commercio dei manufatti

Il Magdalensberg sorge su un'altura posta sul versante settentrionale delle Alpi Orientali, in un'area particolarmente ricca di metalli e minerali. Questa peculiarità, e la posizione strategica relativamente vicina alla X Regio, permisero al sito di divenire, attorno alla metà del I sec. a.C. un importante markettown dell'impero, specializzato nella lavorazione del ferrum noricum, del bronzo e dell'oro.<sup>103</sup>

Già ampiamente indagati sono i risvolti storici e sociali che tale singolarità storica ha rappresentato per il sito, e quante siano le informazioni di carattere economico e commerciale che si riflettono sullo studio delle principali classi di manufatti della prima età imperiale.

L'aggiornamento sulla ceramica comune depurata di importazione del Magdalensberg contribuisce a consolidare, definire e puntualizzare alcuni di questi aspetti.

Già nel 1989 era stato possibile evidenziare quanto fossero preponderanti le importazioni da area padana. Gli studi sulla ceramica, ancora in fieri in quel periodo, non permisero ancora di mettere meglio a fuoco l'entità del fenomeno che trovava, tuttavia, ampia giustificazione dalla coeva presenza di numerose importazioni di ceramica a vernice nera, pareti sottili e terra sigillata padana.

Sebbene manchino ancora oggi informazioni sugli innumerevoli impianti di produzione di ceramica depurata in Italia settentrionale, è possibile avanzare alcune ipotesi in merito all'origine di alcuni di questi manufatti.

Al territorio cremonese sembrano ascrivibili le brocche con beccuccio versatorio e decorazione sovradipinta sulla spalla, ad ambito modenese potrebbe invece essere ascritta la pentola da gulash (*Tav. 17: 145*) che

trova stringenti analogie con l'esemplare di Mirandola. Pochi chilometri più a nord si trova il sito di Gazzo Veronese, da quale potrebbero essere state importate le altre pentole da gulash, molto simili a quelle di Mirandola (si ricorda qui, per altro, la presenza a Celeia di un contenitore simile munito di tre piccoli piedi per il quale non è ancora stata proposta un luogo di origine). La vicinanza di questi siti al corso del fiume Po e alla via per Hostilia, che risalendo verso nord si congiungeva alla Postumia a Verona, ne ha potuto garantire una facile diffusione dei prodotti che, una volta giunti a Iulia Concordia, o forse fino ad Aquileia, proseguivano verso il Norico.

Questi devono essere stati i canali preferenziali anche per il commercio delle altre stoviglie prodotte in area padana, ma per le quali non è possibile ipotizzare i luoghi di produzione.

L'unico esemplare identificato riconducibile a produzioni vesuviane non crea ulteriori problematiche, vista la copiosa presenza sul sito di tegami a vernice rossa interna importati da quell'area.

In merito alle merci provenienti da ambito microasiatico - si tratta di un numero discreto di brocche, ollette, caccabi e tegami - e africano, che raggruppa brocche, ollette, piccoli contenitori da trasporto, caccabi, tegami e un vaso da notte, il loro arrivo sull'emporio deve essere avvenuto, così come per le terre sigillate e le anfore orientali principalmente via Aquileia, testa di ponte tra il Mediterraneo e le province d'oltralpe. La conoscenza delle importazioni dalle province orientali sembrano maggiormente definibili grazie anche al progresso delle conoscenze su alcuni ateliers locali e per le quali due sono i principali siti dai quali pare siano partite le merci verso il Magdalensberg: Poetovio e Celeia, che possono aver sfruttato la via d'acqua della Drava per risalire, con la tecnica dell'allaggio, fino al Magdalensberg.

## Questioni aperte

Considerato il complesso lavoro di integrazione tra nuovi dati e correzioni di precedenti lavori, si propongono qui due schemi riassuntivi che permettono

103 Dolenz 2001; Zaccaria 2008.



di focalizzare velocemente tutti i cambiamenti intercorsi in quasi trent'anni di ricerca archeologica

Nelle didascalie delle tavole è possibile reperire le concordanze dei materiali qui pubblicati con la classificazione tipologica, l'area di produzione e la cronologia della precedente edizione.

La Tabella di pag. 27 (*Fig. 26*), vuole essere, invece, un veloce strumento di lavoro che riassume tutte le principali modifiche analizzate nel testo, indispensabile per una rilettura critica del volume del 1989.

Al di là dei riconoscimenti morfologici e delle attribuzioni effettuate mediante analisi macroscopica degli impasti, l'assenza di analisi archeometriche, sia per quanto riguarda i manufatti nei loro territori di origine che nei siti di esportazioni, rimangono ad oggi pure ipotesi interpretative.

Consci del rischio che si incorre ogni qual volta ci si spinge in questo senso, tale azione sembra rendersi necessaria se si voglia provare ad avanzare di un passo oltre quelle che sono le attuali conoscenze. Il confronto con i colleghi e gli esperti e l'autopsia su numerosi manufatti inediti si sono dimostrati, in questo senso, step necessari e di grande aiuto per dare forma alle suggestioni personali.

Si è scelto invece di non fornire, per ciascuna forma e variante identificata, i risultati dei confronti e dell'area di distribuzione, se non per specifici casi che potessero essere di aiuto nell'identificazione dell'area di produzione del manufatto. Solo raramente si sono poi effettuate concordanze con altri repertori noti.

Tali scelte muovono in parte dalle problematiche insite nella classe in oggetto (e già esposte) e, nondimeno, dall'impossibilità di avere a disposizione un corpus bibliografico uniforme, nel quale poter reperire foto, disegni e informazioni puntuali sull'aspetto dei manufatti che ne permettano un'identificazione univoca. Si sottolinea, tuttavia, che tale ricerca è stata comunque necessaria e indispensabile per il progresso delle conoscenze sulla classe.

Ciò che emerge da questo aggiornamento revisionato sulla ceramica comune depurata del Magdalensberg è una situazione che non sorprende.

Le poche nuove produzioni identificate, grazie anche alle più recenti conoscenze in ambito produttivo,

hanno permesso di allargare e mettere meglio a fuoco i rapporti economici e commerciali che l'emporio norico ha intrapreso nel corso di quasi un secolo di vita con i limitrofi territori della Slovenia e della Pianura Padana orientale. Per questi ultimi territori, il dato era già ampiamente emerso nel corso della precedente trattazione, senza avere tuttavia la possibilità di essere più profondamente indagato. Poche forme, e di non certa attribuzione, rimandano ai territori collocati nelle aree limitrofe al corso del fiume Po' e alle principali arterie stradali, grazie alle quali sono stati commercializzati e trasportati fino al Magdalensberg. La recente edizione sui rinvenimenti di Suasa,<sup>104</sup> Chiunsano (RO),<sup>105</sup> o il lavoro di revisione delle ceramiche comuni dello scarico di via Retratto (Adria –RO),<sup>106</sup> confermano ancora una volta stringenti analogie con i materiali della X Regio e delle coste del medio e alto Adriatico.

Più significativi i nuovi dati relativi ai territori delle provincie orientali, in precedenza quasi del tutto non riconosciute tra i materiali importati sull'emporio, che confermano una certa uniformità del repertorio sloveno, pannonico (Poetovio) e norico (Celeia) con quello coevo del Magdalensberg.<sup>107</sup>

Si ritiene probabile che, all'interno dei canali di commercializzazione dei manufatti di produzione padana, campana e orientale, Aquileia abbia rappresentato uno snodo commerciale fondamentale. Tuttavia, come già detto per quanto riguarda la presenza di terre sigillate orientali sul sito anche nel caso delle ceramiche comuni egee, non sembra possa trattarsi di ordini regolari, quanto forse più scelte economiche filtrate dalla volontà e dalle conoscenze clientelari dei negozianti.

Diverse questioni rimangono comunque aperte, e riguardano parzialmente anche problematiche di carattere epistemologico.

Nel quadro generale, accanto alle due macro-aree appena identificate, per i pochi esemplari ancora di

104 Biondani 2014, Tav. 1.

105 Biondani 2016, 91–97.

106 Materiale in corso di studio da parte di Valentina Mantovani.

107 Si vedano, ad esempio: Gaspari 2010; Bausovac 2014.

dubbia provenienza si potrà in futuro sperare un avanzamento della ricerca, così come accaduto per un certo numero di manufatti già editi nel 1989 e per i quali si è resa necessaria una correzione. Oltre alla determinazione dell'origine dei reperti di non certa attribuzione, di difficile inquadramento rimangono una serie di esemplari le cui peculiarità non ne permettono una classificazione univoca. È il caso delle coppe con alto bordo convesso che qui si è deciso di includere nella categoria della ceramica comune (*Tav. 15: 124–131*), ma le quali rispondono, dal punto di vista morfologico anche alla classe della ceramica a pareti sottili. O ancora, alle olle con sottile cordonatura sotto l'orlo (*Tav. 6: 49*) documentate in area padana nella variante con „impasto refrattario”<sup>108</sup> ed adibite alla cottura dei cibi, ma presenti anche nella variante sottodimensionata e pareti molto sottili.<sup>109</sup> In conclusione, si può osservare che, sebbene l'avanzamento delle indagini sul sito abbia restituito circa

2685 nuovi manufatti in ceramica comune, il panorama delle attestazioni risulta essere ancora molto eterogeneo e quantitativamente inferiore ad altre classi. Si osserva, tuttavia, una minore variabilità delle forme rispetto a quanto documentato nel 1989, dato condizionato dalla natura di revisione e aggiornamento del lavoro stesso, quanto più ad una minore creatività dei vasai antichi.

Dal punto di vista funzionale poi, la gamma degli usi e delle destinazioni non registra sostanziali cambiamenti, fatto salvo per i casi dei *pot à garum* e delle *cruches-amphores*, per le quali risulta, inoltre, un significativo incremento numerico rispetto alla ceramica da tavola.

Dal punto di vista cronologico, infine, limitate ma significative sono le variazioni registrate all'interno dell'arco temporale di vita del sito e che ci permettono di definire con precisione i mutamenti di stile e di moda che hanno interessato l'emporio norico.

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108 Della Porta *et al.* 1998, 147, olla n. 42.

109 Mantovani 2015, forma 44, Tav. XI: i-m.

**Die dünnwandige Gebrauchskeramik vom Magdalensberg, 1975**

33/3	Piccolo lagynos
34/4a	Contentitore per medicinali
34/4b	Contentitore per medicinali
34/4c	Contentitore per medicinali
34/4d	Contentitore per medicinali
34/4e	Contentitore per medicinali
34/5a	Contentitore per medicinali
34/5b	Contentitore per medicinali
34/5c	Contentitore per medicinali

**Die gewöhnliche Gebrauchskeramik vom Magdalensberg 1, 1989**

14/28	Agora F65
14/33	Agora F65
14/36	Agora F65
14/37	Amphore
14/38	Agora F65
14/39	Anfora
14/40	Anfora
15/51	Contentitori biansati con collarino/Dressel 28 e similis
15/52	Contentitori biansati con collarino/Dressel 28 e similis
15/53	Contentitori biansati con collarino/Dressel 28 e similis
15/57	Contentitori biansati con collarino/Dressel 28 e similis
15/58	Contentitori biansati con collarino/Dressel 28 e similis
15/59	Anfora
15/60	Contentitori biansati con collarino/Dressel 28 e similis
15/61	Contentitori biansati con collarino/Dressel 28 e similis
17/91	Anfora
17/92	Anfora
18/1	Contentitori biansati con collarino/Dressel 28 e similis?
18/5	Anfora
20/26	Periodo 1, Fase 2
23-26	Pot à garum
35/9	Troncoconica da olive?
34/1	Locale-regionale?
34/2	Locale-regionale?
34/3	Locale-regionale?
34/4	Locale-regionale?
34/5	Locale-regionale?
34/6	Locale-regionale?
34/7	Locale-regionale?
34/8	Locale-regionale?
34/9	Locale-regionale?
34/10	Locale-regionale?
34/11	Locale-regionale?
34/12	Locale-regionale?
35/4	Coppa con due anse e alto bordo convesso

**Die bodenständige Keramik vom Magdalensberg. Ein Anfang, 1994**

n. 146	Pentola da gulash importata
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**Figura 26** *Elenco di tutte le rettifiche di carattere produttivo, morfologico e funzionale relative alle ceramiche comuni depurate del Magdalensberg edite in precedenti edizioni.*

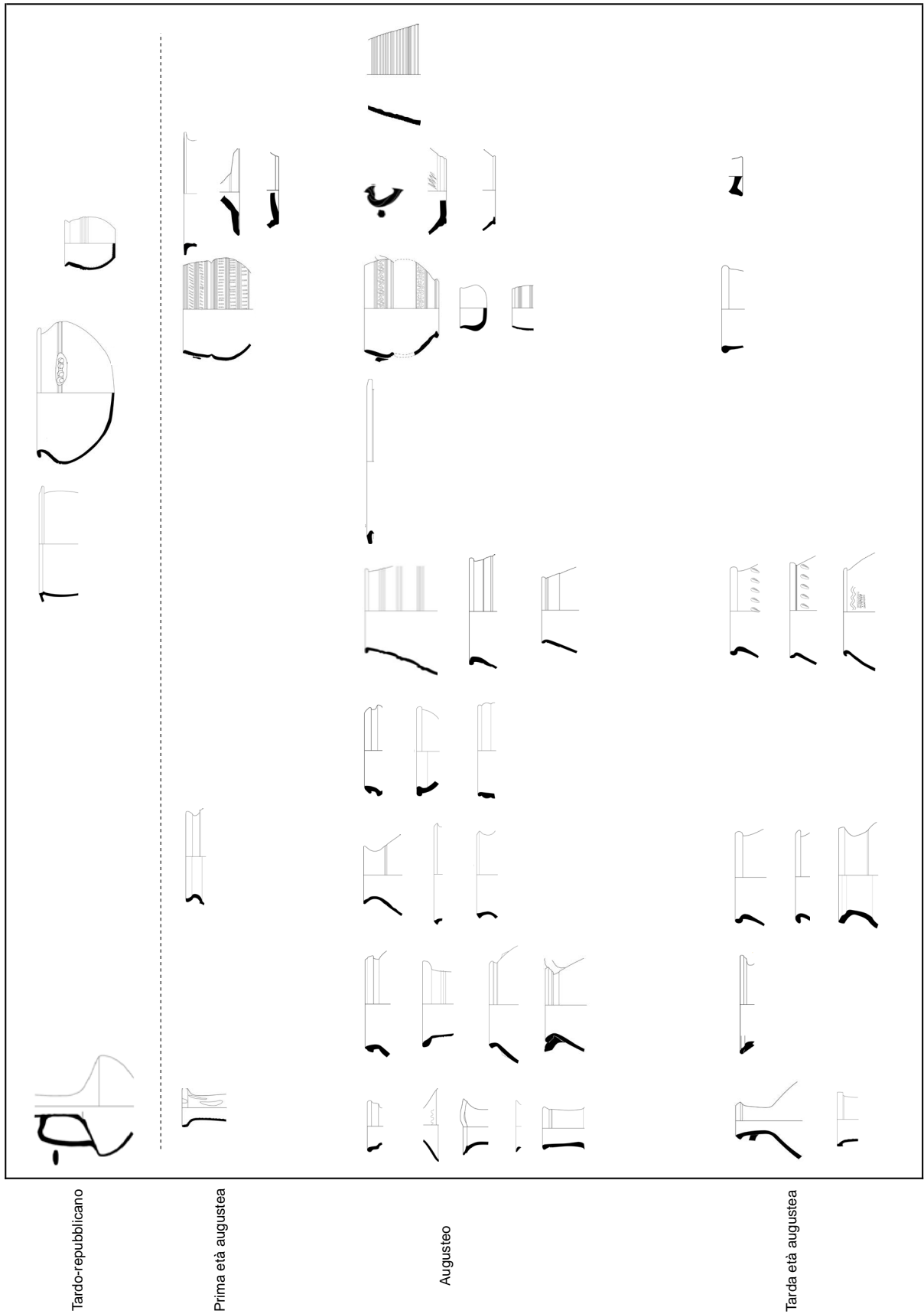


Figura 27 Distribuzione cronologica delle forme analizzate.

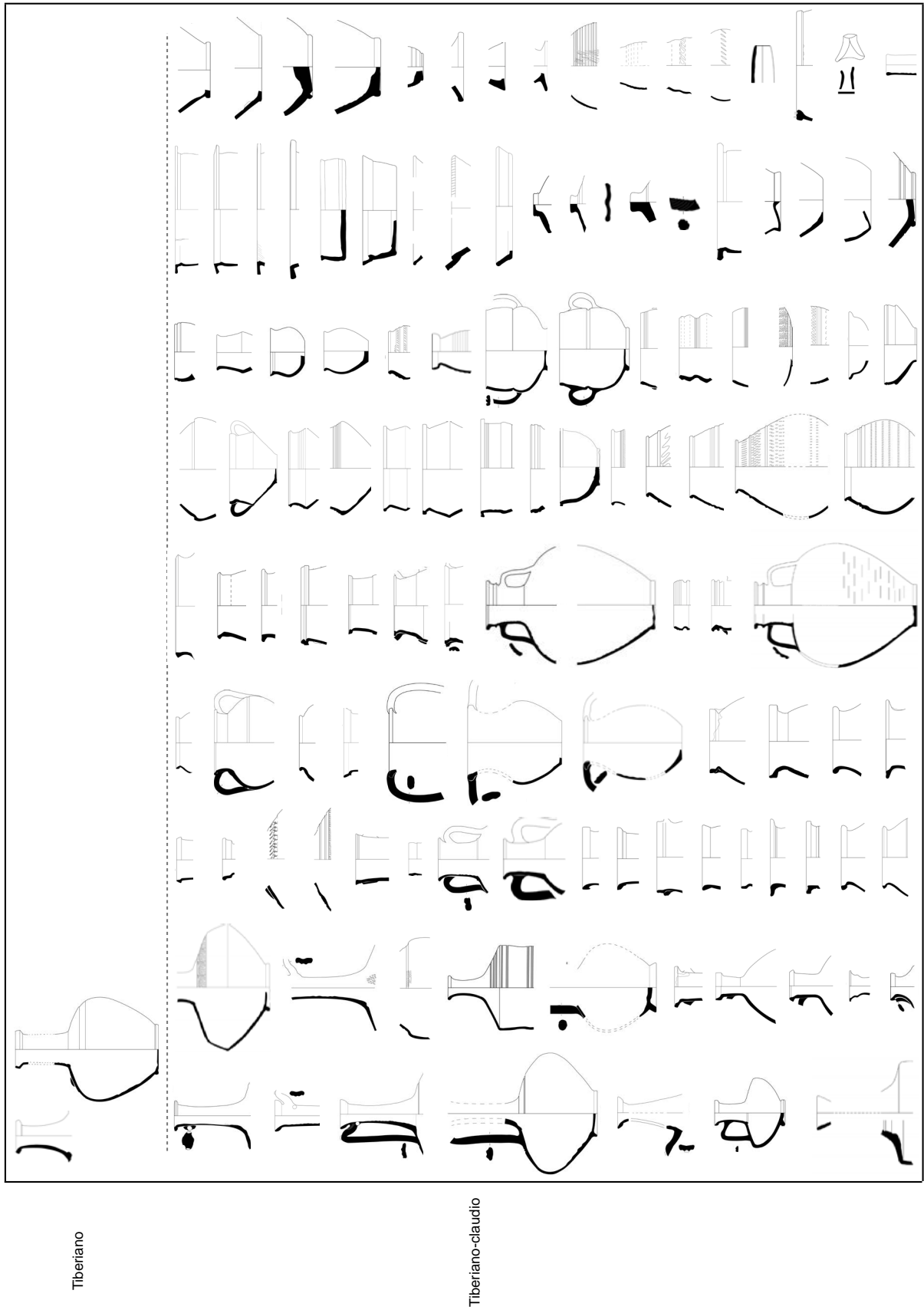


Figura 28 Distribuzione cronologica delle forme analizzate.

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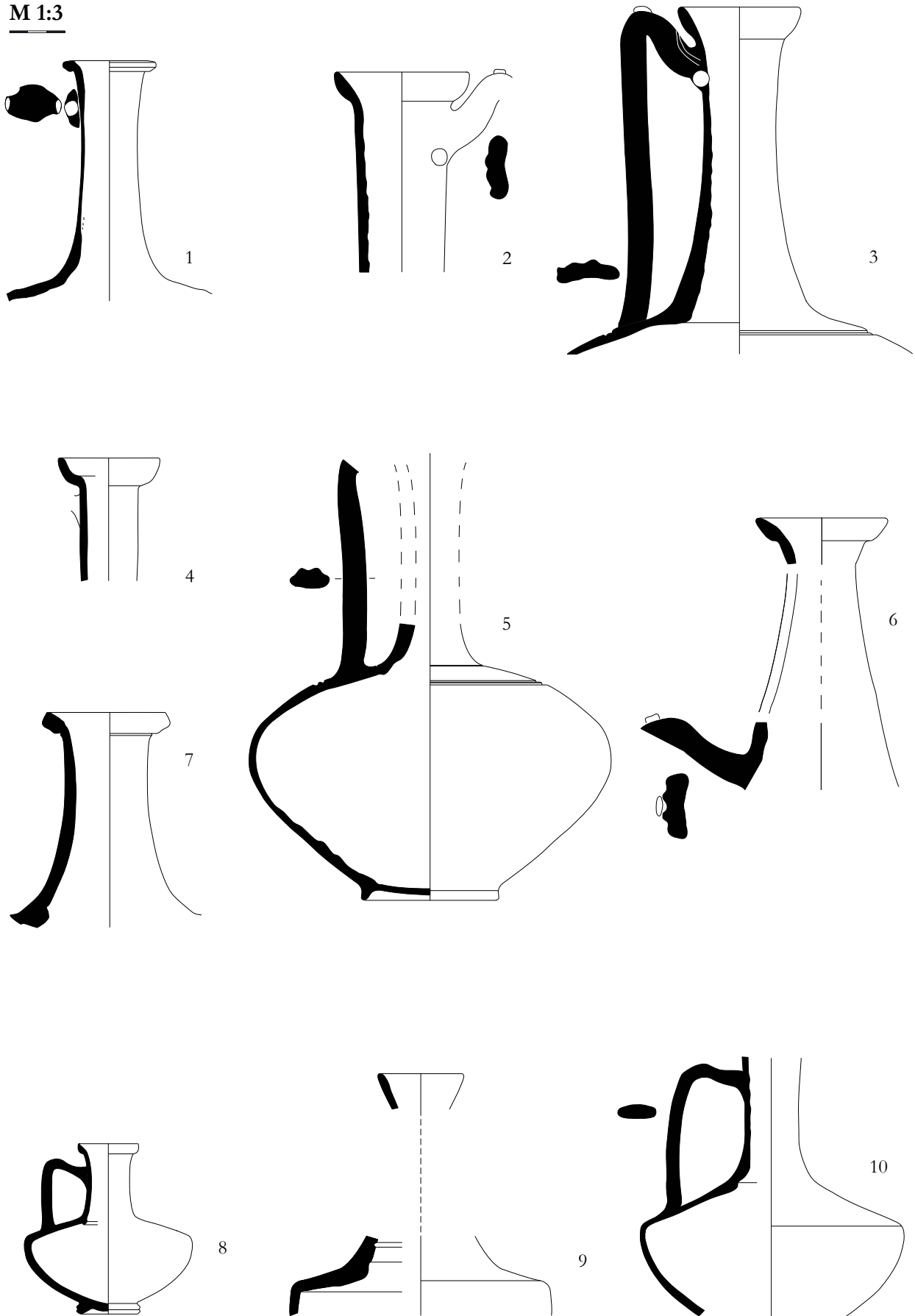
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**Tavola 1: Lagynoi**

