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NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI
ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
južna nekropola Viminacijuma

COINAGE AND APOTROPAIC-PROPHYLACTIC
ELEMENTS IN FUNERARY RITUALS –
southern Viminacium cemetery



ARHEOLOŠKI INSTITUT, BEOGRAD

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Monographies 72

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UVOD

Viminacijum je nastao u vreme rimskog osvajanja podunavskih oblasti, nedaleko od ušća Mlave u Dunav, kod današnjeg Kostolca (karta 1). Istorija legijskog logora daleko je izvesnija od 86. godine i podele provincije Mezije na Gornju i Donju.¹ Neposredno nakon toga Viminacijum je postao stalni logor legije VII *Claudia*, koja je ovde boravila do kraja antike.² Mir koji je uspostavljen na dunavskom limesu nakon Trajanovih dačkih ratova doveo je do ekonomskog prosperiteta Gornje Mezije i Viminacijum je ubrzo prerastao u najveće gradsko naselje u provinciji i značajan vojni centar. Zajednici rimskih građana koja se uz logor formirala od druge polovine 1. veka dodeljen je status municipija (*municipium Aelium Viminacium*) početkom Hadrijanove vladavine. Sredinom 2. veka, ako ne i nešto ranije, Viminacijum je postao sedište guvernera (upravnika) provincije. Vrhunac je dostigao za vreme Septimija Severa i njegovih neposrednih naslednika, da bi status kolonije (*colonia Viminacium*) dobio tokom vladavine Gordijana III, verovatno krajem 239. godine.³

1 Osnivanje provincije Mezije ne može se precizno datovati zbog izvesnih protivrečnosti u izvorima. Okvirno se njeno formiranje vezuje za vreme od pokoravanja Skordiska (11. ili 10. godine pre n. e.) do 15. godine, kada se prvi put pominje u pisanim izvorima. Tokom Avgustovih opsežnih mera u cilju zaštite dunavskog limesa, podignuta su i prva utvrđenja: Singidunum, Viminacijum, Racijarija i Eskus (cf. Mirković 1968, 22; Mirković, Dušanić 1976, 28; Ферјанчић 2002, 159–160; Ferjančić 2013, 13–14).

2 U modernoj historiografiji dosta se raspravljalo o redosledu boravka legija u Viminacijumu u drugoj polovini 1. veka (cf. Alföldy 1959, 118–128; Mirković 1968, 58–61; Mirković 1986, 36; Ферјанчић 2002, 159–160).

3 Mirković 1968, 63–69.

INTRODUCTION

Viminacium was established during the time of the Roman invasion of the Danube valley, not far from the confluence of the river Mlava into the Danube, close to the modern village of Kostolac (Map 1). After the year 86 and the division of the province Moesia into Upper and Lower Moesia, the history of the legionary fort is much more certain.¹ Immediately after that, Viminacium became the permanent legionary fort of the legion VII *Claudia*, which remained there until the end of Antiquity.² The peace on the Danube limes that was established after Trajan's Dacian wars led to economic prosperity in Upper Moesia and, soon enough, Viminacium became the biggest city in the province and an important military centre. From the second half of the 1st century, a community of Roman citizens formed a settlement next to the legionary fort and at the beginning of Hadrian's reign, it received the status of a *municipium* (*municipium Aelium Viminacium*). In the middle of the 2nd century, if not even earlier, Viminacium became the seat of the province's governor. It reached its

1 Due to certain contradictions in written sources, the establishment of the province of Moesia cannot be dated precisely. It is vaguely dated into the period of the conquering of the Scordisci (the year 11 or 10 BC) or the year 15 AD, when it was first mentioned in written sources. The earliest forts were erected during Augustus' undertakings aimed at securing the Danube limes: Singidunum, Viminacium, Ratiaria and Oescus (cf. Mirković 1968, 22; Mirković, Dušanić 1976, 28; Ферјанчић 2002, 159–160; Ferjančić 2013, 13–14).

2 The sequence of legions stationed in Viminacium during the second half of the 1st century has been much discussed in modern historiography (cf. Alföldy 1959, 118–128; Mirković 1968, 58–61; Mirković 1986, 36; Ферјанчић 2002, 159–160).

Istovremeno, oktobra 239. godine, Viminacijum je stekao i pravo kovanja provincijalnog novca, koji je emitovan do zajedničke vladavine Valerijana I i Galijena (254/255). Sekundarna imperijalna kovnica u Viminacijumu, koja je počela s radom nešto kasnije, verovatno u vreme Filipa I (244–249), posebno se razvila u doba Trajana Decija (249–251) i bila je aktivna gotovo do kraja zajedničke vlade Valerijana I i Galijena (257).⁴ Od velikog značaja za dobijanje prava kovanja novca bio je politički i ekonomski uspon Viminacijuma, na koji je uticalo više faktora: rudama bogato zaleđe, povoljan geografski položaj u okviru odbrambenog sistema Carstva, raskršće važnih puteva, razvijena trgovačka mreža.

U istorijskim izvorima, Viminacijum se u 4. veku pominje kao značajno sedište episkopa. Sredinom 5. veka grad je stradao u najezdi Huna i nikada više nije dostigao stari sjaj. Iz vremena Justinijanove obnove u 6. veku poznat je samo kao vojno uporište.⁵

U 19. veku su se još mogli razaznati ostaci rimskog utvrđenja i grada: bedema, popločanih ulica, trgova, pozorišta, amfiteatra i termi. Velika zaštitna arheološka iskopavanja, započeta 70-ih godina 20. veka, a zatim i sistematska u 21. veku, još uvek traju.

Tokom približno pet vekova, u Viminacijumu je formirano više nekropola, koje su prilikom iskopavanja nazvane prema položaju u odnosu na legijski logor i civilno naselje (karta 2). Do danas su arheološki ustanovljene i u najvećoj meri ispitane južna, istočna i severoistočna nekropola, dok će konačna potvrda postojanja severne i zapadne nekropole sačekati buduća istraživanja.⁶ Zbog potreba izgradnje TE Kostolac 2, na južnoj nekropoli su od 1977. do 1990. godine obavljena zaštitna arheološka iskopavanja većeg obima.⁷ Na

pinnacle during the reign of Septimius Severus and his direct heirs. During the reign of Gordian III, most likely at the end of 239, it received the status of a *colonia* (*colonia Viminacium*).³

Parallel to receiving the status of a *colonia*, in October 239 Viminacium also gained the right to mint coins. The mint was active until the period of the common reign of Valerianus I and Gallienus (254/255). Slightly later, most likely during the reign of Philippus I (244–249), the secondary imperial mint in Viminacium started working. It was especially developed during the reign of Trajan Decius (249–251) and operated until the period of the common reign of Valerianus I and Gallienus (257).⁴ Political and economic growth of Viminacium was essential for obtaining the right to mint, with several factors influencing this: a hinterland rich in ores, a favourable geographic position within the Imperial defence system, a crossroad of several important roads and a well developed trade network.

In historical sources, Viminacium is mentioned as an important Episcopal seat during the 4th century. In the middle of the 5th century, the city was destroyed in Hunnic raids and it never recovered fully. In the 6th century, during Justinian's renovation period, only a military stronghold is mentioned.⁵

During the 19th century it was still possible to distinguish remains of the Roman fort and the city: city walls, paved streets, squares, theatres, the amphitheatre and the *thermae*. Huge scale excavations were initiated during the 1970s and at the beginning of the 21st century, systematic excavations were started and they are still ongoing.

Over almost five centuries of living in Viminacium, several cemeteries were formed, generally named after the cardinal points and their position in relation to the legionary fort and civilian settlement (Map 2). Up to the present day, the southern, eastern and north-eastern cemeteries have been archaeologically confirmed and most of their areas excavated, while the existence of northern and western cemeteries still remain to be confirmed with future research.⁶ From 1977 to 1990 and due to the building

4 Borić-Brešković 1976, 8–23.

5 Korać, Golubović, Mrđić 2018, 45.

6 Severno i zapadno od grada i logora, od kraja 19. veka su pronalazeni pojedinačni grobovi, ali ti lokaliteti još uvek nisu sistematski istraživani. M. Valtrović je 1882. godine obavio sondažna iskopavanja južno, severno i istočno od grada i logora, tokom kojih je na svim mestima konstatovao grobove. Zaključio je da ih je bilo i zapadno od grada, na osnovu ostataka grobova koje su meštani u to vreme pljačkali (cf. Валтровић 1884, 6, 10).

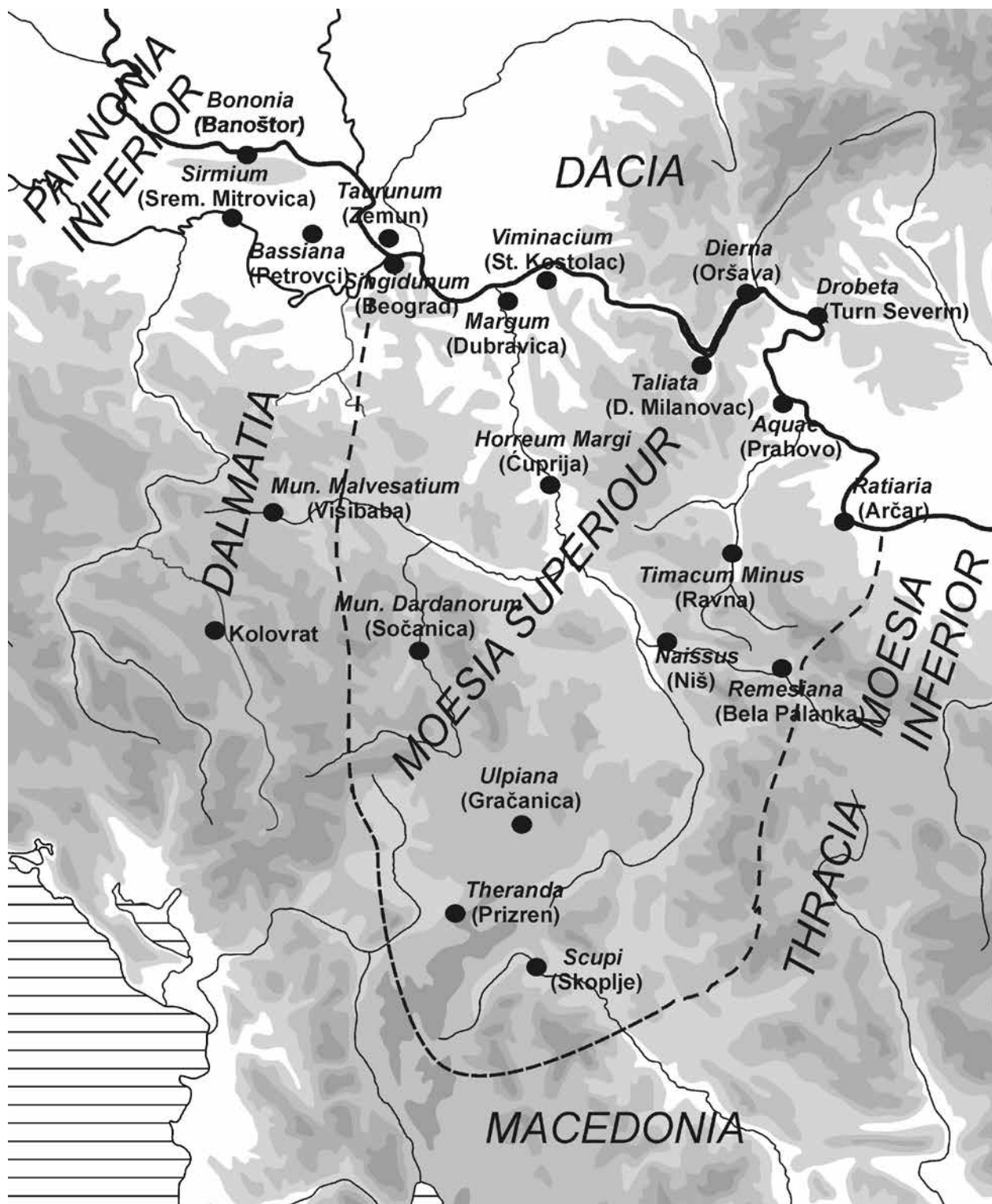
7 Područje južne nekropole je tokom tih istraživanja podeljeno na nekoliko lokaliteta, koji su u starijoj literaturi

3 Mirković 1968, 63–69.

4 Borić-Brešković 1976, 8–23.

5 Korać, Golubović, Mrđić 2018, 45.

6 Ever since the end of the 19th century, to the north and west of the legionary camp and the city, individual graves have been discovered, but these sites have not



Karta 1 Provincije iz vremena ranog Carstva, s granicama Gornje Mezije (prema: Golubović 2008, 11, karta 1)

Map 1 Provinces of the early Empire with the borders of Moesia Superior (prema / after: Golubović 2008, 11, karta 1)

nazivani „nekropolama“ po lokalnim toponimima: Više grobalja, Pećine, Kod grobalja, Burdelj, Velika kapija i Carine; cf. Zotović 1986, 41; Zotović, Jordović 1990, 2; Korać, Golubović 2009, 12–13. Svesni smo činjenice da su ranije korišćeni nazivi „nekropole“ za svaki od are-

been excavated yet. In 1882, M. Valtrović conducted probe excavations to the south, north and east of the city and the legionary fort and in all of them he discovered graves. Back then, according to grave remains plundered by farmers, he concluded that there were graves also to

njoj je izdvojeno više areala iz rimskog vremena, koji su korišćeni od kraja 1. do prvih decenija 5. veka.⁸ Najstariji, na kojima je praktikovano biritualno sahranjivanje, nalaze se na lokalitetu Više grobalja i na jednom delu lokaliteta Pećine. Prostor za sahranjivanje je zatim uočen takođe na lokalitetu Pećine, i to spaljenih pokojnika, sa izuzetkom inhumacija isključivo pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta. U okviru tih areala sahrane su obavljane od vremena na prelazu 1. u 2. vek do sredine 3. veka, kada su, s promenom pogrebnog rituala i prelaskom na obred inhumacije, napušteni. Posle toga su žitelji Viminacijuma sahranjivani na još dva mesta, na lokalitetu Burdelj, do sredine 4. veka, dok se drugo, korišćeno do prvih decenija 5. veka, nalazi na lokalitetu Pećine.⁹

Tokom pomenutih zaštitnih istraživanja 70-ih i 80-ih godina prošlog veka, samo na lokalitetima Više grobalja i Pećine otkriveno je 10.769 grobova kremiranih i inhumiranih pokojnika, od čega je 1.828 bilo grobova dece.¹⁰ Zbog izgradnje više objekata različite namene u okviru TE Kostolac, od 2007. godine vrše se nova zaštitna iskopavanja na južnoj nekropoli Viminacijuma, na lokalitetima Više grobalja i Pećine, koja su još uvek u toku.¹¹ Zbog toga grobovi dece, od navedenih ukupno novootkrivenih, nisu uključeni u ovu studiju i njihova interpretacija i obrada uslediće nakon završetka arheoloških istraživanja. Prema broju dokumentovanih grobnih celina, na Viminacijumu se

ala južne nekropole mogli nositi zabune, te zato ističemo da svi navedeni lokaliteti pripadaju južnoj nekropoli Viminacijuma.

- 8 Osim areala iz rimskog vremena, na prostoru južne nekropole su registrovane i keltska nekropola (4–3. vek pre n. e.), dve nekropole iz perioda Seobe naroda, i to germanske, jedna iz druge polovine 5. veka i jedna iz sredine 6. veka, a najmlađa je manja srednjovekovna nekopola iz perioda 12–14. veka; *cf.* Зотовић 1986, 41, nap. 4; 54–55; Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 2; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 133–136.
- 9 Deo lokaliteta Pećine preseca prostore starijih, već napuštenih areala, sa sahranama kremiranih i inhumiranih pokojnika (*cf.* Зотовић 1986, 52).
- 10 Lokalitet Više grobalja: 2.213 inhumacija, 1.776 kremacija; lokalitet Pećine: 5.626 inhumacija, 1.154 kremacije.
- 11 Do sada je otkriveno 529 grobova i 326 primeraka novca (Više grobalja: 580 inhumacija, 122 kremacije, 327 primeraka novca; Pećine: 424 inhumacije, 47 kremacija, 248 primeraka novca). Podaci o brojevima novoistraženih grobova i nalaza novca potiču iz marta 2021. godine, ali se menjaju svakodnevno.

activities of the thermo power-plant TE Kostolac 2, rescue archaeological excavations of a large extent were conducted in the area of the southern cemetery.⁷ Within the southern cemetery, several areas from the Roman period were distinguished, used from the end of the 1st until the early decades of the 5th century.⁸ The oldest areas, with bi-ritual burials, are situated at the site of Više grobalja and partially at the site of Pećine. The next area was separated at one part of the site of Pećine with cremation burials only, with the exception of skeletal burials (inhumations) that all belonged to deceased infants. All of the three areas were used at the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century and up to the middle of the 3rd century. After the change of burial ritual and introduction of inhumations, all of the cemeteries were abandoned. At this time, two further cemeteries were established: one of them at the site Burdelj, used until the middle of the 4th century and the second one, in one part of the site of Pećine, used until the early decades of the 5th century.⁹

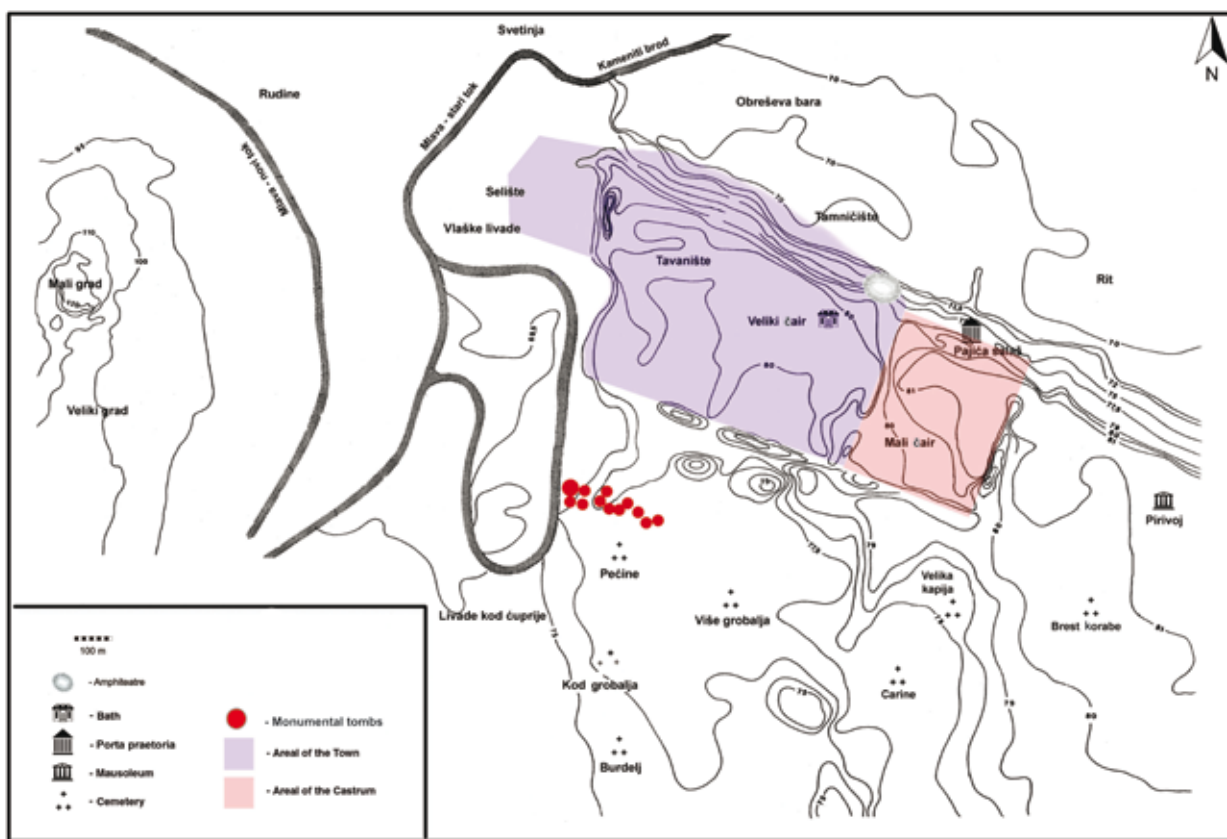
During rescue excavations in the 1970s and 1980s, at the sites of Više Grobalja and Pećine alone, a total of 10,769 graves were discovered, both cremations and inhumations. Among them, there were 1,828 children's graves.¹⁰ Since 2007, due to the need to build several structures of different purposes with-

the west of the city (*cf.* Валтровић, 1884, 6, 10).

- 7 During research, the area of the southern cemetery was separated into several sites. In older publications, they were described as “necropolis” and named after local toponyms: Više grobalja, Pećine, Kod grobalja, Burdelj, Velika kapija and Carine; *cf.* Зотовић 1986, 41; Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 2; Korać, Golubović 2009, 12–13. We are aware of the fact that the previously used term “necropolis” for every part of the southern cemetery could cause misunderstanding and this is why we underline that all of the sites named above belong to the area of the southern Viminacium cemetery.
- 8 Besides the area that belongs to the Roman period, in the area of the southern cemetery there was also a Celtic necropolis (4th to 3rd century BC); two areas belong to the period of the Great Migration, both belonging to German tribes, one from the second half of the 5th century and the second one from the middle of the 6th century, while the youngest represents a small cemetery from the Middle Ages, actually from the period between the 12th and the 14th century; *cf.* Зотовић 1986, 41, ref. 4; 54–55; Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 2; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 133–136.
- 9 Part of the area of the site Pećine cuts through the areas of older, already abandoned cemeteries, with graves that include both cremations and inhumations (*cf.* Зотовић 1986, 52).
- 10 Site Više grobalja: 2213 inhumations, 1776 cremations; Site Pećine: 5626 inhumations, 1154 cremations.

nalazi jedna od najbolje ispitanih nekropola iz vremena Rimskog carstva.¹² Taj veliki uzorak, s mnoštvom materijalnih ostataka, pruža mnoge mogućnosti za proučavanje populacije, njenih socijalnih, ekonomskih, kulturnih i duhovnih obeležja.

in TE Kostolac, new rescue excavations have been conducted at the southern Viminacium cemetery, precisely at the sites of Više grobalja and Pećine. These excavations are still ongoing.¹¹ As a result of that, the newly discovered children's graves are not included in this study. Their interpretation and processing will be done only after the end of the archaeological research. According to the number of documented graves, Viminacium represents one of the best examined cemeteries from the period of the Roman Empire.¹² Such a huge sample offers numerous possibilities for studying population and its social, economic, cultural and spiritual relationships that emerge from material remains.



Karta 2 Opšta situacija na nalazištu Viminacijum
Map 2 General situation at the site Viminacium

12 Pomenutim istraživanjima južne nekropole treba dodati i obimna zaštitna iskopavanja istočne i severoistočne nekropole, koja se obavljaju u kontinuitetu od 2000. godine do danas. Tokom poslednje dve decenije, na tom prostoru je otkriveno dodatnih 740 grobova (422 inhumacije i 318 kremacija).

11 Until now, the total of 529 graves and 326 coins were unearthed (Više grobalja: 580 inhumations, 122 cremations, 327 coins; Pećine: 424 inhumations, 47 cremations, 248 coins). Data about numbers of newly discovered graves and coin finds are from march 2021, but they change on daily bases.

12 Large scale rescue excavations of the eastern and north-eastern should be added to the already mentioned research of the southern cemetery. Since 2000, they have continuously been conducted until present day. During the last two decades, additional 740 graves (422 inhumations and 318 cremations) have been discovered in this area.

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southern Viminacium cemetery

CILJ I METODOLOGIJA

Zbog specifičnog statusa dece u rimskom društvu, a naročito zbog odnosa prema preuranjenoj smrti (*mors immatura*), pitanja o njihovom sahranjivanju su posebna i treba ih razmatrati odvojeno od sahranjivanja odraslih. Želja nam je da u ovoj studiji prikažemo i analiziramo pojave koje smo uočili u vezi sa sahranjivanjem dece na viminacijumskoj južnoj nekropoli, najpre one koje oslikavaju pogrebne rituale s profilaktičkim ili apotropejskim elementima. Da bismo to postigli, bila je nužna izrada detaljnog kataloga svih registrovanih grobova dece, i to prema starosnim skupinama, koji pruža uvid u: broj pojedinačnih i grupnih grobova, načine pokopavanja, broj grobova s priložima ili bez njih, vrste priloga i datovanje grobova kada je to bilo moguće. Na taj način izloženi, pomenuti podaci su dali solidnu bazu za mnoge statističke analize i za isticanje pojedinih činilaca pogrebnog rituala u okviru različitih starosnih skupina umrle dece, pogotovo onih sa apotropejskim i profilaktičkim obeležjima, uz poseban osvrt na ulogu novca u tom kontekstu. Na osnovu proučavanja svih uočenih pojava, pokušaćemo da sagledamo pogrebne rituale praktikovane na Viminacijumu prilikom sahranjivanja dece.

Prema antropološkim analizama koje je obavio prof. Živko Mikić 80-ih godina prošlog veka, skeleti osoba dečjeg uzrasta, zaključno sa devetnaestom godinom života, sa južne nekropole Viminacijuma svrstani su u pet kategorija. To su sledeće starosne skupine: I) 0–1, II) 2–4, III) 5–9, IV) 10–14 i V) 15–19 godina. Po istom modelu, E. Hošovski je načinio prvu paleodemo-

GOALS AND METHODOLOGY

Owing to the specific status of children within the Roman society and especially owing to the specific relationship towards immature death (*mors immatura*), questions related to their burials are specific and need to be studied separately from those of adults. Our wish with this study is to show and analyse the details we saw in connection to children's burials in the southern Viminacium cemetery, most of all those that reflect burial rituals with prophylactic or apotropaic elements. In order to achieve this, it was necessary to make a detailed catalogue of all the registered children's graves according to their age groups, which allows an insight into: number of individual and group graves, ways of burying, number of graves with or without grave goods, types of grave goods and dating of graves whenever it was possible. Data processed in such a way revealed a good basis for numerous statistical analyses and highlighting of specific funerary ritual elements within different age groups of deceased infants. Special attention was paid to those elements with apotropaic and prophylactic features and especially to the role of coins in this context. From the analyses' results of all the noted features, we will try to understand funerary rituals in children's burials practiced at Viminacium.

According to anthropological analyses conducted in the 1980s by Živko Mikić, children's skeletons from the southern Viminacium cemetery were separated into five categories, the oldest being the age of 19. They are as follows: I) 0–1 years of age, II) 2–4 years of age, III) 5–9 years of age, IV) 10–14 years of age and V) 15–19 years of age. Following the same model, E. Hošovski made the first paleo-demographic image of

grafskusliku antičkog Viminacijuma.¹³ Stoga smo u ovoj studiji preuzeli način na koji su skeleti dece već bili razvrstani po starosnim grupama prilikom antropološke obrade Ž. Mikića (starosne skupine I do V). Struktura kataloga prema tim skupinama detaljno je predstavljena u tabelama 1–3. Zbog nekih metodoloških nedoumica vezanih za grobove kod kojih nije bilo moguće utvrditi starost deteta, kao i za grobove sa više pokojnika, odlučili smo da skelete dece neutvrđene starosti svrstamo u posebnu katalošku grupu VI. Kao što se iz tabela 3 i 7 može primetiti, toj grupi pripada znatan broj skeleta dece (427 iz individualnih grobova, tri iz grupe VIII i jedan iz grupe X). U tim primerima, kosti pokojnika su najčešće bile očuvane u tragovima, što je antropološke analize u pogledu utvrđivanja individualne starosti učinilo nemogućim. Grobove sa više pokojnika podelili smo u tri kataloške skupine (VII–IX), s tim što se u svakoj od njih mogu naći pokojnici dečjeg uzrasta iz bilo koje od pet starosnih kategorija. Starosna struktura dece iz tih kataloških skupina detaljno je izložena u tabelama 6–8, kao i u katalogu, u koloni 2.

U prvoj kataloškoj grupi sadržani su podaci kako o grobovima novorođenčadi tako i dece starije od šest meseci, zaključno do jedne godine. Pošto su antropološke analize sprovedene 80-ih godina prošlog veka u odnosu na današnje imale izvesna ograničenja, ne možemo biti potpuno sigurni da je broj od 76 pokojnika koji su definisani kao deca „u prvim mesecima života“ ili „novorođenče“ ili „dojenče“ konačan. Ako tome dodamo i izneti problem u vezi s kataloškom grupom VI (pogotovo sa ostacima dece koji su pronađeni „u tragovima“), možemo pretpostaviti da je broj pokojnika starosti do šest meseci znatno veći od onog kojim raspolažemo. Svi pokojnici koji su u dokumentaciji bili zavedeni kao deca „u prvim mesecima života“, kao „novorođenče“ ili „dojenče“, u okviru prve kataloške grupe označeni su zvezdicom pored numeracije groba u koloni 2.¹⁴

Na osnovu navedenog, oformljena je sledeća struktura kataloga grobova dece: najpre su predstavljeni grobovi s jednim pokojnikom dečjeg uzrasta, prema starosnim kategorijama (0–1, 2–4, 5–9, 10–14 i 15–19; kataloške grupe I do V; tabela 1); slede opisi grobova takođe s jednim pokojnikom

ancient Viminacium.¹³ This is why, within this study, we accepted the way children's skeletons were already divided into age groups during former anthropological research (age groups I to V). Within Tables 1–3, the structure of the catalogue following these groups is presented in detail. Due to specific methodological doubts related to graves in which it was not possible to determine the age of children, as well as to graves with several deceased in them, we decided to classify children's skeletons into a specific catalogue group VI. As one can see in Tables 3 and 7, this group includes a rather large number of children's skeletons (427 from individual graves, 3 from group VIII and one from group X). In most of these examples, the bones of the deceased were preserved only in traces, which made it impossible to perform any anthropological analysis related to age. Graves with several deceased were separated into three catalogue groups (VII–IX). In all of them, deceased children can be found, belonging to any of the five age groups. The age structure of children from these catalogue groups is presented in detail in Tables 6–8, as well as in the catalogue, in column 2.

Within the first age group, there is data on both graves of newborns and of infants older than six months but not over one year of age. Since we rely on anthropological analyses conducted during the 1980s and since they were limited when compared to the modern ones, we cannot be absolutely sure whether the number of 76 graves ascribed to infants “in the early months”, “newborn” or “baby” is absolutely accurate. If we add here the already mentioned problem related to catalogue group VI (especially of infants whose remains were unearthed “in traces”), we can presume that the number of the deceased up to six months of age is much higher than the number we have at our disposal. All graves that were defined as “in the early months”, “newborn” or “baby” within our documentation and within the first catalogue group are marked with an asterisk (*) next to the grave number in column 2.¹⁴

Based on the aforementioned, the following structure of the children's graves catalogue was designed: at the beginning, graves with a single deceased child separated into age categories were listed (0–1; 2–4; 5–9; 10–14 and 15–19; catalogue groups I to V; Table 1); what follows are descriptions of graves also with a single deceased child of undetermined age

13 Хошовски 1991, 273–278.

14 U zaključnim razmatranjima biće više reči o tim grobovima i pogrebnim ritualima vezanim za njih.

13 Хошовски 1991, 273–278.

14 More details about these graves and funerary rituals related to them will be given in the concluding chapter.

dečjeg uzrasta, kome se nije mogla odrediti starost (kataloška grupa VI); u okviru grupe VII opisani su grobovi sa više pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta (23 groba sa 48 pokojnika); grupa VIII obuhvata grobove s jednim pokojnikom dečjeg uzrasta (157) i s odraslim individuama (219), dok se grupa IX odnosi na grobove (11) sa više pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta (22) i s odraslim individuama (20), uključujući i inhumiranu decu u grobovima kremiranih odraslih osoba (tabela 2). Grobovi kremiranih pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta prikazani su posebno, u okviru kataloških grupa X i XI (tabela 3). Svaka od grupa razvrstana je na grobove s priložima (npr. I.1) i one bez njih (npr. I.2) (tabela 25). Takva koncepcija kataloga bila je neophodna radi bolje preglednosti načina sahranjivanja i s njima povezanih pogrebnih rituala.

(catalogue group VI); within group VII graves were described with several deceased children (23 graves with 48 deceased); group VIII includes graves (157) with a single child burial (157) and additional adult burials (219), while group IX is related to graves (11 of them) with several deceased children (22) and additional adults (20). It also includes children's inhumations within cremated adult graves (Table 2). Graves of cremated children are listed separately, within catalogue groups X and XI (Table 3). Each of the mentioned grave groups was separated into those with grave goods (for example I.1) and those without them (for example I.2) (Table 25). A catalogue designed in such a way was necessary in order to enable a better overview of specific ways of burying and funerary rituals connected to them.

Starosne skupine = kataloške grupe / Age group = catalogue groups	Kat. / Cat. nos.	Broj grobova = broj pokojnika / Number of graves = number of deceased	Ukupno (grobova/pokoj- nika) po grupama / Total (graves/deceased) by groups
0-1 / I.1	1-221	221	
0-1 / I.2	222-341	120	341
2-4 / II.1	342-495	154	
2-4 / II.2	496-575	80	234
5-9 / III.1	576-759	184	
5-9 / III.2	760-927	168	352
10-14 / IV.1	928-1016	89	
10-14 / IV.2	1017-1095	79	168
15-19 / V.1	1096-1131	36	
15-19 / V.2	1132-1190	59	95
Deca neutvrđene starosti / Children of undeter- mined age VI.1	1191-1439	24	
Deca neutvrđene starosti / Children of undeter- mined age VI.2	1440-1617	178	427
UKUPNO / TOTAL		1,617	1,617

Tabela 1 Inhumacije: jedan pokojnik dečjeg uzrasta prema starosnim skupinama / kataloškim grupama (kat. 1-1617)

Table 1 Inhumations: one deceased child by age groups/catalogue groups (Cat. nos. 1-1617)

MORS IMMATURA
COINAGE AND APOTROPAIC-PROPHYLACTIC ELEMENTS IN FUNERARY RITUALS –
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Kataloške grupe / Catalogue groups	Kat. / Cat. nos.	Broj grobova / Number of graves	Zbir grobova po grupama / Total graves by groups	Broj pokojnika / Number of deceased	Zbir pokojnika po grupama / Total deceased by groups
VII.1	1618–1629	12		26	
VII.2	1630–1640	11	23	22	48
VIII.1	1641–1715	75		75	
VIII.2	1716–1797	82	157	82	157
IX.1	1798–1802	5		10	
IX.2	1803–1808	6	11	12	22
UKUPNO / TOTAL		191	191	227	227

Tabela 2 Inhumacije: više pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta ili deca i odrasle individue u istom grobu (kat. 1618–1808)

Table 2 Inhumations: several deceased children or children and adults in the same grave (Cat. nos. 1618 - 1808)

Kataloške grupe / Catalogue groups	Kat. / Cat. nos.	Broj grobova / Number of graves	Zbir grobova po grupama / Total graves by groups	Broj kremira- nih pokojnika / Number of cremated deceased	Broj inhumiranih pokojnika / Number of inhumed deceased	Zbir pokojnika po grupama / Total deceased by groups
X.1	1809–1825	17		17		17
X.2	1826	1	18	1		1
XI.1	1827–1828	2	2	2	2	4
UKUPNO / TOTAL		20				22

Tabela 3 Kremacije: broj grobova i pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta (kat. 1809–1828)

Table 3 Cremations: number of graves and deceased children (Cat. nos. 1809- 1828)

ISTRAŽENI GROBOVI DECE I STAROSNA STRUKTURA POKOJNIKA

Tokom zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja od 1978. do 1990. godine, na južnoj viminacijumskoj nekropoli (na lokalitetima Više grobalja i Pećine) otkriveno je 10.769 grobova kremiranih i inhumiranih pokojnika. Od toga, inhumacijama pripada 7.839, a kremacijama 2.930 grobova.

EXCAVATED CHILDREN'S GRAVES AND AGE STRUCTURES OF THE DECEASED

From 1978 to 1990, during rescue archaeological research at the southern Viminacium necropolis (at the sites of Više grobalja and Pećine), a total of 10,769 graves of both cremated and inhumated deceased was unearthed. Among these, there are 7,839 inhumations and 2,930 cremations.

	Broj grobova s inhumacijom / Number of inhumations	Broj grobova s kremacijom / Number of cremations	UKUPNO / TOTAL
0–19 Kat. grupe od I do VI / Cat. groups I to VI	1,617		1,617
Kat. grupa VII / Cat. group VII	23		23
Kat. grupa VIII / Cat. group VIII	157		157
Kat. grupa IX / Cat. group IX	11		11
Kat. grupa X / Cat. group X		18	18
Kat. grupa XI / Cat. group XI		2	2
UKUPNO / TOTAL	1,808	20	1,828

Tabela 4 Ukupan broj grobova s pokojnicima dečjeg uzrasta (inhumacije, kataloške grupe I–IX; kremacije, kataloške grupe X–XI)

Table 4 Total number of deceased children (inhumations, catalogue groups I–IX; cremations, catalogue groups X–XI)

Od ukupnog broja istraženih grobova, 1.828 pripada pokojnicima dečjeg uzrasta, od čega je 1.808 inhumacija i 20 kremacija (tabela 4). Zbog ustaljene prakse inhumiranja dece u rimskom periodu, grobovi kremiranih pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta

Of the total number of excavated graves, 1,828 of them belong to children. Among them, there are 1,808 inhumations and 20 cremations (Table 4). Due to a common practice during Roman times of inhumating children, cremated children's graves are ra-

su retki.¹⁵ Bez obzira na metodološka ograničenja antropoloških analiza ostataka kremiranih pokojnika 80-ih godina prošlog veka, na južnoj nekropoli zabeleženo ih je čak 20. Naime, razvoj metodologije u obradi antropoloških sadržaja iz grobova s kremacijom, na našem području započet je u većem obimu tek istraživanjima na Viminacijumu.¹⁶ Antropološki rezultati za grobove s kremacijom zavisili su od više faktora: stepena očuvanosti i nagorelosti kostiju, količine kostiju koja je s lomače prenetu u grob itd. Pokazalo se da je na južnoj nekropoli očuvanost kremiranih kostiju bila veoma loša, a ako se tome pridoda i činjenica da je vršena njihova selekcija prilikom prilaganja u grobove, krajnji ishod bio je veoma ograničen. Uglavnom se svodio na utvrđivanje pola, a ređe je mogla biti ustanovljena i individualna starost. Tim pre je bilo teže identifikovanje kremacije dece i potom određivanje njihove starosti, za šta je bilo neophodno da se u grobu nađu ostaci gornjih ili donjih vilica sa zubima.¹⁷ To bi bio predmet posebne studije, pa ćemo se na ovom mestu baviti samo inhumiranim pokojnicima dečjeg uzrasta (1.808 grobova) i ustanovljavanjem položaja novca u odnosu na telo pokojnika.

Uzimajući u obzir samo grobove s inhumacijama za koje raspolažemo antropološkim analizama, procenat dečjih grobova u odnosu na grobove odraslih iznosio bi 23,00 (ukupno 7.839 grobova inhumiranih pokojnika, od toga dečjih 1.808; grafikon 1).¹⁸ U traženju istovrsnih podataka sa istovremenih nekropola (1–5. vek) u bližem okruženju, došli smo do sledećih saznanja.¹⁹

15 Pliny, *HN* VII.68; VII.72; Mikić 1987, 37–39; Milovanović 2016, 96–97. Opširnije o pojavi kremirane dece na nekropolama iz rimskog perioda u odeljku Kremacije.

16 Iako se s antropološkim studijama posvećenim grobovima s kremacijom susrećemo još od kraja 20-ih godina 20. veka, na prostorima bivše Jugoslavije se prve publikovane analize pojavljuju tek od sredine 70-ih godina (*cf.* Mikić 1987, 33).

17 Микић 1987, 37–39, T. 2–3.

18 Prema rezultatima koje je 1990. godine publikovao Hošovski, taj procenat sa južne viminacijumske nekropole iznosi 21. Pri tome navodi da je, usled loše očuvanosti osteološkog materijala, samo 63,20% svih istraženih inhumacija moglo biti antropološki obrađeno (*cf.* Хошовски 1991, 273, 275).

19 Na mnogim nekropolama koje su istraživane i publikovane u 20. veku najčešće nisu objavljene antropološke analize. U tim slučajevima jedine podatke čine komentari u katalozima grobova, koji se svode na konstataciju „dečji grob“. Na nekim nekropolama su sahranjivani

re.¹⁵ Regardless of the methodological limits of the anthropological analyses of cremations conducted in the 1980s, in the southern Viminacium cemetery there were twenty of them. Actually, the development of the methodology applied to anthropological content from cremated graves was initiated only with the excavation of Viminacium.¹⁶ Anthropological results from cremated graves depended on several factors: preservation degree and degree of burning, number of bones transferred from the pyre into the grave, etc. It turned out that in the southern Viminacium cemetery, the preservation degree of cremated bones was rather poor. If one adds the fact that selection was performed on bones deposited in graves, it becomes evident that the analyses results were very limited. They were mostly reduced to determination of gender and, in rare cases, it was possible to determine individual age. This made it even more difficult to identify children's cremations and also to determine their age. For this, it was necessary for a grave to contain remains of either the upper or lower jaws with teeth in them.¹⁷ This would represent a separated study but here we shall only deal with inhumated children's graves (1,808 graves) and the analysis of coins and their position in relation to the deceased.

Regarding only inhumations that were subject to anthropological analyses, the percentage of children's graves compared to the graves of adults would be 23% (the total number of inhumated deceased 7,839, of which 1,808 were children's graves) (Graph 1).¹⁸ While looking for related data from cemeteries belonging to the same period (1st to 5th century) and from the neighbouring areas, we found the following data:¹⁹

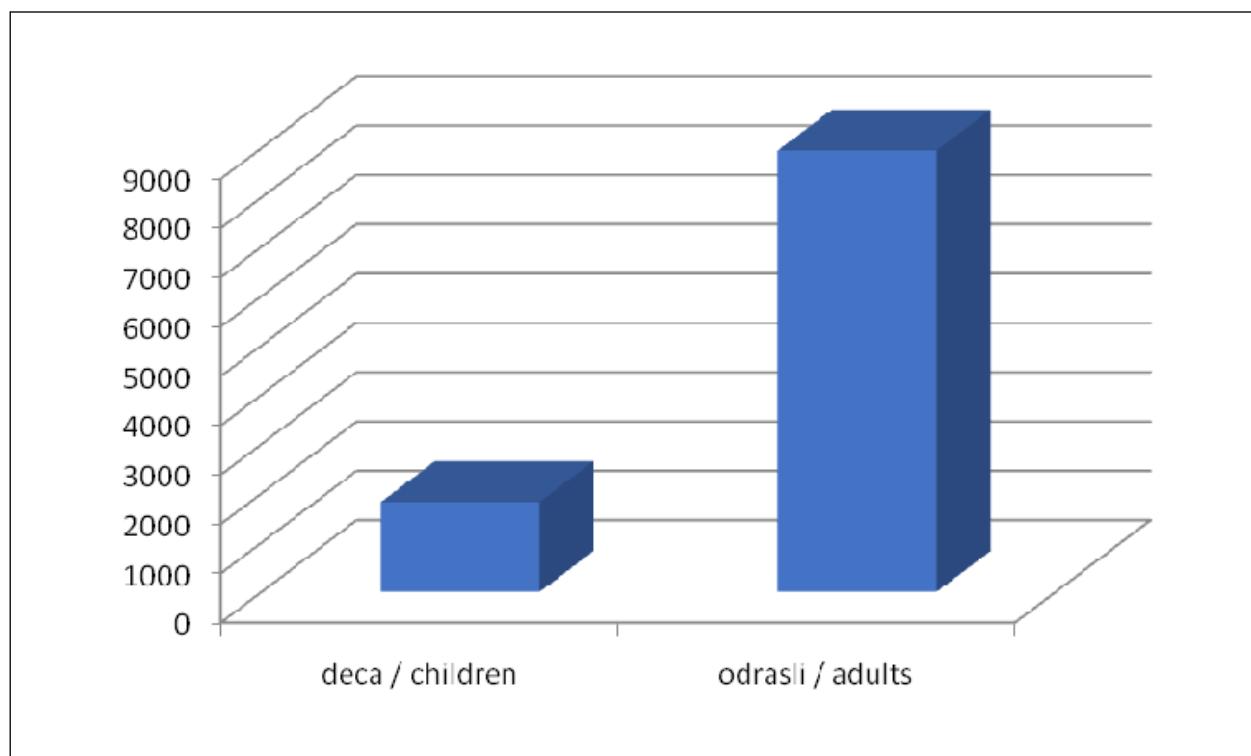
15 Pliny, *HN* VII.68; VII.72; Mikić 1987, 37–39; Milovanović 2016, 96–97. More details on the phenomenon of cremated infants in Roman times can be found in the chapter "Cremations".

16 Although during the 1920s one can find anthropological contributions on cremated graves, the earliest published analyses in the former Yugoslav territory are known only from the middle of the 1970s (Mikić 1987, 33).

17 Mikić 1987, 37–39, Tables 2–3.

18 According to the results published in 1990 by Hošovski, the percentage for the southern Viminacium cemeteries was 21%. In addition, he states that due to the poor state of preservation of bone material, only 63.20% of all of the excavated inhumations could undergo an anthropological examination (Хошовски 1991, 273, 275).

19 Many cemeteries excavated and published during the 20th century do not contain any anthropological analyses. In such cases, only hints could be sought in the comments of



Grafikon 1 Inhumacije: odnos između broja grobova dece i odraslih individua na južnoj viminacijumskoj nekropoli
Graph 1 Inhumations: the number of deceased children compared to the number of adult graves in the southern Viminacium necropolis

Srbija: Ravna–Slog (*Timacum Minus*) 24,79%;²⁰ Lanište (Raška) 23,10%;²¹ Mala Kopašnica 16,66%;²² Davidovac–Gradište 15,20%;²³ Gomolava 21,74%;²⁴ Sremska Mitrovica (*Sirmium*) 23,40% (1–4. vek)²⁵ i 22,60% (4–5. vek);²⁶ Sviloš (Srem) 22,20%.²⁷

Serbia: Ravna–Slog (*Timacum Minus*) 24.79%;²⁰ Lanište (Raška district) 23.10%;²¹ Mala Kopašnica 16.66%;²² Davidovac–Gradište 15.20%;²³ Gomolava 21.74%;²⁴ Sremska Mitrovica (*Sirmium*) 23.40% (1st to 4th century)²⁵ and 22.60% (4th to 5th century);²⁶ Sviloš (Srem) 22.20%.²⁷

samo kremirani pokojnici, sa tek nekoliko grobova s inhumacijom, koji ne mogu predstavljati uzorak za utvrđivanje procenta zastupljenih pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta. Isto je i s nekropolama na kojima je istražen mali broj grobova inhumiranih pokojnika (manje od 20).

grave catalogues that are reduced simply to the description “infant grave”. In some cemeteries, only cremations were discovered with just a few skeletal burials, but they cannot be regarded as samples for determining the percentage of infant deceased. The same applies to cemeteries in which a small number of skeletal graves has been excavated (less than 20).

20 Miladinović-Radmilović, Petković 2020, 243.

20 Miladinović-Radmilović, Petković 2020, 243.

21 Радовић 2012, 53–77.

21 Радовић 2012, 53–77.

22 Stamenković, Ivanišević, Pešić 2016, 17–45. Tokom kampanje 2012. godine registrovano je 40 grobova inhumiranih pokojnika, od kojih su 13,33% pripadala deci i 3,33% juvenilnoj kategoriji. Na ustupljenim nepublikovanim podacima ljubazno zahvaljujemo kolegici Nataši Miladinović-Radmilović.

22 Stamenković, Ivanišević, Pešić 2016, 17–45. During the campaign in 2012, 40 skeletal graves were discovered. Of those, 13.33% belonged to children and 3.33% to the juvenile category. We express our gratitude to our colleague Nataša Miladinović-Radmilović for allowing us to use the unpublished data.

23 Miladinović-Radmilović, Vuković-Bogdanović, Marković 2016, 358–359, 373, T. 2–3, 375, T. 4. Analiza je obuhvatila 47 skeleta, od čega su dečja tri (6,50%) i juvenilna četiri (8,70%). O analizi kremirane dece v. u odeljku Kremacije.

23 Miladinović-Radmilović, Vuković-Bogdanović, Marković 2016, 358–359, 373, Tables 2–3, 375, Table 4. The analysis included 47 skeletons, of which three were children’s (6.50%) and four were juvenile’s (8.70%). About the analysis of cremated infant remains see the chapter “Cremations”.

24 Dautova-Ruševljan, Brukner 1992, 167.

24 Dautova-Ruševljan, Brukner 1992, 167.

25 Miladinović-Radmilović, Vulović, Đukić 2016, 67, T. 1.

25 Miladinović-Radmilović, Vulović, Đukić 2016(1), 67, Table 1

26 Miladinović-Radmilović, Vulović, Đukić 2016, 68, T. 2.

26 Miladinović-Radmilović, Vulović, Đukić 2016(1), 68, Table 2.

27 Zoffmann 2003, 175–191.

27 Zoffmann 2003, 175–191.

Hrvatska: Zmajevac (*Ad Novas*) 31,50%;²⁸ Osijek (*Mursa*) 15,60%;²⁹ Vinkovci (*Cibalae*) 29,30%;³⁰ Štrbinci kod Đakova (*Certissiae*) između 22,75 i 26,60%;³¹ Tekić–Treštanovačka gradina 21,43%.³²

Mađarska: Pečuj (Pécs; *Sopianae*) 43,80%;³³ Dunaujváros (Dunaújváros; *Intercisa*) 30,00%;³⁴ Százhalombatta Dunafüred (Százhalombatta; *Matrica*) 24,24%;³⁵ Tac (Tác; *Gorsium*) 42,50%;³⁶ Budimpešta (*Aquincum*), zapadne nekropole 25,42%;³⁷ Budimpešta (*Aquincum*), istočne nekropole 20,66%;³⁸ Budareš (Budaörsi) 29,00%;³⁹ Višegradi–Dioš (Visegrádi–Diós) 36,00%;⁴⁰ Ester-

Croatia: Zmajevac (*Ad Novas*) 31.50%;²⁸ Osijek (*Mursa*) 15.60%;²⁹ Vinkovci (*Cibalae*) 29.30%;³⁰ Štrbinci near Đakovo (*Certissiae*) between 22.75 and 26.60%;³¹ Tekić–Treštanovačka gradina 21.43%;³²

Hungary: Pécs (*Sopianae*) 43.80%;³³ Dunaújváros (*Intercisa*) 30.00%;³⁴ Százhalombatta Dunafüred (Matrica) 24.24%;³⁵ Tác (*Gorsium*) 42.50%;³⁶ Budapest (*Aquincum*) western cemeteries 25.42%;³⁷ Budapest (*Aquincum*) eastern cemeteries 20.66%;³⁸ Budaörsi 29.00%;³⁹ Visegrádi–Dioš 36.00%;⁴⁰ Esztergom (*Solva*) 26.96%;⁴¹ Tokod

28 Šlaus, Pećina-Šlaus, Brkić 2004, 247, T. 1.

29 Göricke-Lukić 2000, 110–164. Tokom 2009. godine istražena su još 82 groba (20 kremacija i 62 inhumacije), ali se ne navodi starosna struktura sahranjenih (cf. Hršak, Vukmanić 2010, 32–35).

30 Vyroubal, Perić Peručić, Šlaus 2013, 327, T. 1.

31 Prema izveštajima o istraživanju nekropole: 40 grobova – podjednaka zastupljenost dece, žena i muškaraca – oko 33% (cf. Migotti 2004, 208); 44 pokojnika, od toga osmoro dece – 15,90% (cf. Migotti 2009, 153); 36 pokojnika, od toga devet deteta – 25% (cf. Migotti, Leleković 2013, 258); 27 pokojnika, od toga četiri deteta – 14,80% (cf. Migotti, Leleković 2017, 186). To bi zbirno iznosilo 22,75% pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta. U posebnoj raspravi o biološkim pokazateljima subadultnog stresa iz 2013. godine navodi se kao ukupan broj pokojnika 139 i od toga 37 deteta ili 26,60% (cf. Vyroubal, Perić Peručić, Šlaus 2013, 327, T. 1). U drugoj raspravi našli smo i na zbirni podatak o zastupljenosti sahranjene dece za tri nekropole: Osijek (*Mursa*), Vinkovci (*Cibalae*) i Štrbinci (*Certissiae*), koji iznosi 31,50% (cf. Šlaus, Pećina-Šlaus, Brkić 2004, 247, T. 2), da bi nakon toga, u doktorskoj disertaciji M. Novak izneo kompozitni uzorak sa četiri nekropole, uključujući tri poslednje pomenute i Zmajevac (*Ad Novas*): od 328 pokojnika, 92 su deteta ili 28,00% (cf. Novak 2008, 70–71, tabela 3).

32 Bedić, Novak, Šlaus 2013, 306, T. 1.

33 Merczi 2001, 35, T. 2.

34 Cooke 1998, 194.

35 Topál 1981, 13–68.

36 Merczi 2001, 35, T. 2.

37 Rezultati sa zapadnih nekropola publikovani su sukcesivno: 192 pokojnika, od toga 67 deteta – 34,90% (cf. Topál 1993, 77); nekropola V: od 63 pokojnika, 12 je deteta – 19,00%; nekropola III: od 37 pokojnika, 14 je deteta – 37,80%; nekropola I: od 40 grobova, 10 je dečjih – 10,00% (cf. Topál 2003, 5–110). Zajedno, prosečna zastupljenost sahranjene dece iznosi 25,42%.

38 Merczi et al. 2014, 102.

39 Ottományi 2012, 132–133.

40 Merczi 2001, 34, T. 1.

28 Šlaus, Pećina-Šlaus, Brkić 2004, 247, Table 1.

29 Göricke-Lukić 2000, 110–164. During 2009, a further 82 graves were excavated (20 cremations and 62 inhumations), but the age structure is missing (cf. Hršak, Vukmanić 2010, 32–35).

30 Vyroubal, Perić Peručić, Šlaus 2013, 327, Table 1.

31 According to the reports regarding the excavation of the cemetery: 40 graves – an equal division between children, women and men – around 33% (cf. Migotti 2004, 208); 44 deceased, of which 8 were children – 15.90% (cf. Migotti 2009, 153); 36 deceased, of which 9 were children – 25% (cf. Migotti, Leleković 2013, 258); 27 deceased, of which 4 were children – 14.80% (cf. Migotti, Leleković 2017, 186). In total, this would be 22.75% of graves with buried children. In a separated study about biological indicators of subadult stress from 2013, it is stated that the total number of the deceased was 139, of which 37 were children or 26.60% (cf. Vyroubal, Perić Peručić, Šlaus 2013, 327, Table 1). In another study, we found collected data about children's graves from three cemeteries: Osijek (*Mursa*), Vinkovci (*Cibalae*) and Štrbinci (*Certissiae*), having a total of 31.50% (cf. Šlaus, Pećina-Šlaus, Brkić 2004, 247, Table 2). Finally, in the Ph.D. dissertation of M. Novak, he presented a collected sample from four cemeteries (the three previously mentioned ones and Zmajevac (*Ad Novas*)): of 328 deceased, 92 were children, actually 28.00% (cf. Novak 2008, 70–71, Table 3).

32 Bedić, Novak, Šlaus 2013, 306, Table 1.

33 Merczi 2001, 35, Table 2.

34 Cooke 1998, 194.

35 Topál 1981, 13–68.

36 Merczi 2001, 35, Table 2.

37 Results from the western cemeteries were published in sequences: 192 deceased, of which 67 were children – 34.90% (cf. Topál 1993, 77); necropolis V: of 63 deceased, 12 were children – 19.00%; necropolis III: of 37 deceased, 14 were children – 37.80%; necropolis I: of 40 deceased, 10 were children – 10% (cf. Topál 2003, 5–110). The total average is therefore 25.42%.

38 Merczi et al. 2014, 102.

39 Ottományi 2012, 132–133.

40 Merczi 2001, 34, Table 1.

41 Necropolis Bánom Hill; cf. Merczi et al. 2014, 102.

gom (Esztergom; *Solva*) 26,96%;⁴¹ Tokod (Tokod) 30,70%;⁴² Fenékpusta (Fenékpusztá; *Valcum*) 21,52%;⁴³ Šarvár (Sárvár) 28,10%;⁴⁴ Sombathely (Sombathely; *Savaria*) 30,00%.⁴⁵

Slovenija: Ljubljana (*Emona*) 15,85% do 31,10%;⁴⁶ Celje (*Celeia*) 23,00%.⁴⁷

Bugarska: Korivlen 37,00%;⁴⁸ Stara Zagora (*Augusta Traiana*) 31,05%; Ljubeneć (kod Stare Zagore) 32,50%; Jailata (kod Varne) 33,33%.⁴⁹

U svojoj disertaciji, N. Kuk je predočio starosnu strukturu pokojnika na 29 nekropola iz zapadnih provincija Rimskog carstva (teritorije današnje Engleske, Belgije, Francuske, Nemačke). I na tim, nama udaljenijim nekropolama, zastupljenost sahranjene dece u odnosu na odrasle kreće se u rasponu od 20% do 40%.⁵⁰ Na nekropolama u Italiji, taj procenat iznosi između 22,00% i 30,00%.⁵¹ Prema istraživačima antičke demografije, smrtnost dece je bila najveća u prvoj godini života, kada je iznosila 28% po Hopkinsu, 30% po Parkinu, dok Lajs dodaje da 30 do 35% novorođenčadi nije doživelo ni prvi mesec života. Svi autori se slažu da oko 50% dece nije dočekalo deseti rođendan.⁵² Parkin naglašava da je od osoba koje

30.70%;⁴² Fenékpusztá (*Valcum*) 21.52%;⁴³ Sárvár 28.10%;⁴⁴ Sombathely (*Savaria*) 30.00%.⁴⁵

Slovenia: Ljubljana (*Emona*) 15.85% to 31.10%;⁴⁶ Celje (*Celeia*) 23.00%.⁴⁷

Bulgaria: Korivlen 37.00%;⁴⁸ Stara Zagora (*Augusta Traiana*) 31.05%; Ljubeneć (near Stara Zagora) 32.50%; Jailata (near Varna) 33.33%;⁴⁹

The doctoral thesis by Cooke contains data about the demographic structure of numerous cemeteries (29) from the western provinces of the Roman Empire (England, Belgium, France and Germany). Here again, with these distant parallels, the percentage of children's deceased compared to the number of adult deceased stays within the range from 20% to 40%.⁵⁰ When it comes to the cemeteries in Italy, this amount is between 22.00% and 30.00%.⁵¹ According to the research by experts in ancient demography, the mortality of children was at its highest during the first year of life. According to Hopkins, infant mortality was estimated at 28% and Parkin considered it was about 30%. In addition to this, Laes estimates that 30 to 35% newborns did not live longer than a single month. All of them agree that about 50% of all of the children did not live long enough to reach their tenth birthday.⁵² Parkin adds that among the children who lived past their fifth

41 Nekropola Banom Hil (Bánom Hill) (cf. Merczi et al. 2014, 102).

42 Merczi 2001, 35, T. 2.

43 Müller 2010, 13–152.

44 Tóth, Merczi 2010, 167. Podaci o procentima odnose se samo na inhumacije (64 inhumacije, od toga 18 deteta – 28,10%). Na istoj nekropoli registrovane su i 44 kremacije, od kojih je 12 dečjih.

45 Tóth 2015, 73.

46 U studiji Plesničar-Gec registrovan je 101 grob inhumiranih pokojnika, od čega je 16 deteta ili 15,85% (cf. Plesničar-Gec 1972, 11). U drugoj studiji iz iste godine izloženi su dostupni podaci sa starijih istraživanja (120 inhumacija), ali bez antropoloških opredeljenja (cf. Petru 1972). Konačno, tokom novijih istraživanja severnih nekropola (Kozolec), od registrovanih 45 grobova inhumiranih pokojnika, 14 je dečjih ili 31,10% (cf. Miškec, Županek, Karo 2020, 63–138).

47 Bolta 1957, 317–327.

48 Yordanov, Dimitrova, Rousseva 2002, 290, T. 10.

49 Za nekropole Stara Zagora, Ljubeneć, Jailata cf. Русева 2003, 25, фиг. 8.

50 Cooke 1998, 222–223.

51 Belcastro et al. 2004, 161–177; Bonfiglioli, Brasili, Belcastro 2003, 36–56; Cucina et al. 2006, 104–117; Facchini, Rastelli, Brasili 2004, 126–136.

52 Hopkins 1983, 225; Parkin 1992, 92; Laes 2011, 26.

42 Merczi 2001, 35, Table 2.

43 Müller 2010, 13–152.

44 Tóth, Merczi 2010, 167. Percentual data is related to inhumations only (64 inhumations, of which 18 were children – 28.10%). In the same necropolis, 44 cremations were discovered, of which 12 were children.

45 Tóth 2015, 73.

46 In the study by Plesničar-Gec, a total of 101 inhumations was registered, of which 16 were children or 15.85% (cf. Plesničar-Gec 1972, 11). In another study from the same year, data available from previous excavations was published (120 inhumations), but without any anthropological specification (cf. Petru 1972). Finally, during the latest excavations of the northern cemeteries (Kozolec), of 45 registered inhumated graves, 14 belonged to children or 31.10% (cf. Miškec, Županek, Karo 2020, 63–138).

47 Bolta 1957, 317–327.

48 Yordanov, Dimitrova, Rousseva 2002, 290, Table 10.

49 For cemeteries: Stara Zagora, Ljubeneć, Jailata cf. Русева 2003, 25, Фиг. 8.

50 Cooke 1998, 222–223.

51 Belcastro et al. 2004, 161–177; Bonfiglioli, Brasili, Belcastro 2003, 36–56; Cucina et al. 2006, 104–117; Facchini, Rastelli, Brasili 2004, 126–136.

52 Hopkins 1983, 225; Parkin 1992, 92; Laes 2011, 26.

su doživele petu godinu, više od 80% dočekalo dvadesetu, a preko 30% šezdesetu godinu života.⁵³

Velika smrtnost dece pripisuje se nedostacima u ishrani, nepravilnom odgajanju, odsustvu odgovarajuće medicinske nege i lošim higijenskim uslovima.⁵⁴ Novorođenčad su bila posebno ranjiva u prvim danima života, a potom i u periodu prelaska na čvrstu hranu (izrastanja zuba), što je jasno izraženo u antičkim medicinskim spisima.⁵⁵ Utvrđivanje razloga njihove smrti nije nimalo jednostavno, pre svega zbog loše očuvanog osteološkog materijala, koji uglavnom omogućava samo pretpostavke.⁵⁶

Zastupljenost pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta na nama teritorijalno bliskim istovremenim nekropolama (Srbija, Hrvatska, Mađarska, Bugarska) iznosi prosečno oko 27% ukupno sahranjenih, što odgovara i podacima s nekropola u Italiji. Bez obzira na veliki uzorak, na do sada istraženom delu južne nekropole Viminacijuma zabeležen je nešto manji procenat (23). To može da uputi na više pretpostavki. Moguće je da su deca većinom bila sahranjivana na mestima koja još nisu ispitana ili čije je istraživanje u toku. S druge strane, uzorak kojim raspolažemo (7.839 grobova inhumiranih pokojnika) daleko je veći od onih koji su korišćeni za iznete proračune sa istovremenih nekropola, koji uglavnom iznose nekoliko desetina ili najviše nekoliko stotina grobova, te možda upućuje na zaključak da su naši podaci približniji realnim. Međutim, s obzirom na to da nekropole nisu istražene u celosti, ne znamo da li su sva deca sahranjivana samo na zajedničkoj nekropoli ili na nekom posebnom mestu u okviru ili izvan nje. Posebno su u provincijama postojale regionalne razlike u ritualima praktikovanim prilikom sahranjivanja dece, koje proističu iz običaja autohtonog pre-rimskog stanovništva. Od značaja su bili i različiti klimatski i životni uslovi, koji su mogli da utiču na smrtnost populacije.⁵⁷ Stoga procenjene stope

year of life, over 80% of them reached their twenties and over 30% reached their sixties.⁵³

The high infant mortality is explained by lack of nutrition, improper raising, lack of medical care and bad hygiene conditions.⁵⁴ Newborns were especially vulnerable during the early days of life, but later also when switching to solid food (teeth eruption), which is clearly described in ancient medical written sources.⁵⁵ Determining causes of death is not at all easy, most of all because of the poorly preserved osseous material that enables only presumptions to be made.⁵⁶

The average percentage of children's deceased in parallel cemeteries from the areas closer to Viminacium (Serbia, Croatia, Hungary, and Bulgaria) is 27%, which corresponds to the data gained from Italian cemeteries. Regardless of the huge sample size, in the part of the southern Viminacium cemetery, a somewhat lower percentage of children's burials was shown (23%). This can lead to several hypotheses. One would be that children were buried in parts of the southern cemetery not yet excavated or that are currently being excavated, soon to be revealed by the ongoing excavations of these parts. On the other hand, the sample we had at our disposal (7,839 inhumated graves) is, by its size, far beyond any of the samples used for calculations from analogue cemeteries, since they are mostly reduced to several dozens or, in the best cases, to several hundreds of graves. This is why our data might be considered more realistic. However, since not all of the cemeteries have been excavated to their full extent, it is possible that not all of the deceased children were necessarily buried in them. In Roman provinces especially, one should consider regional differences in rituals connected to child burials, emerging from older traditions, actually those of the autochthonous, pre-Roman population. Regional differences in climate and living conditions should also not be discarded, since they might have influenced population mortality.⁵⁷ In short, the es-

53 Parkin 1992; 92.

54 Detaljno o mogućim opasnostima po tek rođeno dete *cf.* Bagley 2016, 53–54, s navedenom literaturom.

55 Scarfo 2012, 15–16.

56 Carroll 2011, 103; Dasen 2015a, 191, ref. 55–56; Carroll 2018, 148, ref. 9–10.

57 O bioarheološkim istraživanjima na kompozitnom uzorku antičke populacije iz kontinentalne Hrvatske u poređenju sa istovrsnim uzorkom iz istočnojadranske oblasti i o uticaju mesta življenja na kvalitet života, *cf.* Novak 2008.

53 Parkin 1992, 92.

54 In detail about possible dangers for a newborn child *cf.* Bagley 2016, 53–54 with bibliography.

55 Scarfo 2012, 15–16.

56 Carroll 2011, 103; Dasen 2015a, 191, ref. 55–56; Carroll 2018, 148, ref. 9–10.

57 About bio-archaeological research on a composite sample of the antique population from the continental part of Croatia compared to a same-type sample from the eastern Adriatic region and the influence of place of liv-

smrtnosti dece, kojima raspoložemo iz različitih delova Carstva, ne pokazuju dosledne i potpuno pouzdane obrasce.⁵⁸

U ovoj studiji je obrađeno 1.828 grobova sa 1.866 pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta, računajući i grobove sa više pokojnika (kataloške grupe VII do XI). U okviru tih grobnih celina konstatovane su i 242 odrasle individue, što ukupno iznosi 2.115 pokojnika (tabela 5).

timated level of children's mortality from different parts of the Roman Empire that stands at our disposal does not show consistent patterns and, therefore, cannot be regarded as fully reliable.⁵⁸

Within our research in this study, we examined 1,828 graves with 1,866 deceased children, also including graves with several deceased (catalogue groups VII to XI). Within these grave complexes there were also 242 deceased adults, so the total number of the deceased rises to 2,115 (Table 5).

Ukupan broj pokojnika / Total number of deceased	Deca: broj pokojnika inhumacije / Children: Number of deceased inhumations	Deca: broj pokojnika kremacije / Children: Number of deceased cremations	Odrasli: broj pokojnika inhumacije / Adults: Number of deceased inhumations	Odrasli: broj pokojnika kremacije / Adults: Number of deceased cremations	UKUPNO / TOTAL
0–19 Kat. grupe I–VI / Cat. groups I–VI	1,617				1,617
Kat. grupa VII / Cat. group VII	48				48
Kat. grupa VIII / Cat. group VIII	157		222		379
Kat. grupa IX / Cat. group IX	22		20		42
Kat. grupa X / Cat. group X		18		6	24
Kat. grupa XI / Cat. group XI	2	2		1	5
UKUPNO / TOTAL	1,846	20	242	7	2,115

Tabela 5 Ukupan broj pokojnika u grobovima dece (deca i odrasli)

Table 5 Total number of deceased within children's graves (both children and adults)

Da bismo došli do konačnog broja preminule dece u starosnim grupama od I do VI (0–19), moramo pridodati pokojnike istog uzrasta iz grobova sa više pokojnika (grupe od VII do XI). U grupi VII, koja obuhvata grobove sa više pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta (23), ustanovljeni su ostaci 48 pokojnika, razvrstanih u starosne skupine prikazane na tabeli 6.

In order to reach the final number of deceased children from the age groups I to VI (0–19), we must also add the deceased of the same age from graves with several deceased (groups VII to XI). Within group VII, representing graves with several deceased children (23 graves), there were 48 deceased, separated into the following age groups (Table 6):

⁵⁸ Carroll 2018, 147–148.

ing on the quality of life *cf.* Novak 2008.

⁵⁸ Carroll 2018, 147–148.

Grobovi s jednim pokojnikom dečjeg uzrasta i odraslim individuama označeni su kao grupa VIII. Registrovano je 157 grobova dece uz koju je sahranjeno 219 odraslih individua (tabela 7). U grupi IX, koja obuhvata više pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta i odrasle osobe, zabeleženo je 11 grobova, sa 22 deteta i 20 odraslih (tabela 8).

Graves with a single child burial and deceased adults were listed within group VIII. A total of 157 graves have been included, with deceased children buried alongside 219 deceased adults (Table 7). Within group IX (several children's burials alongside deceased adults) there were 11 graves with 22 children and 20 adults (Table 8).

Kat. grupa VII: starosne skupine / Cat. group VII: Age groups	Broj pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta u grobovima s priložima / Number of deceased children in graves with grave goods	Broj pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta u grobovima bez priloga / Number of deceased children in graves without grave goods	UKUPNO / TOTAL
0–1 godine / year	5	4	9
2–4 godine / years	9	6	15
5–9 godina / years	7	7	14
10–14 godina / years	3	3	6
15–19 godina / years	2	2	4
UKUPNO / TOTAL	26	22	48

Tabela 6 Broj individua u grobovima sa više pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta (kataloška grupa VII)
Table 6 Number of individuals in graves with several deceased children (catalogue group VII)

Kataloškoj grupi X, s kremacijom, pripada 18 grobova sa osamnaestoro dece i šest odraslih individua (tabela 9), dok su u kataloškoj grupi XI, s kremiranom i inhumiranom decom, zabeležena dva groba sa četvoro dece i jednom odraslom osobom (tabela 10).

With cremated graves (catalogue group X), there were 18 graves with 18 children and 6 adult burials (Table 9), while within catalogue group XI (cremated and inhumated children), there were two graves with four children and a single adult (Table 10).

Posmatranjem svih pomenutih kategorija (I–XI; tabele 6–10) dobijamo ukupno 1.866 pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta (tabela 11). Od toga, grupi neodređene starosti pripada čak 431 pokojnik ili 23% (tabela 12).⁵⁹

Considering the number of deceased within all of the mentioned categories (I to XI; Tables 6–10), we reach a total of 1,866 children's graves (Table 11). Of this number, 431 or 23% of the deceased children belong to the group of undetermined age (Table 12).⁵⁹

Za 1.435 pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta mogla se odrediti starost, što iznosi 77% ukupno evidentiranih (1.866). Taj broj sigurno opredeljenih pokojnika smo koristili za izračunavanje procentualne zastupljenosti pojedinih starosnih skupina. Prema tome, najveći procenat (31) pripada skupini dece umrle između pete i devete godine života, nakon čega slede deca umrla u prvoj godini (26%) i potom ona preminula između navršene prve i četvrtne godine (20%). Primetan je znatan procenat (23) dece neutvrđene starosti, u najvećem broju slučajeva zbog veoma lošeg stanja osteološkog mate-

In 1,435 cases of deceased children, it was possible to determine their age, making 77% of the total number of deceased (1,866). This number of precisely classified deceased was used for calculating the percentage of specific age groups. According to this, it turns out that the highest percentage (31%) belongs to children who passed away between the ages of 5 and 9, followed by infants who passed away during their first year of life (26%) and by children who died between the ages of 1 and 4 (20%). A rather large percentage (23%) belongs to children whose age remained

⁵⁹ Pokojnici dečjeg uzrasta neodređene starosti najviše pripadaju grupi VI, a samo četiri grupama VIII i X.

⁵⁹ Deceased children of undetermined age mostly belong to group VI, while only 4 children belong to groups VIII and X.

MORS IMMATURA
NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
južna nekropola Viminacijuma

Kat. grupa VIII: starosne skupine / Cat. group VIII: Age groups	Broj pokojnika u grobovima s priložima / Number of deceased in graves with grave goods	Broj pokojnika u grobovima bez priloga / Number of deceased in graves without grave goods	UKUPNO / TOTAL
0–1 godine / year	12	5	17
2–4 godine / years	17	14	31
5–9 godina / years	26	38	64
10–14 godina / years	11	17	28
15–19 godina / years	6	8	14
Deca neutvrđene starosti / Children of undetermined age	3	/	3
Odrasli muškarci / Adult males	49	85	134
Odrasle žene / Adult females	31	34	65
Odrasli neutvrđenog pola / Adults of undetermined sex	14	9	23
UKUPNO / TOTAL	169	210	379

Tabela 7 Broj pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta i odraslih (kataloška grupa VIII)

Table 7 Number of deceased children and adults (catalogue group VIII)

Kat. grupa IX: starosne skupine / Cat. group IX: Age groups	Broj pokojnika u grobovima s priložima / Number of deceased in graves with grave goods	Broj pokojnika u grobovima bez priloga / Number of deceased in graves without grave goods	UKUPNO / TOTAL
0–1 godine / year	1	1	2
2–4 godine / years	5	2	7
5–9 godina / years	3	7	10
10–14 godina / years	1	/	1
15–19 godina / years	/	2	2
Odrasli muškarci / Adult males	3	7	10
Odrasle žene / Adult females	5	4	9
Odrasli neutvrđenog pola / Adults of undetermined sex	/	1	1
UKUPNO / TOTAL	18	24	43

Tabela 8 Broj pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta i odraslih (kataloška grupa IX)

Table 8 Number of deceased children and adults (catalogue group IX)

rijala, koji je očuvan u tragovima. Na osnovu tih podataka i opisa grobova u terenskoj dokumentaciji možemo pretpostaviti da su tu skupinu činila deca najmlađeg uzrasta, što bi uticalo na poveća-

undetermined. In most cases, the reason for this is the very poor preservation state of the osseous material (it was only found in traces). According to this data, supported by grave descriptions

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Kat. grupa X: starosne skupine / Cat. group X: Age groups	Broj pokojnika u grobovima s priložima / Number of deceased in graves with grave goods	Broj pokojnika u grobovima bez priloga / Number of deceased in graves without grave goods	UKUPNO / TOTAL
0–1 godine / year	2	/	2
2–4 godine / years	/	/	/
5–9 godina / years	5	/	5
10–14 godina / years	7	1	8
15–19 godina / years	2	/	2
Deca neutvrđene starosti / Children of undetermined age	1	/	1
Odrasli muškarci / Adult males	3	/	3
Odrasle žene / Adult females	2	/	2
Odrasli neutvrđenog pola / Adults of undetermined sex	1	/	1
UKUPNO / TOTAL	23	1	24

Tabela 9 Kremacije: broj pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta i odraslih (kataloška grupa X)

Table 9 Cremations: Number of deceased children and adults (catalogue group X)

Kat. grupa XI: starosne skupine / Cat. group XI: Age groups	Broj pokojnika u grobovima s priložima, kremacije / Number of deceased in cremated graves with grave goods	Broj pokojnika u grobovima s priložima, inhumacije / Number of deceased in inhumated graves with grave goods	UKUPNO / TOTAL
0–1 godine / year	/	2	2
2–4 godine / years	1	/	1
5–9 godina / years	/	/	/
10–14 godina / years	1	/	1
15–19 godina / years	/	/	/
Odrasli muškarac / Adult male	1	/	1
UKUPNO / TOTAL	3	2	5

Tabela 10 Kremacije/inhumacije: broj pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta i odraslih (kataloška grupa XI)

Table 10 Cremations/inhumations: Number of deceased children and adults (catalogue group XI)

nje broja grobova novorođenčadi, a zatim i dece iz druge starosne skupine.⁶⁰ Međutim, takva zapaža-

⁶⁰ Ukoliko bi prvoj i drugoj starosnoj skupini (373 + 288) dodali i decu neutvrđene starosti (431), od ukupnog broja pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta (1.866) to bi iznosilo 58% dece umrle do četvrte godine. Velika smrtnost dece između druge i pete godine života je već opažena na drugim nekropolama. Smatra se da odražava prelaz s dojenja na čvrstu hranu, što je period kada su deca izuzetno osetljiva. Istraživanja pokazuju da su u tom dobu deca bila

from field documentation, we can presume that this group included children of the youngest age, which would reflect in the increased percentage of the newborn deceased, but also quite a lot in the second age group.⁶⁰ However, these observa-

⁶⁰ If to the first and the second age group (373+288) one would add children of undetermined age (431), this would in total make 58% of the number of deceased children (1,866) who passed away before they reached the

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Starosne skupine / Age groups	Kat. grupe / Cat. groups I–V Broj pokojnika / Number of deceased	Kat. grupa / Cat. group VII Broj pokojnika / Number of deceased	Kat. grupa / Cat. group VIII Broj pokojnika / Number of deceased	Kat. grupa / Cat. group IX Broj pokojnika / Number of deceased	Kat. grupa / Cat. group X Broj pokojnika / Number of deceased	Kat. grupa / Cat. group XI Broj pokojnika / Number of deceased	UKUPNO / TOTAL
0–1 godine / year	341	9	17	2	2	2	373
2–4 godine / years	234	15	31	7	/	1	288
5–9 godina / years	352	14	64	10	5	/	445
10–14 godina / years	168	6	28	1	8	1	212
15–19 godina / years	95	4	14	2	2	/	117
UKUPNO / TOTAL	1,190	48	154	22	17	4	1,435
Deca neutvrđene starosti / Children of undetermined age							
Kat. grupa / Cat. group VI	427	/	3		1	/	431
UKUPNO / TOTAL	1,617	48	157	22	18	4	1,866

Tabela 11 Broj pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta prema starosnim skupinama

Table 11 Number of deceased children according to age groups

Starosne skupine / Age groups	UKUPNO / TOTAL	%
0–1 godine / year	373	26.00
2–4 godine / years	288	20.00
5–9 godina / years	445	31.00
10–14 godina / years	212	15.00
15–19 godina / years	117	8.00
UKUPNO / TOTAL	1,435	100
Deca neutvrđene starosti / Children of undetermined age Kat. grupa / Cat. group VI	431	23.00
UKUPNO / TOTAL	1,866	100

Tabela 12 Procenat zastupljenosti pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta

Table 12 Percentage of deceased children

nja ostaju u sferi pretpostavke jer prethodnim antropološkim analizama nisu mogla biti potvrđena. Možda će obrada osteološkog materijala, koja je u toku, sa novih zaštitnih istraživanja na prostoru južne nekropole pokazati drugačije odnose.⁶¹

tions remain in the sphere of hypotheses, since they could not be proven with the anthropological analyses that were available at the time. There is a possibility for modern analyses, which are being applied on the osseous material excavated during modern rescue excavations in the area of the southern Viminacium cemetery, to reveal different relationships.⁶¹

izložena padu imuniteta jer se ishrana sastojala uglavnom od žitarica (70–75%) i nedostajalo je belančevina životinjskog porekla i gvožđa. Zbog nepravilne ishrane, deca nisu razvila neophodnu otpornost na različite bolesti i smrtnost je stoga bila velika (cf. Carroll 2018, 148; Leskovar 2020, 240–241, s navedenom literaturom).

61 Cf. *supra* ref. 11.

age of 4. A high mortality rate of children between the ages of 2 to 5 was already observed in other cemeteries. It is presumed that this age reflects the period of transition from breast-feeding to solid food, this being a period when children are highly sensitive. Studies show that during this period, children displayed lower immunity levels, since their diet consisted mostly of cereals (70–75%), thus lacking proteins of animal origin and iron. Due to the lack of a proper diet, children were unable to develop adequate resistance to different diseases and this is why mortality was at such a high level (cf. Carroll 2018, 148; Leskovar 2020, 240–241, with bibliography).

61 Cf. *supra* ref. 11.

NAČINI SAHRANJIVANJA I GROBNE KONSTRUKCIJE

Na južnoj nekropoli Viminacijuma zabeleženo je 1.808 grobova s inhumiranim i 20 s kremiranim pokojnicima dečjeg uzrasta. Percepcija današnjih istraživača je očigledno pod velikim uticajem često citiranih odlomaka kod Plinija Starijeg i Juvenala. Po Pliniju, nisu kremirana deca kojoj još nisu izrasli zubi, dok Juvenal kaže da su isuviše nedorasla da bi bila spaljena na lomači.⁶² Postoje mišljenja da je Plinijev citat donekle nejasan jer ne navodi da li su u pitanju mlečni ili stalni zubi.⁶³ Međutim, arheološki dokazi pokazuju da treba biti oprezan prilikom interpretacija antičkih izvora, naročito kada su u pitanju provincije,⁶⁴ gde je autohtono stanovništvo sigurno sačuvalo i vlastite obrede vezane za dostignuto doba života, koji ne moraju nužno odgovarati rimskim. To potvrđuje i 20 istraženih grobova dece s kremacijom na južnoj viminacijumskoj nekropoli, od kojih su dvoje u prvoj godini života.

Do sredine 3. veka je praktikovano biritualno sahranjivanje, grobovi nisu imali ustaljenu orijentaciju niti spoljna obeležja, te su zato stariji veoma često oštećeni mlađim ukopima (sl. 1).⁶⁵ Posle sredine 3. veka, kada je inhumacija postala dominantan način sahranjivanja u Viminacijumu, formirane su nekropole na redove, na kojima su grobovi bili uglavnom orijentisani u pravcu zapad–istok (sl. 2).⁶⁶

BURIAL RITES AND GRAVE STRUCTURES

In southern Viminacium cemeteries, a total of 1,808 children's inhumations and twenty infant cremations were unearthed. It is obvious that the perception of modern researchers is greatly influenced by the frequently cited quotes of Pliny the Elder and Juvenal. According to the first one, children whose teeth had not erupted were not cremated, while the second one claimed that they were too young to be burned on a pyre.⁶² Some authors think that Pliny's quotation is somewhat unclear, since he does not say whether he refers to deciduous teeth or permanent ones.⁶³ However, archaeological finds indicate that one should be cautious regarding their interpretation, especially in provinces⁶⁴ where autochthonous populations obviously kept their own rituals connected to age integrations, which do not necessarily correspond to the Roman ones. This is confirmed with the find of 20 children's cremations from the southern Viminacium cemetery, two of which belong to infants who passed away during their first year of life.

Until the middle of the 3rd century, actually until the end of biritual burying, graves did not possess either a permanent orientation or any monuments visible above the ground. This is why it was often the case to damage older graves when digging younger ones (Fig. 1).⁶⁵ From the middle

62 Pliny, *NH* VII.15.72; Juvenal, *Satires* XV. 139–140.

63 Márton 2019, 15, ref. 91. Iako Plinije na početku poglavlja 15 knjige VII navodi da deca dobijaju prednje zube u sedmom mesecu (Pliny, *NH* VII.15.1), kasnije to ne pominje; Carroll 2018, 181.

64 Primeri kremirane dece izloženi su u odeljku Kremacije.

65 Na južnoj nekropoli su sasvim sporadično nalažena spoljna obeležja (cf. Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 44).

66 Зотовић 2000, 13.

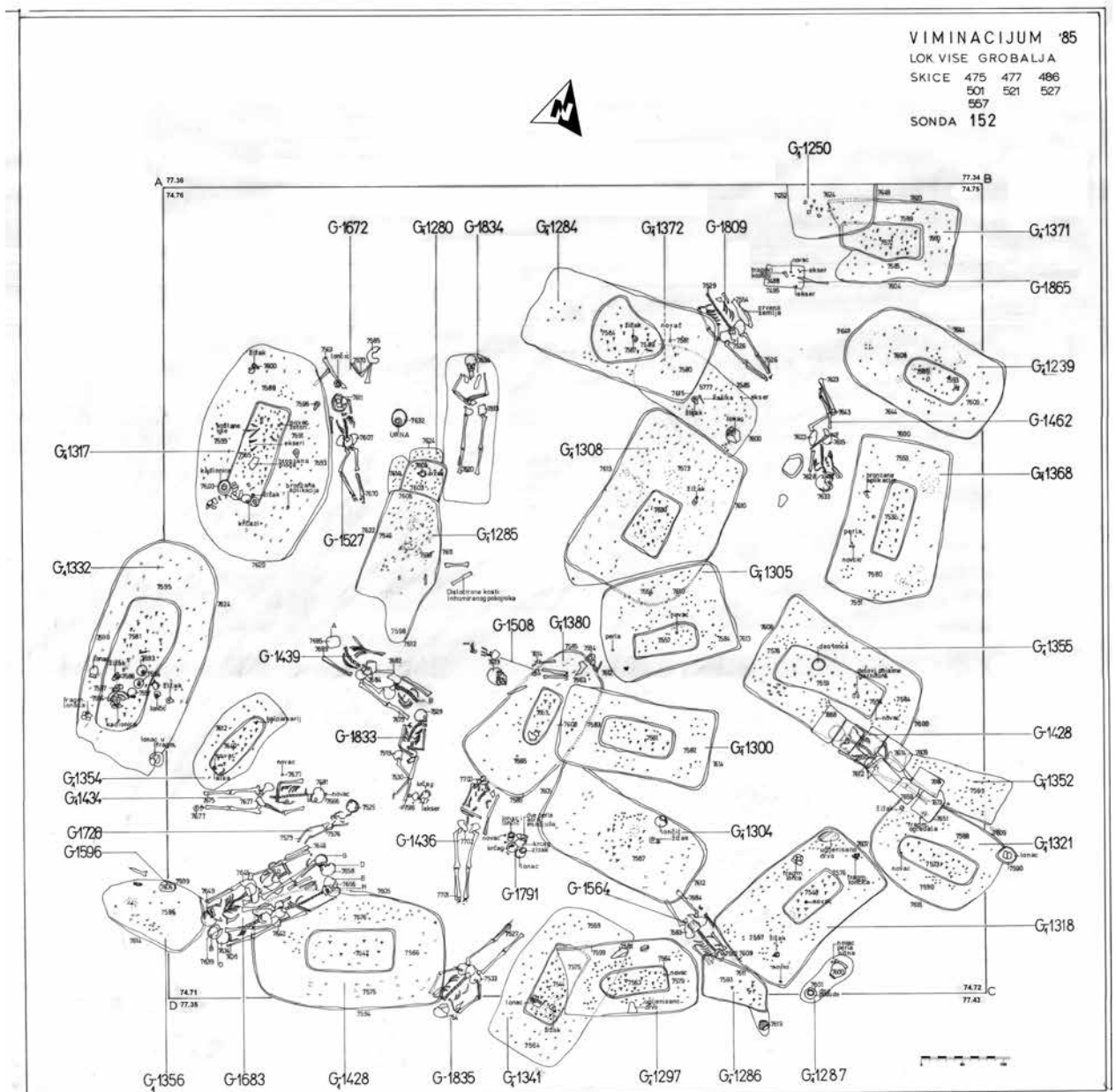
62 Pliny, *NH* VII.15.72, Juvenal, *Satires* XV.139–140.

63 Márton 2019, 15, ref. 91. Although at the beginning of chapter 15, book 7, Pliny wrote that children got their front teeth at the age of seven months (Pliny, *NH* VII.15.1), he does not mention it later on; Carroll 2018, 181.

64 Examples of cremated infants are described in the chapter "Cremations".

65 At the southern Viminacium cemetery, monuments that stood above the ground were found only sporadically. (cf. Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 44).

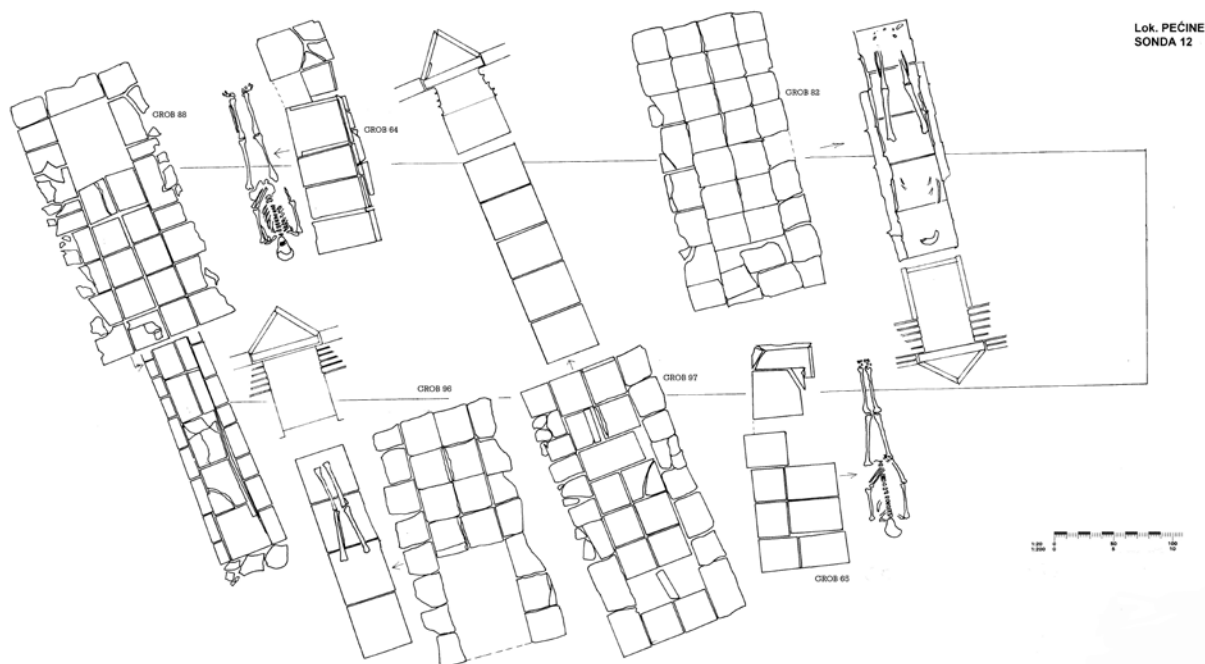
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Sl. 1 Situacija u sondi 152 (dokumentacija Arheološkog instituta u Beogradu)
Fig. 1 Situation in trench 152 (documentation of the Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade)

of the 3rd century, inhumations became the dominant method of burying in Viminacium and burying was performed in rows, with graves mostly orientated west-east (Fig. 2).⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Зотовић 2000, 13.



