

APOTROPEJSKA I RODNA SIMBOLIKA NAKITA IZ GROBA 134 NA ŠTRBINCIMA KOD ĐAKOVA

U grobu 134 na kasnoantičkom groblju na Štrbincima kod Đakova, datiranom od sredine 4. stoljeća do ranog 5. stoljeća, u kojemu je bilo pokopano dijete od 2 do 3 godine starosti, nađeni su sljedeći prilozi: bula od bakarne slitine, polumjesečasti privjesak od bakarne slitine, polumjesečasti privjesak od srebra, slabo sačuvano oglavlje (dijadema) načinjeno od tri približno kvadratne pločice od prozirnog žućkastog stakla koje su najvjerojatnije bile pričvršćene na podlogu od pozlačene bakarne slitine, 65 perli od bjelkastog, plavog i zelenog stakla, narukvica od bakarne slitine, glineni vrč. Grob je prethodno bio objavljen u sklopu objave iskopavanja iz 2007. i 2008. na Štrbincima, ali bez detaljne rasprave o pojedinačnim nalazima. U ovome radu o tim se nalazima raspravlja s aspekta apotropejske i rodne uloge u grobnom kontekstu, sa zaključkom da je dijete najvjerojatnije bilo ženskoga roda, pokopano s velikom pažnjom i željom da mu se osigura najveća moguća zaštita u onostranosti.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: *kasnoantičko groblje, Štrbinci, amulet, grobni prilozi, rodna pripadnost*

U iskopavanjima kasnoantičkog groblja na Štrbincima kod Đakova od 1999. do 2012. otkrivena su ukupno 174 groba u goloj zemlji, drvenim sanducima i grobnicama od opeke, datirana od sredine 4. do ranog 5. stoljeća. Grob 134 istražen je 2007. godine. U njemu je, u goloj zemlji, bilo ukopano dijete starosti 2 – 3 godine. Uz veoma loše očuvan kostur nađeni su sljedeći prilozi: 1. bula od bakarne slitine (pr. 2 cm, deb. 1,3 cm) s ostatcima tkanine na vanjskim stijenkama; 2. polumjesečasti privjesak od bakarne slitine; 3. polumjesečasti privjesak od srebra; 4. slabo sačuvano oglavlje načinjeno od tri približno kvadratne pločice od prozirnoga žućkastog stakla, koje su najvjerojatnije bile pričvršćene na podlogu od pozlačene bakarne slitine; 5.

APOTROPAIC AND GENDER SYMBOLISM OF THE JEWELLERY FROM GRAVE 134 OF THE ŠTRBINCI CEMETERY

In grave 134 in the late Roman cemetery of Štrbinci (Đakovo, NE Croatia), dated from the mid 4th to the early 5th century, which held a child of 2-3 years of age, the following grave goods were recovered: 1 – a copper alloy bulla; 2 – a copper alloy lunate pendant; 3 – a silver lunate pendant; 4 – a poorly preserved headdress (diadem) composed of three small rectangular plates made of yellowish glass, most probably originally fixed onto a gilded copper alloy band; 5 – 65 beads made of whitish, blue, and green glass; 6 – a copper alloy bracelet; 7 – a pottery jug. The grave was published within the paper on the 2007-2008 campaign of excavations at Štrbinci, but without a detailed discussion of individual grave finds. In this contribution these finds are discussed from the point of view of their apotropaic function and gender role as grave goods. The conclusion reached is that the child was most probably a girl, who had been buried with much care and a pronounced wish to get every protection possible in the otherworld.

KEYWORDS: *late Roman cemetery, Štrbinci, amulet, grave goods, gender affiliation*

A total of 174 graves in earth pits, wooden coffins and tile-tombs were explored from 1999 till 2012 at the cemetery of Štrbinci in the vicinity of Đakovo (NE Croatia), dating from the mid-4th to the early 5th century. Grave 134, containing the skeleton of a child 2 or 3 years old placed in a pit, was excavated in 2007. The following grave goods were found by an extremely poorly preserved skeleton: 1 – a copper alloy bulla (diam. 2 cm, thickness 1.3 cm) with textile remains on the outer walls; 2 – a copper alloy lunate pendant; 3 – a silver lunate pendant; 4 – a poorly preserved headdress (diadem) composed of three small rectangular plates made of yellowish glass, most probably originally fixed onto a gilded copper alloy band; 5 – glass beads (65 pieces made

staklene perle (65 komada od žućkasto-bjelkastog, plavog i zelenog stakla); 6. narukvica od bakarne slitine; 7. glineni vrč (Sl. 1). S obzirom na to da je grob objavljen, ne donosim detaljan opis i dimenzije predmeta, s iznimkom bule.¹ Inače, broj i narav priloženih predmeta u spomenutom grobu odgovara panonskom, ali i širem prosjeku za dječje grobove, često obilježene razmjernim obiljem nakita, osobito perli i različitih zaštitnih privjesaka. Upravo s obzirom na nakit, takvi se grobovi spontano pripisuju ženskoj djeci, a svojstveni su i mladim ženskim osobama.² Treba međutim naglasiti da su nakit po svemu sudeći nosila i muška djeca, kao uostalom i odrasli muškarci.³ S obzirom na nedoumice koje taj podatak izaziva, ovo razmatranje, koje posvećujem cijenjenom kolegi i neprežaljenom prijatelju Zdenku Brusiću, bit će usredotočeno na apotropejsku i rodnu simboliku priloga u grobnom kontekstu.

Bula je objavljena bez crteža i točnih dimenzija jer je u vrijeme objave groba bila u postupku analize sadržaja i stoga nedostupna.⁴ Zato ću se prvo osvrnuti na sadržaj bule općenito, a onda na rezultat u međuvremenu načinjene analize primjerka sa Štrbinaca. Predmeti i stvari koji su se spremali u bulu razmjerno su rijetko spomenuti u izvorima, ali su u svakom slučaju uvijek bili namijenjeni zaštiti od uroka jer je takva i priroda samog privjeska. Osim biljke bijele lupine (*Lupinus albus*), poznate od antike po svojim farmakološkim i magičnim svojstvima, drugi sadržaji spomenuti u izvorima prilično su egzotični, primjerice gušterove oči, zubi magarca i junice te probušeno zrno graha zamotano u kožu mazge.⁵ Spominju se i magični tekstovi ispisani na papirusu ili tankom limu, premda se oni prije svega odnose na amulete u obliku duguljastih valjkastih ili višekutnih spremnika, najčešće od zlata, srebra ili stakla, koji

of whitish-yellowish, blue, and green glass); 6 – a copper alloy bracelet; 7 – a pottery jug (Fig. 1). As the grave has already been published, no detailed description and measurements are brought here, except for the bulla.¹ Otherwise, the number and selection of finds in grave 134 correspond with the average in late Roman children graves in Pannonia and the wider area, which often abound in jewellery, especially beads and various amulets. It is exactly on account of the jewellery that such graves are spontaneously ascribed to female children, the more readily as jewellery is also typical of young women's burials.² It should, however, be pointed out that jewellery was also worn by boys and men, which can lead to ambiguities in gender perspective in funerary archaeology.³ With this in mind, this paper, dedicated to the esteemed colleague and sorely missed friend Zdenko Brusić, will be focused on the apotropaic and gender symbolism of grave finds.

The first find to be discussed will be the bulla, which was published without a drawing and precise measurements, because at the time of publishing it was submitted to a scientific analysis of its content and therefore inaccessible.⁴ The issue of the content of the bulla in general will be considered first, to be followed by a discussion of the analysis of the example from Štrbinci. The content of the bulla was comparatively rarely mentioned in the written sources, and in those rare cases it was always made clear that the substance should have been prophylactic. Apart from the plant white lupin (*Lupinus albus*), known from the Classical Antiquity for its pharmaceutical and magical qualities, other substances mentioned are quite exotic, such as lizard's eyeballs, donkey's and heifer's teeth, and a pierced bean wrapped in a donkey skin.⁵ Frequently, magic texts on papyrus or thin metal sheets are reported, but they are mostly

1 B. MIGOTTI, T. LELEKOVIĆ, 2013, 249-251.

2 E. VÁGÓ, I. BÓNA, 1976, 191; S. MARTIN-KILCHER, 2000, 72-73; M. HEINZELMANN, 2001, 187; B. MIGOTTI, 2003, 64; A. SMALL *et al.*, 2007, 144; J. R. SOFAER, 2009, 148-150; N. DONEUS, 2010, 143, 149-150; K. GRÖMER, E. HÖLBLING-STEIGBERGER, 2010, 163-166.

3 J. FOSTER, 1993, 208-209; S. KEEGAN, 2002, 39-40, *passim*; B. MIGOTTI, 2004, 180-181, bilj. 15; M. CARROLL, 2006, 33; K. GRÖMER, E. HÖLBLING-STEIGBERGER, 2010, 163, 166.

4 Analize su načinjene u Istraživačkom laboratoriju Rathgen Državnih berlinskih muzeja (Rathgen-Forschungslabor, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin), a potpisali su ih prof. dr. Stefan Simon i Regine Ricarda-Pausewein (broj nalaza: 49_051111). Na posredovanju za obavljanje analiza, kao i na komentarima rezultata, srdačno zahvaljujem Damiru Doračiću, voditelju Konzervatorsko-restauratorskog odjela Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu.