<b>Tavola</b>	<b>Cfr. forma 1989</b>	<b>Data contesto</b>	<b>Cfr. cronologia 1989</b>	<b>Provenienza</b>	<b>Cfr. provenienza 1989</b>
1,1	35,1	tiberiano-claudio	—	Celeia?	—
1,2	1,6	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
1,3	35,1	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
1,4	1,2	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
1,5	35,1	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
1,6	—	tiberiano	—	Celeia	—
1,7	35,1	tiberiano-claudio	—	Celeia?	Italia Settentrionale
1,8	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
1,9	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
1,10	2,10	tardo-repubblicano	—	Italia Settentrionale	—

**M 1:3**

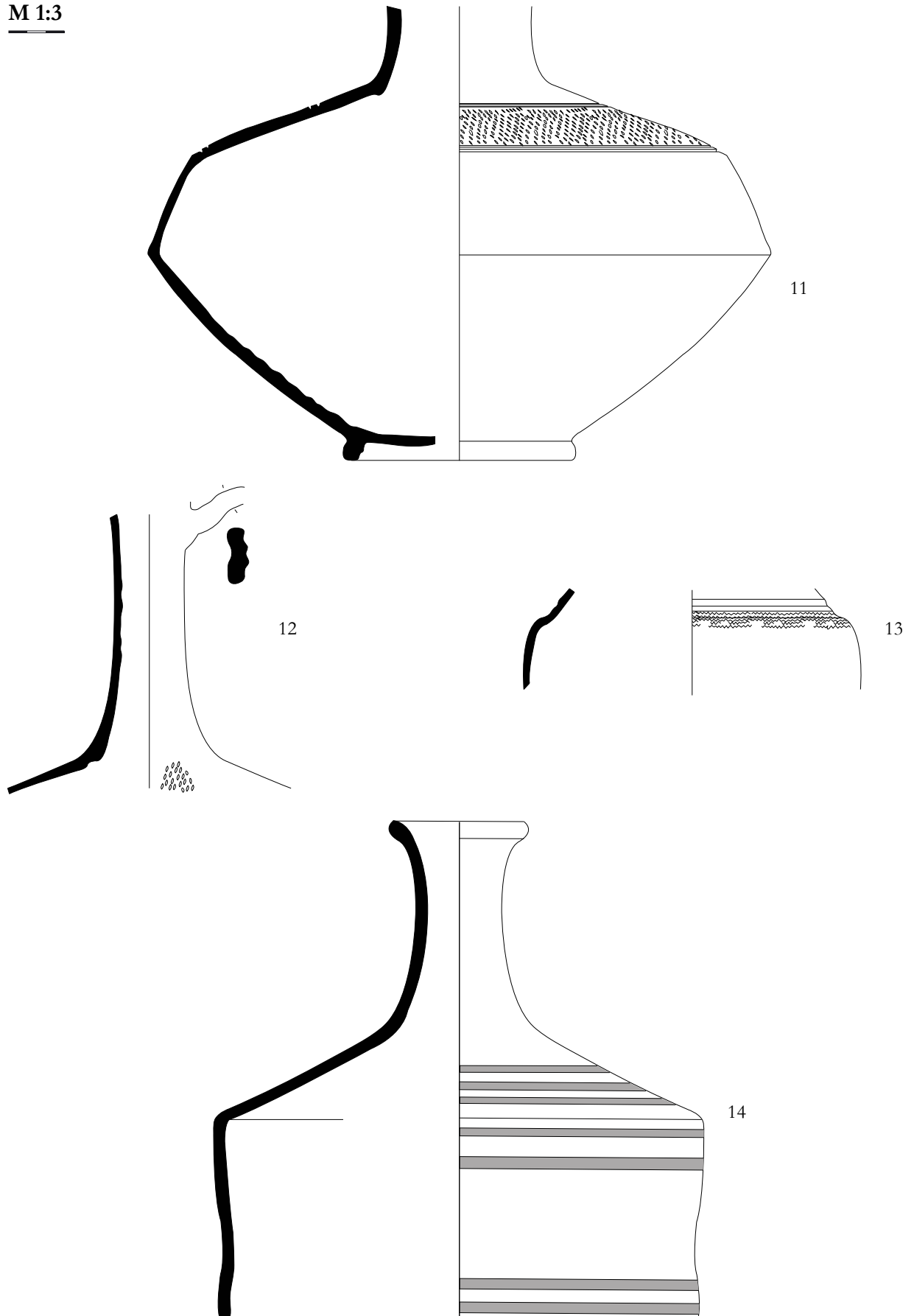


**Tavola 1** *Lagynoi* (disegno V. Mantovani, tielaborazione grafica S. Pukšič).

**Tavola 2: Lagynoi con spalla carenata o decorata**

<b>Tavola</b>	<b>Cfr. forma 1989</b>	<b>Data contesto</b>	<b>Cfr. cronologia 1989</b>	<b>Provenienza</b>	<b>Cfr. provenienza 1989</b>
2,11	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Celeia?	—
2,12	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
2,13	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Celeia?	—
2,14	35,7	tiberiano-claudio	—	Celeia?	—

M 1:3

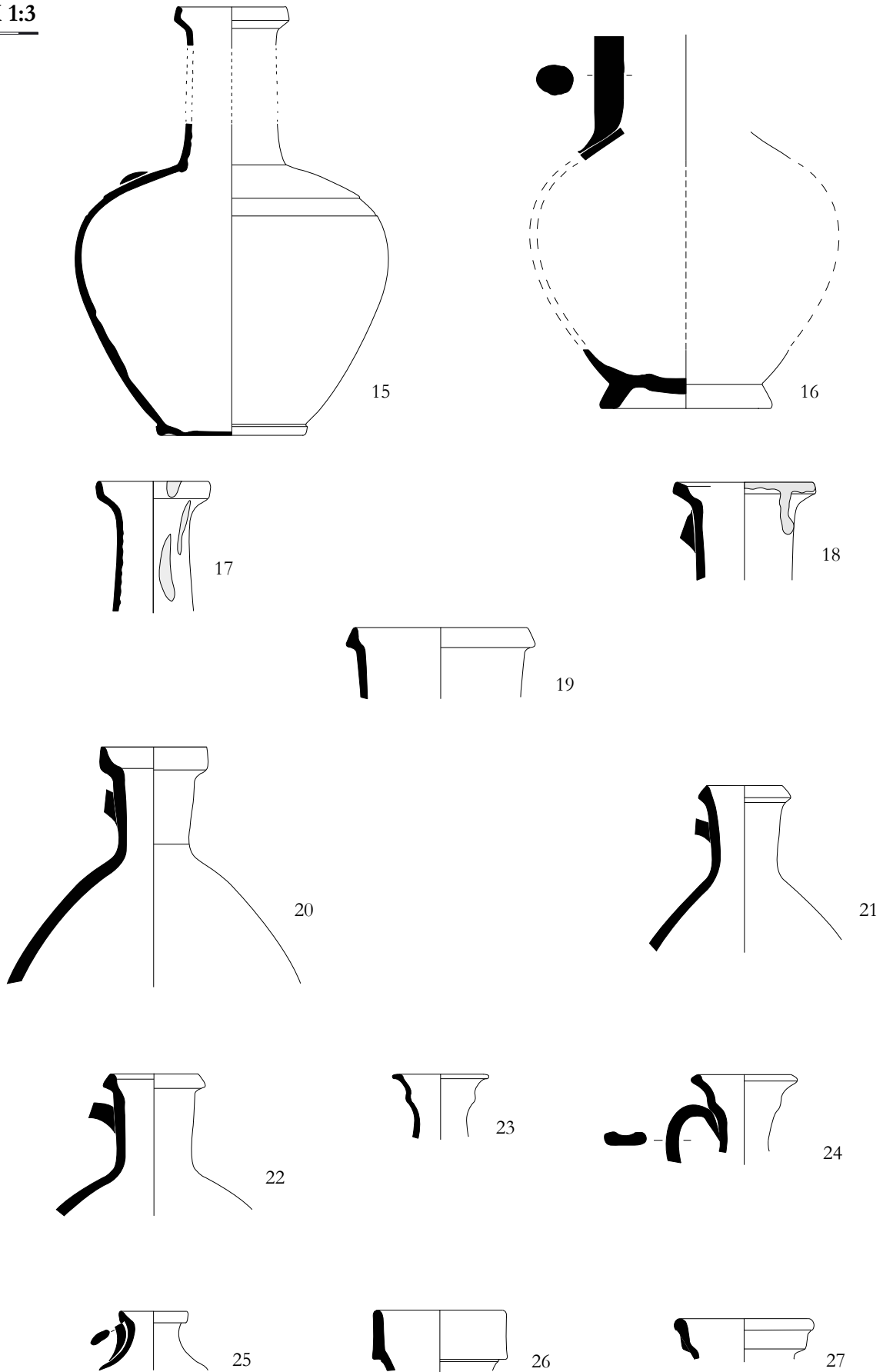


**Tavola 2** *Lagnoi con spalla carenata o decorata (disegno V. Mantovani, tielaborazione grafica S. Pukšič).*

**Tavola 3: Brocche monoansate**

<b>Tavola</b>	<b>Cfr. forma 1989</b>	<b>Data contesto</b>	<b>Cfr. cronologia 1989</b>	<b>Provenienza</b>	<b>Cfr. provenienza 1989</b>
3,15	5,4	tiberiano	—	Celeia	—
3,16	11,109	tiberiano-claudio	prima età augustea	Creta	Italia Settentrionale
3,17	5,3	prima età augustea	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
3,18	6,14	tiberiano-claudio	tardoaugusteo	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
3,19	9,63 e 64	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
3,20	9,63	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
3,21	9,70	tardo-augusteo	—	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
3,22	9,67	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
3,23	17,85 e 86	tiberiano-claudio	augusteo	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
3,24	17,85 e 86	tiberiano-claudio	augusteo	Orientale	Italia Settentrionale
3,25	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
3,26	10,75	tiberiano-claudio	prima età augustea	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
3,27	11,93	augusteo	—	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale

M 1:3



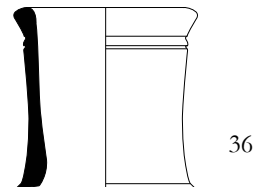
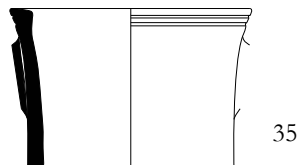
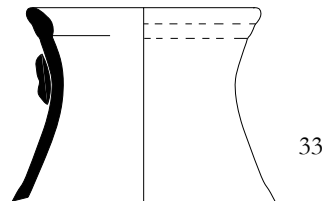
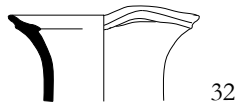
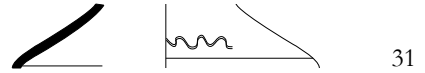
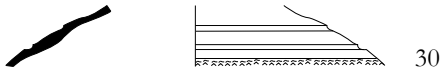
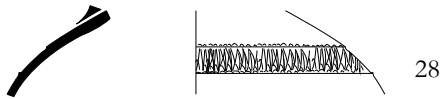
**Tavola 3** *Brocche monoansate (disegno V. Mantovani, tielaborazione grafica S. Pukšić).*

**Tavola 4: Brocche**

<b>Tavola</b>	<b>Cfr. forma 1989</b>	<b>Data contesto</b>	<b>Cfr. cronologia 1989</b>	<b>Provenienza</b>	<b>Cfr. provenienza 1989</b>
<b>Brocche con spalla decorata a rotella</b>					
4,28	35,4	tardo augusteo	tiberiano-claudio	Celeia?	Italia Settentrionale
4,29	35,4	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Celeia?	Italia Settentrionale
4,30	35,4	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Celeia?	Italia Settentrionale
4,31	—	augusteo	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
4,34	28,8	augusteo	tiberiano-claudio	Africa?	Italia Settentrionale
<b>Brocche con beccuccio versatorio</b>					
4,32	—	augusteo	—	Orientale	—
4,33	—	prima età claudia	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
<b>Brocche con superficie a mica dorata</b>					
4,35	15,45	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Gallia del Nord?	—
4,36	14,28	augusteo	tiberiano-claudio	Gallia del Nord?	—



**M 1:3**

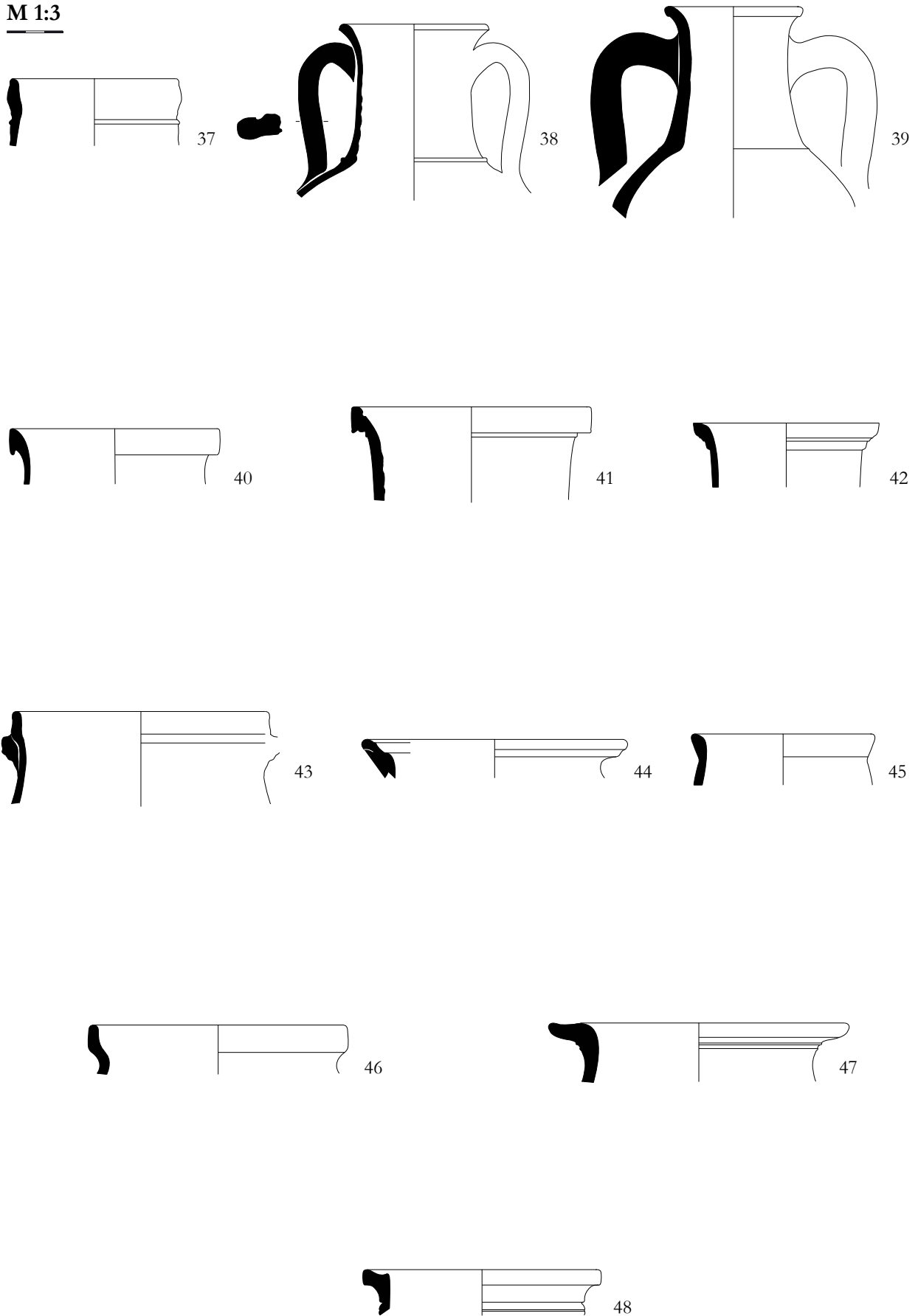


**Tavola 4** *Brocche con spalla decorata a rotella, brocche con beccuccio versatorio, brocche con superficie a mica dorata (disegno V. Mantovani, tielaborazione grafica S. Pukšič).*

**Tavola 5: Brocche da tavola biancate**

<b>Tavola</b>	<b>Cfr. forma 1989</b>	<b>Data contesto</b>	<b>Cfr. cronologia 1989</b>	<b>Provenienza</b>	<b>Cfr. provenienza 1989</b>
5,37	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
5,38	16,68	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale	tiberiano-claudio
5,39	16,67 e 68	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale	tiberiano-claudio
5,40	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
5,41	15,43	tardo-augusteo	tardo-augusteo	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
5,42	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Celeia?	—
5,43	28,7	tiberiano-claudio	prima età augustea	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
5,44	33,1	tardo-augusteo	tiberiano-claudio	Africa?	Italia Settentrionale
5,45	31,29	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
5,46	28,7	tiberiano-claudio	prima età augustea	Africa?	Italia Settentrionale
5,47	33,10	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
5,48	23,7	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale

**M 1:3**

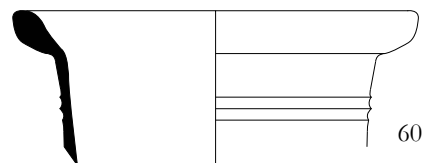
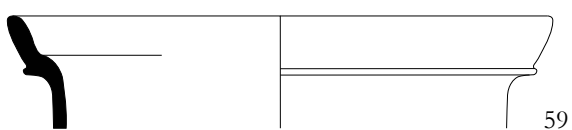
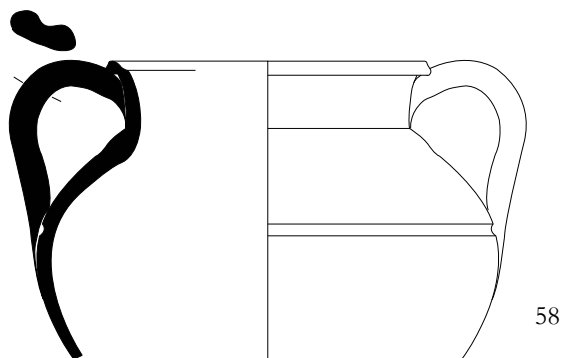
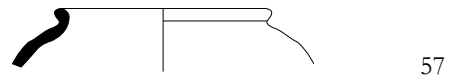
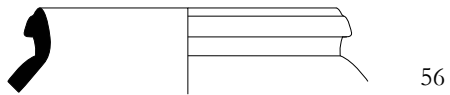
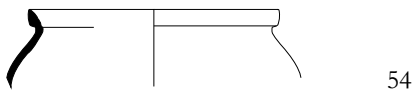
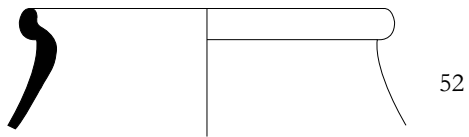
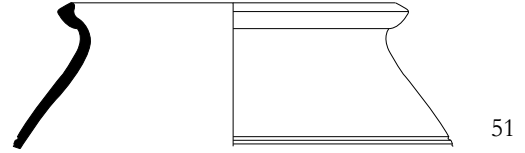
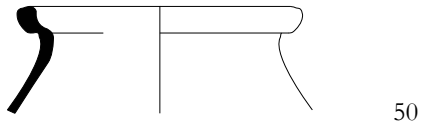
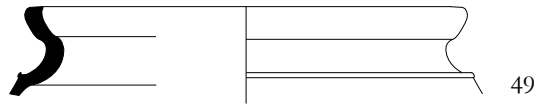


**Tavola 5** *Brocche da tavola biancate (disegno V. Mantovani, tielaborazione grafica S. Pukšič).*

**Tavola 6: Ollette**

<b>Tavola</b>	<b>Cfr. forma 1989</b>	<b>Data contesto</b>	<b>Cfr. cronologia 1989</b>	<b>Provenienza</b>	<b>Cfr. provenienza 1989</b>
6,49	—	prima età augustea	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
6,50	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Africa?	—
6,51	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Africa?	—
6,52	—	tardo-augusteo	—	Africa?	—
6,53	33,6	tardo-augusteo	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
6,54	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
6,55	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
6,56	33,3, 4 e 7	augusteo	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
6,57	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
6,58	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Sassuolo	—
6,59	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Orientale	—
6,60	—	augusteo	—	Africa	—

M 1:3

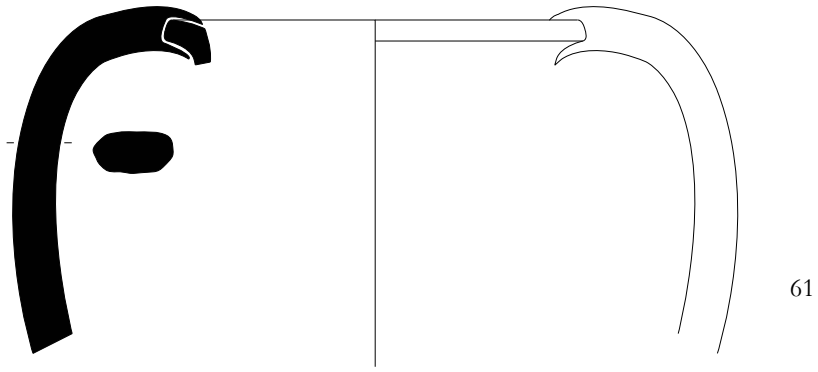


**Tavola 6** *Ollette (disegno V. Mantovani, tielaborazione grafica S. Pnkšič).*

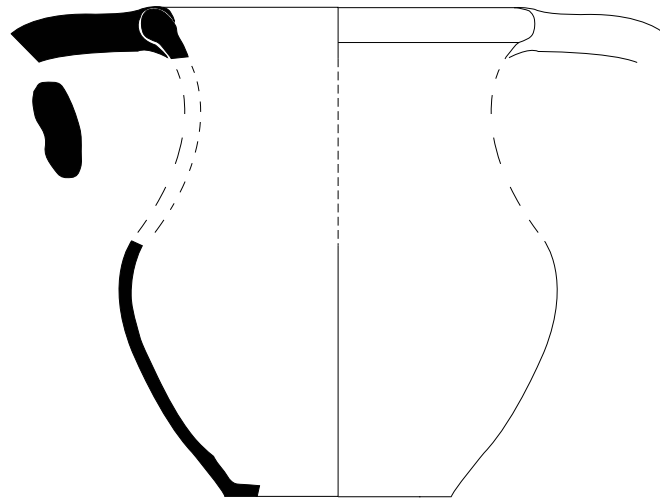
**Tavola 7: Piccoli contenitori da trasporto ovoidali con anse sporgenti connesse all'orlo**

<b>Tavola</b>	<b>Cfr. forma 1989</b>	<b>Data contesto</b>	<b>Cfr. cronologia 1989</b>	<b>Provenienza</b>	<b>Cfr. provenienza 1989</b>
7,61	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
7,72	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
7,63	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—

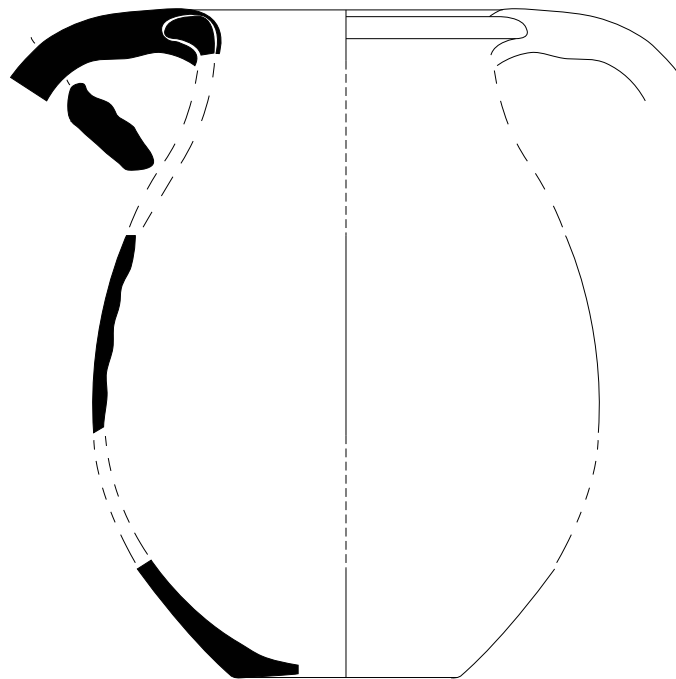
M 1:3



61



62



63

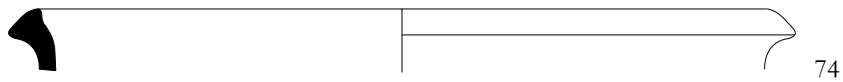
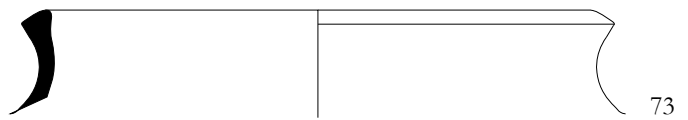
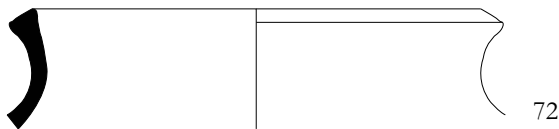
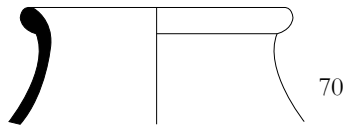
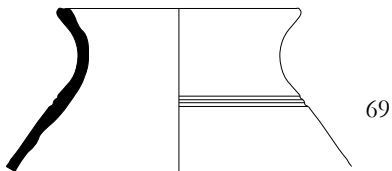
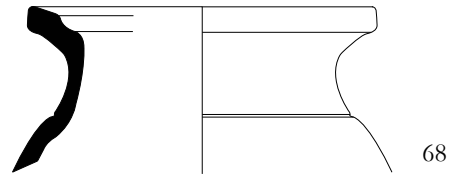
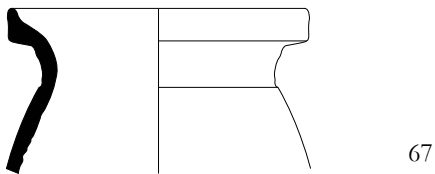
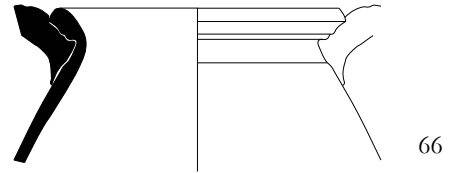
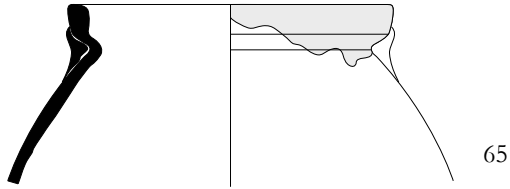
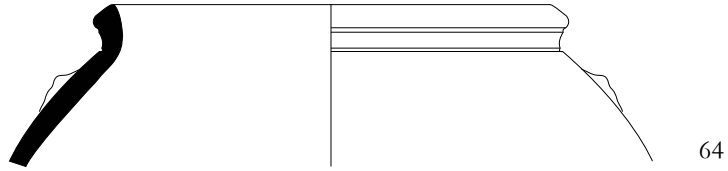
**Tavola 7** Piccoli contenitori da trasporto ovoidali con anse sporgenti connesse all'orlo (disegno V. Mantovani, *rielaborazione grafica* S. Pukšič).