Sl. 2 Situacija u sondi 12 (dokumentacija Arheološkog instituta u Beogradu)
 Fig. 2 Situation in trench 12 (documentation of the Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade)

Inhumacije

Analiza načina sahranjivanja inhumirane dece svih starosnih skupina, uključujući pojedinačne i grupne sahrane (kat. 1–1808), pokazala je da daleko prednjače slobodno ukopani pokojnici (57,87%). U znatno manjem procentu zastupljene su sahrane u drvenim kovčezima (20,10%) i u konstrukcijama zidanim od opeka (16,87%) (tabela 13).

Slobodno ukopani pokojnici

Najčešće su u pitanju jednostavne pravougaone grobne jame (57,87%), dok su u manjem procentu prisutne i druge varijante tog načina sahranjivanja (tabela 13): jama pokrivena opekama, kamenjem ili opekama i kamenjem. Zabeleženo je osam primera slobodno ukopane dece u bunaru lociranom u zanatskom centru,⁶⁷ kao i 14 slučajeva inhumacije dece u grobovima s kremacijom. Tu se ne radi o mlađem ukopu koji je ošteti grob s kremacijom, već o istovremenoj sahrani kremirane odrasle osobe i deteta koje je inhumirano (kat. 1643, 1678–1690, 1718–1793, 1753, 1801).

Inhumations

After analysing methods of burying inhumated children of all of the age groups, including both individual and group graves (Cat. nos. 1–1808), it turned out that most of them belong to plain burials (57.87%). There is a much smaller percentage of burials in wooden coffins (20.10%) and in brick – built grave structures (16.87%) (Table 13).

Plain burials

In most cases, they were simple rectangular grave pits (57.87%), while in a somewhat smaller percentage, there were variations of this type of burial (Table 13): pits covered with bricks, stones or both bricks and stones. In eight cases, there were children's burials dug within a well situated at the craftsmen's centre,⁶⁷ while in 14 cases there were children's inhumations within cremated graves. In these examples, one was not dealing with a younger burial that has damaged a cremation, but with parallel burials of a cremated adult and an inhumated child (Cat. nos. 1643, 1678–1690, 1718–1793, 1753, 1801).

⁶⁷ Golubović, Mikić 2015, 171, T. 2.

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Inhumacije / Inhumations	Ukupan broj grobova / Total number of graves	%
Slobodno ukopani / Plain burial	1,046	57.87
Slobodno ukopani pokriveni opekama / Plain burial covered with bricks	41	2.26
Slobodno ukopani pokriveni kamenjem / Plain burial covered with stones	10	0.55
Slobodno ukopani pokriveni opekama i kamenjem / Plain burial covered with bricks and stones	2	0.11
Slobodno ukopani u grobovima u obliku bunara / Plain burial in well	4	0.22
Slobodno ukopani (dete) u grobu s kremacijom (odrasla osoba) / Plain burial (child) in cremation grave (adult person)	14	0.78
Slobodno ukopani pokriveni delovima amfore / Plain burial covered with amphora fragments	10	0.55
U amfori / In amphora	4	0.22
U drvenom kovčegu / In wooden coffin	363	20.10
U drvenom kovčegu pokrivenom opekama / In wooden coffin covered with bricks	1	0.05
U drvenom kovčegu pokrivenom kamenjem / In wooden coffin covered with stones	1	0.05
U olovnom kovčegu / In lead coffin	5	0.27
U kamenom sarkofagu / In stone sarcophagus	1	0.05
U grobu zidanom od opeka / In brick-built grave	305	16.87
Dislocirane lobanje / Dislocated skulls	1	0.05
UKUPNO / TOTAL	1,808	100

Tabela 13 Brojčana i procentualna zastupljenost grobnih konstrukcija inhumirane dece (kataloške grupe I–IX)
Table 13 Numbers and percentage of grave structures of children's inhumations (catalogue groups I-IX)

Sahrane u drvenom kovčegu

Tokom istraživanja, približno 20% grobova dece pripisano je sahranama u drvenim kovčezima (tabela 13). Na to nesumnjivo ukazuju tragovi drveta, kao i niz gvozdениh eksera koji su imali utilitarnu funkciju, kao delovi kovčega, ali smatramo da su u manjem broju korišćeni i u pogrebnom ritualu.

Sahrane u grobnim konstrukcijama zidanim od opeka

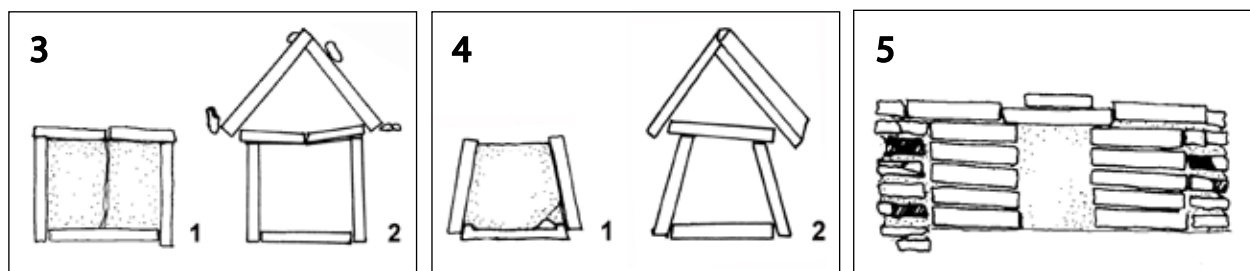
Taj vid je na viminacijumskoj južnoj nekropoli zastupljen s približno 17%. U pitanju su grobne konstrukcije načinjene od nasatično postavljenih opeka, s ravnim ili dvoslivnim krovom (sl. 3.1, 3.2), ili su opeke blago ukošene ka vrhu, čineći konstrukciju trapeza-

Burials in wooden coffins

Almost 20% of all of the children's burials were classified as those in wooden coffins (Table 13). These were the cases when either traces of wood were observed or rows of iron nails, indicating their usage as parts of coffins. In addition, we are of the opinion that in a smaller number of children's graves, iron nails played a role within funerary ritual.

Burials in brick-built graves

In the southern Viminacium cemetery, this kind of burial of children included approximately 17% of the graves. One is here dealing with grave structures made of vertically positioned bricks, with either a flat or gable roof (Fig. 3.1; 3.2); sometimes, bricks are positioned



Sl. 3 Presek groba P/G-127 (1); presek groba P/G-3 (2) (dokumentacija Arheološkog instituta u Beogradu)

Fig. 3 Cross-section of grave P/G-127 (1); cross-section of grave P/G-3 (2) (documentation of the Institute of Archaeology Belgrade)

Sl. 4 Presek groba P/G-138 (1); presek groba P/G-11 (2) (dokumentacija Arheološkog instituta u Beogradu)

Fig. 4 Cross-section of grave P/G-138; Cross-section of grave P/G-11 (documentation of the Institute of Archaeology Belgrade)

Sl. 5 Presek groba P/G-125 (dokumentacija Arheološkog instituta u Beogradu)

Fig. 5 Cross-section of grave P/G-125 (documentation of the Institute of Archaeology Belgrade)

stog preseka, s ravnim ili dvoslivnim krovom (sl. 4.1, 4.2); mogu biti od više redova horizontalno naslaganih opeka vezanih krečnim malterom ili blatom (sl. 5). U Viminacijumu, grobne konstrukcije takvih tipova, bilo da su u pitanju grobovi odraslih ili dece, često su bile opljačkane još u antici. Zbog toga se prilikom arheoloških istraživanja susrećemo s devastiranim grobnim celinama i dislociranim ili nepotpunim skeletima.

slightly diagonally towards the top, thus building a trapezoidal cross-section, with either a flat or gable roof (Fig. 4.1; 4.2); graves constructed out of several horizontally placed bricks bound with lime mortar or mud (Fig. 5). When it comes either to children's or adult burials, structures of this type in Viminacium were often robbed during Antiquity. This is why, during the excavations, one often encounters devastated grave complexes and dislocated and damaged skeletons.

Ređi oblici sahranjivanja

Sahrane dece u amforama ili ispod njihovih delova izuzetno su retke u Viminacijumu.⁶⁸ Konstatovane su četiri sahrane novorođenčadi u amforama, a u 10 slučajeva su deca u uzrastu od novorođenčeta do pete godine bila pokrivena delom amfore. U retke načine spada i sahrana dece u olovnim kovčezima. Nađeno je pet olovnih sanduka, a u jednom od njih je dvoje dece bilo sahranjeno s odraslom osobom (kat. 1807). Zabeležena je samo jedna sahrana deteta u kamenom sarkofagu (kat. 1409).

Na južnoj nekropoli Viminacijuma se nije moglo utvrditi da li je način sahranjivanja bio određen starošću umrle dece.⁶⁹ Iz tabela 14–19, koje donose podatke o grobovima s jednim pokojnikom dečjeg uzrasta (kataloške

Less frequent burial types

In Viminacium, children's burials within amphorae or beneath amphora shards are extremely rare.⁶⁸ In total, there were only four burials of newborns within amphorae, while in ten cases, children at ages between 1 and 5 years were covered with an amphora shard. Rare children's infant burial forms also include those in lead coffins. A total of five lead sarcophagi have been unearthed and in one of them, two children and an adult were deposited (Cat. no. 1807). In one case only, a child burial within a stone sarcophagus has been discovered (Cat. no. 1409).

In the southern Viminacium cemetery it was not possible to determine whether burial type stood in relation to the age of the deceased children.⁶⁹ The following tables, listing data about

68 Sahrane u urnama najređe su zastupljene, uključujući sve istražene grobove (cf. Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 10).

69 Carroll 2011, 106 iznosi takvu pretpostavku na osnovu dva dečja groba s nekropole Vanjari (Vagnari) u Italiji: novorođenče je slobodno ukopano, a ukop je pokriven opekama na dve vode; dete starije od jedne godine je sahranjeno u drvenom kovčegu, koji je takođe pokriven opekama na dve vode.

68 Considering all of the graves excavated so far, burials in urns are the rarest of all (cf. Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 10).

69 Carroll 2011, 106 based on two children's graves discovered in Vagnari (Italy) presumes that a newborn was simply placed in a grave-pit and the pit was covered with bricks forming a gable roof; an infant over one year old was buried in a wooden coffin that was also covered with bricks forming a gable roof.

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0–1 godine / year Kat. grupa / Cat. group I	Ukupno grobova / Total graves	%
Slobodno ukopani / Plain burial	220	64.51
Slobodno ukopani pokriveni opekama / Plain burial covered with bricks	3	0.88
Slobodno ukopani pokriveni delovima amfore / Plain burial covered with amphora fragments	6	1.76
U amfori / In amphora	4	1.17
U drvenom kovčegu / In wooden coffin	80	23.46
U olovnom kovčegu / In lead coffin	1	0.30
U grobu zidanom od opeka / In brick-built grave	26	7.62
Dislocirane lobanje / Dislocated skulls	1	0.30
UKUPNO / TOTAL	341	100

Tabela 14 Brojčana i procentualna zastupljenost načina sahranjivanja inhumiranih pokojnika umrlih u prvoj godini života (kataloška grupa I)

Table 14 Numbers and percentage of grave structures of inhumated infants in the first year of life (catalogue group I)

2–4 godine / years Kat. grupa / Cat. group II	Ukupno grobova / Total graves	%
Slobodno ukopani / Plain burial	115	49.15
Slobodno ukopani pokriveni opekama / Plain burial covered with bricks	7	3.00
Slobodno ukopani pokriveni kamenjem / Plain burial covered with stones	3	1.28
Slobodno ukopani pokriveni delovima amfore / Plain burial covered with amphora fragments	1	0.43
U drvenom kovčegu / In wooden coffin	63	26.92
U drvenom kovčegu pokriveni opekama / In wooden coffin covered with bricks	1	0.43
U drvenom kovčegu pokriveni kamenjem / In wooden coffin covered with stones	1	0.43
U olovnom kovčegu / In lead coffin	2	0.86
U grobu zidanom od opeka / In brick-built grave	41	17.50
UKUPNO / TOTAL	234	100

Tabela 15 Brojčana i procentualna zastupljenost načina sahranjivanja inhumiranih pokojnika umrlih između druge i četvrte godine života (kataloška grupa II)

Table 15 Numbers and percentage of grave structures of inhumated infants between the ages of two and four years (catalogue group II)

grupe I–V),⁷⁰ jasno proizlazi da te povezanosti nema.

graves with a single buried child (catalogue groups I–V),⁷⁰ clearly show that there is no such connection (Tables 14–19).

⁷⁰ Isključeni su grobovi s dvoje ili više sahranjene dece (grupa VII) i grobovi sa više sahranjene dece i odraslih individua (grupa IX) jer se u obe grupe javljaju pokojnici dečjeg uzrasta koji pripadaju različitim starosnim skupinama. Nisu uzeti u obzir ni grobovi dece neutvrđene starosti (grupa VI).

⁷⁰ Neither graves of two or more children (group VII) nor graves of several children alongside adults (group IX) have been included, since in both groups there are children that belong to different age groups. Graves of children of undetermined age have not been considered either.

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5–9 godina / years Kat. gurpa / Cat. group III	Ukupno grobova / Total graves	%
Slobodno ukopani / Plain burial	216	61.36
Slobodno ukopani pokriveni opekama / Plain burial covered with bricks	9	2.55
Slobodno ukopani pokriveni opekama i kamenjem / Plain burial covered with bricks and stones	2	0.57
Slobodno ukopani pokriveni delovima amfore / Plain burial covered with amphora fragments	1	0.28
Slobodno ukopani u grobovima u obliku bunara / Plain burial in well	4	1.14
U drvenom kovčegu / In wooden coffin	68	19.32
U olovnom kovčegu / In lead coffin	1	0.28
U grobu zidanom od opeka / In brick-built grave	51	14.50
UKUPNO / TOTAL	352	100

Tabela 16 Brojčana i procentualna zastupljenost načina sahranjivanja inhumiranih pokojnika umrlih između pete i devete godine života (kataloška grupa III)

Table 16 Numbers and percentage of grave structures of inhumated children between the ages of five and nine years (catalogue group III)

10–14 godina / years Kat. gurpa / Cat. group IV	Ukupno grobova / Total graves	%
Slobodno ukopani / Plain burial	125	74.40
Slobodno ukopani pokriveni opekama / Plain burial covered with bricks	3	1.78
Slobodno ukopani pokriveni opekama i kamenjem / Plain burial covered with bricks and stones	2	1.19
U drvenom kovčegu / In wooden coffin	24	14.30
U grobu zidanom od opeka / In brick-built grave	14	8.33
UKUPNO / TOTAL	168	100

Tabela 17 Brojčana i procentualna zastupljenost načina sahranjivanja inhumiranih pokojnika umrlih između 10. i 14. godine života (kataloška grupa IV)

Table 17 Numbers and percentage of grave structures of inhumated children between the ages of ten and fourteen years (catalogue group IV)

Ako iz prethodnih tabela sažmemo tri osnovna načina sahranjivanja dece na južnoj nekropoli (slobodno ukopane, u drvenim kovčezima i u zidanim grobnicama),⁷¹ možemo zapaziti da se broj slobodno ukopanih pokojnika blago povećava u grupama IV i V, a da je najmanji u grupi II (tabela 19). Bez obzira na to, približno se kreće u rasponu od 50% do 75%, tako da pomenute razlike ne mogu biti merodavne

If we compile three basic burial forms of children from the southern Viminacium cemeteries (simple burials, in wooden coffins and in built grave structures),⁷¹ we can notice that the number of simple burials slightly increases within age groups IV and V, while being at its lowest in group II (Table 19). Regardless of that, it varies within the range of 50% to 75%, and this is why the differences

⁷¹ Izuzimajući varijante tih osnovnih načina sahranjivanja (npr. slobodno ukopani pokriveni opekama itd.).

⁷¹ Variants of these basic burial forms (eg. plain burials covered with bricks) are excluded.

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15–19 godina / years Kat. grupa / Cat. group V	Ukupno grobova / Total graves	%
Slobodno ukopani / Plain burial	66	69.47
Slobodno ukopani pokriveni opekama / Plain burial covered with bricks	4	4.21
U drvenom kovčegu / In wooden coffin	13	13.68
U grobu zidanom od opeka / In brick-built grave	12	12.64
UKUPNO / TOTAL	95	100

Tabela 18 Brojčana i procentualna zastupljenost načina sahranjivanja inhumiranih pokojnika umrlih između 15. i 19. godine života (kataloška grupa V)

Table 18 Numbers and percentage of grave structures of inhumated children between the ages of fifteen and nineteen years (catalogue group V)

za izvođenje značajnijih zaključaka. Kod sahranjivanja u drvenim kovčezima primećuje se stalan pad od starosne skupine II do V. I, konačno, sahranjivanje u zidanim grobnicama pruža najmanje razloga za povezivanje načina sahranjivanja i starosti umrle dece (tabela 19).

Grupa VI (jedno dete neutvrđene starosti) obuhvata 427 grobova/pokojnika. Zbog ranije iznetih razloga, smatramo da veliki broj tih grobova verovatno pripada grupaciji novorođenčadi (kataloška grupa I), a pojedini i kataloškoj grupi II. U nedostatku antropoloških pokazatelja i zbog činjenice da grupa VI, osim novorođenčadi, obuhvata i grobove nešto starije dece, ne možemo koristiti podatke o načinima sahranjiva-

mentioned before cannot be considered indicative for any major conclusions. With burials in wooden coffins, we can observe a permanent decrease within the age groups II to V. Finally, burials with built structures offer the least indications for making conclusions regarding connections between burial forms and age of the deceased children (Table 19).

Group VI (single deceased child of undetermined age) includes 427 graves/deceased. Due to the reasons mentioned above, we consider the greatest part of these graves most likely to belong to the group of newborns (catalogue group I), and a limited number also to catalogue group II. Since anthropological determination is lacking and since besides newborns, group VI also in-

Najzastupljeniji načini sahranjivanja u procentima / Most common burial form by percentage	0–1 Kataloška grupa / Catalogue group I	2–4 Kataloška grupa / Catalogue group II	5–9 Kataloška grupa / Catalogue group III	10–14 Kataloška grupa / Catalogue group IV	15–19 Kataloška grupa / Catalogue group V
Slobodno ukopani / Plain burial	64.51	49.15	61.36	74.40	69.47
U drvenom kovčegu / In wooden coffin	23.46	26.92	19.32	14.30	13.68
U grobu zidanom od opeka / In brick-built grave	7.62	17.50	14.50	8.33	12.64

Tabela 19 Sažet prikaz procenata (tabele 14–18) osnovnih načina sahranjivanja dece na viminacijumskoj južnoj nekropoli, prema starosnim skupinama I–V

Table 19 Compiled percentage of basic children's burial forms in the southern Viminacium cemeteries by age groups (I–V)

nja, osim za opšte procenete zastupljenosti svih sahrana dece na južnoj nekropoli. To potvrđuje i tabela 20, u kojoj se jasno uočava odstupanje od uobičajenih procenata (tabela 19) u pogledu prisutnosti osnovnih oblika sahranjivanja, a naročito u zidanim grobnicama, kojih u grupi VI ima daleko iznad proseka.

Grobovi dva ili tri pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta iz različitih starosnih skupina prisutni su u malom broju (kataloška grupa VII). Registrovana su samo 23, a osnovni oblici sahranjivanja javljaju se u približno istom odnosu (10–6–7 grobova). S druge strane, u okviru grupe VIII (jedan pokojnik dečjeg uzrasta i jedna ili više odraslih individua) utvrđeno je 157 grobova. U toj skupini uočava se razlika između učestalosti osnovnih vidova sahranjivanja (tabela 21) i procenta grobova s jednim pokojnikom (tabele 14–19). Znatno je smanjena prosečna pojava sahrana u drvenim kovčezima, a povećana ona u zidanim grobnicama, što je i očekivano s obzirom na veći broj pokojnika u jednom grobu. Ukopavanje više pokojnika zajedno u obične rake, u grupi VIII je prisutno u istim procentima kao i grobova s jednim pokojnikom. Poslednja izdvojena kataloška grupa IX (više pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta i jedna ili više odraslih individua) obuhvata samo 11 grobova, te je irelevantna za tumačenja načina sahranjivanja.

cludes graves of somewhat older children, we cannot consider the data regarding burial forms, except the general percentage of their presence in the southern Viminacium cemeteries. This is confirmed with data from Table 20 that clearly shows a deviation from the usual percentage (Table 19) of basic burial forms, especially built graves, which are overrepresented within group VI.

Graves with two of three deceased children belonging to different age groups were found in a small number (catalogue group VII). There were only 23 of them, while the frequency of the basic burial forms remains approximately in the same ratio (10:6:7 graves). On the other hand, within the separated group VIII (one deceased child alongside one or more deceased adults), there were 157 graves. Within this group, a difference in ratio regarding basic burial forms can be observed (Table 21), compared to the percentage of graves with a single deceased (Tables 14–19). Burials in wooden coffins were much less frequent, while those within built structures were increased, this seems natural since there were more deceased deposited within a single grave. Several deceased buried together in plain burials are represented in the same percentage as graves with a single deceased. The last catalogue group IX (several deceased children and one or more deceased adults) includes only 11 graves and it is irrelevant for these considerations.

Deca neutvrđene starosti / Children of undetermined age Kat. grupa / Cat. group VI	Ukupno grobova / Total graves	%
Slobodno ukopani / Plain burial	194	45.45
Slobodno ukopani pokriveni opekama / Plain burial covered with bricks	11	2.58
Slobodno ukopani pokriveni kamenjem / Plain burial covered with stones	5	1.17
Slobodno ukopani pokriveni delovima amfore / Plain burial covered with amphora fragments	2	0.47
U drvenom kovčegu / In wooden coffin	91	21.30
U kamenom sarkofagu / In stone sarcophagus	1	0.23
U grobu zidanom od opeka / In brick-built grave	123	28.80
UKUPNO / TOTAL	427	100

Tabela 20 Brojčana i procentualna zastupljenost načina sahranjivanja inhumirane dece neodređene starosti (kataloška grupa VI)

Table 20 Numbers and percentage of grave structures of inhumated children of undetermined age (catalogue group VI)

Posebnu kategoriju čine inhumacije dece u grobovima s kremiranim ostacima odraslih individua, a koje predstavljaju istovremene sahrane (sl. 6). Zabeležene su u okviru kataloških grupa VIII (17) i IX (1), ukupno 18 takvih primera.

Položaji pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta su isti kod svih načina sahranjivanja. Polagani su na leđa, u ispruženom stavu, s rukama pored tela, na karlici, ili s jednom rukom savijenom na grudima. U manjem broju primera bili su položeni na levi (16) ili desni bok (12), što je najčešće zabeleženo među decom umrlom između pete i devete godine života (kataloška grupa III).

A special category includes inhumated children within graves of cremated adults, these representing simultaneous burials (Sl./Fig. 6). They are included within catalogue groups VIII (17) and IX (1), and in total there are 18 examples of this kind.

When it comes to the position of deceased children, they remain the same for all of the burial types. The deceased were laid down on their backs, in a stretched position, arms next to the body, hands on the pelvis or one hand on the chest. Less frequently, the deceased were laid on either the left (16) or right (12) side. Most of these cases were noticed among deceased children who passed away between the ages of five and nine years (catalogue group III).

Grobovi sa više pokojnika; jedno dete i odrasli / Graves with several deceased; one child and adults Kat. grupa / Cat. group VIII	Ukupno grobova / Total graves	%
Slobodno ukopani / Plain burial	93	59.25
Slobodno ukopani pokriveni opekama / Plain burial covered with bricks	4	2.54
Slobodno ukopani – dete u grobu s kremacijom odrasle osobe / Plain burial – child in cremation grave of a deceased adult	13	8.28
U drvenom kovčegu / In wooden coffin	18	11.46
U grobu zidanom od opeka / In brick-built grave	29	18.47
UKUPNO / TOTAL	157	100

Tabela 21 Brojčana i procentualna zastupljenost načina sahranjivanja inhumiranih pokojnika u grobovima s jednim pokojnikom dečjeg uzrasta i jednom ili više odraslih individua (kataloška grupa VIII)

Table 21 Numbers and percentage of grave structures of inhumated deceased with a single deceased child and one or more deceased adults (catalogue group VIII)

Kremacije

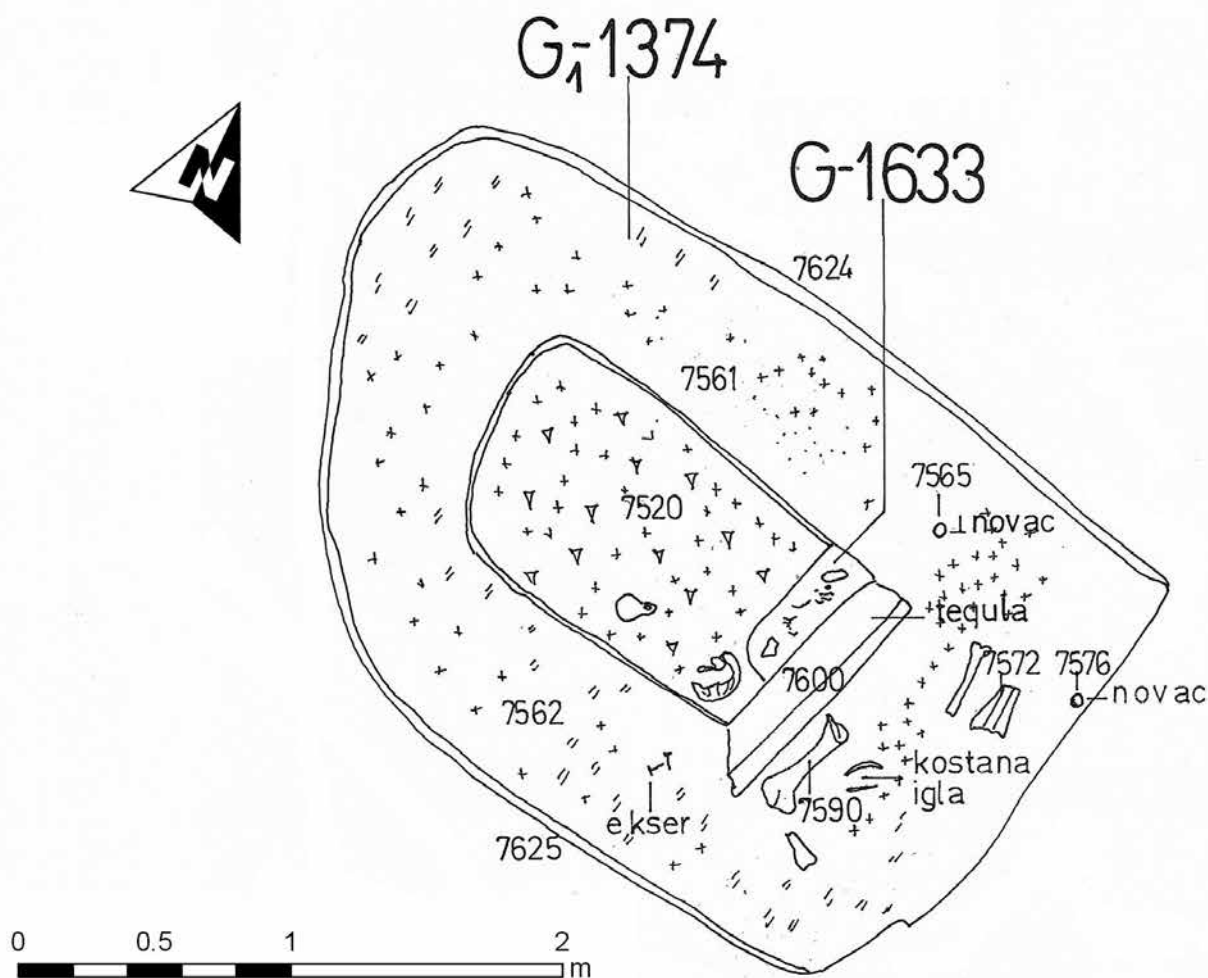
Među 20 grobova s kremiranom decom (kataloške grupe X–XI) zabeleženo je 16 grobova tipa Mala Kopašnica – Sase I i II (u različitim varijetetima), kao i četiri sahrane u urnama (svaka s posebnim načinom). Grobovi tipa Mala Kopašnica – Sase pripadaju autohtonoj formi sahranjivanja,⁷² koja je na južnoj viminacijumskoj nekropoli kod sahrana dece obeležena kao tip I (jednostavna grobna jama) i tip II (etažno podeljena grobna jama). Osnovnom tipu Mala Kopašnica – Sase I pripadaju četiri groba dece (kat. 1815, 1821, 1822, 1827), pri čemu poslednja tri sadrže više pokojnika. Osnovni tip II prisutan je kod većeg broja grobova (8), od kojih je jedan s dvojnou sahra-

⁷² Јовановић 1984, 100–110.

Cremations

Among 20 graves of cremated children (catalogue groups X–XI), there are 16 examples of the grave-type Mala Kopašnica–Sase I and II (with different versions), as well as four burials in urns (each of them with a specific method of burial). Graves of the Mala Kopašnica–Sase type belong to an autochthonous burial form.⁷² In the southern Viminacium cemetery and with children's burials, it was marked with types I (plain burial) and II (grave-pit divided into etages). The basic Mala Kopašnica–Sase I type includes four children's graves (Cat. nos. 1815, 1821, 1822, 1827), with the latter three containing several deceased. A larger number of graves (8) of the basic type II

⁷² Јовановић 1984, 100–110.



Sl. 6 Kremacija odrasle osobe (VG/G1-1374) i inhumacija novorođenčeta (VG/G-1633) (dokumentacija Arheološkog instituta u Beogradu)

Fig. 6 Cremated adult (VG/G1-1374) and an inhumated newborn (VG/G-1633) (documentation of the Institute of Archaeology Belgrade)

nom, a jedan je s tri pokojnika (kat. 1810, 1812, 1816–1818, 1820, 1826, 1828).

Zanimljivo je da se u okviru malog broja takvih grobova (16) pojavljuju čak tri varijante osnovnih tipova: varijanta tipa I, kod koje je grobna jama pokrivena tegulama na dve vode (VG/G-502, kat. 1824), varijanta tipa II, s donjim etažom pokrivenim horizontalno postavljenim tegulama i opekama (VG/G1-138, kat. 1811; VG/G-129, kat. 1814)⁷³ i, konačno, varijanta tipa II, gde je donji etaž prekriven tegulama i imbreksima na dve vode (VG/G1-18, kat. 1809).⁷⁴

was observed, of which one grave had a double burial and one grave had three deceased (Cat. nos. 1810, 1812, 1816-18, 1820, 1826, 1828).

It is interesting that within such a small sample (16) there are three varieties of basic types: a variant of type I with *tegulae* forming a gable roof (VG/G1-502; Cat. no. 1824); a variant of type II with the lower etage covered with horizontally laid *tegulae* and bricks (VG/G1-138, Cat. no. 1811; VG/G1-129, Cat. no. 1814);⁷³ and finally a variant of type II with the lower etage covered with *tegulae* and *imbrices* forming a gable roof (VG/G1-18, Cat. no. 1809).⁷⁴

73 Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, Т. СXXXIII, Т. СXXVI.

74 Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, Т. LXIII.

73 Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, Т.СXXXIII and Т. СXXVI.

74 Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, Т. LXIII.

Još veću retkost predstavljaju četiri groba kremirane dece čiji su ostaci pohranjeni u urnama, od kojih svaki pokazuje različite forme sahranjivanja, pri čemu su u dva zabeležene dvojne sahrane. U jednom od njih (VG/G-66, kat. 1813) je kremirano dete uzrasta od 10 do 14 godina, a kao urna je upotrebljen keramički lonac, položen u jednostavnu jamu levkastog oblika.⁷⁵ U drugom primeru, kremirano je dete neodređene starosti (VG/G-515, kat. 1819), čiji su ostaci, zajedno s priložima, bili pohranjeni u drveni kovčeg. U tom grobu, pored drugih priloga nađena je i keramička igračka, konjić na točkićima.⁷⁶ U sledeća dva slučaja u pitanju su kremacije sa više pokojnika: ostaci dva pokojnika (dete od 10 do 14 godina i odrasli muškarac) smešteni su u zdelu pokrivenu amforom (VG/G-317, kat. 1823),⁷⁷ a starijeg deteta (15–19 godina) u donji deo amfore u koju je umetnut lonac (prekriven tanjirom) sa ostacima mlade žene (VG/G-330, kat. 1825).⁷⁸

Već iz izloženih činjenica o načinima sahranjivanja dece na južnoj viminacijumskoj nekropoli jasno je da su neki od njih dominantni, ali i da u okviru njih postoji veliki broj varijacija. Može se zaključiti da se veza između načina pokopavanja i starosti sahranjene dece ne može uspostaviti.

Even rarer are the four examples of cremated children with their remains deposited in urns, with each of them displaying different burial forms and two of them being double burials. With one of them (VG/G1-66, Cat. no. 1813), a child at an age of between 10–14 years was cremated and a ceramic pot was used as an urn, deposited in a simple funnel-shaped pit.⁷⁵ In the second one, a child of undetermined age was buried (VG/G1-515, Cat. no. 1819), its remains and grave goods being deposited in a wooden coffin. Alongside other grave goods from this grave, there was a ceramic toy of a little horse on wheels.⁷⁶ The following two examples include cremations with multiple deceased: two deceased (a child at the age of 10–14 and an adult male) were deposited in a bowl covered with an amphora (VG/G1-317, Cat. no. 1823);⁷⁷ cremated remains of an older child (from 15 to 19 years of age) were deposited in a lower amphora part and a pot (covered with a plate) with the remains of a cremated younger woman placed in it (VG/G1-330, Cat. no. 1825).⁷⁸

It is clear from the facts connected to burial forms in the southern Viminacium cemetery that there were dominant burial forms, but with a huge number of varieties within them. It can be concluded that there is no clear connection between burial forms and the age of deceased infants.

75 Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, Т. ХСІ.

76 О гробу у целини *cf.* Korać, Golubović 2009, 247; о керамичком конјићу *cf.* Premk 1995, 145–147, fig. 8; Спасић-Ђурић 2002, 136, сл. 114; Спасић-Ђурић 2015а, 170, кат. 70.

77 Korać, Golubović 2009, 58–59.

78 Korać, Golubović 2009, 70.

75 Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, Т. ХСІ.

76 About the entire grave *cf.* Korać, Golubović 2009, 247; about the ceramic horse *cf.* Premk 1995, 145–147, Fig. 8; Спасић-Ђурић 2002, 136, сл. 114; Спасић-Ђурић 2015а, 170, кат. 70.

77 Korać, Golubović 2009, 58–59.

78 Korać, Golubović 2009, 70.

BROJ POKOJNIKA U GROBOVIMA

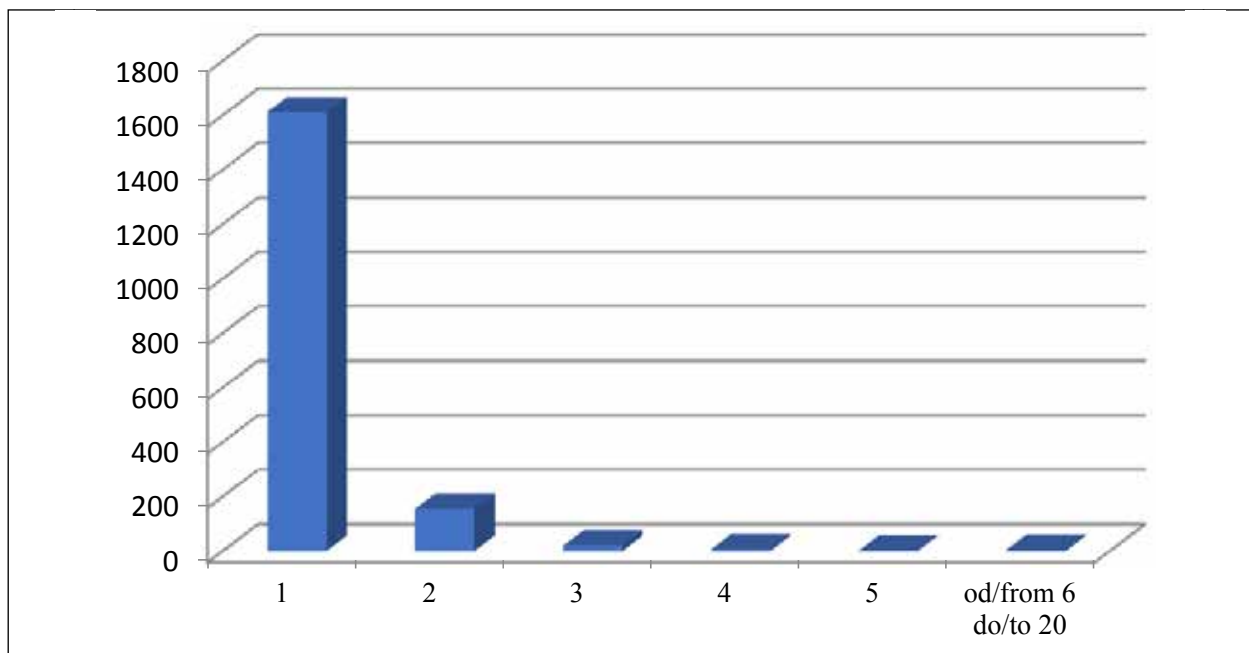
Inhumacije

U 1.808 grobova s inhumiranom decom registrovano je 1.846 pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta i 242 odrasle osobe (tabela 2). Najzastupljeniji su grobovi s jednim pokojnikom (1.617 ili 90%), zatim slede grobovi s dva (155) i tri pokojnika (21), dok su ostali zabeleženi u manjem broju: sa četiri pokojnika (8), sa pet (2) i sa 6, 7, 10, 11 i 20 pokojnika u jednom grobu (grafikon 2).

NUMBER OF DECEASED IN GRAVES

Inhumations

Of the total number of 1,808 inhumated children's graves, there were 1,846 deceased children and 242 deceased adults (Table 2). The most common ones were graves with a single deceased (1,617 or 90%), followed by double (155) or triple burials (21), while the remaining ones were much less frequent: graves with four deceased (8), five deceased (2) and graves with 6, 7, 10, 11 or 20 deceased deposited within them (Graph 2).



Grafikon 2 Broj pokojnika u grobovima s inhumacijom (deca i odrasli)

Graph 2 Number of deceased within inhumations (children and adults)

S obzirom na pomenuta ograničenja antropoloških analiza 80-ih godina prošlog veka, samo je u zanemarljivom broju slučajeva mogla biti određena polna pripadnost sahranjene dece. S druge strane, za odrasle inhumirane osobe sahranjene zajedno s decom (242), u okviru kataloških grupa VIII i IX, uglavnom

Due to limited anthropological research methods during the 1980s, only with very few graves was it possible to determine the gender of the deceased children. This is why it was not possible to include these parameters in our analyses. On the other hand, and in most cases, data about the deceased adults buried alongside children (242) within catalogue

raspoložemo informacijama o njihovom polu: muškarci 59,60%, žene 30,60% i neutvrđenog pola 9,90%. To približno odgovara rezultati-
ma do kojih je došao Hošovski, da je naspram
jedne odrasle žene sahranjene na nekropoli
Viminacijuma bilo 2,05 odraslih muškaraca.⁷⁹
Iako se čini neobičnim, to je učestala pojava na
nekropolama iz rimskog perioda,⁸⁰ mada nije
predmet ove rasprave.

U 21 grobu s dva pokojnika dečjeg uzra-
sta (kataloška grupa VII; tabela 23) najčešće su
zastupljene druga (13 pokojnika) i treća (14 po-
kojnika) starosna skupina. Slede četvrta, sa šest,
prva sa pet i peta skupina sa četiri pokojnika.
Najčešći su grobovi (5) u kojima su zajedno sa-
hranjena deca iz druge i treće starosne skupine
(10 pokojnika), potom grobovi (3) s decom iz
treće i četvrte grupe (šest pokojnika). U oba re-
gistrovana groba s tri pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta,
starosna struktura je ista: dva deteta umrla u
prvoj godini života i jedno između druge i če-
tvrte godine.

Kremacije

U katalogu su grobovi s kremacijama pode-
ljeni u dve grupe. Grupa X (18 grobova) obuhvata
grobove s jednim kremiranim pokojnikom dečjeg
uzrasta, s tim što su u šest evidentirani i kremirani
ostaci odraslih osoba. U kataloškoj grupi XI su dva
groba sa po jednim kremiranim i inhumiranim
detetom, pri čemu je u jednom od njih sahranje-
na i odrasla kremirana osoba (tabela 3). Starosna
struktura kremirane dece iz obe kataloške grupe
prikazana je u tabeli 22.

Od 20 grobova kremiranih pokojnika (kat.
1809–1828), u najvećem broju slučajeva (45%)
radi se o deci umrloj između desete i četrnaeste
godine života; sledi skupina dece preminule izme-
đu pete i devete godine (25%), dok su ostale staro-
sne grupe zastupljene u manjim procentima. Tre-
ba skrenuti pažnju na tri slučaja kremiranja dece
mlađeg uzrasta: u prvoj godini života (VG/G-176,
kat. 1820; VG/G-189, kat. 1821) i oko druge godi-
ne (VG/G-249, kat. 1827).⁸¹

79 Hošovski 1991, 275.

80 Pearce 2011, 246; Županek 2018, 268, ref. 78.

81 U tim slučajevima kosti dece nisu bile u pravom smislu
kremirane, već „nagorele“, pa je antropološka analiza

groups VIII and IX stand at our disposal: they were
59.60% men, 30.60% women and 9.90% adults of un-
determined gender. This basically corresponds to the
results gained by Hošovski, indicating the ratio of the
Viminacium population – one adult woman vs. 2.05
adult men.⁷⁹ Although it seems unusual, this is a com-
mon picture in cemeteries from the Roman period,⁸⁰
although it does not form part of this study.

In 21 double children's graves (catalogue group
VII) (Table 23), the most frequent ones are the second
(13 deceased children) and third (14 deceased chil-
dren) age groups. They are followed by the fourth age
group with six deceased children, the first age group
with five deceased infants and the fifth age group with
four deceased children. The most numerous graves
(5) are those with children of the second and the third
age group buried together (10 deceased children), fol-
lowed by three graves with children of the third and the
fourth age group (6 deceased children). In both triple
children's graves, there was the same age structure: two
infants who passed away during their first year of life
and a single infant at an age of between 2 and 4 years.

Cremations

Within our catalogue, cremated graves were
divided into two groups: catalogue group X (18
graves) with a single cremated child, six of them
also including remains of cremated adults, and
catalogue group XI (2 graves) with a cremated and
an inhumated child. In one of these two graves,
there were also remains of a cremated adult (Ta-
ble 3). The age structure of the cremated children
from both catalogue groups is shown in Table 22:

Of twenty graves with cremations (Cat.
nos. 1809–1828), in most cases (45%) they be-
long to children who passed away at the age of
between 10 and 14 years, followed by a group
of children who passed away at the age of be-
tween 5 and 9 years (25%). Other age groups
are represented in a much smaller percentage.
One should highlight three cremated infants of
younger age: in the first year of life VG/G1-176,
Cat. no. 1820; in the first year of life VG/G1-
189, Cat. no. 1821; around two years of age VG/
G1-249, Cat. no. 1827.⁸¹

79 Hošovski 1991, 275.

80 Pearce 2011, 246; Županek 2018, 268, ref. 78.

81 In these cases, infant bones were not literally cremated,

Kat. grupe / Cat. groups X–XI	Broj kremirane dece / Number of cremated children	%	Broj inhumirane dece (grupa XI) / Number of children's inhumation (group XI)
0–1 godine / year	2	10	2
2–4 godine / years	1	5	
5–9 godina / years	5	25	
10–14 godina / years	9	45	
15–19 godina / years	2	10	
Deca neutvrđene starosti / Children of undetermined age	1	5	
UKUPNO / TOTAL	20	100	2

Tabela 22 Starosna struktura kremiranih pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta
Table 22 Age structure of cremated children

Kremiranje novorođenčadi je zabeleženo u Pompejima, mada je češće na nekropolama u provincijama: Avenhes (Avenches), Martinji (Martigny), Biberist (Biberist) u Švajcarskoj, Aržaton sir Krez (Argenton-sur-Creuse), Marselj (Marseille), Frežis (Fréjus), Šantambr (Chantambre) u Francuskoj, Štetfeld (Stettfeld), Vorms (Worms) u Nemačkoj, Barnbi Lejn (Burnby Lane), Šiptontorp (Shiptonthorpe) u Engleskoj.⁸² Nama teritorijalno bliže analogije predstavljaju primeri kremirane dece sa sledećih nekropola: Davidovac–Gradište: tri kremirana deteta (grob 8b: *Infans* I ili *Infans* II; grob 17b: *Infans* neutvrđene starosti; grob 36b: *Infans* II),⁸³ Šepkovčica (Turopolje): jedno kremirano dete (grob 18: *Infans*),⁸⁴ Sombathelj (Szombathely; *Savaria*): šestoro kremirane dece (grob 9: od tri do pet godina; grobovi 6 i 31: više od pet godina; grobovi 16 i 26: *Infans*; grob 30: od 10 do 15 godina),⁸⁵ Šavar: desetoro kremirane dece (grob 212: jedna do dve godine; grob 100: od dve

Similar examples of cremating newborns were noticed in Pompeii, although they are more frequent in cemeteries in provinces: Avenches, Martigny, and Biberist in Switzerland; Argenton-sur-Creuse, Marseille, Fréjus, and Chantambre in France; Stettfeld and Worms in Germany; Burnby Lane and Shiptonthorpe in England.⁸² Parallels of cremated infants closer to our region include the following cemeteries: Davidovac–Gradište – three cremated children (Grave 8b: *Infans* or *Infans* II; Grave 17b: *Infans* of undetermined age; Grave 36b: *Infans* II),⁸³ Šepkovčica (Turopolje) – one cremated infant (Grave 18: *Infans*);⁸⁴ Szombathely (*Savaria*) – six cremated children (Grave 9: from 3–5 years of age; Graves 6 and 31: over 5 years of age; Graves 16 and 26: child; Grave 30 from 10 to 15 years of age);⁸⁵ Sárvár – ten cremated children (Grave 212: 1 to 2 years of age; Grave 100: from

bila moguća. Na nekropoli Vorms (Worms, Nemačka), u grobu 82 sahranjene su tri kremirane osobe: novorođenče, četvorogodišnje dete i odrasla osoba. Na tom primeru uočen je različit postupak kremacije jer je, za razliku od druge dve osobe, novorođenče kremirano na niskoj temperaturi (izgleda samo na 300 °C), možda na posebnoj lomači; cf. Carroll 2018, 182, ref. 10–11. Možda su i na viminacijumskim nekropolama primenjivani slični postupci kremacije dece na nižim temperaturama.

but rather burned, and this is why it was possible to perform anthropological analyses. At the cemetery in Worms (Germany), in grave 82, three cremated individuals were deposited: a newborn, a four-year-old and an adult. In this example it was possible to observe the difference in cremation process, since, contrary to the second and the third individual, the newborn was cremated at a lower temperature (seemingly only 300°C), possibly even on a separate pyre; cf. Carroll 2018, 182, ref. 10–11. It is possible that also in Viminacium cemeteries, similar processes of cremating infants with lower temperatures were applied.

82 Dasen 2003b, 286; Carroll 2011, 105–106, ref. 32; Millett, Gowland 2015, 178, ref. 33–34; Márton 2019, 15, ref. 91; Carroll 2018, 181–182, ref. 7–12.

82 Dasen 2003b, 286; Carroll 2011, 105–106, ref. 32; Millett, Gowland 2015, 178, ref. 33–34; Márton 2019, 15, ref. 91; Carroll 2018, 181–182, ref. 7–12.

83 Miladinović-Radmilović, Vuković-Bogdanović, Marković 2016, 354, 357, T. 1.

83 Miladinović-Radmilović, Vuković-Bogdanović, Marković 2016, 354, 357, Table 1.

84 Hincak, Mihelić, Bugar 2007, 1128, Table 1.

84 Hincak, Mihelić, Bugar 2007, 1128, Table 1.

85 Tóth 2015, 69–74.

85 Tóth 2015, 69–74.

do pet godina; grobovi 145 i 174: od četiri do pet godina; grobovi 82, 99 i 126: od šest do osam godina; grob 115: od osam do 15 godina),⁸⁶ Ljubljana (*Emona*): jedanaestoro kremirane dece (za pet je bilo moguće odrediti starost između 2,5 i 6,5 godina),⁸⁷ Jambolsko: petoro kremirane dece (grob 31: u prvoj godini; grob 22: jedna do dve godine; grob 30: četiri do sedam godina; grob 18: više od pet godina; grob 29: *Infans*).⁸⁸

Očigledno je da se doba izrastanja mlečnih zuba (sedam meseci), kao starosna granica za promenu rituala, odnosno za prelaz s inhumacije na kremaciju, a što potiče iz Plinijevog navoda,⁸⁹ ne može striktno prihvatiti čak ni u Italiji (primeri iz Pompeja), a svakako ne u provincijama.

Zastupljenost sahranjene dece i odraslih osoba (inhumacije i kremacije)

Brojčani odnos pokojnika (*deca* ili *deca* – odrasli) izložena je u tabeli 23, iz koje se jasno sagledava da se, nakon grobova s jednim sahranjenim detetom, najviše javljaju grobovi s jednim detetom i jednom odraslom individuum (katalogske grupe VIII i X). Slede, daleko manje, sledeće kombinacije: dva deteta, kao i jedno dete i dve odrasle osobe, dok su ostale zastupljene u malom broju.

2 to 5 years of age; Graves 145 and 174: from 4 to 5 years of age; Graves 82, 99 and 126: from 6 to 8 years of age; Grave 115: from 8 to 15 years of age);⁸⁶ Ljubljana (*Emona*) – eleven cremated children (with five of them it was possible to determine their age between 2.5 and 6.5 years);⁸⁷ Jambolsko – five cremated children (Grave 31: in the first year of life; Grave 22: 1 to 2 years of age; Grave 30: 4 to 7 years of age; Grave 18: older than 5 years of age; Grave 29: child).⁸⁸

Obviously, the age limit related to deciduous teeth eruption (seven months) used as a criterion for ritual change and originating from Pliny's quote,⁸⁹ cannot be applied strictly, even in Italy (the Pompeii example), and certainly not in the Roman provinces.

Relationships between the deceased children and adults (inhumations and cremations)

The number and relationship (children or children – adults) is shown in Table 23. It clearly indicates that after graves with a single deceased child, the second highest number is taken by graves with a deceased child and a deceased adult (catalogue groups VIII, X). In a much smaller number, there are the following combinations: two deceased children, a single child and two adults, while other combinations are rather underrepresented.

86 Tóth, Merczi 2010, 167–168, Table 1.

87 Leskovar 2020, 240.

88 Чолаков et al. 2016, 117–119.

89 Cf. *supra* ref. 62–63.

86 Tóth, Merczi 2010, 167–168, Table 1.

87 Leskovar 2020, 240.

88 Чолаков et al. 2016, 117–119.

89 Cf. *supra* ref. 62–63.

MORS IMMATURA
NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
južna nekropola Viminacijuma

Kat. grupe / Cat. groups I–XI	Broj grobova / Number of graves	Broj pokojnika / Number of deceased
Broj grobova s jednim sahranjenim detetom 0–19 godina i neodređene starosti / Number of graves with one deceased child 0-19 years and undetermined age Kat. grupe / Cat. groups I–VI	1,617	1,617
Broj grobova s dva sahranjena deteta / Number of graves with two deceased children Kat. grupa / Cat. group VII	21	42
Broj grobova s tri sahranjena deteta / Number of graves with three deceased children Kat. grupa / Cat. group VII	2	6
Jedno dete i jedna odrasla osoba / One child and one adult Kat. grupa / Cat. group VIII	134	268
Jedno dete i dve odrasle osobe / One child and two adults Kat. grupa / Cat. group VIII	14	42
Jedno dete i tri odrasle osobe / One child and three adults Kat. grupa / Cat. group VIII	3	12
Jedno dete i četiri odrasle osobe / One child and four adults Kat. grupa / Cat. group VIII	2	10
Jedno dete i pet odraslih osoba / One child and 5 adults Kat. grupa / Cat. group VIII	1	6
Jedno dete i devet odraslih osoba / One child and 9 adults Kat. grupa / Cat. group VIII	1	10
Jedno dete i 10 odraslih osoba / One child and 10 adults Kat. grupa / Cat. group VIII	1	11
Jedno dete i 19 odraslih osoba / One child and 19 adults Kat. grupa / Cat. group VIII	1	20
Dva deteta i jedna odrasla osoba / Two children and one adult Kat. grupa / Cat. group IX	5	15
Dva deteta i dve odrasle osobe / Two children and two adults Kat. grupa / Cat. group IX	5	20
Dva deteta i pet odraslih osoba / Two children and 5 adults Kat. grupa / Cat. group IX	1	7
Jedno dete (kremacije) / One child (cremation) Kat. grupa / Cat. group X	12	12
Jedno dete i jedna odrasla osoba (kremacije) / One child and one adult (cremation) Kat. grupa / Cat. group X	6	12

MORS IMMATURA
COINAGE AND APOTROPAIC-PROPHYLACTIC ELEMENTS IN FUNERARY RITUALS –
southern Viminacium cemetery

Kat. grupe / Cat. groups I–XI	Broj grobova / Number of graves	Broj pokojnika / Number of deceased
Dva deteta / Two children Kat. grupa / Cat. group XI	1	2
Dva deteta i jedna odrasla osoba / Two children and one adult Kat. grupa / Cat. group XI	1	3
UKUPNO / TOTAL	1,828	2,115

Tabela 23 Odnos u pogledu zastupljenosti pokojnika (dete – deca ili dete/deca – odrasli)

Table 23 Relationship of the deceased (child – children or child/children – adults)

PRILOZI U GROBOVIMA DECE

Prilozi iz grobova dece, u našem istraživanju predstavljaju najvažniji izvor podataka za izvođenje zaključaka o njihovoj ulozi u pogrebnim ritualima. U prvom redu, posvetili smo se analizi profilaktičkih i apotropejskih priloga, a naročito ulogu koju je imao novac u tom kontekstu.

GRAVE GOODS IN CHILDREN'S GRAVES

In our study, grave goods from children's graves represent the most important data source for making conclusions about their role in funerary rituals. We mostly dedicated ourselves to analysing prophylactic and apotropaic grave goods and especially to the role of coins in these contexts.

	Broj grobova / Number of graves	%
Grobovi s priložima / Graves with grave goods	1,043	57
Grobovi bez priloga / Graves without grave goods	785	43
UKUPNO / TOTAL	1,828	100

Tabela 24 Brojčana i procentualna zastupljenost grobova dece s priložima i bez njih
Table 24 Numbers and percentage of children's graves with and without grave goods

Od ukupnog broja grobova dece, uključujući inhumacije i kremacije, približno 57% sadrži priloge (tabela 24). Njihovo prisustvo daleko je veće u prve dve starosne skupine, kod najmlađe dece (0–4), gde je broj grobova s priložima gotovo dva puta veći od onih bez njih (tabela 25). U sledeće dve starosne skupine (5–14), taj odnos je mahom izjednačen, s tim što i dalje za nijansu preovladavaju grobovi s priložima, da bi konačno, u grupi starije dece (15–19) broj grobova bez priloga bio znatno veći. Iz toga se jasno može zaključiti da su preminuloj deci najmlađeg uzrasta roditelji i porodice pridavali veliki značaj, što je u suprotnosti s podacima iz antičkih izvora.⁹⁰ Kod inhumacija sa više pokojnika (kataloške grupe VII–IX), odnos grobova s priložima i bez njih je približno 50 : 50, osim kod grupe IX, gde je nešto više grobova bez priloga. Grobovi kremiranih pokojnika ističu se većim brojem priloga (tabela 25) nego što je to slučaj kod inhumacija. Tome sasvim sigurno

Of the total number of children's graves, including both inhumations and cremations, approximately 57% contained grave goods (Table 24). The presence of grave goods is much more frequent within the first two age groups belonging to the youngest children (0–4 years of age). Here, the number of graves with grave goods was almost twice as big as the number of those without them (Table 25). With the following two age groups (5–14 years of age), the percentage is rather balanced, although the number of graves with grave goods is still slightly bigger. Finally, within the group of older children (15–19 years of age) the number of graves without grave goods becomes much higher. This leads to a clear conclusion that very young infants were given great importance by their parents and families, although it stands in contradiction to data from ancient sources.⁹⁰ With inhumations with several deceased (catalogue groups VII–IX), the percentage of graves with grave goods and without them stays more or less balanced 50:50%, except group IX, in which graves without grave goods prevail. Compared to inhumations, cremated graves contained a higher num-

⁹⁰ Carroll 2011, 99; Scarfo 2021, 17–18, s navedenom literaturom.

⁹⁰ Carroll 2011, 99; Scarfo 2021, 17–18, with bibliography.

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doprinosi i činjenica da je većina grobova u zidanim konstrukcijama bila opljačkana još u antici, tako da prilozi u njima nedostaju.

ber of grave goods in 95% of cases. This relationship is surely influenced by the fact that the majority of graves with structures was robbed during Antiquity and the grave goods were, subsequently, missing.

	Broj grobova dece s priložima / Number of children's graves with grave goods	%	Broj grobova dece bez priloga / Number of children's graves without grave goods	%	Ukupno broj grobova / Total number of graves
0–1 godine / year Kat. grupa / Cat. group I	221	65	120	35	341
2–4 godine / years Kat. grupa / Cat. group II	154	66	80	34	234
5–9 godina / years Kat. grupa / Cat. group III	183	52	169	48	352
10–14 godina / years Kat. grupa / Cat. group IV	89	53	79	47	168
15–19 godina / years Kat. grupa / Cat. group V	36	38	59	62	95
Deca neutvrđene starosti / Children of undetermined age Kat. grupa / Cat. group VI	249	58	178	42	427
Više pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta / Several deceased children Kat. grupa / Cat. group VII	12	50	11	50	23
Jedno dete – jedna ili više odraslih osoba / One child – one or more adults Kat. grupa / Cat. group VIII	75	48	82	52	157
Više pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta – jedna ili više odraslih osoba / Several deceased children - one or more adults Kat. grupa / Cat. group IX	5	40	6	60	11
Kremirani pokojnici dečjeg uzrasta / Cremated deceased children Kat. grupa / Cat. group X	17	95	1	5	18
Kremirani i inhumirani pokojnici dečjeg uzrasta / Cremation and inhumation of deceased children Kat. grupa / Cat. group XI	2	100	/	/	2
UKUPNO / TOTAL	1,043	57	785	43	1,828

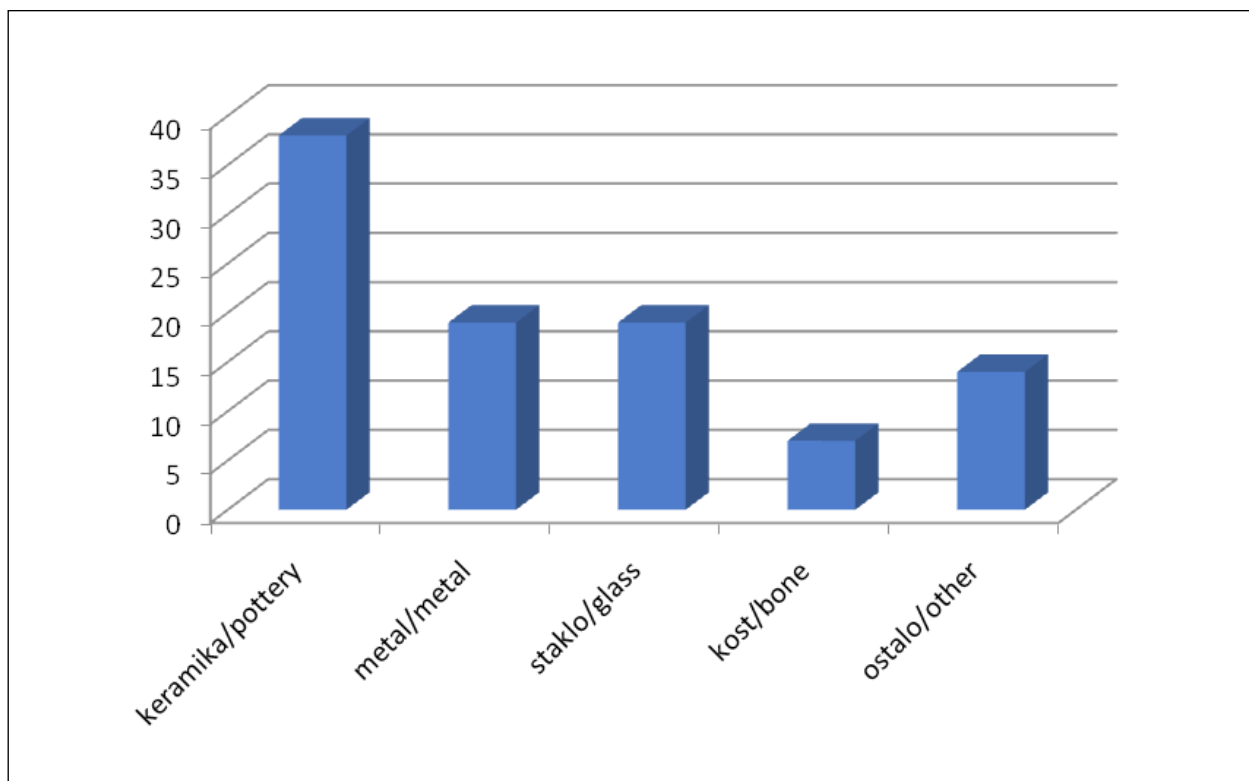
Tabela 25 Brojčana i procentualna zastupljenost grobova dece s priložima i bez njih, u okviru svake od kataloških grupa (I–XI)
Table 25 Numbers and percentage of children's graves with and without grave goods within each catalogue group (I–XI)

Pregled priloga koji nisu apotropejski ili profilaktički

S obzirom na to da je naša studija usmerna prvenstveno na predmete profilaktičkog i apotropejskog karaktera, na prisustvo drugih priloga u grobovima dece osvrnućemo se u kratkim crtama (grafikon 3).⁹¹ Među njima su najzastupljenije keramičke posude, u nekoliko formi: lonci (29%), krčazi (25%), pehari (11%), zdele (11%) i tanjiri (3,5%). Od ostalih keramičkih predmeta, u velikoj meri javljaju se žišci (20%), dok su igračke i zvečke zabeležene u zanemarljivom broju. Žišci, koji su imali ulogu da u zagrobnom životu osvetle put umrlom, najčešći su u prvoj i drugoj starosnoj skupini, a znatno su ređi u grobovima starije dece (grupe IV i V). Osim krčaga, keramički prilozici su u grobovima zastupljeni sa po jednim primerkom. Krčazi se najčešće pojavljuju (58%) u setu od tri primerka, a po jedan ili dva u približno istom procentu (23% i 18%), dok se četiri ili pet krčaga u jednom grobu javljaju izuzetno retko.⁹²

An overview of grave goods that are neither apotropaic nor prophylactic

Since the main focus of our study are grave goods of a prophylactic and apotropaic character, the remaining grave goods from children's graves shall be mentioned only briefly (Graph 3).⁹¹ Among these grave goods, the most common are pottery vessels of several types and always following the same pattern: pots (29%), jugs (25%), beakers (11%), bowls (11%) and plates (3.5%). The remaining pottery types frequently include oil lamps (20%), while toys and rattles were noticed in an extremely low percentage. In the afterlife, the task of oil lamps was to light the way of the deceased. They are mostly encountered in graves of the first and the second age group, but much rarer in graves of somewhat older children (age groups IV and V). Besides jugs, other pottery types deposited as grave goods are represented with a single piece each. As grave goods, jugs usually appear in sets of three (58%), sometimes of two (23%) or just as a single piece (18%). Finds of four or five jugs in a single grave are extremely rare.⁹²



Grafikon 3 Zastupljenost priloga koji nemaju profilaktički ili apotropejski karakter
Graph 3 Frequency of grave goods without prophylactic or apotropaic character

91 Tim prilozima i njihovoj zastupljenosti u grobovima inhumirane dece s nekropole Više grobalja detaljnije se bavila B. Milovanović (cf. Milovanović 2016).

92 Više o prilozima uz tri krčaga na nekropolama Viminacijuma cf. Golubović, Mrđić, Raičković Savić 2020.

91 Milovanović B. reported in detail about grave goods and their mutual relations within graves of inhumated children from the cemetery Više grobalja cf. Milovanović 2016.

92 More about grave goods alongside three jugs at the Viminacium cemeteries cf. Golubović, Mrđić, Raičković Savić 2020.

Od metalnih predmeta (izuzev novca), u grobovima su evidentirane različite alke (20%), narukvice (19%), minduše (16,5%), zatim prstenje (10%), fibule (9%), dok su u manjoj meri (manje od 5%) prisutni dugmad, pojasne kopče, igle, privesci, noževi, spatule i lanci. Najčešći koštani predmeti su igle, bilo da su u pitanju šivaće (43%) ili igle za kosu (26,5%). Slede kockice za igru (14,5%) i spatule (8,5%), dok se ostali (žetoni, kopče i pikside) javljaju u malom broju.

Od staklenih posuda su daleko najbrojniji balsamariji (*balsamarii*) (76%), zatim gute (11%) i boce (8,5%), a drugi oblici (pehari, zdele) su zabeleženi u malom procentu. Balsamariji se dovode u vezu sa izlivanjem tečne žrtve preko tela neposredno pre zatvaranja groba, dok su hrana i piće korišćeni u pogrebnim ritualima najpre tokom sahrana, a zatim kasnije, prilikom redovnih daća. U grobovima dece nalaženi su ostaci žitarica, voća, povrća, orašastih plodova, kao i domaćih životinja. Pošto su sačuvani samo u malim količinama ili u tragovima, na osnovu posuda priloženih u grobove možemo pretpostaviti da su hrana i piće bili daleko obilniji, a rituali raskošniji nego što se arheološki može konstatovati. Vremenom je iznad grobova obrazovan sloj koji je sadržavao obilje fragmenata keramičkih i staklenih posuda, delova žižaka, novca, bronzanih i koštanih igala, gvozdenih noževa i makaza, i ostalih predmeta, kao i veliku količinu kostiju životinja korišćenih tokom daća.⁹³ Osim toga, na lokalitetu Više globalja istražen je veći broj kulina, pojedinačnih ili iznad nekoliko grobova, na kojima je pripremana hrana upotrebljavana u ritualu za pokojnike sahranjene ispod njih. Velika, kolektivna kulina, formirana iznad većeg broja grobova (61), bila je okružena konstrukcijom od zapečene zemlje.⁹⁴

Metal finds (besides coins) include the following: different rings (20%), arm rings (19%), ear-rings (16.5%), finger rings (10%), brooches (9%), although in a much smaller amount (less than 5%) there were: buttons, belt buckles, needles, pendants, knives, spatulas and chains. Among these, bone needles are the most common finds as either sewing needles (43%) or hair pins (26.5%). Furthermore, bone finds include gaming dice (14.5%) and spatulas (8.5%), while finds like chips, buckles or *pyxidae* (boxes) emerge only in a very small number.

Among glass vessels, *balsamarii* are by far the most numerous (76%), followed by *guttus* (11%) and bottles (8.5%). Other glass forms (beakers, bowls) were only found in a small number. *Balsamarii* are connected to pouring liquids over a dead body just before closing the grave, while food and drinks were used in funerary rituals first during the funeral itself, but also later on during regular funeral feasts. In children's graves, remains of cereals, fruits, vegetables, nuts or domestic animals were found. Since they remained preserved only in small amounts or in traces and according to the vessels deposited in graves, we can presume that rituals of sacrificing food and drinks were much larger and richer than we can conclude based on archaeological finds alone. In time, layers were formed above graves containing lots of pottery and glass shards, parts of oil lamps, coins, bronze and bone needles, iron knives, scissors and other items, as well as a large amount of bones from animals consumed during funeral feasts.⁹³ At the site of Više globalja, several mounds formed either above single or multiple graves were examined, upon which food was prepared that was consumed during funeral feasts held for those buried beneath them. A huge common mound, formed above a larger number of graves (61), was surrounded with a construction made of burned soil.⁹⁴

93 Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 11.

94 Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 14–34, сл. 7–14.

93 Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 11.

94 Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 14–34, сл. 7–14.

NOVAC

Kao prilog, novac je nađen u 531 od ukupno 1.828 grobova, što iznosi 29% i uklapa se u prosečnu zastupljenost novca u grobovima na južnoj nekropoli. Ukoliko se ova nekropola sagledava u celosti, zapaža se da procenat grobova koji su sadržavali novac iznosi 24,60%, s tim što se u grobovima s kremacijama (2.930 ukupno, a s novcem 1.188) daleko češće javlja novac kao prilog (40,55%), za razliku od inhumacija (7.839 grobova ukupno, a s novcem 1.461), kod kojih je taj procenat tek 18,65%.⁹⁵ Uopšte posmatrajući, sa 24,60% grobova koji sadrže novac, može se zaključiti da je običaj prilaganja novca praktikovala približno četvrtina viminacijumske populacije. To je iznad proseka u odnosu na antičke nekropole za koje su poznati takvi podaci: *Brigetio* od 19,54 do 29,46% (na tri nekropole), što prosečno iznosi 20,16%,⁹⁶ *Matrica* 21,50%,⁹⁷ *Novaesium* oko 14%, *Gerulata* samo 6%,⁹⁸ *Emona* 14,40%,⁹⁹ *Intercisa* 22,30%,¹⁰⁰ *Poetovio* 18,17%,¹⁰¹ *Singidunum* 12,60%.¹⁰²

Ako analiziramo samo grobove dece s priložima (1.043), njih 531 sadržavao je novac, što iznosi 51%, pri čemu je u 131 to bio i jedini prilog (tabela 26).

95 Vojvoda, Mrdić 2017, 11–13.

96 Găzdac-Alföldy, Găzdac 2009, 162, fig. I.

97 Topal 1981, 95.

98 Za *Novaesium* i *Gerulata* cf. Topal 1981, 95, ref. 276.

99 Petru 1972; Plesničar-Gec 1972; Miškec 2012, 135.

100 Teichner 2011, 61.

101 Istenič 2000, 14–259.

102 Pop-Lazić 2002, 19–39. U primeru poslednje tri nekropole, navedene procenat treba prihvatiti uz izvesnu rezervu s obzirom na nedostatke i nejasnoće u dokumentaciji sa starih iskopavanja, na koje su naišli potonji istraživači prilikom publikovanja nekropola.

COINAGE

Of the total number of 1,828 graves, coins were discovered within 531 of them, or 29%, which fits into the average percentage of coin finds from graves of the southern Viminacium cemetery. Considering the southern Viminacium cemetery as a whole, the percentage of graves with deposited coin finds comes to 24.60%. Cremation graves (a total of 2,930 graves, of which 1,188 with coin finds) display coin finds much more often (40.55%) than inhumation graves (a total of 7,839 graves, of which 1,461 with coin finds) with this percentage reaching only 18.65%.⁹⁵ With the total of 24.60% of all of the graves with coin finds, one can draw the conclusion that approximately one quarter of the Viminacium population practiced the tradition of depositing coins as grave goods. When compared to other ancient cemeteries with published data about this matter, the mentioned percentage is above the average: *Brigetio* from 19.54 to 29.46% (in three cemeteries), making an average of 20.16%;⁹⁶ *Matrica* 21.50%;⁹⁷ *Novaesium* around 14%; *Gerulata* only 6%;⁹⁸ *Emona* 14.40%;⁹⁹ *Intercisa* 22.30%;¹⁰⁰ *Poetovio* 18.17%;¹⁰¹ and *Singidunum* 12.60%.¹⁰²

If we analyse only children's graves with grave goods (1,043), coins were discovered in 531 of them, indicating the presence of coins in 51% of children's graves with grave goods. Among them,

95 Vojvoda, Mrdić 2017, 11–13.

96 Găzdac-Alföldy, Găzdac 2009, 162, Fig. I.

97 Topal 1981, 95.

98 For *Novaesium* and *Gerulata* cf. Topal 1981, 95, ref. 276.

99 Petru 1972; Plesničar-Gec 1972; Miškec 2012, 135.

100 Teichner 2011, 61.

101 Istenič 2000, 14–259.

102 Pop-Lazić 2002, 19–39. Regarding the last three cemeteries, one should be careful with the stated percentages, due to the lack of data and unclear documentation from older excavations used by contemporary researchers while preparing their publications about the cemeteries.

MORS IMMATURA
COINAGE AND APOTROPAIC-PROPHYLACTIC ELEMENTS IN FUNERARY RITUALS –
southern Viminacium cemetery

	Broj grobova s novcem / Number of graves with coins	Grobovi koji sadrže samo novac kao prilog / Graves containing only coins as grave goods	Grobovi koji sadrže novac i druge priloge / Graves containing coins and other grave goods
0–1 godine / year Kat. grupa / Cat. group I	107	22	85
2–4 godine / years Kat. grupa / Cat. group II	105	21	84
5–9 godina / years Kat. grupa / Cat. group III	105	39	66
10–14 godina / years Kat. grupa / Cat. group IV	39	14	25
15–19 godina / years Kat. grupa / Cat. group V	19	5	14
Deca neutvrđene starosti / Children of undetermined age Kat. grupa / Cat. group VI	135	27	108
Više pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta / Several deceased children Kat. grupa / Cat. group VII	6	1	5
Jedno dete – jedna ili više odraslih osoba / One child – one or more adults / Kat. grupa / Cat. group VIII	40: 5 pripada deci; 35 pripada odraslim osobama / 5 belong to children; 35 belong to adults	/	5
Više pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta – jedna ili više odraslih osoba / Several deceased children - one or more adults Kat. grupa / Cat. group IX	2	/	2
Kremirani pokojnici dečjeg uzrasta / Cremated deceased children Kat. grupa / Cat. group X	9	2	7
Kremirani i inhumirani pokojnici dečjeg uzrasta / Cremation and inhumation of deceased children Kat. grupa / Cat. group XI	1	/	1
TOTAL	531	131	400

Tabela 26 Grobovi dece koji sadrže novac kao prilog u okviru svake od kataloških grupa (I–XI)

Table 26 Children's graves containing coins as grave goods within each catalogue group (I–XI)

Hronološka distribucija novca u grobovima dece

Novac pronađen u grobovima dece, posmatran prema vekovima iz kojih potiče (grafikon 4), pokazuje daleko najveće prisustvo kovanja iz 2. veka, zatim iz 1, 3. i, konačno, iz 4. veka.¹⁰³

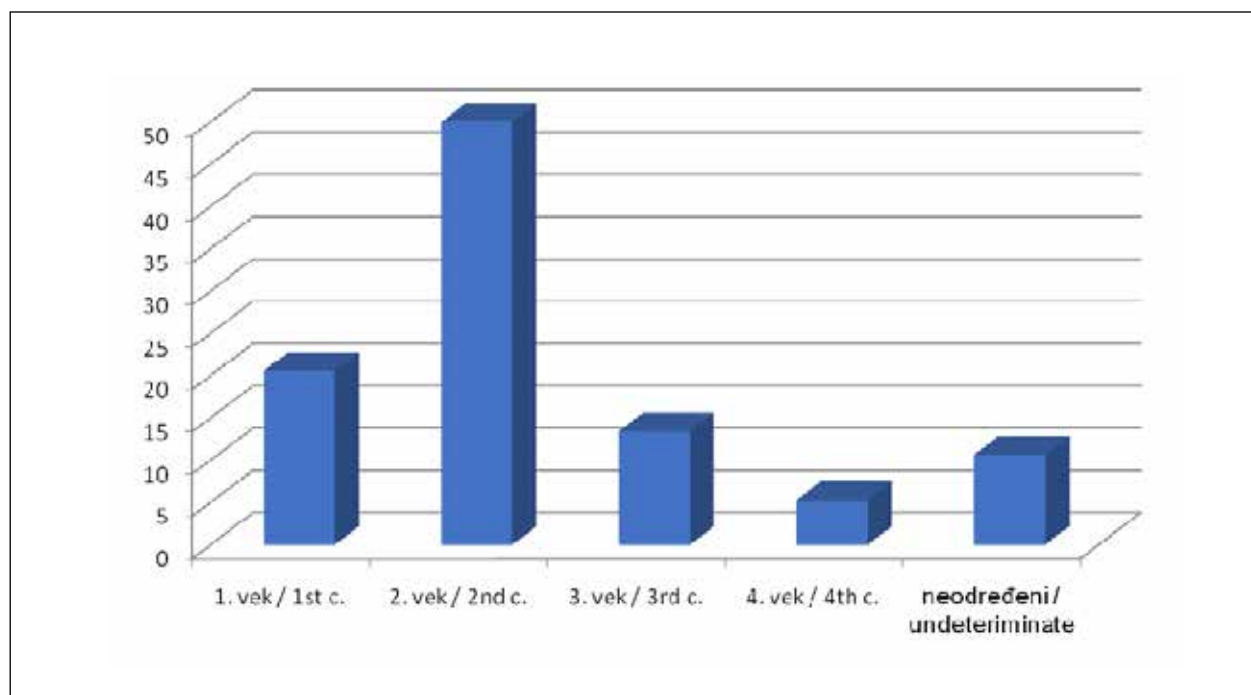
¹⁰³ Veliki broj neodređenih primeraka posledica je izvesnog osipanja nalaza (izgubljen, propao u procesu konzervacije); cf. Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 10, ref. 6; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2017, 11, ref. 5.

in 131 children's graves coins represent the only deposited grave good (Table 26).

Chronological distribution of coinage from children's graves

Coins discovered in children's graves and divided by the centuries in which they were minted (Graph 4) show that coins minted during the 2nd century are by far more numerous than those minted during the 1st, 3rd and finally the 4th century.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ The large number of undetermined pieces is the result of find



Grafikon 4 Zastupljenost novca pronađenog u grobovima dece, po vekovima

Graph 4 Frequency of coin finds from children's graves, by centuries

Navedeni odnosi se razlikuju od proseka za celu južnu nekropolu, gde se beleži veće prisustvo novca iz 3. nego iz 1. veka. To je uslovljeno, pre svega, velikom zastupljenošću provincijalnog novca iz 3. veka (74%), za razliku od takvih emisija iz 1. i 2. veka (18%), što utiče na opštu pojavu novca iz 3. veka.¹⁰⁴ Međutim, u grobovima dece, provincijalni novac (tabela 27) se generalno javlja u malom procentu (18%), što se odražava na manju zastupljenost novca iz 3. veka.

For the southern Viminacium cemetery as a whole, the relationships shown here differ from the average, since there are more coins from the 3rd century than those from the 1st century. This is caused primarily by the high percentage of provincial minting from the 3rd century (74%) compared to the same emissions from the 1st and the 2nd century (18%), consequently influencing the general presence of coins of the 3rd century.¹⁰⁴ However, in children's graves generally, provincial coinage (Table 27) is represented in a small percentage (18%), this reflecting on the presence of coins of the 3rd century.

	Broj novčića / Number of coins	
Carsko kovanje / Imperial coinage	536	89.20
Provincijalno kovanje / Provincial coinage	65	10.80
UKUPNO / TOTAL	601	100

Tabela 27 Odnos u pogledu zastupljenosti imperijalnog i provincijalnog kovanja novca iz grobova dece

Table 27 Relationships of imperial and provincial coinage finds from children's graves

¹⁰⁴ cf. Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 13–18; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2017, 14–18.

loss (lost, disintegrated during conservation process); cf. Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 10, ref. 6; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2017, 11, ref. 5.
¹⁰⁴ cf. Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 13–18; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2017, 14–18.

Broj novčića u grobovima

Od 531 groba dece s novcem kao prilogom, u 492 je pronađen jedan novčić, a u 39 više primeraka (tabela 28), i to u 26 grobova dva novčića, u osam tri, u dva groba četiri, a u po jednom je bilo šest, devet i 11 novčića. To ukupno iznosi 601 primerak, s tim što je u okviru grupe VIII (jedno dete – jedna ili više odraslih osoba) ustanovljeno dodatnih 48 komada, koji su nesumnjivo, u grobnoj celini, bili prilozi odraslim osobama.¹⁰⁵ U istoj grupi je i grob s tri novčića, od kojih jedan pripada detetu, a ostala dva odrasloj osobi. Slična situacija primećena je i u grupi IX, u dva groba sa više pokojnika, pri čemu je u jednom bio jedan novčić, a u drugom dva. U oba slučaja je nejasno kome je novac kao prilog bio namenjen, u prvom jer su u pitanju inhumacije dva deteta u grobu s kremacijom (pri čemu su deca bila položena preko kremiranih kostiju dve odrasle osobe), a u drugom jer je grob bio opljačkan u antici, a pronađene kosti su bile dislocirane, kao i preostali nalazi. Kod tri kremacije (grupa X) sa više pokojnika (dete – odrasla osoba), u grobovima koji su sadržavali numizmatičke nalaze, pošli smo od pretpostavke da je priloženi novac mogao biti namenjen obema osobama, te smo ih sve svrstali u tabelu 27. U grupi XI, samo u jednom grobu je bio novac (inhumirano dete, kremirani dete i odrasla osoba). Taj primerak je bio priložen kremiranim osobama, odnosno detetu i odrasloj osobi.

Pomenuti nalazi novca pripisani odraslim osobama svakako su integrisani u katalog jer čine deo istih grobnih celina i važni su za njihovo datovanje, ali nisu mogli biti uključeni u statistiku vezanu za položaj novca na telu pokojnika, za prisustvo imperijalnog i provincijalnog kovanja i slično.

¹⁰⁵ Iz tog razloga nisu ubrojani u novce koji su pripadali deci iako su nađeni u istom grobu. U tabeli 26, ti grobovi i novčići označeni su podebljanim fontom.

Number of coins within graves

Of the total of 531 children's graves that contained coins as grave goods, in 492 of them only a single coin was discovered, while in 39 of them, there were several pieces (Table 28) as follows: in 26 there were two coins, in 8 graves there were three, and in two graves there were four coins. In only a single grave each, six, nine and eleven coins were unearthed. This makes the total of 601 coins. However, within the separated group VIII (one child – one or more adults), there were an additional 48 deposited pieces, obviously belonging to the adults buried within the same grave complex.¹⁰⁵ Within the same group, there is a grave with three coins, one of them belonging to a child and the remaining two to the adult person. A similar situation was noticed within group IX, in two graves with several deceased and with coin finds (in one grave there was a single coin and in the other one, there were two coins). In both cases it remained unclear for whom the coins were intended as grave goods. The first grave was an inhumation of two children into a cremated grave (where the children had been deposited over the cremated remains of two adults), while the second grave was robbed during Antiquity and the excavated bones were dislocated, as well as all of the other grave goods. In the case of three cremations (group X) with several deceased (child – adult) that contained coin finds, we presumed that the deposited coins could have been intended for both persons and so they were included into the result displayed in Table 27. Within group XI, only a single grave contained coins (inhumated child, cremated child and an adult). This piece belongs to the cremated persons, and, by following the same principle of simple cremations, we also ascribed it to the child.

The coin finds mentioned here and ascribed to adults were integrated into the catalogue, since they make up part of the same grave complexes and they are of importance for their dating. However, they were not included into the statistics showing the position of coins in relation to the deceased, relationships of imperial coins to the provincial ones, etc.

¹⁰⁵ As a result of this, they were not calculated as coins belonging to children, although they were discovered in the same grave. In Table 26, these graves and coins are written in bold.

MORS IMMATURA
NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
južna nekropola Viminacijuma

	Broj grobova s priložima / Number of graves with grave goods	Broj grobova s novcem / Number of graves with coins	Broj grobova s jednim novčićem / Number of graves with a single coin	Broj grobova sa više novčića / Number of graves with several coins as grave goods	Ukupan broj novčića iz grobova dece / Total number of coins from children's graves
0–1 godine / year Kat. grupa / Cat. group I	221	154	98	7 (s 2 novčića / with 2 coins); 2 (s 3 novčića / with 3 coins)	118
2–4 godine / years Kat. grupa / Cat. group II	154	183	96	7 (s 2 novčića / with 2 coins); 2 (s 3 novčića / with 3 coins)	116
5–9 godina / years Kat. grupa / Cat. group III	183	89	95	4 (s 2 novčića / with 2 coins); 2 (s 3 novčića / with 3 coins); 1 (sa 4 novčića / with 4 coins); 1 (sa 6 novčića / with 6 coins); 1 (s 9 novčića / with 9 coins); 1 (s 11 novčića / with 11 coins)	139
10–14 godina / years Kat. grupa / Cat. group IV	89	36	37	1 (s 2 novčića / with 2 coins); 1 (sa 4 novčića / with 4 coins)	43
15–19 godina / years Kat. grupa / Cat. group V	36	249	18	1 (s 2 novčića / with 2 coins)	20
Deca neutvrđene starosti / Children of undetermined age Kat. grupa / Cat. group VI	249	12	130	4 (s 2 novčića / with 2 coins); 1 (s 3 novčića / with 3 coins)	141
Više pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta / Several deceased children Kat. grupa / Cat. group VII	12	75	6	/	6

MORS IMMATURA
COINAGE AND APOTROPAIC-PROPHYLACTIC ELEMENTS IN FUNERARY RITUALS –
southern Viminacium cemetery

	Broj grobova s priložima / Number of graves with grave goods	Broj grobova s novcem / Number of graves with coins	Broj grobova s jednim novčićem / Number of graves with a single coin	Broj grobova sa više novčića / Number of graves with several coins as grave goods	Ukupan broj novčića iz grobova dece / Total number of coins from children's graves
Jedno dete – jedna ili više odraslih osoba / One child – one or more adults Kat. grupa / Cat. group VIII	75	40: u 5 pripada deci; u 35 pripada odraslim osobama / in 5 belongs to children; in 35 belongs to adults	4	5 (s 2 novčića / with 2 coins); 1 (s 3 novčića: 1 dete + 2 odrasle osobe / with 3 coins: 1 child + 2 adults); 1 (sa 7 novčića / with 7 coins) Pripadaju odraslim osobama / Belong to adults	5
Više pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta – jedna ili više odraslih osoba / Several deceased children - one or more adults Kat. grupa / Cat. group IX	5	2 Nejasno kome novac pripada / Unclear to whom the coin belongs	1 Nejasno kome novac pripada / Unclear to whom the coin belongs	1 (s 2 novčića / with 2 coins) Nejasno kome pripadaju / Unclear to whom the coin belongs	/
Kremirani pokojnici dečjeg uzrasta / Cremated deceased children Kat. grupa / Cat. group X	17	9	7	1 (s 2 novčića / with 2 coins); 1 (s 3 novčića / with 3 coins)	12
Kremirani i inhumirani pokojnici dečjeg uzrasta / Cremation and inhumation of deceased children Kat. grupa / Cat. group XI	2	1	1	/	1
UKUPNO / TOTAL	1,043	531	492	39	601

Tabela 28 Grobovi dece koji sadrže novac i njihova struktura prema broju primeraka

Table 28 Number of children's graves containing coins and their structure according to the number of pieces

U slučajevima kada je zabeležen veći broj novčića u grobu (od dva do 11), raspon između vremena emitovanja najmlađeg i najstarijeg iznosi 30 do 50 godina. Međutim, kao što je već zapaženo,¹⁰⁶ ima situacija kada je bio približno i 200 godina (Klaudije – Trajan Decije; kat. 84),

¹⁰⁶ Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 28–29.

In cases of several coins discovered within the same grave (from 2 to 11), the range between the youngest and the oldest piece varies between 30 and 50 years from the emission. However, as already noted,¹⁰⁶ there are cases with a range of approximately 200 years (Claudius – Trajan Decius;

¹⁰⁶ Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 28–29.

dok je češće od 100 do 150 godina. To još jednom upućuje na neophodnost krajnjeg opreza prilikom datovanja grobova novcem uopšte, a pogotovo onih koji sadrže emisije iz 1. veka. Samo na primeru grobova dece, od 14 u kojima se javlja veći broj novčića, od kojih je najstariji emitovan u 1. veku, u 12 grobova najmlađi novac je iz 2, a u pomenutom slučaju iz 3. veka.¹⁰⁷ Iz toga proizlazi da se najveći broj grobova s novcem iz 1. veka hronološki opredeljuje u 2. ili čak u 3. vek, što je u slučaju grobova sa više novčića daleko sigurnije, a datovanje je približnije realnom datumu prilaganja, odnosno vremenu sahranjivanja.

Osim toga, treba uzeti u obzir i činjenicu da je većina novčića pronađenih u grobovima istrošena jer su pre prilaganja bili u upotrebi tokom dužeg perioda. S još većim problemom istraživači nekropola se susreću prilikom datovanja grobova koji uglavnom sadrže jedan novčić. Bez obzira na to, novac pruža solidan *terminus post quem* za datovanje groba, mada kod istrošenih primeraka uvek treba dodati još najmanje 20–30 godina od kovanja do prilaganja, kada je u pitanju novac iz perioda od 2. do 4. veka.¹⁰⁸ Kod numizmatičkih nalaza iz 1. veka u grobovima, na osnovu rezultata sa južne viminacijumske nekropole možemo reći da u većini slučajeva treba računati sa još 70–100 godina. Naravno, postoje i izuzeci od tog pravila, te se svaka grobna celina mora tretirati posebno, uz nužno uzimanje u obzir ostalih parametara za datovanje (stratigrafija, drugi nalazi).

