

**VIMINACIJUM U PRAISTORIJI • VIMINACIUM IN PREHISTORY**  
iskopavanja 2005-2015. • excavations 2005-2015

Institute of Archaeology

VIMINACIVM, Volume 6

# VIMINACIUM IN PREHISTORY

excavations 2005-2015

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Belgrade

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Arheološki institut

VIMINACIVM, Knjiga 6

# VIMINACIJUM U PRAISTORIJI

iskopavanja 2005-2015.

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Monografija je štampana finansijskim sredstvima Ministarstva prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja RS i Ministarstva kulture i informisanja RS. Ovaj zbornik rezultat je naučnoistraživačkih projekata *Kulturni identitet, integracioni faktori, tehnološki procesi i uloga centralnog Balkana u razvoju evropske praistorije (177020), IRS – Viminacium, rimski grad i legijski vojni logor – istraživanje materijalne i duhovne kulture, stanovništva, primenom najsavremenijih tehnologija daljinske detekcije, geofizike, GIS-a, digitalizacije i 3D vizualizacije (III 47018) i Bioarheologija drevne Evrope – ljudi, životinje i biljke u praistoriji Srbije (III 47001).*

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## Predgovor

Ako bi vam se ukazala prilika da sretnete putnika namernika i pitate ga zašto želi da poseti Viminacijum, rekao bi da je to nekada bila prestonica rimske provincije Gornje Mezije, da se tamo nalaze ostaci legijskog logora, monumentalnih termi, amfiteatra, akvedukta, zanatskog centra... I zaista, kad se pogleda mapa, jasno je da se Viminacijum nalazi svega stotinak kilometara od Beograda, antičkog Singidunuma, da je skoro na samoj obali Dunava i da je bio na izuzetnom geografskog položaju, što su stari Rimljani znali da iskoriste. Iz istorijskih izvora je poznato da je Viminacijum bio značajno vojno uporište, u kome je bila stacionirana rimska legija VII Claudia Pia Fidelis. Status grada je dobio u prvoj polovini II veka tokom Hadrijanove vladavine, najverovatnije 117. godine, kada je postao municipij (Municipium Aelium Viminacium), a početkom vladavine Gordijana III, 239. godine postao je kolonija. U III veku grad je bio u punom procvatu. O njegovom značaju svedoče i zapisi o posetama rimskih careva. Naime, gotovo da nije bilo rimskog imperatora koji nije prošao kroz Viminacijum i duže ili kraće boravio u njemu. U IV veku, Viminacijum je bio značajno episkopsko sedište. Definitivno je razoren sredinom V veka, u najezdi Huna i više nikada nije obnovljen. Pominje se još samo kao vojno uporište u VI veku, u vreme vladavine Justinijana. U XIX veku, u Viminacijumu su se još uvek nazirali obrisi antičkog grada i vojnog logora: široke ulice koje se seku pod pravim uglom, trgovi, pozorišta, kupatila, vodovod, gradski bedemi i kule.

Viminacijum je najpoznatiji po najvećem broju istraženih grobova iz rimskog perioda. Naime, tokom novih arheoloških iskopavanja započetih u poslednjoj četvrtini XX veka, a koja traju i danas, istraženo je skoro 14.000 grobova i pronađeno više od 40.000 predmeta koji svedoče o svakodnevnom životu njegovih stanovnika. Posebnu pažnju svojim izuzetnim stilom, koloritom i motivima, privlače oslikane grobnice nastale sredinom III i u prvoj polovini IV veka. Tokom zaštitnih iskopavanja istraženi su gradske terme, zanatski centar, mauzolej, nekoliko vila rustika i ostaci akvedukta. Neki od ovih objekata su i prezentovani i nalaze se u „Arheološkom parku“ otvorenom 2006. godine.

Tek od početka XX veka interdisciplinarni tim sastavljen od izuzetnih stručnjaka iz različitih oblasti (arheolozi, antropolozi, geofizičari, matematičari, elektroinženjeri, geolozi, petrolozi i mnogi drugi) sistematski, skoro tokom cele godine, istražuje legijski logor i grad.

Šta naš putnik namernik može danas videti na Viminacijumu osim prezentovanih arheoloških objekata? Tu je, pre svega, naučno-istraživački centar (Domus Scientiarum) objekat sa višestrukom namenom u kome su do sada organizovani mnogobrojni međunarodni simpozijumi, konferencije, radionice i kongresi. Sagrađen je u formi rimske vile rustike sa dva nivoa: gornji, u kome se nalaze radni i smeštajni prostor u kome ekipa boravi i radi tokom arheoloških istraživanja i podzemni nivo u kome su muzej, depoi i sale. Nešto istočnije od Domusa nalazi se „Mamut park“ u kome su izloženi ostaci nekoliko mamuta nađenih tokom zaštitnih iskopavanja 2009. i 2012. godine i koji od svog otvaranja pretili da zaseni slavu rimskog lokaliteta i da Viminacijum postane poznatiji kao paleontološki park.

## Foreword

If you happen to stumble across a traveler and ask him why he wishes to visit Viminacium, he would have told you that the city used to be the capital of Moesia Superior and that it host the remains of a legionary fort, monumental thermae, an amphitheater, a workshop center... And indeed, when you look for it in the map, you can see that Viminacium lies some hundred kilometers from Belgrade – the antique city of Singidunum, almost on the bank of the Danube, in a remarkable geographic position, which was particularly well utilized by the Romans. The historical sources reveal that Viminacium was an important military stronghold and that Claudius' Seventh Legion (VII Claudia Pia Fidelis) was stationed in the city. Viminacium gained the status of a city in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, most likely in 117 AD, during the reign of Emperor Hadrian, when it became a municipium (Municipium Aelium Viminacium). In 239 AD, under the rule of Emperor Gordian III, the city gained the status of colonia. The city reached its pinnacle during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Its significance is testified by records on imperial visits as one can hardly find a Roman Emperor that did not either pass through Viminacium or stay in the city for a longer or shorter period of time. In the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, Viminacium was an important Episcopal center. The city met its final destruction in the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century AD, during the invasion of the Huns, as it was never rebuilt again. Following the destruction, the city is mentioned as a military stronghold in the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, during the reign of Emperor Justinian I. The contours of the ancient town and legionary fort: wide perpendicular streets, squares, theaters, baths, water systems, city walls, and towers were still visible during the 19<sup>th</sup> century AD.

Viminacium is best known for the record number of excavated Roman Era graves. Namely, during the latest archaeological excavations, which started in the final quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and which are still undergoing, a total of 14.000 graves with more than 40.000 artifacts which testify about the daily life of its citizens were excavated. The exquisite style, coloring, and motifs of painted tombs from the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> or the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD draw particular attention. Thermae, workshop center, mausoleum, several *villae rusticae*, and the remains of an aqueduct were all excavated during the rescue excavations. Some of the aforementioned structures are presented within the Archaeological Park which was opened back in 2006.