5 E. LUCCHESI PALLI, 1994, 171; B. MIGOTTI, 2007, 195.

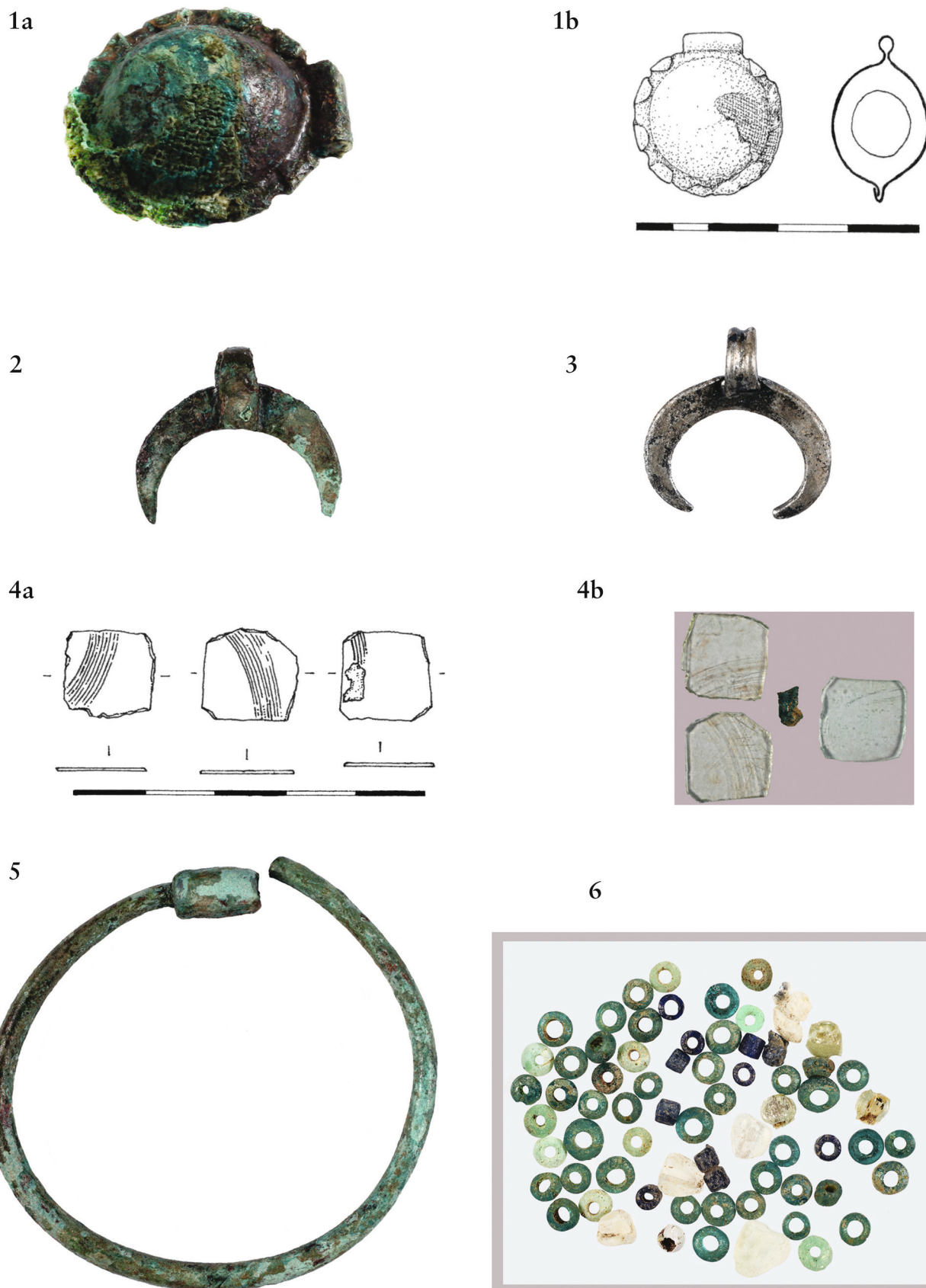
1 B. MIGOTTI, T. LELEKOVIĆ, 2013, 249-251.

2 E. VÁGÓ, I. BÓNA, 1976, 191; S. MARTIN-KILCHER, 2000, 72-73; M. HEINZELMANN, 2001, 187; B. MIGOTTI, 2003, 64; A. SMALL *et al.*, 2007, 144; J. R. SOFAER, 2009, 148-150; N. DONEUS, 2010, 143, 149-150; K. GRÖMER, E. HÖLBLING-STEIGBERGER, 2010, 163-166.

3 J. FOSTER, 1993, 208-209; S. KEEGAN, 2002, 39-40, *passim*; B. MIGOTTI, 2004, 180-181, fn. 15; M. CARROLL 2006, 33; K. GRÖMER, E. HÖLBLING-STEIGBERGER, 2010, 163, 166.

4 The analyses were conducted in the Research Laboratory Rathgen of the Berlin State Museums (Rathgen-Forschungslabor, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin) by Dr. Stefan Simon and Regine Ricarda-Pausewein (protocol no. 49_051111). I am very grateful to Damir Doračić, Head of the Conservation-Restoration Department of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, for his kind mediation in this procedure and for sharing with me his opinions on the results of the analyses.

5 E. LUCCHESI PALLI, 1994, 171; B. MIGOTTI, 2007, 195.



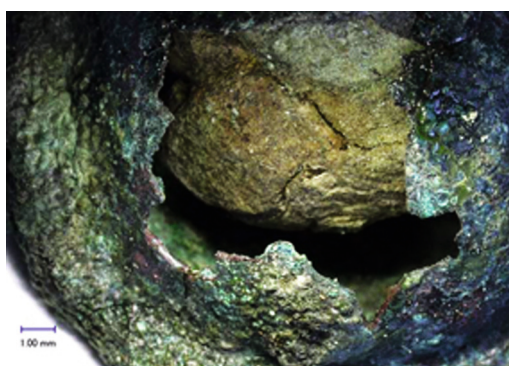
Sl. 1. / FIG. 1.

Nakit iz groba 134 na Štrbincima: 1. a/b – bula, 2. polumjesečasti privjesak; 3. polumjesečasti privjesak; 4. a/b – oglavlje; 5. narukvica, 6. zrna ogrlice (foto: Foto Badrov – 1; D. Doračić: 2 – 6; crteži: M. Galić – 1; M. Marijanović-Lešić – 4).

Jewellery from grave 134 at Štrbinci: 1. a/b – bulla; 2. lunular pendant; 3. lunular pendant; 4. a/b – headdress; 5 – bracelet; 6 – necklace beads (photo: Foto Badrov – 1; D. Doračić: 2 – 6; drawings: M. Galić – 1; M. Marijanović-Lešić – 4).

su obilno potvrđeni i kao arheološki nalazi.⁶ Prema mojemu znanju i dostupnoj literaturi, razmjeno je malen broj bula u Rimskome Carstvu, barem u Italiji i zapadnim provincijama, čiji je sadržaj znanstveno provjeren. Ondje gdje je to učinjeno, osim neodređenih biljnih ostataka, zabilježene su ljudske vlasi i rezani kamen, a u kršćanskim bulama mali ulomci kostiju i zemlja s mirisom mošusa.⁷ Među panonskim nalazima prevladavaju biljke, koje su pretežno ostale neodređene. Među određenim primjercima uočeni su korijandar (*Coriandrum sativum*) i zijevalica (*Antirrhinum maius*), obje s pretpostavljenim ljekovitim i magičnim svojstvima koja su im se pridavala od antičkih vremena. U jednoj buli nađena je grožđica, a u drugoj zlatna figurica egipatsko-grčkog boga šutnje Harpokrata, zamotana u lovorov list. Česti su i nalazi tkanine, same ili kao zaštita nekom drugom sadržaju, najčešće biljnom.⁸

Organska analiza sadržaja bule sa Štrbinca, načinjena FT-IR spektroskopskom metodom i digitalnom mikroskopijom, pokazala je da je okruglasta, žućkasta, mrvljiva gruda zapravo vosak, najvjerojatnije pčelinji (Sl. 2).⁹ Takav nalaz nije mi poznat iz literature. Ako i postoji, vjerojatno je da je riječ o kudikamo rjeđoj tvari kao sadržaju bule nego što su biljke i tekstil. S obzirom na to, pitanje je na koji se način svojstva voska mogu dovesti u vezu sa zaštit-



connected with amulets in the form of elongated cylindrical or polygonal receptacles made of gold and silver, or glass, often found on archaeological sites.⁶ As far as my knowledge goes, a relatively small number of *bullae*, at least those from Italy and the western provinces, have been characterised for their contents. Those that were analysed, mostly yielded undetermined plants, and in two cases human hair and a cut gemstone were established, respectively. Of Christian contents small bone fragments and musk-perfumed earth have been recorded.⁷ Among the finds in Pannonia mostly undetermined plants prevail, while of the characterised examples two kinds were established: coriander (*Coriandrum sativum*) and snapdragon (*Antirrhinum maius*), both with presumed healing and magical properties ascribed them from the Classical Antiquity onwards. One bulla has yielded a raisin, and in a yet another one a gold figurine of Harpocrates wrapped in a laurel leaf was found. Textile remains were quite frequently recorded, either as the sole find or as a protective wrapping for some other substance, mostly plants.⁸

Organic analyses of the bulla from Štrbinca, carried out by the FT-IR spectroscopic method and digital microscopy, have shown that the roundish, beige, crumbly lump was most probably the beeswax (Fig. 2).⁹ I know no analogy for such find, but if it does exist, the beeswax is certainly rare in comparison to plants or textile as found in *bullae*. With this in mind, it should now be established in what ways can the properties of beeswax be related with the apotropaic role of the bulla, or at least with funerary rites in general. Even the basic property of beeswax, that it is at the same time organic and imperishable, ushers it in the realm of funerary symbolism and the

Sl. 2. / FIG. 2.

Bula s grumenom voska u unutrašnjosti (iz dokumentacije analize, bilj. 4).

Bulla with a lump of wax in its interior (from the analysis documentation, fn. 4).