Cat. no. 84), although more often it varies between 100 and 150 years. This is another indicator of the extreme caution needed with the general dating of graves with deposited coins and especially those containing pieces from the 1st century. With the example of children's graves alone, among 14 of them with several coins and with the oldest one being minted during the 1st century, in 12 cases the youngest coin was dated into the 2nd century and, in the case described above, into the 3rd century.¹⁰⁷ The conclusion drawn from these examples is that the greatest number with coin finds from the 1st century actually dates from the 2nd or even the 3rd century. With graves with several coin finds, such a dating is much more secure and it is closer to the moment of their depositing into the grave, actually to the moment of burial.

Apart from this, one should also consider the fact that most of the coins discovered as grave goods were badly worn, since before being deposited in graves, they were used for an extended period of time. An even bigger problem with the research of cemeteries is dating graves that mostly contain just a single coin. Regardless of this, coins offer a reliable *terminus post quem* for dating graves, although in each case of badly worn coins, especially those minted between the 2nd and the 4th century, one should allow at least an additional 20–30 years from the moment of minting to the moment of depositing.¹⁰⁸ When it comes to numismatic finds from the 1st century deposited in graves, according to the results gained from the southern Viminacium cemetery, we can say that in most cases, one should allow an additional 70–100 years. There are, of course, exceptions to this rule, and this is why each grave should be regarded separately, necessarily always taking other dating parameters (stratigraphy, other grave goods) into account.

107 Prisustvo novca iz 1. veka u grobovima iz 3. veka predstavlja ređu pojavu, ali nije izuzetak (cf. Fitz 1980, 37, Tab. a, b; Găzdac-Alfoldy, Găzdac 2009, 164).

108 Analizirajući rimske nekropole od 3. do početka 5. veka u zapadnoj Evropi, Kuk je nalaze novca iz grobova svrstao u hronološke grupe u rasponu od 30 godina (npr. period 1 od 240–270. godine, period 2 od 270–300. godine itd.); cf. Cooke 1998, 13.

107 The presence of coins from the 1st century within graves from the 3rd century is rather rare, but it is not exceptional (cf. Fitz 1980, 37, Tab. a, b; Găzdac-Alfoldy, Găzdac 2009, 164).

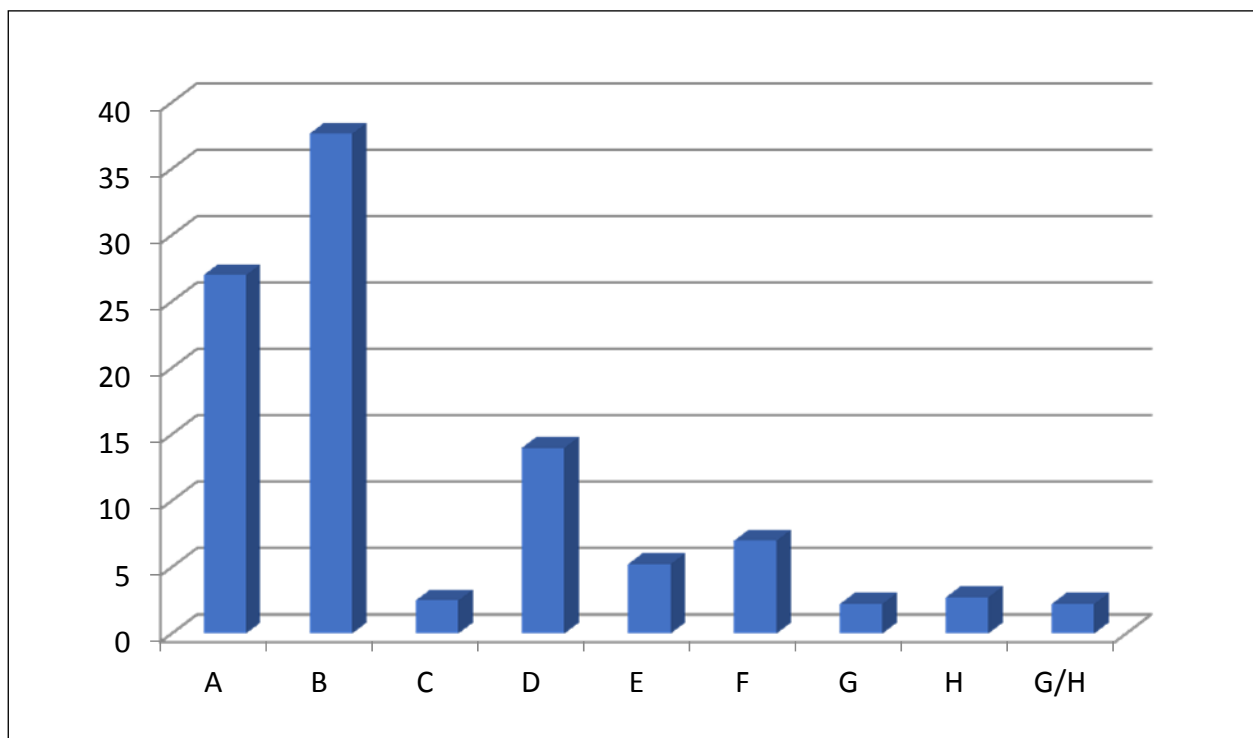
108 After having analysed Roman cemeteries from the 3rd to the beginning of the 5th century in Western Europe, Cooke divided coin finds within groups with a chronological span of 30 years each (for example Period 1 from 240–270; Period 2 from 270–300 etc.); cf. Cooke 1998, 13.

**Mesto nalaza novca u odnosu na pokojnika
 (inhumacije)**

Prilikom analize mesta na kome je novac nađen u grobovima inhumirane dece služili smo se, kao i ranije,¹⁰⁹ metodom koji je ustanovio Klark (Clarke), a kasnije koristio i Kuk (Cooke),¹¹⁰ koji smo unekoliko proširili. Naime, Klark je utvrdio osam položaja novca u odnosu na telo pokojnika: A – na/oko glave; B – u ustima; C – na/blizu desne ruke i u desnoj šaci; D – na/blizu torza; E – na/blizu leve ruke i u levoj šaci; F – na/blizu karlice; G – na/blizu desne noge; H – na/blizu leve noge. Pošto smo se susreli s nizom slučajeva u kojima je novac pronađen između kolena ili potkolenica pokojnika i nije se mogao odrediti kao G ili H, toj sistematizaciji smo dodali još jedan položaj: G/H – između nogu/stopala.

**Position of coin finds related to the deceased
 (inhumations)**

As was done previously while analysing the position of coin finds related to inhumated deceased children,¹⁰⁹ we applied the methods described by Clarke, and later on also used by Cooke,¹¹⁰ although we somewhat broadened them. Basically, Clarke established eight basic positions of numismatic finds related to the position of the deceased: A – on/around their head; B – in the mouth; C – on/close to the right arm or in the palm of the right hand; D – on/close to the torso; E – on/close to the left arm or in the palm of the left hand; F – on/close to the pelvis; G – on/close to the right leg; H – on/close to the left leg. Since, on many occasions, we discovered cases with which coins were placed between the knees or the deceased's lower leg parts that could be determined neither as G nor H, we added another position to this classification: G/H – between the legs/feet.



Grafikon 5 Zastupljenost mesta nalaza novca u grobovima dece s jednim primerkom

Graph 5 Position frequency of numismatic finds from children's graves with a single coin

¹⁰⁹ Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 25, fig. 1; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2017, 21–22.

¹¹⁰ Clarke 1979, 158; Cooke 1998, 24–25.

¹⁰⁹ Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 25, Sl./Fig. 1; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2017, 21–22.

¹¹⁰ Clarke 1979, 158; Cooke 1998, 24–25.

Posmatranjem grobova dece s jednim novčićem kao prilogom (grafikon 5), dolazimo do iste strukture koju smo dobili za južnu nekropolu u celosti.¹¹¹ Ako iz analize izuzmemo grobove s nepoznatim položajem novca, u najvećem broju slučajeva (37%) novčić je bio stavljen u usta pokojnika (položaj B). Slede grobovi s novcem pronađenim oko glave, odnosno položaj A (27%), na delu torza (14%), dok su ostali položaji zastupljeni manjim procentima. Proizlazi da su čak 64% nalaza novca bila vezana za područje glave pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta. Osim toga, nismo uočili nikakvu zakonitost u pogledu povezanosti mesta prilaganja novca i starosne skupine umrle dece niti vremena emitovanja novca. Iz toga proističe da su novčići bili prilagani najčešće u navedenim položajima u svim starosnim skupinama i tokom čitavog perioda korišćenja južne nekropole.

Kod grobova inhumirane dece s dva novčića (25)¹¹² registrovano je 13 kombinacija položaja, s tim što se kod devet nije mogao utvrditi. Jasno je da nema pravilnosti u pogledu prilaganja dva novčića u grobove dece (tabela 29) jer se u pomenutih 13 kombinacija samo tri položaja ponavljaju (A–A; A–G/H; F–H), i to po jednom. Može se zapaziti samo da su u tim grobovima novčići nalaženi u predelu glave, a zatim i nogu. Položaji A i B (oko glave i u ustima), kao i G, H i G/H (kod nogu) su najčešći. Ako iz statistike izostavimo grobove s neутvrđenim položajima (9), proizlazi da su prva dva položaja zastupljena sa 56% (devet puta), a druga tri, u predelu nogu, sa 44% (sedam puta).

If we consider children's graves with just a single coin as a grave good (Graph 5), we reach the same structure already gained for the southern Viminacium cemetery as a whole.¹¹¹ If we exclude from our analysis graves with unknown positions of coins, in the greatest number of cases (37%), coins were placed within the mouth of the deceased. They are followed by coin finds close to the head of the deceased (position A) with 27% and those with coins found close to the torso of the deceased (14%). Other positions of coins were recorded in a much smaller percentage. This indicates that 64% coin finds were connected to the area around deceased children's heads. There was seemingly neither a connection between the position of coins and the age group of deceased children, nor their connection with the chronology of mints. It was concluded that the coins were most commonly deposited in the positions named above, in all of the age groups and during the entire period of usage of the southern Viminacium cemetery.

With the examples of children's graves with inhumations that each revealed two coins (25),¹¹² there were 13 position combinations, although with 9 graves it was not possible to determine their position. It is clear that there is no regularity in depositing two coins in a grave (Table 29), since within the already mentioned 13 combinations, there are only three that were repeated (A – A; A – G/H; F – H) once each. The only thing that was noticed is that in these graves, coins were discovered close to the head and to the legs of the deceased. The most common ones are positions A and B (around the head and within the mouth), as well as G, H and G/H (close to the legs). If we exclude graves with undetermined coin positions (9 graves) from our statistic, we can conclude that the first two position come up in 56% (9 times) of cases, while the other three, in the vicinity of the legs of the deceased, come up in 44% (7 times) of cases.

111 Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 24, grafikon 7; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2017, 24, grafikon 6.

112 Još jedan grob s dva novčića pripada kremacijama, što iznosi ukupno 26 grobova s dva novčića.

111 Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 24, Grafikon 7; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2017, 24, Graph 6.

112 Another grave with two coin finds belongs to cremations, making a total of 26 graves with two deposited coins in each of them.

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Dva novčića u grobovima – položaji / Two coins in graves – positions	Kat. grupa / Cat. group I	Kat. grupa / Cat. group II	Kat. grupa / Cat. group III	Kat. grupa / Cat. group IV	Kat. grupa / Cat. group V	Kat. grupa / Cat. group VI	Kat. grupa / Cat. group IX	Ukupno grobova / Total graves
A–A		1				1		2
A–F	1							1
A–G/H		1	1					2
B–E		1						1
B–G/H						1		1
C–D					1			1
D–D		1						1
D–H	1							1
D–G/H	1							1
E–F			1					1
E–G/H		1						1
F–F			1					1
F–H		1	1					2
Nepoznat – Nepoznat Unknown – Unknown	4	1		1		2	1	9
Ukupno grobova / Total graves	7	7	4	1	1	4	1	25

Tabela 29 Zastupljenost položaja novčića u grobovima dece s dva primerka, prema kataloškim grupama
Table 29 Position frequency of numismatic finds from children's graves with two coins, by catalogue groups

U sedam grobova inhumiranih pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta pronađena su po tri novčića (tabela 30).¹¹³ Ustanovljeno je šest njihovih različitih položaja, a u jednom slučaju se nije mogao utvrditi. Samo u jednom grobu su sva tri novčića nađena na istom mestu, na grudima pokojnika (položaj D). Proističe da je najviše novčića nađeno u predelu glave (položaji A i B), što se javlja šest puta u tri groba.

In each of 7 inhumated children's graves there were finds of three coins (Table 30).¹¹³ Six different positions were observed, while in one case it was not possible to determine. In a single grave only all of the three coins were discovered in one position, actually upon the chest of the deceased (position D). One can again conclude that the largest number of deposited coins is again connected to the area around the head of the deceased (positions A and B), coming up six times within three graves.

¹¹³ Jedan grob s tri novčića pripada kremacijama.

¹¹³ One grave with three coins belongs to cremations.

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NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
južna nekropola Viminacijuma

Tri novčića u grobovima – položaji / Three coins in graves – positions	Kat. grupa / Cat. group I	Kat. grupa / Cat. group II	Kat. grupa / Cat. group III	Kat. grupa / Cat. group VI	Ukupno grobova / Total graves
A-B-D	1				1
A-A-G/H	1				1
A-B-F		1			1
C-D-E			1		1
D-D-D				1	1
G-H-H		1			1
Nepoznati svi / All unknown			1		1
Ukupno grobova / Total graves	2	2	2	1	7

Tabela 30 Zastupljenost položaja novčića u grobovima dece s tri primerka, prema kataloškim grupama
Table 30 Position frequency of numismatic finds from children's graves with three coins, by catalogue groups

Kod grobova s dva ili tri novčića utvrđeno je da su uglavnom bili na različitim mestima (tabele 29, 30), za razliku od slučajeva s većim brojem primeraka (4, 6, 9 i 11), koji se uvek nalaze na istom mestu. U dva groba nađena su po četiri novčića, u jednom na poziciji C, a u drugom G. Šest novčića iz jednog groba bilo je blizu leve ruke ili u levoj šaci (položaj E), devet oko glave (položaj A), dok se položaj 11 novčića iz jednog groba nije mogao odrediti, ali su svi bili na istom mestu. Ta činjenica može da ukazuje na povezanost između broja novčića u grobovima dece i njihove funkcije u pogrebnom ritualu, o čemu će biti reči u zaključnim razmatranjima.

It was observed that when a grave contained two or three coins, they were mostly deposited on different locations within the grave (Tables 29 and 30), contrary to cases in which there was a larger number of coins (4, 6, 9 or 11), since they were always deposited together in a single location within the grave. In two graves there were four coin finds each: In the first one, all of the coins were discovered on location C and in the second one on location G. Six coins from another grave were all found in position E, nine coins were all deposited close to the head of the deceased (position A), while it was not possible for the 11 coins from one grave to determine their position, although it is known that they were all deposited in the same position. This fact could reflect a connection between the number of coins in children's graves and their function within the funerary ritual. This will be discussed later, in the conclusion chapter.

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APOTROPEJSKI I PROFILAKTIČKI PRILOZI

Pažnju smo, pre svega, usmerili na priloge koji su imali apotropejsku i profilaktičku funkciju u zaštiti dece za života, ali i nakon smrti, od urokljivog oka i zlih sila uopšte. Perforirani novčići se često javljaju kao deo ogrlica, zajedno s drugim predmetima,¹¹⁴ kao što su bule, zvončići, minijaturne alatke, lunulasti i falusoidni privesci, perle s „okcima”, ćilibarske perle i privesci, privesci od zuba divljih životinja, roga jelena, morskih školjki i puževa. Nosila su ih deca, najčešće oko vrata, ali i na drugim delovima tela, pri čemu je vrsta materijala pojačavala značenje i vrednost oblika amuleta.¹¹⁵

Amuleti su bili uobičajena pojava u svakodnevnom životu u antici, i to najmanje iz tri razloga: apotropejsko-profilaktičkog, socijalnog i religioznog. Bili su apotropejsko-profilaktički jer su služili kao zaštita od zlih uticaja osoba za koje se verovalo da su bile odgovorne za iznenadne bolesti, neobične infekcije i epidemije, dok su neki amuleti bili namenjeni i očuvanju ili izlečenju određenog dela tela. Mogli su da označavaju pol ili status vlasnika, u čemu se ogleda njihov socijalni aspekt. Konačno, imali su religioznu funkciju i mogli su da budu deo obreda tranzicije (npr. neke biološke promene: zamene mlečnih zuba ili pojave menstruacije itd.). Međutim, ta tri aspekta se vrlo često prepliću u istom amuletu, a zajedno grade vizuelni koncept životnog puta u antici.¹¹⁶ Analiza tih svedočanstava pruža mogućnost po-

114 Već je primećeno da su u grobovima dece perforirani novčići češće činili delove kompozitnih ogrlica ili narukvica, zajedno s raznolikim privescima, nego što je to slučaj u grobovima odraslih individua (cf. Vojvoda 2015, 68–69; Vojvoda 2018, 75).

115 Za plemenite metale, kao i različite supstance biljnog, životinjskog ili mineralnog porekla smatralo se da imaju apotropejske moći (Pliny, *NH* XXVII–XXXVI). Za medicinska i amuletska svojstva gvožđa i bronzе cf. Alfayé Villa 2010, 441, ref. 22.

116 Dasen 2015a, 177.

APOTROPAIC AND PROPHYLACTIC GRAVE GOODS

We have focused primarily on grave goods that possessed apotropaic and prophylactic function in protecting children while they were still alive, but also after they had passed away, both from the evil eye and evil forces in general. Perforated coins often come as parts of necklaces, together with the already named types of finds like:¹¹⁴ *bullae*, bells, miniature tools, crescent-shaped pendants, phallus-shaped pendants, pearls with “eyes”, amber pearls and pendants, pendants made of wild animals’ teeth, antler, sea shells and snails. They were worn by children, most commonly around their necks, but also on other body parts. The meaning and value of amulets’ shape were made stronger by choosing specific materials they were made of.¹¹⁵

During Antiquity, amulets were common items in everyday life for at least three reasons: apotropaic-prophylactic, social and religious. The apotropaic-prophylactic ones were used as protection from evil influences believed to be responsible for sudden illnesses, unusual infections and epidemics, while some of the amulets also served as protection of or had curative powers for specific body parts. Amulets could determine the gender and status of their owners and this is how they reflected in the social aspect. Finally, they also possessed a religious function and they could have been integrated into the ritual of transition (like specific biological changes: loss of deciduous teeth and the eruption of permanent ones or the first menstruation with girls, etc.). However, during Antiquity, these three aspects were very often interwoven within the same amulet, all together building a visual

114 It was already noticed that in children’s graves, perforated coins made parts of composite necklaces or bracelets together with various pendants much more often than within graves of adult individuals (cf. Vojvoda 2015, 68–69; Vojvoda 2018, 75).

115 Precious metals, as well as different substances of plant, animal or mineral origin were believed to have possessed apotropaic powers (Pliny *NH* XXVII–XXXVI). For medical and amulet features of iron and bronze cf. Alfayé Villa 2010, 441, ref. 22.

stepene rekonstrukcije verovanja koja su pratila decu u njihovom ranom odrastanju, prikupljanjem istovrsnih podataka sa što više nekropola.

Verovalo se da su amuleti s magjskim moćima bili najpotrebniji ženama i deci pošto su to bile najranjivije kategorije društva. To je svakako imalo racionalno utemeljenje s obzirom na veliku smrtnost žena prilikom porođaja, kao i na sve rizike koje je nosilo najranije detinjstvo.¹¹⁷ Najpoznatija kompozitna amajlija koju su nosila deca bila je krepundija (*crepundia*), a sastojala se od različitih personalizovanih privezaka koji su proizvodili zvuke. Pojedinačni privesci su predstavljali amulete i štitali decu od zlih sila, ali iz antičkih izvora je poznato da je krepundija mogla da posluži i za identifikaciju otegotog ili izgubljenog deteta.¹¹⁸ Takve amajlije vode poreklo još iz Ura, iz 3. milenijuma pre n. e. Naime, u mesopotamskim tekstovima se u kontekstu zaštite i lečenja pominju amajlije sastavljene od više figura. Štitile su tokom života, a nakon smrti bile su prilagane u grobove. Nizovi takvih amajlija nađeni su u kućama na drevnom Bliskom istoku. U grčkoj i etrurskoj umetnosti, bebe i deca (u Grčkoj i mlade žene) su prikazivani s amajlijama nanizanim na dugačku uzicu, koja se dijagonalno nosila preko tela. Smatra se da je ta tradicija prethodila rimskoj krepundiji.¹¹⁹ U južnoj Italiji, pogotovo u oblastima gde je bio jak grčki uticaj, krepundije su bile u kontinuiranoj upotrebi, i niske s malim perlama i amajlijama nalažene su u grobovima dece. Očigledno da krepundije, posebno niske sa zvoncima, nisu bile samo zvečke ili igračke koje su davane nemirnoj deci da im odvrte pažnju već skup posebno dizajniranih amuleta za zaštitu od bolesti i drugih opasnosti.¹²⁰

Na viminacijumskoj južnoj nekropoli registrovali smo pet grobova dece s ogrlicama koje bi se mogle identifikovati s krepundijama (tabela 37). U 49 primera, apotropejski privesci (najmanje dva) činili su delove niski sa različitim perlama

117 Wrede 1975, 249; Dasen 2015a, 178. Upotreba amuleta nije bila ograničena samo na žene i decu, nosili su ih i muškarci u veoma opasnim životnim situacijama (Plutarh, *Perikle*, 38.2).

118 Plaut, *Rud.* IV.4; *Mil. Glor.* V.1. Naziv potiče od lat. *crepundia*, *-orum*, čegrtaljka, zvečka; izvedeno od glagola *crepo*, *-pui*, *-pitum*, čegrtati, proizvoditi zvuke.

119 Causey 2019, 52.

120 Faraone 2018, 58.

discourse about one's life path.¹¹⁶ The analysis of these testimonies offers a possibility for us to gradually reconstruct beliefs that accompanied children in their early lives, collecting at the same time various data from the greatest number of cemeteries possible.

It was believed that women and children were the ones who needed amulets with magic powers the most, since they were considered the most vulnerable within Roman society. These beliefs were surely rationally reasoned, since there was a high mortality rate of women during labour and all of the risks that came during the earliest childhood period.¹¹⁷ The best known composite amulet worn by children was *crepundia*, consisting of different personalised pendants that jingled or made different noises. Some pendants represented amulets and protected children from evil forces. However, written sources reveal that a *crepundia* could have been used for the identification of an abducted or lost child.¹¹⁸ Such amulets originated from the 3rd millennium BC from Ur. Mesopotamian written sources mention amulets consisting of several figures, meant for protection and to offer curative properties. The amulets were meant for people to wear during their lifetime, but also to be deposited in graves, on specific body parts of the deceased. Strings of these amulets have been discovered in houses in the Middle East. In Greek and Etrurian art, babies and children (in Greece also young women) were often depicted with amulets on long strings, worn diagonally across the body. It is considered that the tradition of wearing came prior to the Roman *crepundia*.¹¹⁹ In southern Italy, especially in parts under strong Greek influence, *crepundiae* were continuously used and strings with small beads and amulets were often encountered in children's graves. It was obvious that those *crepundiae*, especially strings with bells, were not used only as rattles or toys given to restless children to distract their attentions, but as a set of amulets especially designed to protect children from illnesses and other dangers.¹²⁰

116 Dasen 2015a, 177.

117 Wrede 1975, 249; Dasen 2015a, 178. The amulets were not used only by women and children, since they were worn also by men when encountering extremely dangerous and life-threatening situations (Plutarh, *Pericles*, 38.2).

118 Plaut. *Rud.* IV.4; *Mil. Glor.* V.1. The name derives from the Latin word *crepundia*, *-orum*, noisemaker, rattle; deriving from the verb *crepo*, *-pui*, *-pitum*, to rattle, to make noise.

119 Causey 2019, 52.

120 Faraone 2018, 58.

(obično staklenim) ili bronzanim alkama. Uslovno bi, po svojoj osnovnoj funkciji zveckanja, i te niske mogle da spadaju u kategoriju krepundija u širem smislu. U 35 grobova dece nađeni su apotropejski privesci nošeni samostalno. Sa južne nekropole Viminacijuma potiče više vrsta apotropejskih i profilaktičkih privezaka koji su nošeni samostalno ili na niskama.¹²¹

Perforirani novčići

Svi perforirani novčići sa južne nekropole publikovani su u dva članka;¹²² stoga ćemo se na ovom mestu samo ukratko osvrnuti na najvažnije elemente tih rasprava, koji su neophodni za sagledavanje uloge novca kao segmenta apotropejskih niski. Primarno se zvončići na niskama mogu nazvati „zvučnim amuletima“, a sekundarno bi perforirani novčići takođe spadali u tu kategoriju amuleta jer svojim zvukom rasteruju zle sile. Ne treba zanemariti ni apotropejsko-profilaktičku ulogu materijala/metala od koga je novčić izrađen.

Na južnoj nekropoli Viminacijuma, u grobnim celinama su pronađena 92 perforirana novčića, pri čemu su daleko zastupljeniji kod inhumacija (40) nego u grobovima s kremacijama (15). Izvesno je da su znatno češći u grobovima inhumiranih pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta nego odraslih (29 od 40).¹²³ Veliki broj perforiranih novčića nađen je i u slojevima na nekropoli (37), što ukazuje na određenu ulogu koju su imali u ritualima prilikom daća. Perforirani novčići u grobovima dece prema starosnim skupinama dati su u tabeli 31.

On the southern Viminacium cemetery there were five graves containing necklaces that could be identified as *crepundiae* (Table 37). In 49 examples, apotropaic pendants (at least two of them) made of pieces of strings with different beads (usually made of glass) or bronze rings. Conditionally and based on their basic function to make jingling sounds, these strings could also be classified as *crepundiae* (in a wider sense of the word). In 35 children's graves there were apotropaic pendants worn as a single piece. From the southern Viminacium cemetery, there are several kinds of apotropaic and prophylactic pendants worn as a single piece or on strings.¹²¹

Perforated coins

All of the perforated coins discovered in the southern Viminacium cemetery have already been published within two papers,¹²² and this is why here we should only mention the most important elements of these studies, necessary for understanding the role of coins as parts of apotropaic strings. Primarily, bells on strings can be called “sounding amulets”; but secondarily, perforated coins would also belong to this category of amulets, since they repel evil forces with their sounds. Also, one should not neglect the apotropaic-prophylactic role of the material/metal the coins were made of.

In the southern Viminacium cemetery and within grave complexes, a total of 92 perforated coins has been unearthed. A larger number of them were discovered in graves with inhumations (40), than in those with cremations (15). It is certain that they were found much more often in graves with inhumated children than in those of adults (29 out of 40).¹²³ A huge number of perforated coins was also discovered in layers of the cemetery (37), indicating the specific role they played in funerary rituals during funerary feasts. The frequency of perforated coins in children's graves according to their age groups is shown in the following table:

121 Prilikom izlaganja odlučili smo se najpre za navođenje pojedinačnih vrsta privezaka zato što se na ogrlicama pojavljuju njihove najrazličitije kombinacije, ali i zbog pojave samo jednog privjeska u nekim grobovima.

122 Vojvoda 2015, 53–78; Vojvoda 2018, 65–87.

123 Nije zabeležen nijedan perforirani novčić u grobovima kremiranih pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta. U okviru kataloške grupe VIII, u dva groba (kat. 1641, 1669) su registrovani perforirani novčići, ali pripadaju odrasloj osobi, pored koje je sahranjeno dete.

121 During the course of our story, we decided to first name specific pendant forms, since on strings, a huge variety of pendant combinations appear, but also because in some graves, there were only single isolated pendants.

122 Vojvoda 2015, 53–78; Vojvoda 2018, 65–87.

123 Not a single perforated coin was discovered in graves of cremated children. Within catalogue group VIII, in two graves (Cat. nos. 1641, 1669), perforated coins were discovered, but they belong to the adult person next to whom a child was buried.

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Starosna skupina / Age group	Broj grobova s perforiranim novčićima / Number of graves with perforated coins	Jedanput perforirani novčići / Single perforated coins	Dva puta perforirani novčići / Double perforated coins	Tri puta perforirani novčići / Triple perforated coins	Ukupno perforiranih novčića / Total perforated coins	Neperforirani novčići u grobovima / Imperforated coins in graves
0–1 godine / year Kat. grupa / Cat. group I	8	4	/	5	9	6
2–4 godine / years Kat. grupa / Cat. group II	4	3	/	2	5	3
5–9 godina / years Kat. grupa / Cat. group III	1	2	/	/	2	1
Deca neutvrđene starosti / Children of undetermined age Kat. grupa / Cat. group VI	11	3	1	7	11	3
Jedno dete – jedna ili više odraslih osoba / One child – one or more adults Kat. grupa / Cat. group VIII	1	1	1	/	2	1
UKUPNO / TOTAL	25	13	2	14	29	14

Tabela 31 Zastupljenost perforiranih novčića u grobovima dece, prema starosnim skupinama
Table 31 Frequency of perforated graves in children's graves, by age groups

U osam grobova novorođenčadi pronađeno je devet perforiranih novčića. U četiri groba su činili delove ogrlice/niske, dok su u ostala četiri bili samostalni. Ogrlice/niske registrovane su na različitim mestima na telu pokojnika: na grudima (VG/G-1339; kat. 89; sl. 7.1–4), u predelu karlice (VG/G-247; kat. 36; sl. 8.1–8), ispod lonca pored pokojnika (VG/G-2116; kat. 122; sl. 9.2–4) ili su nepoznatog mesta nalaza (VG/G-1775; kat. 199; sl. 10.1–3). U četiri groba, u kojima su bili samostalni, bez perli ili privezaka, nalazili su se na grudima (tri puta perforiran novčić okružen s devet

A total of nine perforated coins was discovered in eight graves of newborns. In half of those graves, they were parts of necklaces/strings, while in four graves, they were discovered separately. The necklaces/strings were recorded in different positions regarding the deceased: upon the chest (VG/G-1339; Cat. no. 89; Fig. 7.1–4); in the pelvic area (VG/G-247; Cat. no. 36; Fig. 8.1–8); under a pot next to the deceased (VG/G-2116; Cat. no. 122; Fig. 9.2–4); or in an unknown position (VG/G-1775; Cat. no. 199; Fig. 10.1–3). In the remaining four cases, when they were discovered separately, without other beads or pendants, their positions were:

morskih školjki; VG/G-474; kat. 48), pored lobanje (VG/G-216; P/G-2947; kat. 160, 136), pored desne noge (VG/G-1025; kat. 76). Osim perforiranih, u četiri od ovih grobova registrovano je i šest neperforiranih novčića.

U četiri groba dece umrle između druge i četvrte godine (grupa II), perforirani novčići su činili delove većih ili manjih ogrlica koje su bile oko vrata (VG/G-2002; kat. 478; sl. 11.1–3), pored leve potkolenice (VG/G-1426; kat. 407; sl. 12.1–7), pored desne potkolenice (VG/G-1176; kat. 464; sl. 13.1–3)¹²⁴ ili su nepoznatog položaja (VG/G-706; kat. 380; sl. 14.1–3). Kod dece umrle između pete i devete godine života (grupa III), samo u jednom grobu su pronađeni perforirani novčići, i to dva (VG/G-1708; kat. 671; sl. 15.1–5). Pri tome, jedanput perforiran novčić bio je, zajedno sa srebrnim zvončićem, na grudima, dok je tri puta perforiran primerak nađen, s bronzanom karičicom zatvorenog tipa, pored levog lakta.¹²⁵ S obzirom na to da je pokojnik bio položen s prekrštenim rukama i podlakticama na grudima, možemo pretpostaviti da su dva perforirana novčića, zvonce, karičica i staklena perla (nađena na donjem delu torza) bili delovi jedne niske.¹²⁶

Osim 29 perforiranih, u grobovima dece je nađeno i 14 neperforiranih novčića (tabela 31). Hronološka analiza perforiranih primeraka pokazuje da uglavnom pripadaju emisijama iz 1. (13) i 2. veka (11), dok su emisije iz 3. veka zastupljene samo sa četiri novčića (tri iz provincijalne kovnice Nikeje i jedan antoninijan Aurelijana).¹²⁷ Međutim, među neperforiranim novčićima daleko su najprisutnija izdanja iz 2. veka (9) u poređenju s onima iz 1. (3) i 3. veka (1). To ukupno daje sledeći

a triple perforated coin upon the chest, surrounded by 9 sea-shells (VG/G-474; Cat. no. 48); next to the skull (VG/G-216; P/G-2947; Cat. nos. 160, 136); next to the right leg (VG/G-1025; Cat. no. 76). Among these graves, in four cases, besides perforated coins, a further six unperforated coins were unearthed.

Of four graves of children who passed away between the ages of 2 and 4 years (group II) and with perforated coins in them, in all cases they were parts of a larger or a smaller necklace discovered in the following positions: around the neck (VG/G-2002; Cat. no. 478; Fig. 11.1–3); next to the left lower leg (VG/G-1426; Cat. no. 407; Fig. 12.1–7); next to the right lower leg (VG/G-1176; Cat. no. 464; Fig. 13.1–3);¹²⁴ or with an unknown position (VG/G-706; Cat. no. 380; Fig. 14.1–3). Only in a single grave of a child who passed away between the ages of 5 and 9 (group III) was there a find of two perforated coins (VG/G-1708; Cat. no. 671; Fig. 15.1–5). In addition, a coin with a single perforation was discovered along with a silver bell upon the child's chest, while a coin perforated three times was found together with a bronze hoop of the closed type and next to the left elbow.¹²⁵ Since the deceased was laid down with arms crossed upon the chest and with the lower arms also upon the chest, we can presume that the two perforated coins, the bell, a ring and a glass bead (discovered at the lower torso part) all represented parts of the same string.¹²⁶

Besides 29 perforated coins, a further 14 unperforated coins were unearthed (Table 31). If the perforated coins are analysed chronologically, the largest number belongs to the series of the 1st (13) and the 2nd century (11), while only four pieces (3 coins from the provincial mint of Nicaea and one Antoninianus by Aurelianus) belong to a minting of the 3rd century.¹²⁷

124 U tom grobu je pronađena i bronzana bula, koja je nošena samostalno na grudima (sl. 23.4).

125 Takve karičice zatvorenog tipa (Milovanović 2007, 15–16, tip IV) obično se tumače kao „naušnice“ ili „prstenje“. Zajedno s narukvicama istog tipa, pod uticajima helenističke tradicije, predstavljaju nakit popularan na prostoru Balkana još u predrimsko vreme. Te karičice često su se koristile i kao privesci, kao što pokazuje ogrlica iz groba P/G-2722 (kat. 1688; sl. 27.4) ili iz VG/G-1708 (kat. 671; sl. 15.1–5). Osim toga, služile su kao alke za različite priveske (sl. 8.7–9).

126 Druga, zlatna naušnica pronađena je pored lobanje, dok je treći, neperforiran novčić nađen kraj desnog ramena.

127 Po jedan primerak perforiranih i neperforiranih novčića iz te grupe grobova je izgubljen. Iz tog razloga izostaju iz analize po vekovima.

124 In this grave, a bronze bulla was also discovered, worn separately upon the chest (Fig. 23.4).

125 These hoops of a closed type (Milovanović 2007, 15–16, type IV) are usually classified as an “earring” or a “finger ring”. Together with arm rings of the same type and under the influences of Hellenistic tradition, they belong to pieces of jewellery rather popular at the Balkans during pre-Roman times. Often, these hoops were also used as pendants, shown by the example from grave P/G-2722 (Cat. no. 1688, Fig. 27.4) or from VG/G-1708 (Cat. no. 671; Fig. 15.1–5). Additionally, they were used as hoops for different pendants (Fig. 8.7–9).

126 A second earring, made of gold, was discovered next to the skull, while a third unperforated coin was discovered next to the right shoulder.

127 A perforated and an unperforated coin from this group went missing. This is why they were excluded from the analysis by centuries.

odnos: 16 (1. vek) – 20 (2. vek) – 5 (3. vek) – 2 (izgubljena). Među emisijama iz 2. veka preovlađuju izdanja Trajana i Hadrijana i, u manjoj meri, Antonina Pija. Kao što je već pomenuto, većina monetarnih nalaza emitovanih u 1. veku priložena je u grobove iz 2. pa čak i 3. veka.¹²⁸ Ilustrativan primer predstavlja situacija u jednom od grobova iz kataloške grupe VIII (VG/G-1974; kat. 1669).¹²⁹ Najstariji primerak je perforirani as Kaligule (komemorativna emisija za Agripu), a među ostalih šest neperforiranih novčića nalaze se: asovi Neron i Domicijana, antoninijan Gordijana III i tri velike bronzne Trebonijana Gala i Emilijana provincijalne kovnice Viminacium. Hronološki raspon od najstarijeg do najmlađeg primerka u istom grobu iznosi između 216 i 212 godina.¹³⁰

Kao najmlađi, ali i usamljen primer, u grobovima dece ostaje perforirani antoninijan Aurelijana. Slične hronološke odnose pokazuju i grobovi odraslih individua s perforiranim novčićima, s tim što je zabeležen i jedan dva puta perforiran bronzani novac iz 4. veka. Pronađen je u grobu iz naše kataloške grupe VIII (P/G-1298; kat. 1641), ali nedvosmisleno pripada odrasloj osobi. Iz svega iznetog može se zaključiti da je običaj prilaganja perforiranih novčića na viminacijumskoj južnoj nekropoli očitio bio najpopularniji tokom 2. veka, i to većinom u grobove pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta.

U grupi dece neutvrđene starosti registrovano je 11 perforiranih novčića (tabela 31) u istom broju grobova. Kao delovi kompozitnih ogrlica/niski s bulama, falusoidnim privescima, čilibarskim perlama itd., pojavljuju se u tri groba: u drvenoj kutiji pored levog stopala (P/G-1807; kat. 1330; sl. 16.1–13), na grudima (P/G-4288; kat. 1345; sl. 17) i u predelu karlice (VG/G-1897; kat. 1395; sl. 18.1–3, 39.4).¹³¹ U šest grobova perforirani novčići su pronađeni bez perli ili privezaka, i to: pored lobanje (VG/G-1512; kat. 1384), na grudima (P/G-4160, P/G-2669; kat. 1236, 1332),

128 Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 28–29.

129 U pitanju je sahrana 10 slobodno ukopanih osoba, od kojih je jedno dete. Svih sedam novčića pripada odrasloj osobi, pokojniku označenom sa C.

130 As Kaligule datuje se šire, od 37. do 41. godine, a najmlađi, Emilijanov primerak u 253. godinu.

131 U tom grobu pronađena je, kraj stopala, još jedna niska, koja se sastoji od centralne perle od čilibara i osam staklenih perli (sl. 39.4). Ljubazno zahvaljujemo kolegici Dragani Spasić-Đurić na ustupljenim fotografijama iz dokumentacije Narodnog muzeja u Požarevcu.

However, among the unperforated coins, the most common ones are those from the 2nd century (9), compared to those from the 1st (3) and the 3rd century (1). In total, this reveals the following relationships: 16 (1st century) – 20 (2nd century) – 5 (3rd century) – 2 (lost). Among the series from the 2nd century, what prevails are coins of Trajan and Hadrian and, in a somewhat smaller amount, those of Antonius Pius. As was already mentioned, the majority of coin finds minted during the 1st century were deposited in graves from the 2nd and even the 3rd century.¹²⁸ The most illustrative example is a grave from the catalogue group VIII (VG/G-1974; Cat. no. 1669).¹²⁹ The oldest piece is a perforated as of Caligula (commemorative series for Agrippa), and among the six remaining unperforated coins, there are asses of Nero and Domitian, an Antoninianus by Gordian III and three large bronzes by Trebonianus Gallus and Aemilianus from the provincial mint in Viminacium. The chronological span from the oldest to the youngest piece within a single grave is between 216 and 212 years.¹³⁰

Chronologically, among children's graves, the youngest one remains the grave with a perforated Antoninianus by Aurelianus, but it also remains an isolated case. Graves with deceased adults and with perforated coins show similar chronological relationships, although a case of a single, double perforated bronze coin from the 4th century was discovered. It was excavated from a grave belonging to our catalogue group VIII (P/G-1298; Cat. no. 1641), but there is no doubt that it belonged to an adult. As a conclusion from all that was described above, the tradition of depositing perforated coins in the southern Viminacium cemetery was at its peak during the 2nd century, and it was mostly practiced with graves of deceased children.

In the group of deceased children's graves of undetermined age, there was the total of 11 perforated coins (Table 31) within the same number of graves. In three graves, they were encountered as parts of composite necklaces/strings, with *bullae*, phallus-shaped pendants, amber beads etc.: in a wooden box next to the left foot (P/G-1807; Cat. no. 1330; Fig. 16.1–13), on the chest (P/G-4288; Cat. no. 1345; Fig. 17) and in the

128 Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 28–29.

129 This is a plain burial of ten people including a child. All of the 7 coins belong to an adult person, the one marked C.

130 The as of Caligula has a wider dating, from the year 37–41, while the youngest piece by Aemilianus dates to the year 253.

pored karlice (P/G-227; kat. 1412) ili nepoznatog položaja u odnosu na telo pokojnika (P/G-3541, VG/G-1825; kat. 1229, 1286). Perforirani novčić je u dva groba nađen zajedno sa samo jednom perlom (P/G-342; kat. 1328) ili s bronzanom alkom (P/G-3562; kat. 1230). U okviru katalogske grupe VIII, u grobu VG/G-1335 (kat. 1698; sl. 19) nalazila se ogrlica koja je, osim novčića perforiranih jednom i dva puta, sadržavala i zub divljeg vepra, morsku školjku i staklene perle, a pripadala je pokojniku dečjeg uzrasta.

Samo u jednom grobu deteta umrlog u četvrtoj godini (P/G-5353; kat. 363; sl. 20.1) pojavljuje se novac u funkciji tzv. „monetarnog nakita”, tj. umetnut u okvir. Nađen je oko vrata pokojnika kao deo ogrlice sačinjene i od 24 staklene perle i srebrnog priveska u obliku lista bršljana. Nažalost, medaljon je izgubljen,¹³² tako da novac ne možemo sigurno opredeliti. Na osnovu podataka iz dokumentacije (srebrni novac prečnika 2,9 cm) možemo spekulirati da se radi pre o antoninijanu nego o denaru, ali u tom slučaju verovatno pripada ranim antoninijanima, koji su rađeni od dobrog srebra. Sačuvani crtež reversne predstave upućuje na prikaz Sola u kvadrigrji nalevo, koji susrećemo na samostalnim Karakalnim izdanjima.¹³³ Međutim, čak i hipotetičko utvrđivanje vremena kovanja predstavlja samo *terminus post quem* jer je obično novac najpre korišćen u primarnoj funkciji, a nakon izvesnog niza godina umetnut je u medaljon, nošen i tek potom priložen u grob s pokojnikom.¹³⁴ Među perlama sa ogrlice, jedna je sročolikog oblika, a jedna je s „okcima”. Privesci u obliku lista bršljana na srebrnim lancima bili su deo lokalne ženske nošnje i nošeni su na vratu ili

pelvic area (VG/G-1897; Cat. no. 1395; Fig. 18.1–3; Sl. 39.4).¹³¹ In six graves, perforated coins were discovered without beads or pendants in the following positions: next to the skull (VG/G-1512; Cat. no. 1384); on the chest (P/G-4160, P/G-2669; Cat. nos. 1236, 1332); next to the pelvis (P/G-227; Cat. no. 1412); in an unknown position regarding the deceased (P/G-3541, VG/G-1825; Cat. nos. 1229, 1286). In two graves, a perforated coin was discovered each with just a single bead (P/G-342; Cat. no. 1328) or with a bronze ring (P/G-3562; Cat. no. 1230). Within catalogue group VIII, in one of the graves (VG/G-1335; Cat. no. 1698; Fig. 19), a necklace was discovered containing a single and a double perforated coin along with a wild boar's tooth, a sea shell and glass beads, and it belonged to a deceased child.

Only in a single grave of a child who passed away during the fourth year of life (P/G-5353; Cat. no. 363; Fig. 20) was a coin unearthed that played the role of the so-called “monetary jewellery” – a coin inlaid into a frame. It was discovered around the neck of the deceased as part of a necklace consisting of 24 glass beads and a silver pendant in the shape of an ivy leaf. Unfortunately, the medallion is lost,¹³² and the coin cannot be specified any more. According to data from the field documentation (silver coin, diameter 2.9 cm) we can speculate that it was an Antoninianus rather than a denarius, but in this case most likely only an early Antoninianus, since they were made of high quality silver. The drawing of the image on the reverse seemingly shows Sol in a *quadriga* facing left, only depicted on coins minted by Caracalla.¹³³ However, even a hypothetical determination of the minting period of this coin represents only a *terminus post quem*, since, usually, coins were initially used in their primary function, only to be inlaid in a medallion after a certain number of years, worn and later deposited in a grave with the deceased.¹³⁴ Among the neck-

132 Medaljon je nestao tokom pljačke Narodnog muzeja u Požarevcu 1989. godine.

133 Npr. RIC IV.1, 251, no. 265.

134 Iz opisa u dokumentaciji jasno je da je bio vidljiv i avers, mada taj crtež ne postoji. Sličan okvir, ali od zlata, u koji je umetnut denar Julije Domne, pronađen je u kamenom sarkofagu 1 (grob 3) na lokalitetu Kod grobalja. Dok je na aversu bista carice, na reversu su biste Septimija Severa i Karakale, okrenute jedna prema drugoj (cf. Поповић 1993, 52, no. 8, T. IV.8). Denar pripada dinastičkoj emisiji II, koja je datovana u 201. godinu (cf. Hill 2001, 20, no. 523). Takvi privesci su, po I. Popović, korišćeni tokom celog 3. i u prvim decenijama 4. veka (cf. Поповић 1993, 55). Osim toga, autorka ističe da se najveća zastupljenost monetarnih privezaka i povećani obim produkcije te vrste nakita vezuju za period vladavine dinastije Severa (cf. Поповић 1993, 59).

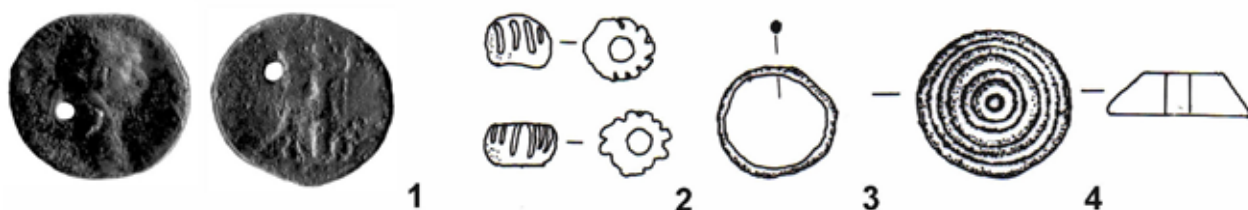
131 In this grave, next to the feet of the deceased, another string was unearthed with one central bead made of amber and 8 glass beads (Fig. 39.4). We kindly thank our colleague Dragana Spasić-Đurić for putting photographs from the Documentation of the National Museum in Požarevac at our disposal.

132 The medallion went missing in the robbery of the National Museum in Požarevac in 1989.

133 For example, RIC IV.1, p. 251, no. 265.

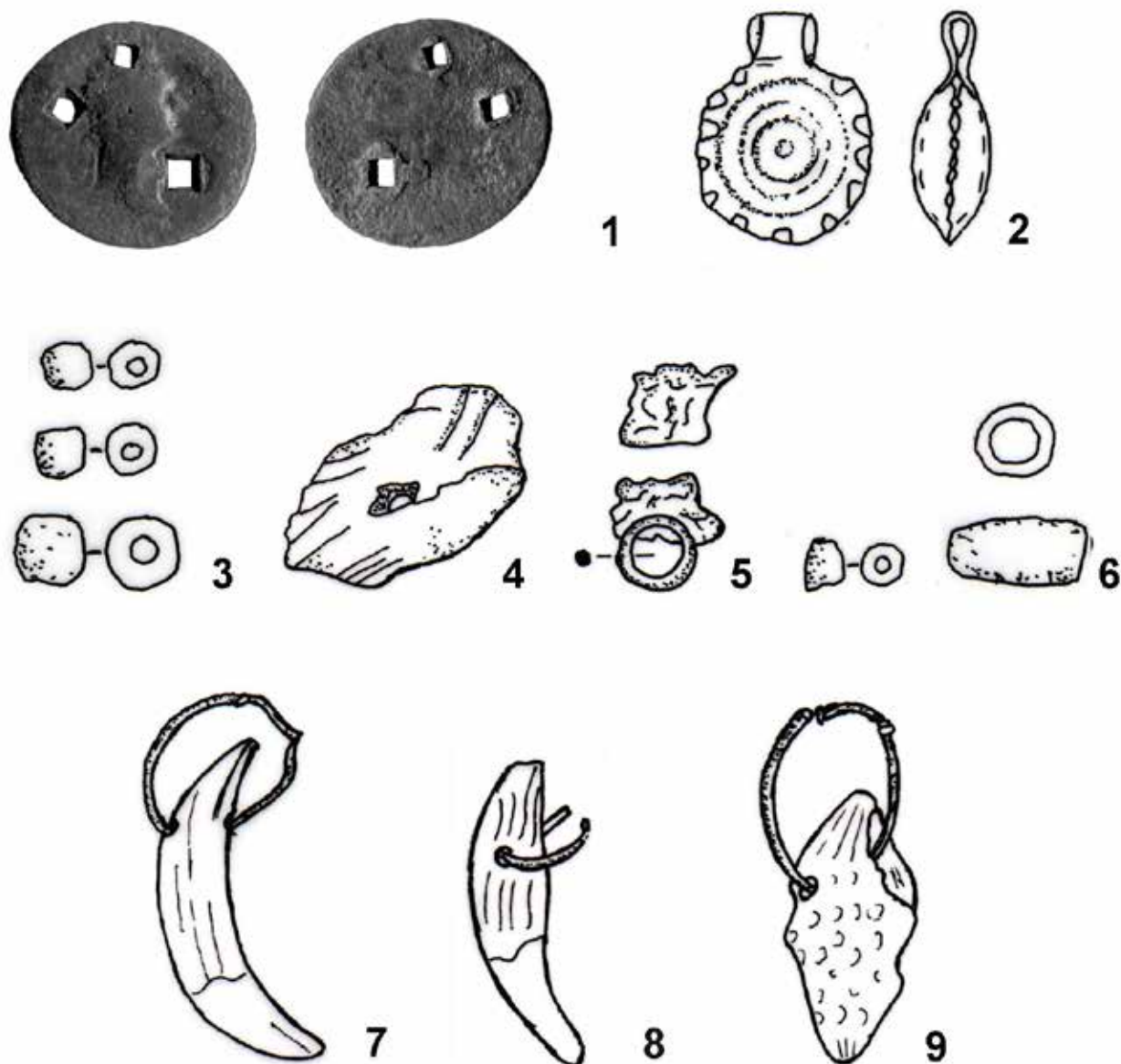
134 From the description in the field documentation, it is clear that the reverse was visible too, although this drawing does not exist. At the site of Kod grobalja, in a stone sarcophagus 1 (grave 3), a similar frame, although made of gold, was discovered, with an inlaid denarius by Julia Domna. The obverse

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 southern Viminacium cemetery



Sl. 7 Delovi ogrlice iz groba VG/G-1339, kat. 89: perforiran Trajanov novac (1), staklene perle (2), bronzana alka (3), stakleni privezak (4). Napomena: dimenzije ilustrovanih predmeta date su pre kataloga

Fig. 7 Parts of the necklace from grave VG/G-1339, Cat. no. 89: perforated Trajan coin (1), glass beads (2), bronze ring (3), glass pendant (4). Note: dimensions of the illustrated artifacts are prior to the catalogue

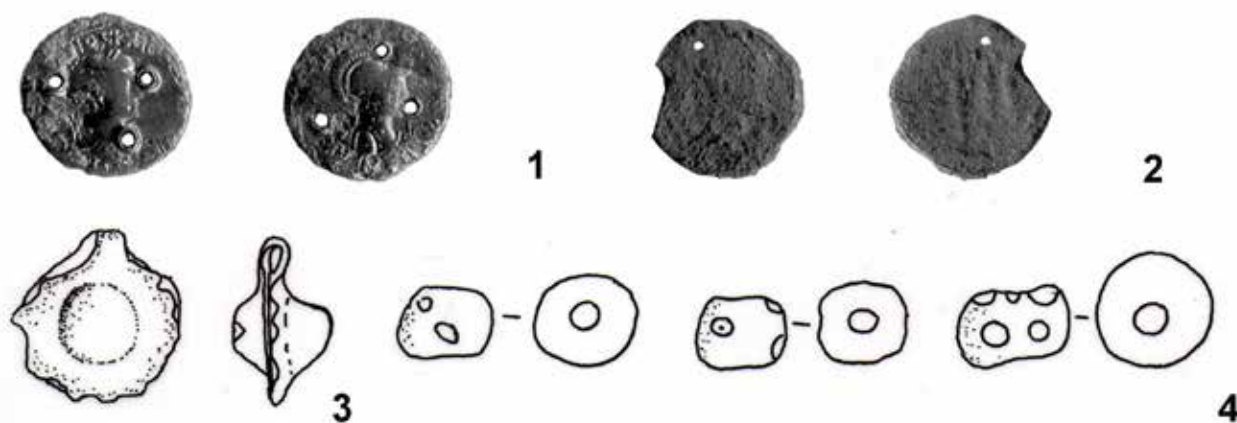


Sl. 8 Delovi niske iz groba VG/G-247, kat. 36: tri puta perforiran Domicijanov novac (1), bronzana bula (2), keramičke perle (3), ćilibarski privezak (4), bronzani privezak (5), staklene perle (6), privezak od zuba divljeg vepra s bronzanom karićicom (7), privezak od zuba govečeta s bronzanom alkom (8), privezak od morskog puža s bronzanom karićicom (9) (2–8 prema: Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, I, T. XLII/8–11; T. XLIII/12, 14–20)

Fig. 8 Parts of the string from grave VG/G-247, Cat. no. 36: triple perforated Domitian coin (1), bronze bulla (2), ceramic beads (3), amber pendant (4), bronze pendant (5), glass beads (6), wild boar tooth pendant with bronze hoop (7), cattle tooth pendant with bronze ring (8), sea snail pendant with bronze hoop (9) (2–8 after Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, T. XLII/8–11; T. XLIII/12, 14–20)

grudima, zajedno s lengerastim fibulama, o čemu svedoče reljefi na više nadgrobnih spomenika iz Podrinja,¹³⁵ kao i mnogobrojne ostave srebrnog nakita (sa ili bez novca) na području balkanskih i podunavskih provincija. Osim toga, privesci tog oblika nalazili su se i u sastavu ogrlica i naušnica,¹³⁶ a datuju se od kraja 2. do sredine 3. veka.¹³⁷ Takođe, iz susednog groba, u kome su sahranjene dve odrasle individue (P/G-5317), potiče izrazito profilisana bronzana fibula, koja se datuje u 2. i prvu polovinu 3. veka.¹³⁸

lace beads, one of them was heart shaped, while the other one was with “eyes”. Pendants in the shape of ivy leaves on silver chains made up part of a local female costume and they were worn around the neck or on the chest together with anchor shaped brooches. Reliefs on several tombstones from the Drina valley bear testimony to this,¹³⁵ as well as numerous hoards of silver jewellery (with or without coins), discovered in the area of the Balkans and the Danubian provinces. Besides that, pendants in the shape of an ivy leaf were worn on both necklaces or earrings¹³⁶ and they are dated from the end of the 2nd to the middle of the 3rd century.¹³⁷ In a neighbouring grave with two deceased adults (P/G-5317) a highly profiled brooch was unearthed, dated to the 2nd and the first half of the 3rd century.¹³⁸



Sl. 9 Delovi ogrlice iz groba VG/G-2116, kat. 122: tri puta perforiran Trajanov novac (1), perforiran novac iz 3. veka (2), bronzana bula (3), tri staklene perle (4)

Fig. 9 Parts of the necklace from grave VG/G-2116, Cat. no. 122: triple perforated Trajan coin (1), 3rd century perforated coin (2), bronze bulla (3), three glass beads (4)

135 Popović 2011, 182; Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2020, 39.

136 Popović 2011, 182.

137 Popović 1994, 25–31/89–94; Popović 1996, 139–140.

138 Redžić 2007, tip IX, var. 3, 27, no. 99.

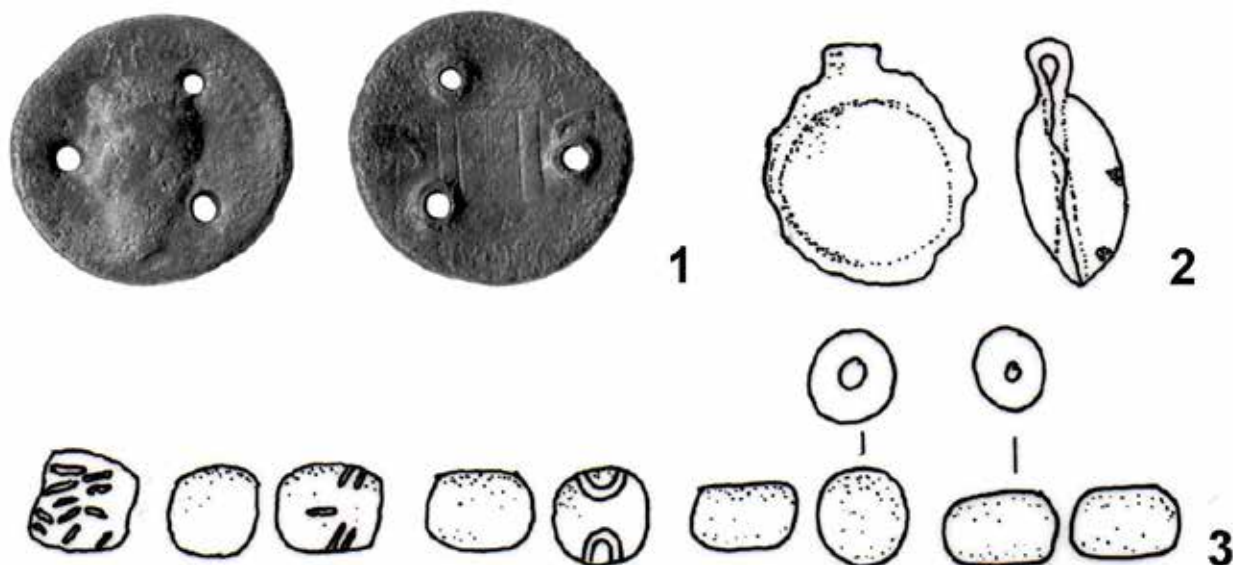
bears an image of a bust of the empress, the reverse depicts busts of Septimius Severus and Caracalla facing each other (cf. Поповић 1993, 52, no. 8, T. IV.8). The denarius belongs to a dynastic issue II, dated to the year 201 (cf. Hill 2001, p. 20, no. 523). According to I. Popović, such pendants were used during the entire 3rd century and the early decades of the 4th century (cf. Поповић 1993, 55). She also underlines the fact that the greatest frequency of monetary pendants and an increased production volume of this type of jewellery can be connected to the period of the Severii dynasty (cf. Поповић 1993, 59).

135 Popović 2011, 182; Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2020, 39.

136 Popović 2011, 182.

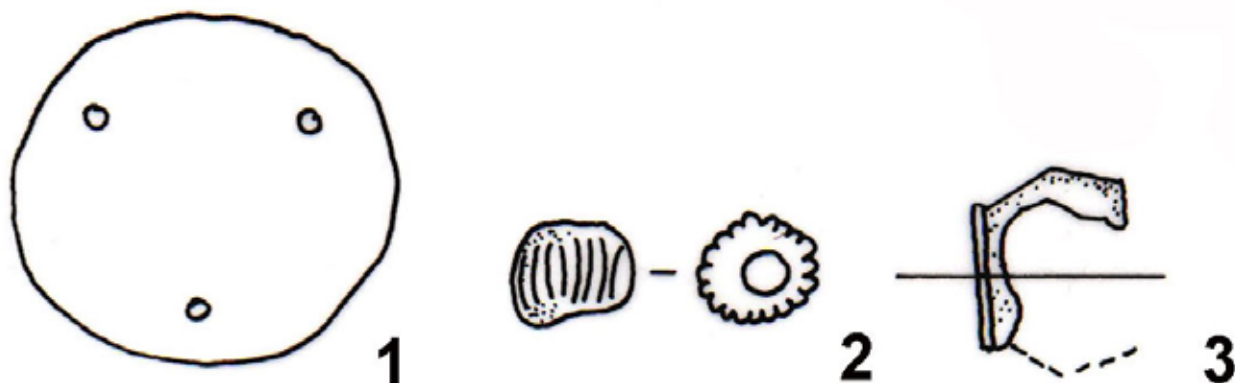
137 Popović 1994, 25–31/89–94; Popović 1996, 139–140.

138 Redžić 2007, type IX, var. 3, p. 27, no. 99.



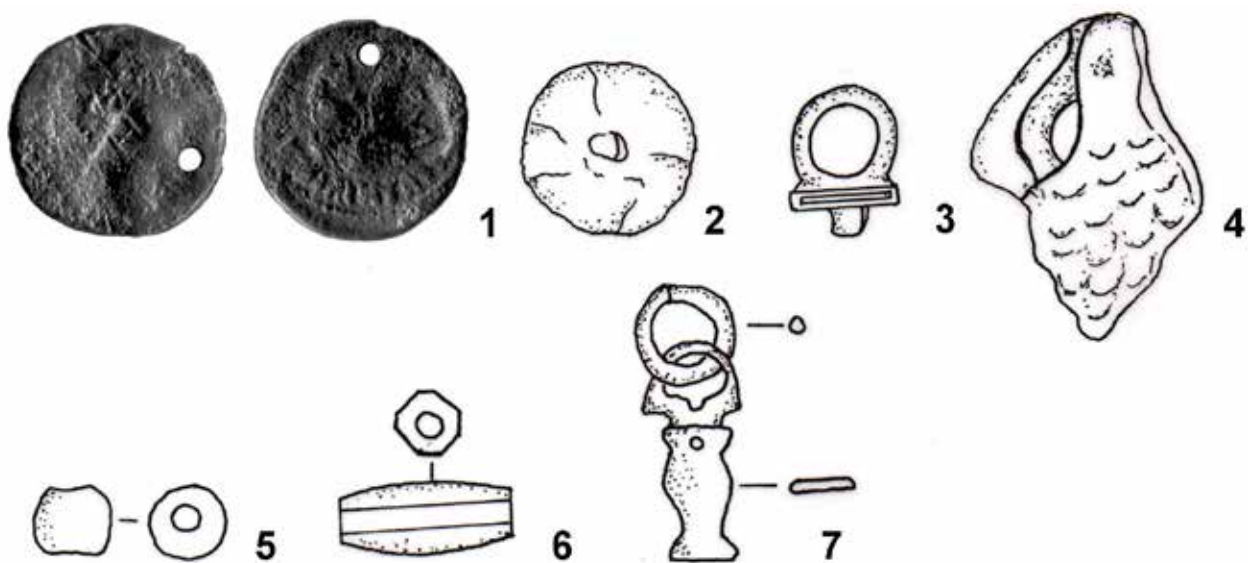
Sl. 10 Delovi ogrlice iz groba VG/G-1775, kat. 199: tri puta perforiran Neronov novac (1), bronzana bula (2), šest keramičkih i tri staklene perle (3)

Fig. 10 Parts of the necklace from grave VG/G-1775, Cat. no. 199: 1–3: triple perforated Nero coin (1), bronze bulla (2), six ceramic and three glass beads (3)



Sl. 11 Delovi ogrlice iz groba VG/G-2002, kat. 478: tri puta perforiran novac, izgubljen (1), staklena perla (2), bronzana perla (3)

Fig. 11 Parts of the necklace from grave VG/G-2002, Cat. no. 478: triple perforated coin, lost (1), glass bead (2), bronze bead (3)



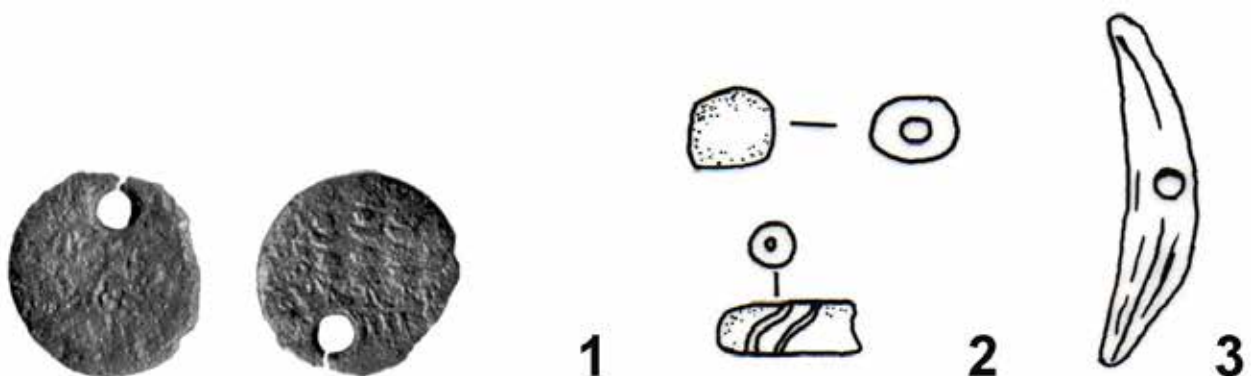
Sl. 12 Delovi niske iz groba VG/G-1426, kat. 407: perforiran Avgustov novac (1), perforiran kružni bronzani lim – privezak (2), bronzani privezak – glava igle (3), privezak od morskog puža (4), staklena perla (5), bronzana perla (6), bronzani privezak u sekundarnoj upotrebi – deo pojasne garniture (7)

Fig. 12 Parts of the string from grave VG/G-1426, Cat. no. 407: perforated Augustus coin (1), circular bronze perforated sheet–pendant (2), bronze pendant–hair-pin head (3), sea snail pendant (4), glass bead (5), bronze bead (6), bronze pendant in secondary use–part of a belt set (7)



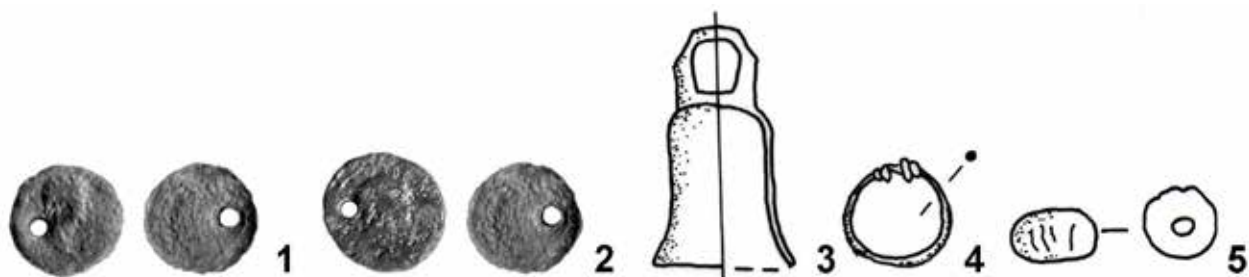
Sl. 13 Delovi niske iz groba VG/G-1176, kat. 464: tri puta perforiran novac iz 1. veka (1), perforiran novac iz prve polovine 3. veka (2), dve staklene perle (3)

Fig. 13 Parts of the string from grave VG/G-1176, Cat. no. 464: triple perforated 1st c. coin (1), first half 3rd c. perforated coin (2), two glass beads (3)



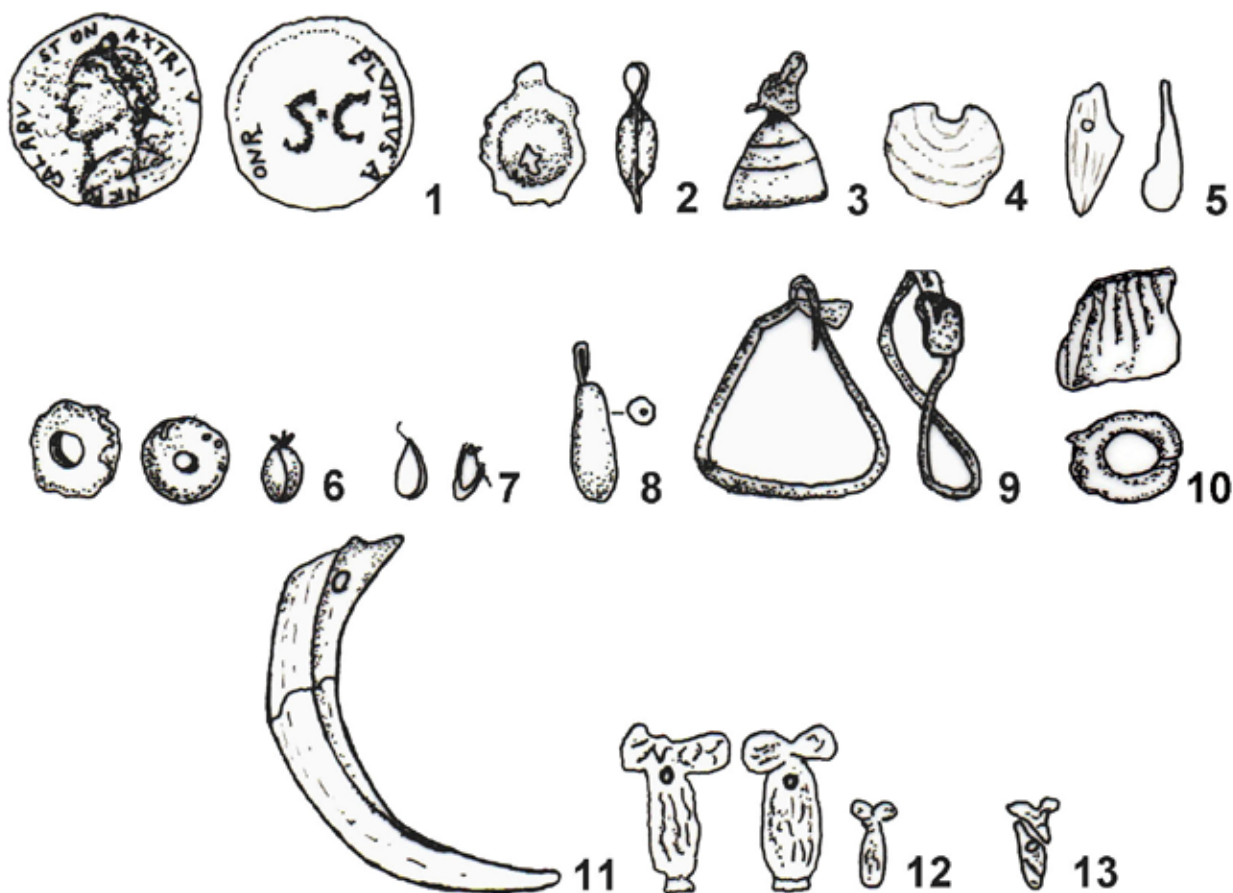
Sl. 14 Delovi ogrlice iz groba VG/G-706, kat. 380: perforiran provincijalni novac iz prve polovine 3. veka (1), dve staklene perle (2), privezak od zuba divlje životinje (3)

Fig. 14 Parts of the necklace from grave VG/G-706c, Cat. no. 380: first half 3rd c. perforated provincial coin (1), two glass beads (2), wild animal tooth pendant (3)



Sl. 15 Delovi ogrlice iz groba VG/G-1708, kat. 671: perforiran Hadrijanov novac (1), perforiran Trajanov novac (2), srebrno zvonce (3), bronzana karičica (4), staklena perla (5)

Fig. 15 Parts of the necklace from grave VG/G-1708, Cat. no. 671: perforated Hadrian coin (1), perforated Trajan coin (2), silver bell (3), bronze hoop (4), glass bead (5)



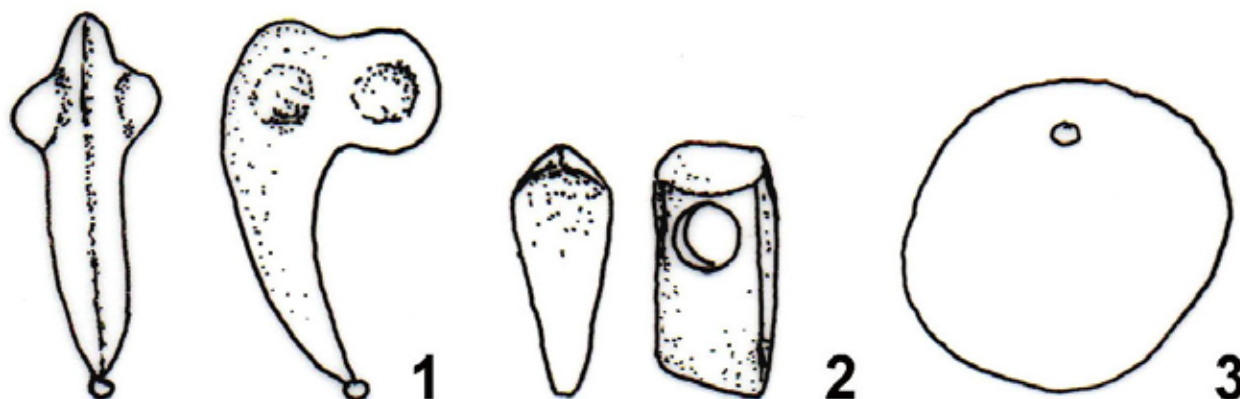
Sl. 16 Delovi jedne ili više niski iz groba P/G-1807, kat. 1330: perforiran Avgustov novac (1), bronzana bula (2), bronzani zvončić (3), perforirana morska školjka (4), privezak od zuba govečeta (5), tri staklene perle (6), dva privezaka od bronzane žice (7), keramički privezak s bronzanom alkom (8), bronzana igla modelovana kao privezak (9), privezak od jelenjeg roga (10), privezak od zuba divljeg vepra (11), tri koštana privezaka u obliku falusa (12), privezak u obliku falusa od karneola (13)

Fig. 16 Parts of one or more strings from grave P/G-1807, Cat. no. 1330: perforated Augustus coin (1), bronze bulla (2), bronze bell (3), perforated sea shell (4), bovine tooth pendant (5), three glass beads (6), two bronze wire pendants (7), ceramic pendant with bronze ring (8), bronze hair-pin modelled as pendant (9), deer antler pendant (10), wild boar tooth pendant (11), three bone phallic pendants (12), carnelian phallic pendant (13)

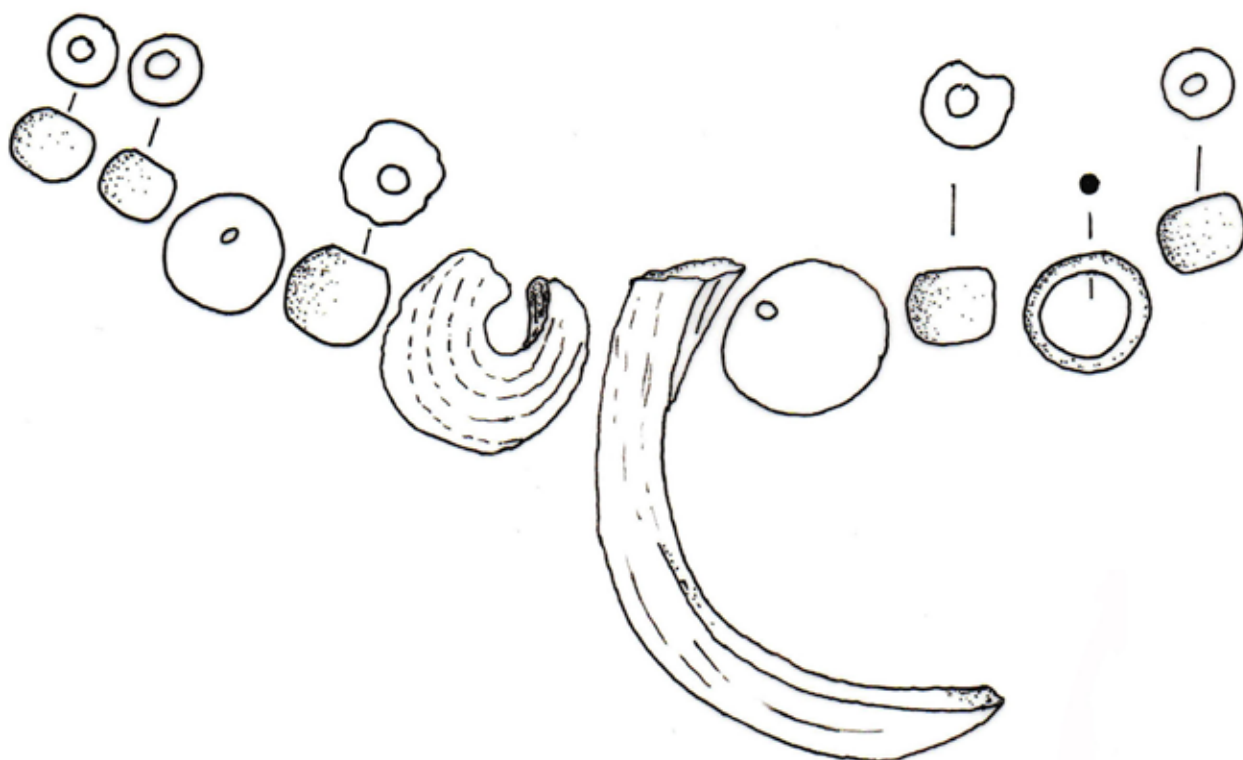
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Sl. 17 Ogrlica iz groba P/G-4288, kat. 1345, u smeru kazaljke na satu počev od novca: dva puta perforiran Hadrijanov novac, koštana perla, dve staklene perle, privezak od ćilibara, staklena perla, privezak od morskog puža, bronzana bula, kamena perla, keramički privezak, staklena perla (dokumentacija Narodnog muzeja u Požarevcu; foto: D. Spasić-Đurić)
Fig. 17 Necklace from grave P/G-4288, Cat. no. 1345, from the coin, moving clockwise: twice perforated Hadrian coin, bone bead, two glass beads, amber pendant, glass bead, sea snail pendant, bronze bulla, stone bead, ceramic pendant, glass bead (documentation of the National Museum Požarevac; photo: D. Spasić-Đurić)



Sl. 18 Delovi niske iz groba VG/G-1897, kat. 1395: bronzani privezak u obliku falusa (1), kameni privezak u obliku sekire (2), perforirani novac Marka Aurelija kao cezara (3) (prema: Спасић-Ђурић 2008, сл. 4.9)
Fig. 18 Parts of the string from grave VG/G-1897, Cat. no. 1395: phallic bronze pendant (1), ax shaped stone pendant (2), perforated Marcus Aurelius Caesar coin (after: Спасић-Ђурић 2008, сл. 4.9)



Sl. 19 Ogrlica iz groba VG/G-1335B, kat. 1698, nadesno: dve staklene perle, jednom perforiran novac, staklena perla, perforirana morska školjka, privezak od zuba divljeg vepra, dva puta perforiran novac, staklena perla, bronzana alka, staklena perla

Fig. 19 Necklace from grave VG/G-1335B, Cat. no. 1698, to the right: two glass beads, once perforated coin, glass bead, perforated sea shell, wild boar tooth pendant, twice perforated coin, glass bead, bronze ring, glass bead

Osim navedenih funkcija u pogrebnim ritualima (Haronov obol, zveckajuća amajlija, apotropejska uloga metala), treba razmotriti i mogućnost da je novac u grobovima, posebno dece, imao i sekundarno simboličko značenje, koje je bilo naglašeno izborom reversne predstave, odnosno potrebom da se ona posmatra kao izraz verovanja, osećanja i želja onoga ko ga je priložio.¹³⁹ Najpre je Perasi analizirala tipove reversnih predstava i legendi na novcu, upoređujući ih s antičkim literarnim i epigrafskim izvorima, i na taj način je izdvojila one sa eshatološkim značenjem. Došla je do zaključka da su takve legende i motivi gotovo uvek povezani s temama smrti i ponovnog rađanja ili su deo širih simboličkih interpretacija u tom smislu.¹⁴⁰ Sledeći njena istraživanja, Găzdac je proučavao čitljive nalaze novca s nekropola u Kar-

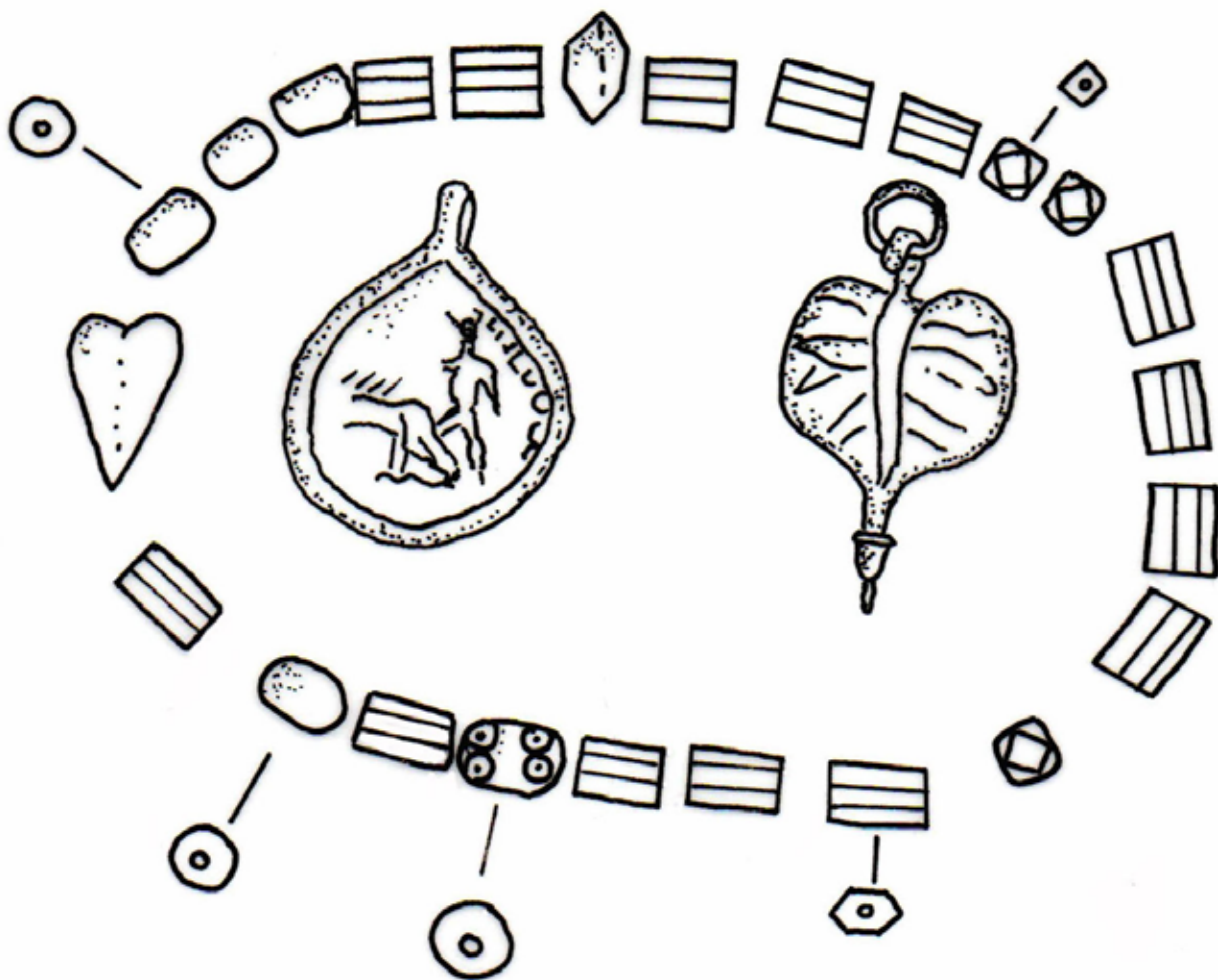
Besides the already described functions of coins in funerary rituals (Charon's obol, a jingling lucky charm, the apotropaic role of metal), one should also consider the possibility that coin finds from graves, especially children's graves, also possessed a secondary symbolic meaning indicated with the choice of a reverse image or a need to observe them as an expressions of the beliefs, feelings and wishes of the one who deposited it.¹³⁹ Initially, Perassi developed a method by combining types of reverse images and inscriptions on coins with antique literary and epigraphic sources, by which she distinguished an image with an eschatological meaning. She claimed that such legends and motifs were almost always connected to the theme of death and rebirth or that they represented parts of wider symbolic representations in this sense.¹⁴⁰ Following her method, Găzdac analysed

139 Na to je već ranije skrenuta pažnja, cf. Perassi 1999, 57–64, 66; Găzdac-Alföldy, Găzdac 2009, 161–173; Crummy 2010, 60–77; Jaeggi 2012, 237; Găzdac 2014, 95–140; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 37–45; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2017, 56–69.

140 Perassi 1999, 57–64.

139 Attention was already drawn to this cf. Perassi 1999, 57–64, 66; Găzdac-Alföldy, Găzdac 2009, 161–173; Crummy, 2010, 60–77; Jaeggi 2012, 237; Găzdac 2014, 95–140; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 37–45; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2017, 56–69.

140 Perassi 1999, 57–64.



Sl. 20 Ogrlica iz groba P/G-5353, kat. 363: 24 staklene perle, srebrni privezak u obliku lista bršljana, medaljon (novac u srebrnom okviru)

Fig. 20 Necklace from grave P/G-5353, Cat. no. 363: 24 glass beads, silver ivy leaf shaped pendant, medallion (coin in silver sheet)

nuntumu (*Carnuntum*), Akvinkumu (*Aquincum*) i Matrici.¹⁴¹ Njegove analize nisu bile usmerene posebno na sahrane dece, već na čitljive novčiće iz svih grobova s navedenih nekropola. Ako bi na isti način (sa eshatološkim značenjem, sa uslovno es-

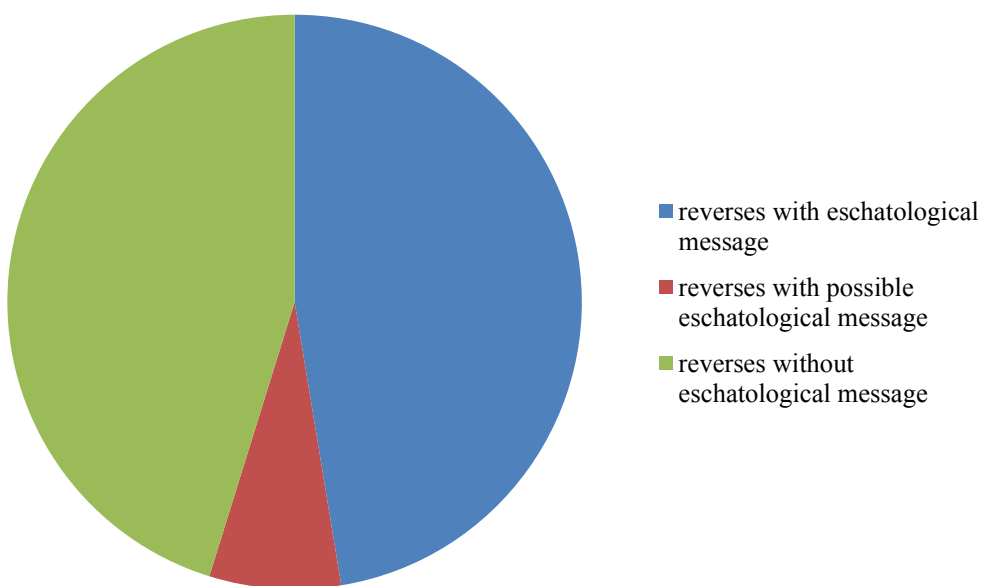
legible legends on coin finds from the cemeteries in *Carnuntum*, *Aquincum* and *Matrica*.¹⁴¹ These analyses by Găzduc were not specifically focused

141 Od 102 čitljiva novčića izdvojio je 42 s direktnim eshatološkim značenjem (s legendama: *aeternitas*, *diva*, *divi*), ili sa eshatološkim simbolima: polumesec sa zvezdama, divojarac, paun; boginje i personifikacije povezane sa eshatološkim ritualima: Junona, Dijana, Fortuna, Providencija, Spes, Pijetas, Salus itd.), 29 novčića čije bi predstave mogle uslovno biti povezane sa zagrobnim životom (Felicitas ili Securitas kao *perpetua*, Paks kao *aeterna*, motivi oltara ili božanstava koja prinose žrtvu na oltar, predstave brodova, vučica i blizanci itd.), dok je 31 novčić, po njemu, priložen u grobove bez poznatog eshatološkog značenja. S obzirom na iznete brojeve, proizlazi odnos tri izdvojene grupe novca, po Găzduku: 41,20% – 28,40% – 30,40%. Procenti su izračunati na osnovu kataloga, cf. Găzduc 2014, 103–120.

141 Of 102 legible coins, he extracted 42 bearing a direct eschatological meaning (with legends such as: *aeternitas*, *diva*, *divi*; or with eschatological symbols, such as: crescent with stars, goat, peacock; goddesses and personifications connected to eschatological rituals: Juno, Diana, Fortuna, Providence, Spes, Pietas, Salus, etc.) 29 coins bearing images that could conditionally be connected to the afterlife (Felicitas or Securitas as *perpetua*; Pax as *aeterna*; motifs of altars and deities sacrificing something on an altar; images of ships; the wolverine and the twins, etc.), while, according to him, 31 coins deposited as grave goods bore no familiar eschatological meaning. According to the numbers stated here, what becomes apparent is that according to Găzduc, three separate coin groups can be distinguished: 41.20% – 28.40% – 30.40%. The percentage was calculated according to the catalogue, cf. Găzduc 2014, 103–120.

hatološkim i bez eshatološkog značenja) razvrstali čitljive novčiće iz grobova dece sa južne viminacijumske nekropole, dobili bismo sledeće odnose: 47,40% – 7,40% – 45,20% (grafikon 6). Proizlazi da su predstave sa eshatološkim motivima, zajedno s grupom uslovno tako protumačenih, u blagoj prednosti u odnosu na one koje to nisu.

on children's funerals, but on legible coins from all of the graves discovered at the cemeteries mentioned above. If, by applying the same method, we sorted the legible coins from children's graves excavated from the southern Viminacium cemetery, we would gain the following relationships: 47.40% – 7.40% – 45.20% (Graph 6). It turns out that the images with eschatological motifs, along with the group of coins conditionally specified as such, possess certain advantages to those that do not possess these features.