It wasn't until the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century that an interdisciplinary team comprised of experts in various fields (archaeologists, anthropologists, geophysicists, mathematicians, electrical engineers, geologists, petrologists and many others) have started a systematic, almost year-round excavations of the legionary fort and the city.

Besides the presented archaeological remains, what else could our traveler see during his visit to Viminacium? First of all, a scientific-research center (Domus Scientiarum), a multi-purpose facility that hosted numerous international symposiums, conferences, workshops, and congresses. It was modeled after a Roman *villa rustica* with two levels: upper level, which includes workspace and accommodation facilities in which the team resides during the archaeological excavations and lower level in which museums, depots, and auditoriums are located. The Mammoth Park, which hosts the remains of several mammoths excavated during the rescue excavations in 2009 and 2012, is located somewhat eastern from the *Domus*, and from the moment it was opened, it threatens to overshadow the glory of the Roman site and turn Viminacium into a paleontological park.



\*

Tokom dugog niza godina i zaštitnih i sistematskih istraživanja arheolozi su bili suočeni ne samo sa nalazima iz rimskog perioda. Znali su, iz istorijskih izvora da je Viminacijum ponikao na teritoriji keltskog plemena Skordiska i nalazi iz starijih perioda su se mogli očekivati, ali kakva će biti saznanja nakon obrade do sada nađenog praistorijskog materijala, do sada je bila tajna. Arheolozi su već svojim pozivom spremni na večito odgonetanje dok ih žed za novim saznanjima stalno gura napred. Tokom poslednjih godina nekoliko istraženih praistorijskih objekata dalo je sjajan materijal. Ova publikacija predstavlja rezultate tih dugogodišnjih istraživanja i iskorake u tumačenju Viminacijuma pre Viminacijuma, odnosno života u praistoriji. Pa ako onaj putnik namernik s početka priče, ode s Viminacijuma zasenjen nalazima iz drugog milenija pre naše ere, umesto onima iz rimskog perioda, nećemo biti previše iznenađeni.

Miomir Korać • Snežana Golubović

\*

For many years of both rescue and systematic excavations, the archaeologists have faced more than just Roman Era finds. They knew from historical sources that Viminacium was established on the territory of the Celtic tribe of Scordisci and that even earlier finds could be expected, but the information acquired from the processing of prehistoric material from Viminacium remained a secret until now. Archaeologists are by definition eager for eternal unraveling, while the thirst for new knowledge constantly drives their research forward. In recent years, several excavated prehistoric features have provided a splendid collection of archaeological material. This publication represents the results of those perennial excavations and provides a new breakthrough in terms of defining Viminacium before Viminacium and its life during prehistory. So, if the traveler from the first lines of this story leaves Viminacium astonished with finds from the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC and not the Roman ones, we will not be much surprised.

Miomir Korać • Snežana Golubović

## PRIRODNE KARAKTERISTIKE SEVERNOG STIGA I NJEGOV STRATEŠKI ZNAČAJ U PRAISTORIJI I RANOJ ISTORIJI

Oblast severnog Stiga predstavlja prostranu i plodnu ravnicu, faktički južni završetak Panonskog basena, omeđenu Požarevačkom (Sopotskom) gredom na zapadu, blagim pobjedom Velikog brda na istoku i brdom Gorica kod Rama – zapadnim obroncima Homoljskih planina, dok su na severu granica reka Dunav i njegovi rukavci između brojnih rečnih ada i jednog velikog ostrva. Glavni vodeni tok celog Stiga, izostavimo li Dunav, predstavlja reka Mlava, koja je ujedno i zaslužna za izgled današnjeg reljefa. Isto tako, treba pomenuti da je Stig jedno od najplodnijih oblasti ovoga dela Balkana, te da je u njegovom pridunavskom delu zemljište najplodnije.<sup>1</sup> Upravo se na tom mestu, na lesnoj terasi, tzv. Klepečkoj gredi,<sup>2</sup> nalazi lokalitet Nad Klepečkom (apsolutne kote od 80 do 85 m nadmorske visine), dok se u njegovom podnožju, u nekad zabarenom delu Stiga, nalazi lokalitet Rit, na nadmorskoj visini od oko 70 m (karta 1).<sup>3</sup> Toponimom Rit, među meštanima okolnih sela, nazivaju se močvarne njive između Mlave i Malog i Velikog Čaira,<sup>4</sup> a prema svedočenju žitelja, ova lokacija je sve do sredine XX veka bila konstantno plavljena, mada se na osnovu rezultata istraživanja 2005–2015. godine čini da su postojali periodi kada je i ovaj predeo bio pogodan za korišćenje, posebno krajem eneolita i početkom bronzanog doba.<sup>5</sup>

Jednu od geografskih karakteristika ovog dela Stiga predstavlja postojanje rečnog ostrva (ali ne ade) pod nazivom Ostrovo (nekada zvano i Požarevačko ostrvo), koje je jedno od najvećih dunavskih ostrva. Njegova maksimalna pravolinijska dužina iznosi 21 km, dok je na najširem delu široko skoro 4 km, mada bi prosečna širina iznosila približno 2 km. Ostrovo je od Stiga i Pomoravlja odvojeno danas rukavcem Dunava – Dunavcem, u koji je, otprilike oko sredine Ostrova, uticala reka Mlava. Iako je većim delom ostrvo bilo pod močvarama i barama, njegove karakteristike ukazuju na to da, za razliku od desetine susjednih dunavskih ada – Dubovačke, Žilovske, Zavojske, Čibuklije, Sapaje, Spruta i drugih – Ostrovo nema istu geološku osnovu kao sva ostala rečna ostrva.<sup>6</sup> Opšte je poznato da rečna ostrva nastaju na tokovima ravničarskih reka gde postoje proširenja korita i usporenje br-

<sup>1</sup> Pregršt geografskih činjenica o široj oblasti može se naći u monografiji *Пожаревац Археолошка грађа Србије IV* (Стојић, Јацановић 2008), mada se korišćenje pojedinih informacija mora uzeti sa izvesnom rezervom, posebno imajući u vidu da je reč o modernim geografskim podacima, od kojih neki na prvi pogled odstupaju od geografskih faktora tokom praistorijskom perioda sagledanog u ovome delu. Pomenimo samo melioracione radove, podizanje nivoa Dunava zbog gradnje Hidroelektrane Đerdap 1, te delimičnog pomeranja korita i ušća reke Mlave i mnogih drugih činilaca u XX i XXI veku.

<sup>2</sup> Više o Klepečkoj gredi i trasi antičke komunikacije na njoj v. Спасић Ђурић, Јацановић 2007, 128.

<sup>3</sup> Sonde istražene u kampanjama 2005–2015. označene su manjim crnim krugovima, dok su ostali lokaliteti u neposrednom okruženju koji se pominju u ovom radu označeni kvadratima. Veliki krug označava primarno okruženje oba lokaliteta i prostor koji se, iz zamišljenog centra koji se nalazi kod istraženih sondi, mogao dosegnuti za jedan sat hoda.