6 M. SOMMER, 1983; E. LUCCHESI PALLI, 1994, 171-173; B. MIGOTTI, 1997, 14-15.

7 A. MAU, 1897, 1050; E. LUCCHESI PALLI, 1994, 174.

8 B. MIGOTTI, 2007, 199-204.

9 Istraživači (vidi bilj. 4) su naveli i mogućnost da je posrijedi vosak preostao u buli nakon izrade tehnikom „izgubljenog voska“. Međutim, bula je načinjena ili barem doradena kovanjem, pa takvu pretpostavku treba odbaciti i radi tehnike izrade, a i s obzirom na kulturološku narav bule.

6 M. SOMMER, 1983; E. LUCCHESI PALLI, 1994, 171-173; B. MIGOTTI, 1997, 14-15.

7 A. MAU, 1897, 1050; E. LUCCHESI PALLI, 1994, 174.

8 B. MIGOTTI, 2007, 199-204.

9 The researchers (see fn. 4) brought up the possibility that the wax found in the bulla was a residue from the manufacturing technique of “lost-wax” casting. This, however, is not likely for two reasons. Firstly, the bulla in question was produced by hammering, and secondly, the cultural background and apotropaic nature of the bulla in general speak in favour of a deliberately placed substance.

ničkom ulogom bule ili barem općenito s grobnim ritualom. Već i osnovna osobina voska, da je to namime organska, a neraspadljiva tvar, otvara mu vrata u svijet grobne simbolike i zaštite pokojnika. U vrijeme rimske antike Perzijanci su upotrebljavali vosak kao sredstvo za balzamiranje.¹⁰ U Rimskom Carstvu vosak je prisutan u pogrebnim obredima preko svijeća voštanica koje su osvjetljavale put noćnim sprovodima. S vremenom su noćne povorke ostale ograničene na djecu i sirotinju, ali je uporaba i simbolika svijeća ostala dio grobnog obreda i danju.¹¹ Prema tome, vosak se može doživjeti kao tvar koja je simbolizirala izvor svjetla na pokojnikovu putu u onostranost. I voštane maske predaka (*imagines maiorum*) najrječitiju su ulogu imale upravo u pogrebnim povorkama.¹² Može se pretpostaviti da su one, kao uostalom i voštani portreti na egipatskim mumijama iz rimskog razdoblja, rađene od voska ne samo radi njegove podatnosti oblikovanju nego i radi pomalo jezive sličnosti te tvari s teksturom i bojom ljudske kože, osobito u bolesnika i mrtvacu.¹³ U opisu pripreme tijela za pokop spominje se i zatvaranje nosnica perlama ili pčelinjim voskom kako bi se spriječilo zle duhove da obuzmu tijelo.¹⁴ Usto, pčelinji se vosak kao magična tvar zadržao u grobnom ritualu kroz cijeli srednji vijek.¹⁵ Naposljetku, božanska i vladarska simbolika pčele i njezinih proizvoda, meda i voska, dobro je poznata u mnogim religijama, od egipatske do kršćanske.¹⁶ Spomenimo još jedan razlog, praktično-ritualni, za stavljanje voska u bulu. Pčelarenje je naime bila unosna djelatnost u Rimskom Carstvu, pa je lako moguće da se obitelj umrlog djeteta njome bavila.¹⁷ Pritom je vosak radi svoje neraspadljivosti najpraktičniji izbor grobne popudbine povezane s pčelom. Iz svega proizlazi da je uloga voska u grobnom ritualu klasične i kršćanske antike dovoljno čvrsto potkrijepljena kao moguć razlog za pospremanje grudice takve tvari u bulu s kojom će pokojnik biti ukopan.

protection of the deceased. During the Roman period the Persians used the beeswax as an embalming substance.¹⁰ In Roman civilisation the beeswax was present in the funerary ritual through candles that were used to lighten the way for the night funeral processions. In time, such night processions became limited to the children and the poor, but the funerary usage and symbolism of candles remained at any time of the day.¹¹ In view of all that, the beeswax can be perceived as the substance that symbolised the light on the deceased's journey to the afterlife. Also, wax portraits of ancestors (*imagines maiorum*) performed their main role exactly in funeral processions.¹² It can be presumed that these masks, as well as wax portraits applied to Roman Egyptian mummies, were made of wax not only because of this substance's suitability for modelling, but also for its uncanny similarity with the texture and colour of the human skin, especially in the sick and deceased.¹³ In a description of the preparation of the dead body for the Roman funeral a mention was made of plugging the nostrils with beads or beeswax, in order to prevent evil spirits from haunting the body.¹⁴ Furthermore, the beeswax as a magical substance continued in funerary ritual throughout the Middle Ages.¹⁵ Finally, the divine and royal symbolism of the bee and its products, honey and wax, is well known in many religious systems, from the Egyptian paganism to Christianity.¹⁶ There was another possible reason, practical-ritual, for putting beeswax into a bulla. Beekeeping was namely a profitable activity in the Roman world, so the deceased child's family was possibly engaged in it.¹⁷ In view of its imperishability, wax was the most suitable choice as a grave good associative of the bee. On balance, the role of the beeswax in the funerary ritual of the Classical and Christian Antiquities appears to be founded well enough to explain the reason behind putting such substance into the bulla that will accompany a deceased to the grave.

10 C. VISMARA, 1992, 115.

11 É. CUQ, 1896, 1389-1390; C. VISMARA, 1992, 135, 137; N. DONEUS, 2010, 142-143.

12 É. CUQ, 1896, 1399; M. PAPINI, 2011, 35, 39.

13 S. WALKER, M. BIERBRIER, 1997; B. WILSON, 2005, 45.

14 http://death.wikia.com/wiki/Death_in_Ancient_Rome (zadnji pristup: 15. lipnja 2015.). Nažalost, spomenutu tvrdnju nisam uspjela pronaći u znanstvenoj literaturi, odnosno u izvorima.

15 B. WILSON, 2005, 47, *passim*; R. GILCHRIST, 2008, 124. I smola je primjerice kao sadržaj bule potvrđena od 7. st. prije Krista do 7. stoljeća poslije Krista (E. LUCCHESI PALLI, 1994, 176).

16 D. FORSTNER, 1982, 246-248; B. WILSON, 2005, 47, 70, 81-83, *passim*.

17 B. WILSON, 2005, 57.

10 C. VISMARA, 1992, 115.

11 É. CUQ, 1896, 1389-1390; C. VISMARA, 1992, 135, 137; N. DONEUS, 2010, 142-143.

12 É. CUQ, 1896, 1399; M. PAPINI, 2011, 35, 39.

13 S. WALKER, M. BIERBRIER, 1997; B. WILSON, 2005, 45.

14 http://death.wikia.com/wiki/Death_in_Ancient_Rome (last accessed: 15th June 2015). Unfortunately, I was not able to verify this claim in the scholarly literature.

15 B. WILSON, 2005, 47, *passim*; R. GILCHRIST, 2008, 124. Resin, for example, was also found in *bullae* from the 7th century BC to the 7th century AD (E. LUCCHESI PALLI, 1994, 176).

16 D. FORSTNER, 1982, 246-248; B. WILSON, 2005, 47, 70, 81-83, *passim*.

17 B. WILSON, 2005, 57.

Spoznaja o rodnoj simbolici bule, odnosno o njezinoj promjeni u kasnoj antici, sporo se probija u svijest istraživača. Riječ je o podatku da je u to vrijeme bula prestala biti isključiva povlastica dječaka do trenutka zrelosti, već su je, barem u provincijama, često nosile i žene.¹⁸ Pitanje je zaправо je li ikada i bila povezana isključivo s muškom djecom. Arheološka građa daje naslutiti da je u ranome Carstvu bula za dječake bila društveno pravilo, ako ne i zakon, a za djevojčice nešto poput neobvezujućeg običaja, koji stoga nije ostavio dovoljno traga ni u izvorima ni u arheološkom građi.¹⁹ S obzirom na to da su u podunavskim provincijama u kasnoj antici bulu nosila ne samo djeca nego nerijetko i žene, jasno je da se podatak odnosi i na žensku djecu. Međutim, u djece je u dobi prije sazrijevanja koštanog sustava nemoguće pouzdano utvrditi spol na temelju parametara fizičke antropologije.²⁰ Stoga jedina mogućnost ostaje procjena prema priložima, pri čemu pojmovi spola kao biološke datosti i roda kao društvenog konstrukta ostaju predmet vječnog prijepora među antropolozima i arheolozima, ponajprije zbog prepoznavanja utjecaja socijalnog okruženja ne samo na stvaranje rodnih koncepata nego i na formiranje i definiranje čak i bioloških parametara.²¹ Kakogod bilo i usprkos različitim mišljenjima, grobni prilozi u svijesti većine istraživača ostaju razmjerno pouzdani spolno-rodni pokazatelji, ako se upotrebljavaju s potrebnim oprezom i interdisciplinarnim pristupom, i to u cjelovitim kontekstima.²² Ta se spoznaja odnosi i na odrasle i na djecu, ali je u potonjem slučaju njezina primjena još osjetljivija. Dok jedni autori smatraju da je rizik određivanja spola kod djece na temelju priloga i odjeće još veći nego kod odraslih, drugi naglašavaju da je to zapravo jedini