Grafikon 6 Tipovi reversa novca iz grobova dece sa južne nekropole Viminacijuma

Graph 6 Coin reverse types from children's graves from the southern Viminacium cemetery

Proučavajući novac s nekropola u Brigetiju (*Brigetio*) i Apulumu (*Apulum*),¹⁴² Gazdac je primenio drugi metod, koji je kasnije preuzet i za analizu monetarnih nalaza iz svih grobova sa južne nekropole Viminacijuma.¹⁴³ Reversni tipovi sažeti su u tri grupe: I – civilni, II – vojni, III – religiozni, s tri podgrupe: IIIa – personifikacije blagonaklonosti, IIIb – konsekrativni tipovi/žrtvovanja/pijetet, IIIc – opšti religiozni.

With coin finds from the cemeteries in *Brigetio* and *Apulum*, C. Gazdac applied another method,¹⁴² later accepted for the analysis of monetary finds from all of the graves from the southern Viminacium cemetery.¹⁴³ All of the reverse types were separated into three groups: I – civil, II – military, III – religious, with three subgroups: IIIa – personifications of affinity, IIIb – consecrated types/sacrificing/esteem, IIIc – religious in general.

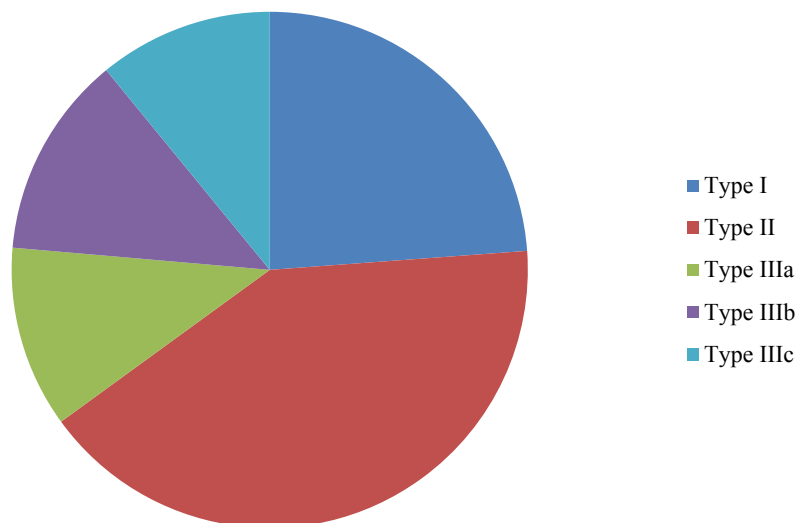
¹⁴² Gazdac-Alföldy, Gazdac 2009, 166–170.

¹⁴³ Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 38–39, grafikoni 9–10; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2017, 56–69, grafikoni 8–9.

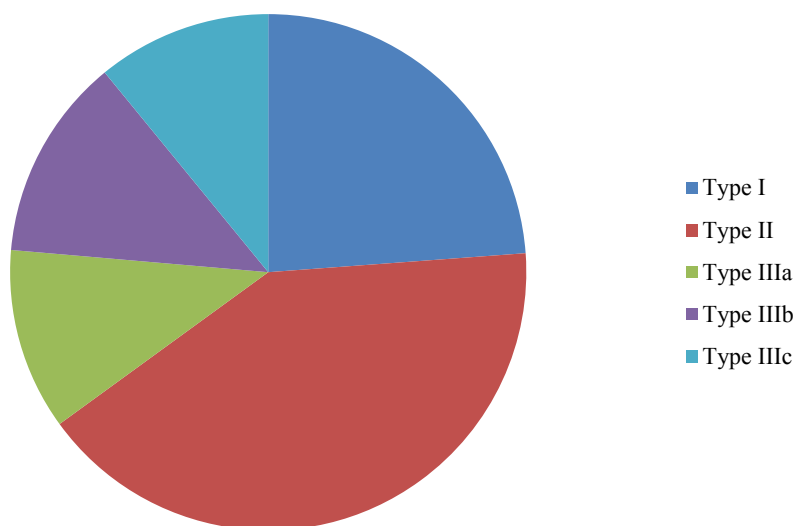
¹⁴² Gazdac-Alföldy, Gazdac 2009: 166–170.

¹⁴³ Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 38–39, Graphs 9–10; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2017, 56–69, Graphs 8–9.

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Grafikon 7 Tipovi reversa novca s cele južne nekropole Viminacijuma
Graph 7 Coin reverse types from all the graves from the southern Viminacium cemetery



Grafikon 8 Tipovi reversa novca iz grobova dece na južnoj nekropoli Viminacijuma
Graph 8 Coin reverse types from children's graves from the southern Viminacium cemetery

Poređenje rezultata dobijenih analizom reversnih predstava na novcu iz svih grobova na južnoj nekropoli Viminacijuma (grafikon 7) i onih iz grobova dece (grafikon 8) pokazuje da razlika u pogledu zastupljenosti postoji jedino između grupa IIIa i IIIb. U grobovima dece su opšti tipovi prisutniji nego konsekrativni/žrtvovanja/pijetet, koji su češći u grobovima odraslih.

Krami je dala svoje tumačenje uloge reversnih predstava u sahranama dece, po kome su neke umrlom detetu bile simbolične supstitucije za roditelje, a druge su bile povezane s idejom ponov-

If we compare the results gained after the analysis of reverse images from all of the graves from the southern Viminacium cemetery (Graph 7) and of those from children's graves (Graph 8), the only groups that show differences in percentages are IIIa and IIIb. In children's graves, general religious types are more frequent than those with consecrated/sacrificing/esteem images, those being more frequent in the graves of adults.

N. Crummy explained her idea of the role of reverse images in children's graves. According to her, some of them represent a symbolic substitute

nog rađanja.¹⁴⁴ Analizom uzoraka koje je koristila, dobila je sledeće odnose: A – 25%, B – 40%, A/B – 5%, C – 20%, B/C – 10%.¹⁴⁵ Metod je razvijen na malom broju od 20 grobova dece iz Kolčestera (Colchester), a prema M. Kerol, taj obrazac nije prepoznat u Marselju.¹⁴⁶ Metod smo primenili i na novčiće iz grobova dece sa južne viminacijumske nekropole i dobili smo sledeće odnose: A – 57%, B – 27,60%, A/B – 5%, C – 10%, B/C – 0,40%. Pošto smo raspolagali s daleko većim brojem novčića iz grobova dece (262), možemo zaključiti da ne prepoznajemo obrazac iz Kolčestera, osim u istom procentu grupe A/B.

Bez obzira na iznete različite metode utvrđivanja uloge reversnih predstava u pogrebnim ritualima i njihove rezultate, smatramo da je to tema kojoj treba posvetiti pažnju u budućim istraživanjima monetarnih nalaza s nekropola širom Rimskog carstva, što nas svakako može približiti istini. Dosadašnja analiza funkcije novca u pogrebnim ritualima na južnoj viminacijumskoj nekropoli pokazuje da je bila znatno kompleksnija nego što se to na prvi pogled čini.

Bule

Bule su privesci od plemenitih metala ili bronzne, načinjeni od lima presavijenog tako da dve njegove izbočene polovine čine predmet u obliku šuplje lopte, prečnika 2–3 cm, mada se javljaju i veće. Zanimljivo je da se na većini nadgrobničkih stela prikazuju preuveličane, verovatno radi isticanja estetsko-ideološke pozadine tih predmeta s naglašenim simboličkim karakterom.¹⁴⁷ Većina pisanih izvora saglasna je u tome da je bula označavala društveni status i da su je, u apotropejsko-profilaktičkoj funkciji, nosili slo-

144 Deleći ih na sledeće kategorije: A – ženska božanstva i personifikacije koje predstavljaju materinski/majčinski princip; B – predstave muških božanstava koja imaju funkciju muške, ratničke zaštite; A/B – Minerva kao ratnica predstavlja preklapanje prve dve grupe; C – predstave koje nagoveštavaju uskrnuće, naročito one iz 4. veka, kada nestaje sparivanje muškog i ženskog principa; B/C – predstava cara s labrumom sa chi-rho, po njoj preklapa grupe muškog principa (B) i uskrnuća (C); cf. Crummy 2010, 60–66, fig. 13, Table 3.

145 Procenti su izračunati na osnovu podataka Crummy 2010, 62, Table 3.

146 Carroll 2018, 201.

147 Migotti 2007, 189, ref. 6.

for parents of the deceased children, while others connect to the idea of rebirth.¹⁴⁴ After the analysis of samples she used, she obtained the following results: A – 25%; B – 40%; A/B – 5%; C – 20%; B/C – 10%.¹⁴⁵ The method was developed on a small sample of twenty children's graves from Colchester. According to M. Carroll, this pattern was not recognised in Marseille.¹⁴⁶ We applied the same method on the sample of children's graves from the southern Viminacium cemetery and reached the following results: A – 57%; B – 27.60%; A/B – 5%; C – 10%; B/C – 0.40%. Since we had a much larger number of samples (262) at our disposal, we can conclude that here again, the pattern from Colchester was not recognised, except for the same percentage of group A/B.

Regardless of the several different methods of establishing the role of reverse images in funerary rituals and their results, we consider this topic to be one that deserves more attention during further research of monetary finds throughout the Roman Empire, since it could reveal their true meaning. The analysis of monetary finds in funerary rituals conducted so far indicates that it is much more complex than was estimated at first glance.

Bullae

Bullae represent pendants made of precious metals or bronze, made of metal sheets bent in such a way that its two protruded halves make an object in the shape of a hollow ball. Its diameter is usually 2–3 cm, although bigger samples also occur. It is interesting that in the majority of monuments, they are represented on a larger scale, possibly because of the aesthetic-ideological background of the objects with underlined symbolic features.¹⁴⁷ Most of the written sources

144 By dividing them into the following categories: A – female deities and personifications that incorporate a maternal/mother's principle; B – images of male deities that have a function of male warrior's protection; A/B – Minerva as a warrior representing the overlapping of the previous two groups; C – images that indicate resurrection, especially those from the 4th century, when the pairing of a male and a female principle ceases to exist; B/C – image of an emperor with a *labrum* and XP, according to her representing the overlapping of the male principle (B) and resurrection (C); cf. Crummy 2010, 60–66, Fig. 13, Table 3.

145 Percentages were calculated according to data from Crummy 2010, 62, Table 3.

146 Carroll 2018, 201.

147 Migotti 2007, 189, ref. 6.

bodno rođeni dečaci do uzrasta kada su dečačku (*toga praetexta*) zamenjivali muškom togom (*toga virilis*), a bulu zavetovali larima.¹⁴⁸ Izvori navode zlatnu bulu koja je postala uobičajen atribut dečaka iz elitnih porodica tokom srednjeg republikanskog doba, a u vreme Avgusta je taj običaj bio proširen i na porodice slobodnih građana. Dobijali su je na rođenju ili nedelju dana kasnije, na *dies lustricus*,¹⁴⁹ što potvrđuju italske votivne terakote na kojima su prikazane bule oko vrata novorođenčadi.¹⁵⁰ Bule nađene u Panoniji i Meziji, koje su uglavnom bronzane, dok su zlatne ili srebrne izuzetno retke, govore u prilog tog promeni u vreme principata.¹⁵¹ Antički pisci su veoma neodređeni po pitanju da li su bule nosile i devojčice i odrasle žene, a možda i odrasli muškarci. Najviše rasprava izazivao je Plautov navod (*Rudens*) da su i devojčice mogle dobiti bulu na rođenju i da su je nosile do udaje, kada su je posvećivale Junoni, ili Makrobijevo pominjanje bule kao odlikovanja za vojne pobeđe.¹⁵²

Na osnovu analize nalaza bula iz grobova u obe Panonije, B. Migotti je došla do sledećih rezultata: šest bula je položeno uz decu neodređe-

agree that *bullae* represented a status and apotropaic-religious mark of free-born boys up to the moment they replaced their boy's toga (*toga praetexta*) with a man's one (*toga virilis*) and sacrificed their *bullae* to the *lares*.¹⁴⁸ Sources mention that during the time of the Middle Republic, a golden *bullae* came to be a common attribute of boys from elite families, only to become a widespread tradition of free citizens' families during the time of Augustus. According to sources, boys were given a *bullae* at birth or a week later, at *dies lustricus*,¹⁴⁹ also confirmed with italic votive terracottas on which *bullae* are represented around the necks of newborns in swaddling clothes.¹⁵⁰ *Bullae* finds from Pannonia and Moesia, mostly made of bronze and extremely rarely of gold or silver, speak in favour of the change that took place during the Principate.¹⁵¹ When it comes to the question as to whether girls and grown women also wore *bullae*, possibly even grown men, written sources are very vague. A huge discussion was initiated due to Plautus' quote (*Rudens*) that girls could also have been given a *bullae* at birth and they wore it until they got married, only to dedicate it to Juno, or a quote by Macrobius that *bullae* were given as benefits to victorious soldiers.¹⁵²

148 Cicero, *Against Verres* 2.1.152: „Prema tome, o Hortenzije, nisu njegove godine već njegov razlog, ne njegova odeća već njegova sreća, kako vam se dobro čini izazvali to opšte osećanje. Niti vas je toliko dirnulo to što je došao u togi *praetexta*, već što je došao bez bule. Jer ni na koga nije uticala ta odeća koju su mu običaj i pravo rođenja dozvoljavali da nosi, već su ljudi bili ogorčeni, čak vrlo ogorčeni, što mu je taj razbojnik oduzeo amulet iz detinjstva, dokaz i znak dobre sudbine koji mu je otac dao.“; Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 84: „Većina dama je učinila to sa svojim nakitom, sa bulama i odećom svoje dece“; Titus Livius, *The History of Rome*, 26.36.6: „...zlato, srebro, bronza, hajde da mi senatori sutra sve unesemo u riznicu, uz uslov da svako ostavi prsten za sebe i za svoju ženu i svoju decu, i bulu za sina, a oni koji imaju supruge ili ćerke mogu ostaviti za svaku uncu zlata.“; Plutarch, *Romulus* 20.3: „...i da njihova deca treba da nose neku vrstu ogrlice, „bulu“, tako nazvanu zbog njenog oblika i ogrtač obrubljen purpustom“; Migotti 2007, 191, ref. 11; Faraone 2018, 49, ref. 139.

149 Szilágyi 2005, 20, ref. 51–52, s navedenom literaturom.

150 Carroll 2018, 99, ref. 69.

151 Dasen 2015a, 195, ref. 77, 78; Migotti 2007, 191, 204, 207; Carroll 2018, 99, ref. 68.

152 Plautus, *Rudens* 1171: „*Et bulla aurea est, pater quam dedit mi natali die*.“; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.6.10: „*Nam sicut praetexta magistratum, ita bulla gestamen erat triumphantium, quam in triumpho prae se gerebant inclusis intra eam remediis quae crederent adversus inviam valentissima*.“ Migotti 2007, 191, ref. 12.

148 Cicero, *Against Verres* 2.1.152: “Therefore, O Hortensius, it was not his age but his cause, not his dress but his fortune, that seemed to you calculated to rouse the popular feeling. Nor did it move you so much that he had come wearing *toga praetexta*, as that he had come without the *bullae*. For no one was influenced by that dress which custom and the right of his free birth allowed him to wear. Men were indignant, and very indignant, that the ornament of childhood which his father had given him, the proof and sign of his good fortune, had been taken from him by that robber”; Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 84: “Most of the ladies did the same by their jewellery, with the *bullae*, and mantles of their children.”; Titus Livius, *The History of Rome*, 26.36.6: “...gold, silver, coined bronze, let us senators bring it all into the treasury tomorrow, with the reservation that each is to leave a ring for himself and for his wife and his children, and a *bullae* for a son, and those who have a wife or daughters may leave for each an ounce of gold by weight.”; Plutarch, *Romulus* 20.3: “...and that their children should wear a sort of necklace, the ‘*bullae*’, so called from its shape and a robe bordered with purple.”; Migotti 2007, 191, ref. 11; Faraone 2018, 49, ref. 139.

149 Szilágyi 2005, 20, ref. 51–52 with literature.

150 Carroll 2018, 99, ref. 69.

151 Dasen 2015a, 195, ref. 77, 78; Migotti 2007, 191, 204, 207; Carroll 2018, 99, ref. 68.

152 Plautus, *Rudens* 1171: “*Et bulla aurea est, pater quam dedit mi natali die*.”; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.6.10: “*Nam sicut praetexta magistratum, ita bulla gestamen erat*

nog pola, tri su bile uz dečake, pet uz devojčice i po jedna uz odraslu ženu i odraslog muškarca. To pokazuje da je bula imala poseban značaj i u devojačkom svetu, iako ukupna građa upućuje na to da je u kasnoj antici bila pretežno dečaćki predmet.¹⁵³ S obzirom na pomenuta ograničenja antropoloških analiza 80-ih godina prošlog veka, sprovedena na viminacijumskoj južnoj nekropoli,¹⁵⁴ nismo u mogućnosti da iznesemo podatke o polu deteta u čijem je grobu nađena bula. Ali, s druge strane, možemo sigurno tvrditi da je najmanje osam grobova odraslih inhumiranih pokojnika, kao i dva groba s kremacijama, sadržalo bule kao priloge. Na južnoj nekropoli Viminacijuma nađeno je 148 bula, od toga 39 u 34 groba dece (tabela 32), a 56 primeraka u slojevima na nekropoli (žrtvene površine pored pojedinačnih ili grupe grobova). Osim toga, još 53 bule potiču iz 27 grobova inhumiranih pokojnika (29 bula) i iz 22 groba s kremacijom (24 bule).¹⁵⁵ Samo u slučaju dva groba s kremiranim pokojnicima raspoložemo antropološkim analizama. U jednom je sahranjen odrasli muškarac, a u drugom žena oko 20 godina starosti. U pomenutih 27 grobova s inhumacijom, devet bula sigurno pripada odraslim osobama: muškarcu starom do 23 godine (dve bule u grobu), muškarcima do 35, 40, 45 i 60 godina starosti (dva groba), ženama do 30 (dva groba) i ženi do 45 godina.¹⁵⁶ Najmanje devet odraslih individua imalo je bulu kao priloge, što nije zanemarljiv podatak.

Najveći broj bula iz tih grobova je okruglog oblika, s trakastim vodoravnim ušicama za vešanje, a samo četiri primerka imaju izdužene

Based on bulla finds from both of the Pannonia provinces, B. Migotti reached the following results: 6 *bullae* were discovered alongside children of undetermined gender, 3 *bullae* alongside boys, 5 *bullae* alongside girls and once in each case of a grown woman and a grown man. This indicates that it also possessed a special meaning in the world of young women, although finds indicate that during Late Antiquity, it was mostly a young boy's possession.¹⁵³ Regarding the already mentioned limited anthropological research from the 1980s of the southern Viminacium cemetery,¹⁵⁴ we are not able to provide any data connected to the gender of children buried in graves in which *bullae* were unearthed. On the other hand, though, we can claim that at least eight graves of inhumated adults and two cremations contained *bullae* as grave goods. In the southern Viminacium cemetery, a total of 148 *bullae* has been unearthed, of which 39 *bullae* were in 34 children's graves (Table 32) and 56 *bullae* were from the layers of the cemetery (sacrificial areas next to individual or group graves). Another 53 *bullae* came from 27 graves of inhumated deceased (29 *bullae*) and 22 from cremations (24 *bullae*).¹⁵⁵ Only in two cases of graves with cremated remains do we possess anthropological analyses. In one of them, a grown man was buried, while in the other was a woman of about 20 years of age. Of the 27 graves with inhumated remains containing *bullae* as grave-goods, nine of them can be described as adult graves with great certainty: a man of up to 23 years of age (two *bullae* as grave-goods), a man of up to 35 years of age, a man of up to 40 years of age, a man of up to 45 years of age, men up to 60 years of age (two graves), women up to 30 years of age (two graves) and a woman of up to 45 years of age.¹⁵⁶ At

153 Migotti 2007, 207.

154 Očekujemo da ćemo na osnovu savremenih antropoloških analiza osteoloških ostataka sa novih istraživanja južne viminacijumske nekropole dobiti informacije o polu umrle dece, a zahvaljujući tome i rezultate o upotrebi bula.

155 U nepublikovanoj magistarskoj tezi, G. Stojić je obradio ukupno 167 bula, od kojih je 147 pronađeno na južnoj nekropoli, a 20 na istočnoj. Od toga su jedna zlatna, 11 srebrnih i 156 bronzanih (cf. Stojić 2015, 10–42).

156 Za navedene grobove raspoložemo antropološkim analizama. Kod narednih devet grobova iz te grupe možemo s dozom opreznosti pretpostaviti da se takođe radi o grobovima odraslih individua, prema veličini grobne rake ili konstrukcije, iako za njih nemamo antropološke podatke. U ostalim slučajevima (još 10 grobova) u pitanju su ili grobovi bez osteološkog materijala ili devastirani grobovi.

triumphantium, quam in triumpho prae se gerebant inclusis intra eam remediis quae crederent adversus invidiam valentissima." Migotti 2007, 191, ref. 12.

153 Migotti 2007, 207.

154 We expect that, after modern anthropological analyses of osseous finds from the latest excavations of the southern Viminacium cemetery, we will gain information about the gender of the deceased children and consecutively also data about the usage of *bullae*.

155 In the unpublished MA thesis by G. Stojić, he processed a total of 167 *bullae*, of which 147 were discovered in the southern Viminacium cemetery and 20 in the eastern one. Among them, one piece was made of gold, 11 were made of silver and 156 of bronze (cf. Stojić 2015, 10–42).

156 For these graves, there are anthropological analyses at our disposal. With the following graves from this group and with limited certainty, judging by the size of the grave pits

ušice. Njihov prečnik iznosi od 1,5 do 2,8 cm, a uglavnom između 2,0 i 2,2 cm. Tokom iskopavanja 80-ih godina prošlog veka, i pored mnogobrojnih nađenih bula, njihov sadržaj je ostao nepoznat.¹⁵⁷

Bule uz pokojnike dečjeg uzrasta (39) nalazile su se u 34 grobne celine: jedna u grobu s kremacijom, a ostale u grobovima s inhumacijom. Preovlađuju bronzane bule (35), dok su evidentirane samo tri srebrne. U tri groba je pronađeno više bula: u grobu novorođenčeta čak četiri (tri bronzane i jedna od lošeg srebra) i u dva groba dece neodređene starosti (u jednom srebrna i bronzana, a u drugom dve bronzane).¹⁵⁸ Među njima, 18 bula je sa zupčastim ivicama, a dve su sa izduženim ušicama. Glatke ivice su zabeležene kod 12 primeraka, od kojih jedan ima izduženu ušicu. Zbog lošije ili fragmentarne očuvanosti, kod devet bula oblik ivica se nije mogao utvrditi, a među njima je i jedna s izduženom ušicom. Najveći broj bula iz grobova dece na južnoj nekropoli datovan je u 2. (12) i 3. (12) vek, a slede primerci opredeljeni na prelaz 1. u 2. vek (8), dok su u 4. vek datovane tri bule.¹⁵⁹

Brojčani odnos bula sa zupčastim i glatkim ivicama, sa viminacijumske južne nekropole znatno odstupa od onoga koji je zabeležen u obe Panonije. Naime, B. Migotti je registrovala 67 bula sa 11 lokaliteta,¹⁶⁰ što po autorki premašuje ukupan broj objavljenih bula iz svih drugih provincija (67 prema 37). Analizirane bule je okvirno opredelila u vreme od 2–3. do početka 5. veka, s tim što ne isključuje ni ranije datovanje nekih primeraka.¹⁶¹ Po njoj, zupčaste

least nine adults had a *bullae* as a grave good, which should not be neglected.

The greatest number of *bullae* is round, with ribbon-shaped horizontal handles for hanging, while only four pieces possess long handles. Their diameter is in the range between 1.5 to 2.8 cm, but most of them measure between 2.0 and 2.2 cm. During the excavations in the 1980s, despite the great number of excavated *bullae*, their content remained unknown.¹⁵⁷

Bullae discovered alongside deceased children (39) were unearthed from 34 grave complexes: one in the grave of a cremated child and the others in graves of inhumated deceased. They mostly include pieces made of bronze (35), while there were only three made of silver. In three graves, there was more than just a single *bullae*: in a grave of a newborn there were even four pieces (three made of bronze and one made of poor quality silver); and in two children's graves of undetermined age each had two (one grave contained one made of silver and another made of bronze and in the other grave both were made of bronze).¹⁵⁸ Among them, 18 possessed jagged edges, two of which had long handles. Smooth edges were noticed on 12 pieces, one of which possessed a long handle. For nine *bullae*, due to their poor or fragmentary state of preservation, it was not possible to determine the shape of their edges. Among them, there was a single piece with a long handle. The greatest number of *bullae* from children's graves of the southern Viminacium cemetery were dated to the 2nd (12) and 3rd century (12), followed with pieces dated to the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century (8). Only three *bullae* were dated to the 4th century.¹⁵⁹

The ratio of *bullae* with jagged edges to those with smooth edges from the southern Viminacium

157 Tokom novijih istraživanja na istočnim nekropolama (Pirivoj) uočen je sadržaj bule iz groba G-365, koji je označen kao „komad tkanine ili vlasi kose“ (cf. Stojić 2015, 49).

158 VG/G-216, kat. 160; P/G-1213, kat. 1192; P/G-5021, kat. 1322.

159 Četiri bule nije bilo moguće tačnije datovati, ali sasvim sigurno pripadaju periodu od 2. do 4. veka.

160 Štrbinci (2), *Siscia* (10), *Savaria* (1), *Carnuntum* (4), *Castra ad Herculem* (1), *Aquincum* (7), *Intercisa* (37), *Tricciana* (3), *Sopiana* (1), Kő (1), Keszthely–Dobogó (1). Broj bula zabeleženih u pomenutoj magistarskoj tezi (cf. *supra* ref. 155), ali i nakon te analize, u istraživanjima nakon 2015. godine, potvrđuje Viminacijum kao nalazište s najviše registrovanih bula.

161 Migotti 2007, 204.

or constructions and despite the lack of anthropological data, we can presume that they also belong to adult individuals. In the remaining cases (another 10 graves), they are either graves without osseous material or devastated graves.

157 During recent research at the eastern Viminacium cemetery (Pirivoj), content from a *bullae* from grave G-365 was distinguished, described as “a piece of textile or hair” (cf. Stojić 2015, 49).

158 VG/G-216, Cat. no. 160; P/G-1213, Cat. no. 1192; P/G-5021, Cat. no. 1322.

159 It was not possible to precisely date four *bullae*, but they certainly belong to the period from the 2nd to the 4th century.

ivice predstavljaju posebnu tipološku osobinu u provincijalnim sredinama, a retka pojava primeraka s ravnim ivicama (7 od 67) potvrđuje da je klasični oblik preživio do kasnoantičkog perioda, odnosno do vremena u koje datuje bule iz obe Panonije.¹⁶²

Dakle, u pogledu zastupljenosti, odnos bula sa zupčastim i ravnim ivicama iz grobova dece sa viminacijumske južne nekropole iznosi 18 prema 12, što znači da su primerci s ravnim u odnosu na one sa zupčastim ivicama daleko više prisutni nego istovremeni nalazi iz obe Panonije. Kao što je već naglašeno, tipološke osobenosti (način obrade ivica, izdužena ušica) možda predstavljaju radioničke ili hronološke pokazatelje, ali to su pitanja koja iziskuju posebnu studiju.

Mesta nalaza bula u grobovima upućuju na način njihovog nošenja i, posredno, na razumevanje upotrebe i značenja koje su imale u viminacijumskoj populaciji, ali i šire u Gornjoj Meziji. Od ukupno 39 bula, 10 je bilo na grudima pokojnika, kao i u položaju „pored lobanje”, koji takođe ukazuje na nošenje oko vrata. Dve bule su pronađene samostalno, jedna pored butne kosti, a druga u predelu karlice. Još jedna, ali u sastavu ogrlice, nalazila se u predelu karlice. U pet grobova bile su pored stopala i uvek su činile delove ogrlica, dok se za 11 primeraka nije mogao utvrditi položaj u odnosu na telo pokojnika zbog loše očuvanosti osteološkog materijala. Bule su u 14 slučajeva pronađene bez drugih privezaka ili perli, u jednom su registrovane samo dve na grudima pokojnika, dok je najveći broj (18) bio deo ogrlice. Iz iznetog se može zaključiti da je bula najčešće bila nošena oko vrata, samostalno ili u sastavu ogrlice. Sledi prilaganje bule kao dela niske ili samostalno, na različitim pozicijama pored pokojnika, ali ne na mestu na kome je nošena.

Ako se navedeni podaci o nošenju bule, samostalno ili kao deo ogrlice, i o mestu prilaganja uporede sa starosnim skupinama pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta, ne mogu se ustanoviti neke pravilnosti, osim u pogledu najveće zastupljenosti bula u grobovima dece umrle u prvoj godini života (tabela 32). U 11 grobova novorođenčadi pronađeno je 14 bula, i to u 10

cemetery is not in accordance with the ratio shown in any of the Pannonia provinces. Actually, B. Migotti recorded a total of 67 *bullae* from 11 sites,¹⁶⁰ which, according to her, exceeds the total number of published *bullae* from all of the other Roman provinces (67 versus 37). The *bullae* she analysed were dated roughly from the 2nd and the 3rd century until the beginning of the 5th century, with the possibility that some of the pieces were even older.¹⁶¹ According to her, *bullae* with jagged edges represent a specific typological feature of the provinces. She considers the scarce appearance of the *bullae* with smooth edges (7 out of 67) to be confirmation of the surviving idea of a classical *bullae* form all the way to Late Antiquity, actually to the period in which she dates the *bullae* from both Pannonia provinces.¹⁶²

In other words, the ratio of *bullae* with jagged edges to those with smooth edges from children's graves of the southern Viminacium cemetery is 18:12, meaning that *bullae* with smooth edges were much more frequent than those with jagged ones and compared to both Pannonia provinces, however, chronologically compatible. As already underlined, it is possible that typological features (the shape of edges, long handles) represent workshop or chronological indicators, but these are questions that require a separate study.

The position of *bullae* within graves shows us the way they were worn and, indirectly, also provides a method for understanding their usage and the meaning they had among the Viminacium population, as well as in the entire province of Upper Moesia. Of a total of 39 *bullae*, 10 were discovered upon the chest of the deceased and another 10 were found “next to the skull”, also indicating that they were worn around the neck. Two *bullae* were unearthed separately, one next to the femur and another in the pelvic area. Another piece, making part of a necklace, was discovered in the pelvic area. In five cases, *bullae* were discovered next to the feet of the deceased, always making parts of necklaces, while for 11 piec-

160 Štrbinci (2), Siscia (10), Savaria (1), Carnuntum (4), Castra ad Herculem (1), Aquincum (7), Intercisa (37), Triciana (3), Sopianae (1), Kő (1), Keszthely-Dobogó (1). The number of registered *bullae* stated in the previously mentioned MA thesis (cf. *supra* ref. 155), but also this analysis and the excavations conducted after 2015 point to Viminacium as the site with the largest number of discovered *bullae*.

161 Migotti 2007, 204.

162 Migotti 2007, 205, 208.

162 Migotti 2007, 205, 208.

grobova po jedna, dok su u grobu VG/G-216 (kat. 160) bile četiri: bronzana, koja je nošena samostalno na grudima (sl. 22.6), dok su tri (dve bronzane i jedna srebrna) činile deo ogrlice priložene kod stopala (sl. 21.1–7).¹⁶³ Od 10 grobova s jednom bulom, u pet su bile priložene samostalno, bez drugih privezaka/perli, i to kraj lobanje (P/G-4463, VG/G-1949, VG/G-2082; kat. 18, 109, 116; sl. 22.1–3) ili su neodređenog položaja (P/G-1671, VG/G-348; kat. 3, 168; sl. 22.4–5), u jednom su, zajedno s bronzanim zvončetom, bile neodređenog mesta nalaza u odnosu na ostatke pokojnika (P/G-4790; kat. 20; sl. 22.7), a u četiri groba su činile delove ogrlica: jedna na grudima zajedno s koštanim (slonovača ?) antropomorfnim priveskom i 27 staklenih perli (P/G-5275; kat. 24; sl. 21.8),¹⁶⁴ jedna na karlici (VG/G-247; kat. 36; sl. 8.2) i dve neodređenog položaja (VG/G-2116, VG/G-1775; kat. 122, 199; 9.3, 10.2).

Od četiri groba dece umrle između druge i četvrte godine, u kojima su pronađene, u tri slučaja su bule, bez drugih privezaka ili perli (P/G-4934, VG/G-92, VG/G-407; kat. 361, 435, 447; sl. 23.1–3), bile kraj nogu ili glave, dok je u četvrtom bula nađena na grudima, a dva perforirana novčića i dve staklene perle bile su kod nogu (VG/G-1176; kat. 464; sl. 23.4, 13.1–3). Samo jedna bula nalazila se u grobu iz grupe dece umrle između pete i devete godine (P/G-863; kat. 748; sl. 24.1). Nađena je u južnom delu grobne konstrukcije, uz 11 novčića, tri bronzane alke i perforiran bronzani poklopac pikside.¹⁶⁵ S obzirom na to da ostaci drvene kasete nisu evidentirani, možemo pretpostaviti da su prilozi bili pohranjeni u vrećicu ili su jednostavno bili slobodno položeni na istom mestu. U tom slučaju, bula je mogla biti samostalni privezak ili se nalazila na istoj vrpici s alkama i perforiranim poklopcem pikside, koji je mogao sekundarno biti iskorišćen i kao privezak.

163 Osim bula, delove ogrlice činila su i dva bronzana zvončića, zatim staklene i koštane perle, privezak od zuba divljeg vepra; cf. Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 68.

164 Milovanović, Danković 2020, 128–129, fig. 3.

165 Grob je orijentisan u pravcu istok–zapad i uništen je u severnom i zapadnom delu. Na istočnoj strani nalazilo se „uzglavlje“ sa ostacima lobanje, dok ostali delovi skeleta nisu konstatovani. Svi nalazi potiču s jednog mesta, iz južnog dela konstrukcije; cf. Dnevnik terenskih istraživanja Pećine, 1111–1112.

es, due to the poor state of preservation of the osseous material, it was not possible to determine their position related to the deceased. With 14 examples, *bullae* were discovered without further pendants or beads, in one case, two *bullae* were discovered upon the chest of the deceased, while the greatest number (18) made parts of necklaces. Regarding the facts stated above, it can be concluded that in most cases, *bullae* were worn around the neck, either as a single piece or part of a necklace. What follows are *bullae* as parts of strings or as single pieces, deposited in different places close to the deceased, but not on the place they were worn.

If we compare the data mentioned above (worn separately or as part of a string and the place they were deposited at) with the age groups of the deceased children, we cannot establish regularities connected to them, except the fact that *bullae* were most frequently deposited as grave goods in graves of children who passed away during their first year of life (Table 32). In 11 graves of newborns there were 14 *bullae*, in each of the ten further graves there was a single *bullae*, while in grave VG/G-216 (Cat. no. 160) there were four *bullae*: a bronze one worn separately on the chest (Fig. 22.6), while three further ones (two made of bronze and one made of silver) made parts of a necklace deposited next to the feet (Fig. 21.1–7).¹⁶³ Of ten graves each with a single *bullae*, in five cases they were discovered separately, without further pendants/beads and next to the skull (P/G-4463, VG/G-1949, VG/G-2082; Cat. nos. 18, 109, 116; Fig. 22.1–3) or with an undetermined position (P/G-1671, VG/G-348; Cat. nos. 3, 168; Fig. 22.4–5); with a bronze bell and undetermined place of discovery regarding the deceased (P/G-4790; Cat. no. 20; Fig. 22.7); and in four cases, they made parts of necklaces: one upon the chest along with a bone (ivory?) anthropomorphic pendant and 27 glass beads (P/G-5275; Cat. no. 24; Fig. 21.8),¹⁶⁴ one on the pelvis (VG/G-247; Cat. no. 36; Fig. 8.2) and two with an undetermined position (VG/G-2116, VG/G-1775; Cat. nos. 122, 199; Fig. 9.3, Fig. 10.2).

Of four graves of children who passed away between the ages of two and four and with *bullae* as grave goods, in three cases *bullae* were deposited without further pendants or beads (P/G-4934, VG/G-

163 Besides *bullae*, this necklace consisted of two bronze bells, glass and bone beads, and a pendant shaped from a wild boar's tooth; cf. Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 68.

164 Milovanović, Danković 2020, 128–129, Fig. 3.

U okviru sledeće starosne skupine, tj. kod dece umrle između desete i četrnaeste godine registrovane su tri bule: jedna samostalno na grudima (P/G-644; kat. 928; sl. 25.1), druga takođe na grudima, s fragmentovanom cevastom srebrnom perlom (P/G-1941; kat. 946; sl. 25.2), dok je treća (VG/G-939; kat. 1016; sl. 25.3) pronađena pored stopala, zajedno s većom loptastom perlom od crnog stakla, fragmentovanom niskom koju su činili bronzani lanac sa četiri crne staklene perle, fragmentovanom koštanom iglom s glavom u vidu ženske biste i morskom školjkom. Neizvesno je u kakvoj je vezi s bulom i perlom bio deo lanca sa staklenim perlama, ali pošto je pronađen na istom mestu, prikazan je pored njih. Na pokrivaču od opeka tog groba nađen je i polukružni segment narukvice od gagata, s perforacijama za nizanje (sl. 41.2). Osim svega iznetog, treba skrenuti pažnju na sedam koštanih igala za kosu, koje su bile stavljene na kolena pokojnice, što ne ukazuje na njihovu upotrebu za pričvršćivanje pokrova. U tom kontekstu, oblik igala i spatula mogao bi da predstavlja metaforičku evokaciju na eksere, odnosno na njihovo magično značenje.¹⁶⁶

92, VG/G-407; Cat. nos. 361, 435, 447; Fig. 23.1–3) next to the feet or head, while in the fourth case, the *bulla* was discovered upon the chest of the deceased, while two perforated coins and two glass beads were discovered next to the legs (VG/G-1176; Cat. no. 464; Fig. 23.4, Fig. 13.1–3). Only a single *bulla* was discovered in graves of children who passed away between the age of 5 and 9 years (P/G-863; Cat. no. 748; Fig. 24). It was discovered in the southern part of the grave structure along with 11 coins, three bronze hoops and a perforated bronze *pyxida* lid.¹⁶⁵ Since no traces of a wooden casket have been discovered, we can presume that the finds were deposited in a bag or simply laid down on the same spot. In this case, the *bulla* might have represented a single pendant or a part of a string with the hoops and the perforated *pyxida* lid, which could have secondarily been used as a pendant.

Within the next age group of children who passed away between the ages of 10 and 14 years there were three finds of *bullae*: one discovered as a single find upon the chest (P/G-644; Cat. no. 928; Fig. 25.1); another one also upon the chest with a fragmented tube-shaped silver bead (P/G-1941; Cat. no. 946; Fig. 25.2); while the third *bulla* (VG/G-939; Cat. no. 1016, Fig. 25.3) was found next to the feet along with a larger spherical bead made of black glass, a fragmented bronze chain with four black glass beads, a fragmented bone needle, its head modelled in the shape of a female bust, and a seashell. The relationship between the *bulla* and the bead to the chain with glass beads is uncertain, but since they were discovered in the same place, they were depicted next to the *bulla* and the bead. On the cover of this grave, a semi-circular piece of a jet bracelet was found, with perforations intended for hanging (Fig. 41.2). Besides everything that has been described, we will shed light on finds of seven bone hair-pins, deposited on the knees of the deceased woman, however not indicating that they were used to close the shroud. In this context, the shape of the needles and a spatula could represent a metaphoric evocation of nails and their magic meaning.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ Vidi odeljak o gvozdenim ekserima.

¹⁶⁵ The grave is orientated E-W and destroyed in its northern and western parts. On the eastern side there was a “pillow” with skull remains, while other skeleton parts have not been discovered. All of the finds came from a single place, from the southern part of the structure; cf. Fieldwork diary Pećine, 1111–1112.

¹⁶⁶ See chapter about iron nails.

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NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
južna nekropola Viminacijuma

Starosna skupina / Age group	Broj grobova s bulama / Number of graves with bullae	Ukupan broj bula / Total number of bullae
0–1 godine / year Kat. grupa / Cat. group I	11	14
2–4 godine / years Kat. grupa / Cat. group II	4	4
5–9 godina / years Kat. grupa / Cat. group III	1	1
10–14 godina / years Kat. grupa / Cat. group IV	3	3
Deca neutvrđene starosti / Children of undetermined age Kat. grupa / Cat. group VI	10	12
Više pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta / Several deceased children Kat. grupa / Cat. group VII	2	2
Jedno dete – jedna ili više odraslih osoba / One child – one or more adults Kat. grupa / Cat. group VIII	2	2
Kremirani pokojnici dečjeg uzrasta / Cremated deceased children Kat. grupa / Cat. group X	1	1
UKUPNO / TOTAL	34	39

Tabela 32 Nalazi bula u grobovima prema starosnim skupinama pokojnika ili načinu pokopa
Table 32 Bullae finds according to age groups or burial forms

Kod pokojnika neodređene starosti (katalogska grupa VI) registrovano je 12 bula u 10 grobova.¹⁶⁷ U dva groba bile su po dve: u jednom su se dve bronzane bule nalazile pored lobanje, bez perli ili privezaka (P/G-5021; kat. 1321; sl. 26.1), a u drugom su, takođe pored lobanje, srebrna i bronzana bula nađene s dve staklene perle (P/G-1213; kat. 1355; sl. 26.2).¹⁶⁸ U ostalim primerima iz ove skupine grobova dece (8) zabeležili smo veoma različite kombinacije u pogledu prilaganja bula: samostalno u predelu karlice ili na grudima (P/G-1296, P/G-2581; kat. 1192, 1416; sl. 26.3–4), samostalno pored glave (P/G-698; kat. 1413; sl. 26.5), pored glave kao deo ogrlice sa staklenim perlama i antropomorfnim priveskom od gagata (P/G-3239; kat. 1223; sl. 26.6), oko vrata kao deo ogrlice s perlama, školjkom, perforiranim novcem

¹⁶⁷ Kao što je već napomenuto, u tu skupinu, u najvećem broju slučajeva, verovatno spadaju novorođenčad. Ali, pošto su skeletni ostaci bili očuvani u tragovima ili ih uopšte nije bilo, antropološka opredeljenja se nisu mogla obaviti.

¹⁶⁸ Za srebrnu bulu cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2015а, 201, кат. 178.

Within the group of deceased with undetermined age (catalogue group VI) there were 12 *bullae* in ten graves.¹⁶⁷ In two graves there were two *bullae* each: in the first one, two bronze *bullae* were unearthed next to the skull of the deceased without further beads or pendants (P/G-5021; Cat. no. 1321; Fig. 26.1); in the second one, there were a silver and a bronze *bullae* and two glass beads, discovered next to the skull (P/G-1213; Cat. no. 1355; Fig. 26.2).¹⁶⁸ In the remaining graves of this group of children's graves (8 graves) we noticed a wide range of combinations in depositing *bullae*: a *bullae* deposited as a single grave good in the pelvic area or upon the chest (P/G-1296, P/G-2581; Cat. nos. 1192, 1416; Fig. 26.3–4); *bullae* deposited as a single grave good next to the head (P/G-698; Cat. no. 1413; Fig. 26.5); next to the head, as part of a necklace with glass beads and an anthropomorphic pendant made of jet (P/G-3239; Cat. no.

¹⁶⁷ As already underlined, in the greatest number of cases, this group most likely includes newborns. However, since the skeletal remains were preserved in traces or were missing completely, it was not possible to perform any anthropological research.

¹⁶⁸ For the silver *bullae* cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2015а, 201, кат. 178.

i priveskom od ćilibara (P/G-4288; kat. 1345; sl. 17.3), u drvenoj kaseti pored pokojnika, kao deo ogrlice s perforiranim novcem, koštanim falusoidnim privescima, privescima od zuba divljih životinja, perlama itd. (P/G-1807; kat. 1330; sl. 16.2). Nepoznatog položaja u odnosu na ostatke pokojnika je fragmentovana srebrna bula s lunulastim priveskom od ćilibara (P/G-4335; kat. 1430; sl. 26.7), kao i bula nađena sa staklenom perlom (P/G-3434; kat. 1419; sl. 26.8).

U okviru grupe VII (istovremena sahrana dva ili više deteta) zabeležena je po jedna bula u dva groba. Fragmentovana bronzana bula nađena je u grobu tri pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta (P/G-4931; kat. 1618; sl. 27.1). U grobu dva deteta, takođe bronzana bula nalazila se pored podlaktice jednog od njih, zajedno s bronzanom iglom čija glava ima oblik ključa (VG/G-1707; kat. 1621; sl. 27.2). U tom grobu, na grudima jednog deteta nađena je ogrlica koju su činile tri staklene i jedna ćilibarska perla (sl. 40.1)

Dve bule registrovane su u okviru kataloške grupe VIII (istovremena sahrana deteta i odrasle osobe). Jedna je, s dve staklene perle, pronađena pored lobanje (VG/G-714; kat. 1652; sl. 27.3). Iz grobne celine u kojoj su istovremeno sahranjeni inhumirano dete i kremirana odrasla osoba (P/G-685, grob kremirane odrasle osobe; P/G-2722; kat. 1688; sl. 27.4) potiče bronzana bula koja je karičicom zatvorenog tipa bila okačena na bronzani lanac sastavljen od karičica u obliku osmice. Još dve takve karičice zakačene su na lanac levo i desno od bule. Ostalo je nejasno da li se radi o naušnicama ili prstenju, koji se mogu razlikovati jedino prema mestu nalaza u grobu u odnosu na telo pokojnika.¹⁶⁹ Ta ogrlica pokazuje da je nepohodan krajnji oprez kada se karičice tog tipa pripisuju naušnicama ili prstenju ukoliko se ne raspolože sasvim jasnim mestom nalaza.¹⁷⁰

U kataloškoj grupi IX je samo jedna bula, i to u grobu dvoje dece i dve odrasle osobe (P/G-4285; kat. 1799; sl. 27.5). Bula je nađena oko vrata jednog deteta i jedini je nalaz iz tog groba. U okviru kataloške grupe X, iz groba kremiranog deteta uzrasta

1223; Fig. 26.6); part of a necklace with beads, shells, perforated coins and a pendant made of amber, positioned around the neck (P/G-4288; Cat. no. 1345; Fig. 17.3); part of a necklace with perforated coins, phallus shaped bone pendants, pendants made of wild animals' teeth, beads etc. in a wooden casket next to the deceased (P/G-1807; Cat. no. 1330; Fig. 16.2); fragmented silver *bulla* with a crescent shaped pendant made of amber with an unknown position regarding the deceased (P/G-4335; Cat. no. 1430; Fig. 26.7); with a glass bead and, again, an unknown position regarding the deceased (P/G-3434; Cat. no. 1419; Fig. 26.8).

Within group VII (multiple burials of two or more children) a *bulla* was noticed in two graves each. A fragmented bronze *bulla* was discovered in a grave with three deceased children (P/G-4931; Cat. no. 1618; Fig. 27.1). In the second grave from this group containing two deceased children, a bronze *bulla* was discovered next to the lower arm of one of the children, together with a bronze needle with a key shaped head (VG/G-1707; Cat. no. 1621; Fig. 27.2). In the same grave, on the chest of one of the children, a necklace was discovered, consisting of three glass beads and a single amber bead (Fig. 40.1)

Within catalogue group VIII (multiple burials of a child and an adult), two *bullae* were recorded. The first example includes a *bulla* discovered next to the skull, together with two glass beads (VG/G-714; Cat. no. 1652; Fig. 27.3). The grave with a parallel burial of an inhumated child and a cremated adult (P/G-685, grave of a cremated adult; P/G-2722; Cat. no. 1688; Fig. 27.4) revealed a find of a bronze *bulla* on a bronze chain (made of double, figure of eight shaped wire) and with a closed hoop. Two further hoops of this kind were placed on the chain, to the left and to the right of the *bulla*. In this case, it remains unclear whether they represent earrings or finger rings, since they can usually be distinguished only according to their finding spots within a grave and regarding the deceased.¹⁶⁹ The example of this necklace calls for extreme caution in ascribing these kinds of hoops either to earrings or to finger rings if there is no specific clear place of discovery.¹⁷⁰

From a grave included in catalogue group IX there is a single *bulla* find. This grave is a double burial of two children and two adults (P/G-4285; Cat.

169 Поповић 1996, 18–19; Миловановић 2007, 25.

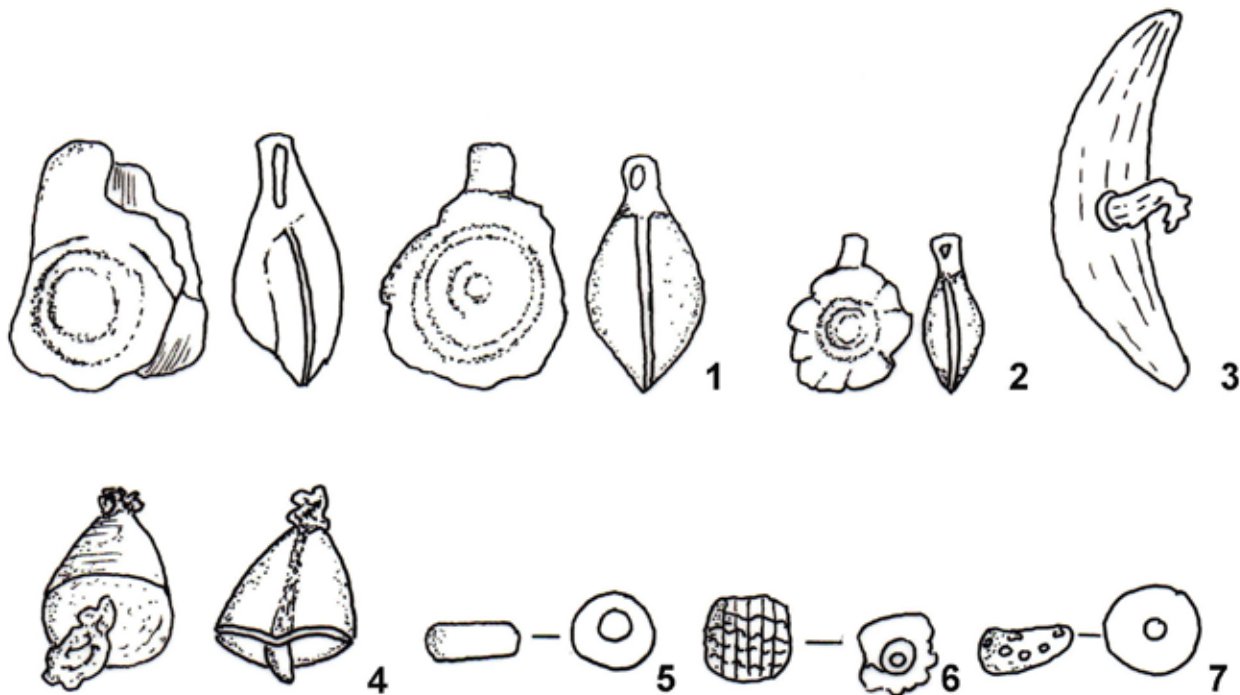
170 Cf. *supra* ref. 125.

169 Поповић 1996а, 18–19; Миловановић 2007, 25.

170 Cf. *supra* ref. 125.

između 10 i 14 godina potiče bula položena samostalno, bez privezaka ili perli (VG/G-66; kat. 1813; sl. 28.1).

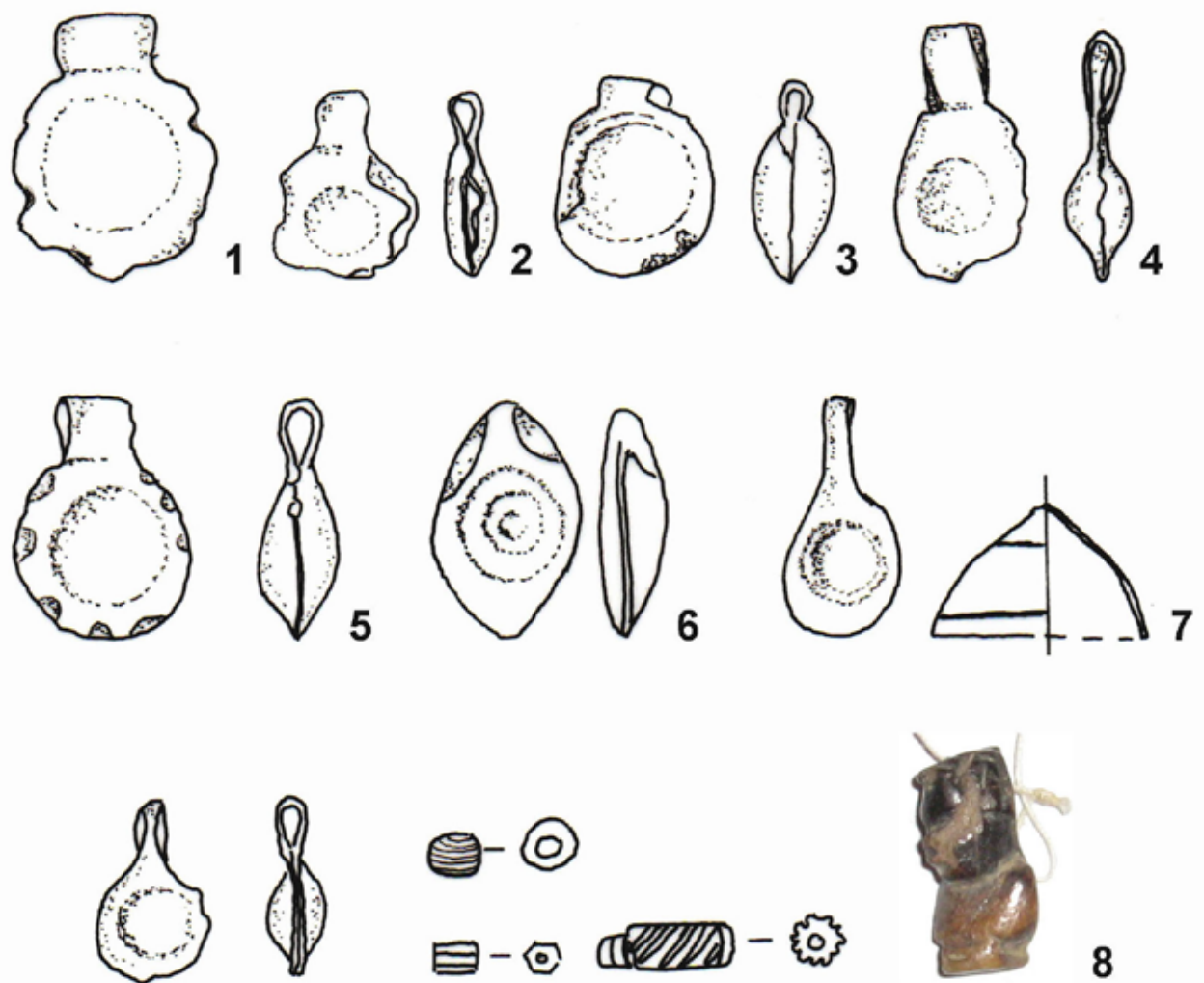
no. 1799; Fig. 27.5). The *bulla* was discovered around the neck of one of the children and at the same time, it represents the only find from this grave. From a cremated grave (catalogue group X) of a child who passed away between the age of 10 and 14 years, there is a *bulla* discovered as a single find, without further pendants or beads (VG/G1-66; Cat. no. 1813; Fig. 28).



Sl. 21 Delovi ogrlice iz groba VG/G-216, kat. 160: dve bronzane bule (1), srebrna bula (2), privezak od zuba divljeg vepra (3), dva bronzana zvončića (4), koštana perla (5), staklena perla (6), staklena *millefiori* perla (7)

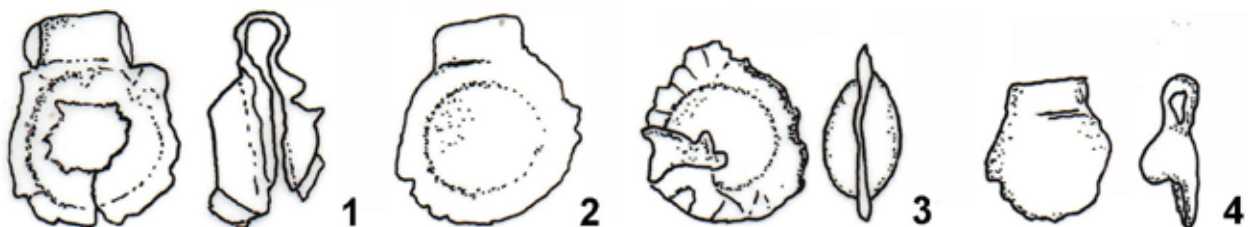
Fig. 21 Parts of the necklace from grave VG/G-216, Cat. no. 160: two bronze bullae (1), silver bulla (2), a wild boar tooth pendant (3), two bronze bells (4), bone bead (5), glass bead (6), glass *millefiori* bead (7)

MORS IMMATURA
 COINAGE AND APOTROPAIC-PROPHYLACTIC ELEMENTS IN FUNERARY RITUALS –
 southern Viminacium cemetery



Sl. 22 Bronzana bula nošena samostalno: grob P/G-4463, kat. 18 (1), grob VG/G-1949, kat. 109 (2), grob VG/G-2082, kat. 116 (3), grob P/G-1671, kat. 3 (4), grob VG/G-348, kat. 168 (5), grob VG/G-216, kat. 160 (6); s bronzanim zvončetom: grob P/G-4790, kat. 20 (7); kao deo ogrlice s 27 staklenih perli i antropomorfnim koštanim priveskom: grob P/G-5275, kat. 24 (8) (8 – antropomorfni koštani privezak foto: D. Spasić-Đurić)

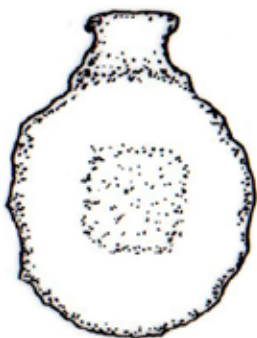
Fig. 22 Bronze bullae worn alone: grave P/G-4463; Cat. no. 18 (1), grave VG/G-1949, Cat. no.109 (2), grave VG/G-2082, Cat. no. 116 (3), grave P/G-1671, Cat. no. 3 (4), grave VG/G-348, kat.168 (5), grave VG/G-216, Cat. no. 160 (6); with bronze bell: grave P/G-4790, Cat. no. 20 (8); as a part of a necklace: with 27 glass beads and an anthropomorphic bone pendant, grave P/G-5275, Cat. no. 24 (8) (8 – anthropomorphic bone pendant photo: D. Spasić-Đurić)



Sl. 23 Bronzane bule nošene samostalno: grob P/G-4934, kat. 361 (1), grob VG/G-92, kat. 435 (2), grob VG/G-407, kat. 447 (3), grob VG/G-1176, kat. 464 (4) (2 prema: Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, Т. XXIII/5)

Fig. 23 Bronze bullae worn alone: grave P/G-4934; Cat. no. 361 (1), grave VG/G-92; Cat. no. 435 (2), grave VG/G-407; Cat. no. 447 (3), grave VG/G-1176; Cat. no. 464 (4) (2 after: Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, Т. XXIII/5)

MORS IMMATURA
 NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
 južna nekropola Viminacijuma

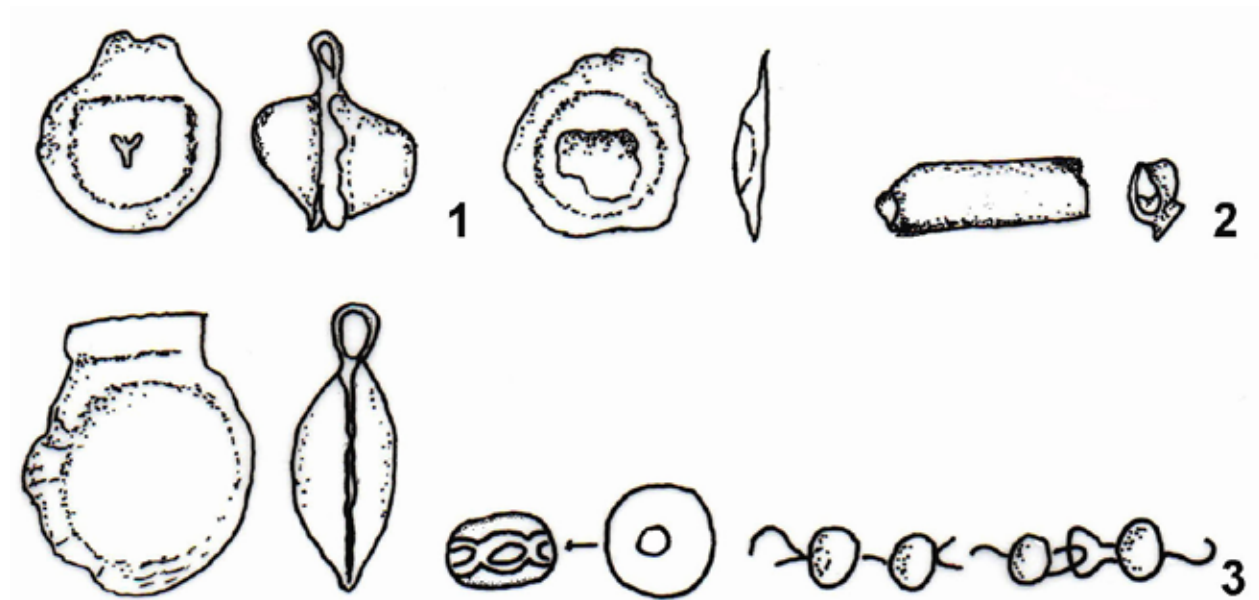


Sl. 24 Bronzana bula nošena samostalno (?), grob P/G-863, kat. 749

Fig. 24 Bronze bulla worn alone (?), grave P/G-863, Cat. no. 749

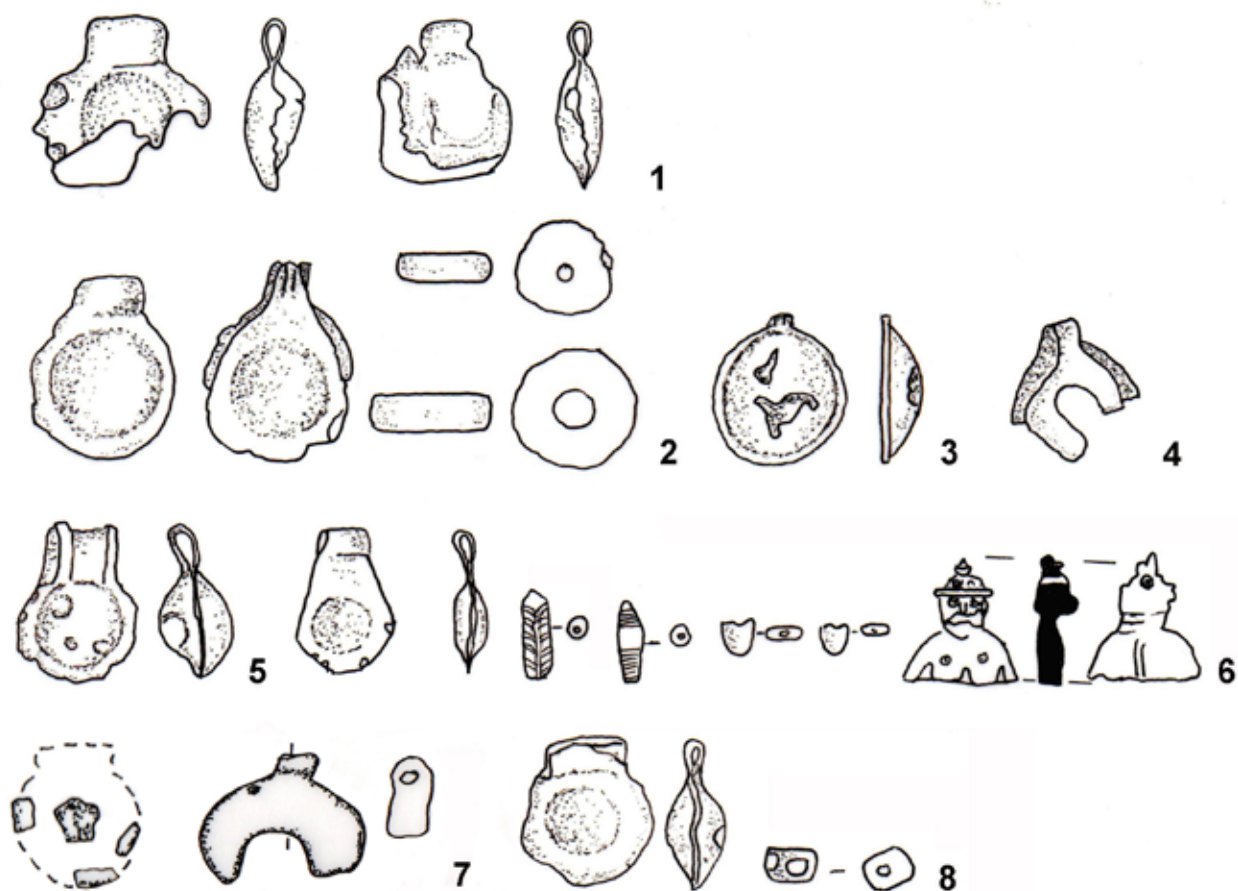
Sl. 26 (2) Srebrna bula: P/G-1213; kat. 1355; prema: Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 201, no. 178

Fig. 26 (2) Silver bulla: P/G-1213; Cat. no. 1355; according: Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 201, no. 178



Sl. 25 Bronzana bula nošena samostalno: grob P/G-644, kat. 928 (1); sa srebrnom cilindričnom perlom: grob P/G-1941, kat. 946 (2); kao deo ogrlice s crnom staklenom perlom i kao deo bronзаног lanca sa staklenim perlama: grob VG/G-939, kat. 1016 (3) (3 prema: Спасић-Ђурић 2011, T. V/2, 3, 5)

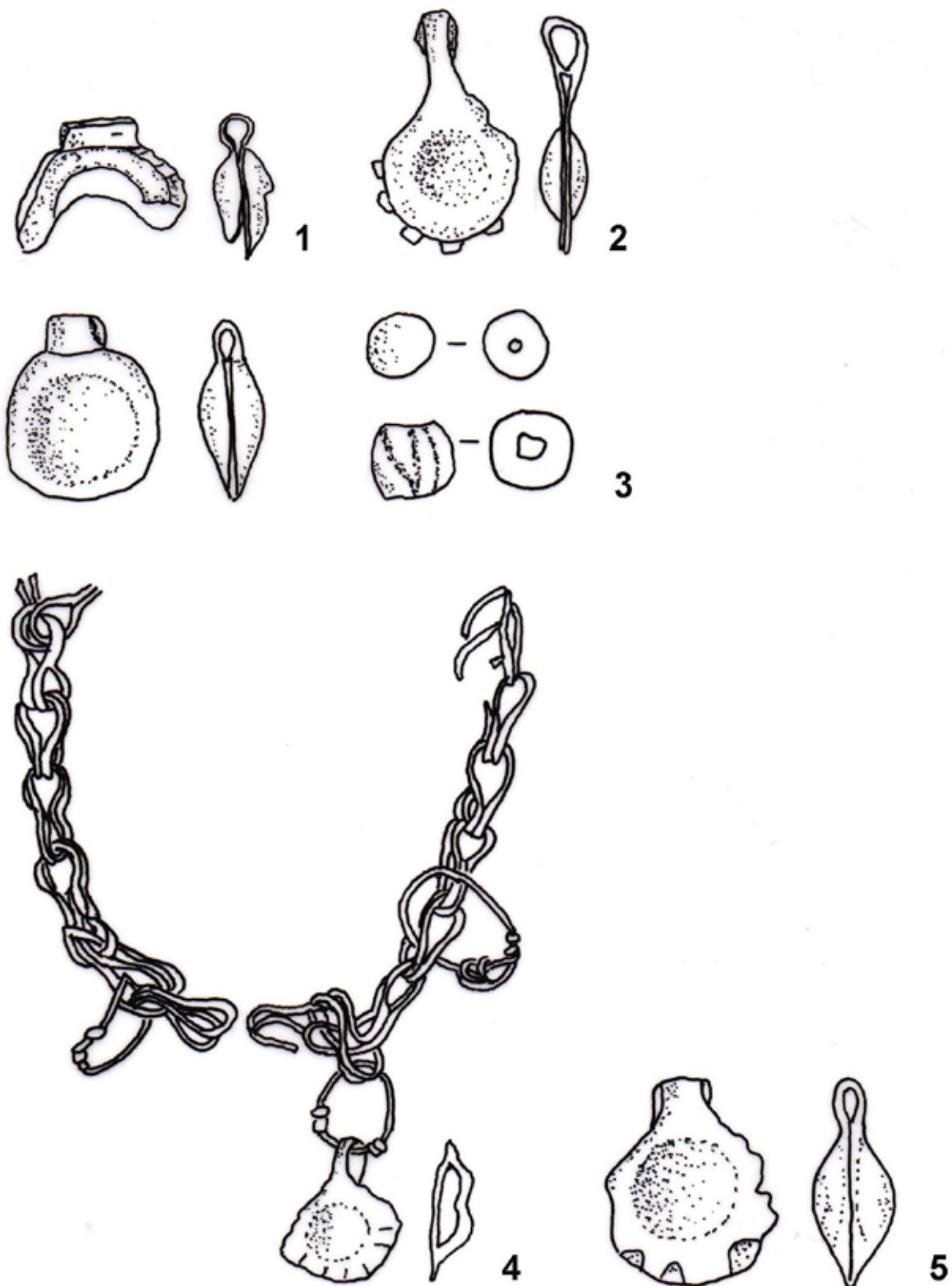
Fig. 25 Bronze bullae worn alone: grave P/G-644; Cat. no. 928 (1); with cylindrical silver bead, grave P/G-1941, Cat. no. 946 (2); as a part of the necklace with black glass bead and part of a bronze chain with glass beads, grave VG/G-939, Cat. no. 1016 (3) (3 after: Спасић-Ђурић 2011, T. V/2, 3, 5)



Sl. 26 Dve bronzane bule nošene zajedno: grob P/G-5021, kat. 1321 (1); srebrna i bronzana bula s dve staklene perle: grob P/G-1213, kat. 1355 (2); bronzana bula nošena samostalno: grob P/G-1296, kat. 1192 (3), grob P/G-2581, kat. 1416 (4), grob P/G-698, kat. 1413 (5); bronzana bula kao deo ogrlice sa četiri staklene perle i antropomorfim priveskom od gagata: grob P/G-3239, kat. 1223 (6); fragmentovana srebrna bula s lunulastim priveskom od ćilibara: grob P/G-4335, kat. 1430 (7); bronzana bula nošena sa staklenom perlom: grob P/G-3434, kat. 1419 (8) (6 prema: Спасић-Ђурић 2011, 59, Т. VIII/2; 7 према: Спасић-Ђурић 2015а, 209, кат. 211)

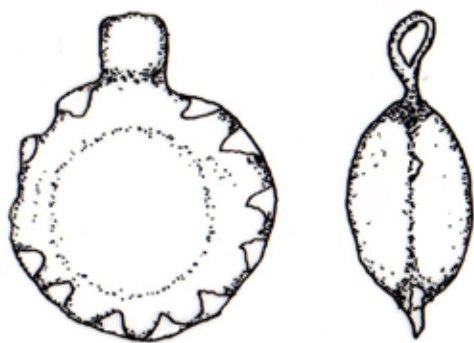
Fig. 26 Two bronze bullae worn together: grave P/G-5021, Cat. no. 1321 (1); silver and bronze bulla worn with two glass beads: grave P/G-1213, Cat. no. 1355 (2); bronze bulla worn alone: grave P/G-1296, Cat. no. 1192 (3), grave P/G-2581, Cat. no. 1416 (4), grave P/G-698, Cat. no. 1413 (5); bronze bulla as part of the necklace with 4 glass beads and anthropomorphic jet pendant: grave P/G-3239, Cat. no. 1223 (6); fragmented silver bulla worn with amber crescent shaped pendant: grave P/G-4335, Cat. no. 1430 (7); bronze bulla worn with glass bead: grave P/G-3434, Cat. no. 1419 (8) (6 after: Спасић-Ђурић 2011, 59, Т. VIII/2; 7 after: Спасић-Ђурић 2015а, 209, кат. 211)

MORS IMMATURA
 NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
 južna nekropola Viminacijuma



Sl. 27 Bronzane bule nošene samostalno: grob P/G-4931, kat. 1618 (1), grob VG/G-1707, kat. 1621 (2), grob P/G-4285, kat. 1799 (5); s dve staklene perle: grob VG/G-714, kat. 1652 (3); na bronzanom lancu s tri bronzane karičice: grob P/G-2722, kat. 1688 (4)

Fig. 27 Bronze bullae worn alone: grave P/G-4931, Cat. no. 1618 (1), grave VG/G-1707, Cat. no. 1621 (2), grave P/G-4285, Cat. no. 1799 (5); worn with two glass beads: grave VG/G-714, Cat. no. 1652 (3); on bronze chain with three bronze hoops: grave P/G-2722, Cat. no. 1688 (4)



Sl. 28 Bronzana bula, VG/G1-66, kat. 1813
 Fig. 28 Bronze bulla, VG/G1-66, Cat. no. 1813

Lunulasti privesci

Ogrlice s lunulastim privescima su od heleniističkog doba bile prisutne na egejskom prostoru, u južnoj Italiji i na severnim obalama Crnog mora. U nepromenjenom obliku se javljaju tokom celog rimskog carskog perioda, kada su privesci bili osobito popularni.¹⁷¹ Kao simbol Meseca, lunula je blisko povezana sa ženskim ciklusom i trudnoćom, a tradicionalno je davana devojkicama na rođenju.¹⁷² Žene, deca i životinje su, za razliku od muškaraca, smatrani posebno slabim i podložnim zlim uticajima, pa su lunulaste priveske nosili radi zaštite. U tom kontekstu, ne može se ustanoviti povezanost amuleta tog oblika s boginjama Meseca (Luna ili Selena) već s boginjama zaštitnicama materinstva. Stoga se magijska uloga lunule primarno odnosila na smenjivanje mesečevih mena (narastanje – opadanje = ženski ciklus – trudnoća), dok su božanstva Meseca imala sekundarni značaj, verovatno zato što su lunuli pripisavane posebne magijske moći još u vreme kada ideja o antropomorfnim božanstvima nije postojala.¹⁷³ Privesci u obliku lunule nalaženi su na mnogim lokalitetima iz rimskog perioda, a uglavnom su bili izrađivani od srebra ili, ređe, od zlata.¹⁷⁴

171 Jovanović 1978, 44–45; Поповић 1996, 41–42; Спасић-Бурић 2015a, 209, kat. 211.

172 Plautus, *Epidicus*, V.639; Wrede 1975, 243; Carroll 2018, 99, ref. 67.

173 Wrede 1975, 246–247, ref. 69.

174 Za nalaze lunula s lokaliteta Radenković–Crkvine, Guberevac, Pruten, Gomilice, Beška, Štrpci, Tekija, Hunedoare-Sânpetru (Hunedoare-Sânpetru), Dubravica, Šarkamen cf. Guštin, Popović 2017, 64, ref. 40–49.



Sl. 29 (1) Bronzani torkves: P/G-476; kat. 579 (dokumentacija Narodnog muzeja Požarevac)
 Fig. 29 (1) Bronze torque: P/G-476; Cat. no. 579 (documentation of the National Museum Požarevac)

Crescent shaped pendants

In the Aegean, southern Italy and the Black Sea, crescent shaped pendants were used since the Hellenistic period. They remained unchanged during the entire Roman Imperial period, when they were especially popular.¹⁷¹ As symbols of the Moon, crescent shaped pendants are closely connected with women's cycle and pregnancy and they were traditionally given to girls at birth.¹⁷² Contrary to men, women, children and animals were considered especially weak and vulnerable to evil influences and they wore crescent shaped pendants for protection. In this context, pendants of this shape cannot be connected to the Moon goddesses (Luna or Selena), but with goddesses who protected maternity. In such a way, magical crescent protection was connected to lunar phases (waxing–waning = women's cycle–pregnancy), while the Moon deities only possess a secondary character. This was possibly because special magic powers were already ascribed to the crescent during the time when there was no idea about anthropomorphic deities.¹⁷³ Crescent shaped pendants have been discovered on different sites from the Roman period, but they were mostly made of silver or, rarely, gold.¹⁷⁴

171 Jovanović 1978, 44–45; Поповић 1996, 41–42; Спасић-Бурић 2015a, 209, kat. 211.

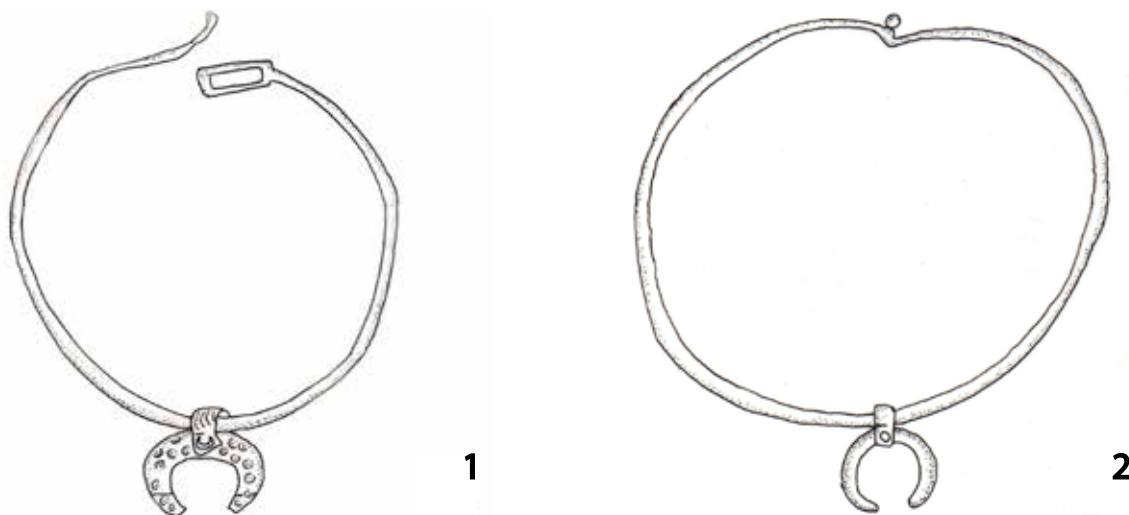
172 Plautus, *Epidicus*, V.639; Wrede 1975, 243; Carroll 2018, 99, ref. 67.

173 Wrede 1975, 246–247, ref. 69.

174 For crescent shaped pendants from Radenković–Crkvine, Guberevac, Pruten, Gomilice, Beška, Štrpci, Tekija, Hunedoare-Sânpetru, Dubravica, Šarkamen cf. Guštin, Popović 2017, 64, ref. 40–49.

U grobovima dece na viminacijumskoj južnoj nekropoli nađena su samo tri lunulasta priveška. Jedan, od ćilibara, zajedno sa srebrnom bulom, nalazio se u grobu deteta neodređene starosti (P/G-4335; kat. 1430; sl. 26.7), koji je datovan u kraj 3. veka. U tom slučaju, apotropejska svojstva oblika (lunule) i materijala (ćilibara) su možda udružena ne samo protiv „urokljivog oka” već i u profilaktičke svrhe.¹⁷⁵ Druge dve lunule su bronzane i obe predstavljaju priveske na bronzanim torkvesima: iz groba deteta umrlog između pete i devete godine života (P/G-476; kat. 579; sl. 29.1)¹⁷⁶ i iz groba deteta neodređene starosti (P/G-3572; kat. 1420; sl. 29.2).¹⁷⁷ U oba groba one su jedini nalazi. Jedan torkves (sl. 29.1) je od glatke bronzane žice, sa kopčom u vidu petlje, na jednoj, i zakrivljenim klinom, na drugoj strani. Lunulasti privezak na njemu, izrađen od glatkog bronzanog lima, sa ušicom u vidu trake, zakovicom je pričvršćen na torkves. Drugi torkves (sl. 29.2) je od bronzane žice neujednačenog kružnog preseka, sa znatnim zadebljanjem u srednjem delu i sa kopčom koja je iskucavanjem oblikovana u pravougaonik, na jednoj, i zakrivljenim klinom, na drugoj strani. Na njemu je lunulasti privezak od bronzanog lima, ukrašen utisnutim „okcima”, a pričvršćen je na isti način kao i prethodni.

Only three crescent shaped pendants have been discovered in children's graves from the southern Viminacium necropolis. One of them was made of amber and found together with a silver bulla, unearthed from a grave of a child of undetermined age (P/G-4335; Cat. no. 1430; Fig. 26.7), dated to the end of the 3rd century. In this case, the apotropaic features of the shape (crescent) and material (amber) were joined, possibly not only against the “evil eye”, but also for prophylactic purposes.¹⁷⁵ The other two crescent shaped pendants were made of bronze and they both represented pendants on bronze torques: the first one comes from the grave of a child who passed away between the ages of 5 and 9 years (P/G-476; Cat. 579; Fig. 29.1);¹⁷⁶ the second one comes from a grave of a child of undetermined age (P/G-3572; Cat. no. 1420; Fig. 29.2).¹⁷⁷ In both graves they represent the only finds. The first torque (Fig. 29.1) was made of smooth bronze wire with a hook in the shape of a loop on one side and a crooked nail on the other side. The crescent shaped pendant was made of smooth bronze sheet, with a ribbon shaped loop and a hook fastened on the torque. The second torque (Fig. 29.2) was made of bronze wire of uneven circular cross-section, with a large thickening in its middle part. The closing was made by hammering one end into a rectangular loop, while the other side possessed a crooked nail. The crescent shaped pendant made of bronze sheet was decorated with punctuated “eyes” and it was fastened onto the torque in the same way as described above.



Sl. 29 Bronzani torkves s lunulastim priveskom: grob P/G-476, kat. 579 (1), grob P/G-3572, kat. 1420 (2)

Fig. 29 Bronze torque with lunula pendant: grave P/G-476, Cat. no. 579 (1), grave P/G-3572, Cat. no. 1420 (2)

175 Npr. za lečenje upale grla i krajnika (cf. Pliny, *HN*, XXXVII.11).

176 Zotović 1995, 156, nr. 1, Abb. 1.

177 Zotović 1995, 156, nr. 4, Abb. 4.

175 For example for healing a sore throat and the tonsils (cf. Pliny *HN*, XXXVII.11).

176 Zotović 1995, 156, nr. 1, Abb.1.

177 Zotović 1995, 156, nr. 4, Abb. 4.

Zvončići

Osim utilitarne svrhe kao muzičkih instrumenata, okačeni na domaćim životinjama i ljubimcima, kolima, u domovima i hramovima, gradovima i vojnim kampovima, zvončići su imali i apotropejski karakter, najčešće zajedno s centralnim bronzanim faličkim figurama od kojih polaze dugi lančići na čijim su krajevima zvonca (*tintinnabulae*).¹⁷⁸ Prisustvo zvončića u grobovima dece može se tumačiti njihovim apotropejskim karakterom.¹⁷⁹ U tom kontekstu se često pojavljuju kao delovi ogrlica, zajedno s drugim, takođe apotropejskim privescima, mada je na viminacijumskoj južnoj nekropoli, u nekoliko slučajeva zabeleženo samostalno prilaganje zvončića.

Do sada je u 15 grobova dece nađeno 17 zvončića, dva srebrna i 15 bronzanih (tabela 33). Kao i kod bula, najviše ih ima u grobovima novorođenčadi i u kataloškoj grupi VI, zbog više puta pomenutih razloga.

Bells

Besides their useful role (musical instruments, on domestic animals and pets, carts, in homes and temples, towns and military camps), bells also possessed an apotropaic character, most often with a central phallus shaped pendant, from which long chains hung down, having bells (*tintinnabulae*) on their ends.¹⁷⁸ In this context, we can also understand their presence in graves, most of all children's graves.¹⁷⁹ Furthermore, in this context, bells are often encountered as parts of necklaces, along with other pendants of apotropaic character, although in the southern Viminacium cemetery, in a few cases, bells were deposited as single finds.

Until now, in children's graves of the southern Viminacium cemetery, a total of 17 bells has been unearthed (two made of silver and 15 made of bronze), all coming from 15 grave complexes (Table 33). Just as with *bullae*, and because of the reasons mentioned already, they are most common in graves of newborns and within the catalogue group VI.

Starosna skupina / Age group	Broj grobova sa zvončićima / Number of graves with bells	Ukupan broj zvončića / Total number of bells	Broj grobova s privescima u obliku falusa / Number of graves with phallus shaped pendants	Ukupan broj privezaka u obliku falusa / Total number of phallus shaped pendants
0–1 godine / year Kat. grupa / Cat. group I	5	6	2	2
2–4 godine / years Kat. grupa / Cat. group II	2	3	2	3
5–9 godina / years Kat. grupa / Cat. group III)	1	1	/	/
Deca neutvrđene starosti / Children of undetermined age Kat. grupa / Cat. group VI	7	7	2	5
Jedno dete – jedna ili više odraslih osoba / One child – one or more adults Kat. grupa / Cat. group VIII	/	/	1	1
UKUPNO / TOTAL	15	17	7	11

Tabela 33 Nalazi zvončića i privezaka u obliku falusa, prema starosnim skupinama pokojnika

Table 33 Finds of bells and phallus shaped pendants, according to age groups

¹⁷⁸ Dasen 2015a, 189, ref. 45; Pomberger 2018, 1; Parker 2018, 57–58; Parker 2019, 2.

¹⁷⁹ Za primere zvončića u grobovima dece cf. Petru 1972, grave 10, Pl. XI/13; Topal 1981, 94, ref. 268; Jelski 1984, 277; Dasen 2003b, 287; Cool 2004, 159; Crummy 2010, 83.

¹⁷⁸ Dasen 2015a, 189, ref. 45; Pomberger 2018, 1; Parker 2018, 57–58; Parker 2019, 2.

¹⁷⁹ For examples of bells from children's graves cf. Petru 1972, grave 10, Pl. XI/13; Topal 1981, 94, ref. 268; Jelski 1984, 277; Dasen 2003b, 287; Cool 2004, 159; Crummy 2010, 83.

Zvončići se javljaju samostalno (u šest grobova po jedan, a u jednom dva primerka) ili u različitim kombinacijama s drugim privescima i perlama (devet grobova). U šest slučajeva nađeni su na grudima ili oko lobanje, što pokazuje da su nošeni oko vrata, a u dva groba su činili delove niski pohranjenih pored pokojnika. Zbog loše očuvanosti osteološkog materijala, često se nije mogao utvrditi položaj zvončića u odnosu na ostatke pokojnika.

Preovlađuju tipovi zvončića koničnog profila, s kružnom bazom (11),¹⁸⁰ pri čemu su četiri ukrašena horizontalnim linijama. Slede zvončići hemisferičnog profila, s kružnom bazom (4),¹⁸¹ od kojih su dva takođe ukrašena horizontalnim linijama. Sa po jednim primerkom zastupljeni su tipovi piramidalnog profila i kvadratne baze, stepenastog profila i kružne baze, i primerci s profilom u obliku lala i kružne osnove.¹⁸² Od navedenih 19, jedno zvonce je u vidu praporca. Klatno je očuvano kod pet zvončića, i uvek je gvozdено. Visina zvončića kreće se od 1,8 do 2,9 cm, jedino se visinom od 6,2 cm izdvaja zvonce čiji je profil u obliku tulipana.

Ako analiziramo nalaze zvončića prema starosnim skupinama pokojnika, u pet grobova novorođenčadi pronađeno ih je šest. U dva groba iz te skupine, zvonce je priloženo samostalno, ali se njegov položaj nije mogao utvrditi jer su ostaci pokojnika sačuvani u tragovima (VG/G-1268, VG/G-1042; kat. 85, 183; sl. 30.1–2). U jednom grobu, na istom mestu su se nalazili bula i zvonce neutvrđenog položaja u odnosu na telo pokojnika (P/G-4790; kat. 20; sl. 22.7). Pored lobanje jednog pokojnika (VG/G-1296; kat. 86; sl. 30.3) nađeni su zajedno zvonce, koštani privezak i tri perle od staklene paste, što upućuje na to da su predstavljali delove ogrlice. Dva zvončića su, kao deo niske, položena kod nogu pokojnika (VG/G-216; kat. 160; sl. 21.4). Osim njih, nisku su činile i tri bule, staklene i koštane perle, kao i privezak od zuba divljeg vepra, s bronzanom alkom.

U dva groba dece umrle između druge i četrte godine nađena su tri zvonceta. U jednom od njih (P/G-2559; kat. 351; sl. 31.1), srebrno

Bells were discovered separately (six graves with a single bell each and one grave with two bells) or in different combinations with other pendants or beads (9 graves). In six cases, bells were found upon the chest or close to the skulls of the deceased, indicating that they were worn around the neck. In two graves, they were parts of strings deposited next to the deceased. Due to the poor state of preservation of the osseous material, it is often the case that it is not possible to specify the position of bells in relation to the deceased.

Among bell types, those with a conical profile and a circular base prevail (11),¹⁸⁰ four of which were decorated with horizontal lines. They are followed by bells with a semi-spherical profile and a circular base (4),¹⁸¹ two of which were also decorated with horizontal lines. The following bell types were represented with a single piece each: pyramidal profile and a square base, stepped profile and a circular base and a tulip shaped profile with a circular base.¹⁸² One of the 19 pieces was in the shape of a jingle rather than in the shape of a proper bell. On five bells, the clappers remained preserved, and in each of them they were made of iron. Bell heights were within the range of 1.8 to 2.9 cm, while the only one being taller, measuring 6.2 cm, is the bell with the tulip shaped profile.