<sup>4</sup> Ђокић, Јацановић 1992, 73.

<sup>5</sup> O tome videti više u radu u ovom zborniku: Bulatović *et al.*, *Horizont ranog bronzanog doba na lokalitetu Rit*.

<sup>6</sup> Osnovna geološka karta SFRJ, 1:100.000, L34-115-Bela Crkva.

## NATURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NORTHERN STIG AREA AND ITS STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE DURING THE PREHISTORY AND EARLY HISTORY

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The area of northern Stig represents a vast and arable plain, which is in fact the southern fringe of the Carpathian Basin, bounded by Požarevac (Sopot) terrace to the west, hilly area of Veliko Brdo to the east and Gorica Hill near Ram, which in fact represents western slopes of Homolje Mountains, to the east. The northern border of the area of Stig is marked by the Danube River and its armlets which flow between numerous isles and one large island. The main watercourse of the entire area of Stig, save for the Danube, is Mlava River, which also dictated the landscape in the area. Also, it should be highlighted that the area of Stig represents one of the most arable areas in this part of the Balkans, and the soil gravitating towards the Danube is the most fertile.<sup>1</sup> In that exact spot, on a loess terrace called Klepečka,<sup>2</sup> the site of Nad Klepečkom is located (altitude between 80 and 85 m), and the site of Rit is located in its foothill (altitude of 70 m), in previously marshy part of the area of Stig (Map 1).<sup>3</sup> According to the locals, the toponym Rit is utilized for swampy and marshy fields between Mlava River and Mali and Veliki Čair,<sup>4</sup> and according to the testimonies of the locals, the location was constantly flooded up to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Based on the excavations conducted between 2005 and 2015, it seems that during certain periods the area was suitable for settling, especially during the Late Eneolithic and Early Bronze Age.<sup>5</sup>

One of the main geographic characteristics of this part of the area of Stig is the existence of a river island (not islet) called Ostrovo (sometimes referred as Požarevac Island), which is, in fact, one of the Danube's largest islands. Its maximum rectilinear length is 21 km, and the widest point of the island measures a total of 4 km. The average width of the island is around 2 km. Nowadays, Ostrovo Island is separated from the area of Stig and Morava Region by the Danube armlet called Dunavac, in which Mlava River was flowing into somewhere around the central part of the Ostrovo Island. Although the island was mostly covered with swamps and marshlands, its characteristics indicate that unlike tents

<sup>1</sup> Numerous geographical data on the wide area can be found in the *Пожаревац - Археолошка грађа Србије IV* (Стојић, Јацановић 2008) monograph, although certain data have to be taken into consideration with caution, considering that those data refer to modern geographic setting, of which some deviate from the geographic setting during the prehistoric period discussed in this paper. We can solely mention the land development, rise of the level of the Danube due to the construction of Đerdap I Hydroelectric Power Station, and partial displacement of the riverbank and Mlava confluence, as well as numerous other factors which influenced the data during the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century.

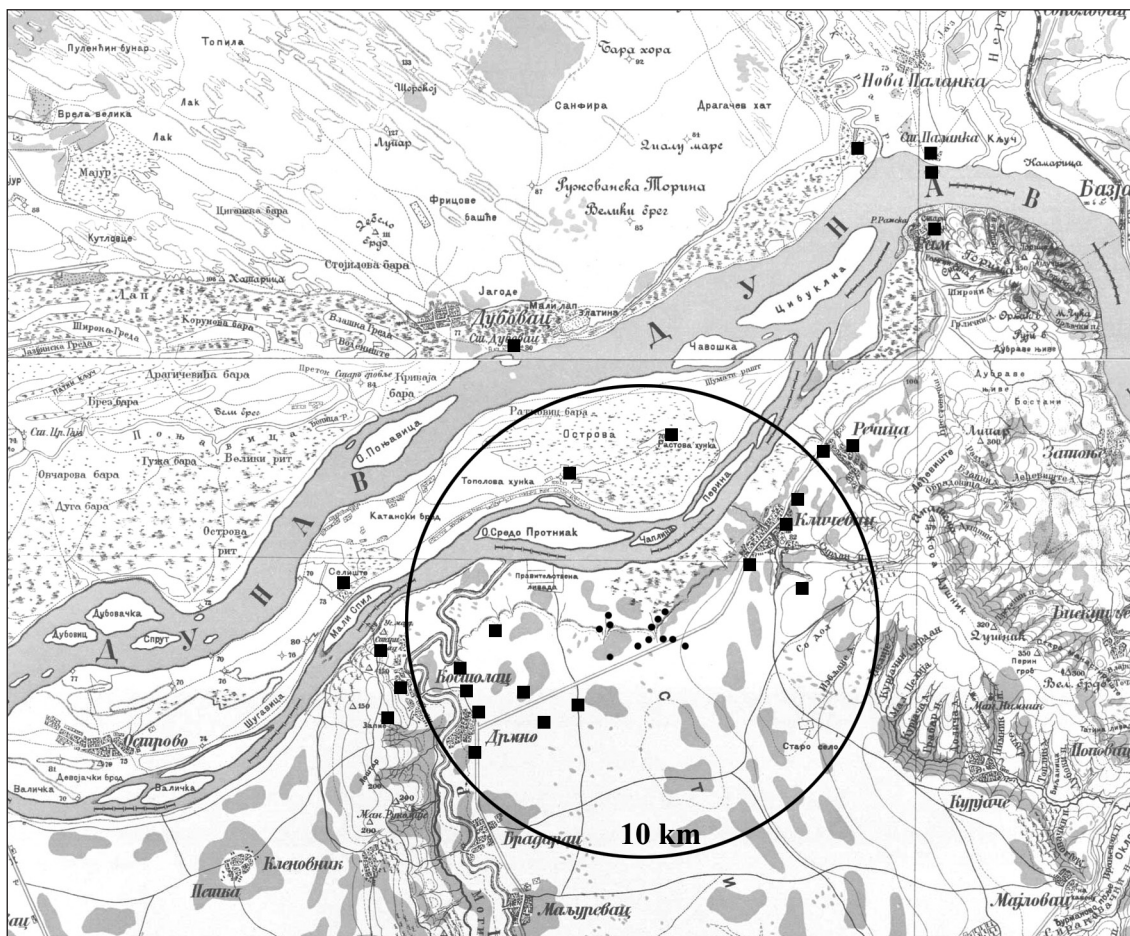
<sup>2</sup> For additional data on Klepečka terrace and the route of antique road refer to Спасић-Ђурић, Јацановић 2007, 128.

<sup>3</sup> Trenches excavated within campaigns between 2005 and 2015 are marked with small black circles, while other sites in the vicinity which are mentioned in this paper are marked with squares. Large circle marks the primary surroundings of both sites and the area which can be reached on foot within an hour. The imaginary center from which it was measured is located in the area of trenches.

<sup>4</sup> Ђокић, Јацановић 1992, 73.