The knowledge of the gender symbolism of the bulla and its changed role in later Antiquity has been penetrating the researchers' minds only quite slowly. At that time, namely, the bulla ceased to be the exclusive privilege of the boy until his maturity, and was quite often also worn by women, at least in the provinces.¹⁸ One may rightly wonder whether the bulla was ever related exclusively to boys. The archaeological evidence suggests that in the early Empire the bulla was loaded with a social, if not even legal, commitment for the boys, while for the girls it was a kind of an optional habit, possibly resulting in the lack of more conspicuous traces in the written sources and archaeology.¹⁹ Given that in the Danube provinces the bulla was not worn exclusively by children, but often also by women, there should be no doubt that the same was true of female children as well as male. Now, the problem lies in the fact that it is impossible to sex children through parameters of physical anthropology prior to the completion of skeletal maturity.²⁰ Consequently, the only possibility to determine the sex is through grave goods, with the caveat that the conceptions of sex and gender remain the matter of a permanent controversy between anthropologists and archaeologists, mostly because it has been maintained that the social milieu does not only affect the creation of gender concepts, but it has also a role in determining biological parameters of sex and gender.²¹ However it may be, grave goods remain fairly dependent indicators of sex for the majority of researchers, provided that they are studied interdisciplinary and in controlled contexts.²² This holds true of the adults and children, but is probably more sensitive if applied to the latter. While some authors maintain that with children it is even

18 B. MIGOTTI, 2007, 190, 208-209.

19 B. MIGOTTI, 2007, 208; N. DONEUS, 2010, 150. U tom smislu indikativan je postupak A. Maua (1897, 1048) koji je Plautov podatak da su bulu nosile i djevojčice radije obrazložio nepreciznošću latinskog prijevoda grčkog teksta, negoli se i sam pozabavio istraživanjem tog pitanja. Nije ga na to potaknuo ni podatak da su u etrurskoj civilizaciji, iz koje se bula proširila u Rim, taj amulet nosili muškarci, žene i djeca iz otmjenijih obitelji.

20 R. GOWLAND, 2009, 147; J. R. SOFAER, 2009, 159; N. DONEUS, 2010, 146.

21 R. GOWLAND, 2009; J. R. SOFAER, 2009.

22 R. GOWLAND, 2009, 147-148; J. R. SOFAER, 2009, 152, *passim*.

18 B. MIGOTTI, 2007, 190, 208-209.

19 B. MIGOTTI, 2007, 208; N. DONEUS, 2010, 150. A. Mau's (1897, 1048) attitude is symptomatic in this regard. In commenting on Plautus's statement that girls also wore *bullae*, he chose to explain this by a mistranslation from Greek to Latin, rather than to dive deeper into the problem. In so doing, he failed to notice a possible correlation with Etruscan civilisation, which transmitted the bulla to the Romans, and in which this amulet was worn equally by men, women and children.

20 R. GOWLAND, 2009, 147; J. R. SOFAER, 2009, 159; N. DONEUS, 2010, 146.

21 R. GOWLAND, 2009; J. R. SOFAER, 2009.

22 R. GOWLAND, 2009, 147-148; J. R. SOFAER, 2009, 152, *passim*.

način, koji stoga ne treba odbacivati.²³ Grob 134 sa Štrbinaca dobar je primjer opisane dvojbe, koju nameću gotovo svi prilozi osim glinenog vrča jer se posuđe podjednako prilagalo djeci oba spola te ženama i muškarcima. Kao što je prije spomenuto, izrazito rodno-spolna karakteristika bule kao grobnog priloga, kako je taj predmet u arheologiji najčešće i posvjedočen, u kasnoj antici je poljuljana, pa ne može konačno prevagnuti ni na jednu stranu pri nagađanju o spolu djeteta pokopanog u grobu 134. S druge strane, simbolični kontekst dvaju polumjesečastih privjesaka manje je zagonetan. I pisani izvori i arheološka građa iz cjelokupne rimske antike, uključujući i ranokršćanske sadržaje, takve predmete predočuju kao apotropejsko obilježje ženskoga kulturološko-simboličnog kruga.²⁴ Tako se, spontano i bez dubljeg uvida i razmišljanja, doživljava i nakit u cjelini. Premda je u većini slučajeva obilat nakit uistinu obilježje ženskog svijeta, pri takvim procjenama ipak bi trebalo voditi računa o prije spomenutim zamkama u određivanju rodno-spolne pripadnosti na temelju priloga. Naime, nakit su u Rimskom Carstvu nosili i muškarci, pa nema razloga sumnjati da se to odnosilo i na mušku djecu.²⁵ U našem slučaju donekle je neobično da se među perlama nije našao ni jedan veliki šareni primjerak, kakvi su u Panoniji osobito svojstveni dječjim ukopima, a i na Štrbincima ih je nađen popriličan broj, uvijek u dječjim grobovima.²⁶

Posljednji prilog, također izrazito prikladan za razmatranje o apotropejsko-rodnoj simbolici, jest oglavlje. Prije rasprave o tome pitanju potrebno je pokušati rekonstruirati izgled i način nošenja tog predmeta u antici općenito, a vezano uz to i odrediti najprikladniji naziv za štrbinacački nalaz. U prvoj objavi, u kojoj sam se kratko zadržala na tom prilogu u sklopu rasprave o svih 37 grobova istraženih na Štrbincima 2007. i 2008., nazvala sam predmet oglavljem, premda ne bez dvojbi, radi kojih sam posegnula i za mišljenjem etnologa.²⁷ Osnovna poteškoća proizlazila je

riskier to determine sex through clothing and grave goods, others point out that since there is no other way to do that, such method should not be discarded.²³ Grave 134 from Štrbinca is a good example of this controversy, as reflected in all of the finds but the pottery jug, given that vessels were offered to the deceased irrespective of sex and gender. As mentioned above, the explicit sex/gender role of the bulla perceived as attached exclusively to boys, was altered in Late Antiquity, so it cannot be conclusive in establishing the sex of the child from grave 134. Contrary to that, lunate pendants have always been perceived as part of the female cultural and symbolical sphere, as transpires from both the written sources and archaeological evidence.²⁴ There is a tendency among the researchers to perceive the jewellery in general as pertaining exclusively to the female world. Indeed, abundant jewellery in a grave most often indicates a female deceased, but caution is still necessary in sexing such burials, because jewellery was also worn by men, which leaves no doubt that this was true of male children as well.²⁵ Surprisingly missing in grave 134 are large multi-coloured glass beads, very typical of children burials in Pannonia, the site of Štrbinca included, given that they are perceived as decidedly apotropaic.²⁶

The last grave good to be considered – the head-dress, is also loaded with apotropeic-gender symbolism. However, it is first necessary to reconstruct in general the appearance and the ways of wearing this item of jewellery in Antiquity, and, in relation to that, to establish the most suitable name for the artefact discussed here. When publishing it shortly for the first time, I named it *oglavlje* (head-dress), although with some hesitation, spurred by the fact that due to the poor state of preservation of the skeleton it was impossible to reconstruct the precise position of the find, which lay near the remains of the skull.²⁷ I used the term *headdress* as the most suitable general term covering the diadem

23 J. FOSTER, 1993; S. MASSA, 2001, 267; S. L. KEEGAN, 2002, 39-43; R. GOWLAND, 2009, 147. Treba međutim računati i s iznimkama. Tako su na kasnoantičkoj grobnoj freski s nekropole kod Beške u Srbiji dvojica sluga prikazani s ogrlicama s privjescima, pri čemu jedan od njih nosi polumjesečast privjesak, a drugi bulu: M. MARIJANSKI-MANOJLOVIĆ, 1987, 26-29, sl. 7 i 9.

24 B. MIGOTTI, 2007, 192-193; K. GRÖMER, E. HÖLBLING-STEIGBERGER, 2010, 161, 163.

25 Usp. bilj. 3.

26 B. MIGOTTI, 2009, 159-160; N. DONEUS, 2010, 149; K. GRÖMER, E. HÖLBLING-STEIGBERGER, 2010, 163.

27 B. MIGOTTI, T. LELEKOVIĆ, 2013, 263-264.

23 J. FOSTER, 1993; S. MASSA, 2001, 267; S. L. KEEGAN, 2002, 39-43; R. GOWLAND 2009, 147. Even though, we should always reckon with exceptions, like the one from the late Roman cemetery at Beška in Serbia. In a tomb fresco there two servants wearing necklaces with pendants are depicted, one with a bulla and the other with a lunate pendant: M. MARIJANSKI-MANOJLOVIĆ, 1987, 26-29, figs. 7 and 9.