If we analyse bell finds according to age groups, in five graves of newborns there was the total of six bells. In two graves of this group, bells were unearthened as separate finds, but it was not possible to specify their position, since the remains of the deceased were only discovered in traces (VG/G-1268, VG/G-1042; Cat. nos. 85, 183; Fig. 30.1–2). In one grave, on the same spot, a bulla and a bell of unspecified position regarding the deceased were excavated (P/G-4790; Cat. no. 20; Fig. 22.7). Next to the skull of one of the deceased (VG/G-1296; Cat. no. 86; Fig. 30.3) a bell, a bone pendant and three beads made of glass paste were discovered together, indicating that they once represented parts of a necklace. Two bells were discovered making part of a string deposited next to the legs of the deceased (VG/G-216; Cat. no. 160; Fig. 21.4). Besides them, the string also consisted of three *bullae*, glass and bone beads, and a pendant made of a wild boar's tooth with a bronze loop.

180 Tip 6, prema Pomberger 2018.

181 Tip 5, prema Pomberger 2018.

182 Tipovi 1, 3 i 7, prema Pomberger 2018.

180 Type 6 after Pomberger 2018.

181 Type 5 after Pomberger 2018.

182 Types 1, 3 and 7 after Pomberger 2018.

zvonce se nalazilo pored lobanje, što ukazuje na nošenje oko vrata. U drugom grobu (VG/G-825; kat. 454; sl. 31.2) su dva bronzana zvončeta bila u položaju „iznad lobanje”, što znači da su bila priložena pored pokojnika, zajedno s balsamarijem. Samo jedno zvončeta pripada grobovima dece umrle između pete i devete godine (VG/G-1708; kat. 671; sl. 15.3). U pitanju je jedini zabeležen primerak tipa s profilom u obliku lale i većih dimenzija (6,2 cm). Izrađen je od srebra, s gvozdanim klatnom, i nalazio se na grudima pokojnika. Pored njega su bila dva perforirana novčića i bronzana minđuša.¹⁸³

U okviru skupine pokojnika neodređene starosti (kataloška grupa VI) registrovano je najviše zvončića (7). U tri groba su bili priloženi samostalno, bez privezaka ili perli (VG/G-1373, P/G-4928, VG/G-1655; kat. 1268,¹⁸⁴ 1350, 1388; sl. 32.1–3). U ostalim slučajevima su činili delove niski nošenih oko vrata (P/G, 1296,¹⁸⁵ P/G-5010; kat. 1192, 1240; sl. 26.3, 32.4) ili niski koje su bile položene pored pokojnika, u drvenoj kutiji kraj stopala (P/G-1807; kat. 1330; sl. 16.3) ili pored desne nadlaktice (VG/G-2124; kat. 1401; sl. 32.5). Osim zvončića, te niske su činile i bule, perforirani novčići, falusoidni i koštani privesci, privesci od zuba divljih životinja, perforirane morske školjke, perle itd.

Koštani privesci iz grobova VG/G-1296 (kat. 86; sl. 30.3) i VG/G-2124 (kat. 1401; sl. 32.5) predstavljaju amulete u obliku Heraklove batine, koji su inače česti na naušnicama ili ogrlicama žena.¹⁸⁶ Pretpostavlja se da je, kao amulet, oblik falusa mogao biti zamenjen Heraklovom batinom radi zaštite od urokljivog oka i za žene mnogo primerenijim simbolom nego što je falus. Za decu je imala

In one of the two graves belonging to children who passed away between the ages of 2 and 4 years (P/G-2559; Cat. no. 351; Fig. 31.1) and with bells as grave goods (3 pieces), a silver bell was discovered next to the skull, indicating that it was worn around the neck. In the second grave (VG/G-825; Cat. no. 454; Fig. 31.2) there were two bronze bells in the position “above the skull”, indicating that they were deposited next to the deceased along with a *balsamarium*. Only a single bell was discovered in graves belonging to children who passed away between the ages of 5 and 9 years (VG/G-1708; Cat. no. 671; Fig. 15.3). It is the only bell type discovered here with a tulip shaped profile and of larger dimensions (6,2 cm). The bell is made of silver with an iron clapper and it was placed upon the chest of the deceased. Next to it, two perforated coins and a bronze earring were discovered.¹⁸³

Most of the bells (7 pieces) were discovered within the group of graves belonging to the deceased of undetermined age (catalogue group VI). In three graves, bells were unearthed as single finds, without pendants or beads (VG/G-1373, P/G-4928, VG/G-1655; Cat. nos. 1268,¹⁸⁴ 1350, 1388; Fig. 32.1–3). In the remaining cases, bells made parts of strings worn around the neck (P/G-1296,¹⁸⁵ P/G-5010; Cat. nos. 1192, 1240; Fig. 26.3; Sl. 32.4) or deposited next to the deceased: in a wooden casket next to the feet (P/G-1807; Cat. no. 1330; Fig. 16.3) or next to the right upper arm (VG/G-2124; Cat. no. 1401; Fig. 32.5). On these strings, along with bells, there were also *bullae*, perforated coins, phallus shaped pendants, bone pendants, pendants made of wild animals' teeth, perforated sea-shells, beads, etc.

Bone pendants from VG/G-1296 (Cat. no. 86; Fig. 30.3) and VG/G-2124 (Cat. no. 1401; Fig. 32.5) represent amulets in the shape of Hercules' club, otherwise often used as a motif for pendants on women's earrings or necklaces.¹⁸⁶ It is considered that in the

183 Zlatna minđuša nađena je pored lobanje, a zdela kod desne butne kosti.

184 U tom grobu je pronađena perla od staklene paste, ali u predelu lobanje, zajedno s novčićem, dok se zvončeta nalazilo u „sredini ukopa“ (cf. Dnevnik terenskih istraživanja Više grobalja, 1585).

185 U tom grobu je pronađena i bronzana bula (sl. 26.3), nezavisno od niske.

186 Ti privesci su izrađivani od plemenitih metala i javljaju se u Britaniji, na rajnskom i dunavskom limesu, na obali Crnog mora i u Siriji. Ista varijanta izrađivana je i od kosti, kao jeftinija zamena za luksuzne primerke od zlata i srebra (cf. Petković 1995, 41, ref. 244).

183 A gold earring was discovered next to the skull and a bowl next to the right femur.

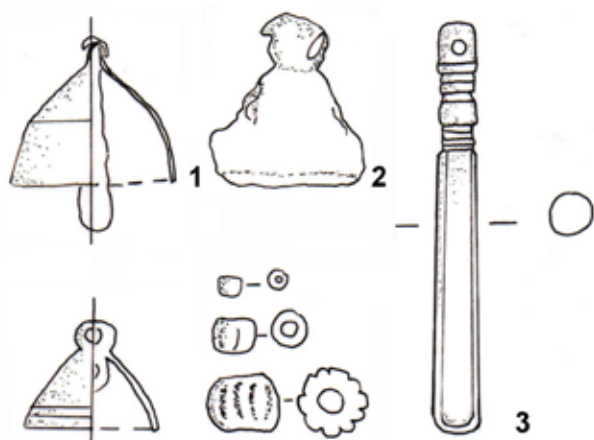
184 In this grave, a single bead made of glass paste was unearthed, close to the skull and together with a coin, while the bell was discovered “in the middle of the pit” (cf. Fieldwork diary Više grobalja, 1585).

185 In this grave, a bronze bulla was unearthed, separately from the string (Fig. 26.3).

186 These pendants were made of precious metals and they are encountered in Britain, on the Rhine and the Danube limes, on the Black Sea coast and in Syria. The same variant was also made of bone, as a cheaper substitution for luxurious pieces made of gold or silver (cf. Petković 1995, 41, ref. 244).

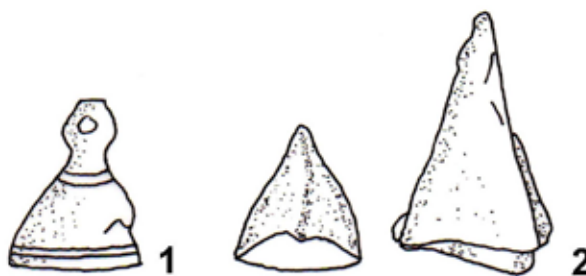
posebno apotropejsko značenje s obzirom na Heraklovo izbjavljenje od zmija dok je još bio u kolecvi.¹⁸⁷

context of an amulet, the phallus is replaceable with Hercules' club, used to protect from the "evil eye" and, for women, much more appropriate than a phallus shaped pendant. It possesses a special apotropaic meaning for children, since Hercules managed to escape snakes while still in his cradle.¹⁸⁷



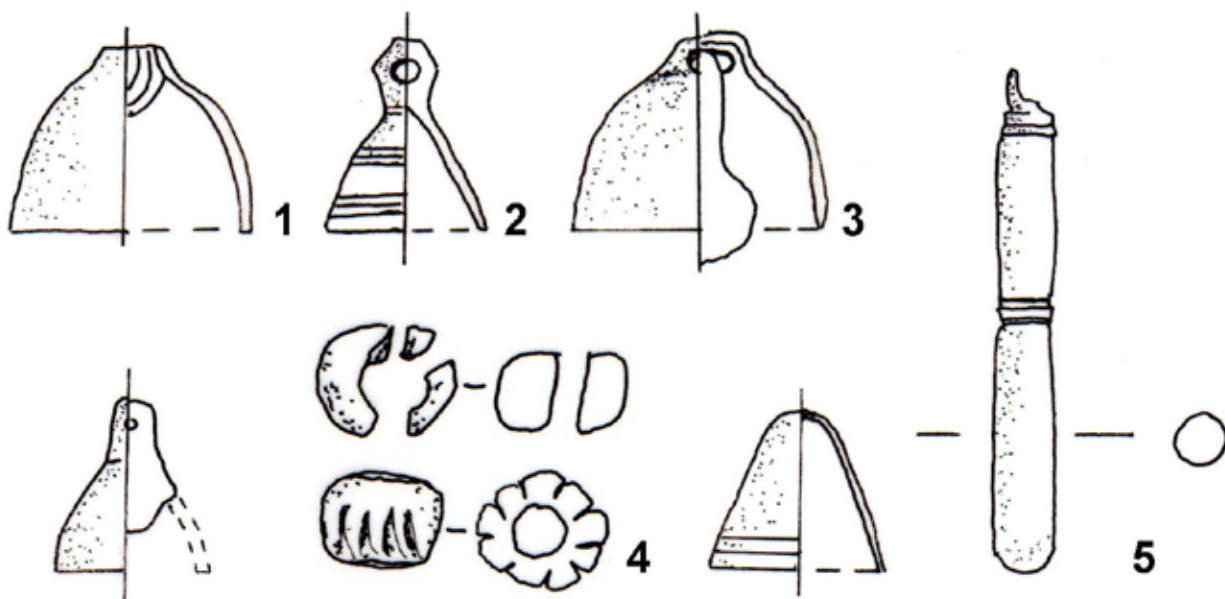
Sl. 30 Bronzani zvončići nošeni samostalno: grob VG/G-1268, kat. 85 (1), grob VG/G-1042, kat. 183 (2); kao deo ogrlice s tri staklene perle i koštanim priveskom: grob VG/G-1296, kat. 86 (3)

Fig. 30 Bronze bells, worn alone: grave VG/G-1268, Cat. no. 85 (1), grave VG/G-1042, Cat. no. 183 (2); as a part of the necklace with three glass beads and bone pendant: grave VG/G-1296, Cat. no. 86 (3)



Sl. 31 Samostalno nošeno srebrno zvonce, grob P/G-2559, kat. 351 (1); dva bronzana zvončića, grob VG/G-825, kat. 454 (2)

Fig. 31 Silver bell worn alone, grave P/G-2559, Cat. no. 351 (1); two bronze bells, grave VG/G-825, Cat. no. 454 (2)



Sl. 32 Bronzani zvončići nošeni samostalno: grob VG/G-1373, kat. 1268 (1), grob P/G-4928, kat. 1350 (2), grob VG/G-1655, kat. 1388 (3); s dve keramičke perle: grob P/G-5010, kat. 1240 (4); kao deo ogrlice s koštanim priveskom: grob VG/G-2124, kat. 1401 (5)

Fig. 32 Bronze bells worn alone: grave VG/G-1373, Cat. no. 1268 (1), grave P/G-4928, Cat. no. 1350 (2), grave VG/G-1655, Cat. no. 1388 (3); with two ceramic beads: grave P/G-5010, Cat. no. 1240 (4); as a part of the necklace with bone pendant: grave VG/G-2124, Cat. no. 1401 (5)

187 Dasen 2015a, 187.

187 Dasen 2015a, 187.

Privesci u obliku falusa

Jedan od najpoznatijih magijskih oblika u rimskom periodu bio je falus, čiju su predstavu, radi zaštite od zlih uticaja, koristili svi slojevi populacije, od novorođenčadi do imperatora.¹⁸⁸ Predmeti u vidu falusa, različitih veličina i izvedeni u raznim materijalima, isticani su kako na javnim mestima tako i u privatnim prostorima. Obično se njihova zaštitnička funkcija odnosila na muškost i regenerativnu moć. Drugi, često zapostavljan aspekt odnosi se na izjednačavanje falusa s oružjem u kolektivnoj svesti Grka i Rimljana.¹⁸⁹ Prema Džonsu, predstave falusa su se u rimskom carskom periodu razvile pod uticajem itifaličnih božanstava, kao što je Prijap, i njihovih predstava na hermama, čija je zaštitnička uloga proistekla iz njihovih funkcija u obezbeđivanju plodnosti. Božanstva prirode (Pan, Silvan, Faun) istovremeno su imala i izvesne agresivne aspekte, tj. sposobnost da uplaše ili čak povrede ljude. Taj dualitet uključivao je kako surovost tako i blagonaklonost, a esencijalnu snagu prirodnih sila, odnosno njihovih personifikacija, mogao je povoljno da simbolizuje falus i da na taj način preuzme nešto od dvostruke prirode prvobitnih božanstava, s jedne strane zaštitničke, a s druge agresivne ili čak opasne.¹⁹⁰

Kao što je oblik falusa u grčko-rimskom svetu bio korišćen tokom života kao jak apotropejski simbol, na isti način služio je i u funerarnom kontekstu. Na viminacijumskoj južnoj nekropoli, falusoidni privesci ili perle su registrovani u 12 grobova,¹⁹¹ od kojih je sedam s inhumacijom, i to isključivo dece (tabela 33). Takvi privesci su pronađeni i u pet grobova kremiranih pokojnika, za čije ostatke nema antropoloških određenja. U kategoriji novorođenčadi, falusoidni privesci su se nalazili u dva groba, i to bez poznatog položaja zbog loše očuvanosti osteoloških ostataka. U prvom slučaju (VG/G-1726; kat. 102; sl. 33.1), nađena je niska sastavljena od tri keramičke i jedne staklene perle, kao i od bronzanog priveška u obliku falusa.¹⁹² U drugom grobu (VG/G-189; kat. 157;

188 Pliny, *HN* XXVIII.7; XXVIII.39.

189 U tom kontekstu, Heraklova batina može da zameni oblik falusa kao oružje protiv zlih uticaja; cf. Dasen 2015a, 186–187, s navedenom literaturom.

190 Johns 1982, 62.

191 Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 122–151.

192 Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 137–138, сл. 7.5–6.

Phallus shaped pendants

During Roman times, one of the best known magical items was the phallus and its image was used for protection from evil influences by different social groups, from newborns all the way to emperors.¹⁸⁸ They were present both in public places and in private spaces and, usually, the protective function of the phallus referred to manhood and a regenerative power. The second, often neglected aspect refers to the phallus being made equal to a weapon in the collective conscience of the Greeks and Romans.¹⁸⁹ During the Roman imperial period, images of phalluses developed from ithyphallic spirits like Priapus and their images on *hermae*, whose protective role emerged from their functions in securing fertility. At the same time, basic deities of nature (Pan, Silvanus and Faun) possessed specific aggressive aspects, a capability to scare or even hurt people. This duality of the natural forces' personifications included both cruelty and affection and their essential power could easily be symbolised with a phallus. In such a way, the symbol could take over something of the dual nature of the original deities, protective on one side, but aggressive and even dangerous on the other.¹⁹⁰

In the same way the phallus was used in the Graeco-Roman world during one's lifetime as a strong apotropaic symbol, it was also used in a funerary context. In the southern Viminacium cemetery, phallus shaped pendants or beads were recorded in 12 graves,¹⁹¹ of which seven represented inhumations and belonging to children only (Table 33). Such pendants have also been discovered in five cremated graves without anthropological specification. Among the graves of newborns, in two of them phallus shaped pendants were discovered, in both cases of an unspecified place of discovery due to the poor state of preservation of the osseous remains. In the first example (VG/G-1726; Cat. no. 102; Fig. 33.1) the string consisted of three ceramic and a single glass bead with a bronze phallus shaped pendant.¹⁹² The second example (VG/G-189; Cat. no. 157; Fig. 33.2) included a string with a phallus shaped bone pendant, a single

188 Pliny, *HN* XXVIII.7; XXVIII.39.

189 In this context, Hercules' club can replace a phallus as a weapon against evil influences; cf. Dasen 2015a, 186–187, with literature.

190 Johns 1982, 62.

191 Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 122–151.

192 Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 137–138, сл. 7.5–6.

sl. 33.2), niska se sastojala od koštanog priveska u vidu falusa, jedne koštane i osam staklenih perli.¹⁹³

U sledećoj starosnoj skupini, tj. kod dece umrle između druge i četvrte godine života, registrovana su tri falusoidna priveska ili perle, i to u dve grobne celine. U prvoj (VG/G-331; kat. 444; sl. 34.1) je bronzani privezak u formi falusa činio deo narukvice, zajedno s perlom od ćilibara i tri staklene perle.¹⁹⁴ U drugom grobu (P/G-730; kat. 485; sl. 34.2), oko vrata pokojnika pronađene su četiri ćilibarske perle, od kojih su dve u obliku falusa.¹⁹⁵

Kod sahrana dece neutvrđene starosti, u grobu bogatom priložima (P/G-1807; kat. 1330; sl. 16.12–13) bila su čak četiri priveska u obliku falusa, tri koštana i jedan od karneola.¹⁹⁶ Pored njih, na istom mestu u predelu stopala, verovatno u drvenoj kutiji, bili su i bronzano zvonce, bronzana bula, perforirana morska školjka, privesci od zuba divljeg vepra i roga jelena, perforiran bronzani novac, staklene perle, od kojih jedna s „okcima”, i drugi privesci koji su činili delove niske u funkciji zaštite deteta od zlih sila. U drugom grobu (VG/G-1897; kat. 1395; sl. 18.1–3), u predelu karlice pokojnika nađeni su bronzani privezak u obliku falusa, privezak u formi minijaturne kamene sekire/čekića, perforiran bronzani novac i glava koštane igle u vidu stilizovane amfore. Konačno, u kataloškoj grupi VIII, u opljačkanom grobu (P/G-4552; kat. 1710; sl. 35.1) su registrovane dislocirane kosti dva pokojnika (dete staro između pet i devet godina i muškarac star do 60 godina), a od priloga stakleni privezak u obliku falusa ispod lobanje deteta. Osim toga, nađena je niska od dve ćilibarske i pet staklenih perli (sl. 40.3).

bone bead and eight glass beads.¹⁹³

Within the next age group of children who passed away between the ages of 2 and 4 years, there were three phallus shaped pendants from two funerary complexes. In the first one (VG/G-331; Cat. no. 444; Fig. 34.1), a bronze phallus shaped pendant made as part of an arm ring, together with a single amber bead and three glass beads.¹⁹⁴ In the second context (P/G-730; Cat. no. 485; Fig. 34.2) four glass beads were discovered around the neck of the deceased, two of them phallus shaped.¹⁹⁵

Among graves of children of undetermined age, in the grave with many valuable grave goods (P/G-1807; Cat. no. 1330; Fig. 16.12-13) there was the total of four phallus shaped pendants, three of them made of bone and one made of carnelian.¹⁹⁶ Besides these four phallus shaped pendants, all discovered at the same spot and close to the feet of the deceased, possibly even in a wooden casket, there was a bronze bell, a bronze bulla, a perforated sea shell, pendants made of wild boar's teeth, antler, a perforated bronze coin, glass beads, one of which with "eyes", and other pendants forming a string made to protect the child from evil forces. In the second example (VG/G-1897; Cat. no. 1395; Fig. 18.1–3) in the pelvic area of the deceased there were: a bronze phallus shaped pendant, a pendant in the shape of a miniature stone axe/hammer, a perforated bronze coin and the head of a bone needle in the shape of a stylised *amphora*. Finally, within catalogue group VIII, in a devastated grave (P/G-4552; Cat. no. 1710; Fig. 35), dislocated bones of two individuals were recorded (belonging to a child who passed away between the ages of 5 and 9 years and to a man of about 60 years of age). Among the grave goods, there was a phallus shaped glass pendant, discovered beneath the child's skull. Additionally, there was a string with two amber and five glass beads (Fig. 40.3).

193 Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 129–130, сл. 3.4–5; Спасић-Ђурић 2015а, 198, кат. 171.

194 Perle i privezak nađeni su na pretpostavljenom mestu desne ruke pokojnika; cf. Dnevnik terenskih istraživanja Više grobalja, 649–650; Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 134–135, сл. 5.4–5.

195 Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 147–149, сл. 12.7.

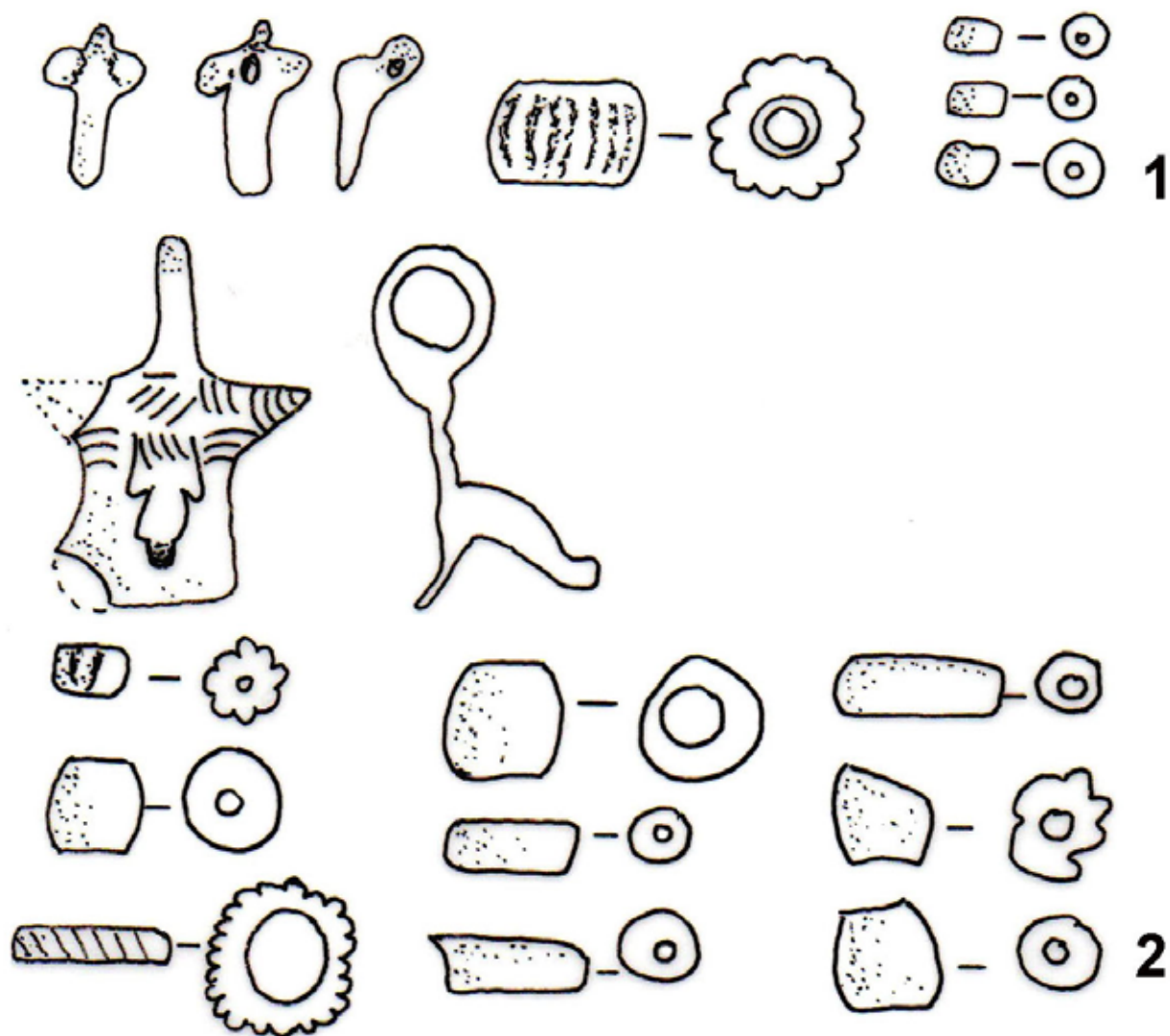
196 Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 126–127, сл. 2.10; Спасић-Ђурић 2015а, 198, кат. 170.

193 Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 129–130, сл. 3.4–5; Спасић-Ђурић 2015а, 198, кат. 171.

194 The beads and the pendant were discovered on the supposed position of the right arm of the deceased; cf. Fieldwork diary Više grobalja, 649–650; Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 134–135, сл. 5.4–5.

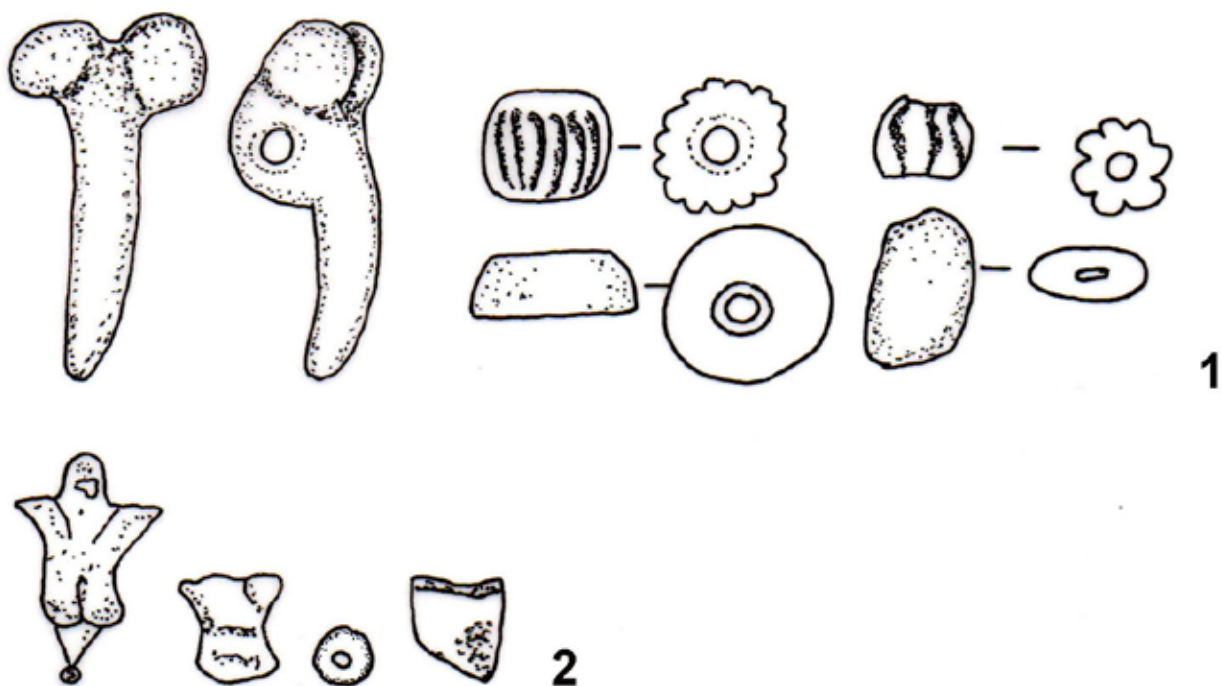
195 Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 147–149, сл. 12.7.

196 Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 126–127, сл. 2.10; Спасић-Ђурић 2015а, 198, кат. 170.



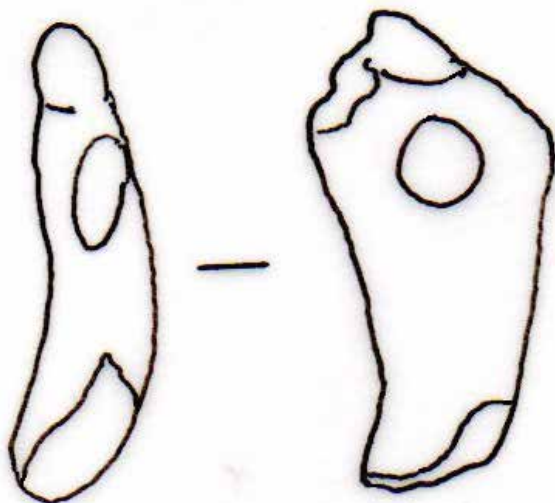
Sl. 33 Bronzani falusoidni privezak kao deo niske s tri keramičke i jednom staklenom perlom, grob VG/G-1726, kat. 102 (1); koštani falusoidni privezak s jednom koštanom i osam staklenih perli, grob VG/G-189, kat. 157 (2) (prema: Спасић-Ђурић 2008, сл. 7/5–6, сл. 3/4–5)

Fig. 33 Bronze phallic pendant as a part of the necklace with three ceramic and one glass bead, grave VG/G-1726, Cat. no. 102 (1); bone phallic pendant with one amber and 8 glass beads, grave VG/G-189, Cat. no. 157 (2) (after: Спасић-Ђурић 2008, сл. 7/5–6, сл. 3/4–5)



Sl. 34 Bronzani falusoidni privezak kao deo niske s jednom ćilibarskom i tri staklene perle, grob VG/G-331, kat. 444 (1); dva ćilibarska falusoidna priveska (drugi sleva fragmentovan) s dve ćilibarske perle, grob P/G-730, kat. 485 (2) (1 prema: Спасић-Ђурић 2008, сл. 5/4–5)

Fig. 34 Bronze phallic pendant as a part of the string with amber bead and three glass beads, grave VG/G-331, Cat. no. 444 (1); two amber phallic pendants (second from the left fragmented) and two amber beads, grave P/G-730, Cat. no. 485 (2) (1 after: Спасић-Ђурић 2008, сл. 5/4–5)



Sl. 35 Stakleni falusoidni privezak nošen samostalno, iz groba sa više pokojnika P/G-4552, kat. 1710 (prema: Спасић-Ђурић 2008, сл. 13/3)

Fig. 35 Glass phallic pendant worn alone from grave with more deceased P/G-4552, Cat. no. 1710 (after: Спасић-Ђурић 2008, сл. 13/3)

Privesci i perle od ćilibara i gagata

Ćilibar i gagat su fosilizovane organske materije, kojima se kontinuirano, od praistorije do danas, pripisuju izvesna magijska i lekovita svojstva.

Pojam ćilibara obuhvata nekoliko vrsta fosilizovanih biljnih smola. U Evropi je najpoznatiji baltički ćilibar, mada ima i drugih, koji se razlikuju po dužini vremena formiranja, izvoristu, kao i fizičkim i hemijskim svojstvima.¹⁹⁷ Poreklo, upotreba i osobine ćilibara izazivali su veliko zanimanje antičkih pisaca i naučnika. Plinije Stariji je, na primer, sastavio impresivnu listu upotrebe ćilibara, uključujući i medicinsku, kao što je lečenje grla, ili u izradi narukvica za zaštitu novorođenčadi.¹⁹⁸

Gagat je vrsta bituminoznog uglja nastalog od fosilizovanog drveta iz doba jure.¹⁹⁹ Najpoznatija evropska ležišta gagata su u Engleskoj (severni Jorkšir), Nemačkoj (doline Rajne i Mozela), Francuskoj (Langdok), Španiji (Asturija), Češkoj, Slovačkoj, Poljskoj i Portugalu. Korišćen je još od neolita, za izradu nakita, ali i ukosnica, drški noževa, žetona za igru i amuleta u obliku figurica. Naziv je dobio po gradu i reci Gages u Likiji, gde je bio otkriven, kako navodi Plinije Stariji, naglašavajući njegovu upotrebu u medicini i alhemiji.²⁰⁰ Osim svojstava zaštite od oluja, demona, otrova i uroka, nakit od gagata se zbog crne boje koristio u žalosti i povezivao se sa zagrobnim životom, pa ga otuda nalazimo i u grobovima. Pošto je bio skupocen, njegovu čestu zamenu predstavljao je jeftiniji pseudogagat, koji je u tom kontekstu imao ista magična svojstva.²⁰¹ Pitanje odakle potiču predmeti od gagata iz Viminacijuma, ostaje otvoreno.²⁰² Radi-

197 O vrstama i ležištima ćilibara *cf.* Palavestra, Krstić 2006 2006, 10–17; Causey 2019, 13, fig. 8; 16–17.

198 Za detaljan popis antičkih autora koji pominju ćilibar *cf.* Palavestra, Krstić 2006, 20–25; Causey 2019, 31–36, s navedenom literaturom.

199 Potiče od fosilizovanog drveta iz roda *Araucariaceae* iz doba jure, odnosno iz vremena pre oko 180 miliona godina; *cf.* Giunio 2010, 193.

200 Pliny, *HN*, XXXVI.141–142; pominje ga i Solinus u 3. veku i ubraja ga u kuriozitet zbog njegovih magičnih svojstava; *cf.* Giunio 2010, 194–195, ref. 7, 9.

201 Pseudogagat ili sapropelit potiče od ostataka nižih organizama, fitoplanktona i zooplanktona, *cf.* Giunio 2010, 198, ref. 20.

202 Spasić-Đurić, uz dozu opreznosti, iznosi pretpostavku o postojanju lokalne radionice, na šta je upućuje nalaz

Pendants and beads made of amber and jet

Amber and jet represent fossilized organic matter, to which certain magic and healing features have continuously been ascribed from pre-history to modern times.

The term amber refers to several kinds of fossilized plant resin. In Europe, the most famous one is the amber from the Baltics, although there are also other kinds of amber, differing in their formation time, origin and physical and chemical properties.¹⁹⁷ The origin, usage and properties of amber were of much interest to ancient authors and scientists. For example, Pliny the Elder composed an impressive list of the ways of using amber, including medical ones, like healing throat diseases or the usage of bracelets for the protection of newborns.¹⁹⁸

Jet is a kind of lignite coal formed from fossilized wood and dates from the Jurassic period.¹⁹⁹ The most famous jet mines in Europe are situated in England (northern Yorkshire), in Germany (the valleys of the Rhine and the Mosel), in France (Langedouc), Spain (Asturias), Czechia, Slovakia, Poland and Portugal. Ever since the Neolithic, it has been used for making jewellery, but also hair pins, knife handles, gaming chips and figure shaped amulets. It was named after the town and river in Lycia (Gagates). According to Pliny the Elder, jet was discovered there and used in medicine and alchemy.²⁰⁰ Besides its features as a protector from storms, demons, venom and curses, due to its black colour, jewellery made of jet was also used during mourning and was connected to the afterlife. This is why it is encountered in graves. Since it was valuable, it was often replaced with a cheaper pseudo jet, which possessed the same magical features in this context.²⁰¹ The question where the jet finds from

197 About amber types and finding places *cf.* Palavestra, Krstić 2006 2006, 10–17; Causey 2019, 13, fig. 8; 16–17.

198 For a detailed list of ancient authors on amber *cf.* Palavestra, Krstić 2006, 20–25; Causey 2019, 31–36, with literature.

199 It comes from the fossilized wood of the *Araucariaceae* genus from the Jurassic period, some 180 million years ago; *cf.* Giunio 2010, 193.

200 Pliny, *HN*, XXXVI.141–142; It is also mentioned by Solinus in the 3rd century and he considers it a curiosity because of its magical features; *cf.* Giunio 2010, 194–195, ref. 7, 9.

201 Pseudo-jet or sapropel originates from remains of lower organisms, phytoplankton and zooplankton; *cf.* Giunio 2010, 198, ref. 20.

onica za njihovu izradu otkrivena je u Jorku (*Eboracum*), sa alatom i finalnim ili poluproizvodima. Postoje naznake da su staklarske radionice u blizini Jerusalima i u Trijeru proizvodile i predmete od gagata, mada to nije potvrđeno.²⁰³

Na južnoj nekropoli Viminacijuma, u 20 grobova dece registrovane su perle ili privesci, a u jednom od njih i fragmentovana igla od čilibara. Predmeti od gagata pronađeni su u znatno manjem broju grobova (6), a čine ih polukružni segmenti narukvica i jedan antropomorfni privezak.²⁰⁴ Samo u jednom grobu zabeleženi su nalazi od obe vrste materijala (VG/G-1733; kat. 1281). Pregled zastupljenosti čilibara i gagata prema starosnim skupinama dat je u tabeli 34.

Viminacium come from remains open.²⁰² A workshop that processed jet was discovered in York (*Eboracum*), with working tools and finished or semi-finished products. Although this was not confirmed, there are indications that glass workshops in the vicinity of Jerusalem and Trier also made items of jet.²⁰³

In twenty children's graves from the southern Viminacium cemetery, beads or pendants made of amber were recorded and in one of them there was also a fragmented needle. Items made of jet were discovered in a much smaller number (6), and they include a semi-circular bracelet fragment and an anthropomorphic pendant.²⁰⁴ Only in one grave were there finds made of both kinds of material (VG/G/1733; Cat. no. 1281). An overview of the frequency of finds made of amber and jet, according to the age groups is given in table 34:

Starosna skupina / Age group	Broj grobova s nalazima od čilibara / Number of graves with amber findings	Broj grobova s nalazima od gagata / Number of graves with jet findings
0–1 godine / year Kat. grupa / Cat. group I	2	/
2–4 godine / years Kat. grupa / Cat. group II	4	/
5–9 godina / years Kat. grupa / Cat. group III	3	/
10–14 godina /years Kat. grupa / Cat. group IV	/	3
15–19 godina / years Kat. grupa / Cat. group V	/	1
Deca neutvrđene starosti / Children of undetermined age Kat. grupa / Cat. group VI	8	
Više pokojnika dečjeg uzrasta / Several deceased children Kat. grupa / Cat. group VII		2
Jedno dete – jedna ili više odraslih osoba / One child – one or more adults Kat. grupa / Cat. group VIII	1	/
UKUPNO / TOTAL	2	/

Tabela 34 Nalazi čilibara i gagata prema starosnim skupinama

Table 34 Amber and jet finds, according to age groups

većih komada sirovog gagata na lokalitetu Kod grobalja, naglašavajući da to ostaje u sferama pretpostavki, u nedostatku fizičko-hemijskih analiza; cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2011, 41, ref. 50.

203 Giunio 2010, 195, ref. 13; 197, ref. 18; 198, ref. 22.

204 Спасић-Ђурић 2011, 9–60.

202 Spasić-Đurić cautiously says that there was possibly a local workshop, indicated with finds of larger grey jet pieces at the site Kod grobalja. She underlines that it remains a hypothesis, since there are no physical-chemical analyses; cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2011, 41, n. 50.

203 Giunio 2010, 195, ref. 13; 197, ref. 18; 198, ref. 22.

204 Спасић-Ђурић 2011, 9–60.

Dva groba novorođenčadi sadržala su niske sa ćilibarskom perlom ili priveskom. U jednom od njih, pločasta heksagonalna ćilibarska perla bila je deo ogrlice, zajedno sa osam staklenih perli, koja se nalazila oko vrata pokojnika (P/G-4916; kat. 22; sl. 36.1). Drugi primer je već pomenut u odeljcima posvećenim perforiranim novčićima i bulama (VG/G-247; kat. 36; sl. 8.4). Niska je pronađena u predelu karlice, a činili su je tri puta perforiran novac, bronzana bula, keramičke i staklene perle, bronzani privezak, zub divlje svinje s bronzanom alkom, zub govečeta s bronzanom alkom. Ćilibarski privezak u njenom sastavu je deformisan, tako da je nejasno kakvog je prvobitno bio oblika. Pretpostavlja se da se radi o glavi životinje (?).

Ćilibarske perle i privesci su pronađeni u četiri groba iz druge starosne skupine. U jednom od njih, dve ćilibarske perle u formi stilizovanih ribljih glava bile su deo niske, zajedno s dve cilindrične perle od zlatnog lima i jednom loptastom od istog materijala, ukrašenom tirkiznim „okcima” (P/G-4688; kat. 360; sl. 37.1). Mesto njihovog nalaza u odnosu na ostatke pokojnika je nepoznato.²⁰⁵ Tri staklene i jedna ćilibarska perla, kao i falusoidni bronzani privezak činili su nisku, verovatno narukvicu, iz groba VG/G-331 (kat. 444; sl. 34.1).²⁰⁶ U grobu VG/G-308 (kat. 480; sl. 37.2), oko vrata pokojnika nađene su tri ćilibarske perle, dve ovalne i jedna raspadnuta. Takođe oko vrata pokojnika, u četvrtom grobu su se nalazile četiri perle od ćilibara (P/G-730; kat. 485; sl. 34.2), i to dve u obliku falusa, jedna sačuvana gotovo u celosti, dok je druga fragmentovana.

U sva tri groba iz treće starosne skupine poznato je mesto nalaza niski u odnosu na pokojnika. Oko vrata pokojnika iz groba VG/G-1425 (kat. 666; sl. 38.1) bila je ogrlica od 71 staklene perle, a na karlici niska koju su činile dve staklene i jedna jednostavna okrugla ćilibarska perla. Ogrlica od sedam perli izrađenih od crnog stakla (imitacija gagata ?) i tri ćilibar-

In two graves of newborns, strings were found that include either an amber bead or a pendant. The first one is a flat hexagonal amber bead making part of a necklace along with eight glass beads, all of them discovered around the neck of the deceased (P/G-4916; Cat. no. 22; Fig. 36). The second example was already mentioned in the chapters dedicated to perforated coins and *bullae* (VG/G-247; Cat. no. 36; Fig. 8.4). The string was unearthed from the pelvic area and it consisted of a triple perforated coin, a bronze bulla, ceramic and glass beads, a bronze pendant, a tooth of a wild boar with a bronze ring and a tooth of a calf with a bronze ring. The amber pendant from this bracelet was deformed and its original shape remained undetermined. It is suspected that it was in the shape of an animal protome (?).

Within the next age group, in four graves, amber beads and pendants were discovered. In the first example, two amber beads with the shape of stylised fish heads made part of a string together with two cylindrical beads made of gold sheet and a spherical one made of the same material, also decorated with turquoise “eyes” (P/G-4688; Cat. no. 360; Fig. 37.1). Its position in relation to the deceased remained unknown.²⁰⁵ In the second example (VG/G-331; Cat. no. 444; Fig. 34.1) the string, most likely a bracelet,²⁰⁶ consisted of three glass beads, one amber bead and a phallus shaped bronze pendant. In the third grave (VG/G-308; Cat. no. 480; Fig. 37.2), around the neck of the deceased, there were three amber beads, two of them oval and one destroyed. At the same spot, around the neck of the deceased, in the fourth grave, four amber beads were unearthed (P/G-730; Cat. no. 485; Fig. 34.2). Two of them were phallus shaped, one of which remained almost fully preserved, while the other was fragmented.

In all of the three graves from the third age group, the position of strings regarding the deceased was known. In grave (VG/G-1425; Cat. no. 666; Fig. 38.1), around the neck of the deceased, there was a string consisting of 71 glass beads, while on its pelvis, there was a string consisting of two glass beads and a single simple round amber bead. In the second grave

205 U terenskoj dokumentaciji je zabeleženo samo da je nađena „posle podizanja skeleta”; cf. Dnevnik terenskih istraživanja Pećine, 3174.

206 Kostii pokojnika očuvane su u fragmentima, a perle i privezak su nađeni zajedno u predelu gde bi se nalazila desna ruka pokojnika.

205 In the field documentation it is stated only that it was discovered “after the skeleton has been lifted”; cf. Fieldwork diary Pećine, 3174.

206 The bones of the deceased remained preserved only in fragments, while the beads and the pendant were unearthed together, in the area in which the deceased's right arm would have been.

ske perle bila je u grobu P/G-5241 (kat. 684; sl. 38.2), a u trećem slučaju (P/G-5169; kat. 757; sl. 38.3), takođe oko vrata pokojnika, nalazila se ogrlica sa 71 perlom od stakla, različitih oblika i boja, i jednom loptastom ćilibarskom perlom.

Među grobovima dece neutvrđene starosti (grupa VI), u osam su pronađeni ćilibarski privesci ili perle, a u jednom i fragmentovana igla od ćilibara. Privesci od ćilibara bili su deo ogrlica oko vrata pokojnika u dva groba. U jednom su (P/G-4288; kat. 1345; sl. 17.1), pored kružnog ćilibarskog priveska s perforacijom u sredini, ogrlicu činili i bronzana bula, dva puta perforiran novčić, perforiran morski puž, kao i staklene, kamene i keramičke perle, od kojih su dve s „okcima”. Pored desne noge pokojnika nađena je ćilibarska igla s kupasto profilisanom glavom, čiji vrh nedostaje (sl. 39.1). Ogrlica iz groba VG/G-1405 (kat. 1381; sl. 39.2) sastojala se od dva ćilibarska priveska i sedam staklenih perli, od kojih je šest cevastih, a jedna je loptasta i s „okcima”. Jedan od ćilibarskih privezaka ima oblik glave životinje, možda lava (?), dok je drugi u formi boce. Nisku pronađenu kraj desne noge pokojnika u grobu VG/G-1478 (kat. 1383; sl. 39.3) činile su bronzane i staklene perle, kao i četiri cela i jedan fragmentovani privezak od ćilibara, od kojih je jedan modelovan u vidu delfina. U grobu VG/G-1897 (kat. 1395; sl. 39.4), koji je bogat priložima apotropejskog karaktera, nađene su dve niske. Jedna je bila u predelu stopala, a sastojala se od devet staklenih i jedne ćilibarske perle, dok je druga bila u predelu karlice, s bronzanim privescikom u obliku falusa, kamenim privescikom u formi sekire i perforiranim bronzanim novcem (sl. 18.1–3). Nisu konstatovani osteološki ostaci u grobu s konstrukcijom od opeka iz ove starosne skupine (P/G-4335; kat. 1430; sl. 26.7), ali su na zidanom uzglavlju pronađeni novac, srebrna bula i lunulasti privezak od ćilibara.²⁰⁷ Kombinacija oblika i materijala, taj privezak čini amuletom s jakim apotropejskim svojstvima.

Zbog loše očuvanosti osteoloških ostataka, u tri groba iz kataloške grupe VI nije utvrđeno mesto priloga u odnosu na telo pokojnika, ali su se u svim slučajevima nalazili na jednom mestu. Grob VG/G-1733 (kat. 1281) je

(P/G-5241; Cat. no. 684; Fig. 38.2), around the neck of the deceased, there was a necklace consisting of seven beads made of black glass (fake jet?) and three beads made of amber. In the third example (P/G-5169; Cat. no. 757; Fig. 38.3), also around the neck of the deceased, a string was discovered of 71 glass beads of different shapes and colours, and a spherical amber bead.

Within the separated group VI of children of undetermined age, in eight of them there were pendants and beads and in one of them there was a fragmented amber needle. In two cases, amber pendants made parts of necklaces, discovered around the neck of the deceased. In the first example (P/G-4288; Cat. no. 1345; Fig. 17.1), besides the circular amber pendant perforated in the middle, the necklace also contained a bronze bulla, a double perforated coin, a perforated sea snail, as well as glass, stone and ceramic beads, two of which had “eyes”. Next to the right leg there was an amber needle with a cone shaped head and a missing top (Fig. 39.1). In the second case (VG/G-1405; Cat. no. 1381; Fig. 39.2), the necklace consisted of two amber pendants and seven glass beads, six of which were tubular and a spherical one with “eyes”. One of the amber pendants was modelled in the shape of an animal head, possibly a lion (?), while the other one was bottle shaped. In one case (VG/G-1478; Cat. no. 1383; Fig. 39.3), parts of a string were discovered next to the right leg and they consisted of bronze and glass beads, as well as four fully preserved and a fragmented amber pendant, one of which was modelled in the shape of a dolphin. In a grave (VG/G-1897; Cat. no. 1395; Fig. 39.4) rich with grave goods of an apotropaic character, there were two strings. One was deposited in the area of the deceased’s feet, consisting of nine glass beads and a single amber bead, while the second string was deposited close to the pelvis and consisted of a bronze phallus shaped pendant, a stone axe shaped pendant and a perforated coin (Fig. 18.1–3). From one of the graves with a brick construction and belonging to this age group (P/G-4335; Cat. no. 1430; Fig. 26.7) no osseous remains were discovered, but on a constructed “pillow”, a coin, a silver bulla and a crescent shaped amber pendant were found.²⁰⁷ In this case, a combination of shape and material is contained within the pendant, which is actually an amulet with strong apotropaic features.

Due to the poor preservation state of the osseous material, in three graves from catalogue group VI, it was not possible to determine the

²⁰⁷ Спасић-Ђурић 2015а, 209, кат. 211.

²⁰⁷ Спасић-Ђурић 2015а, 209, кат. 211.

sadržao bogate nalaze,²⁰⁸ među kojima se ističe medaljon s kamejom umetnutom u srebrni okvir. Osim toga, u njemu je pronađena ogrlica od 54 staklene perle, zatim zlatna minduša, srebrni prsten, prsten od crnog stakla (imitacija gagata), 16 polukružnih segmenata narukvice od gagata (sl. 43.1), kao i ćilibarski privezak pravougaone osnove, s profilisanim krajevima (sl. 39.5). Prema obliku i dimenzijama, moguće je da se oplata od zlatnog lima, koja je takođe konstatovana u grobu, nalazila na gornjem delu ćilibarskog priveska.²⁰⁹ To je istovremeno jedini grob dece u kome su zajedno bili predmeti od ćilibara i gagata.

Delove ogrlice u drugom grobu iz ove grupe (VG/G-536; kat. 1370; sl. 39.6) činile su tri staklene perle, zatim probušen životinjski rog i dva priveska od ćilibara, od kojih je jedan u formi sekire, a drugi je kapljičastog oblika. Privesci u vidu minijturnih sekira javljaju se u latenskim grobovima, ali i kasnije, u rimskom periodu.²¹⁰ Zbog jakog apotropejskog značenja, korišćeni su u kombinacijama s različitim delovima nakita. Taj tip amuleta, najčešće izrađivan od srebra, ređe od zlata i bronz, bio je veoma popularan u drugoj polovini 1. veka pre n.e. u oblasti Karpata, odakle se raširio na zapad i jug.²¹¹ I, konačno, u još jednom grobu, s nepoznatim mestom nalaza (P/G-3041; kat. 1418; sl. 39.7), valjkasta perla od ćilibara čini deo ogrlice sa 58 staklenih perli.

Niska sastavljena od tri staklene i jedne pločaste ćilibarske perle ležala je na grudima starijeg deteta u jednom od dvojnih grobova dece (VG/G-1707; kat. 1621; sl. 40.1) iz kataloške grupe VII. Osim nje, tu su bile i dve zlatne minduše, bronzana bula (sl. 27.2) i bronzana igla s glavom u obliku ključa. Dva groba iz kataloške grupe VIII (sahrana deteta i odrasle osobe) sadržala su predmete od ćilibara. U jednom (P/G-2675; kat. 1692; sl. 40.2) je, ispod lobanje deteta, nađena ogrlica od 50 staklenih

position of grave goods regarding the deceased, but in all of the cases they were discovered in one spot. In the first case named above (VG/G-1733; Cat. no. 1281) it was a grave with luxurious grave goods.²⁰⁸ The most priceless among them was a medallion with a cameo inlaid into a silver frame. Besides that, in this grave there was also a necklace that consisted of 54 glass beads, a golden earring, a silver finger ring, a finger ring made of black glass (fake jet), 16 semi-spherical bracelet segments made of jet (Fig. 43), as well as an amber pendant of rectangular shape with profiled endings (Fig. grave goods. 39.5). A coating made of gold sheet was discovered together with all of the other grave goods. According to its shape and dimensions, it is possible that it was placed on the upper part of the amber pendant.²⁰⁹ This is the only children's grave in which amber and jet finds were discovered together.

In the second grave (VG/G-536; Cat. no. 1370; Fig. 39.6), the necklace consisted of three glass beads, a pierced animal horn and two amber pendants, one of which was axe shaped and the second one in the shape of a drop. Axe shaped pendants come from La Tène graves, but also later, during Roman times.²¹⁰ As pendants with a strong apotropaic meaning, they were used in combinations of different jewellery types. This amulet type, most commonly made of silver, rarely of gold or bronze, was very popular during the second half of the 1st century BC in the Carpathian basin. From this territory, they spread towards the west and the south.²¹¹ Finally, in another grave and with an unknown position regarding the deceased (P/G-3041; Cat. no. 1418; Fig. 39.7), a cylindrical amber bead made part of a necklace, together with another 58 glass beads.

Within catalogue group VII, in one of the double children's graves (VG/G-1707; Cat. no. 1621; Fig. 40.1), upon the chest of the elder child, a string was discovered with three glass beads and a single flat amber bead. Besides this string, two gold earrings, a bronze bulla (Fig. 27.2) and a bronze needle with a key shaped

208 Спасић-Ђурић 2007, 323–340; Спасић-Ђурић 2011, 16, сл. 1/8.

209 Formalne analogije pokazuje ćilibarski privezak u obliku zvona iz Olbije; cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2007, 333.

210 Guštin, Popović 2017, 63, ref. 34, 35.

211 Cf. Guštin, Popović 2017, 68, fig. 10: karta rasprostranjenosti amuleta u obliku minijturne sekire; takođe i lista nalazišta u ref. 37 na str. 63–64.

208 Спасић-Ђурић 2007, 323–340; Спасић-Ђурић 2011, 16, сл. 1/8.

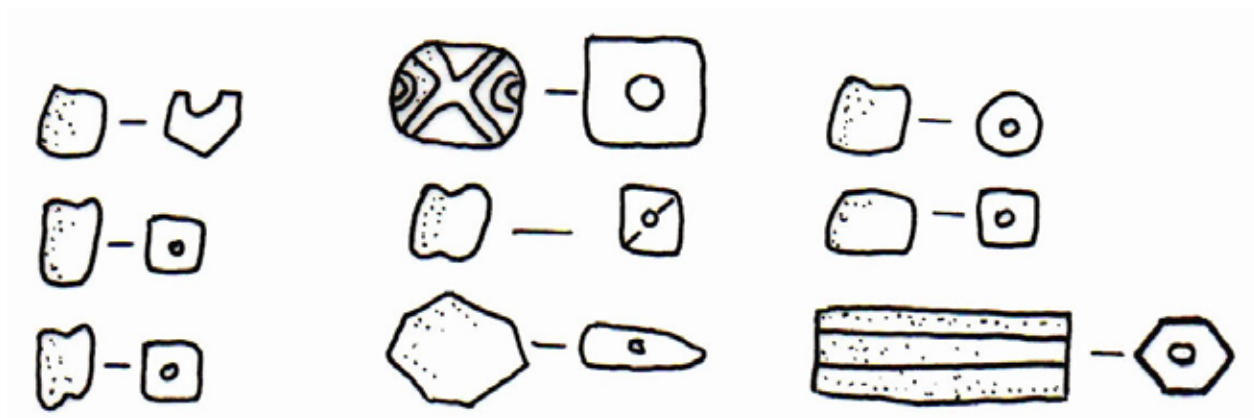
209 An analogy in shape is a bell shaped amber pendant from Olbia; cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2007, 333.

210 Guštin, Popović 2017, 63, ref. 34, 35.

211 Cf. Guštin, Popović 2017, 68, Fig. 10: The distribution map of amulets in the shape of a miniature axe; also, the list of finding places in footnote 37 on pages 63–64.

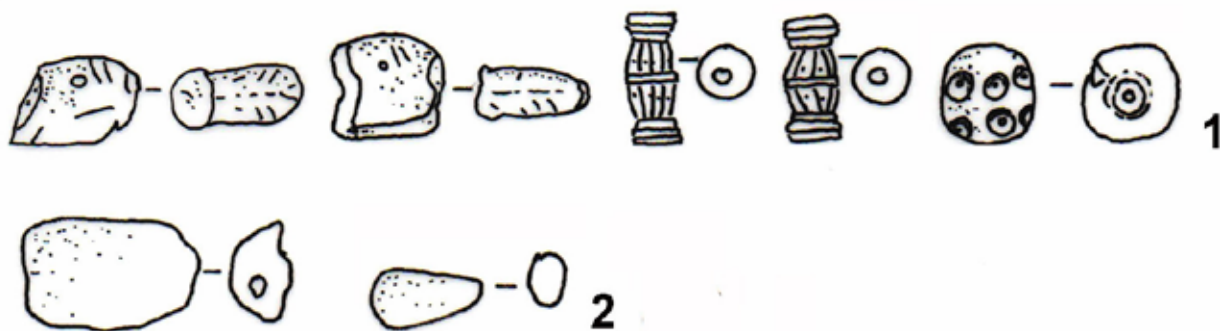
i jedne ćilibarske perle, dok je u drugom (P/G-4552; kat. 1710; sl. 40.3), u predelu nogu bila niska od dve ćilibarske i pet staklenih perli, a ispod lobanje se nalazio falusoidni stakleni privezak (sl. 35).

head were also unearthed from this grave. In the case of two graves from catalogue group VIII (burial of a child and an adult), further amber finds were registered. In the first case (P/G-2675; Cat. no. 1692; Fig. 40.2), a string consisting of 50 glass beads and a single amber bead was found beneath the child's skull. In the second case (P/G-4552; Cat. no. 1710; Fig. 40.3), close to the legs, a string with two amber and 5 glass beads was discovered, while beneath the head of the child, there was a phallus shaped glass pendant (Fig. 35).



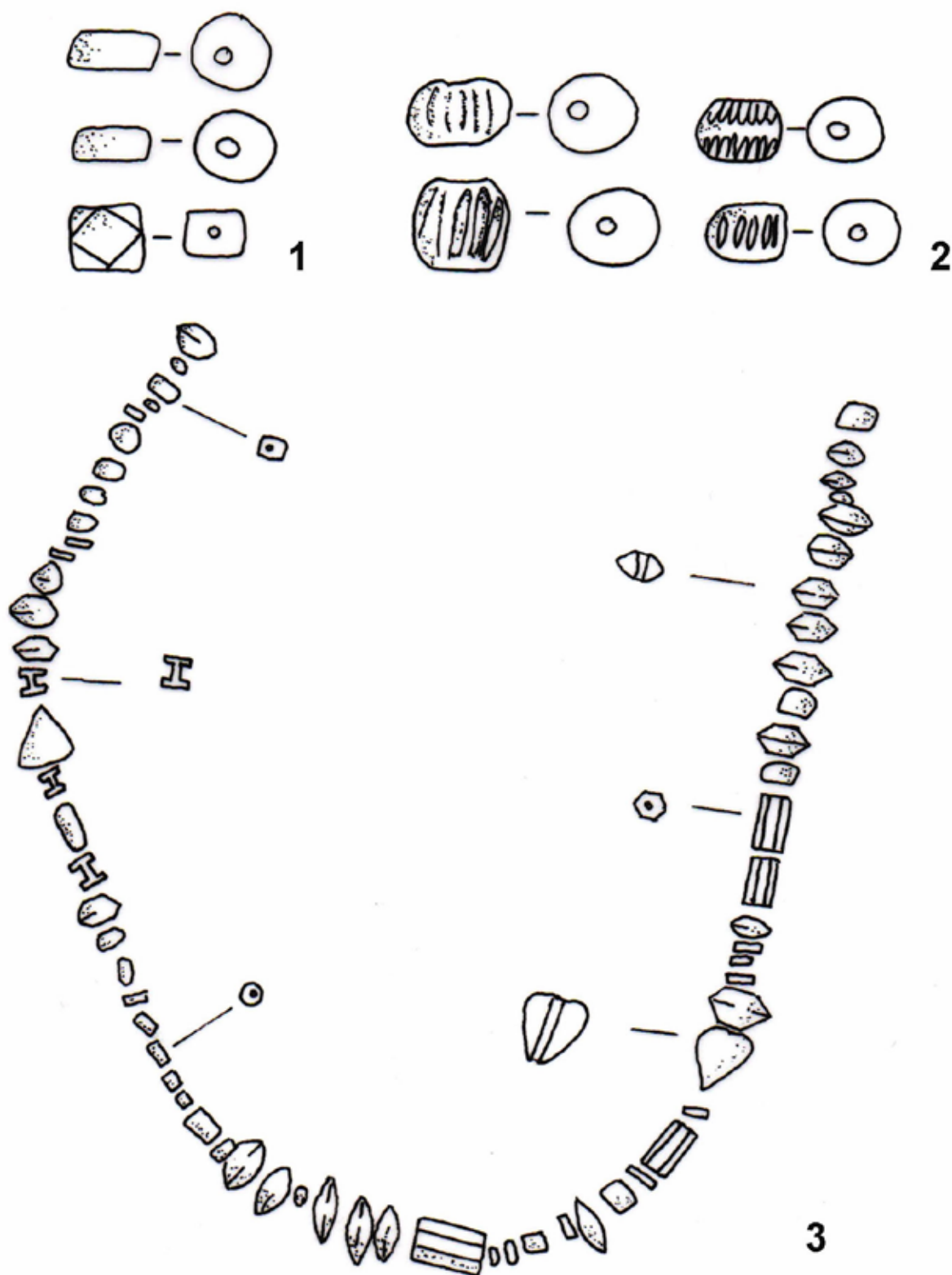
Sl. 36 Ćilibarska perla (u drugoj koloni dole) kao deo ogrlice sa osam staklenih perli iz groba P/G-4916, kat. 22

Fig. 36 Amber bead (in the second column below) as a part of the necklace with 8 glass beads from grave P/G-4916; Cat. no. 22



Sl. 37 Dve ćilibarske perle u obliku ribe, kao deo niske s tri zlatne perle, grob P/G-4688, kat. 360 (1); tri ćilibarske perle (jedna raspadnuta), grob VG/G-308, kat. 480 (2)

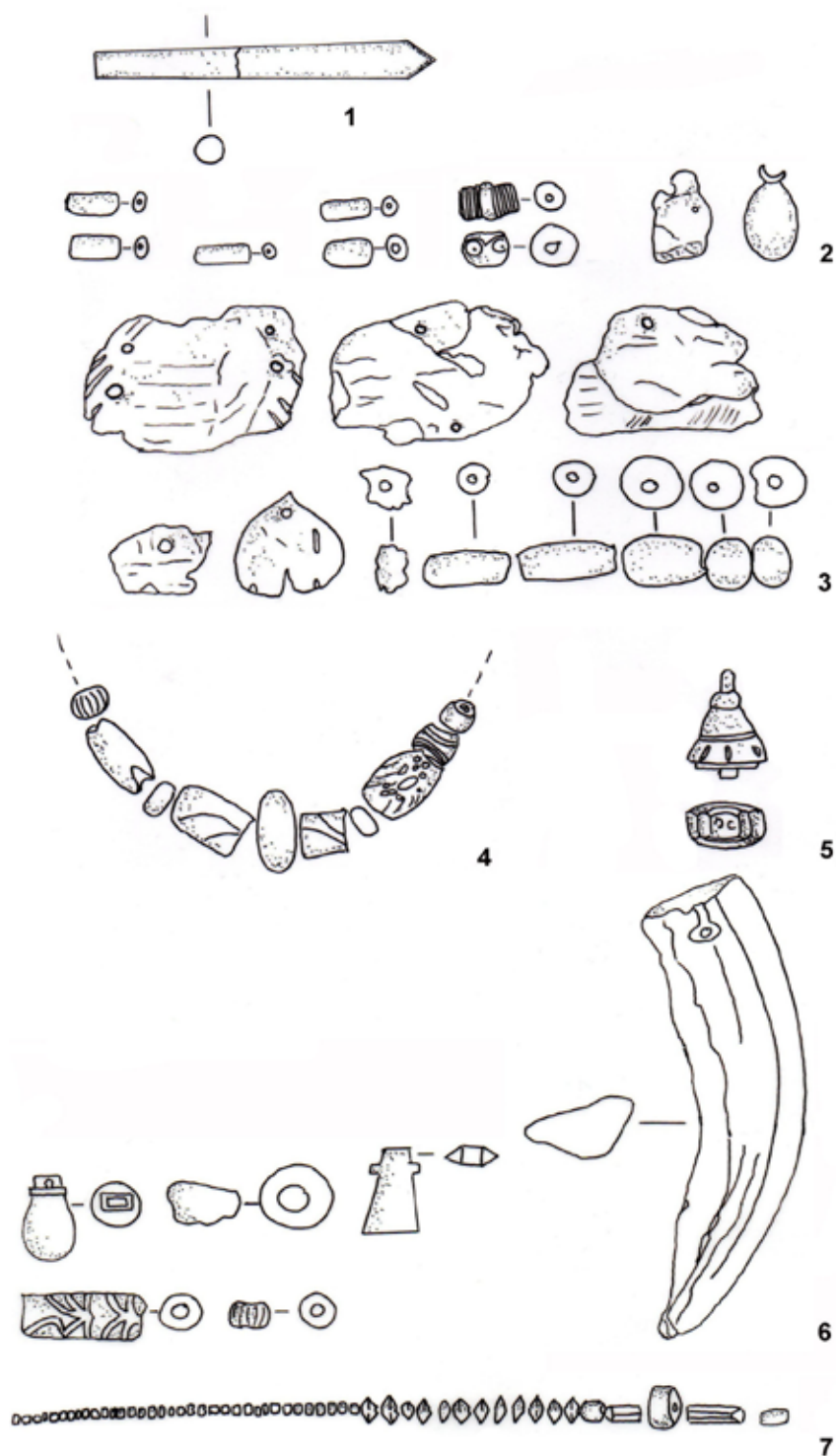
Fig. 37 Two amber fish shaped beads as a part of the string with three gold beads, grave P/G-4688; Cat. no. 360 (1); three amber beads (one disintegrated), grave VG/G-308; Cat. no. 480



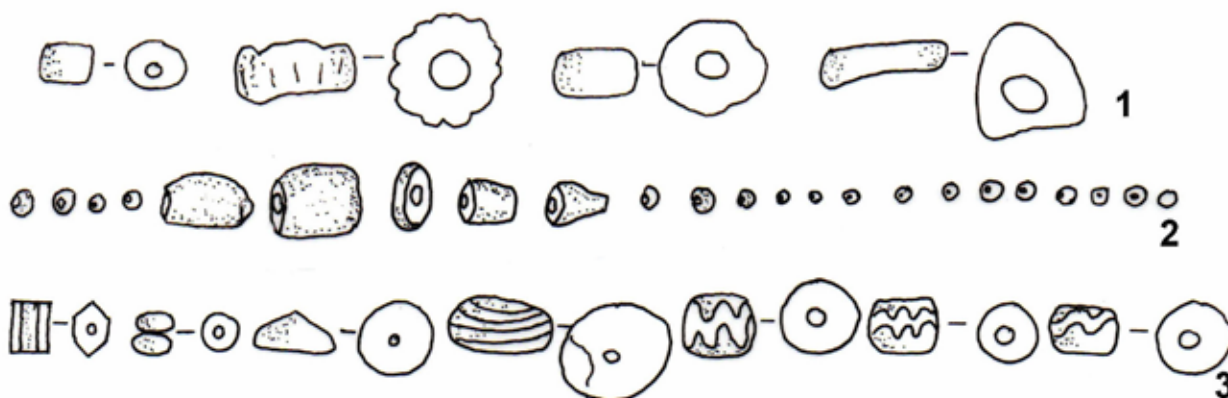
Sl. 38 Čilibarska i dve staklene perle, grob VG/G-1425, kat. 666 (1); niska od tri čilibarske i sedam staklenih perli (od kojih su prikazane četiri), grob P/G-5241, kat. 684 (2); ogrlica s jednom čilibarskom i 71 staklenom perlom, grob P/G-5169, kat. 757 (3)

Fig. 38 Amber bead and two glass beads, grave VG/G-1425, Cat. no. 666 (1); string of three amber and 7 glass beads (shown 4), grave P/G-5241, Cat. no. 684 (2); necklace with one amber and 71 glass beads, grave P/G-5169, Cat. no. 757

MORS IMMATURA
 NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
 južna nekropola Viminacijuma



Sl. 39 Fragmentovana igla od ćilibara, grob P/G-4288, kat. 1345 (1); dve ćilibarske i sedam staklenih perli, kao delovi niske, grob VG/G-1405, kat. 1381 (2); pet ćilibarskih privezaka, jedna bronzana i pet staklenih perli, grob VG/G-1478, kat. 1383 (3); devet staklenih i jedna perla od ćilibara (u sredini), grob VG/G-1897, kat. 1395 (4); ćilibarski privezak nošen samostalno, grob VG/G-1733, kat. 1281 (5); dva priveska od ćilibara (prvi i treći sleva), tri staklene perle i perforirani rog kao delovi niske, grob VG/G-536, kat. 1370 (6); jedna od ćilibara i 58 staklenih perli, grob P/G-3041, kat. 1418 (7)
Fig. 39 Fragmented amber pin, grave P/G-4288, Cat. no. 1345 (1); as part of a string: two amber and seven glass beads, grave VG/G-1405, Cat. no. 1381 (2); five amber pendants, one bronze and five glass beads, grave VG/G-1478, Cat. no. 1383 (3); nine glass beads and an amber bead (in the middle), grave VG/G-1897, Cat. no. 1395 (4); amber pendant worn alone, grave VG/G-1733, Cat. no. 1281 (5); as part of a string: two amber pendants (first and third from the left), three glass beads and a perforated animal horn, grave VG/G-536, Cat. no. 1370 (6); one amber and 58 glass beads, grave P/G-3041, Cat. no. 1418 (7)



Sl. 40 Delovi niski: tri staklene perle i jedna od ćilibara, grob VG/G-1707, kat. 1621 (1); jedna od ćilibara i 50 staklenih perli, grob P/G-2675, kat. 1692 (2); dve od ćilibara (treća i četvrta sleva) i pet staklenih perli, grob P/G-4552, kat. 1710 (3)
Fig. 40 Parts of strings: three glass beads and an amber bead, grave VG/G-1707, Cat. no. 1621 (1); one amber and 50 glass beads, grave P/G-2675, Cat. no. 1692 (2); two amber beads (third and fourth from the left) and five glass beads, grave P/G-4552, Cat. no. 1710 (3)

Predmeti od gagata nisu registrovani u grobovima dece uzrasta do deset godina. Javljaju se u grobovima dece umrle između 10. i 19. godine (4) i u dva groba pokojnika neutvrđene starosti. Ostali predmeti od gagata zabeleženi na južnoj nekropoli potiču iz grobova mladih žena (8).²¹² U tri groba dece preminule u uzrastu između 10 i 14 godina nađeni su delovi narukvica od gagata, odnosno polukružni segmenti s dve perforacije. U jednom od njih (P/G-1327; kat. 940; sl. 41.1) jedini nalaz bila su četiri segmenta narukvice od gagata, nađena u predelu ramena. U drugom grobu (VG/G-939; kat. 1016; sl. 41.2), veoma bogatom priložima,²¹³ segment narukvice od gagata nalazio se na pokrivaču grobne konstrukcije, zajedno s keramičkim krčagom. Konačno, u trećem grobu dece iz ove starosne skupine (P/G-1025; kat. 1012; sl. 41.3), 20 segmenata od kvalitetnog gagata, poliranog do visokog sjaja, pronađeno je kraj stopala pokojnika.²¹⁴

Samo u jednom grobu dece iz starosne skupine V (P/G-551; kat. 1096; sl. 42.1), u kome je sahranjen pokojnik umro oko petnaeste godine, ispod karlice je nađeno 15 segmenata narukvice od gagata.²¹⁵ Na istom mestu

In graves of children who passed away up to the age of ten there were no items made of jet. They were discovered in graves of children who passed away between the ages of 10 and 19 years of age (4 graves) and in two graves of children of undetermined age. The remaining jet finds from the southern necropolis (8 graves) come from graves of young women.²¹² In three graves belonging to children who passed away between the ages of 10 and 14 years there were parts of jet necklaces, actually semi-spherical segments, each with two perforations. In one of them (P/G-1327; Cat. no. 940; Fig. 41.1), the only find included four jet bracelet segments, discovered in the shoulder area of the deceased. In the second grave (VG/G-939; Cat. no. 1016; Fig. 41.2), very rich in grave goods,²¹³ there was a single jet bracelet segment discovered upon the covering of the grave structure together with a pottery jug. Finally, in the third grave of this age group (P/G-1025; Cat. no. 1012; Fig. 41.3), twenty segments of high quality jet, polished to a deep shine, were unearthed next to the feet of the deceased.²¹⁴

Only in a single grave from the age group V (P/G-551; Cat. no. 1096; Fig. 42), belonging to the deceased who passed away at the age of 15 years, beneath

212 Спасић-Ђурић 2011, 37. Za povezanost mladih žena i uloge gagata na porođaju cf. Faraone 2018, 91, ref. 118–119.

213 Ogrlica od 167 staklenih i 42 keramičke perle; sedam koštanih igala s glavom u vidu bobice i jedna ukrašena ženskom bustom; četiri koštane kockice za igru; dva staklena i jedan keramički žeton za igru; bronzana bula, bronzani lanac s perlama od crne staklene paste; staklena guta.

214 Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 209, kat. 214.

215 Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 210, kat. 215.

212 Спасић-Ђурић 2011, 37. For the connection of young women and the role of jet at childbirth cf. Faraone 2018, 91, ref. 118–119.

213 A necklace consisting of 167 glass beads and 42 ceramic beads; seven bone needles with their heads in the shape of a berry and a single one decorated with a woman's bust; four bone dice; two glass chips and a ceramic gaming chip; a bronze bulla, a bronze chain with beads made of black paste; a glass guta.

214 Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 209, kat. 214.

registrovano je i pet perli od staklene paste, sa kriškastim ornamentom. Kod dece neutvrđene starosti izdvojena su dva groba s priložima od gagata. Jedan je već opisan grob VG/G-1733 (kat. 1281), u kome je, pored 16 segmenata narukvice od gagata (sl. 43.1), nađen i ćilibarski privezak (sl. 39.5). U drugom grobu (P/G-3239; kat. 1223; sl. 26.6), osim bronzane bule, nalazio se predmet, izuzetan na viminacijumskoj južnoj nekropoli – privezak od gagata u obliku muškog poprsja. Spasić-Đurić ga tumači kao predstavu atlete, nalazeći analogije u terakoti iz Rgotine, bronzanom poprsju iz Vrgudinca, kao i u privesku od gagata iz jednog groba u Stobima.²¹⁶ Pojavu perčina (*tutulus*) na većini takvih privezaka od gagata, Krami i Dejvis objašnjavaju njihovim etruskim poreklom,²¹⁷ dok Menendez Menendez, koji je analizirao sve poznate antropomorfne priveske od gagata, najbliže analogije za viminacijumski primerak vidi u privescima s lokaliteta na Krimu.²¹⁸ Svi primerci imaju bradavice označene koncentričnim krugovima sa tačkom u sredini, kao i vertikalne ureze na leđima. Osim toga, on smatra da uglavnom imaju sličnosti s predstavama sportista, a kao najbližu analogiju za viminacijumski i krimski priveske navodi portret izveden u mozaiku iz termi u Akvileji.²¹⁹

Najpre se uočava da nalazi ćilibara potiču iz grobova dece umrle u uzrastu od prvih meseci do devete godine (I, II i III starosna skupina),²²⁰ dok su predmeti od gagata pronađeni u grobovima starije dece, umrle između desete i devetnaeste godine (tabela 34). Predmeti od ćilibara iz grobova dece datovani su

216 Јовановић 2007, 101–103; Спасић-Ђурић 2011, 28–29; Спасић-Ђурић 2015а, 211, кат. 218.

217 Crummy, Davis 2020, 384–385.

218 Алексеева 1978, 18, tip 95, datovan u drugu polovinu 4. veka, s lokaliteta Совхоз 10, mogila no. 56, T. 21.58; Strzelecki i ostali dodaju da je u mogili 56 pronađen i novac Konstantina I i datuju je u prvu polovinu 4. veka (cf. Стржеleckий et al. 2005, за opis i datovanje: 179, 187, T. XXXIII; за илустрацију привеска: 178, fig. 35.15, T. 8.48); Стоянова 2016, 128–129, no. 18, nekropola Nejzas (Нейзац), mogila no. 301, T. 2.8; Menéndez Menéndez 2019, 170.

219 Menéndez Menéndez 2019, 175, 177, fig. 12.Q.

220 Grobovi s nalazima ćilibara iz kataloških skupina VII i VIII takođe pripadaju deci umrloj između druge i devete godine.

the pelvis, were there 15 segments of a jet bracelet.²¹⁵ In the same spot, there were also five beads made of glass paste and modelled with a slice shaped ornament. Within the group of children's graves of undetermined age, there were two graves in which jet finds were unearthed. The first example (VG/G-1733; Cat. no. 1281) includes a grave that was already described, with 16 segments of a jet bracelet (Fig. 43) and an amber pendant (Fig. 39.5). The second grave (P/G-3239; Cat. no. 1223; Fig. 26.6) revealed a bronze bulla and an extraordinary find from the southern Viminacium cemetery – a jet pendant in the shape of a male bust. Spasić-Đurić describes it as a bust of an athlete and gives parallels: a terracotta from Rgotina, a bronze bust from Vrgudinac, as well as a jet pendant from a grave in Stobi.²¹⁶ Crummy and Davis ascribe the origin of the ponytail (*tutulus*), presented on most of these jet pendants, to the Etrurians.²¹⁷ However, Menéndez, who analysed all of the known anthropomorphic pendants made of jet, states that the closest analogies for the Viminacium example are the pendants from the site in Crimea.²¹⁸ All of these pieces show nipples made using concentric circles with a dot in the middle, as well as vertical carvings on the backs. Besides that, he considers that to the greatest extent, they resemble images of athletes. He cites a mosaic portrait from the *Aquileia thermae* as the closest parallel for the finds from Viminacium and Crimea.²¹⁹

What is clearly highlighted is the fact that amber finds are encountered in graves of children who passed away ages between the ages of the early months and nine years of age (age groups I, II and III),²²⁰ while items made of jet appear in graves of somewhat older children who passed away between the ages of 10 and 19 years of age (Table 34). Amber finds from children's graves are dated in an equal amount to the

215 Спасић-Ђурић 2015а, 210, кат. 215.

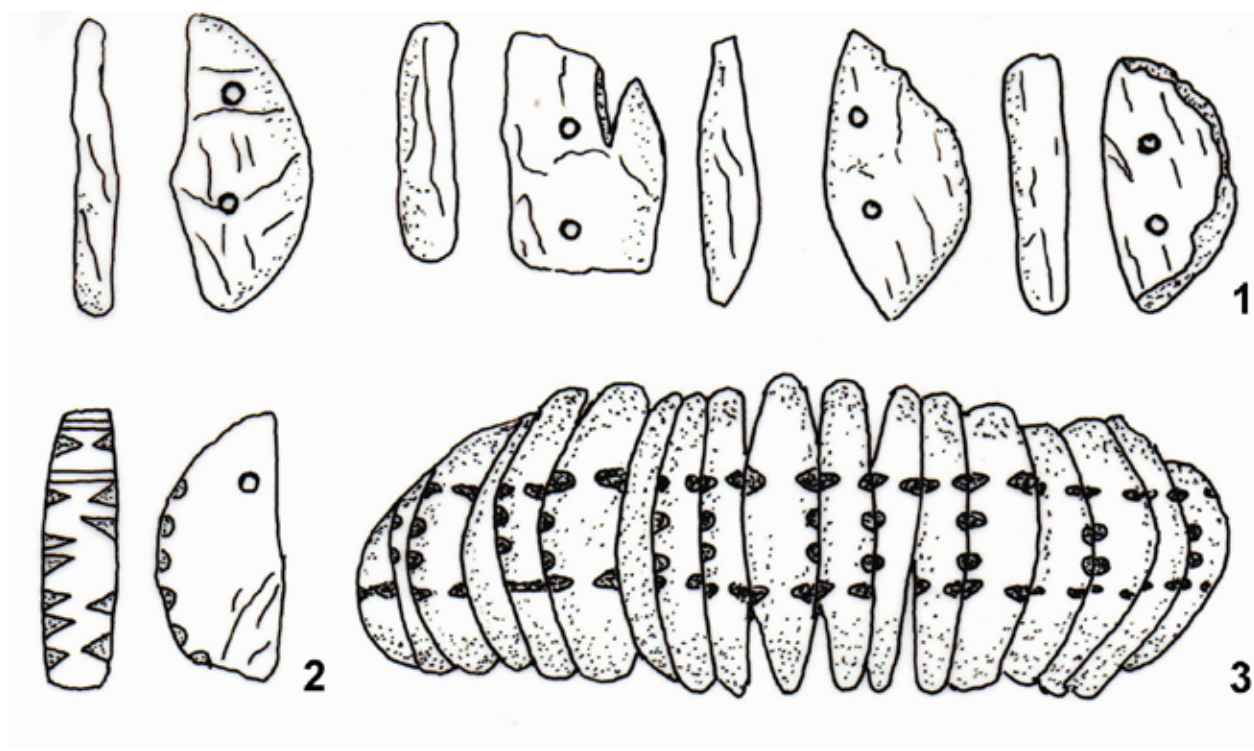
216 Јовановић 2007, 101–103; Спасић-Ђурић 2011, 28–29; Спасић-Ђурић 2015а, 211, кат. 218.

217 Crummy, Davis 2020, 384–385.

218 Алексеева 1978, 18 type 95 dated to the second half of the 4th century, from the site Совхоз 10, Mogila no. 56, T. 21.58; Strzelecki and others add that within Mogila 56, coins of Constantine I were discovered and dated to the first half of the 4th century (cf. Стржеleckий et al. 2005, for description and dating: 179, 187, T. XXXIII; for the image of the pendant: 178, Fig. 35.15, T. 8.48); Стоянова 2016, 128–129, no. 18, nekropola Nejzas, mogila no. 301, T. 2.8; Menéndez Menéndez 2019, 170.

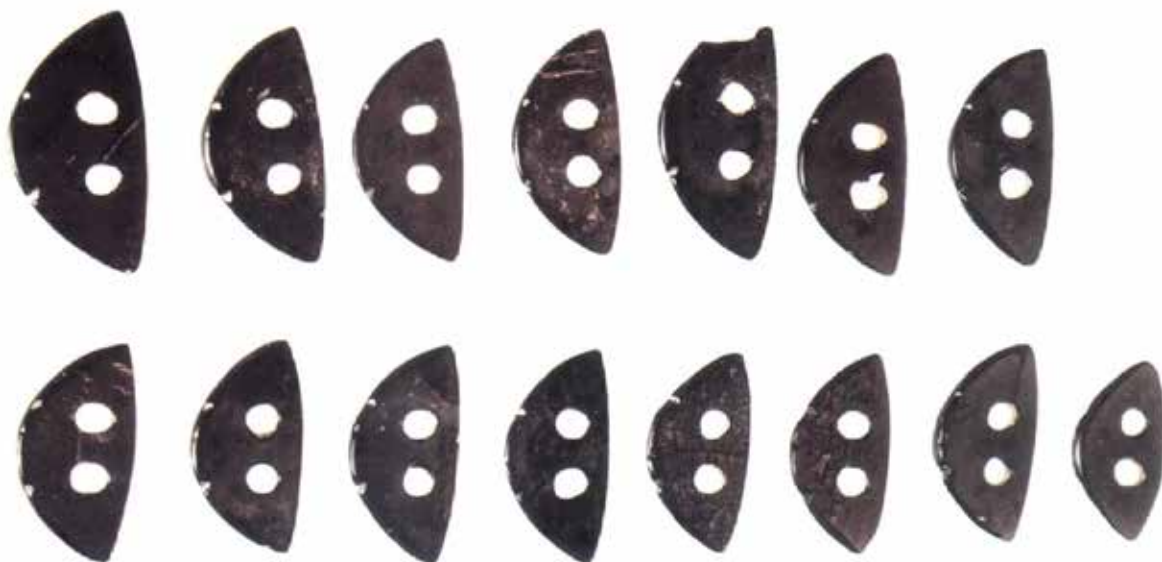
219 Menéndez Menéndez 2019, 175, 177, Fig. 12.Q.

220 Graves with amber finds from catalogue groups VII and VIII also belong to children who passed away between the ages of 2 and 9 years.



Sl. 41 Segmenti narukvica od gagata: grob P/G-1327, kat. 940 (1), grob VG/G-939, kat. 1016 (2), grob P/G-1025, kat. 1012 (3) (2 prema: Спасић-Ђурић 2011, T. V/8)

Fig. 41 Jet bracelets segments: grave P/G-1327, Cat. no. 940 (1), grave VG/G-939, Cat. no. 1016 (2), grave P/G-1025, Cat. no. 1012 (3) (2 after: Спасић-Ђурић 2011, T. V/8)

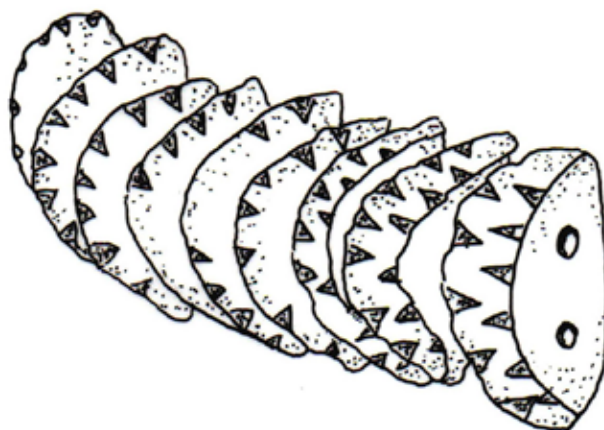


Sl. 42 Segmenti narukvice od gagata, grob P/G-551, kat. 1096 (prema: Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 210, kat. 215)

Fig. 42 Jet bracelet segments, grave P/G-551, Cat. no. 1096 (after: Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 210, kat. 215)

podjednako u 2. i 3. vek, a u jednom slučaju, novcem Konstantina II cezara iz 326. godine, vreme sahrane se može odrediti u sredinu 4. veka. Među grobovima s gagatom nema onih

2nd and the 3rd century. In one case, and owing to the find of a coin of Caesar Constantine II from the year 326, the grave could be dated into the middle of the 4th century. On the other hand, among the graves with



Sl. 43 Segmenti narukvice od gagata, grob VG/G-1733, kat. 1281
Fig. 43 Jet bracelet segments, grave VG/G-1733, Cat. no. 1281

datovanih u 2. vek, već se najvećim delom opredeljuju u 3. vek, izuzev pomenutog groba s priveskom od gagata, koji bi se mogao najranije datovati na početak 4. veka. Dok su među predmetima od ćilibara registrovane različite perle i privesci, od gagata su pak prisutni samo polukružni segmenti narukvica, osim priveska s prikazom atlete. U tri groba, broj segmenata je bio dovoljan za sastavljanje cele narukvice (P/G-1025, kat. 1012, sl. 41.3; P/G-551, kat. 1096, sl. 42.1; VG/G/1733, kat. 1281, sl. 43.1), dok su u jednom slučaju nađena samo četiri segmenta, i to „u predelu ramenih kostiju” (P/G-1327; kat. 940; sl. 41.1),²²¹ što znači da nisu bili delovi narukvice, na šta, osim njihovog broja, ukazuje i mesto nalaza. Svakako su priloženi u apotropejske svrhe, možda u funkciji privezaka, prišiveni na odeću ili su jednostavno postavljeni preko pokrova pokojnika. Slično je i s grobom deteta u zidanoj konstrukciji od opeka (VG/G-939; kat. 1016; sl. 25.3), inače bogatoj prilozima nađenim u komori, dok je jedan segment narukvice od gagata (sl. 41.2) bio položen na poklopac od horizontalno postavljenih opeka.

Apotropejska i profilaktička svojstva ćilibara ili gagata kao materijala, u nekim primerima su dodatno naglašena načinom njihovog oblikovanja, ali i dodavanjem drugih priloga iste namene, kao što su perforirani novčići, zubi divljih i domaćih životinja u funkciji priveska, morske školjke i puževi, falusoidni privesci, privesci u obliku minijaturnih alatki, lunulasti privesci, zvonca i bule.

221 Cf. Dnevnik terenskih istraživanja Pećine, 1462.

jet finds there are none dated to the 2nd century, most of them are dated to the 3rd century, with the exception of the already mentioned one with a jet pendant, which indicates an earliest dating of the beginning of the 4th century. While amber finds include different beads and pendants, jet finds include only semi-circular bracelet segments, of course with the exception of the pendant with the image of an athlete. In three graves, the number of segments was sufficient to form a full bracelet (P/G-1025, Cat. no. 1012, Fig. 41.3; P/G-551, Cat. no. 1096, Fig. 42; VG/G/1733, Cat. no. 1281, Fig. 43), while in one of the examples there were only four segments, discovered in the area “of shoulder bones” (P/G-1327; Cat. no. 940; Fig. 41.1).²²¹ In this case, the segments of a jet bracelet did not play a role of a bracelet, not only due to the number of segments, but also due to their position regarding the deceased. They were certainly deposited with an apotropaic meaning, possibly as pendants, sewed onto clothes or simply placed over the burial garment. There is a similar case of a child's grave within a construction made of bricks (VG/G-939; Cat. no. 1016, Fig. 25.3), otherwise showing very rich grave goods discovered within the actual grave, while the segment of a jet bracelet (Fig. 41.2) was placed onto a lid formed of horizontally placed bricks.

In some cases, the apotropaic and prophylactic function of amber or jet as a material is additionally underlined with their modelling, but also by adding other grave goods with the same meaning, such as: perforated coins, pendants made of wild and domestic animals' teeth, sea shells and snails, phallus shaped pendants, pendants in the shape of miniature tools, crescent shaped pendants, bells and *bullae*.