**Tavola 8: Piccoli contenitori da trasporto ovoidali**

<b>Tavola</b>	<b>Cfr. forma 1989</b>	<b>Data contesto</b>	<b>Cfr. cronologia 1989</b>	<b>Provenienza</b>	<b>Cfr. provenienza 1989</b>
8,64	—	augusteo	—	Africa?	—
8,65	25,21?	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Africa?	Italia Settentrionale
8,66	—	augusteo	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
8,67	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
8,68	25,20	tardo-augusteo	tardo-augusteo	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
8,69	24,14	augusteo	tiberiano-claudio	Africa?	Italia Settentrionale
8,70	25,25	tiberiano-claudio	tardo-augusteo	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
8,71	28,10	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Africa?	Italia Settentrionale
8,72	24	augusteo	—	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
8,73	24	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
8,74	24	augusteo	—	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale



M 1:3

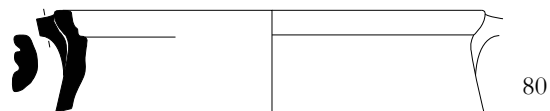
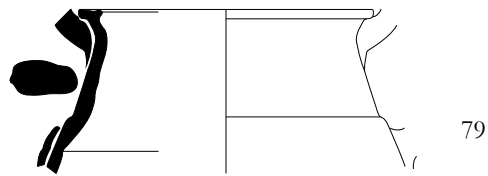
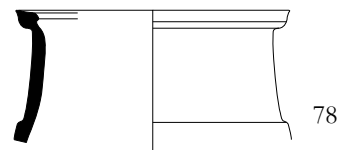
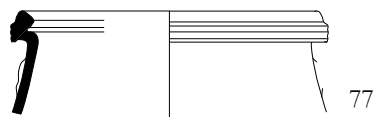
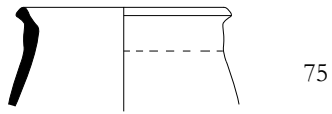


**Tavola 8** Piccoli contenitori da trasporto ovoidali (disegno V. Mantovani, tielaborazione grafica S. Pukšič).

**Tavola 9: Piccoli contenitori da trasporto ovoidali con spalla accentuata**

<b>Tavola</b>	<b>Cfr. forma 1989</b>	<b>Data contesto</b>	<b>Cfr. cronologia 1989</b>	<b>Provenienza</b>	<b>Cfr. provenienza 1989</b>
9,75	28,1 e 2	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Celeia?	Italia Settentrionale
9,76	24,15	tiberiano-claudio	augusteo	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
9,77	27	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	?	Italia Settentrionale
9,78	27	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	?	Italia Settentrionale
9,79	27	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
9,80	27	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale

**M 1:3**

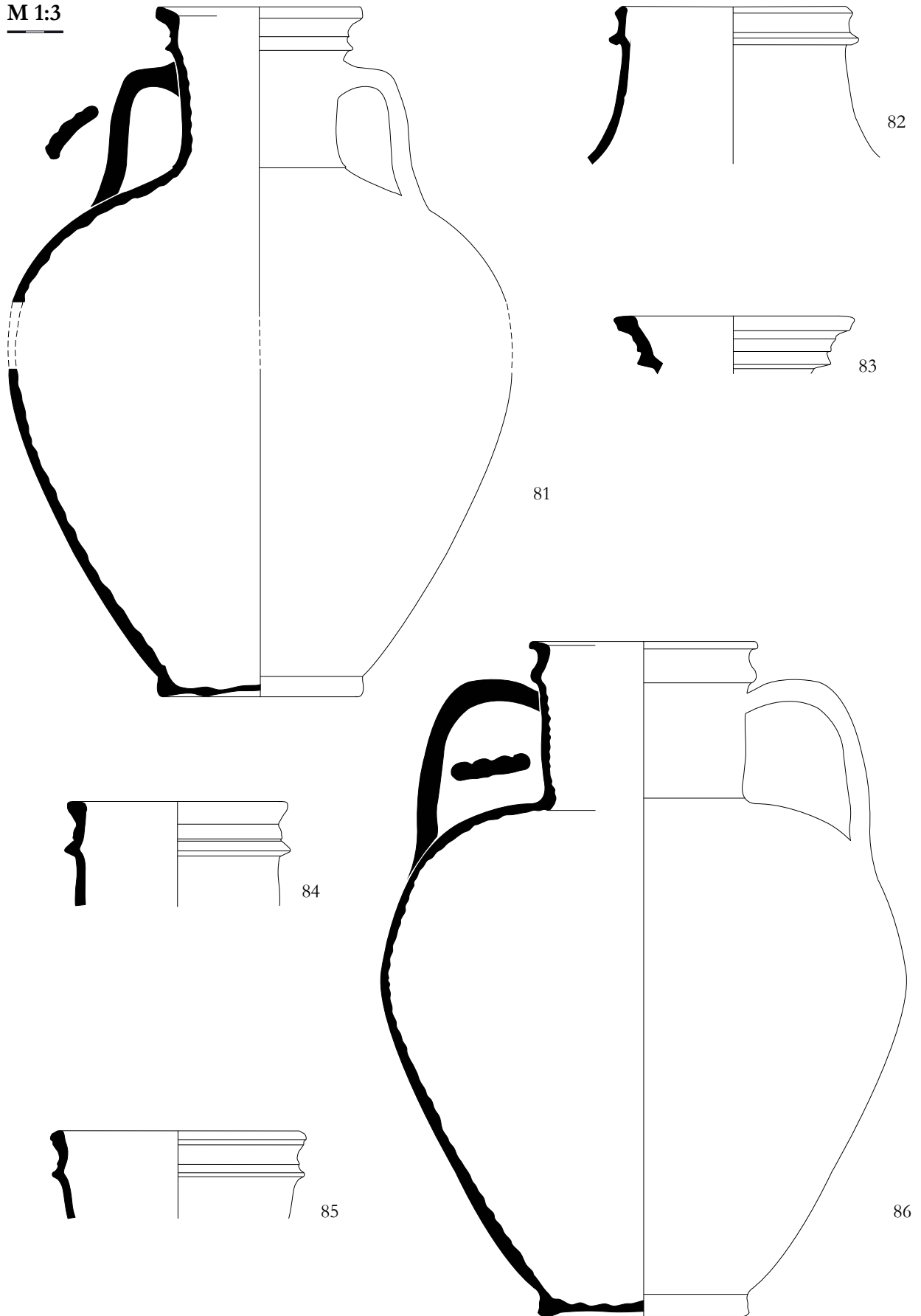


**Tavola 9** *Piccoli contenitori da trasporto ovoidali con spalla accentuata (disegno V. Mantovani, tielaborazione grafica S. Pukšič).*

**Tavola 10: Contenitori biancati con collarino/Dressel 28 e similis**

<b>Tavola</b>	<b>Cfr. forma 1989</b>	<b>Data contesto</b>	<b>Cfr. cronologia 1989</b>	<b>Provenienza</b>	<b>Cfr. provenienza 1989</b>
10, 81	20,26	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?
10,82	19-22	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?
10,83	19-22	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?
10,84	19-22	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?
10,85	19-22	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?
10,86	19,15	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?

M 1:3

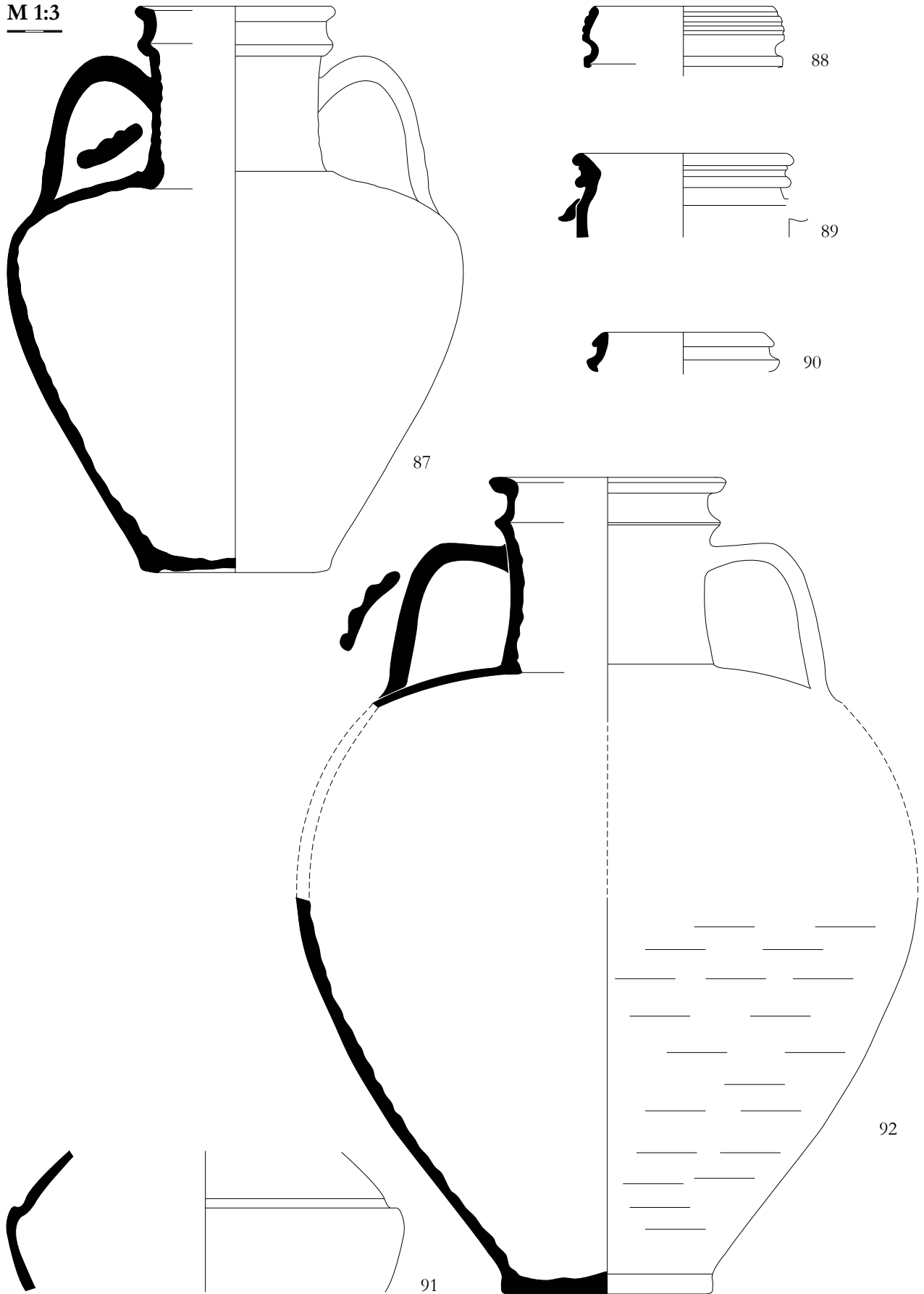


**Tavola 10** *Contenitori biancati con collarino/Dressel 28 e similis (disegno V. Mantovani, tielaborazione grafica S. Pukšič).*

**Tavola 11: Contenitori biansati con collarino/Dressel 28 e similis**

<b>Tavola</b>	<b>Cfr. forma 1989</b>	<b>Data contesto</b>	<b>Cfr. cronologia 1989</b>	<b>Provenienza</b>	<b>Cfr. provenienza 1989</b>
11,87	19-22	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?
11,88	20,32	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?
11,89	15,51	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?
11,90	21,35	augusteo	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?
11,91	18,1 oppure 4	tiberiano-claudio	augusteo	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?
11,92	19-22	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?

M 1:3



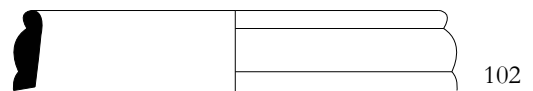
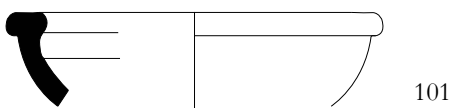
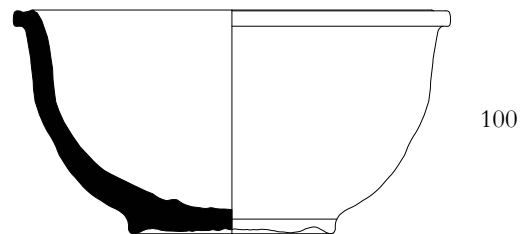
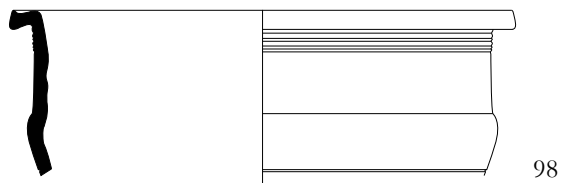
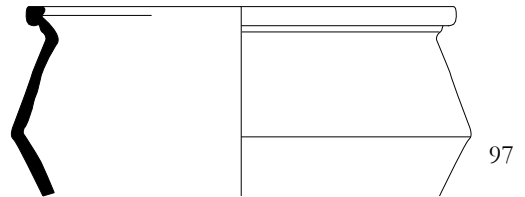
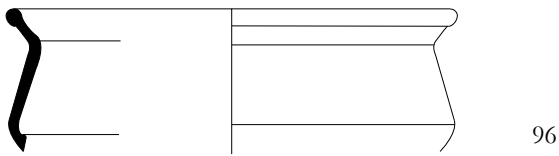
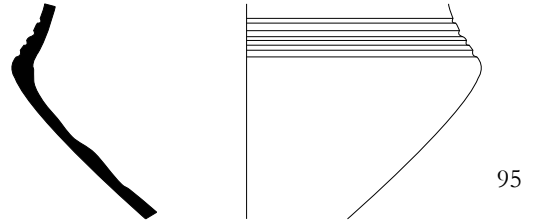
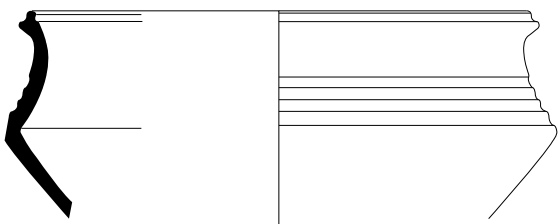
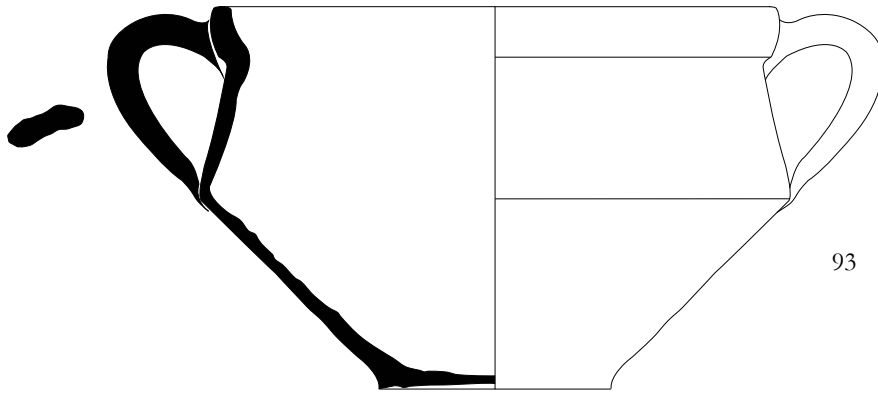
**Tavola 11** *Contenitori biancati con collarino/Dressel 28 e similis (disegno V. Mantovani, tielaborazione grafica S. Pukšič).*

**Tavola 12: Ciotole biansate con corpo carenato e ciotole semplici**

<b>Tavola</b>	<b>Cfr. forma 1989</b>	<b>Data contesto</b>	<b>Cfr. cronologia 1989</b>	<b>Provenienza</b>	<b>Cfr. provenienza 1989</b>
<b>Ciotole biansate con corpo carenato</b>					
12,93	32,44	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?
12,94	29	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?
12,95	29	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?
12,96	29	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?
12,97	29	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?
12,98	29	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?
<b>Ciotole semplici</b>					
12,99	—	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
12,100	29,15	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
12,101	—	augusteo	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
12,102	—	augusteo	—	Italia Settentrionale	—



M 1:3

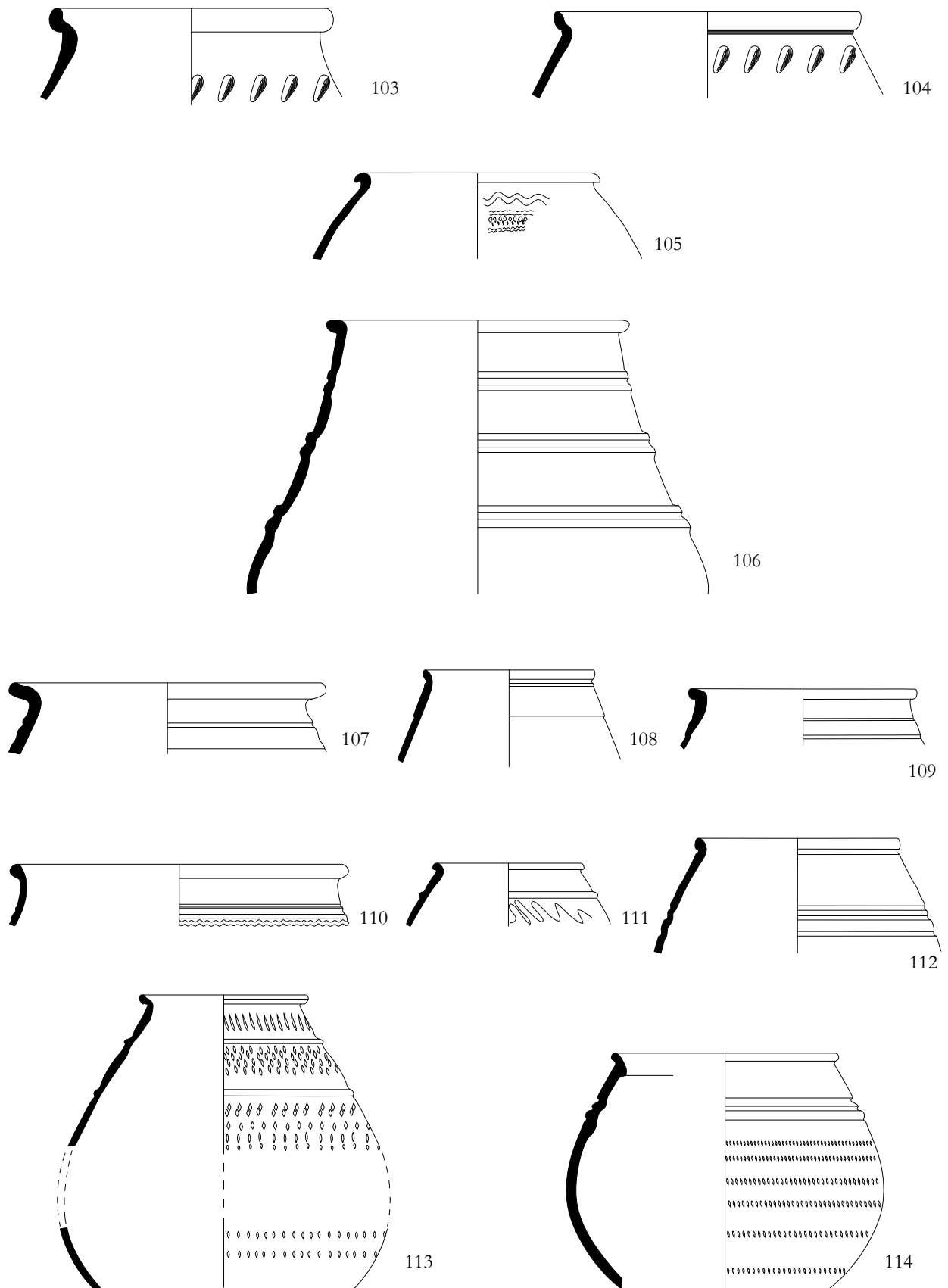


**Tavola 12** Ciotole biancate con corpo carenato, ciotole semplici (disegno V. Mantovani, tielaborazione grafica S. Pukšič).