24 B. MIGOTTI, 2007, 192-193; K. GRÖMER, E. HÖLBLING-STEIGBERGER, 2010, 161, 163.

25 See fn. 3.

26 B. MIGOTTI, 2009, 159-160; N. DONEUS, 2010, 149; K. GRÖMER, E. HÖLBLING-STEIGBERGER, 2010, 163.

27 B. MIGOTTI, T. LELEKOVIĆ, 2013, 263-264.

iz činjenice da je, s obzirom na izrazito slabo sačuvan kostur, nemoguće bilo rekonstruirati način nošenja predmeta, ostatci kojeg su zatečeni otprilike na mjestu lubanje. Izraz *oglavlje* odabrala sam vodeći se manje terminologijom iz literature, a više pokušajem uklapanja tog predmeta u okvir jednoga općeg pojma materijalne i duhovne kulture antike, simboliziranog dijademom i vijencem, a prisutnog i u grobnom ritualu. Dijadema i vijenac, bilo da su napravljeni od tkanine, bilja ili kovina, u izvorima i literaturi u pravilu su opisani kao trake ili obruči koji obavijaju glavu. Pritom i crteži rekonstrukcija, ali i ilustracije arheoloških predmeta, prije svega novaca, pokazuju nakit smješten radije na tjemenu negoli na čelu.²⁸ Stručna literatura u tom pogledu nije posve jednoznačna, što je i razumljivo s obzirom na to da se u arheološkom smislu ukrasi glave u pravilu zatječu kao fragmentarno sačuvani grobni prilozi. U meni dostupnim radovima, u kojima je pretežno obrađena panonska građa, ali se kao usporedbe navode i nalazi iz drugih podunavsko-rajskih provincija, a koji su stjecajem okolnosti uglavnom na njemačkom jeziku, prevladava izraz *Stirnband*, ali se susreću i nazivi *Diademe*, *Stirnschmuck*, *Kappenbesatz* i *Kopfschmuck*, ponekad čak alternativno u istome tekstu, odnosno za isti predmet.²⁹ U ovome kontekstu osobito je koristan izvještaj s iskopavanja u Nagykanizsi 2005., napisan na mađarskom i engleskom jeziku, u kojemu je upotrijebljen izraz *headdress*.³⁰ Pritom je znakovito da je upotrijebljena riječ koja označava ukras glave, dakle ne specifično čela, a to potvrđuje i fotografija. Na njoj se naime jasno razabire način nošenja prema položaju ogavlja: od tjemena do otprilike razine ušiju. Budući da su istraživači pretpostavili da su u tom primjeru staklene pločice bile pričvršćene na organsku podlogu, moguće kožnu, vjerojatno je da se traka vezivala na zatiljku, podsjećajući time po načinu uporabe na gore spomenute rekonstrukcije i ilustracije iz literature o načinu nošenja dijademe i vijenca. Uz pretpostavku da se i druga slična ogavlja, koja su se u pravilu sastojala od staklenih pločica u kovinskim okvirima ili na kovinskoj podlozi ili pak na podlozi od organske tvari, mogu rekonstruirati na sličan način, izraz koji se odnosi na glavu čini se primjerenijim nazivom za opisani ukrasni predmet od onoga u kojemu se spominje čelo.

and wreath, as conspicuous items of material and spiritual culture of the classical Antiquity, related to both the everyday life and funerary ritual. Diadems and wreaths, whether made of textile, plants or metals, were in the written sources described as bands or fillets encircling the head. When documented through hypothetical reconstructions and drawings, these objects mostly figure on the top of the head rather than on the forehead.²⁸ This issue is a moot point in the archaeological literature, which is understandable given that headdresses are mostly found as fragmentary grave goods. The terms used in the literature (mostly in German) that I know, covering mostly the area of the Rhine and Danube provinces, are the following: *Stirnband* as prevailing, followed by *Diademe*, *Stirnschmuck*, *Kappenbesatz* and *Kopfschmuck*, sometimes even alternately in the same text, that is, for the same item.²⁹ The report on the 2005 excavations in Nagykanizsa (Hungary), written in Hungarian and English, is especially significant in the present context; in it the name *headdress* was used.³⁰ Thus, the word was chosen which denoted the head and not specifically the forehead, corresponding with the precise position of the headdress, as documented in the photograph: running from the top of the head to approximately the ears. There is no doubt that the glass plates composing the headdress were fixed onto a (probably textile) band, which should have been tied up at the back of the head, that is, the same way as various diadems and wreaths found in documentary reconstructions in the literature. Presumably, all other similar headdresses, found as partially preserved archaeological artefacts and mostly composed of glass plates in metal framings, can be reconstructed in the same way. Therefore, the term mentioning the head and not the forehead seems to be the most suitable for this item of jewellery.

28 E. S., 1887; E. SAGLIO, 1892.

29 W. HABEREY, 1942, 274 (*Stirnschmuck*); E. VÁGÓ, I. BÓNA, 1976, 84 / Grab 1134, Taf. XLI (*Kopfschmuck*, *Stirnband*); A. SZ. BURGER, 1979, 48 / Grab 96 (*Stirnband*); M. POLLAK, 1993, 199 / Grab 219 (*Kappenbesitz*); R. MÜLLER, 2010, 188, Grab 1901/85, bez ilustracije, uz navođenje širih panonskih analogija (*Stirnschmuck*).

30 I. EKE, L. HORVÁTH, 2006, 75 (grave 59).

28 E. S., 1887; E. SAGLIO, 1892.

29 W. HABEREY, 1942, 274 (*Stirnschmuck*); E. VÁGÓ, I. BÓNA, 1976, 84 / Grab 1134, Taf. XLI (*Kopfschmuck*, *Stirnband*); A. SZ. BURGER, 1979, 48 / Grab 96 (*Stirnband*); M. POLLAK, 1993, 199 / Grab 219 (*Kappenbesitz*); R. MÜLLER, 2010, 188, Grab 1901/85, without illustration, and with adducing broader Pannonian comparisons (*Stirnschmuck*).

30 I. EKE, L. HORVÁTH, 2006, 75 (grave 59).

U potrazi za usporednom građom u rajnsko-podunavskim provincijama zanemariti ćemo pretpostavljeni čeonik nakit sastavljen od kovinskih privjesaka, a zadržat ćemo se na nalazima načinjenima od staklenih pločica poput štrbinačkog primjerka.³¹ Ukrasi glave (oglavlja) opisani u radovima navedenima u bilješci 29 srodni su onome sa Štrbinaca u tome što svi sadrže tanke staklene pločice, u pravilu umetnute u kovinske okvire. Međutim, u našem nalazu mali komadić lima od pozlaćene bakarne slitine prije upućuje na podlogu staklenih pločica, nego na njihov okvir. Bilo da je svaka pločica imala vlastitu podlogu ili su sve bile pričvršćene na cjelovitu kovinsku traku, može se pretpostaviti da je donja podloga ogavlja bila načinjena od tkanine ili kože. Budući da su ostali kovinski predmeti u grobu znatno bolje sačuvani, vjerojatno je da je ogavlje izvorno bilo napravljeno kao izrazito krhak predmet. Najbližu usporedbu u obliku i stanju sačuvanosti štrbinačko ogavlje ima u nalazu iz rimsko-franačkog groblja Krefeld-Gellepa (rimski *Gelduba* u njemačkom Porajnju) iz 1. – 8. stoljeća. Ondje su u dječjem sarkofagu iz 4. stoljeća, otprilike na mjestu glave, zatečene četiri tanke, približno četvrtaste, gotovo bezbojne staklene pločice. Uz njih su bili i neznatni ostatci zlatnog lima, toliko raspadnuti da ih nije bilo moguće spasiti.³² Primjerak sa Štrbinaca doima se kao skromnija inačica opisana predmeta, u kojemu je zlatni lim nadomješten pozlaćenim. Inače, ogavlje iz Krefeld-Gellepa Max Martin razvrstao je u tip Köln (*Form Köln*), koji obuhvaća ukrase glave sastavljene od četvrtastih pločica od bezbojnog stakla u okvirima od pozlaćene bronce, što otprilike odgovara štrbinačkom primjerku.³³ Bilo bi zanimljivo istražiti mjesta izrade takvog nakita i putove trgovine, s obzirom na to da su posrijedi ipak razmjerno rijetki nalazi ako ih usporedimo s pretežno jednoličnim priložima u kasnoantičkim grobovima rajnsko-podunavskih provincija.

U ovome kontekstu međutim prije svega nas zanima smisao prilaganja ogavlja u grobu, a posredno i njegova eventualna uporaba u svakodnevnom živo-

In a short overview of the comparative evidence from the Rhine and Danube provinces, the headdresses made of metal pendants will be put aside, and only those made of glass plates, such as the one from Štrbinci, will be considered.³¹ The headdresses recorded in the literature added in footnote 29 are similar to the one from Štrbinci in that they were composed of glass plates set in metal frames. However, the item in question produced only a very tiny remnant of a gilded copper alloy sheet, which therefore points to a band-like support for the glass plates rather than to their frames. No matter whether each plate had its own metal underpinning or all of them were fixed onto a one-piece metal band, it can be presumed that the inner surface of the band was made of textile or leather. The fact that the other metal finds from grave 134 were much better preserved suggests that the headdress was originally produced as a very fragile piece. Its best parallel in terms of both the shape and the state of preservation is found in a find from the Roman and Frankish cemetery of Krefeld-Gellep (Roman *Gelduba* in the German Rhineland) from the 1st-8th centuries. In a 4th-century child sarcophagus there, at approximately the head area, four small, thin, rectangular, sub-colourless glass plates were found. Slight traces of a thin gold sheet were recovered in the same place, but were too poor to be rescued.³² The Štrbinci piece figures as a more modest version of the one just described, as in it the gold sheet was substituted with the gilded copper alloy. Otherwise, the find from Krefeld-Gellep was allocated to the type Köln (*Form Köln*) that comprises the headdresses made of rectangular colourless glass plates set in frames of gilded copper alloy, thus approximately matching the Štrbinci find.³³

It is now time to discuss the symbolism of the headdress as a grave find, and its possible use in everyday life. In all of Antiquity wreaths and headbands, as well as their derivatives such as various

31 O pretpostavljeno čeonom nakitu načinjenom od kovinskih privjesaka (bakarnih i srebrnih, ponekad pozlaćenih, rjeđe zlatnih) usp. R. MÜLLER, 2010, 188.

32 R. PIRLING, M. SIEPEN, 2006, 365, bilj. 120.

33 Podatak je prenesen preko R. PIRLING, M. SIEPEN, 2006, 365, a odnosi se na monografiju koja mi nije bila dostupna (Max Martin, *Das spätrömisch-frühmittelalterliche Gräberfeld von Kaiseraugst, Kanton Aargau, Derendingen 1991, Basler Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte*, Bd. 5 A), a u kojoj je autor obradio ogavlja iz Kaiseraugsta u švicarskom Porajnju, stavivši ih u kontekst usporedbe sa šireg prostora.

31 On the jewellery composed of metal (copper alloy and silver, rarely gold) pendants, presumably worn on the forehead, see R. MÜLLER, 2010, 188.