221 Cf. Fieldwork diary Pećine, 1462.

Privesci od zuba divljih ili domaćih životinja i jelenjeg roga

Zubi, naročito divljih životinja, bili su cenjeni amuleti kako za zaštitu dece tako i domaćih životinja. Plinije navodi desetine takvih amuleta korišćenih za prevenciju ili ublažavanje noćnih mora kod dece, protiv groznice ili problema sa izrastanjem zuba.²²² Zubi različitih životinja često su upotrebljavani kao privesci s apotropejskom i profilaktičkom funkcijom. Potražnja za tom vrstom amuleta je očito bila velika, pa su se pojavljivale i imitacije, odnosno privesci od kosti modelovani u vidu zuba divlje životinje.²²³

Na viminacijumskoj južnoj nekropoli, zubi divljih i domaćih životinja javljaju se u devet grobova dece, od kojih su četiri groba novorođenčadi. U grobu VG/G-247 (kat. 36; sl. 8.7–8), u predelu karlice pokojnika nađen je veći broj priloga,²²⁴ koji su činili delove jedne ili više niski: bronzana bula, perforirani novac, privezak od ćilibara, keramičke i staklene perle, bronzana alka, privesci od zuba divljeg vepra i goveda, i morski puž, svi sa bronzanim alkama. Pored lobanje u grobu VG/G-261 (kat. 38; sl. 44.1) bili su keramička perla i perforirani zub govečeta. Na istom mestu nalazila se i srebrna alka, koja je mogla imati funkciju priveska, sa zubom i perlom. Deo niske položene kraj stopala pokojnika u grobu VG/G-216 (kat. 160; sl. 21.1–7), osim tri bule, dva zvončića, staklenih i koštanih perli, činio je i privezak od zuba divljeg vepra s bronzanom alkam (sl. 21.3). I, konačno, u grobu VG/G-1477 (kat. 196), kraj nogu pokojnika pronađeno je više komada bronzanog lima s perforacijama (za nitne?), možda delova okova drvene kasete (?). Tu su se nalazili i bronzana alka, fragmentovan bronzani predmet nepoznate namene, koji se sastoji od cevastog dela i proširenja na drugom kraju, kao i privezak od segmenta jelenjeg roga, s rupom na obodu (sl. 44.2).²²⁵ Pri-

222 Pliny, *NH* XXVIII.25 (vuk – za decu); XXVIII.25 (konj); XXX.20 (krtica); XXX.21–22 (pas); XXX.26 (zmija); XXXII.4 (kornjača); XXXII.48 (delfin); cf. Crummy 2010, 52–53; Dasen 2015a, 192; Dasen 2015b, 313–318; Faraone 2018, 64, ref. 72–73.

223 Dasen 2015a, 192–193, fig. 5, ref. 65; Bagley 2016, 144, ref. 729.

224 Istraživači su pretpostavili da su nalazi bili pohranjeni u kutiju od prirodnog materijala, koji nije sačuvan; cf. Dnevnik terenskih istraživanja Više grobalja, 597–598.

225 Privezak odaje utisak nedovršenog proizvoda. Na jednoj od ravnih strana vide se urezi u vidu kvadrata.

Pendants made of wild or domestic animals' teeth and antler

Teeth, especially of wild animals, were highly prized as amulets, both for the protection of children and domestic animals. Pliny lists dozens of amulets used for the prevention or alleviation of children's nightmares, against fever or problems caused by teeth eruption.²²² Different animals' teeth were often used as pendants with apotropaic and prophylactic functions. Basically, there was an obvious demand for these kinds of amulets and this is why imitations appeared, fake wild animals' teeth modelled from of bones.²²³

In the southern Viminacium cemetery, wild and domestic animals' teeth were discovered in nine children's graves, of which four belonged to newborns. In grave (VG/G-247, Cat. no. 36; Fig. 8.7–8) in the pelvic area, a larger number of grave goods was unearthed,²²⁴ making parts of one or more strings: a bronze bulla, a perforated coin, an amber pendant, ceramic and glass beads, a bronze hoop, pendants made of wild boar's and calf's teeth and a sea snail, all of them with bronze rings. The second example (VG/G-261; Cat. no. 38; Fig. 44.1) revealed a ceramic bead and a perforated calf's tooth next to the skull of the deceased. In the same spot, a silver hoop was discovered that could have played the role of a pendant, with a tooth and a bead. In grave (VG/G-216; Cat. no. 160; Fig. 21.1–7) and next to the feet of the deceased, a string was unearthed that, besides three *bullae*, two bells, glass and bone beads, also consisted of a pendant made of a wild boar's tooth with a bronze ring (Fig. 21.3). Finally, in grave (VG/G-1477; Cat. no. 196) next to the legs of the deceased, several pieces of bronze sheet were discovered with perforations (for nails?), possibly plating parts of a wooden cassette (?). In the same spot, a bronze hoop was found, a fragmented bronze item of unknown function consisting of a tubular part and a widening on the other end, as well as a pendant made of an antler disc with a perforation on its edge (Fig. 44.2).²²⁵ The pendant made of antler and the bronze

222 Pliny, *NH* XXVIII.25 (wolf – for children); XXVIII.25 (horse); XXX.20 (mole); XXX.21–22 (dog); XXX.26 (snake); XXXII.4 (turtle); XXXII.48 (dolphin); cf. Crummy 2010, 52–53; Dasen 2015a, 192; Dasen 2015(1), 313–318; Faraone 2018, 64, ref. 72–73.

223 Dasen 2015a, 192–193, Fig. 5, ref. 65; Bagley 2016, 144, ref. 729.

224 Researchers suspect that the finds were deposited in a box made of organic material that did not remain preserved; cf. Fieldwork diary Više grobalja, 597–598.

225 This pendant indicates that it might be a semi-finished prod-

vezak od roga i bronzana alka su verovatno činili celinu, kao što pokazuje primer iz groba deteta u Belginumu (*Belginum – Belgica*).²²⁶ Izvesnu nedomicu u pogledu njihove funkcije stvara nepoznat bronzani cevast predmet s proširenjem na jednoj strani, koji je na sl. 44.2 prikazan pored priveska od jelenjeg roga. U svakom slučaju, privesci od jelenjeg roga poznati su iz grobova dece u rimskoj Galiji (pronađeni su u Francuskoj, Švajcarskoj, Nemačkoj i Holandiji), kao i njihove predstave sa više spomenika i votivnih statua iz te oblasti, koje ilustruju način njihovog nošenja, i to u zavisnosti od broja perforacija koje su imali.²²⁷

Drugoj starosnoj skupini pripada samo jedan grob (VG/G-706; kat. 380; sl. 14.3) s priveskom od životinjskog zuba, nađenim zajedno s perforiranim novcem, a malo dalje od njih bile su i dve staklene perle, od kojih je jedna crvena, s „okcima”.²²⁸ Iz tri groba dece nepoznate starosti potiču privesci ove vrste. Najpre, u više puta pomenutom grobu P/G-1807 (kat. 1330) registrovani su privezak od zuba divljeg vepra (sl. 16.11), privezak od govedeg zuba (sl. 16.5), kao i privezak načinjen od jelenjeg roga (sl. 16.10).²²⁹ U drugom grobu iz te skupine (VG/G-490; kat. 1367; sl. 45.1), kraj stopala pokojnika nalazio se privezak od zuba divlje životinje, zajedno s perforiranim morskim pužem i dve bronzane alke, koji su verovatno činili deo iste niske. Toj skupini pripada i grob VG/G-536 (kat. 1370; sl. 39.6), u kome je pronađena niska s dva priveska od ćilibara, tri staklene perle i priveskom od životinjskog roga. I, konačno, u dvojnog grobu, u kome je sahranjeno dete starosti između pet i devet godina, kao i odrasla žena (VG/G-1335; kat. 1698; sl. 19.1), privezak od zuba divljeg vepra bio je u sastavu ogrlice deteta, zajedno s dva perforirana novčića, od kojih je jedan bio jednom, a drugi dva puta perforiran, perforiranim morskim školjkama, bronzanim alkama i pet staklenih perli.

ring possibly belonged together, as indicated with the example from a child's grave in *Belginum – Belgica*.²²⁶ A slight doubt concerning its function is caused by the unknown tubular bronze object with a widening on one side, depicted next to the pendant made of antler (Fig. 44.2). In any case, pendants made of antler are known from children's graves from Roman Gaul (discovered in France, Switzerland, Germany and Holland), as well as from several monuments and votive statues from the same territory. The images on monuments and votive statues illustrate the method of wearing these types of pendants, depending on the number of perforations they possessed.²²⁷

Within the second age group, only in a single grave (VG/G-706; Cat. no. 380; Fig. 14.3) was a pendant made of an animal's tooth unearthed together with a perforated coin and, somewhat further away, two glass beads, one of which was red with "eyes".²²⁸ In three graves belonging to children of an undetermined age, pendants of this kind were discovered. First of all, in the grave that has already been mentioned several times (P/G-1807; Cat. no. 1330), there was a pendant made of a wild boar's tooth (Fig. 16.11), a pendant made of a calf's tooth (Fig. 16.5), as well as a pendant made of antler (Fig. 16.10).²²⁹ In the second grave from this group (VG/G-490; Cat. no. 1367; Fig. 45), next to the feet of the deceased, there was a pendant made of a wild animal's tooth, together with a perforated sea snail and two bronze rings, possibly all being part of the same single string. This group also includes the grave (VG/G-536; Cat. no. 1370; Fig. 39.6), in which a string with two amber pendants was found, together with three glass beads and a pendant made of antler. Finally, within a double burial (of a child who passed away between the ages of 5 and 9 years and of an adult woman; VG/G-1335; Cat. no. 1698; Fig. 19), a pendant made of a wild boar's tooth formed part of a child's necklace, together with two perforated coins (one of them with a single perfora-

uct. On one of the flat sides, square shaped carvings are visible.

226 Carroll 2018, 105, ref. 88.

227 Carroll 2018, 105.

228 Due to the poor preservation state of the osseous material, it was not possible to determine the position of the grave goods regarding the deceased.

229 In this grave, very rich in grave goods, possibly in a wooden casket deposited next to the feet of the deceased, the following finds were also discovered: a bronze *bullae*, a bronze bell, a perforated sea shell, a bronze needle modelled into a pendant, a perforated bronze coin, three bone phallus shaped pendants, one of them made of carnelian, glass and ceramic beads etc.

226 Carroll 2018, 105, ref. 88.

227 Carroll 2018, 105.

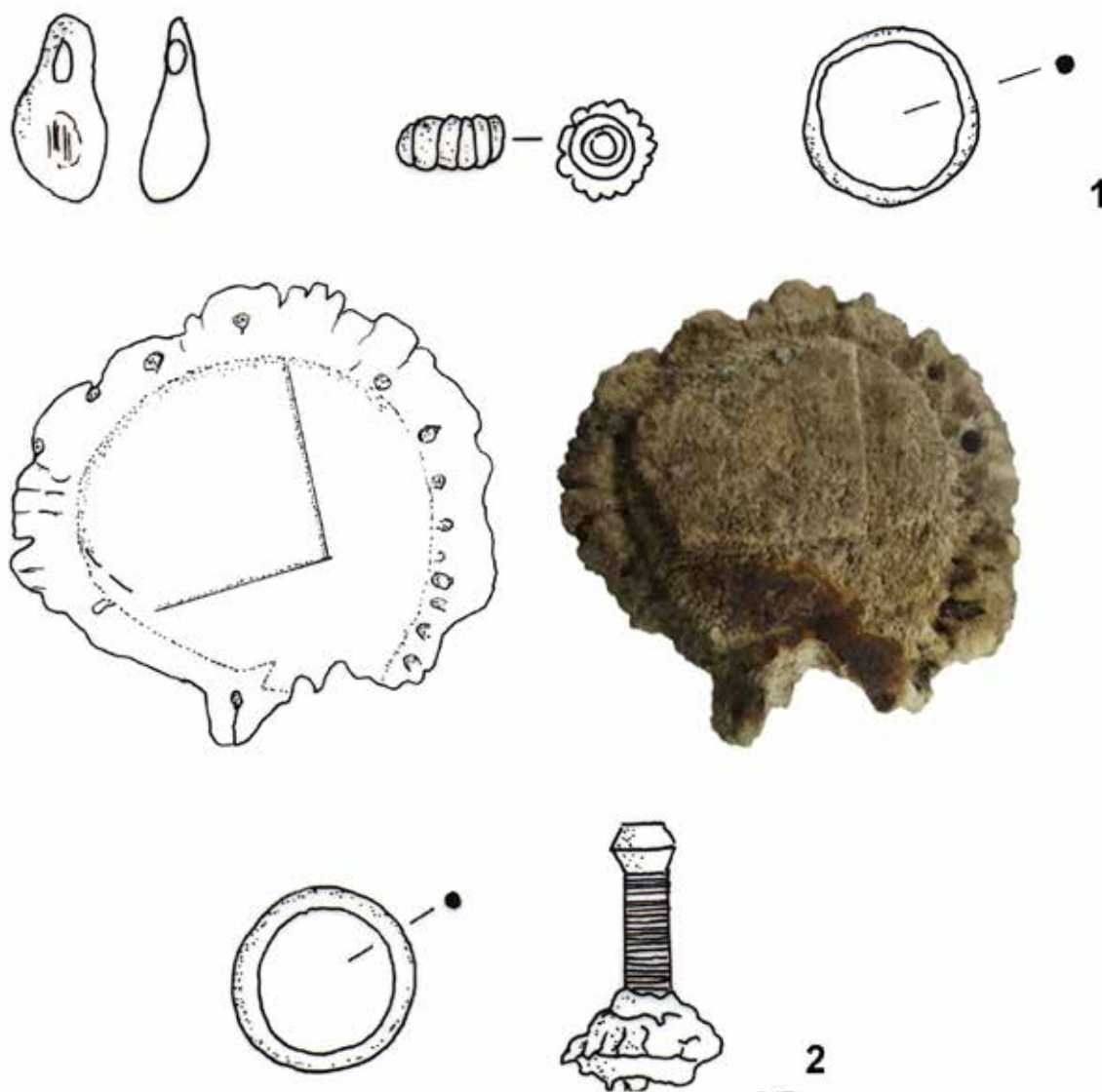
228 Zbog loše očuvanosti osteološkog materijala, nije utvrđen položaj nalaza u odnosu na delove skeleta.

229 U tom, priložima veoma bogatom grobu, verovatno u drvenoj kutiji kraj stopala, nađeni su i: bronzana bula, bronzano zvonce, perforirana morska školjka, bronzana igla modelovana u privezak, perforiran bronzani novac, tri koštana falusoidna priveska, jedan od karneola, staklene i keramičke perle itd.

Očito je da se privesci načinjeni od zuba divljih ili domaćih životinja, kao i od jelenjeg roga, na južnoj nekropoli Viminacijuma javljaju u grobovima dece mlađeg uzrasta, odnosno umrle najkasnije između pete i devete godine života. Privezak od roga jelena (evropski ili crveni jelen) simbolizuje snagu, hrabrost, ponovno rađanje, u skladu s godišnjim ciklusom zamene rogova te moćne životinje, te stoga predstavlja talisman poželjan u odbrani od zlih sila.²³⁰

tion and the other with a double perforation), a perforated sea shell, a bronze hoop and five glass beads.

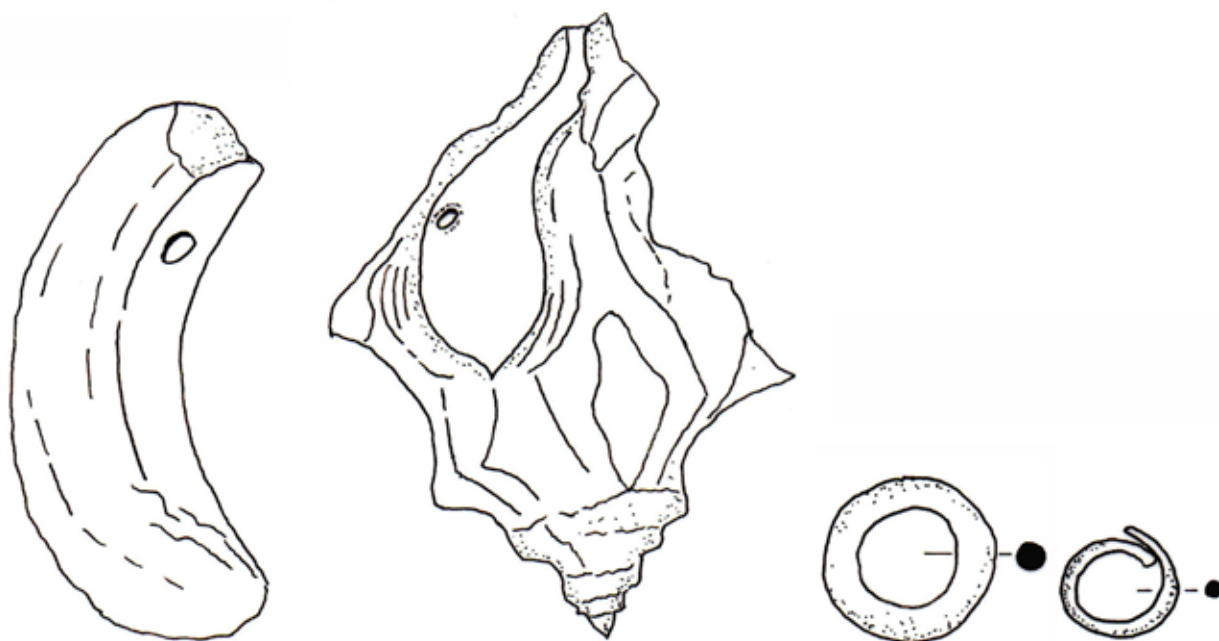
It is obvious that in the southern Viminacium cemeteries, pendants made of wild or domestic animals' teeth and of antler appear in graves of children of a younger age, usually those who passed away between the ages of 5 and 9 years. A pendant made of antler (of a European or red deer) symbolises the strength, courage and rebirth (through the annual deer antler cycles) of the powerful animal it derives from, therefore presenting a talisman desirable for the defence against evil forces.²³⁰



Sl. 44 Privezak od zuba govečeta, keramička perla i srebrna alka, grob VG/G-261, kat. 38 (1); privezak od jelenjeg roga, bronzana alka i bronzani predmet nepoznate namene, grob VG/G-1477, kat. 196 (2) (2 – foto: D. Spasić-Đurić)
Fig. 44 Cattle tooth pendant, ceramic bead and silver ring, grave VG/G-261, Cat. no. 38 (1); deer antler pendant, bronze ring and bronze object of unknown purpose, grave VG/G-1477, Cat. no. 196 (2) (2 – photo: D. Spasić-Đurić)

²³⁰ Carroll 2018, 105.

²³⁰ Carroll 2018, 105.



Sl. 45 Privezak od životinjskog zuba, privezak od morskog puža i dve bronzane alke iz groba VG/G-490, kat. 1367
 Fig. 45 Animal tooth pendant, sea snail pendant and two bronze rings from grave VG/G-490, Cat. no. 1367

Morske školjke i puževi

Čest prilog u grobovima dece iz rimskog perioda predstavljaju morske školjke i puževi, što je praksa koja se može pratiti u mediteranskim kulturama tokom dugog perioda, još od praistorije.²³¹ Njihova pojava u grobovima interpretirana je na različite načine, mada se većina autora slaže da su povezani sa ženskim sferama i Afroditom kao zaštitnicom nevesta, trudnoće i porođaja.²³² Školjke u funerarnoj praksi na Viminacijumu tumačene su kao simboli porekla i nekadašnjeg zavičaja,²³³ ili kao redukovana supstitucija skulpture Venere Funerarije, u smislu *pars pro toto*.²³⁴ Prisustvo boginje (školjke) u gr

231 Kappes, Leisen 1996, 129, ref. 3; Stroszeck 2012, 67, s navedenim nalazištima i literaturom.

232 Stroszeck 2012, 71

233 Зотовић 1986, 43.

234 Direktnu supstituciju božanstva predstavljaju statuete Venere, ogledala s motivima iz kulta boginje, jабuke, golubovi, igle i amuleti s predstavama Venere (cf. Јовановић 2000, 13–15; Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 103–109; Spasić-Ђurić 2017, 85). Na južnoj nekropoli, u grobu P/G-3500 nađene su statuete Venere ili Venere i Amora (Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 103–104, 171, kat. 73–75; još jedna potiče iz memorije s grobovima: P/G-3238 do 3240; P/C no. 9687), keramička zvečka u vidu goluba (P/G-3471; kat. 1101; cf. Premk 1995, 151, fig. 14), koštana igla s predstavom Venere (Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 196, kat. 157), kao i dva reljefna ogledala (cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2001, 165–171, kat. 2–3).

Sea shells and snails

During Roman times, these types of finds represent common grave goods in children's graves, a tradition that can be traced in Mediterranean cultures over a long period of time, ever since prehistory.²³¹ Their presence in graves was interpreted in different ways, although the majority of authors agree that they were connected to the spheres of femininity and Aphrodite, as the protectress of brides, pregnancy and childbirth.²³² The presence of shells in the funerary practice in Viminacium was connected to the symbolism of origin and former motherland,²³³ or as a reduced substitution of a sculpture of Venus Funeraria, in the sense of *pars pro toto*.²³⁴ The presence of the goddess (sea

231 Kappes, Leisen 1996, 129, ref. 3; Stroszeck 2012, 67 with listed finding places and literature.

232 Stroszeck 2012, 71

233 Зотовић 1986, 43.

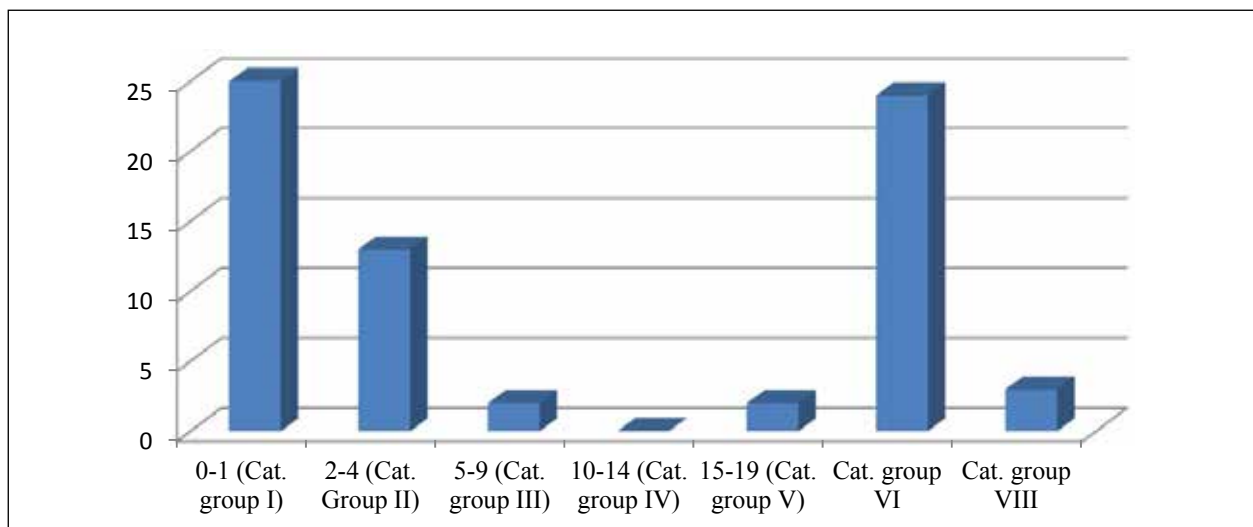
234 A direct substitution for the goddess includes Venus statues, mirrors with motifs from the goddess's cult, apples, pigeons, needles and amulets with an image of Venus (cf. Јовановић 2000, 13–15; Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 103–109; Spasić-Ђurić 2017, 85). In the southern Viminacium necropolis, in grave (P/G-3500), statues of Venus or Venus with Amor were found (Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 103–104, 171, kat. 73–75; another one comes from the memoria with graves: P/G-3238 to 3240; P/C no. 9687), a ceramic rattle in the shape of a pigeon (P/G-3471; Cat. no. 1101; cf. Premk 1995, 151, Fig.14), a bone needle with an image of Venus (Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 196, kat. 157), as well as two mirrors decorated with reliefs

bovima prerano umrlih mladih žena i dece ima za cilj da uspostavi poželjnu životnu sliku sreće, radosti i blaženstva.²³⁵

Na južnoj nekropoli, morske školjke i puževi²³⁶ nalazeni su u grobovima mladih žena, ali većinom u grobovima dece, i to mlađeg uzrasta. Registrovani su u 69 grobova dece, pri čemu je najviše neperforiranih, dok su perforirane školjke i puževi kao delovi niski nađeni u 11 grobova. U četiri groba su bile priložene i rečne školjke, očito kao zamena za morske. Morski puževi i školjke potiču prvenstveno iz grobova novorođenčadi (25) i dece umrle do četvrte godine života (13). Nalazi školjki zabeleženi su i u velikom broju grobova iz VI kataloške grupe, odnosno dece neutvrđene starosti, za koje, kao što je više puta naglašeno, osnovano pretpostavljamo da uglavnom pripadaju novorođenčadi (24 groba). Kod starije dece javljaju se izuzetno retko: u dva groba dece umrle između pete i devete godine i samo u jednom grobu u starosnoj skupini od 15 do 19 godina (grafikon 9). Slično je i s ređim nalazima rečnih školjki, koje se javljaju isključivo u grobovima novorođenčadi, u II i VI kataloškoj grupi.

shell) in the graves of young women or children who departed too soon aimed to achieve a wishful image of a happy life, full of joy and bliss.²³⁵

In the southern Viminacium necropolis, sea shells and snails²³⁶ have been found in graves of young women, but mostly in children's graves, especially those of a younger age. They were registered in 69 children's graves. Among them, the greatest number remained imperforated, while perforated sea shells and snails as parts of strings appeared in 11 graves. In four graves there were river shells, obviously as a substitution for sea shells. Sea snails and shells were mostly discovered in the graves of newborns (25 graves) and in those of children who passed away up to the age of four years (13 graves). A large number of graves with finds of shells was noticed within catalogue group VI (children of undetermined age) for which it is reasonably suspected and already highlighted that they represent graves of newborns (24 graves). In graves of older children, they appear only extremely rarely: within the group of children who passed away between the ages of 5 and 9 years they were discovered only in two graves and within the age group between 15 and 19 years, only in a single grave (Graph 9). A similar situation is shown with finds of river shells that were unearthed from the graves of newborns, the II and VI catalogue groups exclusively.



Grafikon 9 Zastupljenost morskih školjki i puževa prema kataloškim grupama
Graph 9 Frequency of sea shells and snails, according to catalogue groups

²³⁵ Јовановић 2000, 16–18; Spasić-Đurić 2017, 86.

²³⁶ O ljušturama *C. tigris* i *C. pantherina* pronađenim na južnoj viminacijumskoj nekropoli cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2015b, 263–266.

(cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2001, 165–171, кат. 2–3).

²³⁵ Јовановић 2000, 16–18; Spasić-Đurić 2017, 86.

²³⁶ About shells *C. tigris* and *C. pantherina* discovered in the southern Viminacium cemetery cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2015b, 263–266.

Najčešće se javljaju jedna,²³⁷ dve, četiri ili pet školjki u jednom grobu, dok veći broj (25 ili 67) predstavlja izuzetak. Takođe, jasno je da su uglavnom prilagane neperforirane školjke, koje nisu imale funkciju privjeska. Školjke i puževi kao privesci zabeleženi su u tri groba iz prve starosne skupine. U jednom od njih (P/G-1812; kat. 4), 67 školjki i jedan puž, kao i sedam perforiranih školjki, nađeni su u zemlji kojom je zatrpana grobna raka.²³⁸ Iz dokumentacije nije jasno da li su perforirane školjke bile na jednom mestu jer bi, u tom slučaju, mogle da predstavljaju delove niske.²³⁹ Osim perforiranog morskog puža s bronzanom alkom (sl. 8.8),²⁴⁰ delove niske u više puta pominjanom grobu VG/G-247 (kat. 36; sl. 8.1–8) činili su bronzana bula, perforirani novac, ćilibarski privezak, privesci od zuba životinja i druge perle. U trećem grobu iz ove starosne skupine (VG/G-856; kat. 181; sl. 46.), na grudima pokojnika nalazio se perforiran morski puž, očito u svojstvu privjeska.²⁴¹ U 11 grobova, osim keramičkih i/ili staklenih posuda, školjke predstavljaju jedine nalaze. Preostali grobovi novorođenčadi, koji su imali školjke, sadrže bogate priloge, često i niske s privescima apotropejske ili profilaktičke namene (P/G-2804, kat. 8, sl. 51.1–3;²⁴² VG/G-1296, kat. 86, sl. 26.3, 30.3; VG/G-1339, kat. 89, sl. 7.1–4; VG/G-1726, kat. 102, sl. 33.1; VG/G-189, kat. 157, sl. 33.2; VG/G-216, kat. 160, sl. 21.1–7; VG/G-1775, kat. 199, sl. 10.1–3).

Kod dece umrle između druge i četvrte godine, morske školjke i puževi registrovani su u 13 grobnih celina. U većini grobova (9) bili su neperforirani i jedini su nalazi u njima, osim keramičkih i/ili staklenih posuda. Delove niski s drugim perlama ili privescima činili su u dva slučaja. U grobu VG/G-895 (kat. 390; sl. 47.1), privezak od morskog puža *C. tigris* ili *C. pantherina* s bronzanom alkom,²⁴³ staklena perla sa kriškastim ornamentom i dve staklene perle s „okcima”, spojene bronzanom žicom, ležali su pored lobanje pokojnika, zajedno sa 11 školjki. Još pet školjki nalazilo se kraj lakta desne ruke. Grob VG/G-1426 (kat.

In most graves, a single,²³⁷ two, four or five shells were found, while a somewhat larger number (25 or 67) represent exceptions. Furthermore, it is obvious that they were mostly deposited as imperforated, thus not playing the role of pendants. Sea shells and snails representing pendants were recorded in three graves from the first age group. In the first example (P/G-1812; Cat. no. 4), 67 sea shells and a snail, as well as seven perforated ones, were found in the soil used to cover the grave pit.²³⁸ It remains unclear from the field documentation whether the perforated shells were all found in the same spot, thus possibly representing parts of a string.²³⁹ With the second grave, mentioned several times already (VG/G-247; Cat. no. 36; Fig. 8.1–8) and besides the perforated sea snail with a bronze ring (Fig. 8.8),²⁴⁰ parts of the string also included a bronze bulla, a perforated coin, an amber pendant, pendants made of animals' teeth and other beads. In the third grave from this age group (VG/G-856; Cat. no. 181; Fig. 46), upon the chest of the deceased, a perforated sea snail was discovered, obviously representing a pendant.²⁴¹ In 11 graves, besides ceramic and/or glass vessels, sea shells represent the only finds. The remaining graves of newborns with sea shells contain rich grave goods, often in the form of strings with pendants of an apotropaic or prophylactic purpose (P/G-2804, Cat. no. 8, Fig. 51.1–3;²⁴² VG/G-1296, Cat. no. 86, Sl. 26.3, Fig. 30.3; VG/G-1339, Cat. no. 89, Fig. 7.1–4; VG/G-1726, Cat. no. 102, Fig. 33.1; VG/G-189, Cat. no. 157, Fig. 33.2; VG/G-216, Cat. no. 160, Fig. 21.1–7; VG/G-1775, Cat. no. 199, Fig. 10.1–3).

Within the age group of children who passed away between the ages of 2 and 4 years of life, sea shells and snails were registered in 13 graves. In most of them (9) they were found imperforated and were the only finds, except for ceramic and/or glass vessels. In two cases, they made parts of strings together with other beads or pendants. In the first example (VG/G-895, Cat. no. 390; Fig. 47) a sea snail pendant *C. tigris* or *C. pantherina* with

237 Pri navođenju broja školjki, misli se na njihove polovine.

238 Cf. Dnevnik terenskih istraživanja Pećine, 1622.

239 Osim tri staklena balsamarija, drugih nalaza u grobu nije bilo.

240 Спасић-Ђурић 2015а, 105; 212, кат. 221.

241 Спасић-Ђурић 2015а, 105, сл. 108.

242 Osam neperforiranih morskih školjki pronađeno je zajedno s ogrlicom; cf. Dnevnik terenskih istraživanja Pećine, 2105–2106.

243 Predstavlja jednu od četiri nađene ljuštore puževa u grobovima na viminacijumskoj južnoj nekropoli. Pripada jednoj od dve egzotične vrste, čija su staništa u Crvenom moru ili Indo-Pacifiku (cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2015b, 265, бр. 4).

237 While naming the number of shells it is referred to their halves.

238 Cf. Fieldwork diary Pećine, 1622.

239 There were no finds in this grave except for three glass *balsamarii*.

240 Спасић-Ђурић 2015а, 105; 212, кат. 221.

241 Спасић-Ђурић 2015а, 105, сл. 108.

242 Eight imperforated sea-shells were discovered together with a necklace; cf. Fieldwork diary Pećine, 2105–2106.



Sl. 46 Privezak od morskog puža nošen samostalno, iz groba VG/G-856, kat. 181 (prema: Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 105, сл. 108)

Fig. 46 Sea snail pendant worn alone from grave VG/G-856, Cat. no. 181 (after: Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 105, сл. 108)

407; sl. 12.1–7) sadržao je privezak od morskog puža u sastavu niske kod leve potkolenice pokojnika.²⁴⁴ U jednom od grobova iz ove skupine (VG/G-83; kat. 151), osim neperforiranih morskih školjki s desne strane karlice, zabeležena je pojava prekrivanja dela tela koštanim iglama. Osam koštanih igala za šivenje i jedna za kosu, s glavom u obliku ženske biste, nalazilo se u predelu potkolenica i karlice.²⁴⁵

Prisustvo školjki, i to neperforiranih, samo dva puta je zabeleženo kod dece umrle između pete i devete godine, u grobovima s bogatim priložima. U grobu P/G-1017 (kat. 690) pronađena je jedna školjka, a od luksuznih priloga ističe se bronzana kutijica za čuvanje pečata, ukrašena emajlom.²⁴⁶ Grob VG/G-279 (kat. 637), osim velikog broja školjki (18), sadržao je i mnoge koštane predmete: piksidu, tri šivaće igle, dve igle za kosu, od kojih je jedna modelovana u obliku ženske glave, a druga je s loptastom glavom, zatim šilo, žeton i četiri fragmentovane igle. Taj grob je izuzetan u pogledu pogrebnog rituala jer je telo pokojnika bilo prekriveno celim i fragmentovanim koštanim iglama i

²⁴⁴ Osim tog priveska, nisku su činili i perforirani novac, deo pojasne garniture u sekundarnoj funkciji priveska, staklena perla, bronzana perla, bronzana glava igle u sekundarnoj funkciji i perforiran bronzani lim.

²⁴⁵ Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 61, Т. XIX–XX.

²⁴⁶ Миловановић, Раићковић Савић 2013, 225, Pl. I/8; Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 188, кат. 130.

a bronze hoop,²⁴³ a glass bead with sliced ornament and two glass beads with “eyes”; connected with a bronze wire were found next to the skull of the deceased, together with 11 sea shells. Another five shells were unearthed next to the right elbow. In the second example, a sea snail pendant made part of a string discovered next to the deceased’s left lower leg (VG/G-1426, Cat. no. 407; Fig. 12.1–7).²⁴⁴ In one of the graves from this group (VG/G-83; Cat. no. 151), containing imperforated sea shells (found on the right pelvis side), the body of the deceased was covered with bone needles. Eight bone needles were used for sewing, while one represented a hairpin, its head modelled on the shape of a female bust. They were all discovered in the region of the lower legs and the pelvis of the deceased.²⁴⁵

Only in two graves of children who passed away between the ages of 5 and 9 years of age, were imperforated sea-shells found in funerals rich in grave goods. In the first grave, a single sea shell was discovered (P/G-1017; Cat. no. 690), while among luxurious finds from this grave there was a bronze box for storing stamps, decorated with enamel.²⁴⁶ In the second one (VG/G-279; Cat. no. 637), besides a large number of shells (18), there was also a large number of items made of bone: a *pyxide*, three sewing needles, a hairpin decorated with an image of a female head, another pin with a spherical head, an awl, a chip and four fragmented needles. What draws one’s attention regarding funerary ritual is the fact that during the burial, the body of the deceased was covered with fully preserved and fragmented bone needles and sea shells.²⁴⁷ Besides natural shells, imitations in other materials were also used. In one of the graves of this age group (VG/G-1785; Cat. no. 736; Fig. 48.1–2) a necklace was unearthed with a central

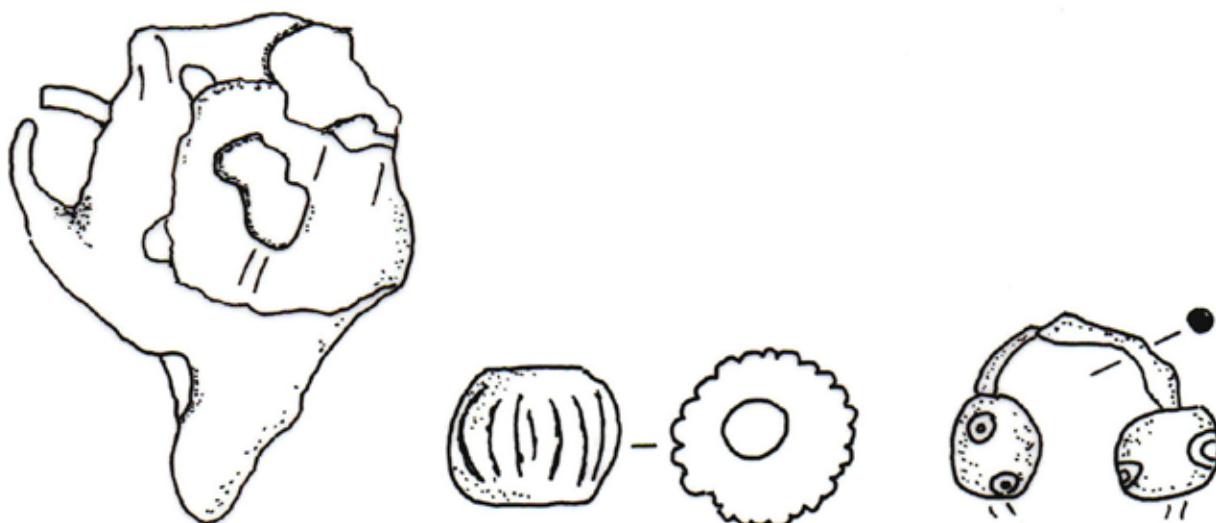
²⁴³ It represents one of the four snail shells discovered on the southern Viminacium necropolis. It belongs to one of the two exotic species whose habitat is situated in the Red Sea or Indo-Pacific (cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2015b, 265, бр. 4).

²⁴⁴ Besides this pendant, the string also consisted of a perforated coin, part of a belt set in the secondary function of a pendant, a glass bead, a bronze bead, a bronze needle head in the secondary function and a perforated bronze sheet.

²⁴⁵ Зотовић, Јордовић, 1990, 61, Т. XIX–XX.

²⁴⁶ Миловановић, Раићковић Савић 2013, 225, Pl. I/8; Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 188, кат. 130.

²⁴⁷ Korać, Golubović 2009, 267–268.



Sl. 47 Delovi niske iz groba VG/G-895, kat. 390: privezak od morskog puža, staklena perla i dve staklene perle spojene bronzanom žicom

Fig. 47 Parts of the string from grave VG/G-895; Cat. no. 390: sea snail pendant, glass bead and two glass beads on bronze wire

školjkama.²⁴⁷ Osim prirodnih ljuštura morskih školjki, korišćene su i njihove imitacije od drugih materijala, kao što pokazuje ogrlica iz jednog od grobova u ovoj starosnoj skupini, čiji je centralni privezak izrađen od stakla u obliku školjke (VG/G-1785; kat. 736; sl. 48.1–2). Ogrlicu čine i 54 staklene i jedna perla od ametista.²⁴⁸

glass pendant that was modelled in the shape of a sea shell. Besides this pendant, the necklace consisted of 54 glass beads and a single amethyst bead.²⁴⁸

Only in a single grave of children who passed away between the ages of 15 and 19 years of life (P/G-3471; Cat. no. 1101) were sea shells discovered, a total of 11, of which five were perforated. They were discovered next to the legs of the deceased, while all of the other grave goods were deposited next to the deceased's head (a coin, bone needles and spatulas, an oil lamp, a bowl and a *balsamarium*), among them also a ceramic rattle modelled in the shape of a pigeon.²⁴⁹ Besides sea shells, the pigeon represented another symbol of Venus Funeraria. During the funeral, the head of the deceased was covered with fully preserved or broken bone needles and spatulas.

Within the group of children's graves of undetermined age there were usually finds of one, two or three sea shells, while in three cases they were unearthed as parts of strings. In the grave that was already mentioned several times



Sl. 48 Ogrlica sa staklenim privescikom u obliku školjke iz groba VG/G-1785, kat. 736 (1), detalj (2) (prema: Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 207, kat. 206)

Fig. 48 Necklace with glass pendant in the form of a shell form grave VG/G-1785, Cat. no. 736 (1), Detail (2) (after: Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 207, kat. 206)

247 Korać, Golubović 2009, 267–268.

248 Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 85, 207, kat. 206; grob je datovan nov-

248 Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 85, 207, kat. 206; The grave is dated with a coin of Alexander Severus; cf. Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, Cat. no. 2301.

249 Premk 1995, 151, Fig.14; Another ceramic rattle in the shape of a rooster was discovered in a grave belonging to a child who passed away during the second year of life (VG/G-699; Cat. no. 452), cf. Premk 1995, 147, Fig. 10.

Samo u jednom grobu dece umrle između petnaeste i devetnaeste godine (P/G-3471; kat. 1101) registrovane su školjke, i to 11, od čega je pet perforiranih. Nađene su kraj nogu pokojnika, dok su se pored glave nalazili svi ostali prilozi (novac, koštane igle i spatule, žižak, zdelica i balsamarij), a među njima i keramička zvečka u obliku goluba.²⁴⁹ Osim školjki, i golub je bio simbol Venerae Funerarije. Glava pokojnika je prilikom sahrane bila prekrivena celim ili polomljenim koštanim iglama i spatulama.

U skupini grobova dece neodređene starosti najčešće se javljaju jedna, dve ili tri školjke, a u tri slučaja su bile u sastavu niski. Perforirana morska školjka (sl. 16.4) kod potkolenica pokojnika u više puta pomenutom grobu P/G-1807 (kat. 1330; sl. 16.1–13) činila je deo niske s mnogobrojnim profilaktičkim i apotropejskim privescima. U drugom slučaju, morski puž je bio na ogrlici zajedno s perforiranim novcem, bronzanom bulom, ćilibarskim i keramičkim priveskom, i različitim perlama položenim oko vrata pokojnika (P/G-4288; kat. 1345; sl. 17.3). Konačno, u grobu VG/G-490 (kat. 1367; sl. 45.1), perforiran morski puž, životinjski zub i dve bronzane alke bili su deo niske nađene pored stopala pokojnika.

Kod grobova sa više pokojnika od kojih je jedno dete (kataloška grupa VIII),²⁵⁰ u tri su nađeni morski puževi i školjke. U grobu VG/G-1335 (kat. 1698; sl. 19.1) nisku su činili perforirani novac, školjka, zub divljeg vepara, bronzana alka i pet staklenih perli. Prilikom sahrane deteta i ženske osobe (P/G-854; kat. 1691), prema opisu i tehničkoj dokumentaciji sa iskopavanja, perforirani puž je bio priložen detetu kao samostalni privezak.²⁵¹ U grobu VG/G-214 (kat. 1680), u kome je inhumirano novorođenče sahranjeno s dve kremirane odrasle osobe, neperforirana ljuštura puža nalazila se pored lobanje deteta, čije su ostale kosti bile smeštene u keramički lonac, takođe položen pored lobanje.

Na kraju treba pomenuti i ređe nalaze rečnih školjki, kao zamenu za morske. Javljaju se u četiri

(P/G-1807; Cat. no. 1330; Fig. 16.1–13), a perforated sea shell (Fig. 16.4) was discovered close to the lower leg of the deceased. It made part of a string rich in pendants with prophylactic and apotropaic features. In the second case, a sea snail made part of a necklace together with a perforated coin, a bronze *bull*, an amber and a ceramic pendant and different beads discovered around the neck of the deceased (P/G-4288; Cat. no. 1345; Fig. 17.3). Finally, in the third example (VG/G-490; Cat. no. 1367; Fig. 45) a perforated sea snail, an animal's tooth and two bronze hoops made part of a string found next to the feet of the deceased.

Among graves with several deceased, one of which being a child (catalogue group VIII),²⁵⁰ there were three graves that contained sea snails and sea shells. In the first grave (VG/G-1335; Cat. no. 1698; Fig. 19), the string consisted of a perforated coin, a sea shell, a wild boar's tooth, a bronze hoop and five glass beads. According to the description and technical field documentation, in the second burial of a child and a female person (P/G-854; Cat. no. 1691), we can conclude that the perforated sea snail was deposited for the child and was worn as an independent pendant.²⁵¹ In the third example (VG/G-214; Cat. no. 1680) it was an inhumation of a newborn child together with cremations of two adults. The imperforated sea snail shell was deposited next to the skull of the newborn, its other bones being deposited in a ceramic pot placed next to the skull.

Additionally, somewhat rarer finds of river shells should also be mentioned, since they represent a replacement for sea shells. They were discovered in four graves that belong to the same age group the sea shells were discovered in. In the grave of a newborn child (VG/G-522; Cat. no. 175), two river shells were deposited beneath the deceased. In the grave of a child who passed away between the ages of 2 and 4 years (VG/G-825; Cat. no. 454), five river shells were unearthed next to the left femur, while the other finds (a gold earring, two bronze bells (Fig. 31.2) and a *balsamarium*) were discovered next to the skull of the deceased. In another grave of a child of the

cem Aleksandra Severa; cf. Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, kat. 2301.

249 Premk 1995, 151, fig. 14; druga keramička zvečka, u obliku petla, nađena je u grobu deteta umrlog u drugoj godini života (VG/G-699; kat. 452), cf. Premk 1995, 147, fig. 10.

250 Deca pripadaju starosnim skupinama I, II i III.

251 Cf. Dnevnik terenskih istraživanja Pećine, 1046–1048.

250 The deceased children belong to age groups I, II and III.

251 Cf. Fieldwork diary Pećine, 1046–1048.

groba iz istih starosnih skupina dece kao i morske školjke. U grobu novorođenčeta (VG/G-522; kat. 175), dve rečne školjke nalazile su se ispod pokojnika. Pet rečnih školjki nađeno je pored leve butne kosti deteta umrlog između druge i četvrte godine (VG/G-825; kat. 454), dok su ostali prilozi, zlatna naušnica, dva brozana zvona (sl. 31.2) i balsamarij, bili pored lobanje. Kod još jednog deteta istog uzrasta (VG/G-1486; kat. 1486), u grobu s bogatim nalazima, registrovano je 10 rečnih školjki položenih pored kovčega.²⁵² Rečna školjka se nalazila i u grobu deteta neutvrđene starosti (P/G-2835; kat. 1216), ali nije utvrđen njen položaj u odnosu na telo pokojnika s obzirom na loše očuvan osteološki materijal.

Privezak s predstavom mladog Horusa (?)

Na južnoj nekropoli Viminacijuma, samo u jednom grobu deteta starog 3-4 godine nađena je ogrlica sastavljena od osam staklenih i kamenih perli, kao i od glinenog priveskca s antropomorfnom reljefnom predstavom (sl. 49.1-3). Na levoj strani priveskca je okrugla rupa kao pokušaj sekundarnog bušenja, kojim je oštećen prvobitni ornament (sl. 49.2). Najbliže analogije za naš primerak nađene su u privescima s lokaliteta Pantikapei, Hersones i Tanais na Krimu (sl. 50.1-6). Predstave na njima su interpretirane kao prikazi mladog Horusa, pri čemu Aleksejeva samo na jednom od krimskih primeraka vidi jasnu sliku božanstva uokvirenog sunčevim zracima ili raširenim krilima (sl. 50.1), dok ostale (sl. 50.2-6) smatra uprošćenim varijantama ovog motiva.²⁵³ Viminacijumski primerak pripadao bi njenoj drugoj grupi, tzv. šematizovanim predstavama, kod kojih su složeni atributi na vratu božanstva svedeni na ornament koji podseća na ogrlicu. Tu grupu odlikuje i mekše modelovanje sunčevih zraka

same age (VG/G-1486; Cat. no. 1486) and very rich in grave goods, there were ten river shells deposited next to the coffin.²⁵² Another river shell was found in a grave of a child of undetermined age (P/G-2835; Cat. no. 1216). Due to the poor state of preservation of the osseous material, its position regarding the deceased could not be determined.

Pendant with the image of a young Chorus (?)

In the southern Viminacium cemetery, only in one of the children's graves (3-4 years of age), was a necklace discovered, consisting of eight glass and ceramic beads and a clay pendant with an anthropomorphic relief image (Fig. 49.1-3). On the left side there is a circular piercing as an attempt of secondary piercing that damaged the original ornament (Fig. 49.2). The closest parallels for our pendant were discovered among the finds from the sites of *Panticapaeum*, *Chersonesus* and *Tanais* in Crimea (Fig. 50.1-6). They were interpreted as images of a young Chorus. However, only on one of the Crimean examples does Alekseeva see a clear image of the deity framed with sun rays or spread wings (Fig. 50.1), while she considers the others (Fig. 50.2-6) as simplified images of a young Chorus.²⁵³ The Viminacium example would belong to the second group of schematised images, on which complex attributes on the neck of the deity were reduced down to an ornament that resembles a necklace. This group is specific also for a softer modelling of sun-rays or wings. Due to their direct analogies, the Viminacium pendant with the image of a young Chorus, as well as the jet pendant (Fig. 26.6), indicate intense connec-

252 Od drugih nalaza registrovani su: fragmentovan bronzani lanac, bronzani prsten (koji se završava zmijskim glavama), bronzani prsten sa uloškom od staklene paste, fibula ukrašena emajlom (cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 156, kat. 30), staklene perle, kao i keramičke posude.

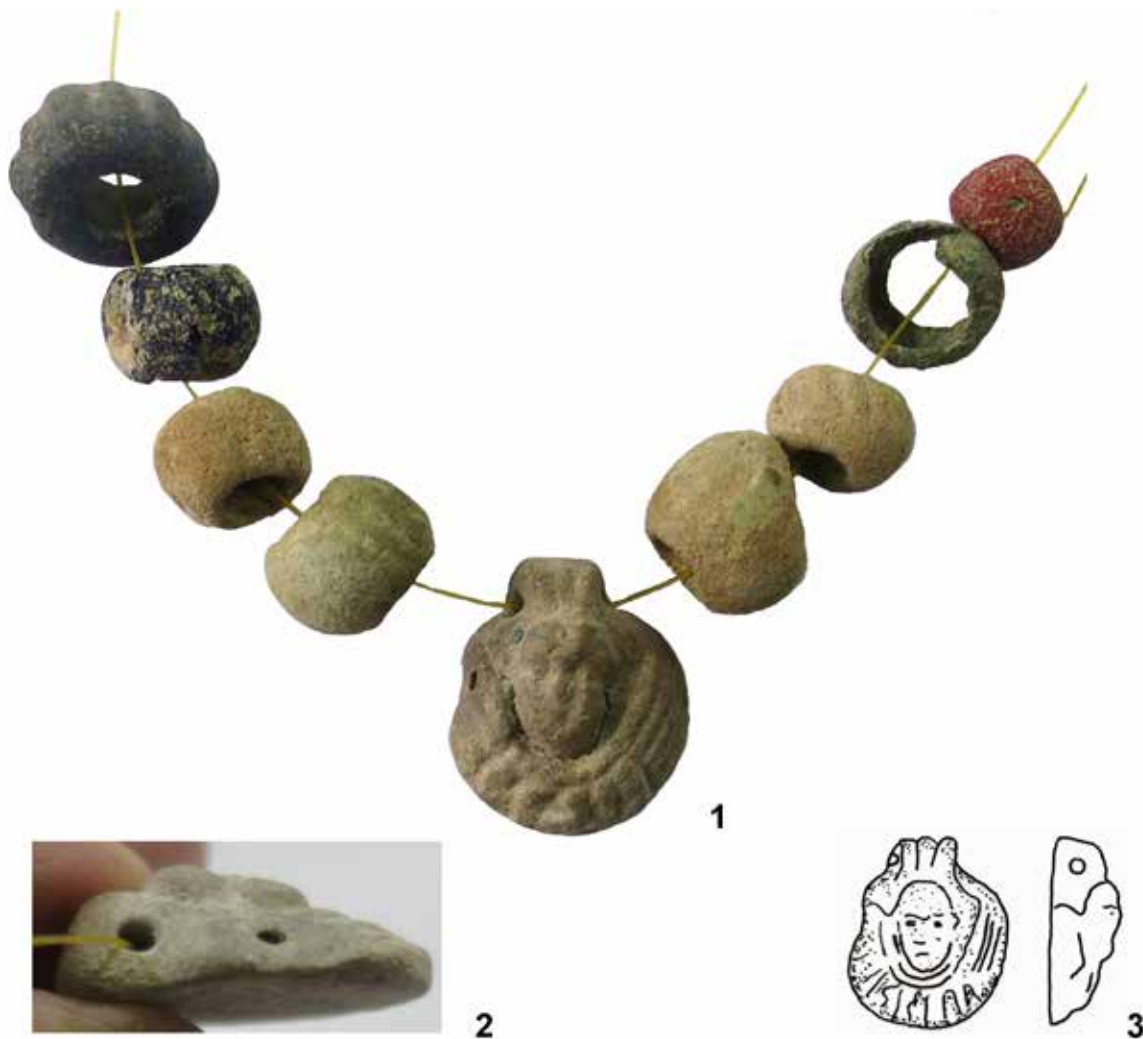
253 Алексеева 1975, 40, tip 43, T. 8.5-9. Aleksejeva analogije za svoje primerke nalazi u dva staklena priveskca iz Egipta (rimski period), objavljena kod Pitrija (cf. Petrie 1914, 35, no. 147, Pl. XXVI.147) i Stefanija, koji je publikovao 10 takvih amuleta iz Ermitaža (publikacija Л. Стефани, *Объяснение нескольких древностей, найденных в 1864 г. в южной России*, ОАК за 1865. nije nam bila dostupna; упућујемо на: Алексеева 1975, 40, ref. 148).

252 Among other finds there were a fragmented bronze chain, a bronze finger ring (ending with modelled snake heads), a bronze finger ring with an inlaid glass paste ornament, a brooch decorated with enamel (cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 156, kat. 30), glass beads, as well as pottery.

253 Алексеева 1975, 40, type 43, T. 8.5-9. Alekseeva finds parallels for her examples in two glass pendants from Egypt (from the Roman period) by Petrie (cf. Petrie 1914, 35, no. 147, Pl. XXVI.147) and Stefani, who published ten such amulets from the Hermitage (publication Л. Стефани, *Объяснение нескольких древностей, найденных в 1864 г. в южной России*, ОАК for 1865 was not at our disposal, therefore we point to: Алексеева 1975, 40, ref. 148).

ili krila. Privezak iz Viminacijuma, s prikazom mladog Horusa, i privezak od gagata (sl. 26.6), zbog postojanja direktnih analogija ukazuju na intenzivne veze između Krima i Podunavlja. Na to je već skrenuta pažnja povodom nalaza bula na nekropoli u Hersonesu. Smatra se da su tamo dospеле s romanizovanom populacijom iz Podunavlja, bilo da su u pitanju vojnici ili civili koji su pratili vojsku.²⁵⁴

tions between Crimea and the Danube Valley. Attention was already drawn to this in connection with the finds of *bullae* in the Chersonese cemetery. It is considered that they were brought there by the Romanised population from the Danube Valley, either by soldiers or by civilians following the Roman military.²⁵⁴



Sl. 49 Grob VG/G-811, kat. 418: ogrlica (1), bočna strana priveska sa sekundarnim bušenjem (2), crtež priveska (3) (1–3 fotografije: dokumentacija Narodnog muzeja Požarevac; fotografije: D. Spasić-Đurić)

Fig. 49 Grave VG/G-811, Cat. no. 418: necklace (1), lateral side, secondary drilling (2), drawing of the pendant (3) (1–3 photos from the documentation of the National Museum Požarevac; photo: D. Spasić-Đurić)

Osim navedenih, dobro poznatih apotropejskih i profilaktičkih amajlija, nošenih samostalno ili na niskama, u grobovima dece na južnoj viminacijumskoj nekropoli se javljaju i niske s bronzanim alkama, perlama od staklene paste (crnim,

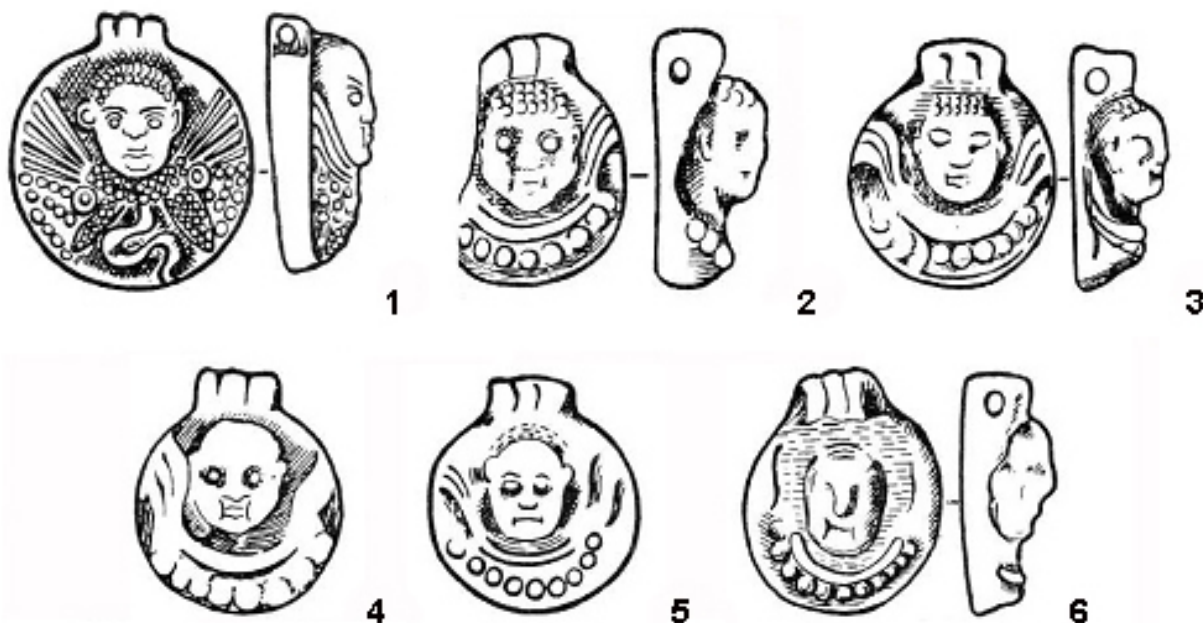
Besides the already listed well known apotropaic and prophylactic lucky charms, worn alone or on strings, in children's graves of the southern Viminacium cemetery, there were also strings with bronze hoops, beads made of glass paste (black—as fake jet; with “eyes”; or plain), and bronze pendants,

²⁵⁴ Стржелецкий et al. 2005, 179.

²⁵⁴ Стржелецкий et al. 2005, 179.

kao imitacija gagata, s „okcima” ili običnim), bronzanim privescima, koje su takođe mogle da „zveckaju”. Ostaje nejasno da li su služile samo da deci odvrte pažnju (svetlucanjem i zveckanjem) ili su imale i ulogu u rasterivanju zlih sila zvukom. Često su prisutne u grobovima zajedno s nekim od navedenih amajlija, na primer u VG/G-1296, kat. 86, sl. 26.3, 30.3; VG/G-1339, kat. 89, sl. 7.1–4; VG/G-1726, kat. 102, sl. 33.1; VG/G-189, kat. 157, sl. 33.2; VG/G-216, kat. 160, sl. 21.1–7; VG/G-1775, kat. 199, sl. 10.1–3.

which could also produce the “rattling” sounds. It remains unclear whether they were used only to distract children’s attention (with shining and rattling) or they could have played another role in chasing away evil forces with their sounds. They often appear in graves together with some of the listed lucky charms, for example: VG/G-1296, Cat. no. 86, Fig. 26.3, Fig. 30.3; VG/G-1339, Cat. no. 89, Fig. 7.1–4; VG/G-1726, Cat. no. 102, Fig. 33.1; VG/G-189, Cat. no. 157, Fig. 33.2; VG/G-216, Cat. no. 160, Fig. 21.1–7; VG/G-1775, Cat. no. 199, Fig. 10.1–3.



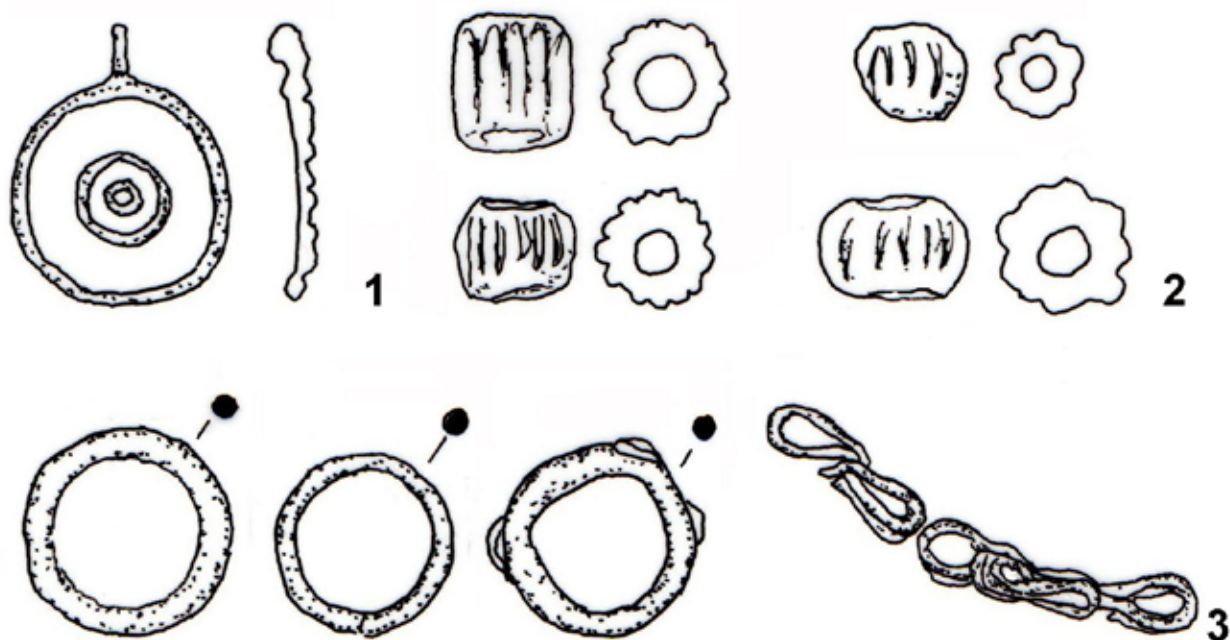
Sl. 50 Privesci s predstavom mladog Horusa, s lokaliteta na Krimu (prema: Алексеева 1975, T. 8/2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9)
 Fig. 50 Pendants with a presentation of young Chorus from sites in Crimea (after: Алексеева 1975, T. 8/2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9)

Slične niske nađene su u sledećim grobovima dece umrle u prvoj godini života: P/G-2804 (kat. 8, sl. 51.1–3; kat. 8, sl. 51.1–3);²⁵⁵ VG/G-290 (kat. 166, sl. 52.1–3), zatim dece umrle između druge i četvrte godine: VG/G-1603 (kat. 472, sl. 53.1–2), između desete i četrnaeste godine: P/G-4940 (kat. 959, sl. 54.1–2), dece neutvrđene starosti: P/G-3241 (kat. 1224, sl. 55.1–2). Pored toga, u 34 groba nađene su i ogrlice sastavljene samo od staklenih perli.

Besides the already named ones, such strings were discovered in the following graves of children who passed away during the first year of life: P/G-2804 (Cat. no. 8, Fig. 51.1–3);²⁵⁵ VG/G-290 (Cat. no. 166, Fig. 52.1–3); children who passed away between the ages of 2 and 4 years of age: VG/G-1603 (Cat. no. 472, Fig. 53.1–2); children who passed away between the ages of 10 and 14 years of age: P/G-4940 (Cat. no. 959, Fig. 54.1–2); children of undetermined age: P/G-3241 (Cat. no. 1224, Fig. 55.1–2). Besides these, in 34 graves necklaces were unearthed that consisted of glass beads only.

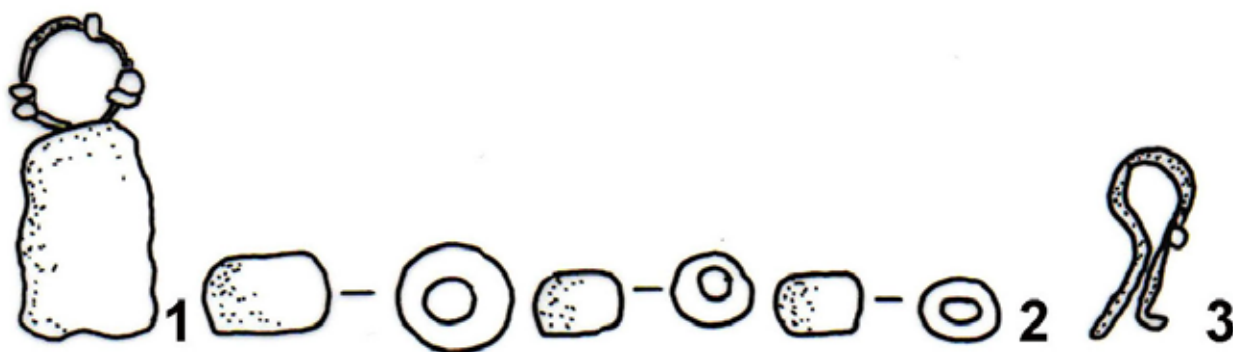
²⁵⁵ Osam neperforiranih morskih školjki pronađeno je zajedno s ogrlicom; cf. Dnevnik terenskih istraživanja Pećine, 2105–2106.

²⁵⁵ Eight imperforated sea shells were discovered together with the necklace; cf. Fieldwork diary Pećine, 2105–2106.



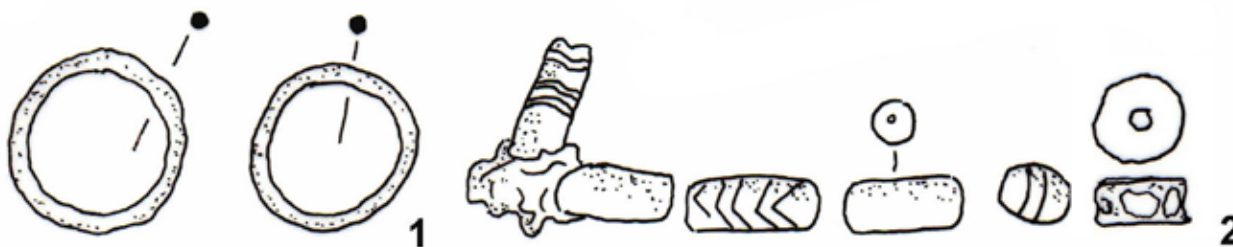
Sl. 51 Delovi niske iz groba P/G-2804, kat. 8 (grob s morskim školjkama): bronzani privezak (1), četiri staklene perle (2), tri bronzane alke i fragment bronzanog lanca (3)

Fig. 51 Parts of the string from grave P/G-2804, Cat. no. 8 (grave with sea shells): bronze pendant (1), four glass beads (2), three bronze rings and part of the bronze chain (3)



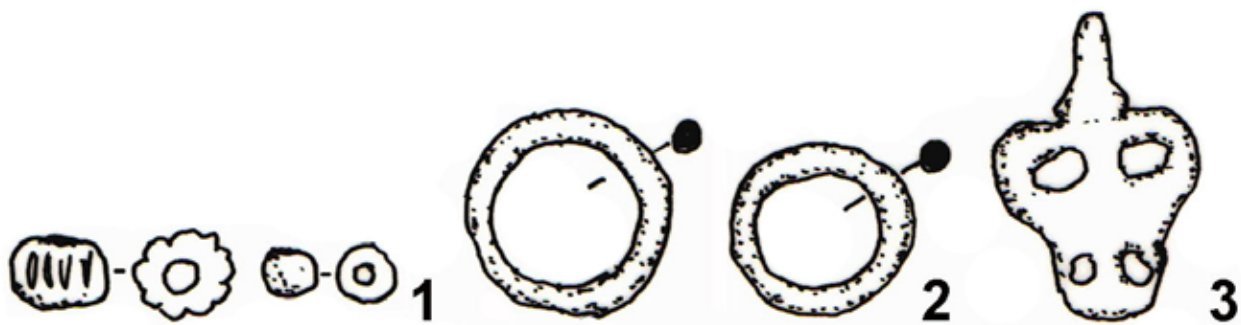
Sl. 52 Delovi niske iz groba VG/G-290, kat. 166: koštani privezak s bronzanom alkom (1), tri keramičke perle (2), bronzana kopča niske (3)

Fig. 52 Parts of the string from grave VG/G-290, Cat. no. 166: bone pendant with bronze ring (1), three ceramic beads (2), bronze string buckle (3)

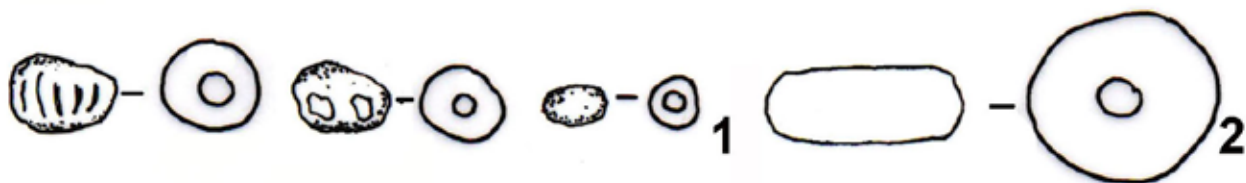


Sl. 53 Delovi niske iz groba VG/G-1603, kat. 472: dve bronzane alke (1), osam staklenih perli (2)

Fig. 53 Parts of the string from grave VG/G-1603, Cat. no. 472: two bronze rings (1), 8 glass beads (2)



Sl. 54 Delovi niske iz groba P/G-4940, kat. 959: dve staklene perle (1), dve bronzane alke (2), bronzani privezak (3)
 Fig. 54 Parts of the string from grave P/G-4940, Cat. no. 959: two glass beads (1), two bronze rings (2), bronze pendant (3)



Sl. 55 Delovi niske iz groba P/G-3241, kat. 1224: tri staklene perle (1), kameni privezak (2)
 Fig. 55 Parts of the string from grave P/G-3241, Cat. no. 1224: three glass beads (1), stone pendant (2)

Osim priloga koji su činili ili su mogli da čine delove krepundija, skrećemo pažnju na još nekoliko vrsta nalaza u grobovima dece, koji nisu bili u sastavu krepundija, ali su svakako imali apotropejsku, profilaktičku ili ulogu u verovanjima vezanim za principe životnog kontinuiteta i ponovnog rađanja.

Komadi sumpora

U šest grobova dece registrovani su komadi sumpora, i to uvek u keramičkoj posudi, jednom u zdeli i pet puta u lončićima. Nalazili su se samo u grobovima dece umrle u prvim godinama života: u dva groba iz I starosne skupine (VG/G-52, kat. 150; VG/G-169, kat. 154), u tri iz VI grupe, tj. u grobovima dece nepoznate starosti (VG/G-223, kat. 1241; VG/G-2186, kat. 1316; VG/G-1806, kat. 1391) i u jednom grobu iz VIII grupe, u kome je, pored odrasle ženske osobe, sahranjeno dete umrlo između druge i treće godine (P/G-3248, kat. 1649).²⁵⁶ Svi pomenuti grobovi, osim poslednjeg, za koji nema elemenata, datovani su u 2. vek.

Poznato je da je još od bronzanog doba sumpor, u malim količinama, bio korišćen u različite

²⁵⁶ U sva tri groba iz VI grupe – dece neodređene starosti, kosti su nađene u tragovima, tako da možemo pretpostaviti da i oni pripadaju pokojnicima umrlim u prvim godinama života.

Besides the listed grave goods from children's graves that made or could have made parts of *crepundiae*, we point out several further find types that could not have represented parts of *crepundiae*, but certainly possessed apotropaic or prophylactic features or played a role in the beliefs connected to the principle of life continuity and rebirth. These would include:

Pieces of sulphur

In six children's graves, pieces of sulphur were registered, always deposited in a ceramic vessel, once in a bowl and five times in small pots. Pieces of sulphur were discovered in graves of children who passed away during their early life years only: in two graves of the I age group (VG/G-52, Cat. 150; VG/G-169, Cat. 154), in three graves of the VI group of children of undetermined age (VG/G-223, Cat. 1241; VG/G-2186, Cat. 1316; VG/G-1806, Cat. 1391) and in a single grave of the VIII group in which next to an adult female a child was buried who passed away between the ages of 2 and 3 years (P/G-3248, Cat. 1649).²⁵⁶ All of the mentioned graves, except the last one without specific elements, were dated to the 2nd century.

²⁵⁶ In all three graves of the VI group, – children of undetermined age, bones were discovered in traces, which is why we can presume that they also belong to the deceased who passed away during the early life years.

svrhe: za izbeljivanje tkanina, u poljoprivredi, u religioznim ritualima pročišćenja i u medicini.²⁵⁷ Plinije, opisujući sumpor, navodi da „Od svih materija, možda je najjedinstveniji sumpor, sredstvo najveće moći među svim supstancama.“ Pominje i nalazišta sumpora na Liparskim ostrvima, u okolini Napulja i u Kampaniji.²⁵⁸ U istoj knjizi Plinije opisuje i njegovu raznovrsnu primenu, između ostalog u medicini i prilikom religioznih ceremonija, naročito za očišćenje prostora. Grumeni pronađeni na Viminacijumu pripadaju „živom“ sumporu, koji su Grci nazivali ἄπυρον i koji se, prema Pliniju, jedini koristio u medicinske svrhe (za različita kožna oboljenja, dijagnostikovanje epilepsije, protiv bolova u bubrezima, za astmu i ubode škorpiona). U kontekstu grobnih priloga, mogli bismo ga protumačiti kao medikament neophodan pokojniku na drugom svetu.

Gvozdeni ekseri

Iako nalazima gvozdениh eksera u grobovima iz rimskog perioda nije pridavana velika pažnja, izvestan broj istraživača bavio se tom problematikom još od 19. veka. Neki ekseri su u grobovima inhumiranih, ali i kremiranih pokojnika, imali utilitarnu funkciju. Međutim, uočeno je da se, osim njih, javljaju i ekseri u različitom kontekstu, kao deo priloga u grobovima. Obično se radi o manjem (1–2) ili većem broju primeraka za koje je, s obzirom na mesto nalaza (u posudi, oko posude, na nogama ili u ruci pokojnika, zabodeni u zemlju pored glave pokojnika itd.), jasno da imaju drugačiju ulogu i značenje.²⁵⁹ Većina istraživača tumačila ih je

257 Homer u *Ilijadi* i *Odiseji* na više mesta pominje obredno očišćenje prostora sumporom (cf. *Ilijada*, VII.416; XIV.229; *Odiseja*, XXII.480–493; XXIII.49–51).

258 Pliny, *NH* XXXV.50. Bez obzira na široku primenu sumpora, što ga je činilo jednom od važnih sirovina kojom se trgovalo u rimskom dobu, vađenje sumpora je uglavnom ignorisano u većini antičkih izvora (Diodor sa Sicilije pominje rudarenje u Britaniji i Španiji, ali ne i na svom rodnom ostrvu; Strabon u svojoj *Geografiji* piše o rudnicima u rimskom svetu, ali nijedan rudnik sumpora ne pominje; Plinije, s druge strane, izveštava detaljno o iskorišćavanju i upotrebi sumpora, ali ponovo ne pominje Siciliju; cf. Kutney 2013, 41). U tom dobu, Sicilija je bila glavni proizvođač sumpora, naročito oblast oko Agrigenta; za istraživanja antičkog rudarenja na Siciliji cf. Zambito 2014, 137; Speciale, Zambito 2017, 290–291.

259 Za publikovane grobove datovane od poznorepublikanskog perioda do 4. veka, s nalazima eksera koji nemaju

It is known that ever since the Bronze Age, small amounts of sulphur were used for different purposes: bleaching textiles, in agriculture, in religious rituals of purification and for medical purposes.²⁵⁷ While describing sulphur, Pliny states that “Among the other kinds of earth, the one of the most singular nature, perhaps, is sulphur, an agent of great power upon other substances“. Further on, he names the finding places of sulphur on the islands of Lipari, in the vicinity of Naples and in Campania.²⁵⁸ In the same book, Pliny also describes the numerous fields of the usage of sulphur, among others those of medicine and religious ceremonies, especially for purifying different spaces. Sulphur nuggets discovered in Viminacium belong to the so-called “living” sulphur, named ἄπυρον by the Greeks and, according to Pliny, the only one used in medical purposes (for different skin diseases, diagnosing epilepsy, against kidney pain, asthma and scorpion bites). Within the finding context, sulphur pieces could be understood as a medicine necessary for the deceased in the afterlife.

Iron nails

Although finds of iron nails from Roman graves have not been given much attention, a certain number of researchers have dealt with this problem ever since the 19th century. One group of nails discovered in inhumated graves, but also in cremated ones, possessed a purely utilitarian function. However, it was noticed that besides these, nails appeared in different contexts, comprising part of grave goods. It was usually a smaller number of nails (1–2) or a larger one, all of them clearly demonstrating that they played a different role and had a different meaning (a nail in a vessel, around a vessel, upon the legs of the deceased, on

257 In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in several places, Homer mentions ritual purification of different spaces with sulphur (cf. *Iliad*, VII.416; XIV.229; *Odyssey*, XXII.480–493; XXIII.49–51).

258 Pliny *NH* XXXV.50. Regardless of the wide usage of sulphur, making it one of the very important raw materials traded during Roman times, mining sulphur was mostly neglected by the majority of ancient authors (Diodorus from Sicily mentions mining sulphur in Britain and Spain, but not on his motherland island; in his work “*Geography*”, Strabo writes about mines in the Roman world, but he does not mention a single one connected to sulphur; on the other hand, Pliny writes in detail about mining and the usage of sulphur; but again, he does not mention Sicily; cf. Kutney 2013, 41). At that time, Sicily was the main producer of sulphur, especially the area around Agrigento; For research about ancient mining in Sicily cf. Zambito 2014, 137; Speciale, Zambito 2017, 290–291.

kao ritualno priložene apotropejske talismane, čija je namena bila da čuvaju preminulog od zla na drugom svetu;²⁶⁰ drugi su smatrali da su gvozdeni ekseri imali funkciju zaštite živih od mrtvih, tj. sprečavali su povratak pokojnika njihovim vezivanjem za grob (*ferro magico*).²⁶¹ S druge strane, u izvorima se pominje i upotreba eksera u magijsko-profilaktičkim radnjama, u kojima se bolesti mogu „zakucati” i na taj način neutralisati.²⁶² Ne treba zanemariti ni raširenu praksu vađenja eksera iz grobova radi njihovog korišćenja u lečenju ili za izradu novih predmeta (prstena) za koje se smatralo da imaju posebne moći.²⁶³

Praksa „prikivanja” pokojnika mladih od četiri godine nije postojala ili do sada nije dokumentovana, ali je primećena u grobovima starije dece, a naročito odraslih.²⁶⁴ U kontekstu razmatranih grobova dece na južnoj nekropoli Viminacijuma, samo u nekoliko slučajeva možemo pretpostaviti neutilitarnu funkciju eksera. U grobu deteta starog između pet i devet godina (VG/G-1036, kat. 728), jedan gvozdeni ekser bio je položen pored desne noge, a druga tri su bila na grudima. Pokojnik star između 10 i 14 godina (P/G-2770, kat. 993) bio je položen na dasku u koju su bila zakucana, pored levog ramena, tri eksera. Istoj starosnoj skupini pripada i dete sahranjeno u grobu P/G-2920 (kat. 994), gde je po jedan ekser nađen s obe strane lobanje, a treći kod leve potkolenice. Po

utilitarnu funkciju (cf. Alfayé Villa 2010, 433–438, Table 2 i posebno u grobovima dece 440–441, Table 3). Na osnovu podataka iz tabela 2 i 3, autorka smatra da se pojavljuje tipičan set grobnih priloga na nizu nekropola, uglavnom datovanih u 2–3. vek, koji se sastoji od: eksera, lampe, male keramičke posude i/ili balsamarija, a vrlo često i novca. Iako su ti predmeti, po autorki, svesno izabrani, postoje varijacije zbog lokalnih tradicija ili mode (cf. Alfayé Villa 2010, 430).

260 Alfayé Villa 2010, 444, ref. 36 (Amulets).

261 Baills-Talbi, Dasen 2008, 607–608; Alfayé Villa 2010, 445, ref. 39.

262 Autorka kao primere navodi: svečanosti *clavus annalis*, koje su bile izvorno povezane s javnim nesrećama, ili kao lek za epilepsiju koji opisuje Plinije (ubod gvođenog eksera u tačku na glavi pacijenta, kojom je pri padu, tokom napada, dotakao zemlju, leći tu bolest); cf. Alfayé Villa 2010, 432, 441.

263 Pliny, *NH* XXVIII.46 (ekseri protiv groznice). Za upotrebu eksera izvađenih iz grobova od strane magova, cf. Alfayé Villa 2010, 441–442, ref. 23–24.

264 Baills-Talbi, Dasen 2008, 607–608.

the arm of the deceased, stabbed into the earth next to the head of the deceased, etc.).²⁵⁹ Most researchers understood them as ritually given apotropaic talismans with the purpose of protecting the deceased from evil in the afterlife,²⁶⁰ while others considered the iron nails to have the purpose of protecting the living from the dead, to prevent their return, in the sense that they remain tied to the grave (*ferro magico*).²⁶¹ On the other hand, sources also mention the connection of nails to magical-prophylactic rituals, such that diseases can be “nailed down” and in such a way become neutralised.²⁶² One should also not neglect the possibility that is related to a widely spread procedure of extracting nails from graves in order to use them in healing processes or to make new items (finger rings) out of them, since they were considered to have possessed special powers.²⁶³

The practice of “nailing down” the deceased who passed away before reaching the age of 4 years did not exist or it has not been documented so far, but it was noticed with older children and especially adults.²⁶⁴ In the context of studying children’s graves from the southern Viminacium cemetery, only in a few examples can we suspect a non-utilitarian function. In the grave of a child who passed away between the ages of 5 and 9 years (VG/G-1036, Cat. 728), a single iron nail was placed next to the right leg, while the remaining three were discovered upon the chest. The de-

259 For the published graves dated from the late Republican period to the 4th century with finds of nails that do not possess a utilitarian function (cf. Alfayé Villa 2010, 433–438, Table 2 and separately in children’s graves 440–441, Table 3). According to the data from tables 2 and 3, the author considers that in a number of cemeteries dated to the 2nd and the 3rd century, there was a typical set of grave goods consisting of nails, oil lamps, small pottery vessels and/or *balsamarium*, and very often also coins. Although according to this author, they were chosen with a purpose, there were different variations due to local traditions or fashion (cf. Alfayé Villa 2010, 430).

260 Alfayé Villa 2010, 444, ref. 36 (Amulets).

261 Baills-Talbi, Dasen 2008, 607–608; Alfayé Villa 2010, 445, ref. 39.

262 As examples, the author names the festival of *clavus annalis*, originally connected to public disasters or as a cure for epilepsy described by Pliny (stabbing an iron nail into a specific spot on the head of the patient with which it touched the ground during a seizure falling was believed to cure the disease); cf. Alfayé Villa 2010, 432, 441.

263 Pliny *NH* XXVIII.46 (nails against fever). For the usage of nails extracted from graves by magicians cf. Alfayé Villa 2010, 441–442, ref. 23–24.

264 Baills-Talbi, Dasen 2008, 607–608.

dva eksera nalazila su se u 18 grobova, ali najčešće bez preciziranog mesta nalaza, iz kojeg bi se moglo više zaključiti o njihovoj ulozi. Po jedan ekser pronađen je samo u šest grobova, iznad lobanje ili kod nogu, ali bez detalja o načinu prilaganja. Verujemo da je broj grobova s neutilitarnom upotrebom gvozdениh eksera veći, te da će istraživači tokom iskopavanja u budućnosti posvetiti više pažnje tim nalazima i njihovim kontekstima.

Potrebno je skrenuti pažnju i na pojavu prekrivanja tela dece ili njihovih delova (glava, karlica, kolena) celim ili polomljenim koštanim iglama i spatulama.²⁶⁵ Oblik igala i spatula mogao bi u tim slučajevima da predstavlja metaforičku evokaciju na eksere sa istim magijskim značenjem. U grobu novorođenčeta (VG/G-83; kat. 151), u kojem su pronađene i morske školjke, registrovano je osam koštanih igala za šivenje i jedna za kosu, s glavom u obliku ženske biste, u predelu potkolenica i karlice pokojnika.²⁶⁶ Telo deteta umrlog oko pete godine (VG/G-279; kat. 637), prilikom sahrane je bilo prekriveno celim ili fragmentovanim koštanim iglama (9) i morskim školjkama (18).²⁶⁷ U grobu deteta preminulog između dvanaeste i četrnaeste godine (VG/G-939; kat. 1016), sedam koštanih igala bilo je rasuto preko kolena.²⁶⁸ I, konačno, glava pokojnika starog oko 15 godina (P/G-3471; kat. 1101) bila je prekrivena celim ili fragmentovanim koštanim iglama i spatulama (5). U istom grobu pronađena je pomenuta keramička zvečka u obliku goluba,²⁶⁹ kao i 11 morskih školjki, od kojih pet perforiranih.

Ljuske od jaja

Iako je prilaganje jaja u grobove, posebno dece, bilo praktikovano još od praistorije, a naročito tokom arhajskog i klasičnog perioda, ljuske od jaja su veoma retko nalažene u grobovima

265 Raspored igala ne ukazuje na njihovu upotrebu u svrhu pričvršćivanja pokrova.

266 Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 61, Т. XIX–XX.

267 Korać, Golubović 2009, 267–268.

268 U grobu je pronađena bula (sl. 25.3), zatim segment narukvice od gagata (sl. 41.2), kao i drugi mnogobrojni nalazi, već pomenuti prilikom opisa bule. Cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2001, 16–20.

269 Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 104, сл. 107; 170, кат. 71.

ceased who passed away between the ages of 10 and 14 years (P/G-2770, Cat. 993) was laid on a plank with three nails stabbed into it, next to the shoulder of the deceased. The same age group also includes the grave (P/G-2920, Cat. 994) of a deceased where on both sides of the skull there was a nail, while a third nail was deposited next to the lower left leg. In each of 18 graves, two nails were discovered, but usually without a specified precisely described finding place by which one would be allowed to conclude more about their purpose. In each of six graves a single nail was found above the skull or next to the legs, but without further details about the method of depositing. We believe that the number of graves with the usage of nails in a non-utilitarian purpose was much larger, and that in the future, during excavations, research should pay more attention to these finds and the contexts in which they appear.

Here, we will focus our attention on the tradition of covering children's skeletons or their parts (head, pelvis, knees) with fully preserved or broken bone needles and *spatulae*.²⁶⁵ In this context, the shape of needles and *spatulae* could represent a metaphorical evocation of nails with the same magical meaning. In the grave of a newborn (VG/G-83; Cat. no. 151), in which sea shells were also discovered, eight sewing bone needles and a single hairpin modelled in the shape of a female bust were unearthed, all deposited in the area of the lower legs and pelvis of the deceased.²⁶⁶ During the funeral, the body of a child who passed away approximately at the age of five years (VG/G-279; Cat. no. 637) was covered with fully preserved or fragmented bone needles (9) and sea shells (18).²⁶⁷ In the grave of a child who passed away between the ages of 12 and 14 years (VG/G-939; Cat. no. 1016), seven bone needles were scattered over the knees of the deceased.²⁶⁸ Finally, a deceased who passed away at the age of approximately 15 years (P/G-3471; Cat. no. 1101), had his head covered with fully preserved or fragmented bone needles and *spatulae* (5). In the same grave, the already

265 The disposition of needles does not indicate their usage for the purposes of fastening the shroud.

266 Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 61, Т. XIX–XX.

267 Korać, Golubović 2009, 267–268.

268 In this grave, a bulla was found (Fig. 25.3), a segment of a jet bracelet (Fig. 41.2), as well as numerous other finds already mentioned while describing the bulla. Cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2001, 16–20.

iz rimskog perioda.²⁷⁰ Među ovde analiziranim grobovima, samo u jednom od njih (P/G-3091; kat. 356), u kome je sahranjen pokojnik star između dve i četiri godine (II starosna skupina), pronađene su ljuške jajeta.²⁷¹ Najbliže analogije nalazimo u grobovima iz Brestovika,²⁷² u Ravni (*Timacum Minus*), na nekoliko nekropola u Hrvatskoj (Gajine, Glavičine, Plana, Brodski Drenovac i u Župi Dubrovačkoj),²⁷³ na nekropoli Solimar (Solymár) u Mađarskoj,²⁷⁴ a potom i na *Via Triumphalis* na vatikanskom brdu.²⁷⁵ Njihovo prisustvo u grobovima ima religiozno značenje i vezuje se za orfički kulturni princip životnog kontinuiteta i ponovnog rađanja. U rimskom periodu, grobovi s jajima kao prilozima povezuju se s uticajima iz Grčke ili sa Istoka, odnosno s doseljenicima iz tih oblasti.²⁷⁶

mentioned rattle modelled in the shape of a pigeon was unearthed,²⁶⁹ as well as 11 sea shells, five of which were perforated.