<sup>5</sup> Refer to Bulatović *et al.*, *Early Bronze Age horizon at the site of Rit*, in this volume.

zine toka matice, ali i veće pritoke, koje donose dodatni materijal i mulj. Tako se na staroj karti sa kraja XIX veka jasno vidi (karta 1), da je dotokom Mlave i generalnim usporenjem rečnog toka u Dunavcu nastao niz ada, od kojih najveća na samom ušću (Sredo Protniak). Sve ade u Dunavcu, verovatno kasnijim regulacijama, postale su deo Ostrova. Ostrovo je i strateški, ali i fizičko-geografski davalo dodatnu prednost poziciji između tokova Mlave i Dunavca, gde se nalaze i naši lokaliteti Rit i Nad Klepečkom. Pored zabarenog i vegetacijom gusto pokrivenog zemljišta na ostrvu, Dunavac i Mlava bili su relativno dobro zaštićeni od siline toka Dunava, pa se taj deo između kopna i Ostrova verovatno mogao koristiti i kao



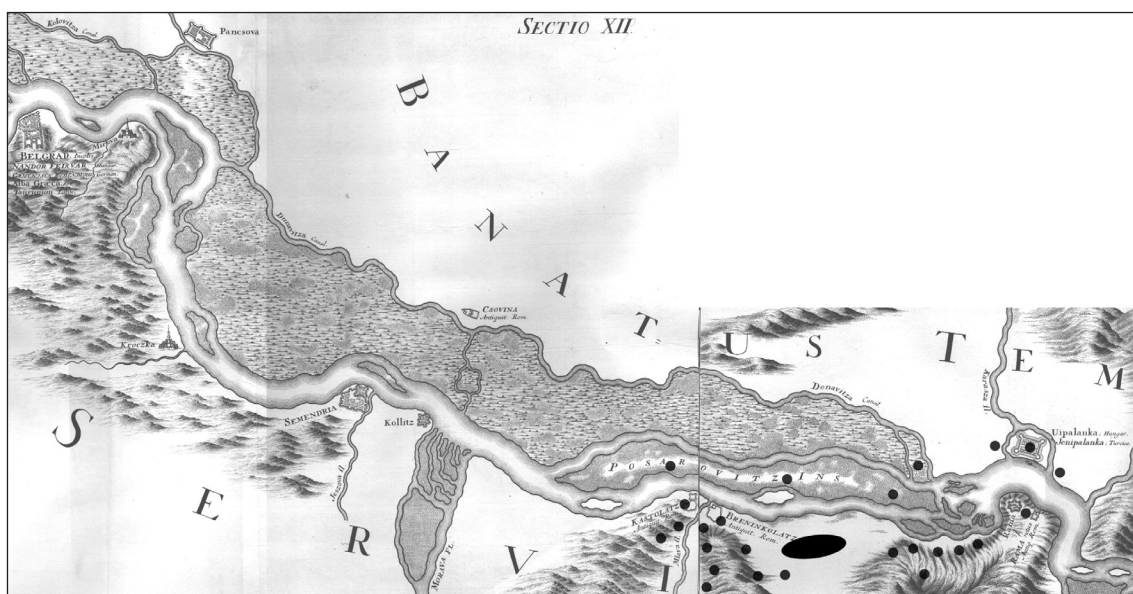
Karta 1. Generalštabna karta Srbije, 1894. godina, 1:75.000 (Digitalna Narodna biblioteka Srbije)

Map 1 General Staff map of Serbia, 1894, 1:75.000 (Digital National Library of Serbia)

bezbedno pristanište za čamce. Ne čini se verovatnim da je istočni deo Ostrova strateški korišćen tokom praistorijskog perioda, s obzirom na to da njegove apsolutne kote odgovaraju kotama obe obale reke na tom prostoru. Nekoliko objavljenih i pomenutih nalaza sa Ostrova ne pružaju čvrste argumente da je ovaj deo ostrva bio naseljen tokom praistorijskog perioda.<sup>7</sup> Sa druge strane, zapadna polovina Ostrova nalazi se na apsolutnoj visini skoro 10 m višoj u odnosu na suprotnu obalu Dunava, što je svakako onemogućavalo česta sezonska plavljenja i ublažavalo efekte dunavskih voda na zemljište uz rukavac Dunavac.

<sup>7</sup> Стојић, Јацановић 2008, 163–165, 212.

of other Danube islets – Dubovačka, Spruta, Žilovska, Zavojska, Čibuklija, Sapaja, etc., it possesses a different geological background.<sup>6</sup> It is common that river islands are formed on the courses of lowland rivers, in places where the widening of the riverbed causes the reduction in speed of the watercourse, as well as through large tributaries which deposit additional sediment and silt into the Danube. Therefore, on a map from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Map 1), it can be clearly observed that the inflow of the Mlava River and general reduction of the speed of watercourse within Dunavac armlet have created a series of islets, of which the largest one is located in the confluence itself (Sredo Protniak). Probably due to the later regulations of the watercourses, all of the islets within Dunavac armlet have become parts of the Ostovo Island. Both strategically and in terms of physical



**Karta 2.** Karta dela srpskog Podunavlja grofa Marsiljija, *Danubius Pannonico-mysicus*, 1726. godina

**Map 2** Count Marsigli's map of the Serbian Danube Region, *Danubius Pannonico-mysicus*, 1726

and geographical characteristics, the island provides an advantage to a particular position located between the watercourses of Mlava River and Dunavac armlet, in which our sites Rit and Nad Klepečkom are located. Aside from the marshy land and land densely covered with vegetation, both Dunavac armlet and Mlava River are quite well protected from the course of the Danube, and the portion between the mainland and Ostrovo Island could have been used as a dock for boats. It seems unlikely that the eastern part of the Ostrovo Island was strategically utilized during the prehistory, considering that the altitudes of the island match the altitudes of both riverbanks in that area. Several published and mentioned finds from the Ostrovo Island do not provide solid arguments that this part of the island was inhabited during prehistory.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, the western half of the Ostrovo Island lies on an altitude which is 10 m higher compared to the adjacent bank of the Danube, which certainly prevents seasonal flooding and reduces the effects of the Danube watercourse on the land along the Dunavac armlet.

<sup>6</sup> Basic geological map of SFRY, 1:100.000, L34-115-Bela Crkva.

<sup>7</sup> Стојић, Јацановић 2008, 163-165, 212.