32 R. PIRLING, M. SIEPEN, 2006, 365, fn. 120.

33 This data was sourced from R. PIRLING, M. SIEPEN, 2006, 365, but refers to the monograph inaccessible to me (Max Martin, *Das spätrömisch-frühmittelalterliche Gräberfeld von Kaiseraugst, Kanton Aargau, Derendingen 1991, Basler Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte*, Bd. 5 A), in which the author discussed the headdresses from Kaiseraugst in the Swiss Rhineland by putting them into the wider spatial context.

tu. U cjelokupnoj antici, a i mnogo prije nje, vijenci i trake svezani oko glave, kao i njihovi naknadni oblici poput različitih kruna, simbolizirali su prije svega božanske i vladarske moći. Kad su smrtnici u pitanju, svjetovna uporaba nabrojanih predmeta nije razjašnjena u svim aspektima, premda pisani izvori potvrđuju da su djevojčice prije udaje vezivale kosu jednostavnom vunenom trakom.³⁴ Stoga nije teško zamisliti da je u svečanim prigodama, ili pak u smrti, ta traka mogla poprimiti raskošniji oblik. Jedno je naime sigurno: vijenac i dijadema dio su pogrebnog rituala i metafora svojevrsnoga religijskog posvećivanja pokojnika općenito, o čemu svjedoče i grčki i rimski pisci.³⁵ Mnogi arheološki spomenici, od portreta na egipatskim mumijama, preko kamenih grobnih stela i grobnih priloga, širom Rimskog Carstva potvrđuju te navode, odnosno činjenicu da nisu samo vladari, bogovi i heroji portretirani i pokapani s vijencima i dijademama, već i obični ljudi, ne samo žene nego i muškarci.³⁶ Taj bi se podatak mogao parafrazirati kao *Quod non licet vitae, licet morti*. U tom smislu osobito su zanimljiva dvostruka staklena dna sa zlatnim listićem umetnutim između dvije stijenke, s obzirom na dvojbe oko izvorne namjene. Među najčešćim su prizorima na zlatnim listićima portreti, pri čemu ženski likovi ponekad na glavi nose ukras nalik dijademi. Ta su dna znakovita u ovom kontekstu zato jer je prilično vjerojatno da su pripadala posudama rađenima isključivo za svečane prigode, a s konačnom namjerom da njihova dna posluže kao grobni prilozima.³⁷ Sve u svemu, otvorenim ostaje pitanje jesu li odrasle ženske osobe, osim onih iz vladarskih obitelji, nosile vrpce i dijademe u nekim prigodama svakodnevnog života. Prema mome znanju, likovni spomenici izvan domene grobnog rituala svjedoče isključivo o carskim osobama, bogovima, herojima te personifikacijama i alegorijama.³⁸ S druge strane, prema navodu svetog Jeronima, čije se djelovanje otprilike vremenski

crowns, stood above all for divine and imperial or regal powers. When it comes to the common mortals, the everyday usage of such regalia has not been cleared in all aspects, although the written sources relate that the girls before marriage used to tie their hair with simple woollen bands or fillets.³⁴ It is easy to imagine that such bands, when intended as grave goods, would have acquired more sumptuous forms. This assumption is based on the fact that the wreath and the diadem were part of the funerary ritual and a metaphor for a religious dedication of the deceased, as proved by the written sources.³⁵ Statements of the Greek and Roman writers have been furnished by archaeological evidence, from portraits on Roman Egyptian mummies to stone stelae and grave finds throughout the Empire, testifying that not only common women, but also men, were portrayed and buried wearing wreaths and diadems.³⁶ This could be paraphrased as *Quod non licet vitae, licet morti*. In this context one type of archaeological material appears to be significant – glass vessels with double bottoms and a gold leaf between the bottom walls. The most frequent motifs on such bottoms are family portraits in which ladies often wear hair accessories resembling diadems. The curiosity lies in the fact that such vessels had very probably been originally intended for festive occasions, to be finally turned into grave gifts.³⁷ All in all, it remains uncertain whether adult women apart from imperial ladies wore hair-bands and diadems in everyday life. As far as my knowledge goes, artistic monuments other than funerary stones testify exclusively to imperial persons, gods, and heroes, as well as personifications and allegories.³⁸ On the other hand, according to Saint Jerome, whose activity falls in the 2nd half of the 4th century, corresponding to the chronology of the Štrbinci cemetery, noble ladies

34 J. L. SEBESTA, 1994, 47-48; K. GRÖMER, E. HÖLBLING-STEIGBERGER, 2010, 161.

35 E. POTTIER, 1887; E. S., 1887.

36 O grobnim portretima u Panoniji vidi L. BARKÓCZI, 1984, 134-141, 145, u Egiptu S. WALKER, M. BIERBRIER, 1997, 48 i d., a u Palmiri H. PALAZ ERDEMIR, 2013. O arheološkim nalazima vidi bilješku 29.

37 B. MIGOTTI, 2003, 16-21.

38 Osobito je znakovit primjer čuvenih fresaka na stropu konstantinske bazilike u Trieru na kojima ženske osobe nose dijademe. U davnoj dvojbi o tome je li riječ o damama iz carske obitelji ili o muzama i filozofima kao alegorijama znanja, prevladalo je potonje mišljenje: F. BISCONTI, 2005, 184-185.

34 J. L. SEBESTA, 1994, 47-48; K. GRÖMER, E. HÖLBLING-STEIGBERGER, 2010, 161.

35 E. POTTIER, 1887; E. S., 1887.

36 On funerary portraits in Pannonia, see L. BARKÓCZI, 1984, 134-141, in Egypt S. WALKER, M. BIERBRIER, 1997, 48 ff., and in Palmyra H. PALAZ ERDEMIR, 2013. On the archaeological evidence see fn. 29.

37 B. MIGOTTI, 2003, 16-21.

38 Witness for instance the famous frescoes from the ceiling of the Constantinian basilica in Trier, which feature female heads wearing diadems. In the long-discussed juxtaposition of imperial ladies vs. Muses and philosophers as allegories of knowledge, the latter solution has finally prevailed: F. BISCONTI, 2005, 184-185.

poklapa s trajanjem štrbinačkog groblja, i uglednije rimske dame nosile su dijademe u nekim prigodama svakodnevnog života.³⁹ Ako je vjerovati Jeronimu, posrijedi je ponašanje svedivo na često posvjedočen obrazac prema kojemu su ljudi nezakonito svojatali povlastice izvan svojih stvarnih ovlasti iz raznih domena, od simbolične odjeće do titule, vjerojatno priželjkujući društveni položaj viši od dosegnutoga. Ta pojava uzela je maha osobito u kasnoj antici.⁴⁰ S druge strane, arheološka građa, odnosno ukupni nalazi iz grobova u kojima su zatečena oglavlja, ne upućuje na društvenu elitu.⁴¹ Istina, riječ *elita* dovodi nas na sklizak teren procjene društvenog položaja koji je tijesno, ali ne i neizostavno, povezan s imovinskim mogućnostima.⁴² Pitanje je kako, u kontekstu razmišljanja o društvenim okolnostima ukapanja s oglavljem, treba procijeniti nalaz iz groba 134. S obzirom na to da su količina i narav priloga barem na nekoj razini ovisili o materijalnim mogućnostima, ono što se može iščitati iz ukupnog inventara jest ni osobito bogatstvo ni posvemašnje siromaštvo, uz naznaku želje da se nedostatak većih sredstava prikrije skromnijim nadomjescima. Pritom mislim na privjeske od bakarne slitine i srebra, a ne primjerice od zlata, što se odnosi i na kovinu od koje se dijelom sastojalo oglavlje, koja nije bila zlatna već pozlaćena.

Vratimo se još jednom, sada uz pomoć arheoloških nalaza, pokušaju rasvjetljavanja pitanja jesu li ljudi izvan najpovlaštenijih slojeva nosili oglavlja i u svakodnevnom životu. U primjeru iz groba 134 protivnošenja u svakodnevnom životu govori i izrazita krhkost predmeta, a i podatak da je bilo priloženo djetetu od dvije do tri godine starosti.⁴³ Mala je glava za svoga kratkog života taj predmet mogla nositi eventualno na krštenju, ili nekom drugom društvenom inicijacijskom obredu povezanom uz najraniju dob, ili je pak oglavlje bilo načinjeno upravo za ukop. Izraženo je i mišljenje da su oglavlja zatečena u grobovima djevojčica i djevojaka u rajnsko-podunavskim provincijama zapravo bila namijenjena njihovu budućem (nedoživljenom) vjenčanju.⁴⁴ Postoji niz predmeta koji se često zatječu u grobovima mladih osoba, u pravilu ženskih, ali

of Rome did wear diadems on some occasions.³⁹ If he is to be trusted, this habit stood for a common pattern of social behaviour, in which people unlawfully appropriated some symbolical privileges beyond their real status, be it clothes or titles, pretending at a wished for but unachieved social position. This was especially typical of Late Antiquity.⁴⁰ On the other hand, archaeological evidence, that is, finds from graves that have yielded headdresses, does not reveal elite burials.⁴¹ In any case, this reasoning brings us to a slippery slope with estimating the social position, which was usually, though not unconditionally, stipulated by material wealth.⁴² Nevertheless, the social context of the burial in grave 134 should still be tackled. Given that the amount and quality of grave finds should have at least partly depended on material wealth, the finds from the grave under discussion leave the impression of neither a particular abundance nor poverty, suggesting perhaps a wish to substitute the lack of real wealth with less expensive substitutes. By this, I mean the pendants made of silver and copper alloy and not gold, which is also true of the metal parts of the headdress, as they were not made of gold but of gilded copper alloy.