**Tavola 13: Grandi boccali biconici**

<b>Tavola</b>	<b>Cfr. forma 1989</b>	<b>Data contesto</b>	<b>Cfr. cronologia 1989</b>	<b>Provenienza</b>	<b>Cfr. provenienza 1989</b>
13,103	—	tardo-augusteo	—	Italia Settentrionale?	—
13,104	—	tardo-augusteo	—	Italia Settentrionale?	—
13,105	32	tardo-augusteo	tiberiano-claudio	Poetovio?	—
13,106	32	augusteo	tiberiano-claudio	Poetovio?	—
13,107	32	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Celeia?	—
13,108	32	post-augusteo	tiberiano-claudio	Poetovio?	—
13,109	32	augusteo	tiberiano-claudio	Celeia?	—
13,110	32	augusteo	tiberiano-claudio	Celeia?	—
13,111	32	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Poetovio?	—
13,112	32	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Poetovio?	—
13,113	32	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Poetovio?	—
13,114	32	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Poetovio?	—

M 1:3

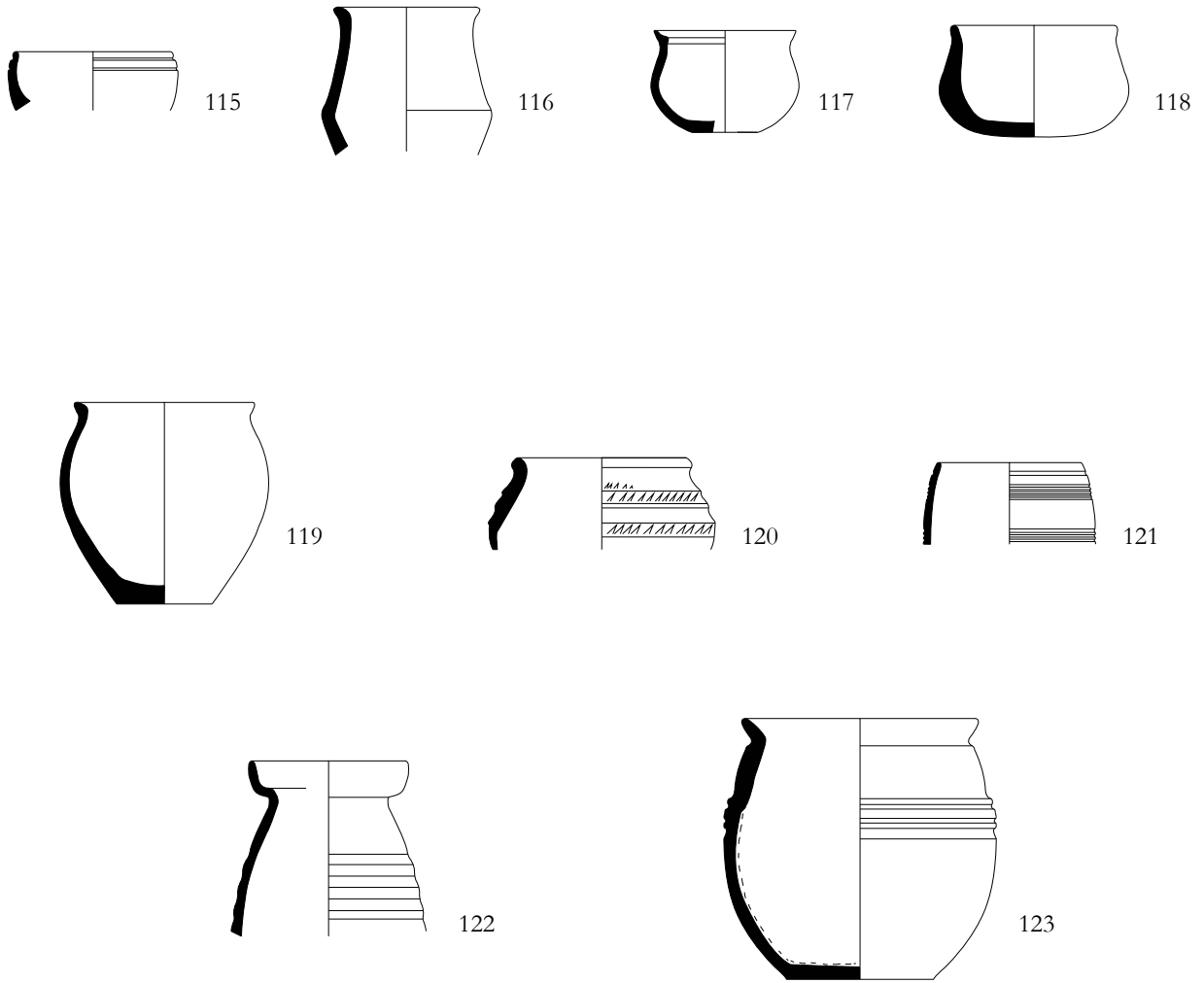


**Tavola 13** *Grandi boccali biconici (disegno V. Mantovani, tielaborazione grafica S. Pukšič).*

**Tavola 14: I Piccoli contenitori**

<b>Tavola</b>	<b>Cfr. forma 1989</b>	<b>Data contesto</b>	<b>Cfr. cronologia 1989</b>	<b>Provenienza</b>	<b>Cfr. provenienza 1989</b>
<b>Piccoli contenitori</b>					
14,115	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
14,116	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
14,117	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
14,118	—	augusteo	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
<b>Bicchieri</b>					
14,119	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
14,120	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
14,121	—	augusteo	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
14,122	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
14,123	—	tardo-repubblicano	—	Campania	—

**M 1:3**

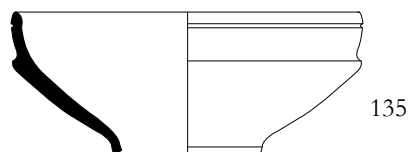
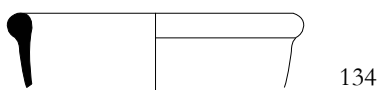
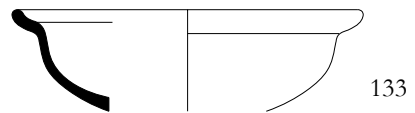
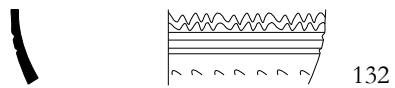
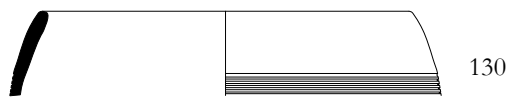
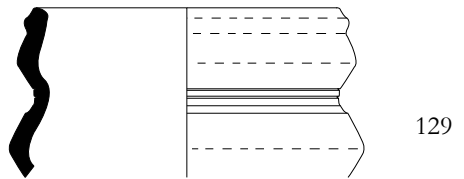
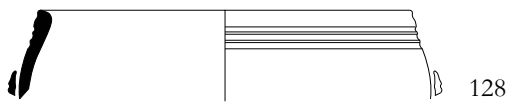
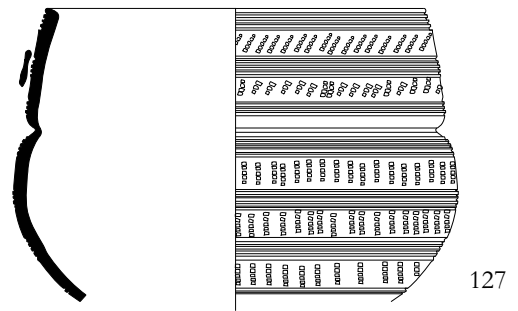
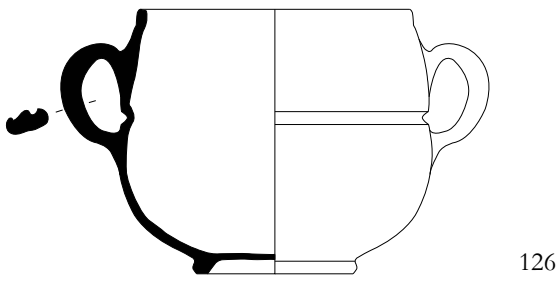
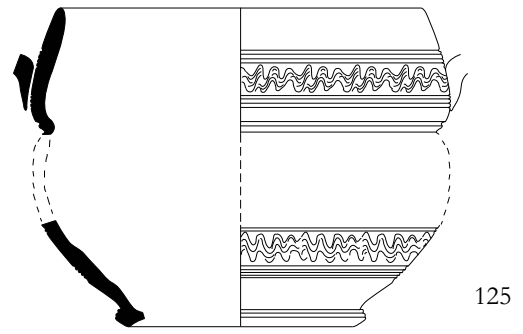
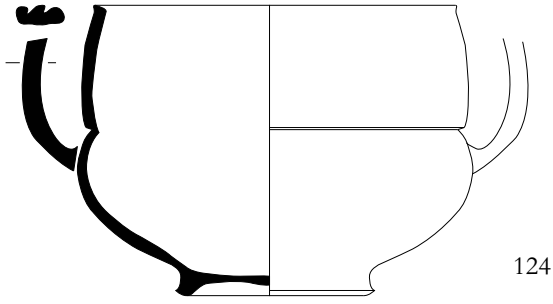


**Tavola 14** *Piccoli contenitori, bicchieri (disegno V. Mantovani, tielaborazione grafica S. Pukšić).*

**Tavola 15: Coppe con due anse e alto bordo convesso e Coppe senza anse**

<b>Tavola</b>	<b>Cfr. forma 1989</b>	<b>Data contesto</b>	<b>Cfr. cronologia 1989</b>	<b>Provenienza</b>	<b>Cfr. provenienza 1989</b>
<b>Coppe con due anse e alto bordo convesso</b>					
15,124	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Celeia?	—
15,125	35,5	augusteo	tiberiano-claudio	Celeia?	—
15,126	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Celeia?	—
15,127	—	prima età augustea	—	Celeia?	—
15,128	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Celeia?	—
15,129	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Celeia?	—
15,130	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Celeia?	—
15,131	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Celeia?	—
<b>Coppe senza anse</b>					
15,132	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale?/ Celeia?	—
15,133	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
15,134	—	tardo-augusteo	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
15,135	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Celeia?	—

**M 1:3**



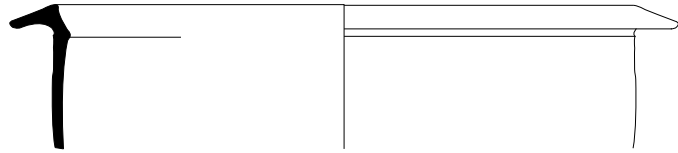
**Tavola 15** Coppe con due anse e alto bordo convesso (disegno V. Mantovani, tielaborazione grafica S. Pukšič).

**Tavola 16: Caccabi**

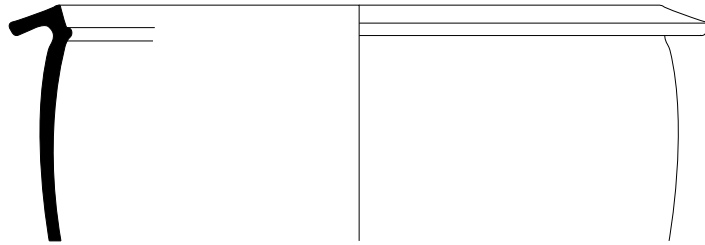
<b>Tavola</b>	<b>Cfr. forma 1989</b>	<b>Data contesto</b>	<b>Cfr. cronologia 1989</b>	<b>Provenienza</b>	<b>Cfr. provenienza 1989</b>
16,136	33,11-13	tardo-repubblicano	prima età augustea	Africa	—
16,137	33,11-13	tardo-repubblicano	prima età augustea	Africa	—
16,138	33,11-13	tiberiano-claudio	prima età augustea	Africa	—
16,139	33,11-13	tiberiano-claudio	prima età augustea	Africa	—
16,140	33,11-13	augusteo	prima età augustea	Orientale?	—
16,141	33,11-13	tiberiano-claudio	prima età augustea	Africa	—
16,142	33,11-13	tiberiano-claudio	prima età augustea	Africa	—



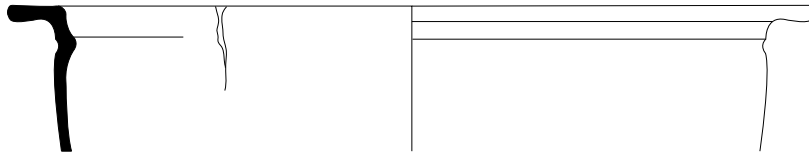
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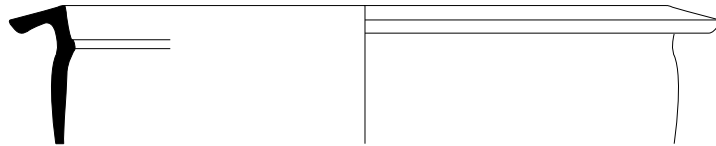
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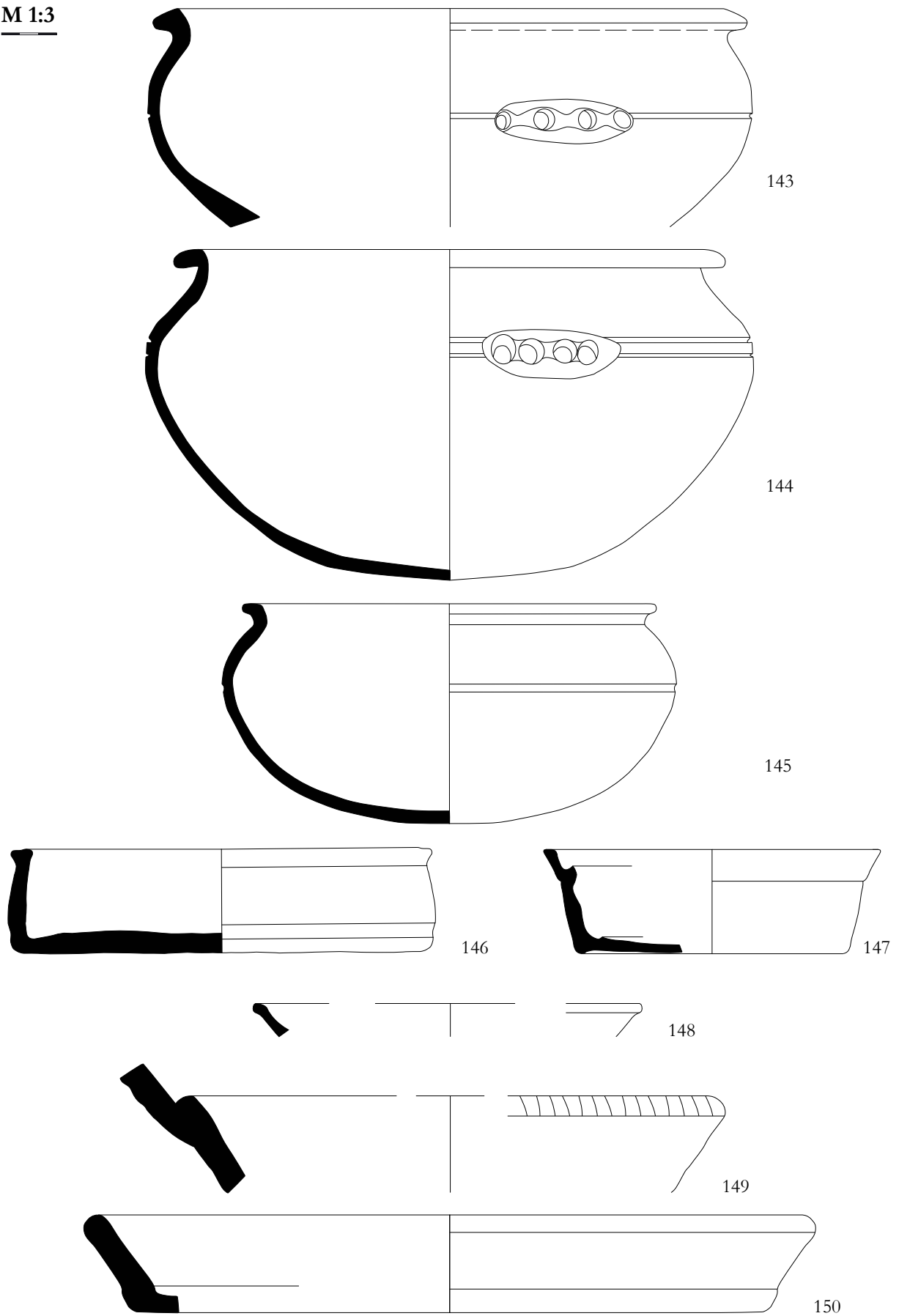
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**Tavola 16** *Caccabi (disegno V. Mantovani, tielaborazione grafica S. Pukšič).*

**Tavola 17: Pentole da gulash e Tegami da fuoco**

<b>Pentole da gulash</b>					
17, 143	—	tardo-repubblicano	—	Gazzo Veronese?	—
17,144	—	tardo-repubblicano	—	Gazzo Veronese?	—
17,145	—	tardo-repubblicano	—	Gazzo Veronese?	—
<b>Tegami da fuoco</b>					
17, 146	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
17, 147	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Africa	—
17, 148	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Orientale	—
17, 149	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Orientale	—
17, 150	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Orientale	—

M 1:3

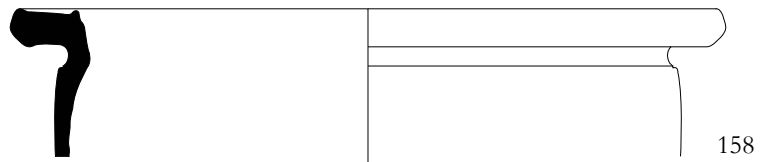
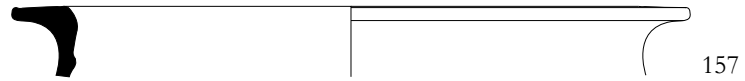
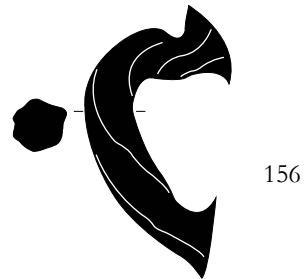
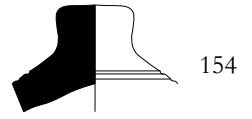
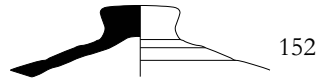
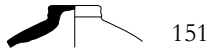


**Tavola 17** Pentole da gulash, tegami da fuoco (disegno V. Mantovani, tielaborazione grafica S. Pukšič).

**Tavola 18: Coperchi, Anse e Vasi da notte**

<b>Tavola</b>	<b>Cfr. forma 1989</b>	<b>Data contesto</b>	<b>Cfr. cronologia 1989</b>	<b>Provenienza</b>	<b>Cfr. provenienza 1989</b>
<b>Coperchi</b>					
18,151	35,10-12	tiberiano-claudio	tardorepubblicano	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
18,152	35,10-12	tiberiano-claudio	tardorepubblicano	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
18, 153	35,10-12	tiberiano-claudio	tardorepubblicano	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
18, 154	35,10-12	tiberiano-claudio	tardorepubblicano	Italia Settentrionale	Italia Settentrionale
<b>Anse</b>					
18,155	35,3	tiberiano-claudio	tiberiano-claudio	Orientale?	—
18,156	35,3	augusteo	tiberiano-claudio	Africa?	—
<b>Vasi da notte</b>					
18,157	—	prima età augustea	—	Africa?	—
18,158	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Africa?	—

**M 1:3**

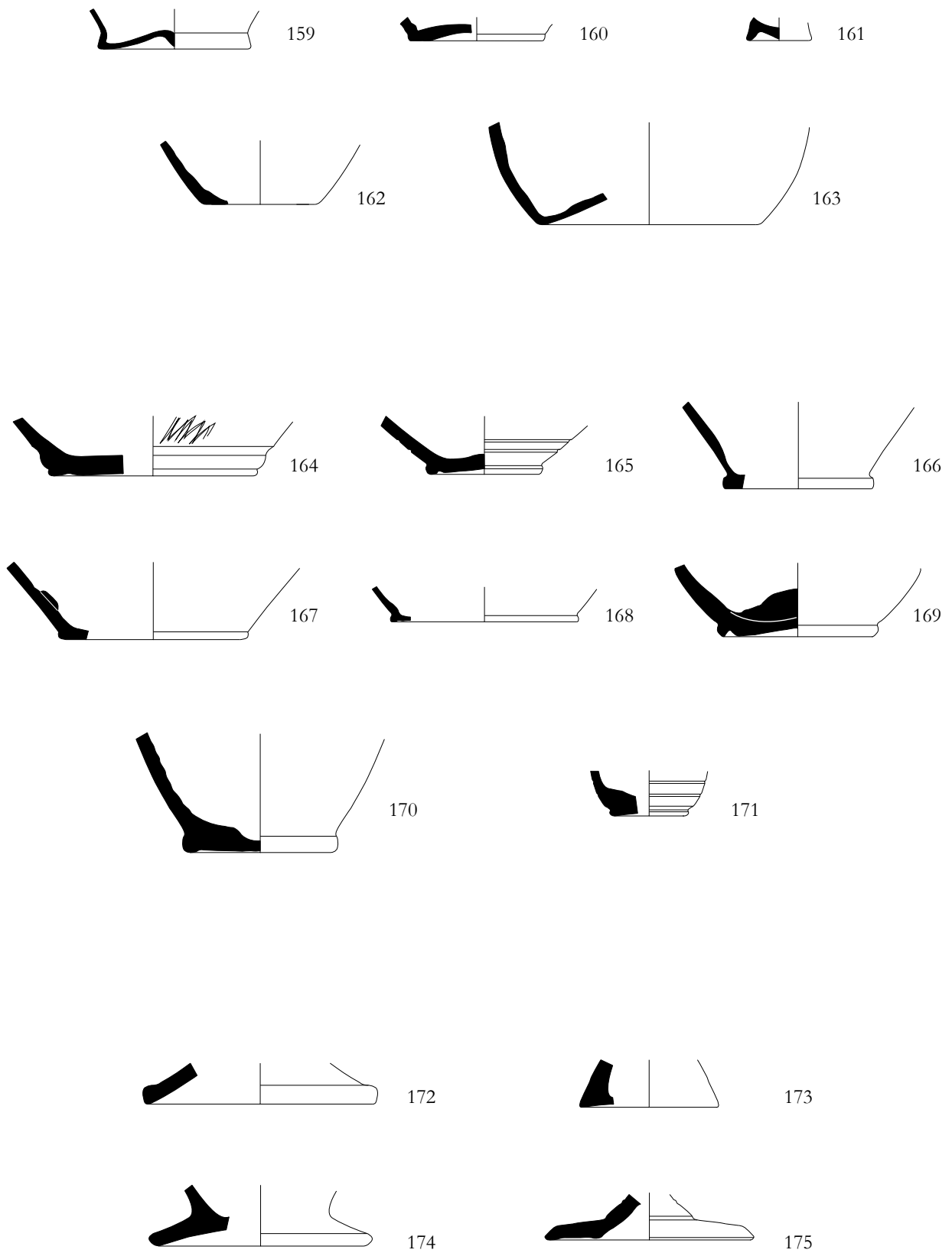


**Tavola 18** Coperchi, anse, vasi da notte (disegno V. Mantovani, tielaborazione grafica S. Pukšić).

**Tavola 19: Fondi non determinati, Fondi con piede ad anello**

<b>Tavola</b>	<b>Cfr. forma 1989</b>	<b>Data contesto</b>	<b>Cfr. cronologia 1989</b>	<b>Provenienza</b>	<b>Cfr. provenienza 1989</b>
<b>Fondi non determinati</b>					
Tavola	—	Data contesto	—	Provenienza	—
19,159	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Orientale?	—
19,160	—	prima età augustea	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
19,161	—	tardo-augusteo	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
19,162	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Africa?	—
19,163	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
<b>Fondi con piede ad anello</b>					
19,164	—	augusteo	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
19,165	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
19,166	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
19,167	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
19,168	—	augusteo	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
19,169	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
19,170	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
19,171	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
<b>Fondi particolari</b>					
19,172	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
19,173	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
19,174	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
19,175	—	prima età augustea	—	Italia Settentrionale	—

**M 1:3**



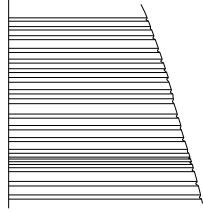
**Tavola 19** Fondi non determinati, fondi con piede ad anello, fondi particolari (disegno V. Mantovani, tielaborazione grafica S. Pukšič).