Egg shells

Although egg shells in graves, especially of those belonging to children, have been known ever since prehistory and especially from the archaic and classical period, they have very rarely been discovered in graves from Roman times.²⁷⁰ Among the graves analysed here, only in a single one of them (P/G-3091; Cat. 356), the deceased who passed away between the ages of 2 and 4 years (II age group), were egg shells discovered.²⁷¹ The closest parallels are found in a grave from Brestovik,²⁷² in Ravna (*Timacum Minus*), in several cemeteries in Croatia (Gajine, Glavičine, Plana, Brodski Drenovac and in Župa Dubrovačka),²⁷³ in the Solymár cemetery in Hungary,²⁷⁴ and on the *Via Triumphalis* on Vatican Hill.²⁷⁵ Their presence in graves has a religious meaning and is connected to the Orphic cultic principle of life continuity and rebirth. Graves from the Roman period with egg shells as grave goods are connected to Greek or Oriental influences, actually with immigrants from these regions.²⁷⁶

270 Jedan od razloga je sasvim sigurno neopreznost prilikom starijih iskopavanja; cf. Gál 2006, 52.

271 Спасић-Ђурић 2015а, 108–109, сл. 111.

272 Црнобрња 2005, 164.

273 Petković et al. 2016, 60–61, ref. 207–208.

274 Vörös 1993, 353.

275 Carroll 2018, 202, ref. 124. M. Kerol ukazuje na to da jaje u grobu može biti i ponuda hrane, a ne da ima isključivo simbolični karakter.

276 Јовановић 1984, 127, ref. 503–504.

269 Спасић-Ђурић 2015а, 104, сл. 107; 170, кат. 71.

270 One of the reasons is quite certainly carelessness during earlier excavations; cf. Gál 2006, 52.

271 Спасић-Ђурић 2015а, 108–109, сл. 111.

272 Црнобрња 2005, 164.

273 Petković et al. 2016, 60–61, ref. 207–208.

274 Vörös 1993, 353.

275 Carroll 2018, 202, ref. 124. M. Kerol points out that eggs in graves could also represent food offerings, not possessing a symbolic character only.

276 Јовановић 1984, 127, ref. 503–504.

MORS IMMATURA
COINAGE AND APOTROPAIC-PROPHYLACTIC ELEMENTS IN FUNERARY RITUALS –
southern Viminacium cemetery

ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA

Život i smrt dece u rimskom dobu – obredi prelaza

Obezbeđivanje potomstva je u rimskom dobu, kao i danas, bilo važan cilj braka. Da bi se to postiglo, prema nekim istraživanjima, žene su u antici, zbog velike smrtnosti dece, radale u proseku pet ili šest puta.²⁷⁷ Novorođenče je postepeno ulazilo u svet živih, posredstvom nekoliko faza ili obreda prelaza: razdvajanja, tranzicije i pridruživanja.²⁷⁸ Prva je započinjala presecanjem pupčane vrpce, što je novorođenče dovodilo u liminalnu fazu, između života i smrti (marginalna faza ili tranzicija). Dojenče je na rođenju bilo podvrgnuto pregledu kako bi se uočili eventualni fizički nedostaci, kupano je, masirano, povijano i dojeno, ali još uvek nije smatrano čovekom.²⁷⁹ Taj ciklus je trajao do tzv. *dies lustricus*, posle osam dana za devojčice i devet za dečake, a predstavljao je odlaganje ulaska novorođenčeta u svet živih zbog velike smrtnosti u prvim danima života. Ceremonija *dies lustricus* je označavala sledeći korak u životu deteta i uvodila ga je u novi ciklus prelaska, u kome je dobijalo društveni identitet, lično i porodično ime, što je bio početak njegovog uključivanja u javni život (faza pridruživanja).²⁸⁰ Današnji

277 U životu majke, veći razmak između potomaka nastajao je zbog dece koja nisu preživela (Parkin 1992, 92; Hope 2007, 11). Žene su često umirale na porođaju ili od posledica komplikacija nakon porođaja. Iz tih razloga, mnogi rituali i zavetni darovi bili su namenjeni uspešnoj trudnoći i laganom porođaju (Dasen 2010a, 296, navodi zavetne figurice beba u povojima u rimskim svetilištima).

278 Tu trofaznu strukturu definisao je A. van Gennep još 1908. godine, kao *séparation-marge-agrégation* (Gennep 1960, 50–64), preuzeto u novijoj literaturi kao *separation-transition-incorporation/aggregation* (Dasen 2009).

279 Dasen 2009, 200; Carroll 2012, 137–138; u periodu Carstva, dete je bilo zvanično registrovano tek 30 dana nakon *dies lustricus*. To se odnosilo samo na decu rimskih građana; cf. Dasen 2009, 200, ref. 6.

280 Dasen 2010a, 297–304; Laes 2011, 66.

CONCLUSION

Life and death of children during Roman times – the transition rituals

Just like today, during Roman times, producing offspring represented an important goal of a marriage. According to some studies, during Antiquity, and due to the high mortality rate of infants, women averagely experienced five or six childbirths in order to secure a specific number of descendants.²⁷⁷ A newborn would gradually enter the world of the living through several phases or transition rituals: separation, transition and joining.²⁷⁸ The first phase would begin by cutting the umbilical cord, which would lead the newborn into a liminal phase between life and death (marginal phase or transition). In this phase, the newborn would be submitted to an examination at birth, checked for imperfections, bathed, given a massage, but was still not considered a person.²⁷⁹ This cycle would last until the so-called *dies lustricus*, which would be eight days for girls and nine days for boys, representing a postponed entry into the world of the living, all due to the high mortality rate of children during the early days of life. The ceremony of *dies lustricus* marked the next step in the life of a child, introducing it into a new transition cycle in which it was given social identity, a personal and a family name, which would represent a first step

277 A larger span between the offspring in the life of a mother was as a result of some children not surviving (Parkin 1992, 92; Hope 2007, 11). Women often died during childbirth or as consequence of complications during childbirth. Due of these reasons, many rituals and votive gifts were intended for a successful pregnancy and easy childbirth (Dasen 2010a, 296, names votive figurines of babies in nappies in Roman sanctuaries).

278 In 1908, this three phased structure was defined by A. van Gennep as a *séparation-marge-agrégation* (Gennep 1960, 50–64), replaced in modern literature as *separation-transition-incorporation/aggregation* (Dasen 2009).

279 Dasen 2009, 200; Carroll 2012, 137–138; During the Imperial period, a child was officially registered only 30 days after the *dies lustricus*. This referred only to the children of Roman citizens; cf. Dasen 2009, 200, ref. 6.

istraživači ističu da je Genepova podela rimskih obreda vezanih za rođenje na tri faze (odvajanje, tranzicija, pridruživanje) prihvatljiva,²⁸¹ ali da su ti rituali bili mnogo kompleksniji nego što se prvobitno pretpostavljalo, s preklapanjem faza i znatno fleksibilnijim neonatalnim statusom. Ta fleksibilnost je prisutna i u drugim fazama razvoja deteta, npr. u obredima vezanim za pubertet.²⁸²

S prvim rođendanom, roditelji su dobijali određene zakonske privilegije, što je moglo da utiče na postupanje prema deci u životu i u smrti. Do navršenih sedam godina, deca su nazivana *Infans* (novorođenčad), što je ukazivalo na njihov socijalni status „bez glasa“. Sedmi rođendan je označavao veliku prekretnicu u njihovom životu, a za neku je to bio i početak obrazovanja i učešća u privatnim i javnim angažmanima porodice. To je bio i period novog obreda prelaza, obeleženog gubitkom mlečnih i dobijanjem stalnih zuba.²⁸³

Po rimskim standardima, odraslo doba je za dečake i za devojčice počinjalo u različitom uzrastu i donosilo je čitav niz odgovornosti. Devojčice su s 12 godina sticale zakonsko punoletstvo i mogle su da stupe u brak, što se realno dešavalo između ranih i kasnih tinejdžerskih godina, u skladu sa socijalnim statusom. Definitivan kraj njihovog detinjstva označavali su udaja i rađanje ili polaganje asketskog zaveta i pristupanje redu devičanskih sveštenica. Dečacima je odraslo doba započinjalo ceremonijom preuzimanja *toga virilis*, koja se odvijala između njihove 13. i 18. godine, u zavisnosti od okolnosti. Po zakonima, muškarci su punu ekonomsku nezavisnost dostizali sa 25 godina (u nekim slučajevima sa 20), što je bila i minimalna starost za obavljanje političkih dužnosti.²⁸⁴

Zbog velike smrtnosti dece, naročito u prvim danima i u prvoj godini života, rituali prelaska su po rođenju često bili prekidani i zamenjivani pogrebnim obredima. Smrt je bila proces, a ne događaj, i podrazumevala je obred prelaska koji je uključivao rituale odvajanja od sveta živih i ulaska u svet mrtvih. Liminalni period bio je kritično razdoblje kako za žive, koji su bili izloženi onečišćenju proisteklom iz njihovog kontakta sa smrću, tako i za mrtve, koji nisu hteli ili su nerado

in the inclusion into public life (joining).²⁸⁰ Modern experts underline that the division of the Roman rituals connected to the birth of a child (separation, transition, joining) by Genep is correct,²⁸¹ but that these rituals represented processes that were much more complex than originally suspected, with an overlapping of phases and a much more flexible neonatal status. This flexibility was also present in other development phases, as in rituals connected to puberty.²⁸²

A first birthday would mean the gaining of certain legislative privileges for parents, which could have affected the way children were treated both in life and in death. Until the age of seven, children were called *infans* (the newborns), which would indicate their social status “without voice”. The seventh birthday represented a big milestone in the life of a child, as it marked (at least for some) the beginning of education and participation in the private and public engagements of his/her family. This was also a period of a new transition ritual that included the loss of deciduous teeth and growth of the permanent ones.²⁸³

According to the Roman standards, adulthood began at different points for boys and for girls and brought a raft of responsibilities with it. Adulthood was defined by law and the age of being allowed to get married for girls was the age of 12, which, in reality, depending on the social status, took place between the early and late teenage years. For them, a definite end of childhood was getting married and giving birth or taking the ascetic oath and joining a community of virgin priestesses. For boys, adulthood came through the ceremony of accepting the *toga virilis* that, depending on different circumstances, happened between the ages of 13 and 18 years. Defined by law, full economic independence was reached at the age of 25 years (or, under certain specific circumstances, at the age of 20), this representing the minimum age for performing political duties.²⁸⁴

Due to the high mortality rate of children, especially in the early days and years of life, the transition rituals after birth were usually interrupted and replaced with funerary rituals. Death

281 Genep 1960, 50–64.

282 Dasen 2009, 212.

283 Harlow, Laurence 2002, 37; Mander 2013, 19.

284 Laes, Voulanto 2017, 5–6.

280 Dasen 2010a, 297–304; Laes 2011, 66.

281 Genep 1960, 50–64.

282 Dasen 2009, 212.

283 Harlow, Laurence 2002, 37; Mander 2013, 19.

284 Laes, Voulanto 2017, 5–6.

prihvatili svoj novi status, možda želeći da se ponovo pridruže stvarnosti čiji deo više nisu mogli biti. Tada su mrtvi postajali neprijateljski raspoloženi i ogorčeni, pretvarajući se u tzv. „nemirne mrtve“, lutajuće duše i duhove koji se mešaju u svet živih.²⁸⁵

U delima antičkih pisaca sreću se različite kategorije „nemirnih mrtvih“, pa čak i različita mesta njihovog prebivanja u predvorju Podzemlja. Za mrtvorodenu decu, umrlu novorođenčad, decu, ali i mlade osobe pre braka i žene na porođaju smatralo se da su preminuli „pre vremena“ (*mors immatura; mors ante diem fatalem* ili grčki *aōroi*).²⁸⁶ Najčešće citiran odlomak u vezi s tom kategorijom umrlih potiče iz Vergilijeve *Eneide*: „Začuše zvuke, ko plač, pa detinju vrisku – to duše plakahu male, na samom što pragu ih slatkog života crni otrže dan te ih nevine, s majčinskih grudi, gurnu u gorkoj da utonu smrti.“²⁸⁷

Obično se, potom, citira i Tertulijan: „Smatralo se da nepokopani nisu mogli biti primljeni u Podzemlje bez odgovarajućih obreda.... I oni kažu da duše koje iskuse smrt pre svog vremena (*aōroi*), lutaju dok ne dovrše ostatak razdoblja koji bi živeli da nisu prerano umrli.“²⁸⁸

Navedeni odlomci su već više od jednog veka korišćeni za interpretacije po kojima prerano umrla deca nisu bila integrisana u zajednicu, ali ni u Podzemlje, tako da su predstavljala kategoriju opasnu i zastrašujuću za žive.²⁸⁹ Taj koncept se menjao naglašavanjem da nijedan antički autor zapravo ne pominje pretvaranje umrle novorođenčadi u lutajuće duše željne osвете, koje prete

represents a process, not an event, actually a ritual of transition that includes separation from the world of the living and entering the world of the dead. This limited period of time represents a critical moment, both for the living who are exposed to impurity due to their contact with death, but also for the dead, who are unable or unwilling to accept their new status and maybe want to re-join reality, a part of which they can no longer be. In that case, the dead can become unfriendly or indignant and they can even turn into the so-called “undead”, the wondering souls and ghosts that interfere with the world of the living.²⁸⁵

In works by ancient authors, we encounter different categories of the “undead dead” and even their dwelling place in the vestibule of the Underworld. Stillborn children, deceased newborns, children or even young persons who died before they got married and women who died during childbirth were considered to have passed away “too soon” (*mors immatura; mors ante diem fatalem* or *aōroi* in Greek).²⁸⁶ The most frequently quoted part of the “Aeneid” by Virgil is connected with this: “At once he heard voices, a great squalling and the weeping souls of children, deprived of sweet life on the very threshold of it. The black day had snatched them from the breast, stolen them away, and plunged them in bitter death.”²⁸⁷

Usually after that, Tertullian is quoted: “It was held that the unburied were not accepted into the underworld until they had received the due rites... And they say that souls that experience death before their time (*aōroi*) wander about until they complete the remainder of the period for which they would have lived if they had not died early.”²⁸⁸

For more than a century, the quotes mentioned above were used for interpretations according to which children who passed away too early were nei-

285 To je tumačenje Genepa iz 1909. godine (Gennep 1960, 160–162), koje su kasniji istraživači uglavnom prihvatili (Cumont 1949, 62–63; Jobbé-Duval 1924, 68–73; Deonna 1955, 232–233; Johnston 1999, 161–199; Alfayé Villa 2009, 186, ref. 16, i mnogi drugi).

286 Alfayé Villa 2009, 184–185, s navedenom literaturom u ref. 13.

287 Vergilije, *Eneida* VI. 426–430; Ogden 2002, 148, no. 110; Baills-Talbi, Dasen 2008, 596; Crummy 2010, 79; Carroll 2018, 151, ref. 30

288 Tertullian, *De Anima* 56–57; Ogden 2002, 149–151, no. 112; Crummy 2010, 79; Carroll 2018, 151, ref. 31.

289 Sledeći ideju Van Genepa da se mrtvorodena deca ili umrla novorođenčad mogu transformisati u zla bića, kasniji istraživači su je prihvatili skoro kao dokaz; cf *supra* ref. 286.

285 This interpretation by Gennep from 1909 (Gennep 1960, 160–162) was mostly accepted by later researchers (Cumont 1949, 62–63; Jobbé-Duval 1924, 68–73; Deonna 1955, 232–233; Johnston 1999, 161–199; Alfayé Villa 2009, 186, ref. 16 and many others).

286 Alfayé Villa 2009, 184–185, with literature in footnote 13.

287 Vergil, *Aeneid* VI. 426–430; Ogden 2002, 148, No. 110; Baills-Talbi, Dasen 2008, 596; Crummy 2010, 79; Carroll 2018, 151, ref. 30

288 Tertullian, *De Anima* 56–57; Ogden 2002, 149–151, No. 112; Crummy 2010, 79; Carroll 2018, 151, ref. 31

živima.²⁹⁰ Korekcije tog stanovišta, zasnovanog na etnološkim paralelama, oslanjaju se na rezultate novih arheoloških istraživanja, koja pokazuju da deca preminula do šestog meseca nisu predstavljala opasnost za žive bez obzira na to što spadaju u kategoriju prerano umrlih. Zahvaljujući tim ispitivanjima uočene su jasne razlike u posmrtnom tretmanu novorođenčadi i ostalih članova zajednice, i to kako u načinu sahranjivanja tako i u pogledu izbora mesta za njegovo obavljanje. Ustanovljeno je da je neophodna potpuna izmena stava o tzv. „zlonamernoj novorođenčadi“ jer ta deca nisu pobuđivala strah živih, čak su pokopavana u kući i oko nje, što ukazuje na to da njihova tela nisu izazivala onečišćenje. Tako su ostajala povezana s domaćim – ženskim – prostorom, što znači da je granica između sveta živih i sveta mrtvih bila posebno tanka kada su u pitanju bila deca.²⁹¹ Upravo su rezultati istraživanja južne nekropole Viminacijuma znatno doprineli uspostavljanju novih shvatanju o tretiranju dece u pogrebnom ritualu, s obzirom na to da ima malo nekropola s tako velikim brojem njihovih grobova.

Oplakivanje dece

Prema antičkim izvorima, za malom decom nije trebalo žaliti ili je to trebalo činiti sasvim kratkotrajno, u zavisnosti od uzrasta u kome su preminula. Takvo mišljenje zasnovano je na minimalnoj ulozi koju su deca imala u društvu, a nalazimo ga kod Plutarha, u pismu utehe ženi povodom smrti njene dve godine stare ćerke. Plutarh je smatrao da za decu nisu bili neophodni pogrebni rituali uobičajeni za odrasle, a posebno obred libacije.²⁹² On se poziva na „drevne običaje i zakone“ kojima se zabranjuje žalost za malom decom, navodeći da je još kralj Numa u Rimu odredio trajanje žalosti prema starosti umrlog: za detetom mlađim od tri godine uopšte nije trebalo žaliti, za decom starijom od toga nije trebalo žaliti više meseci nego što su godina proživela, a najviše deset, dok duže od toga nije trebalo žaliti za preminulima bilo kog doba.²⁹³ Kod Cicerona nalazimo slične preporu-

ther integrated into the community, nor into the Underworld, thus representing a category dangerous and frightening for the living.²⁸⁹ This concept is changed by underlining that none of the ancient authors actually mentions that the deceased newborns turned into the wondering souls thirsty for revenge and threatening to the living.²⁹⁰ A correction of this concept, based on ethnological parallels, relies on the results of modern archaeological research, indicating that death of children up to six months of age represented no threat to the living, regardless of the fact that they belonged to the category of those who passed away too early. The latest archaeological research underlines clear differences in the treatment the newborns and the rest of the population, both in burial rituals and in places of depositing their remains. It has been concluded that there is a need to completely change the attitude regarding the so-called “evil newborns”, since these children did not cause any fear for the living. They were even buried within or around houses, indicating that their deceased bodies did not cause impurity. In this way they remained connected to the home – the women’s space, proving that the line between the world of the living and the dead was especially thin when it came to deceased children.²⁹¹ The results of research of the southern Viminacium cemetery has contributed much to general changes in the understanding of the treatment of children in funerary rituals, since there is a very small number of cemeteries with such a large number of children’s graves.

Mourning children

According to ancient authors, young children should not be mourned or, if they are, only very briefly, depending on the age at which they died at. This opinion was based on the minimal role children played in society and we encounter it at Plutarch’s, in a consolation letter to his wife regarding the death of their two-year-old daughter. According to him, children did not require funerary rituals that were common for adults, especially the ritual of libation.²⁹² He refers to “ancient

290 Baills-Talbi, Dasen 2008, 597; Dasen 2010b, 23–24; Carroll 2018, 151–152.

291 Cf. Baills-Talbi, Dasen 2008, 598, 610; Dasen 2009, 208–211; Dasen 2010a, 306.

292 Plutarch, *Moralia* 612A = *Consolatio ad Uxorem* 11.

293 Plutarch, *Numa* 12.

289 Following the idea by van Gennep that the stillborn or newborns who passed away could transform into evil entities, later authors accepted it almost as proof; cf *supra* ref. 286.

290 Baills-Talbi, Dasen 2008, 597; Dasen 2010b, 23–24; Carroll 2018, 151–152.

291 Cf. Baills-Talbi, Dasen 2008, 598, 610; Dasen 2009, 208–211; Dasen 2010a, 306.

292 Plutarch, *Moralia* 612A = *Consolatio ad Uxorem* 11.

ke: „...ako malo dete umre, preživeli bi trebalo da taj gubitak podnesu smireno; ako dojenče umre u kolevcu, ne bi smeli izgovoriti ni pritužbu...“²⁹⁴ U rimskoj literaturi se u vezi sa smrću dece sreću mnogobrojne reakcije istog tipa. Takvi podaci iz izvora obično se tumače kao način suočavanja sa velikom smrtnošću dece, odnosno uspostavljanja emotivne distance, odakle proističe i potreba drugačijeg socijalnog definisanja dece.²⁹⁵

Obilje arheoloških dokaza protivreći tvrdnjama da deci, naročito novorođenoj, nisu priređivani određeni pogrebni rituali. Deca, pa i najmlađa, sahranjivana su u namenski iskopanirakama, polagana su u drvene i olovne sanduke ili u zidane grobnice. Pažnja je posvećivana i njihovom odevanju, prikladnom godinama. Starija deca su umotavana u tkanine različitih boja i materijala, a bebe u povoje koje su nosile 40 do 60 dana života.²⁹⁶ Ne samo što su mnogi grobovi dece sadržali po broju i vrstama bogate priloge već su nad njima obavljani i rituali, uključujući i libacije, kako na sahranama tako i prilikom daća. To potvrđuju i drugačiji podaci iz književnih izvora, u kojima se pominju ožalošćeni roditelji, posebno majke, koje s grudima još punim mleka nose svoje novorođenče do groba, ridajući i posrćući.²⁹⁷ O izlivima žalosti, uglavnom među pripadnicima elite rimskog društva, svedoče različite kritike takvog ponašanja, odnosno preteranih i neprimerenih javnih izliva žalosti za decom, kakve nalazimo kod Plutarha, Cicerona, Tacita, Seneke, Plinija Mlađeg, koji su posebno oštro osuđivali najčešće svoje bliske prijatelje ili rođake, pa čak ni Neron nije bio toga pošteđen.²⁹⁸

Navedeni pisci prenose mišljenje uvreženo u elitnom delu rimskog društva, na koje je očito imao uticaj stoicizam kao dominantna filozofska misao u tom dobu, a ne poglede u okviru šire populacije.²⁹⁹ Žaljenje za izgubljenom decom je lično, povezano s emocijama i osećajem gubitka, tako da nije moglo biti regulisano zakonom niti zabranjeno, već je kritikovano kao razmetljivo

rituals and laws” that forbade grieving for children. He writes that Numa himself determined the duration period of grieving according to the age of the deceased; for a child younger than three years of age one should not grieve at all; for those older than that, one should not grieve in months longer than it had lived in years, with a maximum of ten, while after that, no age is especially grieved for.²⁹³ In Cicero’s we find similar recommendations: “... if a young child dies, the survivors ought to bear his loss with equanimity; that if an infant in the cradle dies, they ought not even to utter a complaint ...”²⁹⁴ In Roman literature we encounter numerous reactions of the same kind connected to the death of children. Such data from sources is usually understood as a way of facing the high mortality rate of children, actually to define an emotional distance that also created the need for children to be socially defined in a different way.²⁹⁵

A large amount of archaeological evidence contradicts such statements that children, especially newborns, were not worthy of specific funerary rituals. Children, even the youngest ones, were buried in specially dug grave pits, and buried in wooden or lead sarcophagi or in graves with constructions. Much attention was paid to their clothing, which was in accordance with their age. Older children were wrapped in clothes of different colours and materials, while babies were wrapped in nappies that they usually wore during the first 40 to 60 days of life.²⁹⁶ Not only did a large number of these graves possess grave goods of different numbers and types, but rituals were also performed, including libation, both during funerals and during funerary feasts. Various pieces of data from literary sources also speak in favour of this, mentioning grieving parents, especially mothers, their breasts still full of milk, who carried their newborns to the graves crying and stumbling.²⁹⁷ Specific behaviour due to exaggerated and inappropriate public outbursts of grief for children was subject to different critics, mostly from elite members of the Roman society. We encounter such critics in Plutarch’s, Cicero’s, Tacitus’, Seneca’s or Pliny the Younger, who are especially sharp in their condemnation of, most commonly, close friends or

294 Cicero, *Tusculan disputations* 1.39.

295 Pearce 2001, 127; Carroll 2011, 100; Scarfo 2012, 18–22; Carroll 2018, 238; Županek 2019, 270.

296 Carroll 2012, 144.

297 Carroll 2018, 240, ref. 10.

298 Carroll 2011, 100–101; Carroll 2018, 241, ref. 15.

299 Pearce 2001, 125; Županek 2019, 270.

293 Plutarch, Numa 12.

294 Cicero, *Tusculan disputations* 1.39.

295 Pearce 2001, 127; Carroll 2011, 100; Scarfo 2012, 18–22; Carroll 2018, 238; Županek 2019, 270.

296 Carroll 2012, 144.

297 Carroll 2018, 240, ref. 10.

prikazivanje u javnosti.³⁰⁰ Suočavamo se, zapravo, s interakcijom između stvarnosti i ideala, a posledično i s njihovim kontradiktornostima. S jedne strane su duboko lično žaljenje i reakcije na smrt deteta, a s druge je težnja da se one iskazuju shodno kolektivnim očekivanjima.³⁰¹

Sahranjivanje dece – arheološka istraživanja

Rezultati arheoloških istraživanja se delimično poklapaju s navodima iz izvora, po kojima je uobičajen način sahranjivanja novorođenčadi do približno šest meseci bila inhumacija, u vreme kada je kremacija bila dominantan ritual. Osnovni izvor koji to navodi je Plinije: „Univerzalni je običaj čovječanstva da ne kremira osobu koja umre prije nego što joj izrastu zubi.“³⁰² Sledeći odlomak nalazimo kod Juvenala, koji nije eksplicitan u određivanju doba za kremiranje: „Prirodno je da plaćemo kad prođe pogrebna povorka device u sazrevanju ili se zemlja nagomila nad detetom premladim za spaljivanje.“³⁰³ Pokazalo se da starost preminulog kao kriterijum za diferencijaciju u praksi sahranjivanja ne odgovara opštim osnovama na kojima počiva rimsko društvo, na šta ukazuju pisani izvori.³⁰⁴ Običaji prilikom sahranjivanja pokojnika iz određenih starosnih skupina, u provincijama su se sigurno delimično oslanjali na lokalne tradicije i ne mogu biti identični onima u Italiji.

U okviru formalnih prostora za sahranjivanje (nekropola), na mnogobrojnim nalazištima je potvrđeno poštovanje pogrebnih rituala prilikom sahranjivanja dece uzrasta do 6 meseci, u skladu s njihovom starošću.³⁰⁵ Novijim

300 Carroll 2011, 99–100; Carroll 2018, 240.

301 Hope 2009, 137; Huskinson 2011, 113.

302 Pliny, *NH* 7.15.72.

303 Juvenal, *Satires* XV.138–140; Pearce 2001, 126.

304 Pearce 2001, 128.

305 Za primere inhumacija mrtvorodene ili prerano rođene dece i dojenčadi na nekropolama iz Britanije, Nemačke, Švajcarske, Francuske, Egipta cf. Dasen 2010a, 306; Carroll 2011, 99, ref. 4, 103, ref. 18; Carroll 2018, 150–151. Ekstremni primer predstavlja sahrana nerođenog deteta u drvenom kovčegu, na nekropoli iz 4. veka u Paundberiju (Poundbury) u Engleskoj. U tom slučaju, nerođeno dete je embriotomijom uklonjeno iz materice, u pokušaju da se spase život majke prilikom porođaja. Bez obzira na to, njegovi ostaci nisu prosto bačeni, već su

relatives; not even Nero was spared.²⁹⁸

The sources named above reveal the opinion of the elite members of the Roman society, obviously influenced by Stoicism as the dominant philosophical thought of the time and not the opinion of the wider population.²⁹⁹ Grieving for lost children is personal, connected with emotions and a feeling of loss. Therefore, it could not be regulated by law nor forbidden, but it was criticised as an ostentatious display of feelings in public.³⁰⁰ We are actually faced with an interaction between reality and ideals, and, consequently also with their contradictories. On one side there is a deep personal grief and a reaction to the death of a child, while on the other there is a tendency to shape them with social expectations.³⁰¹

Burying children – archaeological research

Results of archaeological research partly confirm statements from written sources, revealing that in the period when cremation was the dominant ritual, the usual way of burying children who passed away at up to 6 months of age was inhumation. The basic source for this is Pliny: “It is the universal custom of mankind not to cremate a person who dies before cutting his teeth.”³⁰² The next quote is found by Juvenal, who does not precisely specify the age for cremation: “It’s at nature’s behest that we weep when the funeral cortege of a ripening virgin goes by, or the earth is heaped over an infant too young for burning.”³⁰³ It has turned out that age as a criterion for a differentiation in the burying ritual did not correspond with the general ideas of Roman society, indicated by written sources.³⁰⁴ The method of burying specific age groups in the Roman provinces certainly partly relied on local traditions and they could not be identical with the norms that were common in Italy.

Within formal spaces determined for burying (necropolis) on numerous sites, a burial ritual was confirmed for burying children who passed away up to the 6 months of age, in accordance

298 Carroll 2011, 100–101; Carroll 2018, 241, ref. 15.

299 Pearce 2001, 125; Županeček 2019, 270.

300 Carroll 2011, 99–100; Carroll 2018, 240.

301 Hope 2009, 137; Huskinson 2011, 113.

302 Pliny *NH* 7.15.72.

303 Juvenal *Satires* XV.138–140; Pearce 2001, 126.

304 Pearce 2001, 128.

istraživanjima je utvrđeno da nema osnova za raširenu pretpostavku da je dojenčad odlagana/zbrinjavana bez ceremonija, čak i kada je u pitanju bilo čedomorstvo.³⁰⁶ Umesto toga, došlo se do saznanja da su pripadnici različitih društvenih skupina unutar populacije, određenih dobom/godinama, a verovatno i drugim aspektima socijalnog identiteta, sahranjivani u skladu s društvenim normama, što znači da nisu sve osobe pokopavane na istom mestu ili na isti način.³⁰⁷

O načinu sahrane novorođenčadi do šest meseci, bilo na formalnim nekropolama ili van njih, danas istraživači uglavnom zaključuju da su pokopavana s određenom pažnjom (u keramičkim posudama ili njihovim delovima, ili su slobodno ukopavana i pokrivena opekom), uglavnom bez priloga.³⁰⁸ Odsustvo priloga nije pravilo. Grobovi dece stare više od šest meseci, što odgovara periodu nicanja zuba i uvođenja čvrste hrane, obično imaju priloge kao i grobovi odraslih, s određenim specifičnostima prilagođenim uzrastu (minijaturni predmeti, igračke, zvečke).³⁰⁹ Bilo je pokušaja da se sahrane novorođenčadi u kasnom rimskom periodu,

bili sahranjeni u kovčegu (cf. Dasen 2010a, 306; Carroll 2018, 149–150, ref. 18). Još jedan ilustrativni primer, nešto starijeg ali hendikepiranog deteta, je grob iz Ulice Ermin (Ermine Street), blizu rimske poštanske stanice u mestu Arington Bridž (Arrington Bridge), datovan u prvu trećinu 2. veka. U tom slučaju su u olovnom sarkofagu nađeni ostaci deteta umrlog u 10. ili 11. mesecu života. Dete je bolovalo od hidrocefalusa, a bilo je sahranjeno umotano u vunene pivoje natopljene crvenom i indigo bojom, koje su možda imale profilaktičku ulogu (cf. Carroll 2012, 140).

306 Hipotezu o čedomorstvu naročito su isticali Mejs (S. Mays) i njegovi saradnici (cf. Millett, Gowland 2015, 171, ref. 2). Više autora je dovelo u pitanje Mejsove zaključke, i to na osnovu pažljivijeg tumačenja antičkih pisanih izvora i naučnih metoda (DNK analize) (cf. Dasen 2009, 209–210; Millet, Gowland 2015, 172, ref. 7).

307 Dasen 2009, 210; Millett, Gowland 2015, 186.

308 Drugačija situacija zabeležena je na viminacijumskoj južnoj nekropoli, gde 40% grobova dece umrle do šest meseci sadrži priloge.

309 V. Dasen navodi da na nekropoli u Salel d'Odu (Salleles d'Aude) u Francuskoj, a što je potvrđeno i na drugim nalazištima, u grobovima mrtvorodne ili dece umrle neposredno nakon rođenja nisu nađeni nikakvi priloci, dok se uz one starije od šest meseci pojavljuju (Dasen 2003b, 288; Dasen 2009, 210); Kerol ističe da su na rimskim nekropolama u Italiji samo deca starija od jedne godine dobijala nešto dragoceno (Carroll 2011, 108, ref. 55).

with their age.³⁰⁵ The latest research has confirmed that there is no room for the widely held assumption that newborns were deposited/buried without any ceremonies as a consequence of infanticide.³⁰⁶ Instead, results suggest that different social groups within the population, definitely determined by age, but possibly also other aspects of social identity, were buried in accordance with social norms. This meant that not all of them were buried in the same place and in the same way.³⁰⁷

Regarding methods of burial for newborns, both on formal burying grounds elsewhere, modern researchers mostly conclude that infants at an age of up to 6 months were buried with special attention (within ceramic vessels or their parts or in simple burials, but covered with bricks), mostly without any grave goods.³⁰⁸ The absence of grave goods was not a rule. Graves of children older than six months, corresponding to the age of teeth growth and changing to a permanent diet, usually show the same grave goods as those of adults, with specific items in accordance with their age (miniature objects, toys and rattles).³⁰⁹

305 For the examples of stillborn children, newborns or those who died too soon in the cemeteries of Britain, Germany, Switzerland, France, Egypt cf. Dasen 2010a, 306, Carroll 2011, 99, ref. 4, 103, ref. 18; Carroll 2018, 150–151. An extreme example of a child that was not even born, deposited in a wooden coffin of a cemetery from the 4th century was found in Poundbury (England). In this case, in an attempt to save the life of the mother during childbirth, the child that was yet not born was removed from the mother's womb by embryotomy. Regardless of this fact, its remains were not just merely thrown away but deposited in a coffin (cf. Dasen 2010a, 306; Carroll 2018, 149–150, ref. 18). Another interesting example of a somewhat older child, but disabled, is a grave from Ermine Street, close to the Roman post station in Arrington Bridge, dated to the first third of the 2nd century. In this case, within a lead sarcophagus, remains of a child were unearthed who passed away between the ages of 10 or 11 months. The child was sick with hydrocephalus and it was buried wrapped in woollen nappies soaked with red and indigo colours, possibly playing a prophylactic role (cf. Carroll 2012, 140).

306 The hypothesis of infanticide was especially underlined by S. Mays and his team (cf. Millett, Gowland 2015, 171, ref. 2). Several authors have questioned Mays' conclusions, all based on a careful study of ancient written sources and according to scientific methods (DNA analyses) (cf. Dasen 2009, 209–210; Millet, Gowland 2015, 172, ref. 7).

307 Dasen 2009, 210; Millett, Gowland 2015, 186.

308 A different situation was observed in the southern Viminacium cemetery, in which 40% of graves belonging to children who passed away up to the age of six months contained grave goods.

309 V. Dasen claims that on the necropolis of Salleles d'Aude

naročito kada su tretirane s „poštovanjem“, prepoznaju i kao hrišćanske. U takvim tezama je zastupljena hrišćanska ideja o preobražaju statusa dece, od marginalnih članova društva u rimskom periodu do ravnopravnih i potpuno integrisanih pripadnika zajednice, odnosno da su krštenjem deca određena kao ljudi i da im je time obezbeđena formalna sahrana. Iako se zasniva na velikom broju nekropola iz 4. veka u Britaniji, ta teza ipak ima mnoge nedostatke. Naime, nedostaju analize mnogobrojnih grobova dece s ranorimskih nekropola, zatim podaci iz drugih provincija, objašnjenje šta znači „sahranjeni s poštovanjem“, definisanje starosnih skupina o kojima se govori itd.³¹⁰

Na južnoj viminacijumskoj nekropoli, od kraja 1. do sredine 3. veka praktikovano je biritualno sahranjivanje odraslih. U to vreme, deca umrla u prvoj godini života, kao i starija (od druge do devetnaeste godine) bila su gotovo isključivo inhumirana, sa izuzetkom 20 kremacija. Na osnovu raspoloživih antropoloških podataka, u okviru prve starosne skupine, tj. dece umrle u prvoj godini života (341) izdvojeno je 76 grobova dece starosti do šest meseci, pri čemu je 40% sadržavalo neku vrstu priloga (31 grob), dok su ostali (45) bili bez njih.³¹¹

Nalazi iz grobova s priložima (31) detaljno su izloženi u tabelama 35 i 36, prema njihovoj vrsti. Novac predstavlja čest nalaz. Nađeno je 18 primeraka (u 17 grobova), od čega su dva bila perforirana. Šest novčića je bilo u ustima pokojnika, u četiri groba novac se nalazio pored glave, a u pet mesto nalaza nije moglo biti određeno. Najbrojniji prilozi su keramičke posude (52): krčazi, lonci, ređe pehari i zdele, a zabeležena su i tri žiška.³¹² Među

Burials of newborns from the Late Roman period, especially those who were treated “with respect”, are sometimes understood as Christian burials. These theses represent a Christian transformation from the marginal position of children within the Roman society into equally integrated members of society. Actually, through baptising, children were determined as persons and therefore deserved a proper formal burial. Although it is based on a huge sample of 4th century cemeteries from Britain, this theory still has serious shortcomings. Namely, analyses of a large number of children’s burials from early Roman cemeteries are missing, there is a lack of data from other provinces, there is no explanation of what a “burial with respect” means, a definition of the mentioned age groups is missing, etc.³¹⁰

From the end of the 1st to the middle of the 3rd century, in the southern Viminacium cemetery, biritual burials of adults were practiced. During that period, children who passed away during their first year of life, but also older ones (who passed away between the ages of 2 and 19 years of age) were almost always inhumated, with the exception of 20 cremations. According to the anthropological data that is at our disposal, within the first age group of children who died during their first year of life (341), there were 76 graves of children who died at the age of up to 6 months. In addition, 40% of these graves contained some kind of grave goods (31 graves), while the remaining ones (45) were without them.³¹¹

Finds from these graves (31) are displayed in detail in Tables 35 and 36 and listed according to their types. Coins represent frequent finds. There were 18 pieces (in 17 graves), two of which were perforated. Six coins were discovered within the deceaseds’ mouths, in four graves coins were deposited next to the head and in five graves, the position of finds could not be determined. The most numerous finds include

310 Pearce 2001, 128.

311 Svih 76 grobova u katalogu označeno je zvezdicom pored numeracije groba. Iz ranije iznetih razloga, broj sahranjene dece do šest meseci starosti verovatno je daleko veći.

312 U okviru čitave prve starosne skupine, uključujući i novorođenčad (341 grob), zabeleženo je 57 žižaka, odnosno u 16,70% svih grobova. Ako posmatramo samo izdvojene grobove novorođenčadi (76) u kojima su registrovana tri žiška, dobijamo 3,95% sa žižkom kao prilogom u grobovima dece umrle do šestog meseca. Slična je situacija i u Italiji, gde je deci starijoj od šest meseci povremeno prilagan žižak, a takođe ih ima u grobovima dece u Galiji i Germaniji (cf. Carroll 2018, 201, ref. 114).

(France), also confirmed on other sites, within graves of stillborn children or of those who died just after they were born there were no grave goods, while they were discovered in graves of children who passed away at an age older than 6 months (Dasen 2003b, 288; Dasen 2009, 210). Carroll states that in Italian cemeteries, only children older than one year were given something precious (Carroll 2011, 108, ref. 55).

310 Pearce 2001, 128.

311 Within the catalogue and next to the graves’ numbers, all 76 graves were marked with an * (asterisk). Due to the reasons explained earlier, the number of children who passed away at an age up to six months is possibly much larger.

sedam staklenih posuda, samo je jedna guta, a ostale su balsamariji. Nađen je i gvozdeni nož jednoseklog sečiva, kao i koštana pojasna kopča. U 11 grobova dece umrle do šestog meseca života pronađeni su delovi nakita, amuleti i drugi apotropejski predmeti (tabela 36). Svi su već ranije detaljno opisani i na ovom mestu se nećemo baviti time. Namera nam je da njihovim izdvajanjem skrenemo pažnju na veliki broj grobova dojenčadi koji sadrže priloge i da ukažemo na njihov sastav jer predstavljaju suprotnost situacijama zabeleženim na nekropolama u zapadnim rimskim provincijama, gde je ta kategorija dece sahranjivana uglavnom bez priloga. To ponovo otvara pitanje regionalnih razlika u pogrebnim ritualima praktikovanim prilikom sahranjivanja dece do šestog meseca života, a uopšte i starijih pripadnika populacije.

U kontekstu mesta sahranjivanja novorođenčadi van nekropola, često je citiran, ponekad i nekritički, podatak zabeležen kod Fulgencija (*Expositio sermonum antiquorum – Objašnjenje zastarelih reči*): „Šta je *suggrundaria*? Odgovor: U davna vremena preci su nazivali *suggrundaria* mesta sahranjivanja novorođenčadi koja još nisu navršila 40 dana, zato nisu mogli biti nazvani grobovima, pošto nije bilo kostiju za kremaciju niti dovoljno velikog tela za podizanje humke. Kao što *Rutilius Geminus* govori u svojoj tragediji *Astyanax*: „Bilo bi ti bolje da potražiš mesto sahrane novorođenčeta, nego grob.“³¹³ Termin *suggrundaria*, koji koristi Fulgencije (kraj 5. ili početak 6. veka?), definisan je kao lokacija za sahranjivanje novorođenčadi oko građevina ispod nadstrešnica.³¹⁴ To je i jedina zabeležena upotreba navedenog termina, ali treba pomenuti i mišljenja da se Fulgencije ne smatra pouzdanim izvorom. Ipak, stanovišta koja se mogu izvesti iz pisanih izvora su delimično potkrepljena arheološkim dokazima iz čitavog rimskog sveta. Osim na nekropolama, grobovi novorođenčadi su nađeni i u naseljima, mada ne isključivo ispod streha, a među njima ima i sahranjene dece starije od 40 dana.³¹⁵

313 Pearce 2001, 126.

314 Značenje termina izvodi se od *suggrunda*, -ae, nadstrešnica.

315 Pearce 2001, 127, s navedenom literaturom. M. Kerol pretpostavlja da Fulgencije sugerira da su deca mlađa od 40 dana bila izvan zakona o sahranjivanju (van naselja)

pottery vessels (52): jugs, pots, rarely also beakers and bowls, but there were also three oil lamps.³¹² Among seven glass vessels, only one of them was a *guttus*, while the remaining ones were *balsamarii*. An iron knife with a single blade was unearthed, as well as a belt buckle made of bone. In 11 graves of children who passed away at the age of up to six months, there were parts of jewellery, amulets and other apotropaic grave goods (Table 36). All of them have already been described in detail and they will not be mentioned here again. By highlighting them, our intention was to point out a large number of newborns' graves that contain grave goods and to display their content, since they are different from the cemeteries from the western Roman provinces, where this category of children was mostly buried without any grave goods. This reopens the question of regional differences in funerary rituals that were followed while burying children of up to six months of age, but generally also of the older population categories.

In the context of burial places of newborns outside cemeteries, a piece of information noted by Fulgentius was often quoted, sometimes even uncritically (*Expositio sermonum antiquorum – Explanation of ancient words*): “What *suggrundaria* are. In former times the ancients called *suggrundaria* the burial places of infants who had not yet lived 40 days, because they could not be called graves since there were no bones to be cremated nor a big enough corpse for a mound to be raised. As *Rutilius Geminus* says in his tragedy *Astyanax*: ‘You would do better to look for an infant’s burial place than a grave’³¹³ The term *suggrundaria*, used by Fulgentius (end of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th century?), is defined as a location for burying newborns around structures and beneath eaves.³¹⁴ At the same time, this is the only confirmation of the term mentioned above, but it should also be mentioned that Fulgentius is not considered a reliable source. However, aspects derived from the ancient sources partially have their confirmation in ar-

312 Within the entire first age group, including newborns (341 graves), 57 lamps were recorded, which is 16.70%. If we observe only the isolated graves of newborns (76) in which 3 lamps were registered, we get 3.95% representation of lamps in the graves of children up to 6 months. The situation is similar in Italy, where children older than 6 months occasionally have lamps, and they are also found in children’s graves in Gaul and Germany (cf. Carroll 2018, 201, ref. 114).

313 Pearce 2001, 126.

314 The meaning of the term is derived from *suggrunda*, -ae, eaves.

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Kat. / Cat. no.	Broj groba / Grave number	Novac – položaj (A do H ili ?) / Coins – positions (A to H or ?)	Keramika (posude) / Pottery (dishes)	Žišci / Lamps	Balsamariji / Balsamarii	Gute / Guttii	Gvozdeni nož / Iron knife	Koššana pojasna kopčica / Bone belt buckle	Nakit i apotropejski grobni prilozii (Tabela 36) / Jewelry and apotropaic grave goods (Table 36)
2	P/G-888	1 – B							
31	VG/G-91	1 – B	1						
36	VG/G-247	1 – A						1	12
38	VG/G-261		2						3
39	VG/G-275		1		1				
40	VG/G-276	1 – G	1						
42	VG/G-303		4						
44	VG/G-323		3		1				
45	VG/G-372	1 – B	3	1					
55	VG/G-598	1 – A							
56	VG/G-603		1						
57	VG/G-611	1 – ?	1						
76	VG/G- 1025								1
82	VG/G- 1251	1 – ?							
98	VG/G- 1521	1 – A	3						
99	VG/G- 1543		4						
112	VG/G- 1999		1						
129	P/G-295	1 – ?	4		1				
132	VG/G-210				1	1			2
161	VG/G-217	1 – ?	4						1
166	VG/G-290	1 – B	2	1					4
167	VG/G-328	1 – B	1						

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NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
južna nekropola Viminacijuma

169	VG/G-361		3						4
170	VG/G-365	1 – B	1						1
171	VG/G-370		3						4
179	VG/G-760		1						
180	VG/G-764		2	1					
186	VG/G-1062					1			
195	VG/G-1337	1 – ?	4						5
206	VG/G-2072	1 – A	2	1					2
212	P/G-946			1					

Tabela 35 Nalazi iz grobova dece umrle u prvih šest meseci života
Table 35 Grave goods from graves of children who passed away at an age of up to six months

Neke nekropole pokazuju prosečnu ili čak veću zastupljenost novorođenčadi u modelu sahranjene populacije. U takvim slučajevima se čini verovatnim da su svi članovi zajednice sahranjivani na zvaničnoj nekropoli. Ali, na većini rimskih nekropola, bez obzira na njihovu veličinu, otkriveno je malo grobova dece u poređenju s njihovom procenjenom velikom smrtnošću.³¹⁶ Zbog toga se očekuje da su ona bila sahranjena na nekom drugom mestu, odnosno da su bila namerno isključena iz sahranjivanja na nekropolama, mada se ne može lako dokazati da je to bilo opšte pravilo. Tokom poslednjih 25 godina posvećena je veća pažnja istraživanju grobova mrtvorodne ili prerano rođene dece, kao i novorođenčadi, naročito izvan formalnih nekropola, u nameri da se objasni njihova nedovoljna zastupljenost na zajedničkim pogrebnim prostorima. To istovremeno pruža dokaze da najmlađi deo populacije nije smatran nečistim i potencijalno opasnim za žive. Sve više je arheološki potvrđenih primera sahranjivanja dece iz te starosne kategorije u naseljima, vilama rustikama, radionicama, unutar ili izvan kuća, uz zidove. Osim toga, ta deca nisu bila samo „uklonjena“ već udostojena pravog obreda.³¹⁷ Mesto sahranjivanja potvrđuje da su novorođenčad imala liminalni status, koji im je omogućavao da ostanu unutar naselja i u blizini kuća, te da se nije smatralo da njihova tela onečišćuju domaći prostor ili predstavljaju pretnju živima.³¹⁸

Dojenčad su u rimskom društvu možda bila kategorisana kao marginalna grupa, ali takvo određenje se ne manifestuje, kao univerzalno, njihovim sahranjivanjem izvan formalnih nekropola. Naprotiv, nalažena su na nekropo-

jer još uvek nisu bila prepoznata kao deo rimskog društva (cf. Carroll 2018, 157).

316 Pearce 2001, 125; Carroll 2011, 102–103; Carroll 2014, 160, ref. 6; Dasen 2015a, 178; Horn 2017, 300–301; Carroll 2018, 147; Županek 2019, 270.

317 Pearce 2001, 127; Baills-Talbi, Dasen 2008, 600; Dasen 2009, 209; Dasen 2010a, 305–306; Rubel, Soficaru 2021, 163–165; Carroll 2018, 157–165; istraživanja Milea (M. Millett) i Gaulanda (R. Gowland), koji su poredili grobove na nekropolama i oko ruralnih domaćinstava u istočnom Jorkširu, pokazala su da su neonatalne bebe (38–40 nedelja trudnoće) sahranjivane u okruženju domaćinstava, starija deca su generalno pokopavana na formalnim nekropolama (cf. Millett, Gowland 2015, 175–178).

318 Dasen 2010a, 305.

chaeological evidence from all over the Roman world. Besides cemeteries, graves of newborns were also discovered within settlements, although not under eaves exclusively. Among them, there were deceased children who were older than 40 days.³¹⁵

Some of the cemeteries reveal an average or even a larger presence of newborns within the population model. In those cases, it seems possible that the entire population was buried in an official necropolis. However, in the majority of Roman cemeteries and regardless of their size, a rather small number of children's graves was unearthed compared to the estimated high mortality rate of children.³¹⁶ This is why it is expected that they were buried elsewhere, actually deliberately excluded from burials in cemeteries, although this is not easy to prove as a general rule. During the last 25 years, greater attention has been paid to the research of graves belonging to children who were stillborn or prematurely or of newborns, especially outside formal cemeteries. The aim was to explain their insufficient presence on common burial grounds. At the same time, this provides proof that the youngest part of the population was not considered impure at potentially dangerous for the living. There are more and more archaeologically confirmed examples of burials of this category of children within settlements, *villae rusticae*, workshops, inside or outside of houses, or next to walls. Moreover, they were not simply “removed”, but were given a proper burial ritual.³¹⁷ The place of burying confirms that newborns possessed a limited status that enabled them to stay within a settlement and close to their homes, therefore it was not considered that their bodies would pollute their homes and represent a threat to the living.³¹⁸

315 Pearce 2001, 127 with literature. M. Carroll presumes that *Fulgentius* suggests that children under the age of 40 days were outside the law of burying (outside settlements), since they were not yet recognised as a part of the Roman society (cf. Carroll 2018, 157).

316 Pearce 2001, 125, Carroll 2011, 102–103; Carroll 2014, 160, ref. 6; Dasen 2015a, 178; Horn 2017, 300–301; Carroll 2018, 147; Županek 2019, 270.

317 Pearce 2001, 127; Baills-Talbi, Dasen 2008, 600; Dasen 2009, 209; Dasen 2010a, 305–306; Rubel, Soficaru 2021, 163–165; Carroll 2018, 157–165; Research by M. Millett and R. Gowland, who compared graves in cemeteries and around rural households in eastern Yorkshire, showed that neonatal babies (38–40th pregnancy week) were buried around the households, while older ones were generally buried in formal cemeteries (cf. Millett, Gowland 2015, 175–178).

318 Dasen 2010a, 305.

lama, sahranjena među odraslima ili koncentrisana u jednom delu, pokopana pojedinačno ili sa starijom decom i odraslima. Međutim, nisu svuda prisutna u istom broju ili odnosu. Razlozi mogu biti mnogobrojni, od toga da nijedna nekropola nije istražena u celosti, preko loše očuvanosti osteološkog materijala, do mogućnosti da su pojedina mrtvorodena, prevremeno rođena deca ili novorođenčad sahranjena na drugim mestima. Na (ne)prisutnost te kategorije na nekropolama mogli su da utiču kasniji radovi na tim prostorima još u antici, plitke rake u koje su bila ukopana, oštećenja poljoprivrednim radovima, erozijom, neprepoznavanje ostataka pri istraživanjima itd. Tim razlozima treba pridodati i odsustvo antropoloških analiza na velikom broju istraženih nekropola tokom 20. veka, pa se često susrećemo s nepreciznim podacima, koji su obično definisani kao „dete“. U takvim slučajevima proučavanje sahranjivanja dojenčadi postaje nemoguće.

Dosadašnja arheološka istraživanja Viminacijuma bila su u najvećoj meri orijentisana na njegove nekropole, što je bilo uslovljeno potrebama izgradnje termoelektrane ili širenjem površinskog kopa uglja. Osim geofizičkih ispitivanja, arheološki radovi na području grada i logora do sada su bili minimalni u poređenju s obimom istraženih nekropola. Zato ne raspolažemo podacima o eventualnom sahranjivanju dece u okviru naselja. Međutim, nova istraživanja zapadnog bedema logora Viminacijuma i njegovog odbrambenog rova tokom 2016. i 2017. godine³¹⁹ donose i nove informacije o sahranjivanju dece, ali otvaraju i pitanja u pogledu već definisanih nekropola (plan 1). Tom prilikom je između njih otkriveno 25 grobova dece i jedan odrasle osobe.³²⁰ Reč je o grobovima s konstrukcijama od opeka, koji su sadržavali malobrojne priloge (novac, ogrlica od kamenih perli, bronzana narukvica sa zvončetom,

319 Nikolić at al. 2019, 126, sl. 1. Grobovi su otkriveni uz zapadni bedem logora, s njegove spoljne strane, koji se graniči s gradom.

320 Nikolić at al. 2019, 77; Nikolić at al. 2019(1), 132–133, sl. 10. Istraživanjima 2018. i 2019. godine, koja nisu publikovana, otkriveno je još devet grobova dece, kao i tri groba osoba starih do 25 godina, što ukupno iznosi 34 groba dece, od čega 20 pripada novorođenčadi, dok je 14 grobova starije dece, ali uzrasta do 12 godina. To su rezultati preliminarnih antropoloških analiza, koje je obavio koautor ove studije I. Mikić.

In the Roman society, infants were possibly considered a marginal group, but such a categorisation does not show as universal through their burials outside formal cemeteries. On the contrary, their bodies have been discovered in cemeteries, buried among adults or concentrated in one cemetery part, buried alone or with older children and adults. However, they were not always present in the same number and ratio. There could be a number of reasons for this; the fact that not a single necropolis has been excavated to its full extent, the bad preservation state of the osseous material, or the fact that a certain number of children who were stillborn, died too early or newborns was buried elsewhere. The presence (absence) of this category in cemeteries could have been influenced by several factors like works in the area during Antiquity, the shallow grave pits they were buried in, damage due to agriculture, erosion, non-recognition of the remains during archaeological research, etc. To all of this, one should also add the absence of anthropological analyses at a large number of the cemeteries excavated during the 20th century. This is why, very often, we encounter imprecise data, with individuals usually defined simply as a “child”. Under such circumstances it is impossible to study infant burials as a separate category.

The archaeological research of Viminacium conducted so far has mostly been focused on its cemeteries, caused by the need to build the thermo powerplant and widen the coal strip mine. Besides geo-physical research, archaeological excavations conducted so far in the area of the Roman city and the legionary fort have been of minimal size compared to those performed at the cemeteries. This is why we do not have data at our disposal regarding a possible children's burial inside the settlement. However, the latest research from 2016 and 2017 of the western legionary fort wall of Viminacium and its defensive ditch³¹⁹ has revealed new information about children's burials but also raised questions regarding the already existing cemeteries (Plan 1). On this occasion, 25 children's graves were unearthed and a grave of an adult.³²⁰ They included graves with

319 Nikolić at al. 2019, 126, Fig. 1. The graves were discovered along the western legionary fort wall, on its outer side, bordering the city.

320 Nikolić at al. 2019, 77; Nikolić at al. 2019(1), 132–133, Fig. 10. During the research in 2018 and 2019, which has not yet been published, another nine graves belonging to children were unearthed and three graves belonging to persons under the age of 25 years. This makes a total of 34 children's

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Kat. / Cat. no.	Broj groba / Grave number	Perforirani novčići – pozicije (A do H) / Perforated coins – positions (A to H)	Bronzana bula / Bronze bulla	Privezak od ćilibara / Amber pendant	Bronzani privesci / Bronze pendants	Privesci od životinjskih zuba / Animal tooth pendants	Privezak od morskog puža / Sea snail pendant	Koštani privezak / Bone pendant	Perle / Beads	Bronzana narukvica / Bronze bracelet	Srebrna naušnica / Silver earring	Morske školjke / Sea shells
36	VG/G-247	1 triple perforated	1	1	1	2	1		5			
38	VG/G-261					1			1		1	
76	VG/G-1025	1 once										
132	VG/G-210	perforated										
161	VG/G-217				1				1			
166	VG/G-290								1			
169	VG/G-361							1	3			
170	VG/G-365											4
171	VG/G-370								1			
195	VG/G-1337											4
206	VG/G-2072											5
									1	1		

Tabela 36 Nakit/apotropejski prilozi iz grobova dece umrle u prvih šest meseci života
Table 36 Jewellery/apotropaic grave goods from graves of children who passed away at an age of up to six months

prsten), na osnovu kojih su datovani u 4. vek.³²¹ Do sada ispitane viminacijumske nekropole definisane su prema stranama sveta u odnosu na položaj legijskog logora i civilnog naselja, tako da otkriće ovih grobova, kod kojih su potpuno poštovana pravila sahranjivanja iz istog vremena kao na drugim viminacijumskim nekropolama, otvara pitanje njihovog značenja u uskom pojasu između bedema logora i civilnog naselja. Istraživanja u tom sektoru se nastavljaju i očekujemo da ćemo u narednim godinama dobiti jasniju sliku te situacije.³²²

Određeni broj dece je bio i kremiran, mada se čini malo verovatnim da je to imalo veći uticaj na „vidljivost“ sahranjene dece starosti do šest meseci na nekropolama, ali ne treba ni sasvim zanemariti. Uglavnom se primeri kremirane dece odnose na stariji uzrast, mada su konstatovane i kremacije dece umrle u prvoj godini (tabela 22). Od 20 kremirana deteta, koja su do sada registrovana na južnoj viminacijumskoj nekropoli, najmlađa su deca u prvoj godini (dva groba: VG/G-176, kat. 1820; VG/G-189, kat. 1821) i jedno dete staro oko dve godine (VG/G-249, kat. 1827). Kremiranje deluje destruktivnije na pokojnike dečjeg uzrasta u odnosu na odrasle. I kod inhumacija se često teško može odrediti starost dece umrle u prvih šest meseci, a u slučaju kremacija je još teže, osim ako nije u pitanju spaljivanje na nižim temperaturama, kao što je slučaj na nekropoli Worms (Worms) u Nemačkoj, a možda i u nekim slučajevima na Viminacijumu.³²³

constructions made of bricks, containing just a few grave goods (coins, a necklace made of stone beads, a bronze bracelet with a bell, and a finger ring) according to which they were dated into the 4th century.³²¹ The Viminacium cemeteries examined so far were defined according to cardinal points regarding the position of the legionary fort and the civilian settlement. This is why the discovery of these graves, in all of their aspects respecting the burial rules from that period noticed in the other Viminacium cemeteries, raises the question of their meaning in the narrow strip between the legionary fort wall and the civilian settlement. The research of this sector continues and we expect to get a clearer picture of the situation in the years to come.³²²

A certain number of children were cremated, although it seemed less probable that this could have affected the “visibility” of the children who passed away at the age of up to six months buried in the cemeteries, but this should not be fully dismissed. The examples of cremated children mostly refers to children of an older age, although cremations have been unearthed that belonged to children who passed away during the first year of life (Table 22). Of 20 cremated children registered so far in the southern Viminacium cemeteries, the youngest ones included children who passed away during their first year of life (two graves: VG/G1-176, Cat. no. 1820; VG/G1-189, Cat. no. 1821) and a child who was about two years old (VG/G1-249, Cat. no. 1827). Compared to the adult deceased, cremation affects deceased children in a more destructive way. Even with inhumations it is often difficult to determine the age of the deceased children who died at an age of up to six months, while with cremations this becomes even more difficult, unless one is dealing with cremations performed at lower temperatures. One such case was discovered at

321 Nikolić at al. 2019(1), 133.

322 Nalazi grobova u rovovima rimskih fortifikacija nisu česti. Poznati su primeri iz rovova privremenih rimskih logora u današnjoj Češkoj Republici: Mušov-Neurisen (Mušov-Neurissen) IV (Šedo 2007, 433–443) i Hulín-Pravčice (Hulín-Pravčice) (Pankowská, Kalábek 2011, 117–120); iz Jorka u Velikoj Britaniji na nalazištu Malton, mada se tu ne pominje rov, već „izvan severo-istočne kapije utvrđenja“. Iskopavanja iz 1929. godine, kada su otkriveni grobovi 32 deteta, nisu publikovana, tako da nema bližih podataka (cf. Crummy 2010, 44).

323 Cf. supra ref. 81.

graves, 20 of which belong to newborns, while the remaining 14 belong to older children, not older than 12 years of age. These are the results of preliminary anthropological research conducted by the co-author of this study, I. Mikić.

321 Nikolić at al. 2019 (1), 133.

322 Finds of graves from Roman fortification ditches are not common. Examples are known from ditches in temporary Roman camps in the territory of the modern Czech Republic: Mušov-Neurissen IV (Šedo 2007, 433–443) and Hulín-Pravčice (Pankowská, Kalábek 2011, 117–120); from York in Great Britain: Malton, although here no ditch is mentioned, but the area “outside the north-eastern fortification gate”. Excavation results from 1929, when 32 children’s graves were excavated, have not yet been published, so there is no precise data (cf. Crummy 2010, 44).

Amuleti – zaštita od zlih sila

Prilikom sahranjivanja dece korišćene su različite apotropejske i profilaktičke amajlije. Za te predmete, same ili u kombinaciji s drugima slične namene, za predstave na njima i materijale od kojih su izrađeni smatrano je da poseduju određene moći. Amajlije su mogle da budu i supstance životinjskog, biljnog ili mineralnog porekla. O magiji i medicini u rimskom dobu postoji veliki korpus arheoloških i pisanih dokaza. Na nalazištima, međutim, problem predstavlja trošnost ostataka, naročito organskih, mada i čvršći materijali često nisu imuni na proces propadanja.³²⁴ Osim toga, izvan domašaja istraživača ostaju mnogobrojni gestovi, izgovorene reči, mirisi, boje i zvuci koji su sigurno pratili primenu magijskih i medicinskih sredstava.³²⁵

Reč *amulet* potiče od latinskog termina *amuletum* (privezak, amajlija), koji spominje Plinije, a označava predmet koji čoveka štiti od neke nevolje, dakle ima apotropejsku profilaktičku ulogu.³²⁶ Za amulet su karakteristični oblik, materijal i svrha, koja može biti promenljiva, odnosno mogao je da ima i nekoliko područja delovanja. Takođe, mogao je biti udružen s drugim amuletom/amuletima, kada je posedovao određenije značenje za konkretnu namenu.³²⁷ Za prenošenje svojstva na njegovog vlasnika najvažniji je bio fizički kontakt, pa su zato amuleti nošeni oko vrata, ruke ili pojasa. Grčki termin za amajliju – περιάπτων – izveden je od glagola περι-άπτω (sebi privezati, vezati oko sebe). Osim različitog oblika, materijali od kojih su bili napravljeni antički amuleti bili su od presudne važnosti. Verovalo se da neki materijal ima određena svojstva samo kada se od njega napravi amulet, čineći tako neku vrstu simbioze.³²⁸ Na primer, za falusoidni privezak od ćilibara, bronzne ili kosti se smatralo da donosi blagostanje i sreću; lunula u kombinaciji s priveskom u obliku falusa predstavljala je simbol ženske plodnosti, povezan s mesečnim ciklusom; lunula sa zvezdom, ili sa više njih, poprimala je astralno značenje, kao simbol

the necropolis of Worms in Germany, and is possibly also true of some cases from Viminacium.³²³

Amulets – protection from evil forces

In the children's burial context we encounter different apotropaic and prophylactic amulets: images, materials or items that were considered to have possessed specific powers, either alone or combined with other items of a similar purpose. They could also have contained substances of animal, plant or mineral origin. The magic and medicine of Roman times represents a huge corpus of material and written sources. From the aspect of archaeological evidence, the main problem includes their friability, especially when it comes to organic remains, although more solid materials also often do not resist the process of decay.³²⁴ What remained beyond the reach of researchers and what certainly followed the use of magical and medical means were gestures, the words spoken, smells, colours and sounds.³²⁵

The word "*amulet*" derives from the Latin word "*amuletum*" (pendant, amulet) mentioned by Pliny, describing an object used to protect a person from trouble, therefore playing an apotropaic and prophylactic role.³²⁶ The features of an amulet are its specific shape, material and purpose that can change, since an amulet could have possessed several fields of application. It could also have been joined with another amulet/amulets and possess a more specific meaning for a specific purpose.³²⁷ Physical contact was of the utmost importance and was required to transfer its features onto its carrier and this is why amulets were worn around the neck, arm or waist. In this case, the Greek word for an amulet – περιάπτων – logically derives from the verb περι-άπτω (tie to oneself, tie around oneself). Besides the great variety of shape, the materials used for making ancient amulets were of crucial importance. It was believed that the features of specific materials become activated only when they were made into a specific amulet, in such a way creating some kind of symbiosis.³²⁸ For example, a phallus shaped pendant made of amber, bronze or bone was

324 Parker 2019, 2.

325 Dasen 2003b, 276; Parker 2019, 1.

326 Pliny, *NH* 25.115; 29.66; 30.82; 37.118.

327 Schmitz 1993, 59.

328 Dasen 2015a, 185; Causey 2019, 47, ref. 142.

323 Cf. supra ref. 81.

324 Parker 2019, 2.

325 Dasen 2003b, 276; Parker 2019, 1.

326 Pliny *NH* 25.115; 29.66; 30.82; 37.118.

327 Schmitz 1993, 59.

328 Dasen 2015a, 185; Causey 2019, 47, ref. 142.

Meseca, noći i želje za postojanošću, itd.³²⁹ Neki od njih su isticali društvenu ili rodnu pripadnost vlasnika i odgovarajuću fazu tranzicije. Mada u antičkim izvorima nema podataka o tome u kom dobu su amuleti davani deci (osim fragmenata, npr., kod Plauta),³³⁰ očekivano bi bilo da su ih dobijala na dan imenovanja, što bi upotpunilo njihov socijalni i rodni identitet (npr. bula). Tip amuleta i njegova namena zavisili su od okolnosti i bili su deo obreda zaštite namenjenog harmoničnom odrastanju. Privremeni amuleti izrađivani su za potencijalne krizne situacije, a stalni su pružali zaštitu tokom detinjstva, života ili putovanja u opasan zagrobni svet.³³¹ Po verovanju, zli demoni nisu napadali samo novorođenčad već ceo proces reprodukcije i bili su odgovorni za pobačaje i smrt žena na porođajima. Stoga ne čudi što su većinu dečjih amuleta koristile i žene, trudne ili u reproduktivnom dobu, bilo da su ih nosile do udaje, radi trajne zaštite i zdravlja, kao uspomenu ili iz drugih razloga.³³²

Oblici većine amuleta iz rimskog doba imaju izvore u grčkom klasičnom i helenističkom periodu, izuzev bule, koja je etrurskog porekla. Tako su u grobovima iz 4. i 3. veka pre n. e., uglavnom dece ili žena, nalaženi amuleti u obliku dvojne sekire, Heraklove batine, školjki, lunule, otvorene šake, različitih životinja (žabe, kornjače, delfina, pčele, lavova, itd.), zatim cilindrični (s lamelom), staklene perle s „okom“, probušeni novčići, privesci od zuba životinja itd. Takođe, predstave na reljefima, skulpturama, slikanim vazama iz klasičnog i helenističkog perioda pokazuju da su starost i pol osoba koje su nosile amajlice bili isti kao u rimskom dobu.

Način nošenja amuleta u rimskim provincijama najbolje dokumentuju čuveni fajumski portreti. Iako su na većini prikazani odrasli

believed to bring well-being and happiness; a crescent combined with a phallus represented a symbol of feminine fertility and it was connected to the female lunar cycle; a crescent combined with a star or several of them were given an astral meaning as symbols of the Moon, night and a wish for persistence, etc.³²⁹ Some of them determined the social or gender identity of the owner and a matching transition phase. Although in ancient sources there is no data that would explain at what point amulets were given to children (except fragments, for example in Plautus's),³³⁰ it would be logical that children were given some amulets on the day they were given names, which would complete their social and gender identity (for example a *bullae*). Types of amulets and their purposes depended on these circumstances and they were parts of the ritual of protection intended for a harmonious period of growing up. Temporary amulets were made for potential crisis situations, while permanent amulets offered protection during childhood, life or a trip into the dangerous afterlife.³³¹ It was believed that evil demons did not attack only newborns, but the entire reproduction process and they were responsible for miscarriages and death of women during childbirth. This is why it is not surprising that the majority of children's amulets were also worn by women, either pregnant or in their reproductive age until they got married, in order to offer permanent protection and good health, as a souvenir or for many other reasons.³³²

The shapes of the majority of amulets used during Roman times have their origin in either the classical Greek or Hellenistic age (except for *bullae*, which are of Etruscan origin). This is why in graves from the 4th and the 3rd century BC, mostly belonging to children or women, there were amulets in the shape of a double axe, Hercules' club, shells, crescents, an opened palm of a hand, different animals (frog, turtle, dolphin, bees, lions etc.), a cylindrical amulet (with a lamella), glass beads with an "eye", perforated coins, pendants made of animals' teeth, etc. Furthermore,

329 Schmitz 1993, 59; Carroll 2018, 106. Izuzetan primer kombinacije dva srebrna lunulasta priveska i perforiranog novčića s reversnim motivom polumeseca i zvezda predstavlja ogrlica iz groba odrasle osobe s viminacijumske južne nekropole (VG/G-596); cf. Vojvoda 2015, 54–56; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, kat. 505.

330 Cf. *infra* ref. 88. Mada se i kod Plauta kao vreme poklanjanja amuleta navodi „rođen dan“, što nije sasvim određeno.

331 Dasen 2009, 207–208; Dasen 2015a, 185; Causey 2019, 48.

332 Dasen 2003b, 278, ref. 15.

329 Schmitz 1993, 59; Carroll 2018, 106. A necklace from a grave of an adult person from the southern Viminacium cemetery (VG/G-596) represents an exceptional case of the combining of two silver crescent shaped pendants and a perforated coin with a reverse motif of a crescent and stars; cf. Vojvoda 2015, 54–56; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, Cat. no. 505.

330 Cf. *infra* ref. 88. Although here also, "birthday" is stated as the time of giving amulets, which is not very specific.

331 Dasen 2009, 207–208; Dasen 2015a, 185; Causey 2019, 48.

332 Dasen 2003b, 278, ref. 15.

muškarci, amuleti se uočavaju na 114 portreta odraslih žena i dečaka, najčešće samostalno,³³³ okačeni na metalni lanac ili kožnu (?) vrpču. Ovi portreti pokojnika pokazuju da su lunule bile omiljene kod žena, a da su bule nosili dečaci. Iznenađuje, međutim, pojava perforiranih novčića na portretima žena, budući da su većinom nalaženi u grobovima dece. Imajući u vidu da su na zlatnim ili srebrnim lamelama uglavnom ispisivana muška imena, veliki broj portreta dečaka prikazanih s njima možda pokazuje da su bile naručivane za dečake, a ne za odrasle muškarce.³³⁴

Neke pretpostavke V. Dasen, do kojih je došla posmatranjem amuleta kao priloga u grobovima dece, delimično bi mogle da se primene i na slučajeve s Viminacijuma. Po jednoj od njih, određene vrste skupocenih amuleta bile su rezervisane za nošenje tokom života i prenošene su s generacije na generaciju. Kao primer, autorka navodi retku pojavu zlatnih bula i lunula u grobovima dece, iako je njihova upotreba, prema ikonografskim svedočanstvima, bila veoma popularna.³³⁵ Međutim, teško se može dokazati da deca namerno nisu bila sahranjivana sa svojim amajlijama ili da su neki obredi odgovarali različitim starosnim skupinama i na taj način odražavali rituale prelaza ili stepen socijalne integracije dece. Repertor amajlija kod svih kategorija dece je prilično ujednačen i ne dozvoljava diferencijaciju po uzrastu. Nažalost, nema dovoljno antropoloških podataka da pretpostavku o rodnoj diferencijaciji amuleta potvrdimo i na viminacijumskoj nekropoli.

the age and gender of those wearing amulets and depicted on reliefs, sculptures, or painted vases from the classical and Hellenistic period correspond well with those from the Roman times.

The way of wearing amulets in Roman provinces is best documented by the famous Fayum portraits. Although they mostly bear images of adult men, amulets are depicted in 114 portraits of adult women and boys, and are mostly worn alone³³³, with a metal chain or a leather (?) string. These portraits of the deceased show that crescents were rather popular with women, while *bullae* were worn by boys. However, the appearance of perforated coins in portraits of women is quite surprising, since they were mostly discovered in children's graves. Regarding the fact that the majority of gold or silver lamellas bore male names, the large number of boys' portraits depicted with them possibly indicates that they were ordered for male children and not for grown up men.³³⁴

Some presumptions made by V. Dasen while observing amulets as grave goods in children's graves could partially be applied in cases from Viminacium. According to one of them, specific kinds of precious amulets were reserved for the living and they were passed on from generation to generation. As an example, she highlights a rare appearance of gold *bullae* and crescents in children's graves, although, according to iconographic testimonies, their usage was rather popular.³³⁵ However, it is difficult to prove that children were deliberately buried without their lucky charms or those specific rituals corresponded to different age groups and, in such a way, reflected transition rituals or the level of social integrity of a child. The amulet repertoire with all the children's age groups is rather balanced and it does not allow a differentiation according to age. Unfortunately, there is also insufficient anthropological data to allow us to

333 Faraone 2018, 47, ref. 123. Parlasca 1969; autor je izdvojio 134 portreta na kojima osobe nose predmete koji su opšte priznati kao amuleti. Međutim, u 20 slučajeva je i sam izrazio sumnju u to da su zaista u pitanju amuleti. Ovde smo zato izneli podatke za 114 portreta na kojima je to nedvosmisleno.

334 Faraone 2018, 47, ref. 125. Zabeležena je pojava sledećih amuleta: lunule kod 36 žena i jednog dečaka, lamele kod tri žene, 18 dečaka i jedne devojčice, bule kod tri dečaka, novac ili novac u medaljonu kod 32 žene, *gorgoneia* kod 17 žena i jednog dečaka, uparene biste Izide i Serapisa kod pet dečaka.

335 Dasen 2003b, 288; Dasen 2009, 208; Dasen 2015a, 195–196; istog mišljenja je i Hope 2009, 83.

333 Faraone 2018, 47, ref. 123. In 1969, he separated 134 portraits in which people are depicted wearing items that are generally considered amulets. However, in 20 cases he himself expressed doubt about them actually being amulets. This is why here data was given only for 114 portraits with which it was without any doubt.

334 Faraone 2018, 47, ref. 125. The appearance of the following amulets was noticed: crescents with 36 women and a boy; a horizontal amulet capsule with 3 women, 18 boys and a girl; *bullae* with 3 boys; coins or coins in a medallion with 32 women; *gorgoneia* with 17 women and a boy; pairs of busts of Isis and Serapes with 5 boys.

335 Dasen 2003b, 288; Dasen 2009, 208; Dasen 2015a, 195–196; Hope is also of the same opinion, 2009, 83.

Predmeti u magiji i profilaksi

U primarnoj funkciji, novac je u grobovima povezan s putovanjem u Podzemlje, a potiče od verovanja u neophodnost plaćanja Haronu za prevoz preko Stiksa.³³⁶ Stavljanje novca u usta pokojnika, da bi dotakao dušu, blisko je povezano s vremenom smrti, kada duša započinje svoje putovanje na drugi svet. Stoga se polaganje novčića može shvatiti kao obred prelaza, zatvaranjem prolaza između živih i mrtvih, pre nego praksom prilikom sahranjivanja.³³⁷

Primeri pojave novca u grobovima dece na viminacijumskoj južnoj nekropoli ukazuju i na druge moguće aspekte njegove upotrebe. To se najpre odnosi na grobove sa više priloženih novčića. Dva novčića u grobu mogu da asociraju na putovanje duše s ovog sveta i njeno ponovno rađanje, kao što su Psihi za odlazak u Podzemlje (smrt) i povratak (vaskrsnuće) nužno bila potrebna dva novčića za Harona i dva mamca za Kerbera.³³⁸ Kada su u pitanju nalazi više novčića u grobu (4–11), možda se može govoriti o novcu namenjenom za „troškove“ na putovanju u drugi svet (*viaticum*) ili za život na drugom svetu. Na viminacijumskim nekropolama, u grobovima dece novac je najviše nalažen u ustima ili oko glave pokojnika (grafikon 5). Položaj novčića u ustima, na oku ili blizu ruku je konstatovan u najvećem broju slučajeva, što podupire pretpostavku da su stavljani tamo gde ih je mrtva osoba mogla lako pronaći ili tamo odakle ih je Haron mogao uzeti. U svesti onih koji sahranjuju, fizički oblik tela ostajao je izuzetno važan i nakon smrti.³³⁹

U grobovima dece novac se javlja i u sekundarnoj upotrebi, odnosno u funkciji amuleta. Geometrijski oblici, naročito solarni diskovi, točkovi ili novčići s promenjenom namenom, amuleti su

confirm the presumption of amulet gender differentiation to be applicable in the Viminacium necropolis.

Items of magic and prophylactics

In their primary function, coins in graves are connected to the trip into the Underworld. This derives from the belief that one needs to pay Charon to take the deceased across the river Styx.³³⁶ The custom of placing a coin within the mouth of the deceased, with the intention of touching the soul, is closely connected with the moment of its placing – actually the moment of death, when the soul was believed to commence its trip to the other world. This is a crucial fact for understanding the custom, since it makes the placing of the coin a transition ritual, closing the portal between the living and the dead, rather than a burial ritual.³³⁷

The examples of coins in children's graves of the southern Viminacium cemetery also show other possible aspects of their usage. In the first place this refers to graves with several deposited coins. Two coins in a single grave can be associated with the journey of the soul from this world and its rebirth in the next. Just like the journey of Psycho into the Underworld, who necessarily needed two coins for Charon to depart (death) and return (resurrection), but also two baits for Cerberus.³³⁸ When it comes to finds of several coins in a single grave (4–11 pieces), we can possibly speak of money needed for “expenses” during the journey to the Underworld (*viaticum*) or for living in it. In children's graves from the Viminacium cemeteries, coins were mostly discovered in the mouth or close to the head of the deceased (Graph 5). In most cases, the position of coins within the mouth, on eyes or close to the hands was noticed, supporting the presumption that they were deposited in positions where the deceased could easily find them or where Charon

336 Za tumačenje antičkih izvora koji svedoče o povezanosti novca u grobu i putovanja u Podzemlje cf. Stevens 1991, 218–223 i Thüry 1999, 17–30, s navedenom literaturom.

337 Stevens 1991, 221. Pored klasičnog tumačenja „Haronovog obola“ kao „karte u jednom pravcu“ za putovanje u carstvo mrtvih, pojavljuju se i druge interpretacije, po kojima novac simbolizuje jednakost ljudi u smrti i dalje razvijaju ideju da je *pars pro toto* pokojnikovog blagostanja za života (cf. Borza 1955, 142; Stevens 1991, 220; Găzdac-Alföldy, Găzdac 2013, 296).

338 Găzdac-Alföldy, Găzdac 2013, 296, 299–300.

339 U južnoj rimskoj Britaniji, u grobovima dece novčići su najčešće u ustima, na oku ili blizu desne ruke, cf. Crummy 2010, 59.

336 For interpretation of ancient sources that give testimony to the connection of coins in graves and the journey into the Underworld cf. Stevens 1991, 218–223 and Thüry 1999, 17–30 with literature.

337 Stevens 1991, 221. Besides the classical interpretation of “Charon's obol” as a one-way ticket for the journey into the realm of the dead, there are also other interpretations, symbolising equality of people in death and further developing the idea of *pars pro toto* of the deceased's well-being that he/she possessed during their lifetime (cf. Borza 1955, 142; Stevens 1991, 220; Găzdac-Alföldy, Găzdac 2013, 296).

338 Găzdac-Alföldy, Găzdac 2013, 296, 299–300.

koji imaju dugu istoriju na drevnom Bliskom istoku i Mediteranu. Novac u toj sekundarnoj upotrebi koristi se kao amulet od davnina zbog svoje odgovarajuće veličine i kružnog oblika. Najranije dokaze nalazimo u grobovima iz grčkog klasičnog perioda u Apoloniji, gde su tri perforirana novčića poslužila kao amuleti na niskama, zajedno s perlama, probušenim morskim školjkama i životinjskim zubima. Od helenističkog doba, novac se pojavljuje na medaljonima, fiksiran u ramove od zlata ili srebra. Koriste se novčići Aleksandra Velikog, na čijim je aversima prikazan kao moćni vladar, ako ne i kao božanstvo. Na reversima su česte predstave povezane s pobedama ili same boginje Nike, a kasnije i druge, sa sličnom propagandnom namenom.³⁴⁰

Novčići su bili perforirani ili uloženi u ramove od plemenitih metala, pa su korišćeni kao nakit, ali je pitanje da li su bili amuleti. Bilo je objašnjenja da su perforirani novčići nošeni u nedostatku dragog ili poludragog kamenja, u želji da se vlasnik dodvori caru ili njegovoj porodici, ili zbog potrebe za gomilanjem zlata ili srebra u vreme inflacije.³⁴¹ Ipak, o ulozi novčića kao amuleta najviše svedočanstava pruža njihovo prisustvo u grobovima dece, gde su nalaženi s drugim tradicionalnim amuletima. Perforirani novčići činili su delove niski bilo za odvratanje pažnje deteta (zvečka) bilo s funkcijom amajlije koja odbija zle duhove.³⁴²

Mnogi primeri takve upotrebe novca posvedočeni su u grobovima dece na viminacijumskoj južnoj nekropoli.³⁴³ Perforirani novčići činili su delove niski, zajedno s bulama, zvončićima, falusoidnim privescima, privescima od ćilibara, morskih školjki ili puževa, zuba divljih ili domaćih životinja i različitim perlama i bronzanim alkama (sl. 7–19; tabela 31).

Već je skrenuta pažnja na važnost sekundarnog simboličkog značenja ponude novca u grobovima, odnosno smisla reversnih predstava i potrebe da se one posmatraju kao izraz ili simbol verovanja, osećanja i želja onoga ko ga je ostavio.³⁴⁴ Navedene analize odnose se

could find and take them. In the minds of those who carried out the burial, the physical shape of the body remained extremely important even after death.³³⁹

In children's graves coins were found also in a secondary usage, playing the role of amulets. Geometrical shapes, especially solar discs, wheels or coins with an altered purpose represent amulets that possess a long history in the ancient Middle East and the Mediterranean. Ever since ancient times and owing to their suitable size and circular shape, coins were used as amulets in this kind of secondary usage. The earliest example of this is encountered in graves from the classical Greek period in *Apollonia*, in which three perforated coins were discovered as amulets on strings together with beads, pierced sea shells or animal's teeth. From the Hellenistic period, coins appear as medallions, inlaid into frames made of gold or silver. Coins of Alexander the Great were used, with obverses depicting a powerful ruler, if not even a deity. On the reverses there were often images connected to victories or the goddess Nike herself, but later also other images with similar propaganda purposes.³⁴⁰

Coins were either perforated or inlaid into frames made of precious metals and we know that they were worn as jewellery, but how do we know if they were worn like amulets? There have been attempts to explain that perforated coins were worn in the absence of precious or semi-precious stones, as a wish to compliment the emperor or his family or as a need to stabilise gold or silver during times of inflation.³⁴¹ Nevertheless, the greatest testimony to coins in the role of amulets was their discovery in children's graves, where they were found together with other, traditional amulets. Perforated coins made up parts of strings either to distract the attention of a child (as a rattle) or as lucky charms that repelled evil spirits.³⁴²

Numerous examples of this kind of coin usage have been confirmed in children's graves from the southern Viminacium necropolis.³⁴³ Perforated coins made parts of strings together with *bullae*, bells, phallus shaped pendants, amber pendants, sea shells or snails, wild or domestic animal teeth and different

340 Faraone 2018, 40, ref. 66; 43, ref. 90–93.

341 Faraone 2018, 44, ref. 95.

342 Dasen 2003b, 287, ref. 83; Crummy 2010, 46–50, fig. 9.

343 Vojvoda 2015, 53–78; Vojvoda 2018, 65–87.

344 Za analize uloge reversnih predstava na novcu na primerima nekropola u Brigeciju (*Brigetio*) i Apulumu

339 In the south of Roman Britain, in children's graves, coins were usually found in their mouths, on their eyes or close to the right hand, cf. Crummy 2010, 59.

340 Faraone 2018, 40, ref. 66; 43, ref. 90–93.

341 Faraone 2018, p. 44, ref. 95.

342 Dasen 2003b, 287, ref. 83; Crummy 2010, 46–50, Fig. 9.

343 Vojvoda 2015, 53–78; Vojvoda 2018, 65–87.

na nekropole u celini, ne posebno na grobove dece, ali su pokazale da lokalne razlike postoje čak i u odnosu na susedne rimske provincije.³⁴⁵ Na simboliku reversnih predstava u grobovima dece iz južnog dela rimske Britanije, iz Kolčestera (Colchester) i Vinčestera (Winchester), skrenula je pažnju N. Krami,³⁴⁶ smatrajući da su pojedina božanstva i personifikacije izabrane kako zbog svojih atributa tako i kao prikazi alternativnih roditelja umrlog deteta, koji ga prate i štite u pogrebnom životu. Pošto se ikonografija menja tokom 4. veka, Krami zaključuje da tada predstave odražavaju ideju uskrsnuća i ponovnog rođenja.³⁴⁷ Slična razmišljanja izneli su i Perasi (Perassi) i Žedi (Jaeggi) o novcu nađenom u grobovima dece, na čijem je reversu prikazana *Felicitas*, smatrajući da ona obezbeđuje materinsku zaštitu.³⁴⁸

Bula je etrurskog porekla, a književni izvori navode da je bila oznaka socijalne razlike – dečaci iz elitnih porodica nosili su zlatnu bulu, dok su oni s nižim socijalnim statusom imali kožnu verziju, nazvanu *lorum*. Sadržaj bula verovatno je bio isti, ali je materijal od koga su bile napravljene označavao različit društveni položaj.³⁴⁹ Početkom Principata, taj običaj je bio proširen i na porodice slobodnih građana, čiji su sinovi od tada smeli da nose bulu. Bula, dakle, nije bila amulet sama za sebe, već je u njoj čuvana amuletska ili profilaktička supstanca. Iz izvora saznajemo da je ponekad sadržavala minijaturnu predstavu falusa ili lekove (*remedia*), kao što je oko zelenog guštera za ublažavanje bola u oku.³⁵⁰ Kao sadržaji bula za-

beads and bronze rings (Fig. 7–19; Table 31).

Earlier it was highlighted how important it was to offer coins as grave goods with their secondary, symbolic meaning, referring to the meaning of their reverse images and the need for them to be observed as an expression or symbol of the beliefs, feelings or wishes of the one who deposited them.³⁴⁴ The analyses mentioned before refer to cemeteries as a whole and not particularly to children's graves, but they have shown that there were local differences even in neighbouring Roman provinces.³⁴⁵ N. Crummy pointed out that the symbolism of the reverse images on coins discovered in children's graves from the southern part of Roman Britain (Colchester, Winchester),³⁴⁶ considering the reverse images depicting deities and personifications, were chosen both for their attributes and as images of alternative parents of the deceased child that were to follow and protect the child in the afterlife. Since, during the 4th century, iconography changed, Crummy concludes that in that period, images reflected the idea of resurrection and rebirth.³⁴⁷ Similar contemplations regarding finds of coins in children's graves with the reverse image of *Felicitas* were given by Perassi and Jaeggi, since they considered her to represent maternal protection.³⁴⁸

The bulla is of Etruscan origin, while written sources reveal that the bulla was a sign of social difference – boys from elite families wore a gold bulla, while those of the lower social status wore a leather version of a *bulla* called a *lorum*. The content of *bullae* was most likely the same, but the material they were made of indicated a different social status.³⁴⁹ With the

(*Apulum*), cf. Găzdac-Alföldy, Găzdac 2009, 161–173; s nekropola u Karnuntumu, Akvinkumu i Matrici, cf. Găzdac 2014, 95–140; za južnu viminacijumsku nekropolu, cf. Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 37–45; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2017, 56–69.

345 Vojvoda, Mrđić 2017, 64–66.

346 Crummy, 2010, 60–77.

347 Crummy 2010, 60–61, fig. 13 s grupama reversa: A) ženski/materinski, B) muški/ratnički i C) ponovno rođenje/uskrsnuće.

348 Perassi 1999, 66; Jaeggi 2012, 237.

349 Prema rimskoj tradiciji, zlatnu bulu nosili su najpre samo dečaci iz kraljevske porodice Tarkvinija, prvih etrurskih kraljeva u Rimu, ali je postepeno odobreno da je nose i dečaci iz senatorskog i konjaničkog staleža. Do kraja Republike, čini se da su svi slobodno rođeni dečaci već mogli nositi bulu; cf. Dasen 2003b, 284; Dasen 2015a, 195; Faraone 2018, 52, ref. 142; 52, ref. 45.

350 Dasen 2003b, 285, ref. 66; Dasen 2015a, 194, ref. 70; Fa-

344 For analyses of the role of reverse images on coins on the examples of cemeteries in *Brigetio* and *Apulum*, cf. Găzdac-Alföldy, Găzdac 2009, 161–173; from the cemeteries in *Carnuntum*, *Aquincum* and *Matrica*, cf. Găzdac 2014, 95–140; for the southern Viminacium cemetery, cf. Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 37–45; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2017, 56–69.