Let us return once again, now in the light of the archaeological evidence, to the question whether people other than those from the imperial elite wore headdresses in everyday life. In the example of Štrbinci a positive answer should be seriously questioned by the fragility of the find, as well as by the age of the deceased.⁴³ The small head could have possibly worn this accessory at baptism or some other rite of initiation, or else, the headdress was made specifically for the burial. Some commentators maintain that the headdresses recovered from the graves of girls in Pannonia and the Rhineland were actually meant for their unattained weddings.⁴⁴ Also, some grave finds are considered as typical indicators of such circumstances, that is, as denoting the ritual of girls, but also boys, who died prematurely and remained unwedded (*immaturi et*

39 B. LANÇON, 2000, 122.

40 B. MIGOTTI, 2008, 66, bilj. 147 i 76, bilj. 180.

41 E. KELLER, 1979, 82; W. SCHMIDT, 2000, 391.

42 B. MIGOTTI, 2008, 66, bilj. 147.

43 Slično se pretpostavlja za izrazito krhak nakit u grčkim grobovima homerskog razdoblja: Ch. LÉCRIVAIN, 1896, 1371.

44 M. MARTIN, 1991, 28 (vidi bilj. 33), citirano preko W. SCHMIDT, 2000, 391, bilj. 966.

39 B. LANÇON, 2000, 122.

40 B. MIGOTTI, 2008, 66, fn. 147, and 76, fn. 180.

41 E. KELLER, 1979, 82; W. SCHMIDT, 2000, 391.

42 B. MIGOTTI, 2008, 66, fn. 147.

43 The same was presumed about the markedly fragile jewellery from Greek graves of the Homeric period: Ch. LÉCRIVAIN, 1896, 1371.

44 M. MARTIN, 1991, 28 (see fn. 33), quoted in W. SCHMIDT, 2000, 391, fn. 966.

ne samo njih, a pripisuju se upravo takvim okolnostima, odnosno ritualu prerano umrlih i nevjenčanih (*immaturi et inupti*). Kad su posrijedi ženske osobe, među tim predmetima je i dijadema.⁴⁵ Međutim, takvo bismo tumačenje teže mogli primijeniti na dijete od dvije do tri godine starosti, pa se u našem slučaju vjerojatnijom čini ukopna namjena kojoj u prilog govori i krhkost predmeta. Moguće je, dapače i vjerojatno, da odgovor na oba pitanja iz religijsko-društvenog okružja, dakle jesu li oglašiva pokazatelj elite kako god da ju definirali te jesu li se ona nosila u svakodnevnici, nisu jednoznačni. U štrbinačkom primjeru čini se da je posrijedi dijete iz ne osobito imućne obitelji koje je dijademu dobilo kao pogrebni „dar“.

Što se tiče spola djeteta pokopanog u grobu 134, u prvoj objavi pretpostavila sam da je posrijedi bila djevojčica, ali samo na temelju nakita i odsutnosti specifično „muških“ priloga. Sada je pak moguće to pitanje razmotriti u svjetlu ovdje predočene šire rasprave o simbolici indikativnih priloga iz spomenutog groba. Usprkos zamjerkama određivanju spola prema grobnim priložima, koje nisu neutemeljene, i dalje vjerujem da opisani nalazi, uzeti u cjelini, s velikom vjerojatnošću upućuju na djevojčicu. Prije negoli ogrlica od staklenih jagoda i narukvica, na to me navodi združivanje triju privjesaka, od kojih je bula u kasnoj antici prestala biti izričitim simbolom dječaka, dok su polumjesečasti privjesci potvrđeni kao predmet izrazite ženske simbolike. Grob 134 poseban je utoliko što mi takva kombinacija priloga nije poznata s drugih nalazišta, a po svemu sudeći namjena joj je bila osnažiti zaštitu umrlog djeteta svim sredstvima. Ako je ono bilo ugroženo i boleljivo, što iz oskudnih koštanih ostataka nije bilo moguće iščitati, možda je sva tri privjeska nosilo i za života.

Ako i postoji mala dvojba o spolu ukopanog djeteta, ne bi trebalo biti sumnje u to da prilozi iz groba 134 pokazuju odnos obitelji prema malom pokojniku, odnosno pokojnici. Rasprava o tome koliko su epitafi iskren izraz pravih osjećaja prema pokojnicima nužno ostaje nedovršenom jer uopćenja o toj temi nisu pouzdana. Sumnje u vjerodostojnost grobnih natpisa proizlaze prije svega iz njihove formulaičnosti i činjenice da su oni na neki način bili zadani društvenim pravilima. Nadalje, oni govore o postavljaču barem toliko koliko i o pokojnicima, a u konačnici se obraćaju javnosti.⁴⁶ S druge strane, grobni prilozi i oprema pokojnika odražavaju intiman odnos prema umrlome; jednom kad zemlja prekrije grob, taj odnos ostaje u

inupti). Among such items is a diadem, as a rule ascribed to girls.⁴⁵ Such explanation could, however, hardly be valid for a child of 2-3 years of age, so the funerary function should be a likelier option in this case. Most probably the social context of all graves that have yielded headdresses was not identical, but it seems that in the case of Štrbinci the headdress was given as a funerary gift to a child from a not particularly rich family.

With all the above data in mind, let us return ultimately to the issue of the sex determination of the child from grave 134. When first publishing the grave, I presumed it was of a girl on the basis of the jewellery and the lack of any typical “male” finds. It is now possible to tackle this issue in the light of the above discussion of the possible gender role of the symbolically loaded items. With all due respect for the otherwise well-founded suspicion towards sexing the deceased on the basis of “female” vs. “male” grave finds, I maintain that in the present case the finds taken both individually and as a whole speak persuasively for a girl. While a necklace and a bracelet would not be decisive in themselves, their combination with a bulla and lunate pendants does support the case for a girl. As far as my knowledge goes, the combination of a bulla and lunate pendants is unique to grave 134; it probably aimed at the best possible protection of the deceased child. If she (?) was of delicate health from the start, which could not have been established from poorly preserved bones, she might have worn all three pendants during the lifetime.

If we should still allow for a slight doubt about the sex of the child buried in grave 134, one thing is certain: the objects furnishing the grave illustrate a genuine attitude of the family towards the small deceased. A discussion of the sincerity of the epitaphs inevitably remains inconclusive, as no generalisations are dependable enough. A suspicion about the sincerity of utterances from epitaphs is raised by their formulaic structure and the fact that they were to a certain measure stipulated by social conventions. Finally, they spoke as much of the deceased as of the dedicators, and were ultimately directed to the public.⁴⁶ On the other hand, grave goods infallibly reflect an intimate attitude towards the deceased; when once the earth covered the grave, this attitude remained in the personal realm. In view of all that, the child from grave 134

45 S. MARTIN-KILCHER, 2000, 64-65.

46 G. J. OLIVER, 2000, 129, *passim*.

45 S. MARTIN-KILCHER, 2000, 64-65.

46 G. J. OLIVER, 2000, 129, *passim*.

području osobnog. Gledano iz tog kuta i sudeći prema nalazima, dijete iz groba 134 na Štrbincima pokopano je s iskrenom tugom nad gubitkom te s naglašanom pažnjom i željom sa ga se zaštititi od svih zala koje vrebaju u onostranosti.⁴⁷

seems to have been buried with a genuine sorrow for the loss and with a pronounced care and wish for a protection against all evils threatening in the otherworld.⁴⁷