**Tavola 20: Varia**

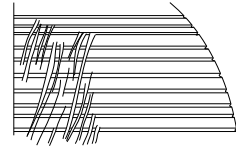
<b>Tavola</b>	<b>Cfr. forma 1989</b>	<b>Data contesto</b>	<b>Cfr. cronologia 1989</b>	<b>Provenienza</b>	<b>Cfr. provenienza 1989</b>
20,176	—	augusteo	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
20,177	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Locale-Regionale?	—
20,178	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
20,179	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
20,180	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
20,181	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
20,182	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—
20,183	—	?	—	Orientale	—
20,184	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale <sup>2</sup>	—
20,185	—	tiberiano-claudio	—	Italia Settentrionale	—



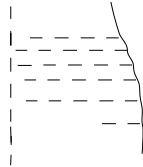
M 1:3



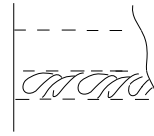
176



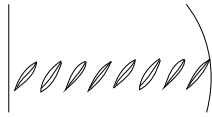
177



178



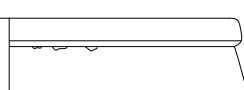
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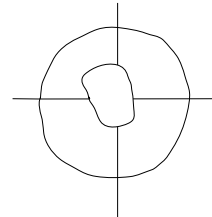
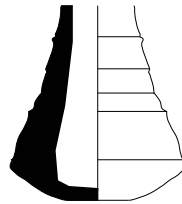
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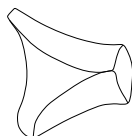
181



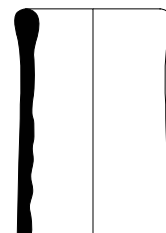
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185

Tavola 20 Varia (disegno V. Mantovani,rielaborazione grafica S. Pukšič).



## The First Late Antique Composite Combs in Western Illyricum: Roman or Barbarian?

### Prvi poznoantični sestavljeni glavniki iz Zahodnega Ilirika: rimski ali barbarski?

Gojko Tica

**Izvleček:** Na prehodu 4. v 5. stoletje se je na nekaterih poznoantičnih najdiščih pojavilo novo gradivo, ki ga nekateri avtorji pripisujejo prihodu nove, „barbarske“ populacije na območje Zahodnega Ilirika. Med tovrstnim gradivom najdemo tudi različne oblike sestavljenih (troplastnih) glavnikov. Medtem, ko dvovrstni primerki v glavnem veljajo za rimsko-provinsialne izdelke, nekateri avtorji glavnike z različno oblikovanimi visokimi ročaji tako ali drugače povezujejo s tujimi vplivi. Nekateri jim nasprotujejo in jih ravno tako obravnavajo kot rimsko-provinsialne izdelke. Po našem mnenju nekateri tipi glavnikov predstavljajo enega najbolj tipičnih barbarskih elementov na območju poznoantičnega Zahodnega Ilirika. Še več, tudi samo polaganja različnih vrst koščenih oziroma roženih glavnikov v grob je značilnost barbarskih, v glavnem germanskih skupin in ne rimsko-provinsialnega prebivalstva. Tudi tipe, uvrščene med rimsko-provinsialne izdelke, so prišleki verjetno uporabljali kot del svojih pogrebnih običajev. Razvoj izdelave glavnikov, izdelava tudi dvovrstnih sestavljenih primerkov, v primerjavi z rimskimi provincami enormno število glavnikov v grobovih iz območij srednje in vzhodne Evrope, ki so jih naseljevale predvsem različne germanske skupine, ter ravno tako dokazi o obstoju delavnic za izdelavo glavnikov iz 3. in 4. stoletja, vse to kaže na množično proizvodnjo in uporabo glavnikov med barbarskimi (predvsem germanskimi) skupinami še v času, preden so se naselili na nekaterih območjih Cesarstva. Po našem mnenju niti ni pomembno, kdo je koščene / rožene glavnike izdeloval, temveč kdo je te izdelke uporabljal, kdo je glavnike polagal v grobove kot pridatke. Očitno Barbari (v glavnem germanske skupine) in ne lokalno romanizirano provinsialno prebivalstvo. Po drugi strani pa so ob prvih množičnih prihodih Barbarov na ozemlje Cesarstva še vedno delovale tudi rimske delavnice in lokalnim mojstrom se ni bilo težko prilagoditi potrebam novih uporabnikov. Tudi kasneje, v 5 in 6. stoletju, je polaganje glavnikov kot pridatkov v grob vsaj v Zahodnem Iliriku in njegovemu sosodstvu, kazalo na barbarsko prisotnost. Nekateri avtorji na grobiščih, kjer se pojavljajo „barbarski“ elementi iz t. i. obdobja preseljevanja ljudstev, „revne“ grobove z glavniki povezujejo z „romaniziranim“ ali „krščanskim avtohtonim prebivalstvom“, toda po našem mnenju ni nikakršnih osnov za takšne zaključke. Prisotnost glavnikov na poznoantičnih najdiščih iz časa ob koncu 4. in na začetku 5. stoletja bi lahko povezali s pojavom nove barbarske populacije na območju poznoantičnega Zahodnega Ilirika. Toda, ker „tuje“ gradivo iz tega časa ni tako pogosto, je vprašljivo, če ga lahko povežemo s t. i. federatsko skupino Alateja in Safrika, kot so to storili nekateri avtorji. Menimo, da to gradivo kaže, da so se nekateri Barbari naselili v Panoniji in Noriku, tudi kot vojaki, kar ni presenetljivo glede na dejstvo, da so številne barbarske skupine živele ob meji s Cesarstvom. Toda na podlagi arheoloških najdb ne moremo govoriti o gosti naselitvi določene barbarske skupine v svojstvu federatov. Do velikih etničnih sprememb v Zahodnem Iliriku, predvsem v nekaterih delih Panonije, je prišlo šele v 30. letih 5. stoletja, ko je zahodni del Cesarstva predal Panonijo v roke Hunom.

**Ključne besede:** sestavljeni glavniki, grobni pridatki, Zahodni Ilirik, Barbari, Germani, pozna antika

**Abstract:** At the turn of the 4<sup>th</sup> into the 5<sup>th</sup> century new material occurred on some Late Antique sites which is by some authors connected with the arrival of a new, „Barbarian“ population in the territory of Western Illyricum. Among this material we can also find different shaped composite (three-layer) combs. While double-sided examples were classified as Roman provincial products, some authors in one way or the other associate the combs with different shaped high handles with foreign influences, while others dispute this and also treat them as Roman-provincial products. The author posits that certain types of combs represent one of the most typical Barbarian elements in the area of Late Antique Western Illyricum. Moreover, the act of placing different types of bone/antler combs in the grave is characteristic of Barbarian, mainly Germanic groups and not of the Roman provincial population. So even the types classified as provincial Roman products were probably used by newcomers in mortuary rites. The development of comb production, including that of

double-sided composite examples, the enormous number of combs in the areas settled mainly by different Germanic groups in the Central and Eastern Europe from graves compared to the specimens from Roman Provinces, as well as the evidence of the existence of workshops for comb production from the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> Centuries, all point to the mass production and the use of combs among Barbarian (mostly Germanic) groups even before they settled some areas inside Empire. The autor suggests that, it is not so important who produced bone/antler combs in this period, but who used these products, and placed them in graves as grave goods. This was obviously the Barbarians and not the local Roman provincial population. Roman workshops still existed when Barbarian incomers entered the provinces in large numbers. Thus, it was not a problem for local craftsmen to adjust production for new consumers. Centuries, the practice of placing combs in graves is considered by archaeologists to be a sign of a Barbarian presence in Western Illyricum and the adjacent areas in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Some authors have attempted to link „poor“ graves with combs in Migration period cemeteries where „Barbarian“ elements occurred with „Romanized“ or „Christianized“ autochthonous population, but in our opinion there is no evidence for such conclusions. The presence of combs on Late Antique sites from the turn of the 4<sup>th</sup> into the 5<sup>th</sup> Centuries can be connected with occurrence of new Barbarian populations in Late Antique Western Illyricum. However, the connection of this material with so the so-called *foederati* group of Alatheus and Saphrax, is questionable as some authors have, because „foreign“ material was not so common in this period. The author suggests that this material shows that some Barbarians settled in Pannonia and Noricum, which is not surprising given that many Barbarian groups lived on the borders of the Empire. However, the archaeological record does not provide sufficient evidence for the dense settlement of certain Barbarian groups in the sense of *foederati*. It was only in the fourth decade of the 5<sup>th</sup> century that some parts of Pannonia in Western Illyricum were subject to major ethnic changes, when the Western Roman Empire seceded Pannonia to the Huns.

**Key words:** composite combs, grave goods, Western Illyricum, Barbarians, *Germani*, Late Antique

At the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, new types of finds appeared in some Pannonian cemeteries. They are regarded not only a novelty, but also a foreign element within provincial Roman contexts. Most prominent among the new elements are composite combs with high handles made of bone or antler, polyhedral earrings, amulets, certain types of iron, bronze and less often silver brooches, especially brooches with inverted foot, iron buckles, the so called „nomadic“ mirrors, and clay spindle whorls in female graves; and iron knives, sharpening stones, and fire strikers in male graves. One of the new elements is the emergence of artificial cranial deformation.

In the 1970s, Ágnes Salamon and László Barkóczi drew attention to these novelties and used them as a basis for their definition of two types of cemeteries. The earlier „Csákvár Type“ supposedly lasted from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD and well into the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD. It included cemeteries of provincial Roman origin that were also used by groups of nomadic newcomers. The second group, the so-called „Szabadbattyán Type“, is later and the cemeteries of this type contain the new elements from the Csákvár Type cemeteries, but no 4<sup>th</sup> century artefacts.

There are some new types of finds in the Szabadbattyán Type cemeteries, which do not appear in the Csákvár Type cemeteries. Supposedly used by Barbarians,<sup>1</sup> the Szabadbattyán type cemeteries began in the second third of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD and lasted throughout the so-called „Hunnic“ period, i.e. the second third of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>2</sup> On the basis of written sources Salamon and Barkóczi associated the emergence of the Csákvár and Szabadbattyán Types cemeteries with the Gothic-Alanic-Hunnic population led by Alatheus and Saphrax, who settled in Pannonia as *foederati* in AD 380. These cemeteries can be traced until AD 427, i.e. the third decade of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD, when some parts of Pannonia were occupied by the Huns.

The Pannonian archaeological artefacts from the 4<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, include artefact types that are most often associated with groups

1 In this article has been used the word Barbarians (ethnic Barbarians) as opposed to barbarians (uncultured brutes) with the intention of stressing the difference between the characterisation in terms of political ethnography versus cultural anthropology (after Migotti 2015, 671).

2 Salamon and Barkóczi 1971; Salamon and Barkóczi 1978; Salamon and Barkóczi 1980; Salamon and Barkóczi 1982.

of Barbarians, such as different types of composite combs made of bone or, more commonly, antler. Salamon and Barkóczy regard the combs in general as a novelty in the Late Antique cemeteries of Pannonia, and their emergence, regardless of the type, is associated with the presence of Barbarians.<sup>3</sup> This explanation was opposed by Eszter Vágó and István Bóna soon after the publication of part of the Csákvár cemetery.<sup>4</sup> Having studied the combs from one of the cemeteries in *Intercisa*, they recommended precaution when it comes to the determination of combs and their ethnic affiliation. According to Vágó and Bóna, double-sided combs and single-sided combs with high decorated handles are Roman provincial artefacts, while high handled combs without decoration could be either Roman or Barbarian. Since composite combs with high handles also occur in the Greco-Roman cities along the north shores of the Black Sea, Vágó and Bóna assumed that these combs were adopted by the carriers of the Chernyakhov - Sântana de Mureş culture in the Lower Danube and Crimea regions and then mass produced by them.<sup>5</sup> The authors cite Sokolsky as the evidence for the presence of combs with high semicircular, tongue-shaped, and bell-shaped handles along the Black Sea, but Sokolsky emphasizes that such combs are rare in cities on the northern coast of the Black Sea and represent a foreign element, brought there by newcomers. In the first centuries of the common era, composite antler combs are assumed to have been spread around Europe, including the East, within the Chernyakhov - Sântana de Mureş culture.<sup>6</sup> The views of Vágó and Bóna on the emergence and origin of composite combs were adopted by Mária Bíró, who studied Pannonian combs and is the most cited author for this topic.<sup>7</sup>

Only a few Pannonian combs from the time be-

tween the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD are known. They are mostly single-sided one-piece combs and can be made of bronze, ivory, amber, or bone.<sup>8</sup> Single-sided one-piece combs with high arc-shaped handles are even rarer.<sup>9</sup> Two specimens from the northern cemetery of *Emona* could be included here, despite the fact that *Emona* did not belong to Western Illyricum.<sup>10</sup> One explanation for the small number of combs in the sites from the 1<sup>st</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD could be that in that time, combs were made of wood. Furthermore, there is every indication that combs, with few exceptions, did not have a role as grave goods.<sup>11</sup> The fact that only a few combs occur in graves among the thousands of published burials from Roman Western Illyricum indicates that this was a rare occurrence indeed.

Compared to the previous centuries, the number of combs increased significantly at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> / beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. While combs rarely occur in Late Antique graves in Pannonia, there were a few exceptions such as e.g. Esztergom (*Solva*) with 28 combs in 25 of 335 graves,<sup>12</sup> Csákvár with around 24 combs in slightly less than 2,000 graves,<sup>13</sup> or *Intercisa* with around 30 combs from the cemeteries with over 2,000 graves, the military camp, and the civilian settlement.<sup>14</sup> It should be noted, however, that the Esztergom cemetery came into use at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD and lasted until as late as the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD,<sup>15</sup> the Csákvár cemetery also lasted until the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>16</sup> and the military camp, the settlement and the cemeteries of *Intercisa* lasted at least until the third

3 Salamon, Barkóczy 1982, 151, 162.

4 Salamon, Barkóczy 1971.

5 Vágó, Bóna 1976, 198–201.

6 СОКОЛЬСКИЙ 1971, 148, Pl. 19: 12.

7 Although Mária Bíró has changed her views on the phenomenon of combs in Late Antique Pannonia and its neighbourhood considerably (Bíró 2009; Bíró *et al.* 2012), the authors mostly used her publications from 1994, 2000, and especially 2002 (e.g. Bíró 1987a; Bíró 1987b; Bíró 1994; Bíró 2000; Bíró 2002; Bíró 2009; Bíró *et al.* 2012).

8 Groller 1907, 19, Fig. 8; Kujundžić 1982, 33, Pl. 15: 1; Bíró 2002, 32, Fig. 6; Humer 2009, 327, cat. 1243; Bíró *et al.* 2012, 94, cat. 172, 173.

9 Hollitzer 1902, 11, Pl. 2: Fig. 27; Bíró *et al.* 2012, 95, cat. 177; Шпрановић Светек 1981, 158, Pl. 6: 3.

10 Petru 1972, 95, 100, Pl. 82: 14; 87: 10.

11 Шпрановић Светек 1981, 158.

12 Kelemen 2008, 140–143.

13 Salamon, Barkóczy 1971, 57, 63–64; Nádorfi 1996, 97–99; Bíró 2002, 39, 40, 43.

14 Alföldi 1957, 478–481; Salamon, Barkóczy 1975, 86; Vago, Bóna 1976, 198–201; Teichner 2012, 182–185.

15 Kelemen 2008, 200–201.

16 Nádorfi 1996, 96–97.

decade of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>17</sup>

In the Szentedre cemetery, for instance, combs were discovered in four out of 120 graves;<sup>18</sup> in Ságvár in one out of more than 340 graves;<sup>19</sup> in *Matrica* in one out of more than 210 published graves – although it should be noted that according to Judit Topál, between 800 and 1,000 Roman and Early Medieval graves had been destroyed;<sup>20</sup> in Tokod in three out of 120 graves.<sup>21</sup> In the Rusovce I cemetery (*Gerulata*), slightly less than half of 167 graves were inhumation burials, dated to the time between the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, and only one comb was found in a disturbed grave.<sup>22</sup> In Pécs (*Sopianae*), there were around 280 published graves, but Ferenc Fülep only mentions one comb in a grave, in addition to the bone combs mentioned among the very rich finds from graves R/291–293. This means a maximum of three more graves with combs as grave goods.<sup>23</sup> In *Aquincum*, just two combs were unearthed in Late Antique graves, one in the eastern cemetery of the civilian settlement<sup>24</sup> and the other one in the *Canabae* – western cemetery.<sup>25</sup> The situation was similar in Noricum, where combs rarely occur in graves. They were found, for instance, in the eastern cemetery in Mautern (*Favianis*), where combs were discovered in three out of more than 270 graves,<sup>26</sup> in Linz (*Lentia*), where combs were discovered in only four out of 40 graves of the Tiefer Graben cemetery,<sup>27</sup> and in only one out of 68 graves in the Zizlau II cemetery.<sup>28</sup> In the Frauenberg cemetery near Leibnitz (*Flavia Solva*), only two combs were found in more than 430 graves.<sup>29</sup> A larger number of

combs was found at Burggartenstrasse in Mautern,<sup>30</sup> and at *Lauriacum*,<sup>31</sup> but these two cemeteries are dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD and were still in use at least in the second third of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD.

Especially when compared to the contemporary cemeteries of the Chernyakhov – Sântana de Mureş culture, it becomes clear that combs as grave goods are not as common an occurrence as it would seem in Late Antique Western Illyricum. While in some cases combs are rare in the Chernyakhov – Sântana de Mureş cemeteries as well, there are still plenty of cemeteries with combs in 20–30 % of all graves.<sup>32</sup> A few discovered workshops (*Fig. 1*) likewise testified to large scale production of combs within the Wielbark and Chernyakhov – Sântana de Mureş cultures.<sup>33</sup> It can certainly be stated that combs were produced on a large scale within the Chernyakhov – Sântana de Mureş culture (and generally in the Barbaricum), and that combs as grave goods are not a custom that could be associated with the provincial Roman tradition.<sup>34</sup> It is therefore comes as no sur-

30 Wewerka 2004.

31 Kloiber 1957; Deringer 1967.

32 For example Viitenka (Любичев 2011, Fig. 6: 12; 7: 5, 14; 10: 6; 11: 7, 19; Варачёва 2014, Fig. 4: I/1; 5: 1; Pl. 3), Privolnoe (Кухаренко 1955, 131–142; Pl. 2: 19), Krinička (СЫМОНОВИЧ 1960b, 245, 252, Fig. 2: 3, 4; 7: 2; 9: 1), Rakovec (Винокур, Островский 1967, Fig. 3: 3; 7: 7–9; Геї 1990, Fig. 3: 2), Mihălăşeni (Şovan 2012, 155–156, Pl. 174: 3; 304: 28, 29; 305; 306: 37, 38; 331–333), Miorcani (Ioniţă 1974, 83), Leţani (Bloşiu 1975, 218–221), Bârlad – Valea Seaca (Palade 2004, 208–209), Barcea (Țau, Nicu 2011), Copuzu (Muşeteanu 1986, 216, Fig. 4: 12–14), Independența (Mitreă, Preda 1966, 44–56, Fig. 104: 2; 107: 11; 111; 115: 3; 117: 10; 122: 4; 125; 128: 4; 147; 150: 3; Ioniţă 1971, 14–16), Sântana de Mureş (Kovács 1912, Fig. 12: 3a–b; 26; 37: 3; 40: 3; 42; 52: 5; 56: 3; 59: 5; 67: 1; 88: 1a–b; 92: 1; 100: 1; 103: 1; 105: 6; 107: 1a–b) or Fintinele „Rit” (Marinescu, Găiu 1989, 141, Fig. 2: A/1; 4: A/5; 5: B/1; 6: A/2, 6/B2). Combs often occurred as grave goods in some (often small) cemeteries in Moldavia (Republic of Moldova as well as the Romanian part of Moldavia) and in Transylvania.

33 Palade 1971; Palade 2004, 167–172; Diaconu *et al.* 1977, 214–215; Opreanu 1992; Bierbrauer 1994, 88–92; 94–95; Bednarczyk 1998, 77. The Wielbark and Chernyakhov – Sântana de Mureş cultures, as well as the Masłomęcz group, which existed between the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and the first decades of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD in the triangle between the rivers Bug, Huszwa and Bukowa, are associated with the Goths (see e.g. Kokowski 2008).

34 Musteața 2017.

17 Visy 1977, 35–43; Visy 2003b, 118; Teichner 2012, 19–25.

18 Maróti, Topál 1980.

19 Burger 1966.

20 Topál 1981.

21 Lányi 1981.

22 Kraskovská 1974; Kraskovská 1976.

23 Fülep 1977; Fülep 1984.

24 Lassányi 2010.

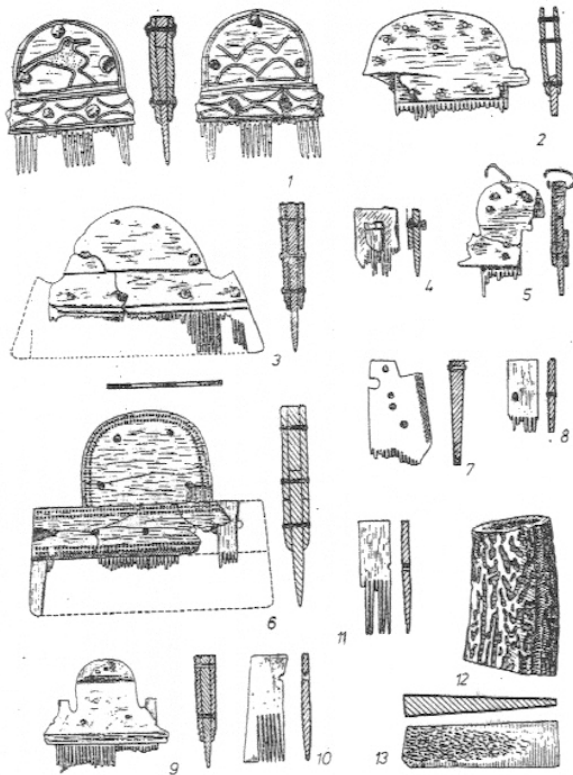
25 Topál 2003.

26 Pollak 1993.

27 Ruprechtsberger 1991; Ruprechtsberger 1999.

28 Ruprechtsberger 1999.

29 Steinklauber 2002.



**Figure 1** Combs, pieces of antler raw-material and semi-products from *castra* in Pietroasele (Diaconu *et al.* 1977, Fig. 20).

prise that this custom, associated with any Barbarian – but especially Germanic – group in the vicinity of Western Illyricum, is contemporary with the occurrence of the first composite combs in the territory of western Illyricum. In the Sarmatian settlement area, some combs were found within the settlements dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD and the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD. The dates, however, are based solely on analogies from Pannonia and the Chernyakhov – Sîntana de Mureş culture,<sup>35</sup> while no reliable Sarmatian graves with combs have been identified within the Sarmatian settlement area in the eastern Pannonian Basin. It can therefore be assumed that within the Barbaricum, the custom of putting combs into graves is characteristic of several Germanic, but not Sarmatian groups.