Pored plodne zemlje i mogućnosti lakog bavljenja lovom i ribolovom na teritoriji severnog Stiga, prednost ove mikroregije očituje se i u blizini rudonosnih oblasti u neposrednoj okolini (karta 3). Od posebne važnosti svakako su bili rudnici i zlatonosne reke istočno od ove oblasti, posebno imajući u vidu činjenicu da su ti, inače teško pristupačni, delovi današnje istočne Srbije i šire zone Đerdapa najbolje povezani prirodnim komunikacijama sa Stigom, dok prema ostalim oblastima pokazuju znatno manju prohodnost. U neposrednoj okolini nalazile su se i dve zlatonosne reke, gornji tok Mlave i Pek, u kojem je bilo i samorodnog srebra. Isto tako, rude zlata najčešće se javljaju u istočnoj Srbiji, kao prateći mineral bakarnih ruda u rudnicima na potesu Bor–Krivelj–Majdanpek, ali se javlja i potpuno čisto, tzv. „samorodno zlato“ u formi sitnih čestica u pomenutim aluvijalnim nanosima.<sup>8</sup> Rude srebra zastupljene su takođe u istočnoj Srbiji u rudnicima na potesu Bor–Krivelj–Majdanpek, ali i na potesu oko severnih šumadijskih planina Avale i Kosmaja,<sup>9</sup> što je ipak jedna udaljenija, ali i nepristupačnija zona gledajući udaljenost severnog Stiga i horizontalne prirodne komunikacije na ovom prostoru. Najbogatiji rudnici bakra, za koje se zna da su bili korišćeni i u praistoriji, nalaze se u istočnoj Srbiji, na potesu Bor–Krivelj–Majdanpek, mada se određene količine ruda javljaju i u samoj dolini Timoka.<sup>10</sup> Pored srebra i bakra na potesu Bor–Krivelj–Majdanpek javljaju se i prateće rude olova i cinka, mada nemamo direktne potvrde o rudarenju ovih metala u ovom regionu ni u protoistorijskom periodu. I najbogatija ležišta gvozdene rude u široj regiji nalaze se u okolini Bora i Majdanpeka,<sup>11</sup> mada su gvozdene rude češće u prirodi nego što je to slučaj sa ostalim pomenutim metalima.

U kontekstu komunikacija i otvorenosti severnog Stiga ka ostalim graničnim oblastima, od posebnog su značaja stari geografski podaci i karte, na koje se danas ne obraća posebna pažnja. Sa istočne strane Stiga, izvesnu komunikacionu prepreku činila je Ramskozatonjska peščara, za koju F. Kanić kaže da je u drugoj polovini XIX veka predstavljala neprohodna brda živog peska, pa se rimska komunikacija ka ušću Peka, diktirana prirodnim uslovima, morala pomeriti od obale Dunava dublje u unutrašnjost.<sup>12</sup> Sa zapada, nakon Požarevačke grede dolazila je zona ušća Velike Morave u Dunav, koja je bila nepogodna za prolaz dobar deo godine i gde su se nalazile čuvene Godominske močvare,<sup>13</sup> splet manjih rukavaca i mrtvaja Morave, koje se jasno raspoznaju na Marsiljijevoj karti s početka XVIII veka (karta 2), ali i na modernim topografskim kartama. Verovatno iz tog razloga, u zoni neposrednog ušća Velike Morave nisu postojale prirodne pogodnosti za podizanje većeg grada, barem ne do melioracionih radova na većim rečnim tokovima, pa samim tim nikada pre nije mogla postojati ozbiljna i magistralna komunikacija koja bi koristila dolinu Velike Morave pri njenom ušću. Zanimljivo je preneti reči K. Jirečeka o Kuliću, manjem utvrđenju koje se nalazilo u zoni ušća Morave: *usamljena ruševina kule zvane Kulić, koja, kad voda nadođe, strši kao svetionik iz sjedinjenih valova Morave i Dunava.*<sup>14</sup> Povrh svega, dugački paralelni i neuređeni tokovi reka Resave i Resavčine činili su i da relativno od ušća udaljeni delovi doline Velike Morave, budu pod vodom, zabareni i močvarni, barem u dubinu od 50-ak kilometara. Sa druge strane, još jedna prirodna datost davala je oblasti severnog Stiga strateško preimućstvo, a to je činjenica da su se na suprotnoj, levoj obali

<sup>8</sup> Monthel *et al.* 2002, 40–41; Đokić 1990, 135 i dalje.

<sup>9</sup> Monthel *et al.* 2002, 41–43.

<sup>10</sup> Јовић 1997, 23 i dalje.

<sup>11</sup> Monthel *et al.* 2002, 35.

<sup>12</sup> Каниц 1987, 189.

<sup>13</sup> Каниц 1987, 186.

<sup>14</sup> Јиречек 1877 (1959), 83.

Save for arable soil and the potential for hunting and fishing in the territory of the northern Stig, the advantage of this micro-region is manifested through the proximity of metalliferous areas (Map 3). Mines and gold-bearing rivers to the east were certainly of great importance, especially considering the fact that the hardly accessible parts of present-day eastern Serbia and the Iron Gates Region are well connected with the area of Stig through natural communications, compared to the other areas. Two gold-bearing rivers, the upper course of the Mlava River and Pek River, which also bear indigenous silver, are also located in the proximate vicinity. Likewise, gold ores often occur in eastern Serbia as the accompanying minerals of copper ores which are deposited in the Bor-Krivelj-Majdanpek area, but also as indigenous gold in the form of small particles within placer deposits.<sup>8</sup> Silver ores are also represented in eastern Serbia, in mines within the Bor-Krivelj-Majdanpek area, but also in the area of Avala and Kosmaj mountains in northern Šumadija,<sup>9</sup> which are significantly distant and inaccessible areas compared to the area of northern Stig and the horizontal natural communication in the area. The most abundant copper mines, which were exploited during the prehistory, are located in eastern Serbia, within the Bor-Krivelj-Majdanpek area, while certain quantities of copper ore are located in the Timok Valley.<sup>10</sup> Aside from silver and copper, lead and zinc ores are also represented in the Bor-Krivelj-Majdanpek area, although we do not possess direct verification on their prehistoric exploitation. The richest iron ore deposits in the region are also located in the vicinity of Bor and Majdanpek,<sup>11</sup> although iron ores are far more common in the nature compared to the other aforementioned metals.

In terms of communications and the openness of the northern Stig towards other bordering areas, geographic data and maps are quite significant yet frequently neglected source. Towards the east, Ramsko-zatonjska Sand represented a significant communication barrier. F. Kanitz states that the mentioned area was covered with hills of quicksand during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and that the Roman route towards the confluence of Pek River, dictated by natural conditions, had to be shifted from the bank of the Danube towards the heartland.<sup>12</sup> To the west, following the Požarevac terrace is the confluence area of Velika Morava and Danube rivers, which was unsuitable for passage throughout most of the year and in which famous Godominske swamps were located,<sup>13</sup> comprised of as a series of small armlets and still waters of the Morava River, which are clearly distinguished both on the Count Marsigli's map from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Map 2) and modern topographic maps. Therefore, there were no suitable conditions for the establishment of a major city in the direct area of the Velika Morava confluence, at least not before the land development connected with major watercourses. Therefore the existence of a major route which utilized the Velika Morava Valley near the confluence was also impossible. It is quite interesting to cite the words of K. Jireček on Kulič, a small fort which was located in the Velika Morava confluence area: *the lone ruin of a tower called Kulič, which stands like a lighthouse from the joint waves of Danube and Morava rives.*<sup>14</sup> Finally, long parallel and unregulated watercourses of Resava and Resavčina rivers made certain areas relatively distant from the Velika Morava Valley marshy and flooded, up

<sup>8</sup> Monthel *et al.* 2002, 40-41; Đokić 1990, 135 and further.