Translation: Branka Migotti

LITERATURA / REFERENCES

- BARKÓCZI, L., 1984. – László Barkóczy, Die südöstlichen und orientalischen Beziehungen der Darstellungen auf den ostpannonischen Grabstelen, *Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 12/13 (1982/1983), Budapest, 123-151.
- BISCONTI, F., 2005. – Fabrizio Bisconti, *Monumenta picta. L'arte dei Costantinidi tra pittura e mosaico*, u/in: *Costantino il Grande. La civiltà antica al bivio tra Occidente e Oriente* (ur./eds.: A. Donati, G. Gentili), Milano, 174-187.
- BURGER, A. Sz., 1979. – Alice Sz. Burger, *Das Spätromische Gräberfeld von Somogyuszil*, Budapest.
- CARROLL, M., 2006. – Maureen Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead. Roman Funerary Commemoration in Western Europe*, Oxford.
- CUQ, É., 1896. – Édouard Cuq, *Funus (Rome)*, *Dictionnaire des antiquités Grecques et Romaines de Daremberg et Saglio*, 2/2, Paris, 1386-1409.
- DONEUS, N., 2010. – Nives Doneus, Am Rande der Gesellschaft? Römische Säugling- und Kinderbestattungen aus dem Gräberfeld Haltarn I, Westpannonien, *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, 140, Wien, 141-153.
- EKE, I., HORVÁTH, L., 2006. – István Eke, László Horváth, Késő római temetők Nagykanizsán / Late Roman Cemeteries at Nagykanizsa, *Régészeti kutatások Magyarországon 2005 / Archaeological Investigations in Hungary 2005*, Budapest, 73-86.
- E., S., 1887. – E. S., Corona, *Dictionnaire des antiquités Grecques et Romaines de Daremberg et Saglio*, 1/2, Paris, 1520-1537.
- FOSTER, J., 1993. – Jennifer Foster, The identification of male and female graves using grave goods, u/in: *Römerzeitliche Gräber als Quellen zu Religion, Bevölkerungsstruktur und Sozialgeschichte* (ur./ed.: M. Struck), Mainz, 207-212.
- FORSTNER, D., 1982. – Dorothea Forstner, *Die Welt der christlichen Symbole*, Innsbruck – Wien – München.
- GILCHRIST, R., 2008. – Roberta Gilchrist, Magic for the dead? The archaeology of magic in later medieval burials, *Medieval Archaeology*, 52, 119-159.
- GOWLAND, R., 2009. – Rebecca Gowland, Ageing the past: examining age identity from funerary evidence, u/in: R. GOWLAND, Ch. KNÜSEL 2009, 43-154.
- GOWLAND, R., KNÜSEL, Ch., 2009. – Rebecca Gowland, Christopher Knüsel (ur./eds.), *Social Archaeology of Funerary Remains*, Oxford.
- GRÖMER, K., HÖLBLING-STEIGBERGER, E., 2010. – Karina Grömer, Eva Hölbling-Steigberger, Gedanken zur Kinderkleidung durch die Jahrtausende mit Schwerpunkt auf das römische Österreich, *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, 140, Wien, 155-175.
- HABEREY, W., 1942. – Waldemar Haberey, Spätantike Gläser aus Gräber von Mayen, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 147, Bonn, 249-284.
- HEINZELMANN, M., 2001. – Michael Heinzelmann, Grabarchitektur, Bestattungsbrauch und Sozialstruktur – Zur Rolle der *familia*, u/in: M. HEINZELMANN *et al.*, 2001, 179-191.
- HEINZELMANN, M. *et al.*, 2001. – Michael Heinzelmann, Jacopo Ortalli, Peter Fasold, Marion Witteyer (ur./eds.), *Römische Bestattungsbrauch und Beigabensitten*, Internationales Kolloquium, Rom 1.-3. April 1998, *Palilia*, 8, Wiesbaden.
- KEEGAN, S., 2002. – Sarah L. Keegan, *Inhumation rites in Late Roman Britain. The Treatment of the Engendered Body*, BAR British Series 333, Oxford.
- KELLER, E., 1979. – Erwin Keller, *Römisches Gräberfeld von Neuburg/Donau*, Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 40, München.
- LANÇON, B., 2000. – Bertrand Lançon, *Rome in Late Antiquity*, Edinburgh.
- 47 Čini mi se da je u okrilju kasne antike i u svjetlu novih eshatoloških koncepcija toga razdoblja manje vjerojatna mogućnost da se apotropejski elementi grobnog obreda, barem kad je posrijedi nakit, nisu odnosili toliko na zaštitu pokojnika koliko na umirivanje njegova duha, dakle posredno na zaštitu zajednice koju je napustio. Usp. S. MARTIN-KILCHER, 2000, 73; M. CARROLL, 2006, 4. O interpretaciji obilja nalaza u dječjim grobovima kao pokazatelju tuge vidi M. HEINZELMANN, 2001, 187.
- 47 In the light of late antique religious atmosphere with its new eschatological conceptions, it seems less likely that apotropaic elements of the funerary ritual, at least when jewellery is concerned, were intended at the appeasement of the deceased's soul, that is, at the protection of the community, rather than protecting the deceased him- or herself. See S. MARTIN-KILCHER, 2000, 73; M. CARROLL, 2006, 4. On the interpretation of the wealth of finds in children graves as an expression of sorrow, see M. HEINZELMANN, 2001, 187.

- LÉCRIVAIN, Ch., 1896. – Charles Lécrivain, *Funus (Grèce), Dictionnaire des antiquités Grecques et Romaines de Daremberg et Saglio*, 2/2, Paris, 1367-1381.
- LUCCHESI PALLI, E., 1994. – Elisabetta Lucchesi Palli, Untersuchungen zum Inhalt der Bullae und anderer Amulettkapseln in Antike, Spätantike und im Frühen Mittelalter, *Boreas*, 17, Münster, 171-176.
- MARIJANSKI-MANOJLOVIĆ, M., 1987. – Mirjana Marijanski-Manojlović, *Rimska nekropola kod Beške u Sremu*, Novi Sad.
- MARTIN-KILCHER, S., 2000. – Stefanie Martin-Kilcher, *Mors immatura in the Roman World – a mirror of society and tradition*, u/in: *Burial, Society and Context in the Roman World* (ur./eds.: J. Pearce, M. Millett, M. Struck), Oxford, 63-77.
- MASSA, S., 2001. – Serena Massa, *Il sepolcretto del Lugone (Salò): elementi rituali e struttura sociale*, u/in: M. HEINZELMANN *et al.* 2001, 263-269.
- MAU, A., 1897. – August Mau, *Bulla*, *Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, III/1, Stuttgart, 1048-1051.
- MIGOTTI, B., 1997. – Branka Migotti, *Evidence for Christianity in Roman Southern Pannonia (Northern Croatia). A catalogue of finds and sites*, BAR International Series 684, Oxford.
- MIGOTTI, B., 2003. – Branka Migotti, *Pozlaćena stakla sa Štrbinaca kod Đakova*, Đakovo.
- MIGOTTI, B., 2004. – Branka Migotti, *Kasnoantička nekropola na Štrbincima kod Đakova – iskopavanja u 2001.*, *Arheološki radovi i rasprave*, 14, Zagreb, 141-246.
- MIGOTTI, B., 2007. – Branka Migotti, *Rimska bula u Panoniji*, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 40, Zagreb, 187-219.
- MIGOTTI, B., 2008. – Branka Migotti, *Lukovičaste fibule s portretima na području Rimskog Carstva / The Crossbow Brooches with Portraits in the Roman Empire*, Zagreb.
- MIGOTTI, B., 2009. – Branka Migotti, *Kasnoantičko groblje na Štrbincima kod Đakova – iskopavanja u 2004. i 2005.*, *Arheološki radovi i rasprave*, 16, Zagreb, 107-224.
- MIGOTTI, B., LELEKOVIĆ, T., 2013. – Branka Migotti, Tino Leleković, *Iskopavanja kasnoantičkog groblja na Štrbincima kod Đakova u 2007. i 2008. godini*, *Arheološki radovi i rasprave*, 17, Zagreb, 227-299.
- MÜLLER, R., 2010. – Róbert Müller, *Die Gräberfelder vor der Südmauer der Befestigung Von Keszthely-Fenekpuszta*, Budapest–Leipzig–Keszthely–Rahden.
- OLIVER, G., 2000. – Graham Oliver, *An Introduction to the Epigraphy of Death: Funerary Inscriptions as Evidence*, u/in: *The epigraphy of Death. Studies in the History and Society of Greece and Rome* (ur./ed.: G. Oliver), Liverpool, 1-23.
- PALAZ ERDEMIR, H., 2013. – Hatice Palaz Erdemir, *Mystery of the Funerary Reliefs of Palmyra (Tadmor) in the Desert of Syria*, *Turkish Studies – International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, 8/7, Ankara, 507-518.
- PAPINI, M., 2011. – Massimiliano Papini, *Dalla maschera al ritratto. Le (brutte) cere dei Romani. Verità – senza bellezza – nella ritrattistica repubblicana*, u/in: *I giorni di Roma. Ritratti. Le tante facce del potere* (ur./eds.: E. La Rocca, C. Parisi Presicce, A. Lo Monaco), Roma, 33-49.
- PIRLING, R., SIEPEN, M., 2006. – Renate Pirling, Margareta Siepen, *Die Funde aus den römischen Gräbern von Krefeld-Gellep*, Germanische Denkmäler der Völkerwanderungszeit, B 20, Berlin–Stuttgart.
- POLLAK, M., 1993. – Marianne Pollak, *Spätantike Grabfunde aus Favianis/Mautern*, Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission der ÖAW, 28, Wien.
- POTTIER, E., 1887. – Edmond Pottier, *Consecratio*, *Dictionnaire des antiquités Grecques et Romaines de Daremberg et Saglio*, 1/2, Paris, 1448-1451.
- SAGLIO, E., 1892. – Edmund Saglio, *Diadēma (Διαδήμα)*, *Dictionnaire des antiquités Grecques et Romaines de Daremberg et Saglio*, 2/1, Paris, 119-121.
- SCHMIDT, W., 2000. – Wolfgang Schmidt, *Spätantike Gräberfelder in den Nordprovinzen des römischen Reiches und das Aufkommen christlichen Bestattungsbrauchtums. Tricciana (Ságvár) in der Provinz Valeria, Saalburg Jahrbuch*, 50, Darmstadt, 213-441.
- SEBESTA, J. L., 1994. – Judith Lynn Sebesta, *Symbolism in the Costume of the Roman Woman*, u/in: *The World of the Roman Costume* (ur./eds.: J. L. Sebesta, L. Bonfante), Madison–London, 46-53.
- SMALL, A. *et al.*, 2007. – Alastair Small, Carola Small *et alii*, *Excavation in the Roman Cemetery at Vagnari, in the Territory of Gravina in Puglia, 2002*, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 75, Rome, 123-231.
- SOFAER, J. R., 2009. – Joanna R. Sofaer, *Gender, bioarchaeology and human ontogeny*, u/in: *The Social Archaeology of Funerary Remains* (ur./eds.: R. Gowland, C. Knüsel), Oxford, 155-167.
- SOMMER, M., 1993. – Marcus Sommer, *Ein gläserner Amulettanhänger aus Mayen und die röhrenförmigen Amulettbehälter in Europa und dem Schwarzeemergebiet*, u/in: *Die Römer in der Pellenz*, Nickenich, 57-84.
- VÁGÓ, E., BÓNA, I., 1976. – Eszter Vágó, István Bóna, *Die Gräberfelder von Intercisa. Die Spätromische Südostfriedhof*, Budapest.
- VISMARA, C., 1992. – Cinzia Vismara, *L'apport des textes antiques*, u/in: *Incinérations et inhumations dans l'Occident romain aux trois premiers siècles de notre ère*, Actes du Colloque International de Toulouse-Montréjau (IVe Congrès Archéologique de Gaule Méridionale) 7 – 10 octobre 1987 (coordination et publication: M. Vidal), Paris–Toulouse, 107-147.
- WALKER, S., BIERBRIER, M., 1997. – Susan Walker, Morris Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces. Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt*, London.
- WILSON, B., 2005. – Bee Wilson, *The Hive. The Story of the Honeybees and Us*, London.