The positions of combs in the graves varied, both in Western Illyricum and in the territory of the

Chernyakhov – Sîntana de Mureş culture. In many cases they were found near the head, but were also frequently placed near the feet, near the legs, near the arms, between the legs, on the chest, or near the shoulders. They might also be in a corner of the grave, somewhat to one side of the body, together with other grave goods. Combs were sometimes placed in pots, which were stacked near the body. Even when placed next to the head, it is believed that the function of the comb was not adorning or fastening the hair: combs were most likely associated with funerary rituals, beliefs or superstitions and could perhaps even indicate the social status of the deceased (e.g. age, gender, family, rank, etc.). This might be evidenced by small bone and antler comb-like pendants (Fig. 1: 5, 9), which can be found in archaeological sites within the Chernyakhov – Sîntana de Mureş culture.<sup>36</sup>

Considering their shape, size, teeth density, and sometimes weight,<sup>37</sup> it is debatable whether most of the Late Antique and Early Medieval combs could be used for adorning and fastening hair at all. Moreover, combs are sometimes found together with their sheaths, and they also occur in infant graves. It is therefore hard to imagine the emergence of a new hairstyle with combs in the Late Antique period, resulting in the occurrence of combs in graves, as is the view of some authors.<sup>38</sup> Modern combs for fastening and adorning the hair are quite large, „adapted“ to the shape of the head, slightly curved and with thin long teeth (Fig. 3).<sup>39</sup> It is reasonable to expect that similar combs would have been used for fastening and adorning hair in the Late Antique period. However, no combs used for fastening and adorning women’s hair are known in Europe before the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>40</sup>

36 E.g. Diaconu *et al.* 1977, Fig. 21: 5; Palade 2004, 213, Fig. 242: 2; 276: 4; Ţau, Nicu 2011, 70, Pl. 5: type VIII; Самойловский 1952, Fig. 3: 1.

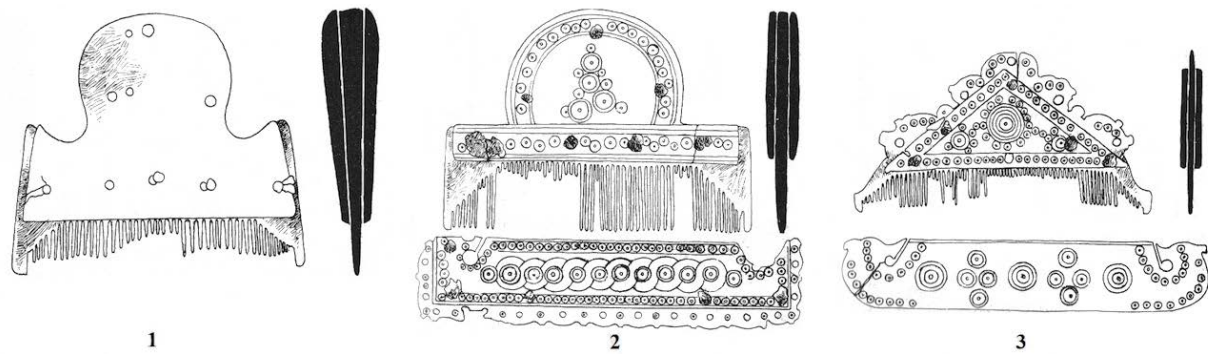
37 For example, the bone (not antler) comb with high bell-shaped handle from Predjama (Korošec 1983, 90, Pl. 1: 1; Bitenc, Knific 2001, 27, cat. 68) is too heavy to be used for adorning or fastening (Fig. 2: 1).

38 E.g. Kovács 2000, 140; Swift 2000, 119.

39 Berk, Bogataj, Pukšič 1993, 94–95; Cruse 2007, 26–28.

40 Cruse 2007, 13, 16.

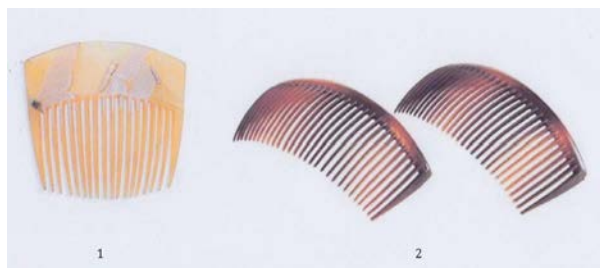
35 Medgyesi 2011; Pintye 2009, 176–177.



**Figure 2** Combs and cases for combs from Predjama (Korošec 1972, Pl. 2: 1; 1: 1, 2).

The special significance of combs amongst the Germani is also indicated by the numerous combs from the sacrificial deposits of weapons (probably military equipment of defeated enemies) in the marshes in Illerup on the Jutland peninsula (148 combs) or Vimosa on the island of Fyn (circa 60 combs) in Denmark, which are dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>41</sup>

Double-sided composite combs are usually interpreted as Roman provincial artefacts. This was the



**Figure 3** Samples of modern combs for fastening hair (1. Olga Schmid. *Hair Decorating*, <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/525373112751223539> [Accessed 6 Oct. 2015]; 2. Brandon Femme. *Hair accessories: Combs*, [http://brandonfemme.com/product\\_info.php?products\\_id=2541137](http://brandonfemme.com/product_info.php?products_id=2541137) [Accessed 10 Oct. 2015]).

41 Ilkjær 1989, 58–60. Combs from these sites are of different types, small one-piece single-sided combs, composite single-sided combs and composite combs, all with high arc-shaped handles. Same types of combs appeared in some Danish and south Swedish cemeteries from the same time. In the cemetery in Møllgårdsmarken on the Danish island of Fyn, for example, 46 composite combs were unearthed (Ilkjær 1989, 59–60). Combs as grave goods are also common in early Anglo-Saxon England (e.g. Williams 2003, 101–119; Ashby 2014, 165–172). These examples show that putting combs into graves was a common practice among the Germanic peoples in general, not just among the eastern Germanic groups.

most common type of combs in the Late Antique period, as well as the Early Middle Ages. They were most likely made after the example of the Roman military wooden single-sided combs, crafted out of a single piece of wood (Fig. 4).

There is no doubt, however, that the manner of their production represents the heritage of Barbarian (Germanic) craftsmen,<sup>42</sup> since composite combs of any type are not known anywhere in the Western Illyricum provinces before the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. On the other hand, the development of combs from small single-sided one-piece combs (Fig. 5) through composite single-sided combs (Fig. 6) to the earliest – larger – composite single-sided combs (Fig. 7) can be traced during the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD in the area populated by various Germanic groups, mostly between the Elbe on the west, the Baltic on the north, the Middle Danube on the south and the present Belarus on the east.<sup>43</sup>

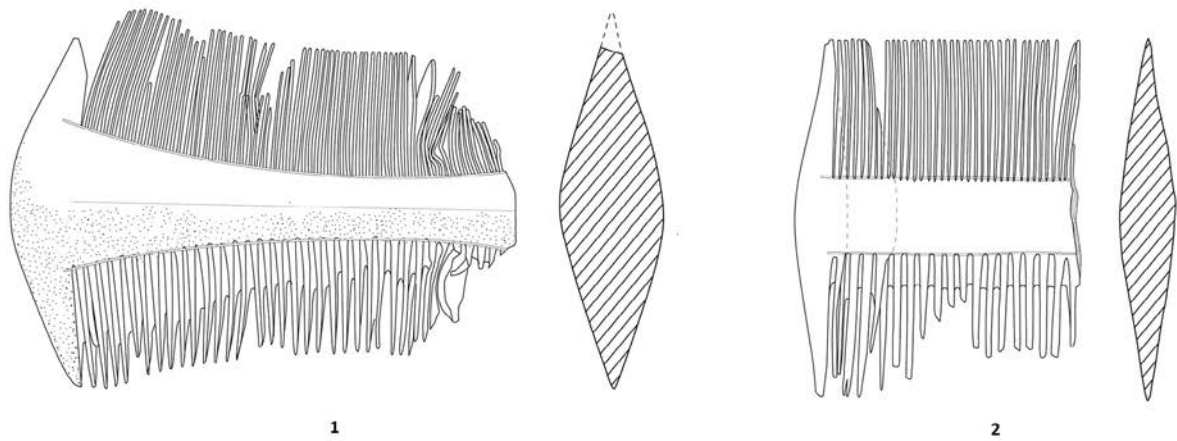
The earliest combs with high arc-shaped handles, both one-piece and composite variants, resemble in form the bronze La Tène specimens and also the Roman one-piece combs. Later, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, combs with high arc-shaped handles are joined by composite combs of other shapes, whose production starts in the Barbaricum. In the Central and Western Europe, these new forms were predominantly combs with high triangular handle,<sup>44</sup> while in the East, combs with high semicircular,

42 Galloway, Newcomer 1981, 73; MacGregor 2001, 74.

43 Thomas 1960, 56–94; Teuber 2005.

44 Thomas 1960, 94–104.

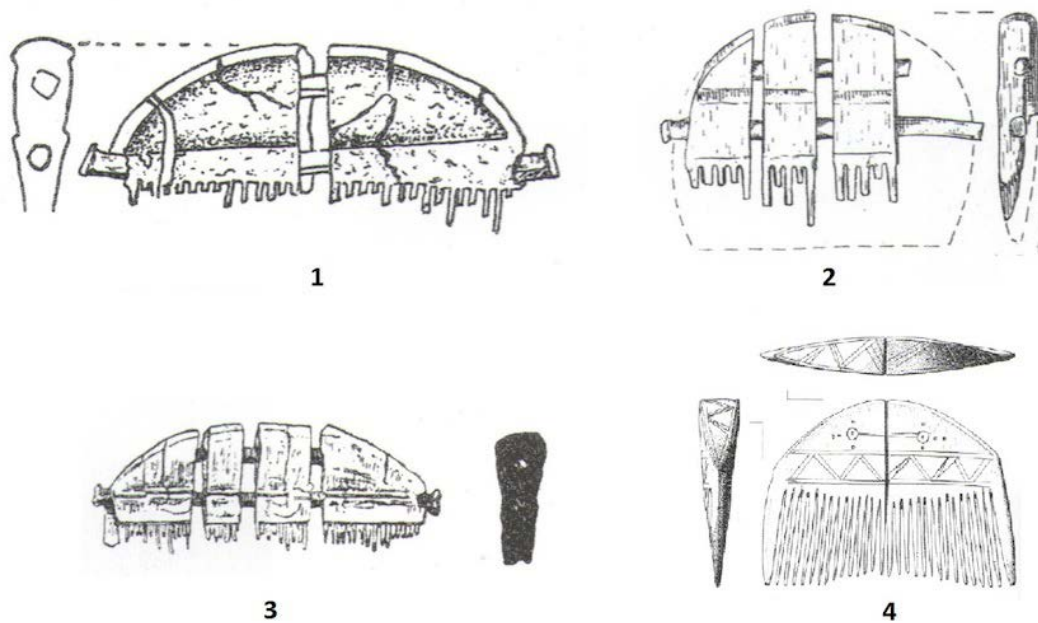




**Figure 4** 1. Military one-piece single-layer wooden combs.; 2. *Vechten* (Derks and Vos 2010, Pl. 1: 1, 2).



**Figure 5** One-piece single-layer combs with high arc-shaped handles. 1. *Cieple*; 2. *Gotland*; 3. *Branč II* (Teuber 2005, Pl. 4; 5; 3: 3; 4: 8).



**Figure 6** Composite single-layer combs with high arc-shaped handles. 1. *Chorula*; 2. *Tarnów*; 3. *Zadowice*; 4. *Illerup* (Teuber 2005, Pl. 7: 5, 8, 9; 8: 2).

bell-shaped and tongue-shaped handles prevailed.<sup>45</sup> It therefore comes as no surprise that composite double-sided combs, which are made in the same way as composite single-sided combs (Fig. 8),<sup>46</sup> did not appear before the time when the territory of the Empire was being penetrated and settled by larger, predominantly Germanic groups. Double-sided combs with straight sides remained unchanged from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD to at least the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD. Double-sided combs with variously decorated profiled sides (Fig. 9), on the other hand, occurred for a relatively short period of time.<sup>47</sup> The earliest specimens appear to be from the Valentinian period, i.e. the last third of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. They disappear in the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century AD, coinciding with the Hunnic invasions and the fall of the Danube Limes in Pannonia in the 430s, as well as in Moesia and Dacia Ripensis in the 440s.<sup>48</sup> Within the Chernyakhov – Sântana de Mureş culture, double-sided combs occur rarely, and only in its western areas.<sup>49</sup> This indicates that the carriers of the Chernyakhov – Sântana de Mureş culture adopted this type of combs only when they started to migrate towards the Roman limes on the Danube

and not during their earlier contacts with the Hellenistic cities along the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, where one-piece double-sided combs of various materials had been known at least from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards, unlike their composite antler or bone counterparts.<sup>50</sup>

Combs with high semicircular (Fig. 1: 1, 2, 6; 2: 2; 10: 6–8; 12; 13; 14), bell-shaped (Fig. 1: 3, 9; 2: 1; 10: 4) and tongue-shaped handles (Fig. 10: 5; 11) have usually been denoted as being associated with the Goths, because these types often appeared on sites from the 4<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD throughout the territory of the Chernyakhov – Sântana de Mureş culture.<sup>51</sup>

Notwithstanding the shape of the handle, most of the authors classify these combs in a single group, named Type III according to Thomas.<sup>52</sup> Tejral, for instance, pointed out that this group of combs was characterized by a variety of handle forms, decoration and side forms.<sup>53</sup> According to Nikitina, such combs developed in the area of the Chernyakhov culture<sup>54</sup> in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD from earlier forms of arc-shaped (Fig. 6: 8: 1; 10: 1, 2) and trapezoid-shaped (Fig. 10: 3) combs. In her opinion, Type III combs did not continue in use after AD 400 in the area of Chernyakhov – Sântana de Mureş culture, unlike in the Central and Western Europe, where they can occur in the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>55</sup> Recent research shows that combs also appeared at least in some Chernyakhov – Sântana de Mureş culture sites also in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD,<sup>56</sup> but this does not change the fact that by far the greatest number of combs comes from the area of the Chernyakhov –

45 Thomas 1960, 104–114.

46 For the production of Late Antique and Early Medieval bone/antler combs see e.g. Hervai 1984; Aufleger 1996; MacGregor 2001, 55–72; Bíró *et al.* 2012, 63, 70.

47 Rare examples of double-sided combs with profiled sides occur even later, but, with the exception of a few cases such as e.g. the two combs from the Prague – Podbaba cemetery (Fig. 9: 5), which is dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD (Svoboda 1965, 263, Pl. 46: 24; Droberjar 2005, 155), and the almost identical specimen from *Carnuntum* (Humer 2009, 328–329, cat. 1251), which could therefore be dated to the same – and not earlier – time, these combs no longer have the beauty and quality of their predecessors from the 4<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD. An obviously local group with no analogies is represented by a few combs from the Dravlje cemetery in Ljubljana (Fig. 9: 6), which is dated to the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> and the first decades of the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD (Slabe 1975, Pl. 4: 1; 12: 1, 2; 13: 5; 17: 1). The Dravlje specimens show, in comparison with earlier combs, a strong degeneration in the working of sides and the decoration of crosspieces.

48 Petković 1995, 23.

49 E.g. Mitrea, Preda 1966, Fig. 33: 2; Muşeteanu 1986, Fig. 4: 14; Marinescu, Găiu 1989, Fig. 4: 5; Ţau, Nica 2011, Pl. 5: Type VI; Şovan 2012, Pl. 174: 3.

50 Соко́льский 1971, 138–144; Петерс 1986, 66.

51 E.g. Thomas 1960, 113–114; Petković 1995, 28; Cnotliwy 1996, 104; Kazanski 1999, 15.

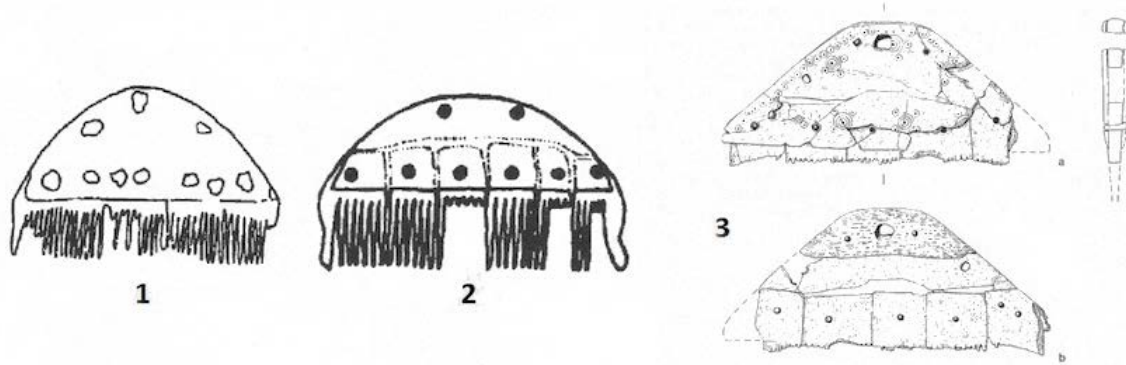
52 E.g. Thomas 1960, 104–114; Lamiová Schmieđlová 1964, 197–198; Chmielowska 1971, 58–59; НИКИТИНА 1969, 149.

53 Tejral 1982, 24.

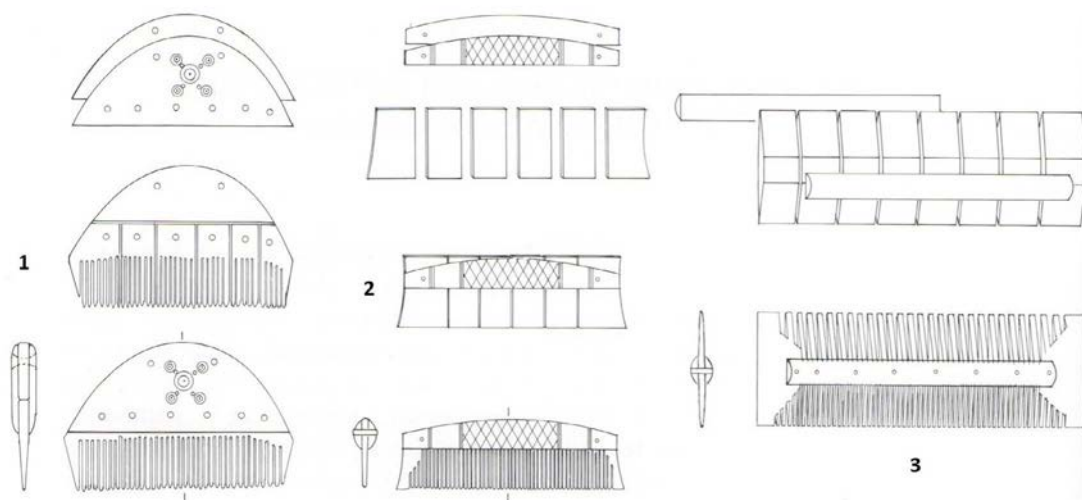
54 The author took into consideration only the finds from the former Soviet Union, not those from Romania.

55 НИКИТИНА 1969, 149, 159–160, Fig. 1.

56 For the continuity of the Chernyakhov – Sântana de Mureş culture in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD see e.g. Šćukin, Kazanski, Sharov 2006, 128–145; Lăzărescu, Ciupercă, Anton 2015, 220–227; Магомедов 2001, 143; Петраускас, Шишкин 2013, 16–18.



**Figure 7** Composite triple-layer combs with arc-shaped handles. 1. Gajary; 2. Blažovice; 3. Jagsthausen (Zeman 2001, Pl. 3: 6, 9; Schach Döriges 1994, Fig. 1: a, b).



**Figure 8** The way of making the different triple-layer combs (Theune Großkopf 1997, Fig. 1).

Sântana de Mureş culture and that these combs are the earliest Type III combs, together with some examples from the Wielbark culture and the Masłomęcz group.<sup>57</sup> According to Horedt, Type III combs occurred in the area of the Sântana de Mureş culture (Transylvania) under the influence of the Chernyakhov culture, which means they were later there than in the territory of the former Soviet Union.<sup>58</sup> The somewhat older Chernyakhov culture (Volhynia, Ukraine, Moldavia) as usually attributed to Greuthungi – Ostrogoths, and the Sântana de Mureş culture (mainly the parts of Romania that used to be the Roman province of Dacia and had been left by the Romans in the time of Aurelian) to

Thervingi – Visigoths.<sup>59</sup>

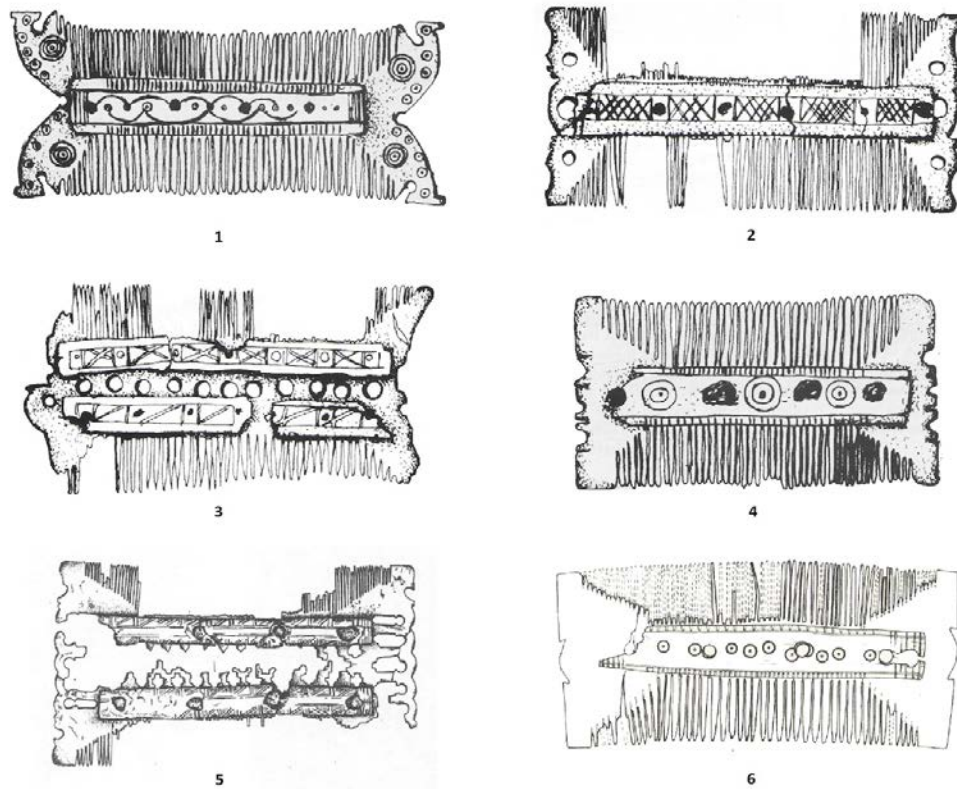
The combs that appeared largely in the western areas of the Chernyakhov – Sântana de Mureş culture, can, which according to Bíró, be attributed to the so-called Marosszentana (Hungarian name for Sântana de Mureş) type, or, in her later publication, the so-called Type III./2. These are semicircular combs with punched surface decoration (Fig. 1: 1, 6; 10: 8; 12; 13; 14: 3).<sup>60</sup> They were made from two plates on each external side, a rectangular crosspiece and a semicircular handle. They were decorated along the edges with jagged double lines similar to punching. These lines may be replaced by wavy lines, composed of tiny reversely placed semi-circles or both

57 E.g. Kokowski 1995, 15, Fig. 3: f, g; 72 / Map 47; Bednarczyk 1998, Fig. 97.

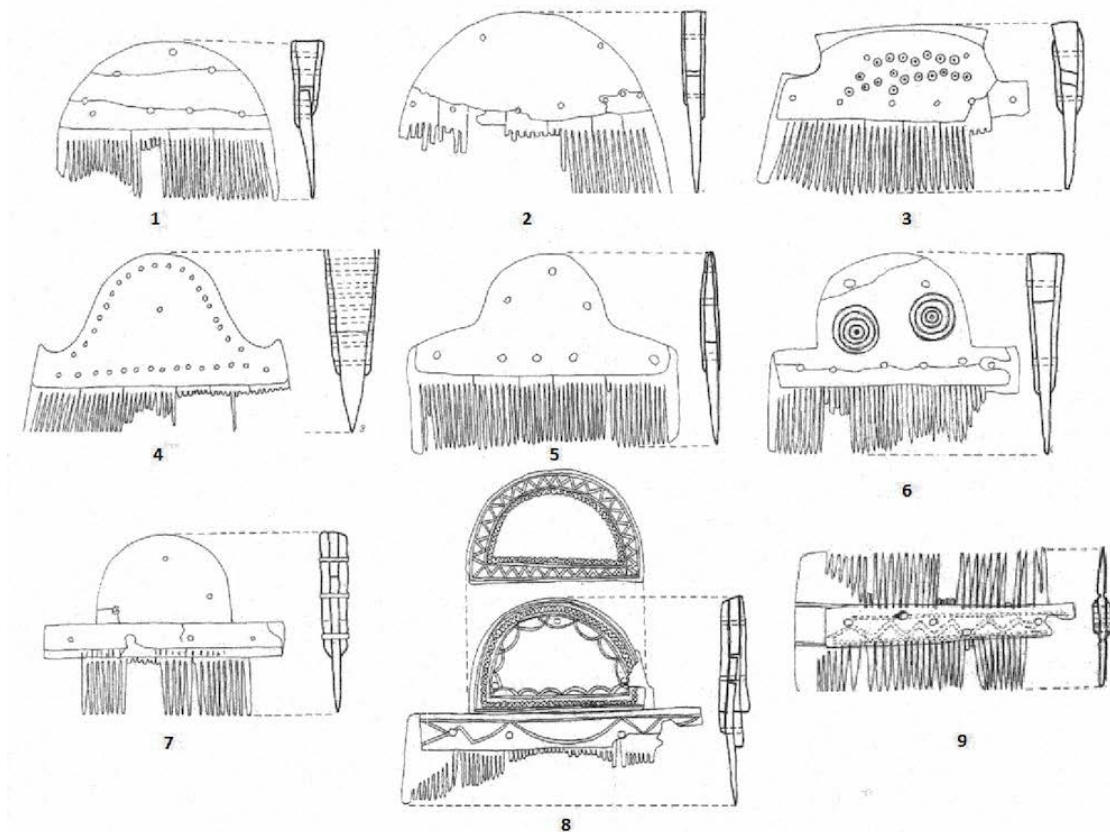
58 Horedt 1982, 100.