<sup>9</sup> Monthel *et al.* 2002, 41-43.

<sup>10</sup> Јовић 1997: 23 and further.

<sup>11</sup> Monthel *et al.* 2002, 35.

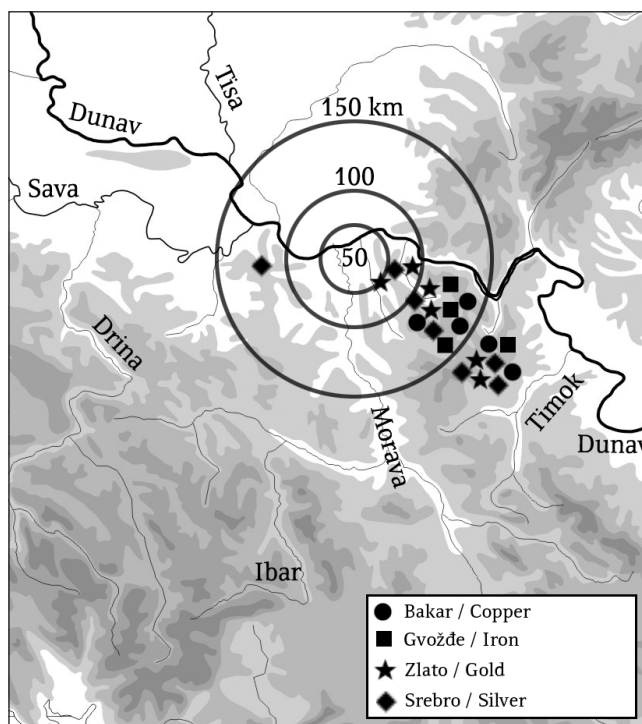
<sup>12</sup> Каниц 1987, 189.

<sup>13</sup> Каниц 1987, 186.

<sup>14</sup> Јиречек 1877 (1959), 83.



Dunava nalazile močvare i zabareno zemljište koji su se pružali u dubinu Banata od nekoliko pa do 10 km, pa na samoj banatskoj obali ove velike reke nije moglo biti podignuto naselje pogodno za stratešku komunikaciju i prelaz preko Dunava. Ipak, sudeći opet prema karti grofa Marsiljija (karta 2), između Dunava i današnjeg Kovina je postojao kakav-takav uređen kanalski put, mada ostaje otvoreno pitanje koliko je on star i da li je korišćen u periodu praistorije. Sa druge strane, na istoj se karti kao jedino pogodno, ujedno i suvo, prikazano zemljište nameće zona između reka Karaša i Nere, kao i južni delovi Deliblatske peščare, mada se tu moramo vratiti Kanicovim opisima peščara kao neprohodnim brdima živog peska i zapitati se da li je na takvim osnovama mogla postojati stalna i preko potrebna komunikacija korišćena tokom cele godine. Naime, jedini prirodni i najlakši prelaz preko Dunava u zoni oko ušća Morave, do izgradnje rimskog puta kroz klisuru Dunava i Trajanovog mosta, bio je prostor današnjeg Rama, antičke Lederate.<sup>15</sup> Ostrvo Sapaja, bliže levoj obali i Staroj Palanci, olakšavalo je prelaz ka relativno suvoj zoni između reka Karaša i Nere. Na Sapaji su pored rimskih i srednjovekovnih nalaza konstatovani, doduše malobrojni, nalazi praistorijske keramike,<sup>16</sup> dok se na prostoru Rama i Lederate uočava i jako prisustvo populacija tokom druge polovine I milenijuma stare ere.<sup>17</sup> Ipak, u atarima sela Rečica i Kličevac, koja se nalaze na nastavku Klepečke grede, nalazi se niz lokaliteta koji svedoče o neprekidnom naseljavanju ovog prostora još od perioda mlađeg kamenog doba i vinčanske kulture, pa do vremena rimskog osvajanja.<sup>18</sup> Ova veza između zone ušća Mlave i prelaza kod Lederate tokom praistorijskog perioda mogla se dosegnuti relativno brzo, za dva do tri sata hoda, u zavisnosti od vremenskih uslova, s obzirom na to da Rit i Nad Klepečkom i Lederatu deli manje od 10 km. Povrh svega navedenog, sa banatske strane postoji nekoliko registrovanih lokaliteta u atarima Stare i Banatske Palanke, poput Rudina, Đurice i Ušća Karaša (?).<sup>19</sup> Čini se da je od posebne važnosti za ovaj rad lokalitet Đurica, koji se nalazi na levoj obali Dunava, na jugoistočnom završetku Deliblatske peščare, omeđen Dunavom sa južne i istočne strane, kao i rekom Karaš, koja se na tom mestu ulivala u Dunav, sa severozapada. Na lokalitetu su registrova-



Karta 3. Rudni resursi u okolini severnog Stiga

Map 3 Ore sources in the surroundings of the Northern Stig

na lokalitetu su registrova-

<sup>15</sup> Jovanović 1996, 69 i dalje.

<sup>16</sup> Димитријевић 1984, 32.

<sup>17</sup> Стојић, Јацановић 2008, 233–235.

<sup>18</sup> Стојић, Јацановић 2008, 152–159 (Кличевац), 244–245 (Речица).

<sup>19</sup> Za Rudine i Đuricu v. Мадас 2008 и Мадас 2016. Za lokalitet Ušće Karaša Стојић и Јацановић (2008, 237–241) navode da je reč o „ataru Banatske Palanke, naspram naselja Ram“, pa je verovatno i ovde reč o lokalitetu Đurica.

to 50 km into the heartland. On the other hand, another natural condition provided the area of northern Stig with a strategic advantage. The fact that swamps and flooded areas, stretching up to 10 km into Banat, were also located on the opposite, left bank of the Danube, prevented the establishment of a settlement suitable for strategic communication and crossing over the Danube. Yet, judging again on the Count Marsigli's map (Map 2), a sort of channel route existed between the Danube and present-day Kovin, but the question of its dating and utilization during prehistory remains open. On the other hand, the only dry land on that map is represented between Karaš and Nera rivers, and in the southern parts of the Deliblato Sands, which brings us back to Kanitz's descriptions of impassable hills of quicksand, and makes us wonder whether if such ground could provide basis for a permanent and much-needed communication which was available throughout the year? Namely, up to the construction of the Roman road through the Danube Gorge and Trajan's Bridge, the only natural and most suitable crossing over the Danube within the Morava confluence area, was the area of present-day Ram, antique Lederata.<sup>15</sup> The island of Sapaja, which lies closer to the Danube's left bank and Stara Palanka, facilitated the crossing towards a relatively dry area between Karaš and Nera rivers. Save for Roman and Medieval finds, few finds of prehistoric pottery have been recorded at the island of Sapaja as well,<sup>16</sup> while the areas of Ram and Lederata indicate a strong presence of prehistoric populations during the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC.<sup>17</sup> However, in the territories of Rečica and Kličevac villages, which are located in the continuation of the Klepečka terrace, a series of sites have been recorded, which indicate a continuous settling in this area starting from the Late Neolithic Vinča culture, up to the Roman Conquest period.<sup>18</sup> This connection between the Mlava confluence area and the crossing over the Danube near Lederata could be reached in a relatively short time during prehistory, in two or three hours, depending on the weather conditions, bearing in mind that the sites of Rit and Nad Klepečkom are located some 10 km from Lederata. Also, several sites have been recorded on the left bank of the Danube, in the area of Stara Palanka and Banatska Palanka, such as Rudine, Đurica and Ušće Karaša (?).<sup>19</sup> It seems that the site important for this paper is the site of Đurica, which is located on the left bank of the Danube and in the southeastern fringe of the Deliblato Sand. The site is bordered by the Danube to the south and east, and Karaš River which flowed into the Danube from the northwest. Portable finds attributed to the Eneolithic, Bronze and Iron Age have all been recorded at the site.<sup>20</sup> The Karaš river springs in the southwestern Carpathians and connects them with the area of southern Banat and Stig, as well as Transylvania further to the north. It seems as if mapped prehistoric sites of the northern Stig and Danube bank in the discussed portion of Banat (Map 1), indicate certain communication tendencies during the prehistory and the existence of a crossing in the area of Ram/Lederata-Sapaja-Stara Palanka-Đurica.

Not only that the area of northern Stig represented one of the most important links between the Central Balkans and Pannonia, but it also represented the starting point for the Morava-Vardar communication, and as Jireček states, *in every way signifi-*

<sup>15</sup> Jovanović 1996, 69 and further.

<sup>16</sup> Димитријевић 1984, 32.

<sup>17</sup> Стојић, Јацановић 2008, 233-235.

<sup>18</sup> Стојић, Јацановић 2008, 152-159 (Kličevac), 244-245 (Rečica).

<sup>19</sup> For the sites of Rudine and Đurica refer to Мадас 2008 and Мадас 2016. Стојић and Јацановић (Стојић, Јацановић 2008) state that the site of Ušće Karaša is in the area of Banatska Palanka, adjacent to Ram, which actually most likely refers to the site of Đurica.

<sup>20</sup> Мадас 2008, 60; Мадас 2016.

ni pokretni nalazi iz perioda bakarnog, bronzanog i gvozdenog doba.<sup>20</sup> Reka Karaš izvire u jugozapadnim Karpatima i njenom dolinom oblast južnog Banata i severnog Stiga lako je bila povezana sa pomenutim planinskim masivom, a dalje ka severu sa Transilvanijom. Kartirani praistorijski lokaliteti severnog Stiga i na dunavskim obalama ovoga dela Banata (karta 1), čini se, ukazuju na izvesne komunikacione tendencije u praistoriji i na postojanje prelaza na prostoru Ram/Lederata – Sapaja – Stara Palanka/Đurica.

Ne samo da je oblast severnog Stiga bila jedna od važnijih spona između centralnog Balkana i Panonije već je u Stigu bio početak čuvene Moravsko–vardarske komunikacije, pošto se, kako Jireček navodi, *na svaki se način znatno razlikovala od sadanjeg puta koji ide dosta blizu Morave... Po svoj prilici, išla je Rimska cesta planinskim lancem koji romantičku dolinu Mlave razdvaja od monotonih proplanaka Pomoravlja.*<sup>21</sup> Taj rimski put, poznat kao *Via Militaris*, po svemu sudeći išao je dolinom Mlave i preko nekoliko blagih presedlina, te dosezao oblast centralnog Pomoravlja tek na 10-ak km severno od Ćuprije.<sup>22</sup> Kako su Rimljani svoje puteve trasirali prema predrimskim putevima,<sup>23</sup> arheološki lokaliteti iz perioda praistorije takođe ukazuju na veću gustinu i linijski raspored nalazišta na pomenutoj trasi *Via Militaris*, dok je u severnom delu Pomoravlja raspored lokaliteta relativno haotičan.<sup>24</sup>

Oba lokaliteta obrađena u ovoj monografiji u širem kontekstu svakako ne smemo gledati kao zasebna arheološka nalazišta, s obzirom na to da se u njihovoj relativnoj blizini nalazi veći broj praistorijskih lokaliteta, od kojih su neki i arheološki istraženi u manjoj ili većoj meri, a koji po svojoj hronologiji odgovaraju celinama otkrivenim na Ritu ili Nad Klepečkom.<sup>25</sup> No, važno je pomenuti da pojedini lokaliteti u oblasti severnog Stiga pokazuju relativne specifičnosti kakve ne nalazimo na susednim teritorijama, što je možda moglo biti uzrokovano severnim Stigom kao glavnim čvorištem puteva i „kapijom centralnog Balkana“. Na primer, najstarija keltska nekropola na prostoru centralnog Balkana nalazi se na Pećinama, a hronološki odgovara prvom prodoru Kelta na Balkan.<sup>26</sup> Takođe, pojedini nalazi od bronzne ukazuju da se na ovom prostoru javljaju nesvakidašnji tipovi predmeta, koje ne nalazimo tako često, ili uopšte, na prostoru centralnog Balkana. Pomenimo, na primer, bronzane mačeve iz prelaznog perioda (Ha A-B), koji u široj zoni ušća Mlave pokazuju jedinstvenu distribuciju, pa se tako javlja čak šest različitih tipova – Štacling, Riegzee, Moškjanci, Novigrad, Marina i Rojtingen.<sup>27</sup> Pojedini tipovi, poput Štacling, Moškjanci, Novigrad i Marina tipa mačeva, javljaju se samo ovde na prostoru centralnog Balkana, a poreklo im varira od severa Italije, do gornjeg toka reke Tise. Iz nešto ranijeg perioda, druge polovine II milenijuma pre n. e. potiču nalazi iz Drmna, dve grivne tipa Juhor, jedinstvene među svim do sada poznatim primercima (njih 60-ak) po tome što su to najteži primerci (s preko 1,5 i 2 kg) i jedini koji imaju kružno tauširane ukrase od zlata.<sup>28</sup> Specifičnim nalazima iz ove zone priključuju se i dva bronzana kotla sa duplim krstastim atašima,<sup>29</sup> koji su povezani sa oblastima centralne Evrope i gornjeg Podunavlja, a nala-

<sup>20</sup> Мадас 2008, 60; Мадас 2016.

<sup>21</sup> Јиречек 1877 (1959), 85.

<sup>22</sup> Петровић 2015, 304; Danković 2015, sa navedenom literaturom.

<sup>23</sup> Петровић 2007, 21–22.