59 E.g. Bierbrauer 1994a, 105–134; Bierbrauer 1994b, 35–46.

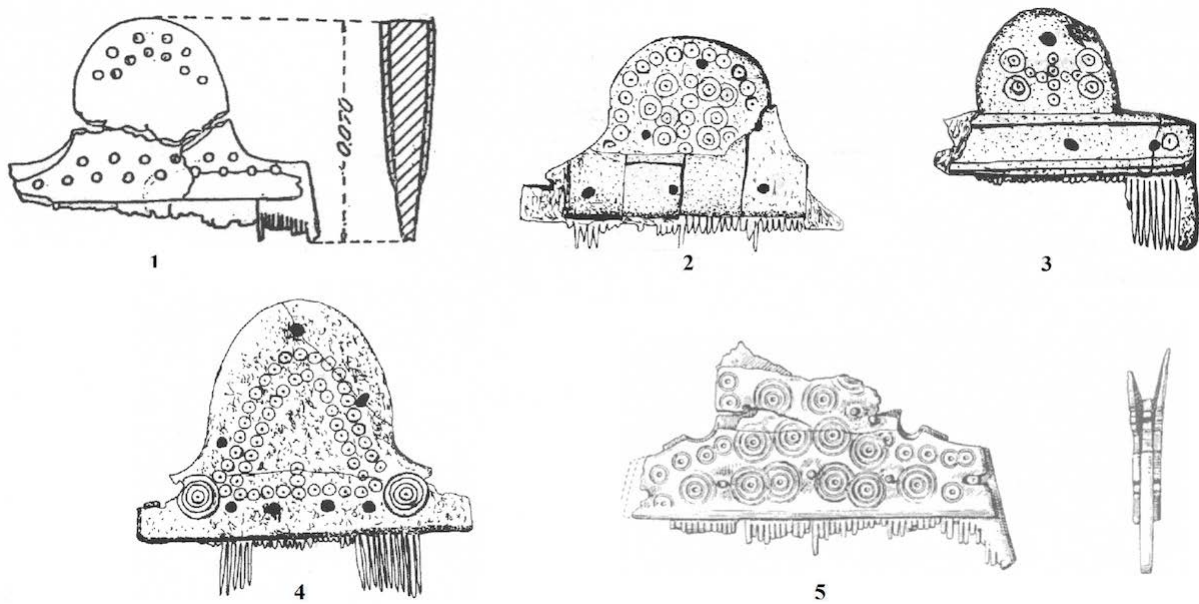
60 Bíró 1994, 39; Bíró 2002, 50, 55.



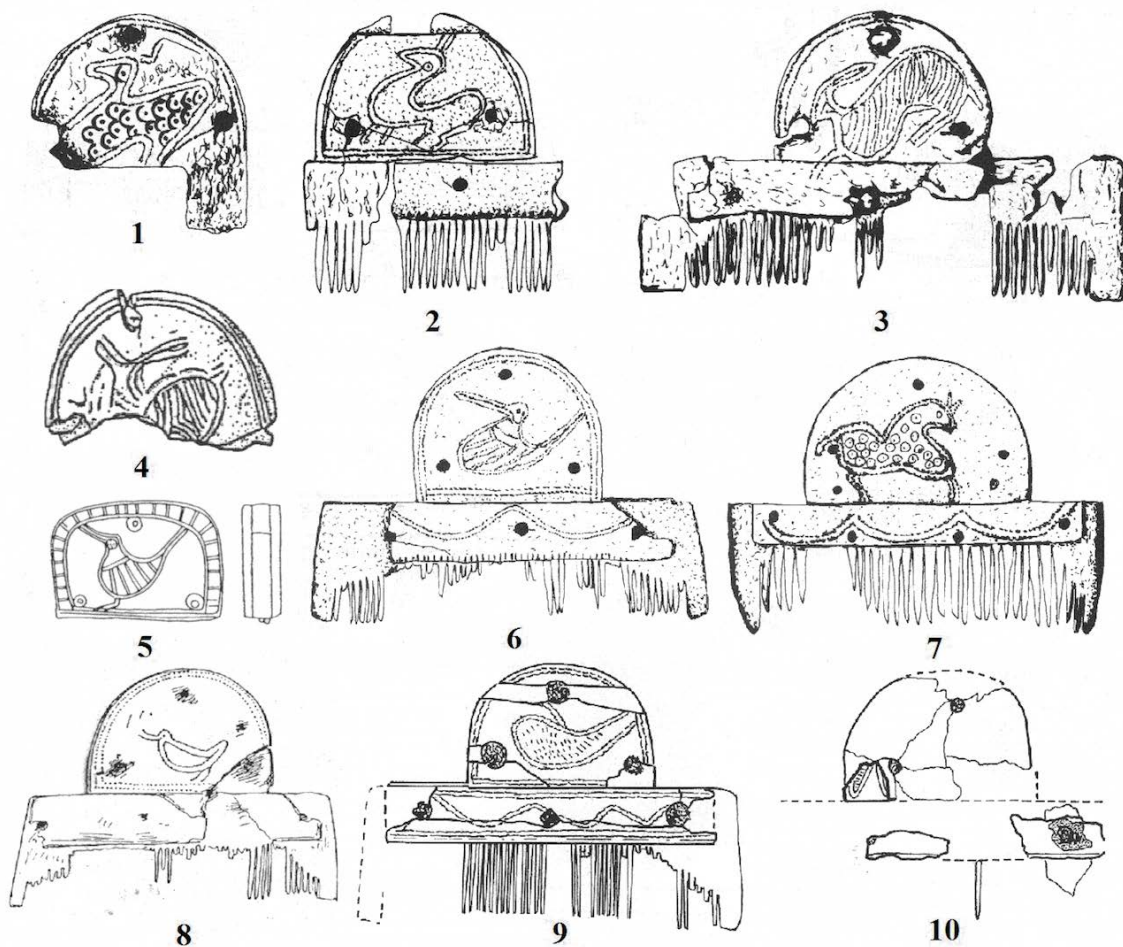
**Figure 9** Double-sided combs with profiled sides. 1. Csákvár; 2. Tác; 3. Ptuj-Zgornji breg; 4. Csákvár; 5. Prague-Podbaba; 6. Ljubljana-Dravlje (Bíró 2002, Fig. 19, 29, 28, 16; Droberjar 2005, 155; Slabe 1975, Pl. 4: 1).



**Figure 10** Combs from Mihălășeni (Șovan 2012, Pl. 214: 2; 222: C 1; 176: 2; 94: 3; 107: 3; 212: B 4; 67: 5; 267: A 1; 174: 3).



**Figure 11** Combs with tongue-shaped handles. 1. Lețani; 2. Enns; 3. Ózd; 4. Tokod; (the comb was published as a find from the horreum in Tokod (Mócsy 1981, 46, Fig. 52), while Mária Bíró cited the comb as a find from Szőny (Brigetio); 5. Untersiebenbrunn (Bloşiu 1975, Fig. 9: 3; Bíró 2002, Fig. 132; 107; 134; Kubitschek 1911, Fig. 36).



**Figure 12** Combs with the figural depictions of type III./2. by Mária Bíró. 1. Lețani; 2. Medias; 3. Târgu Mureş; 4. Vrbov; 5. Carnuntum; 6. Hrtkovci-Gomolava; 7. Intercisa; 8. Csákvár; 9.–10. Páty (Bíró 2002, Fig. 129; 128; 130; Pieta 1999, Fig. 11: 33; Werner 1988, Fig. 33: 6; 5; Bíró 2002, Fig. 122; Werner 1988, Fig. 23: 4; Ottományi 2003, Fig. 7: b; 4; 7).



**Figure 13** Handle plate with figural depiction from *Viminacium* (Cnacuh Ђурпћ / Spasić Djurić 2002, Fig. 87).

types of decoration may be combined. The second sub-group of this type is represented by combs with stylized animal figures<sup>61</sup> carved with tiny chisels within the border zone of the semicircular plate. The animal bodies may be filled with tiny dot-circles (Fig. 1: 1; 12; 16).

Bíró is aware that her Type III./2. combs (Type Marosszentana) represented a transitional type „with a number of unsolved questions and relations“ with figural decoration, which was completely unfamiliar to Roman workshops on the grounds of the motif production method and the motifs themselves.<sup>62</sup> However she suggested that Pannonian workshops manufactured these Late Antique combs and exported them beyond the borders of the Empire.<sup>63</sup> She posited that Type III./2. combs originated in Pannonia, where they represented the most typical comb type and the most popular comb form with the provincial population. These combs supposedly spread independently of Germanic settlement. According to Bíró, Type III./2. combs appeared in large numbers in Pannonia, but only rarely beyond its boundaries. Further she states that combs from the second sub-group with animal figures on the handles appeared outside

Pannonia only on the sites of Mediaş, Lehnința de Mureş and Târgu Mureş in Transylvania, which are located in close proximity to each other.<sup>64</sup>

That Type III./2. combs are not so unique in Pannonia was indicated, in addition to the examples from the limes in Upper Moesia,<sup>65</sup> and the already mentioned combs with animal figures, by some other finds from certain sites within the Chernyakhov – Sîntana de Mureş culture, e.g. Brăviceni in Moldova,<sup>66</sup> Lețani (Fig. 12: 1),<sup>67</sup> Mihălășeni (Fig. 10: 8)<sup>68</sup> and Bârlad–Valea Seacă<sup>69</sup> in the Romanian part of Moldavia or Pietroasele (Fig. 1: 1, 6)<sup>70</sup> and Independența<sup>71</sup> in Muntenia.<sup>72</sup> Workshops for manufacturing bone and antler products are, for example, also attested in Upper Moesian *Singidunum*,<sup>73</sup> Bârlad–Valea Seacă<sup>74</sup> and Pietroasele (Fig. 1)<sup>75</sup>. In addition, there are also examples of combs with handles made from a separate rectangular crosspiece and a semicircular handle plate on each side of the comb (Fig. 10: 7; 14: 2; 15), but unlike the above mentioned Type III./2., combs of these forms are not decorated, except when the rivets no longer merely serve to fit the comb parts, but might also be arranged

61 According to Bíró, this group also included a comb with extremely stylised male and female figures, possibly an erotic scene (Fig. 13). While she states that it was found in Sirmium (Bíró 2002, 55, Fig. 131; 2009, 75, Fig. 4: 4b), it was actually a chance find from Viminacium (Popović 1987, 126, Pl. 3: 1; Petković 1995, 64, Pl. 10: 2; Cnacuh Ђурпћ / Spasić Djurić 2002, 106, Fig. 87).

62 Bíró 1994, 39.

63 Bíró 1994, 36.

64 Bíró 1994, 36, 39; Bíró 2000, 173; Bíró 2002, 55, 59, 67–68. Bíró quoted Ágnes Salamon (Salamon 1977) for sites in Transylvania, but she listed the sites incorrectly. Salamon listed combs with animal figures from Târgu Mureş, Mediaş and the Lețani cemetery in the Romanian part of Moldavia (Salamon 1977, Pl 32; 33: 1, 2), and not from Lehnința de Mureş (Maroslekenca) in Transylvania, as given in Bíró (Bíró 2000, 173, Fig. 3; 2002, 55, Fig. 128).

65 Petković 1995, 27–28.

66 Grosu, Vornic 2009, Fig. 3: 7.

67 Bloşiu 1975, Fig. 6: 1. The comb that Bíró wrongly attributed to the Lehnința de Mureş site.

68 Şovan 2012, Pl. 102: B/1; 267: A/1.

69 Palade 2004, Fig. 87: M57/4; 261: 5; 265: 8.

70 Diaconu *et al.* 1977, Fig. 21: 1, 6.

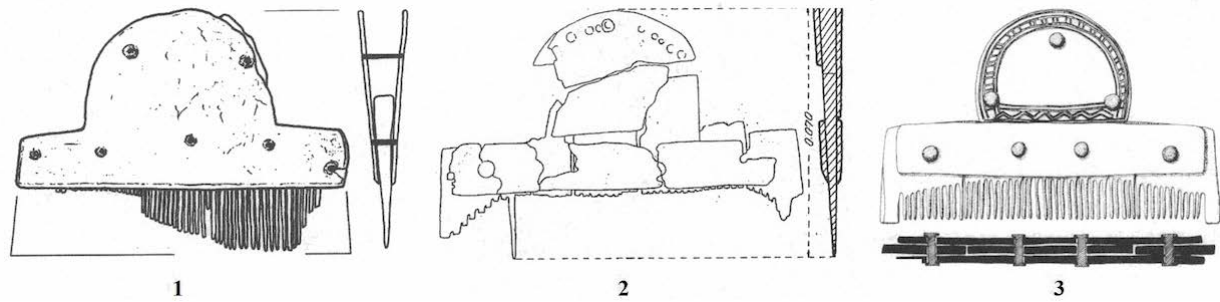
71 Mitrea, Preda 1966, Fig. 122: 4; 150: 3.

72 When Mária Bíró dealt with Pannonian combs of her Type III./2., she listed both sub-groups, with geometric and zoomorphic decoration, but only mentioned combs with zoomorphic (and not geometric) decoration outside the borders of the Empire (Bíró 2002, 55).

73 Bjelajac, Ivanišević 1993, 128–129.

74 Bierbrauer 1994, 94–95; Palade 2004, 167–172.

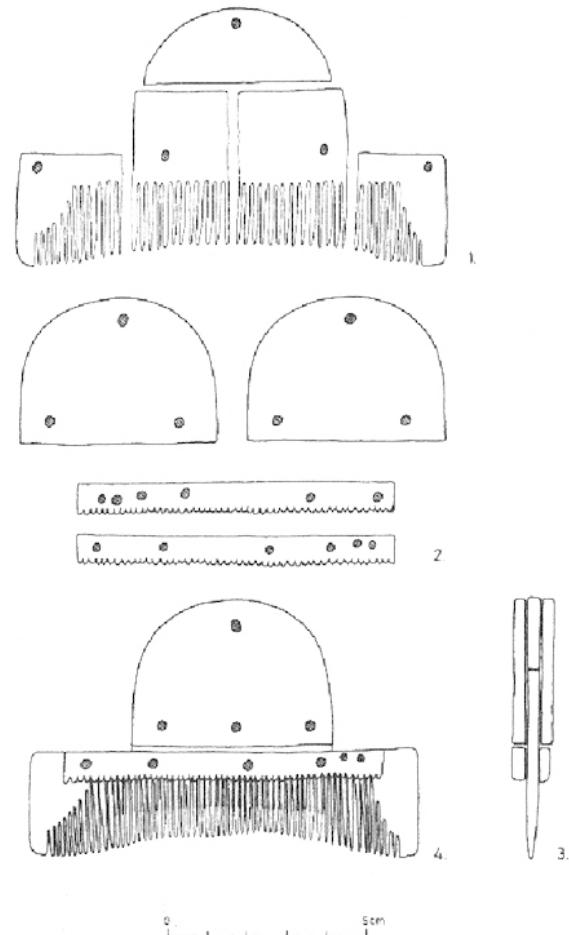
75 Diaconu *et al.* 1977, 214–215.



**Figure 14** Combs with high semicircular handles. 1. *Velikaja Bugaevka*; 2. *Lețani*; 3. *Unterlanzendorf* (Пемпайскас, Шлушкун 2013, Fig. 141: 3; Bloșiu 1975, Fig. 8: 14; Stadler 1981, Fig. 6: 1).

in a decorative manner.<sup>76</sup> The production of these combs (Fig. 15) was the same as that of Type III./2. combs according to Bíró. She also mentioned three combs from northern Slovakia (Fig. 12: 4), which she suggested had come from the short-lived settlements of Roman merchants (?).<sup>77</sup> However, she made no further mention of the Slovakian combs in her later publications.

It is now appropriate to return to the combs with figural representations on the handles. As has been noted, Bíró very narrowly limited their occurrence outside Pannonia to three sites in Transylvania, which are located in close proximity to one another. One of these specimens does not even come from Lehința de Mureș in Transylvania, but from the Lețani cemetery in the Romanian part of Moldavia (Fig. 12: 1). Likewise, the comb that she attributes to *Sirmium* comes from *Viminacium* in Moesia (Fig. 13). In addition to the Bíró list, there are few more examples of combs with zoomorphic figures on the handles. One example was found in *Carnuntum* in Pannonia (Fig. 12: 5),<sup>78</sup> whilst another comes from Romosch in western Volhynia in the Ukraine, that is from the Chernyakhov – Sîntana de Mureș culture area.<sup>79</sup> Although it is a comb with high triangular handle, as regards motifs (deer on one side of the comb, on the other roe deer), decoration of the edges of the han-



**Figure 15** The production sequence of Type III./2. combs, by Mária Bíró (Hervai 1984, Pl. 3).

dle plates and decoration techniques of displays, we can classified in the same group comb from Altendorf in Bavaria (Fig. 16).<sup>80</sup> In addition to the comb from *Carnuntum*, further combs with animal figures are known in Pannonia from *Brigetio*,<sup>81</sup> Csákvár

76 E.g. Mitrea, Preda 1966, Fig. 147; Bloșiu 1975, Fig. 8: 14; 15: 4; 26: 2; Palade 2004, Fig. 222: 4; 256: 8; Șovan 2012, Pl. 67: 5; 117: B1; 161: B2.

77 Bíró 2000, 174.

78 Werner 1988, 285, note 111; Fig. 23: 6.

79 The comb is only mentioned, without illustration. Horedt 1982, 140, Fig. 56.

80 Pescheck 1969, Fig. 12; Endert 1997.

81 Thomas 1960, 203, cat. 80. The comb is only mentioned, without depiction and other data.

(Fig. 12: 8),<sup>82</sup> Páty (Fig. 12: 9, 10),<sup>83</sup> *Intercisa* (Fig. 12: 7)<sup>84</sup> and Gomolava (Fig. 12: 6).<sup>85</sup> It is apparent that only two Western Illyricum combs came from definite mortuary contexts (Csákvár and Páty) and neither can be interpreted with certainty as the grave of a member of Roman provincial population or dated to a period that shows these combs to be earlier than the examples of the same type from the Chernyakhov – Sântana de Mureş culture (or more precisely from the Barbaricum in general). The contexts where the other examples were found are too unreliable to permit the conclusion that this type of comb was product of Roman workshops.

The above finds permit conclusion that combs with a high semicircular handle, made of two plates on each side of the comb, were used and most likely manufactured in the western part of the Chernyakhov – Sântana de Mureş culture area, above all in present day Moldova and Romania. Such combs can be undecorated or decorated in various techniques and with different motifs, including jagged double lines similar to punching, or wavy lines, composed of minute reversely placed semi-circles, characteristic of Type III./2. combs after Bíró. Combs with animal figures also appeared in Moldavia, Muntenia, Transylvania and Volhynia (and not just in Transylvania). The deer, hare and probably water birds were depicted on these combs. The figures in Pannonia are limited to water birds, although the combs from *Intercisa* are exceptions to this. It is not an insignificant fact that Type III./2 combs with figural representations

on the handles only appeared in Pannonia on the limes and its hinterland, that is in the region where contact between the provincial population and Barbarians was at its most intense. This type of comb is unknown so far in the interior of Western Illyricum (Map 1).

With the economic crises in the Late Antique period some territories of the Empire began to rely on supply of goods and local production of goods, which included workshops for the manufacture of bone and antler artefacts.<sup>86</sup> The developed nature of stock-breeding and hunting meant that such industries did not require expensive raw materials and uncertain supply. In addition to this, the technological process of preparation of the raw material is not difficult<sup>87</sup> and does not require special conditions. Antler and bone are also easier to process than, for example, wood or stone.<sup>88</sup> Provincial workshops had never before used bone and antler in production to such extent. In the absence of other raw materials, the production of cheap bone/antler substitutes started, and the use of bone as material was very non-selective in comparison to previous periods. The number of different types of bone products also increased.<sup>89</sup> Thus, in the late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD in Western Illyricum, few known workshops for manufacturing bone and antler items existed in towns and military camps,<sup>90</sup> where products related primarily to military equipment were produced. Although the quality of products declined in comparison with the products from 1<sup>st</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, the quality as well as the spectrum of bone/antler products of provincial craftsmen was wider than that of the craftsmen in the Barbaricum.

This is likely to have led to an adjustment of the provincial workshops to the new consumers and it is

82 Salamon, Barkóczi 1971, Fig. 11: 12. Grave good.

83 Ottományi 2003, Fig. 4: 7; 7: b. Two Type III./2 combs are known from Páty, one from grave 558, dated to the Hunnic period, and one from the settlement.

84 Alföldi 1957, 491, cat. 107, Pl. 34: 10, 11; Salamon 1977, Fig. 4: 1–4. Finds from settlement.

85 Dautova Ruševljan and Brukner 1992, 132, Pl. 20: 109. One Type III./2 comb is known from Gomolava, whilst the other combs are double-sided. The authors believed that the combs from Gomolava were derived from destroyed graves. Part of the Roman cemetery was excavated, which was dominated by Late Antique inhumation burials (a total of 1 cremation and 33 inhumation graves). These graves from the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century AD did not contain combs (Dautova Ruševljan, Brukner 1992, 167–173, 188).