<sup>24</sup> Стојић, Јацановић 2008, 528 (karta nalazišta).

<sup>25</sup> O lokalitetima u okruženju v. Стојић, Јацановић 2008, sa kompletnom starijom literaturom, posebno obratiti pažnju na radove D. Јацановића.

<sup>26</sup> Јовановић 2018, 201.

<sup>27</sup> Филиповић 2015, 335–342.

<sup>28</sup> Mitrović 2019, u *Stampi*.

<sup>29</sup> Јацановић 1995.

cantly differs from the present roads which stretch quite close to the Morava River... In all likelihood, the Ram road followed the mountain range which separates the romantic Mlava Valley from the monotonous glades of Morava Region.<sup>21</sup> That Roman road *Via Militaris* apparently followed the Mlava Valley, and after several mild saddles reached the Central Morava Region some 10 km northern from Čuprija.<sup>22</sup> In all likelihood, the Romans have placed their roads according to pre-Roman roads,<sup>23</sup> and the prehistoric archaeological sites also display a high density and rectilinear distribution along the aforementioned route of *Via Militaris*. On the contrary, the distribution of sites in the Upper Morava Region is relatively chaotic.<sup>24</sup>

Both of the sites discussed within this volume (Rit and Nad Klepečkom), should not in a wider sense be treated as separate archeological sites, considering that a number of prehistoric sites are located in the relative vicinity, of which some are more or less excavated, and possess a chronology which matches the chronology of archeological features discussed in this volume.<sup>25</sup> It is important to highlight that some of the sites in the area of northern Stig display certain specifics which are not recorded in the neighboring territories, which might have been caused by the fact that this area represents the main hub of roads and the “gate of the Central Balkans”. For example, the earliest Celtic necropolis in the Central Balkans is located at the site of Pećine and chronologically corresponds to the first penetration of Eastern Celts to the Balkans.<sup>26</sup> Likewise, certain bronze finds indicate that this area hosts some extraordinary types of objects, which are uncommon or unknown in the Central Balkans. We can mention bronze swords from the so-called Transitional Period (Ha A-B), which display a unique distribution in the Mlava confluence area, with a total of six different types recorded – Stätzling, Riegsee, Moškjanci, Novigrad, Marina, and Reutlingen.<sup>27</sup> Some of those types, such as Stätzling, Moškjanci, Novigrad, and Marina occur only here in terms of the Central Balkans, and their origin varies from northern Italy to the upper course of Tisza River. In terms of a somewhat earlier period, namely the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC, we have finds from the site of Drmno. Those are two torcs of the Juhor type, which are unique amongst a total of around 60 known examples since those represent the heaviest examples (more than 1,5 and 2 kg) and possess circularly inlaid golden ornaments.<sup>28</sup> Specific finds from this area are complemented with two bronze cauldrons with double cross-shaped staples,<sup>29</sup> which are connected with the territories of Central Europe, Upper Danube Region and the areas of northeastern slopes of the Carpathians and Dniester Valley.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, based on the state of the research, the zone between Morava River and Golubac displays an absolute primate in this part of the Balkans, in terms of prehistoric hoards from the transition from Bronze to Iron Age, a phenomenon which spreads from the Atlantic to Pontus.<sup>31</sup> Namely, in this territory and territories deeper within the Mlava Valley, at least around 30 hoards

<sup>21</sup> Лиречек 1877 (1959), 85.

<sup>22</sup> Петровић 2015, 304; Danković 2015, with cited literature.

<sup>23</sup> Петровић 2007, 21-22.

<sup>24</sup> Стојић, Јацановић 2008, 528 (map of sites).

<sup>25</sup> On the sites in surroundings refer to Стојић, Јацановић 2008, with complete earlier literature, especially the papers of D. Јацановић.

<sup>26</sup> Јовановић 2018, 201.

<sup>27</sup> Филиповић 2015, 335-342.

<sup>28</sup> Mitrović 2019, *in press*.

<sup>29</sup> Јацановић 1995.

<sup>30</sup> Бандрівський 2014, 79 and further.

<sup>31</sup> Hansen 2013, 371 and further.

zimo ih do severoistočnih obronaka Karpata i doline Dnjestra.<sup>30</sup> Isto tako, na ovom stepenu istraženosti i evidencije, zona između Morave i Golupca pokazuje apsolutni primat u ovom delu Balkana u pogledu praistorijskih ostava iz prelaznog perioda iz bronzanog u gvozdeno doba, fenomena raširenog od obala Atlantika pa do Ponta.<sup>31</sup> Naime, na ovoj teritoriji i malo dublje dolinom Mlave do sada je registrovano barem 50-ak ostava,<sup>32</sup> dok na širem prostoru Vršca njihova učestalost takođe pokazuje izrazito visok nivo.<sup>33</sup> Većina gore pomenutih specifičnih tipova mačeva centralnoevropskog porekla potiče iz ostava, ali treba pomenuti i dvokraki bronzani pijuk iz ostave Šetonje,<sup>34</sup> koji je najjugoistočniji nalaz ovog predmeta, a koji zasigurno potiče iz oblasti centralne Evrope.

Bilo bi tu da se pomene još specifičnih nalaza iz ove zone oko ušća Mlave u Dunav, ali je i iz ovako predočene slike jasno da ova oblast ima posebno strateško mesto u periodu praistorije i rane istorije na prostoru srednjeg Podunavlja i da je glavna spona između južne Panonije i centralnog Balkana prostor severnog Stiga. Verujemo da će buduća istraživanja na ovom prostoru, koja se konstantno i odvijaju u okviru projekta Viminacijum, izneti na videlo još puno neuobičajenih i neočekivanih nalaza, te potvrditi ovde iznetu tezu.

<sup>30</sup> Бандрівський 2014, 79 i dalje.

<sup>31</sup> Hansen 2013, 371 i dalje.

<sup>32</sup> D. Јасановић, usmena informacija.

<sup>33</sup> Гарашанин, Тасић (ур.) 1975, 104.

<sup>34</sup> Blečić Kavur 2018, 17–18.

have been recorded,<sup>32</sup> while the wider area of Vršac displays similar distribution.<sup>33</sup> Most of the aforementioned specific types of central European swords originate from hoards and one must mention a find of double-headed pickaxe from the Šetonje hoard,<sup>34</sup> which represents the southeasternmost find of such object and which most certainly originates from Central Europe.

Other specific finds from the area of the Mlava and Danube confluence could also be highlighted, yet the presented state clearly indicates that the area had an important strategic position during prehistory and early history in the Middle Danube Region and that the area of northern Stig represents the main “bridge” between the southern Pannonia and the Central Balkans. We believe that future research in the area, which are constantly being conducted within the Viminacium project, will probably result in numerous uncommon and unexpected finds, which would support the aforementioned thesis.

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<sup>32</sup> D. Јасановић, based on oral account.

<sup>33</sup> Гарашанин, Тасић (ур.) 1975, 104.

<sup>34</sup> Blečić Kavur 2018, 17-18.

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