86 Petković 1995, 17; Ciglenečki 1999, 323; Шарановић Светек 1980, 122–125.

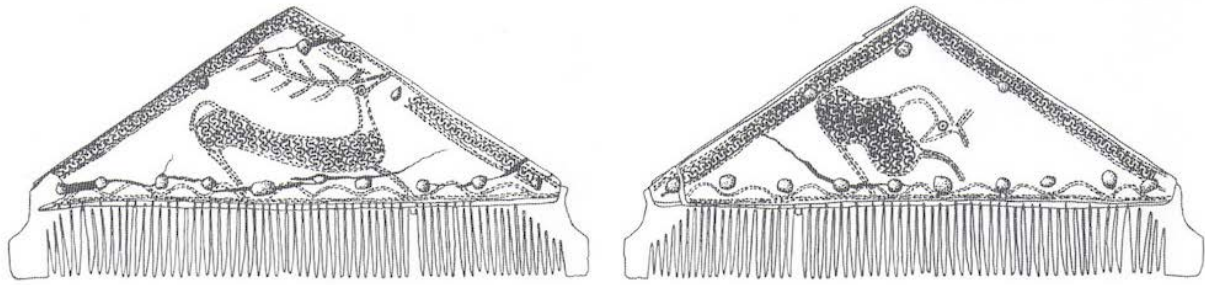
87 Production of Late Antique combs is otherwise complicated and long lasting process (for literature about the production of combs see Note 46).

88 Petković 1995, 12–20.

89 Шарановић Светек 1980, 124.

90 E.g. Salamon 1977; Bíró 1987a; 1987b; Petković 1995, 16–20; Шарановић Светек 1980.





**Figure 16** *Comb with high triangular handle with figural depictions from Altendorf (Endert 1997, Fig. 5).*

likely that Western Illyricum craftsmen met with new forms, new types of production and some new types of decoration on combs. The components and manufacture of Type III./2. combs after Bíró are very similar to the components and manufacture of the double-sided combs that appeared in Western Illyricum for the first time at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD (Fig. 8; 15). The manufacture of combs with high handles, made of two parts on each side, resulted in the substantial reduction of the surface of bone or antler, which has been required to produce the handle. The rectangular crosspieces of these combs are the same as the connecting crosspieces of the double-sided combs. If the knowledge that was required to make other, even more complex bone products is taken into account, it becomes apparent that the new method of comb production probably posed no major problem for Western Illyricum craftsmen. Thus, it may be assumed that on the base of newly acquired knowledge they also began to produce composite triple-layer double-sided combs, which they embellished with new motifs and new methods of executing these motifs. Or on the other hand Barbarian craftsmen met new shapes and new forms of decoration known to Roman workshops. Influence operated in both directions. Composite combs, mostly double-sided examples, were likely to be used as everyday objects by both the provincial populations and the newcomers, whilst the provincial population was less likely than the mostly Germanic groups to use combs as objects connected with funeral rites. It is hard to believe that the mostly Christian population all of a sudden and in a very short period of time adopted for them the totally alien pagan custom of laying

the combs in the graves from the newcomers, who were probably not so numerous at least at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.<sup>91</sup> The written sources also reported the mass acceptance of Christianity by the Tervingi, when they crossed the Danube in AD 376,<sup>92</sup> but the question arises as to what extent they were conscious Christians just a few years later, years, which were moreover mostly spent in conflict with the Empire. At the same time, for instance, we have no data at all about the spread of Christianity among Greuthungi.

The archaeological data indicates that double-sided combs soon replaced high handle combs among the Barbarian newcomers as well. High handled combs disappeared in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD, at least in Pannonia and its vicinity. Type III combs were confined to the Chernyakhov – Sîntana de Mureş culture alone in the last two decades of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. However, they later became an extra-regional type, which had spread from Eastern Europe to Gaul and Hispania by the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.<sup>93</sup> It is most likely that they were brought to Pannonia by the carriers of the Chernyakhov – Sîntana de Mureş culture, but since they appear at the same time and even later outside the borders of the Empire, in the areas populated by other Barbarian, predominantly Germanic groups,

91 Even though: „*In terms of religion, both sites obviously held communities with a pronounced pagan and Christian syncretism imbued with apotropaic concepts.*“ (Migotti 2015, 678).

92 About Christianity among Goths see e.g. Bednaříková 2003, 71–112.; Schäferdiek 2007, 52–59; Thompson 2008, 78–132.

93 Kazanski 1993, Fig. 2; 1999, Fig. 1: 1, 2; Barroso Cabrera, Lopez Quiroga, Morin de Pablos 2006, Pl. 1: 9.

the context in which these combs were found needs to be taken into account for their chronological and ethnic determination. As is the case with all Late Antique combs, not just Type III, they cannot be dated narrowly to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, when the Gothic-Alanic-Hunnic group led by Alatheus and Saphrax supposedly settled in Pannonia, despite the fact that out of all „problematic“ finds in Pannonia, Type III combs are those most typical of the carriers of the Chernyakhov – Sântana de Mureş culture (the Goths).

In Pannonia, the largest number of combs – not just Type III – comes from the province of *Valeria*,<sup>94</sup> but combs of several shapes do occur elsewhere in Late Antique Western Illyricum (*Map 2*). A factor to be considered is certainly the state of research of the Late Antique sites in different parts of Western Illyricum. Hungarian archaeologists take the lead in the study of the Pannonian limes, the Late Antique settlements, and particularly cemeteries.<sup>95</sup>

In Western Illyricum, especially tombs made of stone plates often contain several skeletons, at least one female or child, and at least one male (but never just male). These tombs also contained combs. The graves were often destroyed, some already in the Late Antique period, others later, either by robbing or by construction and farming. This results in an incomplete understanding of Late Antique cemeteries in general.<sup>96</sup> Pannonian combs in graves are always attributed to women and children, never to men. This is based on the assumption that the graves with combs from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD belonged to the Pannonian provincial population. Only later – but not much later – combs supposedly began to occur also in male graves in the Pannonian provinces. These, however, were no longer the burials of the provincial population but that of the Germanic newcomers.<sup>97</sup> An interesting double grave (Grave 193) was discovered in Eszter-

gom (*Solva*), which contained a man and a woman. The grave contained two double-sided combs, which could be an indication that in rare cases, combs were also put in male graves.<sup>98</sup> Double-sided combs were found in one male and one female grave in the small Mágocs cemetery with three graves in north Baranya, which is dated to ca. AD 400.<sup>99</sup> In the cemeteries of the Chernyakhov – Sântana de Mureş culture combs occur in female, child, and male burials. In some cemeteries, the majority of combs was found in male graves,<sup>100</sup> sometimes the percentage of male graves with combs was even quite high compared to all graves with combs,<sup>101</sup> but in general, female and children graves with combs strongly prevailed.<sup>102</sup>

In some Western Illyricum cemeteries where the finds are attributed by some authors to the Barbarian newcomers, there are some burials in tile (*tegulae*) or stone-lined graves. This is the „Roman type“ burial, which is one of the reasons why such graves are, in spite of the finds, attributed to the provincial population.<sup>103</sup> Inhumation graves with stone slabs, which can be constructed in a similar fashion as the stones or tegulae in the Western Illyricum cemeteries, while rare, are also known in the area of the Chernyakhov – Sântana de Mureş culture<sup>104</sup> and in Iluraton, Crimea, where such a grave contained a pair of sheet metal round-headed brooches and a coin of Arcadius from the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>105</sup> Wherever the population of the Chernyakhov – Sântana de Mureş culture or the Crimean Barbarians met with such burial type, the fact remains that it was used even in the areas outside the Empire. It would have been therefore no wonder if they adopted it from the provincial population in the period when they settled in the Western Illyricum provinces. This is actually

94 Bíró 2002, 65–66, Maps 1–4.

95 For the basic information about the state of research see e.g. Fülep 1980; Visy 2003a; Friesinger, Krinzinger 2005; Đorđević 2007; Sanader 2010; Migotti 2012.

96 E.g. Migotti, Perinić 2001, 126–128.

97 E.g. Bíró 2002, 67.

98 Kelemen 2008, 47, Pl. 43: 193/4, 5.

99 Gábor 1999, 114–115, Pl. 2: 3; 4: 3/4; 5: 3.

100 E.g. СЫМОНОВИЧ 1955; СЫМОНОВИЧ 1960a; Кравченко 1967.

101 E.g. Şovan 2012.

102 E.g. Bloşiu 1975; Körösfői 2008; Федоров 1960; Винокур, Островский 1967; Гей 1990.

103 E.g. Vágó, Bóna 1976, 144; Fülep 1984, 148; Kleemann 2008, 72.

104 Магомедов 2001, 26, Fig. 18: 1; 23: 6.

105 Ajbabin 2011, 54, Fig. 23: 5, Pl. 20: 9.

more likely than the Roman provincial population adopting Barbarian customs such as artificial cranial deformation or fragments of nomadic mirrors in graves – Volker Bierbrauer, for example, allows for this possibility in certain Pannonian cemeteries of the Szabadbattyán type, precisely due to the construction of the graves.<sup>106</sup>

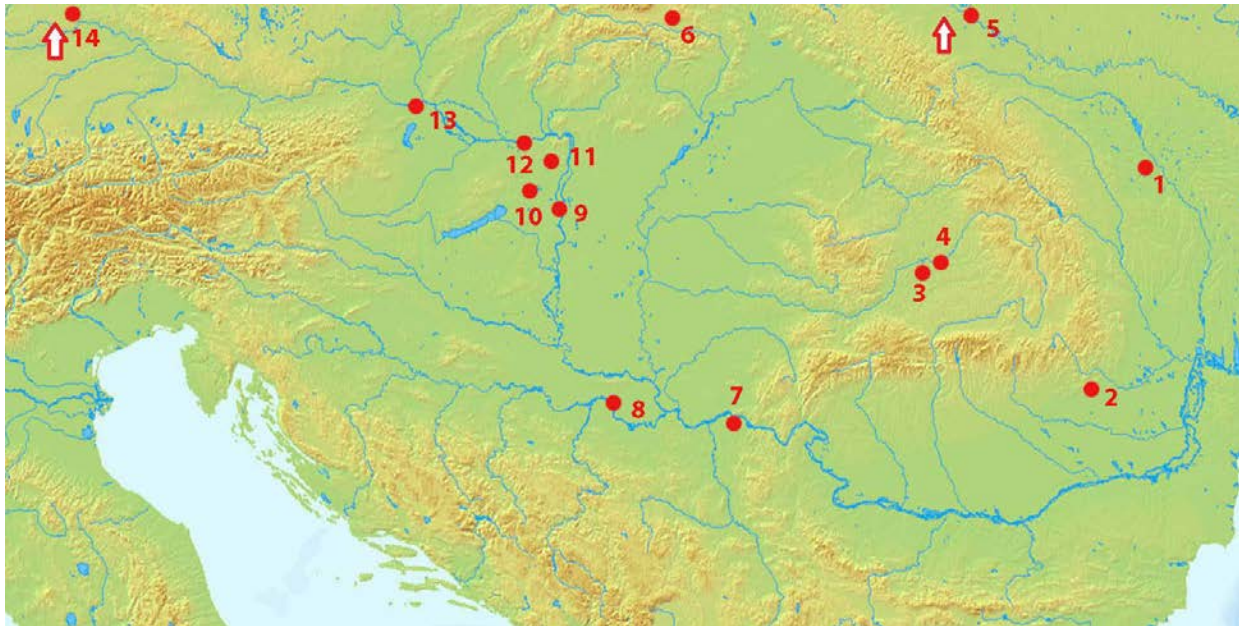
It is therefore hard to claim that in Western Illyricum at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, combs were put in graves only by the indigenous provincial population, due to the fact that they are only found in female and child graves, while e.g. the Chernyakhov – Sântana de Mureş culture also knew combs in male graves. It should be stressed once more that in Western Illyricum, there are few graves with combs as grave goods and furthermore they largely originate from destroyed burials with several deceased. Within the Chernyakhov – Sântana de Mureş culture, combs are likewise prevalent in the graves of women and children. Graves with combs cannot be dated with certainty to the last two decades of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the first decade of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

As a consequence, it can be stated that there is no evidence for the production of any kind of composite combs by the Roman provincial population before the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. Furthermore, there is no evidence for the use of combs for hairdressing amongst the provincial or Barbarian population, or for the use of combs as grave goods as a part of funeral rituals amongst the Roman provincial population. On the contrary, the Barbarian (Germanic) craftsmen produced composite combs from 2<sup>nd</sup> century onward and there is considerable evidence for the special meaning of combs amongst the Barbarians in both Eastern and Western Europe. Based on archaeological finds, including combs, it can be stated that there is no evidence for the presence of

the previously mentioned Gothic-Alanic-Hunnic group led by Alatheus and Saphrax. However, if the distribution map of combs in Western Illyricum is taken into consideration, it is possible to note that almost all of the combs appeared on the limes or at other strategic points in the hinterland (*Map 2*), where a military presence, if not refugii of the provincial population with favourable position, might be expected. It should be noted that many of the combs from the above sites are stray finds, or were found in occupation layers, where the Barbarian presence is only modestly, if at all, attested. Thus, they cannot be treated as indisputable evidence of a Barbarian presence. The same, however, can be said about the presence of the Roman provincial population. According to Péter Kovács, among some others, the fact that the new fashion appeared as a result of mutual influence throughout Pannonia, makes it impossible to look for a new ethnic group in each burial, in which „*the brooch with inverted foot appears*“.<sup>107</sup> By the term „*the brooch*“ he alludes to all the novelties, attributed to the Barbarians, or more specifically to the *foederati*. On the contrary, we have asserted above that we can employ the term „Barbarian“ to define at least the graves with combs as grave goods. This term may probably be extended to include some combs types, regardless who produced them. Thus these graves and combs indicated an actual Barbarian presence in Pannonia, which existed in some form, not just some form of mutual influence between the provincial Roman and the Barbarian populations at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. However, it is also impossible to determine any specific ethnic group on the basis of the appearance of combs (or any archaeological material at all) without really strong additional archaeological evidence.

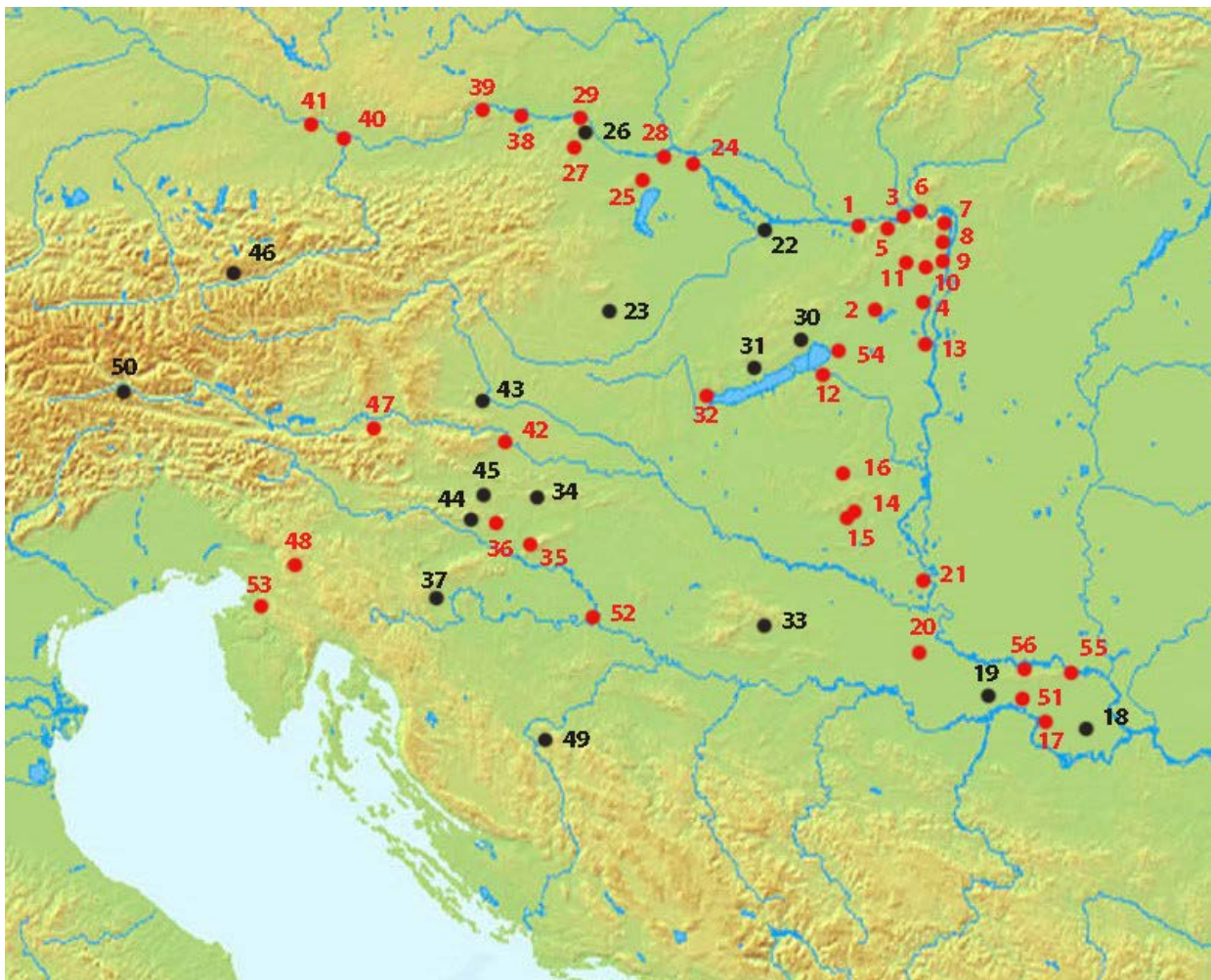
106 Bierbrauer 2007, 103; Bierbrauer 2011, 122, 136.

107 Kovács 2000, 140.



**Map 1<sup>1</sup>** *Distribution of the combs with figural depictions of type III./2. by Mária Bíró (Tica 2017, Fig. 10). List of sites: 1. Lețani-Iași; 2. Pietroasele; 3. Medias; 4. Târgu Mureș; 5. Romoš; 6. Vrbov; 7. Kostolac – Viminacium; 8. Hrtkovci-Gomolava; 9. Dunaijváros – Intercisa; 10. Csákvár; 11. Páty; 12. Szőny – Brigetio; 13. Bad Deutsch-Altenburg / Petronell – Carnuntum; 14. Altendorf.*

1 Background for the maps: <http://www2.demis.nl/worldmap/mapper.asp> [Accessed 5 Oct. 2015].



**Map 2** (p. 18) (Tica 2017, Fig. 12)

● Combs from late 4<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.<sup>1</sup>

● Combs, which could be from the late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.<sup>2</sup>

List of sites: **1.** Szőny – Brigetio (Bíró 1987b; 1994); **2.** Csákvár (Salamon, Barkóczy 1971; Nádorfi 1996; Bíró 2002); **3.** Esztergom – Solva (Kelemen 2008); **4.** Százhalombatta – Matrica (Topál 1981); **5.** Tokod (Lányi 1981; Mócsy 1981; Kelemen 1981; Bíró 2002); **6.** Pilismarót (Barkóczy 1960; Soproni 1978; Erdélyi, Salamon 1982); **7.** Leányfalu (Soproni 1978); **8.** Szentendre (Maróti, Topál 1980); **9.** Obuda – Aquincum (Topál 2003; Lassányi 2010; Bíró et al. 2012); **10.** Budapest-Gazdagrét (Zsidi 1988); **11.** Páty (Ottományi, Gabler 1985; Ottományi 2003); **12.** Ságvár (Burger 1966); **13.** Dunaiújváros – Intercisa (Alföldi 1957; Salamon, Barkóczy 1975; Salamon 1977; Teichner 2012; Vágó and Bóna 1976); **14.** Pécs – Sopianae (Fülep 1977; 1984); **15.** Pécs-Malom (Bíró 2002); **16.** Mágocs (Gábor 1999); **17.** Hrtkovci-Gomolava (Dautova Ruševljan, Brukner 1992); **18.** Malo Kovalovo (Брукнер 1995); **19.** Bregovi-Atovac (Брукнер 1995); **20.** Vinkovci – Cibalae (Dizdjar et al. 2002; Bojčić et al. 2009); **21.** Zmajevac (Filipović 2010); **22.** Győr – Arrabona (Szóke et al. 1977; Bíró 2002); **23.** Szombathely – Savaria (Bíró 2002); **24.** Rusovce – Gerulata (Kráskovská 1974; 1976; Snopko 1988); **25.** Höflein (Kastler 1999); **26.** Rannersdorf (Stadler 1981); **27.** Unterlanzendorf (Stadler 1981); **28.** Bad Deutsch-Altenburg / Petronell – Carnuntum (Grünewald 1981; 1986; Rauchenwald 1992; Catalogo 2002; Humer 2009); **29.** Klosterneuburg (Neugebauer Maresch, Neugebauer 1986); **30.** Balács (Koncz et al., 2001); **31.** Kékkút (Koncz et al. 2001); **32.** Keszthely-Fenekpuszta (Müller 2010); **33.** Treštanovačka gradina near Tekić (Sokol 1997); **34.** Lonja-Gradišće (Šimek 2012; Štimac Dedić 2013); **35.** Kuzelin (Sokol 2012); **36.** Svete gore above Bistrica ob Sotli (Korošec, Korošec 1978; Korošec 1997); **37.** Črnomelj (Bitenc and Knific 2001); **38.** Zwentendorf (Stiglitz 1975; Stuppner 2011); **39.** Mautern (Pollak 1993; Grob, Sedlmayer 2002; Wewerka 2004); **40.** Enns – Lauriacum (Kloiber 1957; Deringer 1967); **41.** Linz – Lentia (Ruprechtsberger 1991; 1999); **42.** Ptuj – Petoviona (Korošec 1980; 1999; Jevremov et al. 1993; Bitenc and Knific 2001); **43.** Frauenberg by Leibnitz (Steinklauber 2002); **44.** Ajdovski gradec above Sevnica (Bachran 1975; Knific 1979;<sup>3</sup> **45.** Rifnik (Bolta 1981);<sup>4</sup> **46.** Knallwand (Steinklauber 2005); **47.** Hemmaberg (Ladstätter 2000); **48.** Predjama (Korošec 1956; Korošec 1983; Bitenc and Knific 2001); **49.** Golubić-Dolovi (Raunig 1968);<sup>5</sup> **50.** Kirchbichl above Lavant (Kainrath 2011);<sup>6</sup> **51.** Sremska Mitrovica – Sirmium (Popović 1987; Поносух 2003); **52.** Sisak – Siscia (Burkowsky 1999; Tomaš Barišić, Burkowsky 2010); **53.** Predloka near Črni kal (Boltin Tome 1981; 1987);<sup>7</sup> **54.** Tác – Gorsium–Herculia (Bíró 1987b); **55.** Čortanovci (Даймова Рушевљан 1995); **56.** Banoštor (Даймова Рушевљан 1995).

1 Sites are dated in the named period by authors.

2 Combs, often the chance finds, which could be typologically classified in the named period and combs from the sites, where some layers could be from named period.

3 Fragments of double-sided combs, which were on the basis of comparisons dated probably in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, were found within settlement, which most likely existed already from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD (Knific 1979, 750; 1994, 219).

4 Signs of the Roman settlement on Rifnik dating back in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, but predominantly pottery testified above the intensive settlement at the turn of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD and later, at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> and in the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. In the interim we can't talk about intense settlement (Bausovac 2011, 131–136). Some combs from Rifnik should be from the time at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.

5 The focus of the Branka Raunig's article is processing of stone prehistoric Japodic urn, which was used tertiary as a part of the Late Antique grave construction made from the stone slabs. For author the publication of the grave of young woman was itself of secondary importance. She dated cemetery in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, with notice that cemetery was not published and without any arguments for dating. Otherwise with untypical grave goods (fragments of double-sided comb, clay spindle whorl, fragment of iron knife, fragment of unidentifiable iron object, covered with a molten mass, maybe amber, and small iron tack), the grave could be dated in later time, maybe even at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. But because of the lack of informations this is just our assumption.

6 Considered similar like for Rifnik.

7 The older part of the cemetery from Predloka near Črni kal is by Elica Boltin Tome dated in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup>, maybe even in the late 6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. The ceramic material from the associated villa rustica shows that villa was in the Late Antique period settled most intense in 4<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD (Vidrih Perko 2000, 443), as well as revision of the grave goods showed that the older graves are probably from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> or first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD and not later (Tica 2017, 336–338).

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