345 Vojvoda, Mrđić 2017, 64–66.

346 Crummy, 2010, 60–77.

347 Crummy 2010, 60–61, Fig. 13 with reverse groups: A) female/maternal, B) male/warrior and C) rebirth/resurrection.

348 Perassi 1999, 66; Jaeggi 2012, 237.

349 According to Roman tradition, gold *bullae* were initially worn only by boys from the royal family of Taquinii, the first Etrurian kings in Rome, but, gradually, it was allowed for boys from the senatorial and equiline social stratum to wear them. By the end of the Republican period, it seems that all of the free born boys were allowed to wear a *bulla*; cf. Dasen 2003b, 284; Dasen 2015a, 195; Faraone 2018, 52, ref. 142; 52, ref. 45.

beleženi su različiti biljni produkti, obično umotani u tekstil, npr. suvo grožđe, trn ruže, zevalica, medicinske biljke, korijander i anis.³⁵¹ U jednoj buli iz Akvinkuma nalazio se Trajanov novac uvijen u srebrnu lamelu,³⁵² a zabeležene su i bule s pčelinjim voskom ili sa zlatnom figuricom egipatsko-grčkog boga tišine Harpokrata, zamotanom u lovorov list.³⁵³

Na likovnim spomenicima, kao što su reljefi ili skulpture, većinom su predstavljeni dečaci s bulama, što je u skladu s navodima iz antičkih izvora.³⁵⁴ S druge strane, prikazi devojčica s bulom nisu poznati. Međutim, arheološka istraživanja nedvosmisleno su dokazala prisutnost bula i u grobovima devojčica, što znači da su ih i one nosile. B. Migotti je analizirala 67 bula nađenih na teritoriji provincije Panonije; u 16 slučajeva je raspolagala antropološkim podacima o pokojnicima kojima je priloženo 15 bula, pri čemu je šest primeraka bilo u grobovima dece neodređene starosti, tri uz dečake, pet uz devojčice i po jedna uz odraslu ženu i odraslog muškarca.³⁵⁵ Na viminacijumskoj južnoj nekropoli nije utvrđen pol sahranjene dece, ali je zabeleženo prisustvo bula u grobovima odraslih žena i muškaraca (sedam muškaraca i četiri žene između 20 i 60 godina).³⁵⁶ Sahranjivanje devojčica i odraslih osoba oba pola s bulama ukazuje na to da je ova vrsta amuleta imala izvesnu ulogu u svetu devojčica i devojaka,³⁵⁷ ali i pojedinih kategorija odraslih.³⁵⁸ Do sada registrovanih 148 bula sa juž-

beginning of the Principate, this tradition was also spread to families of free citizens, whose sons were allowed to wear a *bullae* from that period onwards. Therefore, the itself did not represent an amulet, but a container for an amulet or prophylactic substance kept within it. Sources reveal that they sometimes contained miniature phalli or medicines (*remedia*), such as a medicament made of green lizards, intended to ease eye pain.³⁵⁰ As contents of *bullae* there were different herbal products, usually wrapped in textiles, like raisins, a rose thorn, snapdragon, or medical herbs like coriander and anise.³⁵¹ A *bullae* discovered in *Aquincum* also contained a coin of Trajan wrapped in a silver lamella,³⁵² but there have also been finds of *bullae* with beeswax or with a gold figurine of the Egyptian-Greek god of silence Harpocrates, wrapped in a laurel leaf.³⁵³

In most cases, artistic images like reliefs or sculptures illustrate boys with *bullae*, which is in accordance with data revealed from ancient written sources.³⁵⁴ On the other hand, images of girls with *bullae* are not known, although this in contrast with archaeological finds, since they clearly showed the presence of *bullae* in girls' graves. Of the 67 *bullae* from Pannonia analysed by B. Migotti, she had anthropological data at her disposal for 16 of them, with 15 deposited *bullae*. Among them, six *bullae* were found deposited in graves of children of undetermined age, three in boys' graves, five in girls' graves, and single cases of one next to an adult woman and one to an adult man.³⁵⁵ In the southern Viminacium cemetery, we do not have a gender structure of children's graves at our disposal, but the presence of *bullae* in graves of adult women and men was observed (7 men and 4 women, between the ages of 20 and 60 years).³⁵⁶ Examples of burying girls and adult persons of both genders with

raone 2018, 83, ref. 47.

351 Dasen 2015a, 194.

352 Kotansky 1994, 91, no. 20.

353 Migotti 2015, 272.

354 Dasen 2003b, 284, ref. 58; Szilágyi 2005, 20, ref. 52.

355 Migotti 2007, 207, ref. 45. Migotti najpre navodi da je raspolagala antropološkim podacima u 14 slučajeva, ali malo dalje, na istoj strani, kada ih analizira prema starosti i polu, navodi 15 bula i 16 pokojnika. Primerak 6.1 naveden je u dve skupine (tri dečaka i pet devojčica), s obzirom na to da nije bilo jasno kojem od dvoje dece je bula pripadala.

356 U devet grobova inhumiranih i dva groba kremiranih odraslih individua.

357 Faraone 2018, 2018, 50.

358 Primer starca koji nosi bulu nalazimo u jednom odlomku kod Plutarha: Plutarch, *Moralia* I.53: „Kako to da do današnjeg dana, dok oni održavaju igre na Kapitolu, puštaju Sardinjane da prodaju derući se na sav glas, dok neki starac ide ispred svih šegačeći se sa dečjom drangulijom koju nazivaju bulom oko vrata?“

350 Dasen 2003b, 285, ref. 66; Dasen 2015a, 194, ref. 70; Faraone 2018, 83, ref. 47.

351 Dasen 2015a, 194.

352 Kotansky 1994, 91, no. 20.

353 Migotti 2015, 272.

354 Dasen 2003b, 284, ref. 58; Szilágyi 2005, 20, ref. 52.

355 Migotti 2007, 207, ref. 45. Migotti initially states that she had anthropological data at her disposal for 14 graves, but further on, on the same page, where she analyses them according to age and gender, she mentions 15 *bullae* and 16 deceased. The piece 6.1 is listed within two groups (three boys and five girls), since it was not clear to which of the two children the *bullae* belonged.

356 In nine inhumation graves and two cremations belonging to adults.

ne nekropole Viminacijuma³⁵⁹ svedoči da je ova vrsta nalaza znatno prisutnija na području Gornje Mezije nego u drugim rimskim provincijama. Ta činjenica, kao i tekuća arheološka istraživanja koja će pružiti dodatne podatke, stvara uslove za izradu posebne studije, koja će neminovno upotpuniti sliku o upotrebi bula u rimskom dobu.³⁶⁰

U stručnoj literaturi je otvoreno i pitanje da li je lunula kod devojčica bila ekvivalent dečaćkoj buli.³⁶¹ Za zamensku ulogu ta dva amuleta ilustrativne su predstave mladića na freskama u kasnoantičkoj grobnici iz Beške, na kojima jedan od prinosisilaca oko vrata nosi torkves s bulom, a drugi s lunulom. Protumačeni su kao mladići koji nisu stariji od 17 godina, koji još nisu skinuli dečaćku togu (*toga praetexta*), a s njom i bulu.³⁶² Nedavni nalaz bule i dva lunulasta priveska iz groba novorođenčeta na nekropoli u Štrbincima, prema Migotti, stvara uslove za razumevanje lunule kao nakita simbolički srodnog buli. S jedne strane, lunula pojačava dejstvo bule, a s druge, njihova zajednička pojava u grobu, kao i na fresci iz Beške, upućuje na mogućnost njihove zamenske upotrebe.³⁶³

Lunula se često pojavljuje samostalno ili s drugim amuletima koje nose deca, žene ili domaće životinje.³⁶⁴ Jedan je od najrasprostranjenijih i najdugovečnijih oblika korišćenih u drevnom svetu. Ikonografski i arheološki podaci potvrđuju da se lunule javljaju još u 3. milenijumu u Mesopotamiji, odakle su, preko Male Azije, kasnije prenete na mediteranski prostor. U Grčkoj su poznate od bronzanog doba, a u helenističkom periodu su se raširile na južnu Italiju i severne obale Crnog mora. Njihov nepromenjeni oblik je opstao tokom celog rimskog perioda, kada su bile osobito popularne.³⁶⁵

bullae as grave goods indicate that these kinds of amulets played a specific role in the world of girls and young women,³⁵⁷ but also in those of specific categories of adults.³⁵⁸ Among the finds registered so far, 148 *bullae* from the southern Viminacium cemetery³⁵⁹ give testimony to the great majority in frequency of these kinds of finds in the territory of Upper Moesia compared to all the other Roman provinces. This fact, together with the current archaeological research that will reveal further finds, will create conditions for a special study that would certainly shed more light on the usage of *bullae* during Roman times.³⁶⁰

In expert literature there is the question as to whether crescents with girls represent equals to boys' *bullae*.³⁶¹ Images indicating that these two amulets could take the place of each other were found in the Late Roman tomb in Beška, on frescos showing young men. One of the servants has a torque with a bulla around his neck, while the other wears a crescent. They were identified as young men, not older than 17 years of age, those who had not yet discarded the boys' toga (*toga praetexta*) and also the bulla with it.³⁶² According to B. Migotti, the recent discovery of two *bullae* and two crescent shaped pendants from a grave in the necropolis in Štrbinci enables us to understand the crescent as a piece of jewellery that is symbolically related to a bulla. On the one hand, in such a way, the crescent amplifies the impact of a bulla, while on the other hand, their common appearance in graves, as well as on the fresco from Beška, implies the possibility of them replacing each other.³⁶³

The crescent was often worn alone or in combi-

359 Treba imati u vidu da su u toku nova zaštitna arheološka istraživanja na prostoru južne nekropole i da se očekuje značajan priliv svih vrsta priloga. Osim toga, tom broju treba dodati i bule s drugih viminacijumskih nekropola, cf. Stojić 2015.

360 Osim novih istraživanja na južnoj nekropoli, u toku je obrada nalaza sa istočne nekropole Viminacijuma, na kojoj su istraživanja završena.

361 Migotti 2007, 192, ref. 16.

362 Marijanski-Manojlović 1987, 26, 28–29, sl. 7, 9.

363 Migotti 2007, 192–193, 199, kat. 1.2.

364 Wrede 1975, 246.

365 Wrede 1975, 249; Jovanović 1978, 44–45; Поповић

357 Faraone 2018, 2018, 50.

358 An example of an old man wearing a bulla is encountered in a chapter by Plutarch: Plutarch, *Moralia* I.53: "Why is it that to this very day, while they hold the games at the Capitol, they set Sardians to sale by a crier, and a certain old man goes before in way of derision, carrying a child's bauble about his neck, which they call *bullae*?"

359 One should consider that there are archaeological excavations currently being conducted in the area of the southern Viminacium cemetery and that a large quantity of all kinds of finds is expected. Additionally, *bullae* from other Viminacium cemeteries should be added to this number cf. Stojić 2015.

360 Besides current excavations in the southern cemetery, finds from the eastern Viminacium cemetery are currently being examined, since the research thereof is now finished.

361 Migotti 2007, 192, ref. 16.

362 Marijanski-Manojlović 1987, 26, 28–29, Sl. 7, 9.

363 Migotti 2007, 192–193, 199, Cat. no. 1.2.

Odlomak iz Plautove komedije *Epidicus* sugerije da su očevi poklanjali lunule devojkama na rođendane.³⁶⁶ Žene, deca oba pola i domaće životinje, koji su, za razliku od muškaraca, smatrani posebno slabim i podložnim zlim uticajima, nosili su lunulaste priveske radi zaštite.³⁶⁷ Razumljiva je povezanost između boginja zaštitnica materinstva i magijskog dejstva lunule na plodnost žena, odnosno na menstrualni ciklus i trudnoću. O odnosu takvog amuleta s lunarnim božanstvima, kao što su Luna ili Selena, Wrede smatra da ona imaju samo sekundarni karakter.³⁶⁸ S druge strane, Dasen dozvoljava povezanost amuleta tog oblika s lunarnom boginjom Artemidom–Selenom, koja je nadzirala odrastanje, materinstvo i rađanje ljudi, ali i životinja.³⁶⁹ U grobovima dece na viminacijumskoj južnoj nekropoli nađena su samo tri lunulasta priveska, i to jedan od ćilibara, zajedno sa srebrnom bulom, dok su druga dva bronzani privesci na bronzanim torkvesima. Samo za pokojnika iz groba s bronzanom lunulom na torkvesu moglo se odrediti da se radi o detetu starom između pet i devet godina. U ostala dva groba sahranjena su deca neodređene starosti.

Predstave falusa razvile su se od itifaličnih osobenosti vezanih za Prijapa, herme i božanstva prirode (Pan, Silvan, Faun), preuzimajući nešto od njihove dvostruke prirode – s jedne strane zaštitničke i fertile, a s druge agresivne. Na taj način, oblik falusa postao je apotropejski instrument koji je rado korišćen kod Grka i Rimljana.³⁷⁰ Njegove veće verzije postavljane su na javnim mestima (gradske zidine, trgovi) i u domaćem okruženju (ispred kuća, na pragovima, na svetiljkama) radi čuvanja ulaza ili određenog prostora.³⁷¹ Pojava privezaka u vidu minijaturnih falusa, koje su nosila deca, povezuje se sa željom da se zaštite

nation with other amulets worn by children, women or domestic animals.³⁶⁴ It represents one of the most widely spread and long lasting forms used in the ancient world. Iconographical and archaeological data confirms that crescents were used during the 3rd millennium BC in Mesopotamia and that, later on, they were passed on to the Mediterranean world through Asia Minor. Ever since the Bronze Age they were used in Greece, while during Hellenistic times they were spread to Southern Italy and the northern coast of the Black Sea. In the same shape, they remained favourite jewellery pieces throughout the Roman period, during which they were especially popular.³⁶⁵

A paragraph from Plautus' comedy *Epidicus* suggests that fathers gave crescents to their daughters for their birthdays.³⁶⁶ Contrary to men, women, children of both genders and domestic animals were considered especially weak and susceptible to evil influences and this is why they wore crescent shaped pendants for protection.³⁶⁷ It is easy to understand the connection between the goddess protectresses of maternity and the magical meaning of crescents related to women's fertility, specifically the menstrual cycle and pregnancy. Regarding the relationship of this amulet with lunar deities, like Luna or Selena, Wrede considers them to possess a secondary character.³⁶⁸ On the other hand, Dasen allows a connection between amulets and the lunar deity Artemis-Selena, who supervised growth, maternity and the birth of people, but also of animals.³⁶⁹ In children's graves from the southern Viminacium cemetery, only three crescent shaped pendants have been unearthed. One of them was made of amber and was found together with a silver bulla, while the remaining two were bronze pendants on bronze torques. Only in a single case of a bronze crescent on a torque was it possible to determine the age of the child, which was between 5 and 9 years old. In the remaining two graves it was not possible to determine the age of the deceased children.

1996, 41–42; Faraone 2018, 44.

366 „Zar se ne sečaš kako sam ti za rođendan poklonio lunulu i mali zlatni prsten za tvoj prst?“ (Plautus, *Epidicus* 5.639); Wrede 1975, 243; Faraone 2018, ref. 110.

367 Wrede 1975, 246; za reljefne predstave koje ilustruju primere nošenja lunule cf. Faraone 2018, 45, ref. 111, s navedenom literaturom.

368 Wrede 1975, 246–247, ref. 69; Jitta, Wetteveen 1977, 170, 173.

369 Dasen 2003a, 180, ref. 19; Dasen 2015a, 190, ref. 52.

370 Johns 1982, 62; detaljno o poreklu i kultu Prijapa cf. Moser 2006, 27–39.

371 Faraone 2018, 75, ref. 151–154.

364 Wrede 1975, 246.

365 Wrede 1975, 249; Jovanović 1978, 44–45; Поповић 1996, 41–42; Faraone 2018, 44.

366 “Don't you remember my bringing you a crescent upon your birthday, and a little gold ring for your finger?” (Plautus, *Epidicus* 5.639); Wrede 1975, 243; Faraone 2018, ref. 110.

367 Wrede 1975, 246; For relief images illustrating examples of wearing crescents cf. Faraone 2018, 45, ref. 111 with literature.

368 Wrede 1975, 246–247, ref. 69; Jitta, Wetteveen 1977, 170, 173.

369 Dasen 2003a, 180, ref. 19; Dasen 2015a, 190, ref. 52.

od zlih pogleda, a ta funkcija pojačana je materijalom od koga su napravljeni (ćilibar, zlato, srebro, bronza).

U izvorima se navodi da su amuleti u obliku falusa, osim što su bili simbol plodnosti i regenerativne moći, služili kao zaštita od urokljivog oka. Zbog svog opskurnog izgleda, privlačili su zle poglede na sebe i na taj način su smanjivali pritisak i zlo usmereno na žrtvu, odnosno vlasnika.³⁷² Odlomak kod Plauta upućuje na to da su bili česti na dečjim krepundijama,³⁷³ a Varon navodi da opscene (*obscaenum*) amajlije nose dečaci da bi se sačuvali od „štete“.³⁷⁴ Plinije ih pominje kao zaštitnike ne samo dojenčadi već i generala, kao božanstvo fascina (*fascinus*), o čijem su se kultu starale vestalke.³⁷⁵ Falusoidni privesci ili perle nađeni su u 12 grobova na viminacijumskoj južnoj nekropoli,³⁷⁶ i to u sedam grobova dece s inhumacijom (tabela 33) i u pet grobova kremiranih pokojnika, za koje, nažalost, nemamo podatke o polu i starosti.

Osim mnogih utilitarnih namena (za zastrašivanje neprijatelja pričvršćeni na štitove ili koplja, za najavu otvaranja i zatvaranja kupališta i pijaca itd.), zvončići su korišćeni u ritualima, religijskim ceremonijama i u apotropejske svrhe.³⁷⁷ Poznata je njihova interakcija s predstavama falusa na *tintinnabulae*, amajlijama protiv urokljivog oka, koje su postavljane u vrtove ili dvorišta, a pokretao ih je vetar. Kao prilozi u grobovima dece i žena, nalaze se obično s drugim amuletima na niskama, a primarna uloga bila im je rasterivanje demona i zlih duhova zvukom koji proizvode. Najčešće su bili izrađivani od bronzne, za čiji zvuk se verovalo da poseduje pročišćavajuće moći,³⁷⁸ dok su neki zvončići imali i natpise sa željama za dobru sreću i odvratanje zla.³⁷⁹ Na viminacijumskoj južnoj nekropoli nađeni su u 15 grobova dece, i to dva srebrna i 15 bronzanih, a najviše u grobovima novorođenčadi (tabela 33).

372 Plutarch, *Moralia* V.7.681–682; Pliny, *NH* 28.39; Dasen 2003b, 287–288; Whitmore 2017, 47.

373 Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus*, 4.9.

374 Varro, *De lingua Latina* 7.97. Neki autori smatraju da se termin *obscaenum* koji Varon koristi u stvari odnosi na faličke amulete; cf. Moser 2006, 63; Whitmore 2017, 49.

375 *Fascinus* = *Mutinus Tutinus*, cf. Pliny, *NH* 28.7.

376 Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 122–151.

377 Eckardt, Williams 2018, 2–3.

378 Dasen 2003b, 287, ref. 82.

379 Dasen 2015a, 190 navodi primer iz Akvinkuma (*Aquincum*).

Images of a phallus developed from the images of ithyphallic spirits like Priapus or the *hermae* and the deities of nature (Pan, Silvanus, Faunus) and took on something from their double-sided nature – on the one hand they displayed protective and fertile aspects, but on the other hand those of a more aggressive nature. In such a way, they became apotropaic instruments gladly used by the Greek and the Romans.³⁷⁰ Larger versions were used in public places (city walls and trading centres) and in a domestic surrounding (in front of homes, on doorsteps or on oil lamps), designed to protect entrances or specific spaces.³⁷¹ The appearance of miniature phalli in the form of pendants worn by children is connected with the wish to protect them from evil stares. This function was emphasised with the material they were made of (amber, gold, silver, bronze).

Written sources reveal that, except for being symbols of fertility and regenerative powers, the phallus shaped pendants also served as protection from the “evil eye”. Owing to their obscure appearance, they attracted evil looks to themselves and in such a way, they reduced the pressure and the quantity of evil intended for the victim, the pendant owner.³⁷² A paragraph by Plautus indicated that they were often parts on children’s *crepundiae*,³⁷³ while Varro states that obscene (*obscaenum*) lucky charms were worn by boys in order to remain safe from “harm”.³⁷⁴ Pliny mentions them as protectors not only for newborns, but also victorious generals, like the deity *Fascinus*, his cult being taken care of by the Vestal virgins.³⁷⁵ In the southern Viminacium cemetery, phallus shaped pendants were discovered in 12 graves,³⁷⁶ of which seven were children’s graves with inhumation (Table 33) and five were cremated graves of deceased for which there is, unfortunately, no data regarding gender or age.

Besides numerous utilitarian purposes (for scaring away the enemy while being fastened onto shields or spears; for the announcement of the opening or closing

370 Johns 1982, 62; Detailed information of the origin and cult of Priapus cf. Moser 2006, 27–39.

371 Faraone 2018, 75, ref. 151–154.

372 Plutarch, *Moralia* V.7.681–682; Pliny *NH* 28.39; Dasen 2003b, 287–288; Whitmore 2017, 47.

373 Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus*, 4.9.

374 Varro, *De lingua Latina* 7.97. Some authors think that the term *obscaenum* used by Varro is actually related to phallus shaped amulets; cf. Moser 2006, 63; Whitmore 2017, 49.

375 *Fascinus* = *Mutinus Tutinus*, cf. Pliny *NH* 28.7.

376 Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 122–151.

Materijali neorganskog i organskog porekla u magiji i profilaksi

Metali su imali važnu ulogu u izradi amuleta u antici, ali ne treba isključiti mogućnost da je njihova uloga, s našeg stanovišta, delom i preuveličana u odnosu na materijale organskog porekla, koji su se većinom raspali.

Kao materijal, zlato je bilo povezano s pročišćenjem i pridavana su mu apotropejska svojstva. Prema Pliniju, delotvorno je kao lek na mnogo načina kako za odrasle tako i za novorođenčad, naročito za odbijanje i ublažavanje čarobnjaštva koje je na njih usmereno. Osim toga, leči lišajeve na licu, čireve, bradavice, a služi i za pročišćavanje creva.³⁸⁰ Srebro je takođe imalo lekovita svojstva, za ublažavanje modrica, isušivanje rana, protiv promrzlina ili kao mast za oči.³⁸¹ Oba metala rado su korišćena za izradu tankih listića (*lamellae*) na kojima su ispisivane molitve ili magijske formule za zaštitu,³⁸² koji su uvijani i nošeni oko vrata u cilindričnom privesku.

Kao što se zvončići mogu nazvati „zvucnim amuletima” jer zvukom rasteruju zle duhove, tako ćilibar, gagat i sumpor možemo zvati „amuletima okađivanja” za očišćenje prostora i lečenje različitih oboljenja. Ovi materijali rado su upotrebljavani za izradu amajlija, i to iz različitih razloga. Između ostalog, ćilibar i gagat imaju elektrostatička svojstva zbog kojih mogu da privuku lagane stvari, odaju prepoznatljive mirise ako se protrljaju, a u nekim slučajevima mogu se i zapaliti. Plinije je tvrdio da ćilibar, kada se protrlja, miriše na bor, a da sagoreva poput borove baklje, sa istim mirisnim dimom. Osim toga, naveo je da su žene severno od reke Po nosile komadiće ćilibara kao ukras, ali i kao lek protiv upale krajnika i drugih oboljenja grla.³⁸³ Ćilibar je bio koristan i za bebe, i stavljan im je na telo kao amajlija.³⁸⁴ Za gagat izveštava da daje neprijatan miris kad se trlja, a kada se zapali miriše poput sumpora, stvarajući pare koje su mogle da zaustave epileptičke napa-

of baths and markets; ritual usage during religious ceremonies, etc.) bells were also used in apotropaic purposes.³⁷⁷ Their interaction with phalli on *tintinnabulae* is well known, but also with charms that were intended to ward off the “evil eye”, placed in gardens or yards, and moved by the wind. As grave goods, they are often encountered in children’s and women’s graves, deposited together with other amulets on strings, with their primary role being that of repelling demons and evil spirits with their sound. They were usually made of bronze, since it was believed that this sound possesses purifying powers,³⁷⁸ while some of the bells bore inscriptions with wishes of good luck and repelling evil.³⁷⁹ In the southern Viminacium cemetery they were discovered in 15 children’s graves, two made of silver and 15 made of bronze. Most of them were unearthed in graves of newborns (Table 33).

Materials of non-organic and organic origin in magic and prophylaxis

During Antiquity, metals played an important role as materials amulets were made of. However, the possibility should not be excluded that from a modern point of view, their role is exaggerated compared to materials of non-organic origin that mostly decayed.

As a material, gold was connected to purification and apotropaic features. According to Pliny, in many ways it was efficient as a medicine both for adults and for children, especially for repelling and the reduction of sorcery that was aimed at the wearer. Additionally, it cured facial lichens, ulcers, warts and it was also used for bowel cleansing.³⁸⁰ Silver also possessed prophylactic features for mitigating bruises, drying out wounds, protection against frostbites or as an eye treatment.³⁸¹ Both metals were frequently used for making thin metal sheets (*lamellae*) on which prayers or magical formulas for protection were written.³⁸² They were rolled and worn around one’s neck in a cylindrical pendant.

Just as we can describe bells as “sound amulets” since they use their sound to repel evil spirits, we can describe amber, jet and sulphur as “fumigation am-

380 Pliny, *NH*, 33.25.

381 Pliny, *NH*, 33.35.

382 Detaljno o vrstama zapisa na lamelama cf. Faraone 2018, 177–237.

383 Pliny, *HN* 37.11.

384 Pliny, *HN* 37.44.

377 Eckardt, Williams 2018, 2–3.

378 Dasen 2003b, 287, ref. 82.

379 Dasen 2015a, 190 gives an example from *Aquincum*.

380 Pliny *NH*, 33.25.

381 Pliny *NH*, 33.35.

382 Detailed information about inscriptions on lamellas cf. Faraone 2018, 177–237.

de.³⁸⁵ Osim Plinija, o korisnim i lekovitim svojstvima gagata izveštavaju i Dioskorid (*Dioscorides*) i Julije Afrikanus (*Julius Africanus*): dim pri njegovom sagorevanju rasteruje zmije i pomaže kod ginekoloških problema, kada se skuva u vinu i popije leči zubobolju, pomešan s voskom nanosi se na telo i leči skrofulozne tumore, za olakšavanje porođaja žena treba da drži gagat u levoj šaci.³⁸⁶ Gagat leči zubobolju, a pomešan s voskom mogao je da ublaži i simptome tuberkuloze.³⁸⁷

Privesci, perle i amuleti napravljeni od ćilibara i gagata imaju višestruko značenje. Najpre, sami po sebi, ti materijali imaju apotropejske karakteristike, koje pojačava oblik amuleta kao metonim za neki događaj iz prošlosti ili željeni ishod u budućnosti, a može biti povezan i sa atributima nekog božanstva. Takav predmet dobija novo značenje kada postane vlasništvo određene osobe, donoseći joj dobru sreću, zdravlje, zaštitu od opasnosti ili uroka. U vidu nakita, mogao je da obezbedi zaštitu u detinjstvu i kasnijem životu, ali i tokom putovanja u zagrobni život, odnosno u svim važnim periodima tranzicije.³⁸⁸

Na južnoj nekropoli Viminacijuma, perle ili privesci od ćilibara konstatovani su u 20 grobova dece (tabela 34), a u jednom od njih nađena je i fragmentovana igla od ćilibara. U samo šest grobova starije dece nalazili su se predmeti od gagata, a čine ih polukružni segmenti narukvica i jedan antropomorfni privezak (tabela 34).

Oba materijala, gagat zbog crne boje, a ćilibar zbog tzv. „zlatnih suza“, korišćena su u pogrebnim ritualima, a neki izvori posebno naglašavaju njihovu ulogu prilikom žaljenja zbog smrti mlade osobe.³⁸⁹ U izvorima se pominje povezanost njihovog sagorevanja s pogrebnim ritualima, što znači da su, nažalost, mnogi predmeti nestali jer su izgoreli tokom obreda.³⁹⁰

ulets”, since they were used to clean spaces but also for curing different diseases. For different reasons, both materials were often used for making amulets. Among others, both amber and jet possess electrostatic features that enable them to attract light objects, they give off easily recognisable odours when they are rubbed and in some cases they can even ignite. Pliny claimed that when it is rubbed, amber smells like pine and that it burns like a pine torch with a smoke that also smells fine. Moreover, he claimed that the women who lived to the north of the river Po wore pieces of amber as decoration, but also as a medicament against inflamed tonsils and other throat diseases.³⁸³ It was also useful for babies and it was put on their bodies as a lucky charm.³⁸⁴ He writes of jet that it gives off an unpleasant odour when it is rubbed and that it smelled like sulphur when lit, but that such smoke was able to prevent epileptic fits.³⁸⁵ Apart from Pliny, Dioscorides and Julius Africanus also wrote about the useful and curative features of jet: smoke from jet repels snakes and helps with gynaecological problems; when it is cooked in wine and drunk, it cures toothache; when it is mixed with wax and put on one’s body, it cures scrofulous tumours; in order to have an easy childbirth, a woman should hold a piece of jet in her left hand.³⁸⁶ Jet cures toothache and when it is mixed with wax, it could ease tuberculosis.³⁸⁷

Pendants, beads and amulets made of amber and jet had multiple meanings. First of all as materials by themselves they possessed apotropaic features, when they are shaped as metonyms for an event from the past or a wishful outcome in the future, and they could also be connected to the attributes of a particular deity. Such an object gets a new meaning when it is intended for a specific person, bringing him/her happiness, health, protection from danger or spells. When shaped as jewellery, it could secure protection during childhood, during life but also during the journey into the afterlife, actually in all of the important life situations of transition.³⁸⁸

In the southern Viminacium cemetery, beads or pendants made of amber were discovered in 20 children’s graves (Table 34), while in one of them, a

385 Pliny, *HN* 37.43; 36.141–42; Faraone 2018, 91.

386 Parker 2016, 107–110; Faraone 2018, 91, ref. 118–119; Parker 2019, 2.

387 Carroll 2018, 106.

388 Causey 2019, 48, ref. 146.

389 Diodor Sikulus (*Diodorus Siculus*) pominje da je ćilibar bio povezan s ritualima žaljenja nakon smrti mlade osobe; cf. Giunio 2010, 194; Carroll 2018, 106.

390 U tom kontekstu njihovi tragovi su izgubljeni jer su oba

383 Pliny *HN* 37.11.

384 Pliny *HN* 37.44.

385 Pliny *HN* 37.43; 36.141–42; Faraone 2018, 91.

386 Parker 2016, 107–110; Faraone 2018, 91, ref. 118–119; Parker 2019, 2.

387 Carroll 2018, 106.

388 Causey 2019, 48, ref. 146.

Na niskama u grobovima dece često se nalaze i privesci od zuba divljih i domaćih životinja. Deca su ih dobijala kako bi se osobine snažnih životinja prenele na njih i radi pomoći u prevazilaženju rizičnih razdoblja tokom najranijeg odrastanja.³⁹¹ Na mnogim nalazištima širom nekadašnjeg Rimskog carstva, u grobovima dece nađeni su najčešće zubi medveda, divlje svinje, vuka ili psa. Za neke od tih vrsta se smatralo da su moćni čuvari, pratioci Artemide, zaštitnici dece. Pas ima htonski karakter kao vodič i čuvar duše na njenom putovanju između života i smrti.³⁹² Zubi divljih i domaćih životinja na viminacijumskoj južnoj nekropoli konstatovani su u devet grobova dece, od toga u četiri groba novorođenčadi, najčešće u kombinaciji s drugim amuletima, perlama ili perforiranim novcem.

Upotreba roga crvenog jelena za izradu amajlija bila je posebno raširena u severozapadnim delovima Carstva i smatra se da je keltskog porekla.³⁹³ Pretpostavlja se da je fenomen odbacivanja rogova i izrastanja novih nadahnuo verovanje u sposobnost izuzetne regeneracije jelena, životinje kojoj je pripisivana dugovečnost. To su uglavnom amajlije u vidu medaljona, načinjene od isečka roga, često i sa izrezbarenim falusom ili koncentričnim krugovima, a u našem slučaju s linearnim urezima.³⁹⁴ U rimskoj Galiji nalažene su u grobovima dece mlađe od šest meseci, a nadgrobni spomenici i votivne statuete iz te oblasti potvrđuju da su ih nosila deca. Na osnovu tih izvora je poznat i način njihovog nošenja: disk je stavljan na sredinu grudi ili leđa, a dve ukrštene vrpce provučene kroz njega okruživale su torzo deteta. Tako su nošeni diskovi sa četiri perforacije, a oni s jednom ili dve perforacije mogli su biti prišiveni na odeću ili okačeni o vrpcu kao privezak.³⁹⁵ Na viminacijumskoj južnoj nekropoli, obrađeni segment roga jelena javlja se samo u jednom slučaju, kao deo

fragmented needle was also found. Only in six graves of older children were there objects made of jet, consisting of semi-circular bracelet segments and an anthropomorphic pendant (Table 34).

Both materials, jet because of its black colour and amber because of its so-called “golden tears”, played specific roles in funerary rituals, while some sources especially highlight their role in mourning the death of a young person.³⁸⁹ Sources mention the connection of their combustion with funerary rituals, which, again, unfortunately means that they were unavailable for modern researchers since they were completely burned during the rituals.³⁹⁰

On strings from children’s graves, pendants made of wild or domestic animals’ teeth are often encountered, aimed at transferring features of powerful animals onto children and, consequently, as help in overcoming different risky situations during early childhood.³⁹¹ On numerous sites throughout the former Roman Empire, in children’s graves, the most common finds are bears’ wild boars’ wolves’ or dogs’ teeth. Some of them were considered to be powerful protectors, the companions of Artemis, the protectress of children. The dog has a chthonic character as a guide and keeper of a soul in its journey between life and death.³⁹² In the southern Viminacium cemetery, the teeth of wild or domestic animals were discovered in nine children’s graves, of which four belonged to newborns. The teeth were mostly combined with other amulets, beads or perforated coins.

The use of red deer antler for making amulets was especially popular in the north-western parts of the Empire and it is believed to have a Celtic origin.³⁹³ It is presumed that the phenomenon of molting was the inspiration for the belief in deer’s incredible capability for regeneration, the animal to whom extreme longevity was ascribed. These are mostly lucky charms in the shape of medallions, made of antler discs, often with a carved phallus or concentric circles and, in our

materijala lako zapaljiva i njihov hemijski trag nakon spaljivanja se ne može uočiti; *cf.* Parker 2019, 2.

391 Dasen 2015b, 313–318; za upotrebu životinjskih zuba u svrhu lečenja kod Plinija *cf. supra* ref 222.

392 Crummy 2010, 52–53.

393 Radman-Livaja 2017, 142.

394 Dasen 2003b, 287–288; Carroll 2018, 104, fig. 4.14.

395 Carroll 2018, 103–105.

389 Diodorus Siculus mentions that amber was connected to the mourning rituals after the death of a young person; *cf.* Giunio 2010, 194; Carroll 2018, 106.

390 Their traces are lost in this context, since both materials are relatively flammable and their chemical trace after burning cannot be identified; *cf.* Parker 2019, 2.

391 Dasen 2015b, 313–318; For the usage of animals’ teeth in curing purposes see Pliny *cf. supra* ref 222.

392 Crummy 2010, 52–53.

393 Radman-Livaja 2017, 142.

ogrlice ili narukvice, u grobu deteta preminulog u prvoj godini.

Morske školjke su u pogrebnim ritualima korišćene još u drevnom Egiptu, Mesopotamiji, Fenikiji i Kartagini, a u Grčkoj od kasnoarhajskog perioda.³⁹⁶ Interpretirane su na različite načine: kao igračke, platežno sredstvo za Harona, simboli plodnosti, ponovnog rađanja ili večnosti, ponude hrane pokojniku, kao dekorativne posude za šminku i lekove ili kao prilozima s apotropejskim osobinama.³⁹⁷ Većina autora smatra da su povezane sa svetom žena, naročito mladih i neudatih,³⁹⁸ s kultom Venere Funerarije ili Afrodite i nimfama.³⁹⁹ Ne bi trebalo isključiti ni njihovu ulogu kao „zvučnih amuleta“ na niskama, koji zvukom teraju zle duhove.⁴⁰⁰

Treba imati u vidu da se većina autora bavi nalazima školjki sa Sredozemlja, gde su bile široko dostupne i imale određenu ulogu u ishrani populacija. Samim tim, tu treba očekivati njihovu veću primenu kao utilitarnih predmeta nego u unutrašnjosti. Morske školjke i puževi iz Viminacijuma većinom su mediteranskog porekla, a uglavnom su nalaženi u grobovima dece mlađeg uzrasta (grafikon 6) i mladih žena, kao privesci na niskama ili neperforirani, položeni pored pokojnika, a ponekad i rasuti preko njega.⁴⁰¹ Samo iz jednog groba deteta (VG/G-895; kat. 390; sl. 46.1) potiče retka ljuštura morskog puža vrste *C. tigris* ili *C. pantherina*, upotrebljena kao privezak.⁴⁰²

case, with linear carvings.³⁹⁴ In the Roman Gaul they were found within graves of children who passed away at the age of up to six months, while tombstones and votive statuettes from the same area confirm that they were worn by children. According to these sources it is also known how they were worn: the disc was positioned in the middle of either the chest or back, while two crossed ribbons/strings pulled through the discs encircled the torso of the child. This way of wearing refers to discs with four perforations while the others, having one or two pierced holes, could be sewn onto clothes or hung on a string and worn as pendants.³⁹⁵ In the southern Viminacium cemetery they were discovered only in a single case, in the grave of a child who passed away at the age of one year, as part of a necklace or bracelet.

Ever since the time of ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Phoenicia and Carthage, but also in Greece, ever since the late Archaic period, sea shells were used in funerary rituals.³⁹⁶ They have been interpreted in different ways: as toys, means of payment for Charon, symbols of fertility, rebirth or eternity, food offerings for the deceased, as decorative containers for makeup or medicine or as grave goods with apotropaic values.³⁹⁷ The majority of authors considers them to be connected to the female world and especially to the young and unmarried ones³⁹⁸, to the cult of Aphrodite and the Nymphs or to the cult of Venus Funeraria.³⁹⁹ One should also not neglect their role as “sounding amulets” on strings, which would repel evil spirits with their sounds.⁴⁰⁰

It should be taken into account that the majority of modern authors deals with shell finds from the Mediterranean area, where they were widely accessible and played a specific role in the populations' diet. Therefore, one should expect their greater usage as utilitarian items than in the remaining inland areas. In Viminacium, sea shells and snails are mostly of Mediterranean origin and mostly discovered in graves of

396 Bergeron 2011, 165; Stroszeck 2012, 62. Uglavnom su korišćene kao amuleti-privesci, a ređe i kao kozmetičke posude.

397 Kappes, Leisen 1996, 129, ref. 3; Stroszeck 2012, 67, s navedenom literaturom.

398 Afrodita je bila zaštitnica nevesta, trudnoće i porođaja; cf. Stroszeck 2012, 71.

399 Јовановић 2000, 16–18; Spasić-Đurić 2017, 86.

400 Bergeron 2011, 169.

401 Iz jednog groba s kremacijom sa viminacijumske južne nekropole potiče kozmetička kutija od ljuštore egzotične vrste školjke, čija su staništa u Persijskom zalivu, Crvenom moru i Indo-Pacifiku; cf. Spasić-Đurić 2017, 75–93. Ali ta luksuzna posuda ipak je izuzetak, dok većinu morskih školjki i puževa u Viminacijumu čine dostupnije i jeftinije mediteranske vrste.

402 Cf. *supra* ref. 245.

394 Dasen 2003b, 287–288; Carroll 2018, 104, Fig. 4.14.

395 Carroll 2018, 103–105.

396 Bergeron 2011, 165; Stroszeck 2012, 62. They were mostly worn as amulet-pendants and rarely also as cosmetic containers.

397 Kappes, Leisen 1996, 129, ref. 3; Stroszeck 2012, 67 with literature.

398 Aphrodite was the protectress of brides, pregnancy and childbirth; cf. Stroszeck 2012, 71.

399 Јовановић 2000, 16–18; Spasić-Đurić 2017, 86.

400 Bergeron 2011, 169.

Više amuleta i više zaštite – zvečka (*crepundia*)

Bez obzira na to što su antički pisci, s puno cinizma, nastojali ukorima da ograniče oplakivanje smrti dece, nesumnjivo je da su ona oduvek bila predmet posebne pažnje, pa i želje da se od bolesti i zlih uticaja zaštite amuletima različitih oblika i materijala. Ta praksa je posvedočena od najstarijih vremena, a posebno je bila popularna u grčko-rimskom periodu.⁴⁰³ Nizove apotropijskih i profilaktičkih amuleta činili su prvenstveno oni koji su stvarali zvuk (zvončići, ali i drugi – perforirani novčići, bronzani privesci, staklene perle, školjke – koji su zveckali u dodiru sa susjednim priveskom) ili su bili određenog oblika (lunula, privesci u vidu falusa, zubi životinja, privesci s antropomorfnim ili zoomorfnim predstavama), s površinama koje reflektuju ili upijaju svetlost (predmeti od srebra, gagata, ćilibara, stakla, novac), zanimljivih i neobičnih formi (antropomorfni i zoomorfni privesci, morske školjke i puževi, reversne predstave na novčićima), izrađeni od materijala izuzetnih osobina (elektrostatička svojstva ćilibara i gagata).⁴⁰⁴

Nanizani na niske, amuleti su zveckali kada se dete kretalo i odvrćali mu pažnju ili su ga zabavljali. Istovremeno, materijali i oblici ukazuju na to da su bili načinjeni s namerom da detetu pruže zaštitu od bolesti ili drugih opasnosti.⁴⁰⁵ Zabeleženi su mnogobrojni primeri takvih ogrlica/narukvica u grobovima dece, a ponekad i mladih žena, na nekropolama širom nekadašnjeg Rimskog carstva. Sastojale su se od privezaka ili perli u različitim kombinacijama, „zaduženih“ za određene bolesti (bilo kao preventiva ili kao lek) ili za zaštitu od zlih uticaja. Njihov izbor je verovatno zavisio najpre od zdravstvenog stanja deteta ili od očekivanih bolesti, koje su bile česte u nekoj regiji ili čak u godišnjem dobu,⁴⁰⁶ potom od lokalnih magijskih praksi i ličnih ubeđenja roditelja, a svakako i od širih, opšteprihvaćenih verovanja.

Izgled i upotrebu krepundije najbolje ilustruje statua dečaka iz Vatikanskog muzeja, koja predstavlja rimsku kopiju helenističkog

403 Dasen 2003b, 275.

404 Crummy 2010, 67, ref. 77.

405 Carroll 2018, 99; Faraone 2018, 58, ref. 19–20.

406 O geografskom položaju i njegovom uticaju na kvalitet i uslove života u antici cf. Novak 2008; o sezonskom umiranju dece (i odraslih) cf. Shaw 2006, 86–109; Harper 2015, 15–34.

children who passed away at a younger age (Graph 6), as well as in graves of young women, as pendants on strings or imperforated, laid next to the deceased or sometimes scattered over him/her.⁴⁰¹ Only from one single child's grave VG/G-895 (Cat. no. 390; Fig. 46) was there a rare shell of a sea snail that belonged to the species *C. tigris* or *C. pantherina* and was used as a pendant.⁴⁰²

More amulets and more protection – the rattle (*crepundia*)

Regardless of ancient authors and their cynical tendency to limit the mourning of children's deaths with reprimands, it is doubtless that they have always been subject to special attention, with a wish to protect them from diseases and evil influences by using lucky charms of different shapes and materials. These tendencies have been attested from the oldest times, being especially popular during the Greek and Roman periods.⁴⁰³ Rows of apotropaic and prophylactic amulets consisted primarily of those producing sounds (bells, but also others such as perforated coins, bronze pendants, glass beads or sea shells, which made sounds when hitting the neighbouring pendant); they were of specific shapes (crescents, phallus shaped pendants, animals' teeth, pendants with anthropomorphic or zoomorphic images); with special features of their surfaces that either reflected or absorbed light (items made of silver, jet, amber, glass, or coins); interesting and unusual shapes (anthropomorphic and zoomorphic pendants, sea shells and snails, or reverse images on coins); and were made of materials with special features (electrostatic features of amber and jet).⁴⁰⁴

When put on strings, amulets would jingle while children were moving and distracted their attention or entertained them. At the same time, materials and shapes indicate that they were made with the intention of protecting children from diseases or

401 In one grave of the southern Viminacium cemetery there was a cosmetic container made of the shell of an exotic sea shell species whose natural habitat is in the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea and the Indo-Pacific; cf. Spasić-Đurić 2017, 75–93. However, this luxurious container represents an exception, since the majority of sea shells and snails discovered in Viminacium represent easily accessible and cheaper Mediterranean species.

402 Cf. *supra* ref. 245.

403 Dasen 2003b, 275.

404 Crummy 2010, 67, ref. 77.

originala,⁴⁰⁷ s niskom sastavljenom od 20 amuleta različitih formi, na vrpici preko grudi (sl. 56.1). Jasno se mogu razaznati oblici lunule, dvojne sekire, otvorene šake, delfina (sl. 56/1, amuleti 5, 9, 13, 20), i oni protumačeni kao lišće ili vrhovi kopalja (sl. 56.2).⁴⁰⁸ Neki od njih se ponavljaju, npr. detelina s tri i četiri lista. U grobovima dece kako na Viminacijumu tako i širom Rimskog carstva, amuletske ogrlice ili narukvice (krepundije) nalažene su na delu tela na kome su nošene i pored pokojnika, često ukazujući na to da su bile smeštene u platnenu vrećicu ili drvenu kasetu. Bronzana narukvica s privescima u vidu minijturnih alatki nađena je u grobu deteta na nekropoli Fan Renar (Fin-Renard) u Buržu (Bourges).⁴⁰⁹ Sadržavala je i dva zuba vepra, zvonice i pet perforiranih novčića. Bronzani privesci u obliku falusa, životinjski zubi, perforirani novčići se često javljaju u sastavu narukvica u grobovima dece u Apoloniji. Na nekropoli blizu Rima, jednogodišnje dete bilo je sahranjeno sa 17 amuleta na uzici okačenoj o vrat. Među njima je devet bilo od čilibara (u obliku falusa, ribe, zeca i ptice), zatim tradicionalna amajlija u vidu egipatskog božanstva Besa i veprov zub izrezbaren u vidu polumeseca. Novorođenče sahranjeno u kamenom sarkofagu nađenom u Beču imalo je dve srebrne narukvice sa zvoncima i jednu nisku na kojoj su bila tri perforirana novčića, zatim pet probušnih školjki, 14 čilibarskih perli u obliku ptica, ribe, cikade i Heraklove batine. Nije retkost da se u grobovima dece nađe samo par amuleta, na primer zlatna bula i srebrni falus, bronzano zvono i bronzani falus i slično.⁴¹⁰ Ako bismo krepundijama u pravom smislu smatrali ogrlice ili narukvice s većim brojem privezaka, onda iz grobova dece s viminacijumske južne nekropole potiče samo pet primeraka, i to dva iz grobova novorođenčadi, jedan iz groba deteta starog između pet i devet godina, sahranjenog s odraslom ženom, i dva iz grobova dece čiju starost nismo mogli da odredimo. Međutim, definicija krepundije u pogledu broja amuletskih privezaka nije precizna, tako da smo u našim razmatranjima i niske s najmanje dva amuletska priveska

other danger.⁴⁰⁵ Numerous examples of such necklaces/bracelets from children's graves, and sometimes those of young women, have been discovered throughout the former Roman Empire. They consisted of different combinations of pendants and beads put in rows, all of them being "in charge" of protecting from different diseases (either as prevention or as a cure) or from different evil influences. Most likely, primarily, the choice depended on the health condition of the children or the expected diseases that were frequent in a specific region or even in a specific season.⁴⁰⁶ From the choice would have been further influenced by local magical tendencies and the parents' personal beliefs, and certainly also by specific wider, generally accepted beliefs.

The best known example is a statue of a boy from the Vatican Museum, a Roman copy of a Hellenistic original,⁴⁰⁷ with a *crepundia* containing twenty amulets of different shapes on a string worn across the chest (Fig. 56.1). Crescents are clearly recognisable, together with double axes, an open palm of a hand, and a dolphin, while the amulets numbered 5, 9, 13 and 20 were recognised as leaves and spearheads (Fig. 56.2).⁴⁰⁸ Some of them repeat, like the dolphin and a three and four leaved clover. Both in Viminacium and in other places throughout the Roman Empire, in the context of amulet necklaces or bracelets (*crepundiae*), they were discovered both in the position they were worn during the deceased's lifetime, but also next to the deceased, often indicating that they were placed in a linen sack or a wooden casket. A bronze bracelet with pendants in the shape of miniature tools was found in a child's grave in the cemetery of Fin-Renard in Bourges.⁴⁰⁹ In this case, the bracelet contained also teeth of a wild boar, a bell and five perforated coins. Bronze phalli, animals' teeth or perforated coins are often encountered as parts of bracelets in children's graves of *Apollonia*. In a necropolis close to Rome, a one-year-old child was buried with seventeen amulets on a string, placed around its neck. Among them, there were nine pendants made of amber (phallus shaped, in the form of a fish, a rabbit and a bird), additionally there were a traditional lucky charm in the

407 Faraone 2018, 33, ref. 36, s navedenom literaturom.

408 Faraone 2018, 33.

409 Sadržavala je i dva zuba vepra, zvonice i pet perforiranih novčića.

410 Faraone 2018, 59, ref. 21–24.

405 Carroll 2018, 99; Faraone 2018, 58, ref. 19–20.

406 About the geographic position and its influence on quality of life and living conditions during Antiquity cf. Novak 2008; About seasonal death of children (and adults) cf. Shaw 2006, 86–109; Harper 2015, 15–34.

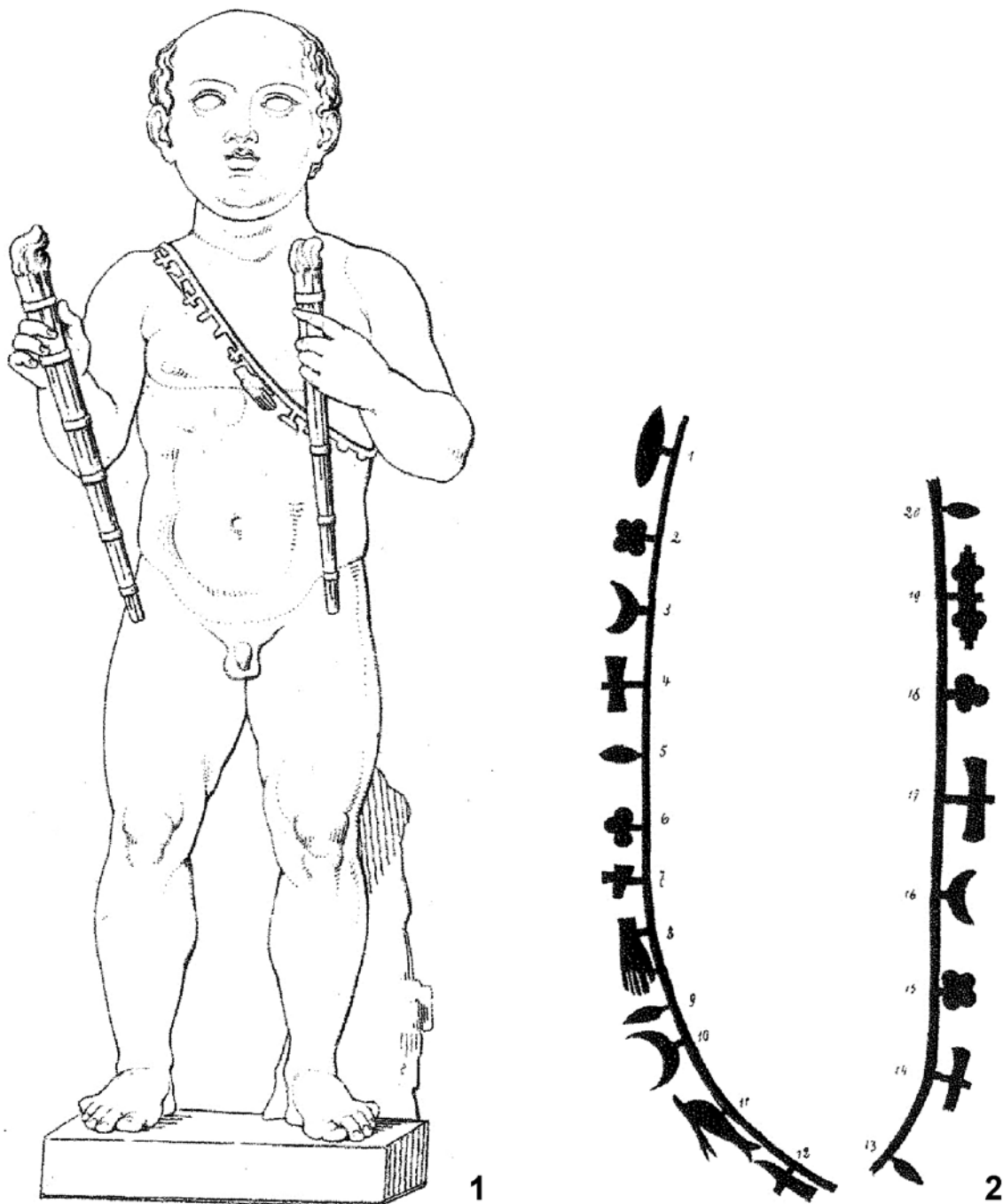
407 Faraone 2018, 33, ref. 36 with literature.

408 Faraone 2018, 33.

409 Dasen 2003a, 182.

uključili u krepundije u širem smislu, rukovodeći se njihovom osnovnom funkcijom zveckanja. Nađene su u 49 grobova dece, i to najviše novorođenčadi (10) i dece do četvrte godine (13), dok se u ostalim starosnim kategorijama javljaju sporadično. Konstatovano je i 46 amuleta (u 45

shape of the Egyptian god Bes and a wild boar's tooth carved into the shape of a crescent. A newborn buried in a stone sarcophagus from a site in Vienna had two silver bracelets with bells and a single string with three perforated coins, five pierced sea shells, 14 amber beads, a fish, a cicadella (a leafhopper) and a Hercules'



Sl. 56 Rimski mermerna skulptura, kopija originala iz helenističkog perioda, Vatikanski muzej (1), detalj – krepundija na grudima i leđima dečaka (2) (prema: Faraone 2018, 34, Fig. 1.4; 35, Fig. 1.5)

Fig. 56 Roman period marble copy of a Hellenistic statuette, Vatican Museum (1), detail – crepundia across the chest and back of a boy (2) (1-2 after: Faraone 2018, 34, Fig. 1.4; 35, Fig. 1.5)

grobova) koji su nošeni samostalno (tabela 37). To su perforirani novčići, puž, bule, zvončići, privesci i perle od gagata, i ponovo se najviše javljaju u grobovima dece do prve godine života.

Proučavanje života dece u antičkom svetu je zamah dobilo sredinom 80-ih godina 20. veka, s napretkom u istraživanju demografije tog doba i posebno s razvojem tzv. ženskih studija, koje su se ukrštale sa izučavanjima rimske porodice. Tako su deca i njihova kulturna i socijalna integracija dobili centralno mesto u razmatranjima rimskih porodičnih odnosa.⁴¹¹ Međutim, i pored poleta i entuzijazma u pokušaju rasvetljavanja života deteta u rimskom dobu, naišlo se na prepreke. Za kompletnu analizu pogrebnih rituala bilo bi neophodno konsultovanje i drugih izvora, kojih nažalost ima vrlo malo ili ih nema uopšte. Na primer, predstave i imena dece mlađe od godinu dana retko su prisutni na nadgrobnim pločama. Plinijev navod o promeni načina sahranjivanja kod dece stare oko šest meseci, odnosno o prelazu s inhumacije na kremaciju u tom uzrastu, potvrđen je na nekoliko nekropola u ranorimskim provincijama, ali se pouzdani podaci mogu dobiti samo detaljnim proučavanjem velikog broja nalazišta. Prvi utisci su bili da su određene vrste grobnih celina i priloga specifične samo za novorođenčad, dok su ostale opštijeg karaktera.⁴¹² Očigledno je da za proučavanje života dece nedostaju pisani izvori i rezultati sistematskih iskopavanja velikog broja nekropola iz rimskog perioda. U tom smislu, istraživanja južne nekropole Viminacijuma dala su podatke koji ne slede početne pretpostavke. Naime, u slučaju dece sahranjene u Viminacijumu, na osnovu arheoloških istraživanja ne može se zaključiti da je postojao poseban oblik groba namenjen samo njima. Ni kod priloga nije ustanovljeno da se samo pojedini predmeti mogu vezivati za decu, već se javljaju i u grobovima odraslih individua.

Takođe, treba uzeti u obzir da različiti načini sahrane dece ne izražavaju nužno ekonomski status, već duboko lično doživljavanje *mors immatura*, odnosno neprirodne prerane smrti člana porodice. Oni koji sahranjuju izražavaju svoj bol na opipljiv način, ali različitim sredstvima. Oda-

club. It is not rare that in children's graves, only a couple of amulets are discovered, for example a gold bulla and a silver phallus, a bronze bell and a bronze phallus and other, similar combinations.⁴¹⁰ If we consider necklaces and bracelets with a larger number of pendants as *crepundiae*, from the children's graves of the southern Viminacium cemetery there would be only five examples – two from the graves of newborns, one from the grave of a child who passed away between the ages of five and nine years, buried together with an adult woman, and two from children's graves of undetermined age. However, the definition of a *crepundia*, regarding the number of amulet pendants, is not precise and this is why in our study we included strings with a minimum of two amulet pendants to be specified as *crepundiae* in the wider sense. The main criterion was their functional role (rattling). They were found in a total of 49 children's graves: mostly in the graves of newborns (10) and children who passed away at an age of up to four years (13), while in the remaining age groups they appear only sporadically. Furthermore, 46 amulets were unearthed (from 45 graves) that were worn alone. (Table 37) They include perforated coins, a snail, *bullae*, bells, pendants and beads made of jet and, again, the majority of amulets were found in graves of children who passed away during their first year of life.

Studying the life of children in Antiquity mostly developed from the middle of the 1980s, with progress made in studying the demography of the Ancient World and especially with the development of the so-called women's studies, which overlapped with the studies of Roman families. Children and their cultural and social integration receive a central place in studying Roman family relationships.⁴¹¹

However, regardless of the verve and enthusiasm in attempting to resolve children's lives during Roman times, there were obstacles. For a full analysis of funerary rituals, it was necessary to consult other sources, which, unfortunately, are either too few or completely absent. For example, children who passed away during their first year of life are rarely mentioned on tombstones. Pliny's conclusion of the transition from inhumation to cremation around the age of six months was confirmed in just a few cemeteries from the early Roman provinces, but reliable data can only be gained from a detailed study of a large number of sites. The first impression was that specific kinds of funerary

411 Laes, Voulanto 2017, 3, ref. 13–14.

412 Pearce 2001, 136.

410 Faraone 2018, 59, ref. 21–24.

411 Laes, Voulanto 2017, 3, ref. 13–14.

tle i odlučnost roditelja u nameri da dete svim raspoloživim sredstvima zaštite od opasnosti zagrobnog života. Iskazivanje socijalnog statusa bilo je manje važno od potrebe za zaštitom deteta, koju su amajlice obezbeđivale. Jednom priloženi uz pokojnika, predmeti su bili nevidljivi živima, a njihov učinak bio je rezervisan za mrtve i njihove čuvaru u podzemnom svetu.⁴¹³

Pogrebni rituali i običaji prilikom sahranjivanja temelje se na verovanjima određenih društvenih skupina i predstavljaju elemente lokalne tradicije. Oni se mogu vremenom menjati, kao odraz novih društvenih okolnosti. Na grobne priloge treba gledati u tom okviru, kao na pokazatelje pola, starosti i socijalnog statusa preminulog, ali ne isključivo, jer se pojavljuju i drugi faktori. Na primer, dostupnost pojedinih predmeta/materijala može biti povezana s ekonomskim ili regionalnim uslovima. Dalje, prisutnost ili odsutnost nekih apotropejskih ili profilaktičkih priloga u grobovima dece može biti posledica lokalnih kulturnih razlika zasnovanih na predrimskom nasleđu, dok se, s druge strane, uočavaju i izvesne opšte zakonitosti – perforiran novac, minijaturni falusoidni privesci, zubi divljih životinja, školjke, bule, zvončići itd. Praćenje tih pojava tokom dužeg perioda i u raznim delovima Rimskog carstva pokazuje veliku složenost i raznolikost u pogrebnim ritualima prilikom sahrana novorođenčadi i dece. Ali, to i jeste nešto što se moglo očekivati s obzirom na to koliki je prostor zauzimalo i koliko različitih etničkih zajednica je bitisalo pod okriljem nekadašnjeg Rimskog carstva. Istraživanja i nekropola i grada Viminacijuma su tokom poslednje dve decenije multidisciplinarna, traju i dalje, i sigurno će doprineti budućem rasvetljavanju ne samo pogrebnih rituala već i svih sfera života u rimskom dobu.

complexes and grave goods were typical only for newborns, while the others were of a more general character.⁴¹² Obviously, there was a lack of written sources on children's lives, but also of results of systematic excavations of a large number of cemeteries from the Roman period. In that sense, excavations of the southern Viminacium cemetery have revealed results that did not correspond to the initial presumptions. Actually, in cases of children buried in Viminacium and according to archaeological research, it was not possible to conclude that there was a special funerary form that would have been intended for children only. Even in the case of grave goods it was not determined that only specific items could be connected to children, since they were also unearthed in the graves of adults.

One should also consider that different child burial types do not necessarily reflect their economic status, but a deep personal belief of *mors immatura*, actually of an unnatural, early death of a family member. Those who buried expressed their pain in a tangible way, but by different means. This is where parents' determination derived from the intention to protect the child from the dangers of the afterlife all possible means. Expressing social status was less important than the need to give the child some kind of protection secured with amulets. Once they were deposited next to the deceased, the items remained invisible to the living and their effects were reserved for the dead and for their guardians in the underworld.⁴¹³

Funerary rituals and traditions are based on the beliefs of specific social groups and they represent elements of local tradition. They can change in time, as a reflection of specific social changes. Within this framework, grave goods should be considered indicators of the gender, age and social status of the deceased, but not exclusively, since there were also other factors/issues. For example, the accessibility of specific items/materials can be connected to economic or regional conditions. Furthermore, the presence or absence of some apotropaic or prophylactic grave goods in children's graves can represent a consequence of regional cultural differences based on a pre-Roman heritage. On the other hand, certain general rules were observed; perforated coins, miniature phallus shaped pendants, wild animals' teeth, sea shells, *bullae*, bells, etc. Tracing these phenomena over a longer period of time and in different parts of the Roman Empire reveals a great complexity and variety in funerary rit-

413 Crummy 2010, 78.

412 Pearce 2001, 136.

413 Crummy 2010, 78.

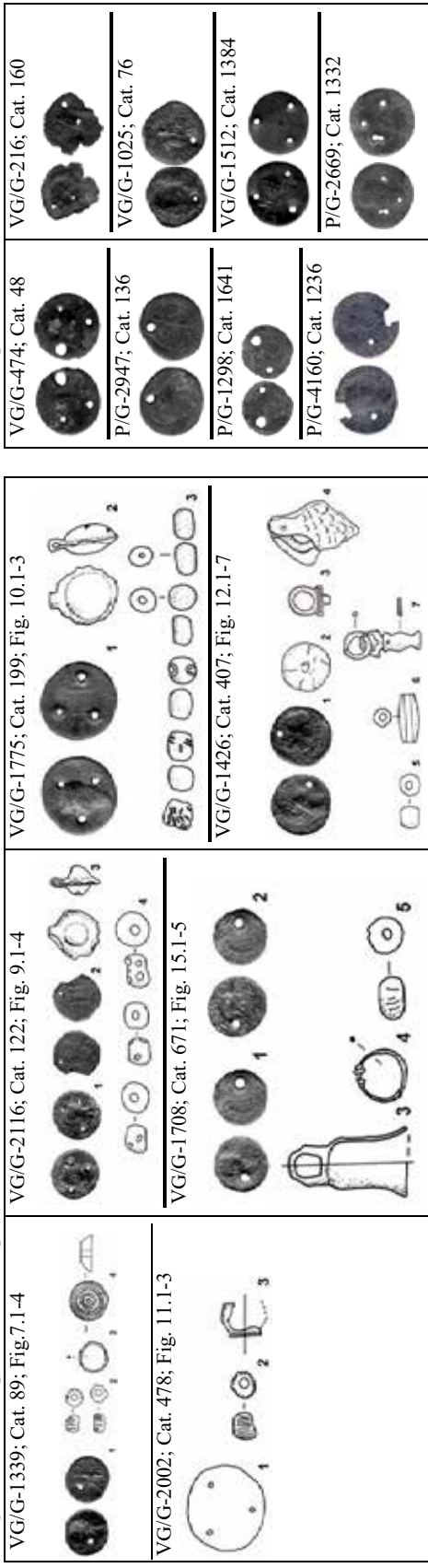
uals of newborns and children. However, this is something that could have been expected, considering the immense size of the Empire and the multitude of different ethnical communities that within its borders. During the last two decades, research of the cemeteries and the city of Viminacium has been multidisciplinary. It is ongoing and it will certainly help to further enlighten not only funerary rituals, but also all of the spheres of life in Roman times.

Krepundije
Crepundiae





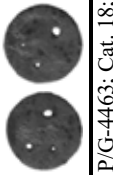
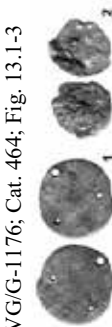




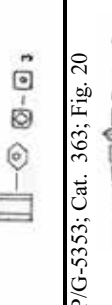











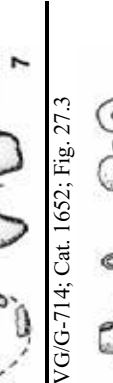









Niske s amuletskim privescima – krepundije u širem smislu

Strings with amulet pendants – *Crepundiae* in a wider sense of the word

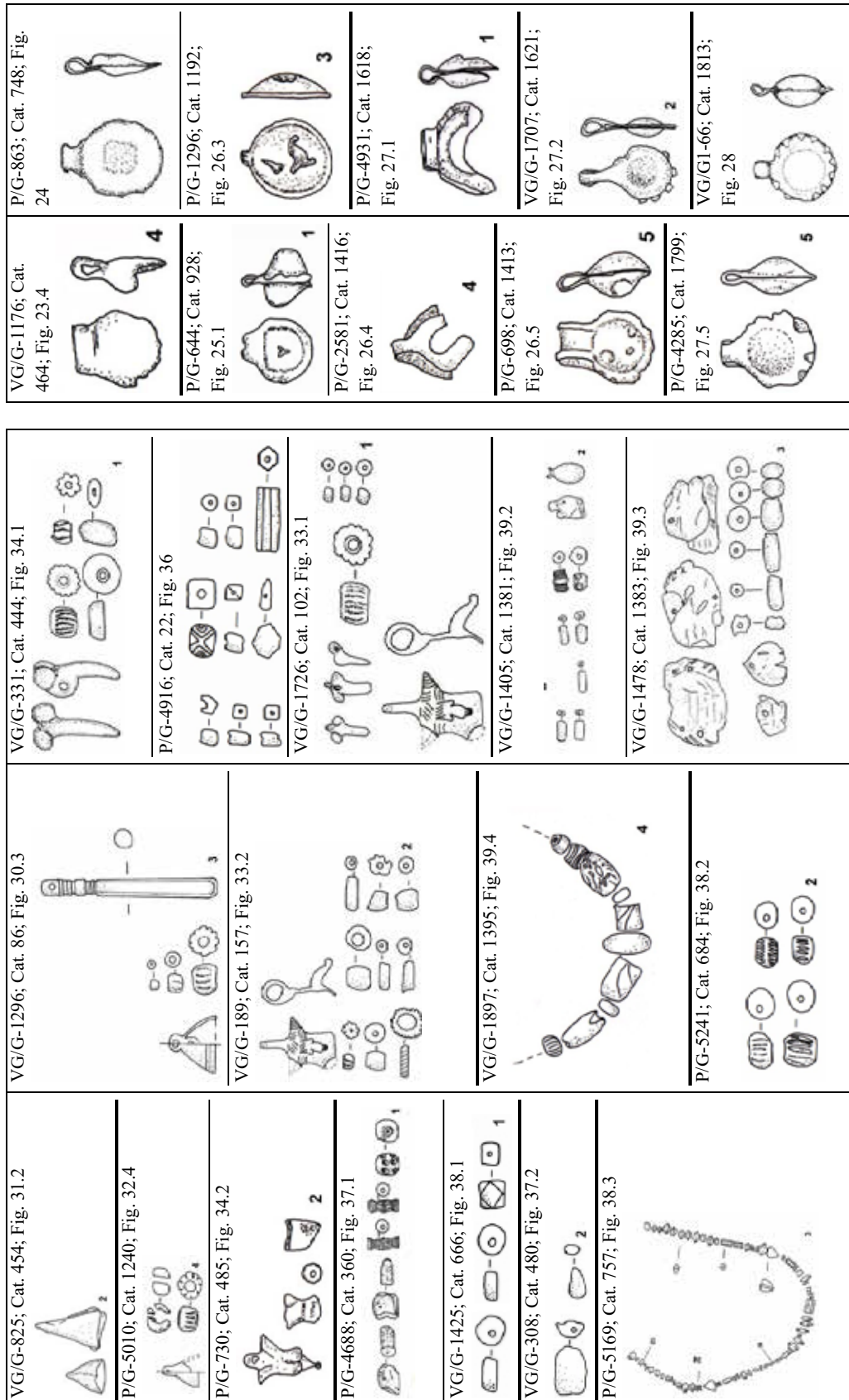


MORS IMMATURA
 NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
 južna nekropola Viminacijuma








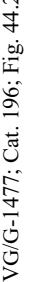















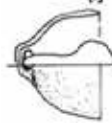


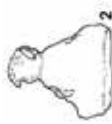

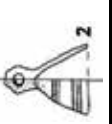

<p>VG/G-1897; Cat. 1395; Fig. 18.1-3</p> 	<p>VG/G-706; Cat. 380; Fig. 14.1-3</p> 	<p>P/G-5275; Cat. 24; Fig. 22.8</p> 	<p>P/G-227; Cat. 1412</p> 	<p>P/G-3541; Cat. 1229</p> 
<p>VG/G-1176; Cat. 464; Fig. 13.1-3</p> 	<p>VG/G-939; Cat. 1016; Fig. 25.3</p> 	<p>P/G-5021; Cat. 1321; Fig. 26.1</p> 	<p>VG/G-1825; Cat. 1286</p> 	<p>P/G-4463; Cat. 18; Fig. 22.1</p> 
<p>P/G-5353; Cat. 363; Fig. 20</p> 	<p>P/G-1213; Cat. 1355; Fig. 26.2</p> 	<p>P/G-3434; Cat. 1419; Fig. 26.8</p> 	<p>VG/G-1949; Cat. 109; Fig. 22.2</p> 	<p>VG/G-2082; Cat. 116; Fig. 22.3</p> 
<p>P/G-2722; Cat. 1688; Fig. 27.4</p> 	<p>P/G-3239; Cat. 1223; Fig. 26.6</p> 	<p>P/G-4335; Cat. 1430; Fig. 26.7</p> 	<p>P/G-1671; Cat. 3, Fig. 22.4</p> 	<p>VG/G-348; Cat. 168; Fig. 22.5</p> 
<p>P/G-1897; Cat. 1395; Fig. 18.1-3</p> 	<p>P/G-4790; Cat. 20; Fig. 22.7</p> 	<p>VG/G-714; Cat. 1652; Fig. 27.3</p> 	<p>P/G-4934; Cat. 361; Fig. 23.1</p> 	<p>VG/G-216; Cat. 160; Fig. 22.6</p> 
<p>P/G-1897; Cat. 1395; Fig. 18.1-3</p> 	<p>P/G-4790; Cat. 20; Fig. 22.7</p> 	<p>VG/G-2124; Cat. 1401; Fig. 32.5</p> 	<p>VG/G-92; Cat. 435; Fig. 23.2</p> 	<p>VG/G-407; Cat. 447; Fig. 23.3</p> 

Nastavlja se...
 To be continued...

MORS IMMATURA
COINAGE AND APOTROPAIC-PROPHYLACTIC ELEMENTS IN FUNERARY RITUALS –
 southern Viminacium cemetery



MORS IMMATURA
 NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
 južna nekropola Viminacijuma

<p>VG/G-1707; Cat. 1621; Fig. 40.1</p> 	<p>VG/G-261; Cat. 38; Fig. 44.1</p>  <p>P/G-2675; Cat. 1692; Fig. 40.2</p>  <p>VG/G-1785; Cat. 736; Fig. 48.1</p> 	<p>VG/G-536; Cat. 1370; Fig. 39.6</p>     	<p>VG/G-1477; Cat. 196; Fig. 44.2</p>   <p>P/G-3041; Cat. 1418; Fig. 39.7</p> 	<p>VG/G-895; Cat. 390; Fig. 47</p>   	<p>P/G-4552; Cat. 1710; Fig. 40.3</p>   	<p>VG/G-490; Cat. 1367; Fig. 45</p>  	<p>P/G-3572; Cat. 1420; Fig. 29.2</p> 	<p>VG/G-1268; Cat. 85; Fig. 30.1</p> 	<p>P/G-2559; Cat. 351; Fig. 31.1</p> 	<p>VG/G-1655; Cat. 1388; Fig. 32.3</p> 	<p>P/G-4552; Cat. 1710; Fig. 35</p> 	<p>P/G-476; Cat. 579; Fig. 29.1</p> 	<p>VG/G-1042; Cat. 183; Fig. 30.2</p> 	<p>VG/G-1373; Cat. 1268; Fig. 32.1</p> 	<p>P/G-4928; Cat. 1350; Fig. 32.2</p> 	<p>VG/G-1733; Cat. 1281; Fig. 39.5</p> 
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Nastavlja se...
 To be continued...

MORS IMMATURA
 COINAGE AND APOTROPAIC-PROPHYLACTIC ELEMENTS IN FUNERARY RITUALS –
 southern Viminacium cemetery


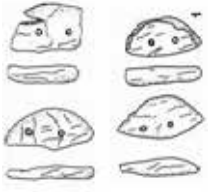





<p>VG/G-811, Cat. 418; Fig. 49.1</p> 	<p>P/G-1327; Cat. 940; Fig. 41.1</p>  <p>VG/G-939; Cat. 1016; Fig. 41.2</p>  <p>VG/G-1733; Cat. 1281; Fig. 43</p> 	<p>P/G-1025; Cat. 1012; Fig. 41.3</p>  <p>P/G-551; Cat. 1096; Fig. 42</p>  <p>VG/G-856; Cat. 181; Fig. 46</p> 
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Tabela 37 Pregled krepundija i amuletskih privezaka nošenih samostalno
Table 37 An overview of *crepundiae* and amulet pendants worn alone

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Dnevnik terenskih istraživanja Pećine = Fieldwork diary Pećine.

Dnevnik terenskih istraživanja Više grobalja = Fieldwork diary Više grobalja.

DIMENZIJE ILUSTROVANIH PREDMETA DIMENSIONS OF ILLUSTRATED ARTIFACTS

Fig. 7 (1) R 26,90 mm; (2) R 1–1,4 cm; (3) 2,5 cm; (4) R 2,7 cm

Fig. 8 (1) R 29,10 mm; (2) height 3,5 cm; (3) R 0,7–1 cm; (4) length 3 cm; (5) R 1,3 cm; (6) length 0,7–1,5 cm; (7) length 4,5 cm; (8) length 7 cm; (9) length 3,9 cm

Fig. 9 (1) 21,70 mm; (2) 18,00 mm; (3) height 2,2 cm; (4) R 0,9–1 cm

Fig. 10 (1) 27,70 mm; (2) height 2,4 cm; R 0,7–0,9 cm

Fig. 11 (1) 20,80 mm; (2) R 1,9 cm; (3) length 1,7 cm

Fig. 12 (1) 27,00 mm; (2) R 2,7 cm; (3) length 2,4 cm; (4) length 5,3 cm; (5) R 1,3 cm; (6) length 3,7 cm; (7) length 4,2 cm

Fig. 13 (1) 27,00 mm; (2) 19,00 mm; (3) R 0,7–1,2 cm

Fig. 14 (1) 18,90 mm; (2) length 1–1,7 cm; (3) 3,2 cm

Fig. 15 (1) 14,90 mm; (2) 16,40 mm; (3) height 6,2 cm; (4) R 1,6 cm; (5) R 1,1 cm

Fig. 16 (1) 30,00 mm; (2) height 2,5 cm; (3) height 2,8 cm; (4) R 1,8 cm; (5) length 2,2 cm; (6) R 1–2 cm; (7) length 0,8–1 cm; (8) length 3 cm; (9) height 5 cm; (10) height 2,8 cm; (11) length 11 cm; (12) length 1–4 cm; (13) length 1,5 cm

Fig. 17 R 26,00 mm; R 0,9 cm; R 0,3 cm; R 0,6 cm; R 1,8 cm; R 1,7 cm; length 2,5 cm; height 2,7 cm; R 1,4 cm; R 2,7 cm

Fig. 18 (1) length 3 cm; (2) length 1,8 cm; (3) R 22,00 mm

Fig. 19 (beads) R 1–1,8 cm; (coins) R 1,8–2,5 cm; (ring) R 1,9 cm; (sea shell) height 3 cm; (wild boar tooth) height 9 cm

Fig. 20 (beads) length 0,5–1,5 cm; (pendant) height 3,4 cm; (medallion) height 2,9 cm

Fig. 21 (1) height 3–3,3 cm; (2) height 2,2 cm; (3) length 5 cm; (4) length 2,2 cm; (5, 6, 7) R 1–1,5 cm

Fig. 22 (1) height 3 cm; (2) height 2,2 cm; (3) height 2,4 cm; (4) height 3 cm; (5) height 3 cm; (6) height 2,8 cm; (7) height 2,8 cm, height 2 cm; (8) height 2 cm, length 0,4–2,4 cm, height 2 cm

Fig. 23 (1) height 2,6 cm; (2) height 2,6 cm; (3) height 2 cm; (4) height 2,3 cm

Fig. 24 height 2,1 cm

Fig. 25 (1) height 2,8 cm; height 2,5 cm, length 2,1 cm; height 2,7 cm, R 1,1 cm, length 4 cm

Fig. 26 (1) height 2,8–3 cm; (2) height 2,5–2,4 cm, R 1–1,5 cm; (3) height 2,2 cm; (4) height 2 cm; (5) height 2,6 cm; (6) height 2,8 cm, length 0,6–1,8 cm, height 2,5 cm; (7) width 3 cm; (8) height 2,3 cm, R 0,8 cm

Fig. 27 (1) height 1,5 cm; (2) height 3,1 cm; (3) height 3 cm, R 0,8–1 cm; (4) (*bullae*) height 2,5 cm, (hoops) R 2–3 cm, (chain) length 12,5 cm; (5) height 2,7 cm

Fig. 28 height 2,6 cm

Fig. 29 (1) R 10,7 cm; (2) R 12,2 cm

Fig. 30 (1) height 2,9 cm; (2) height 2 cm; (3) height 2 cm, R 0,7–1,6 cm, height 7 cm

Fig. 31 (1) height 1,8 cm; (2) height 1,8–3 cm

Fig. 32 (1) height 1,9 cm; (2) height 1,8 cm; (3) height 2,3 cm; (4) height 1,6 cm, R 1 cm; (5) height 2 cm, height 6,2 cm

Fig. 33 (1) height 2,5 cm, R 2,5 cm, R 1–1,5 cm; (2) height 4,2 cm, R 0,8–cm

Fig. 34 (1) height 4,4 cm, R 1–1,3 cm; (2) R 0,5–1,7 cm

Fig. 35 height 2,3 cm

Fig. 36 length 0,5–2,5 cm

Fig. 37 (1) length 1,2 cm, length 1,3 cm, R 0,8 cm; (2) length 1–2 cm

Fig. 38 (1) R 0,7–1 cm; (2) R 0,7–1,2 cm; (3) (beads) length 0,2–1 cm

Fig. 39 (1) length 6,3 cm; (2) length 0,8–1,8 cm; (3) length 1,9–4,1 cm; (4) (beads) length 0,2–2,2 cm; (5) height 2,3 cm; (6) length 1–2,2 cm, length 10,5 cm; (7) (beads) length 0,2–1,1 cm

Fig. 40 (1) R 0,7–1 cm; (2) R/length 0,2–1,2 cm; (3) R 0,6–1,3 cm

Fig. 41 (1) length 3 cm; (2) length 3,5 cm; (3) length 3,8 cm

Fig. 42 length 3–4 cm

Fig. 43 length 3 cm

Fig. 44 (1) height 2,5 cm, R 1–2 cm; (2) R 7,4 cm, R 2,8 cm, height 3,2 cm

Fig. 45 length 6,7 cm, length 8,3 cm, R 1,5–2,7 cm

Fig. 46 length 4,8 cm

Fig. 47 length 4,2 cm, R 1,5 cm, (beads) R 1 cm

Fig. 48 length 28 cm

Fig. 49 (pendant) height 2,5 cm, (beads) R 1–2,3 cm

Fig. 51 (1) height 2 cm; (2) R 1,2–1,5 cm; (3) R 2–2,2 cm, (chain) length 5 cm

Fig. 52 (1) height 2 cm; (2) R 0,5–0,8 cm; (3) length 1,3 cm

Fig. 53 (1) R 2–2,2 cm; (2) R/length 1,2–2,5 cm

Fig. 54 (1) R 0,5–0,8 cm; (2) R 2,3–2,7 cm; (3) height 3,2 cm

Fig. 55 (1) R 0,5–1 cm; (2) R 2,1 cm

**KATALOG GROBOVA PREMA STAROSNIM SKUPINAMA
(INHUMACIJE–KREMACIJE)
CATALOGUE OF GRAVES ACCORDING TO AGE GROUPS
(INHUMATIONS – CREMATIONS)**

Notes and abbreviations:

P – Pećine site

VG – Više grobalja site

A – G/H – coin position in relation to the deceased; *cf.* Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 25, Fig. 1.

For the published graves *cf.*

VG I – Љ. Зотовић, Ч. Јордовић, *VIMINACIUM I*, Некропола „Више гробаља“, Београд 1990.

VG II – М. Korać, S. Golubović, *VIMINACIUM, Više grobalja*, Том 2, Београд 2009.

For the published coins from the Više Grobalja necropolis *cf.*

M. Vojvoda, N. Mrđić, *Coin finds from the Viminacium necropolis of Više grobalja and their role in funerary ritual*, Belgrade 2015.

For the published coins from the Pećine necropolis *cf.*

M. Vojvoda, N. Mrđić, *Coin finds from the Viminacium necropolis of Pećine and their role in funerary ritual*, Belgrade 2017.

For the published perforated coins from the Više grobalja and Pećine necropolises *cf.*

M. Vojvoda, Perforated coins from graves at the Viminacium necropolis of Više grobalja (*Starinar* LXV, 2015, 53–78);

M. Vojvoda, Perforated coins from graves at the Viminacium necropolis of Pećine (*Starinar* LXVIII, 2018, 65–87).

For the published earrings *cf.*

Б. Миловановић, *Налази наушница у римским провинцијама на територији Србије*, Београд 2007.

For the published brooches *cf.*

S. Redžić, *Nalazi rimskih fibula na nekropolama Viminacijuma*, Београд 2007.

For the belt buckles *cf.*

S. Redžić, *Rimske pojasne garniture na tlu Srbije od I do IV veka* (unpublish Phd thesis), Filozofski fakultet, Београд 2013.

CHILDREN'S INHUMATIONS GRAVES WITH A SINGLE DECEASED CHILD

AGE GROUP I (0–1)

INFANTS WHO PASSED AWAY DURING THEIR FIRST YEAR OF LIFE

I.1 – BURIED WITH GRAVE GOODS

Cat. nos.	P – Pećine; VG – Više grobalja / Grave no. / Fig.	Burial rites / dating elements, if there is no coin as grave goods	Coin/Coins and their position in relation to the deceased (from A to G/H)	Grave goods by material (except coins): pottery, metal, glass, bone, other
1	P/G-123	Plain burial / above was P/G1-19 with Domitian coin (Cat. 157)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, 2 beakers, 2 plates, lamp
2	P/G-888	Plain burial	Claudius, provincial Macedonian Koinon (Cat. 3134), position B	Pottery: pot
3	P/G-1671 Fig. 22.4	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: bronze bulla Glass: 2 <i>balsamarii</i> ; small bottle, 2 pots
4	P/G-1812	Plain burial	2 nd half of the 1 st c. (Cat. 2342), position A	Glass: 3 <i>balsamarii</i> Other: 7 perforated sea shells, 67 sea shells and sea snail
5	P/G-2137	Plain burial; near by P/G1-495 with 2 Faustina I coins (Cat 857, 895)	No coin	Pottery: pot
6	P/G-2716	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs Glass: <i>balsarium</i>
7	P/G-2773	Plain burial; near in the layer Hadrain coin was found (Cat. 603)	No coin	Pottery: bowl
8	P/G-2804 Fig. 51.1– 3	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 2 beakers, bowl, lamp Metal: iron finger-ring, bronze chain Other: 8 sea shells Parts of the string: 4 glass beads, circle bronze pendant, 2 bronze rings
9	P/G-2840	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 2 beakers Glass: 2 <i>balsamarii</i> Other: 2 sea shells
10	P/G-2889	Plain burial; near by P/G1-754 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 807)	No coin	Pottery: 2 pots, smaller pot, jug

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11	P/G-2935	Plain burial	Domitian (Cat. 204), position C	Pottery: 3 jugs
12	P/G-3055	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 643), position B	Pottery: 3 jugs, lamp Glass: fragments
13	P/G-3145	Plain burial	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 689), position H	Pottery: plate, lamp
14	P/G-3243	Plain burial; near in the layer bronze coin 1/2 1 c. was found (Cat. 2259)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs
15	P/G-3406	Plain burial; near by P/G-3402 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 706)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot
16	P/G-3700	Plain burial	1 st c. bronze coin (Cat. 2320), position B	Pottery: jug, pot, lamp
17	P/G-4304	Plain burial	Lucilla (Cat. 1072), position unknown	Pottery: 2 jugs
18	P/G-4463 Fig. 22.1	Plain burial; near by P/G-4462 with coin of Severus Alexander provincial Nicaea (Cat. 2993)	No coin	Metal: bronze <i>bulla</i>
19	P/G-4678	Plain burial	Faustina II (Cat. 1067), position A	
20	P/G-4790 Fig. 22.7	Plain burial	2 coins: Hadrian denarius (Cat. 676); Severus Alexander provincial Nicaea (Cat. 3087), position unknown	Metal: bronze <i>bulla</i> , bronze bell Bone: hair-pin
21	P/G-4877	Plain burial	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 823), position unknown	Pottery: 2 jugs
22	P/G-4916 Fig. 36	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Other: parts of the necklace: one amber and 8 glass beads
23	P/G-4937	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot
24	P/G-5275 Fig. 22.8	Plain burial; near by P/G-5261 with 3 coins: Trajan (Cat. 2354), Hadrian (Cat. 536), Antoninus Pius (Cat. 710)	No coin	Metal: silver earring (type II.a; cf. p. 13; dated 2/2 2 nd –4 th c.) Other: parts of the necklace: bronze <i>bulla</i> , bone anthropomorphic pendant, 27 glass beads
25	P/G-5304	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, lamp
26	VG/G-35 (cf. VG I, p. 57)	Plain burial; dated 1/2 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: bowl Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Bone: gaming chip

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COINAGE AND APOTROPAIC-PROPHYLACTIC ELEMENTS IN FUNERARY RITUALS –
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27	VG/G-72 (cf. VG I, p. 60)	Plain burial; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-58, VG/G-59, VG/G-60, VG/G-62, VG/G-63, VG/G-67, VG/G-69, VG/G-70, VG/G-72, VG/G-81; the whole group is dated to 2/2 of the 2 nd c.	Faustina I (Cat. 1145), position B	Pottery: 3 jugs, beaker, lamp
28	VG/G-74 (cf. VG I, p. 61)	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-77 with coin of Faustina I (Cat. 1114); above were VG/G1-74 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1241) and VG/G1-75 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1310)	Bronze coin (lost), position E	
29	VG/G-80 (cf. VG I, p. 61)	Plain burial; dated 1/2 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: 2 jugs
30	VG/G-82 (cf. VG I, p. 61)	Plain burial	Vespasian (Cat. 211), position A	Pottery: 2 beakers, pot Glass: <i>guttus</i> Metal: single blade side iron knife
31	VG/G-91 (cf. VG I, p. 62)	Plain burial	Faustina II (Cat. 1405), position B	
32	VG/G-161 (cf. VG I, p. 64)	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 2 jugs
33	VG/G-201 (cf. VG I, p. 67)	Plain burial; dated 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, lamp Metal: bronze ring
34	VG/G-224 (cf. VG I, p. 69)	Plain burial	Domitian (lost), position unknown	Pottery: lamp
35	VG/G-225 (cf. VG I, p. 69)	Plain burial; near by VG/G-217 with coin of Trajan (lost)	No coin	Glass: <i>guttus</i>
36	VG/G-247 Fig. 8.1–8 (cf. VG I, p. 70-71)	Plain burial; all the finds (except coin in mouth) were in the same place (on the pelvis of the deceased); possible in a bag or wooden box that has not been preserved; 6 iron nails with the remains of wood were found only in the area of the skull (cf. VG I, T. XLII)	2 coins: Domitian, triple perforated (Cat. 293); position F; Hadrian (Cat. 609), position B	Metal: bronze button Bone: D-shaped belt buckle (type VI, var. 1; cf. p. 80, no. 121; dated 2 nd c.) Other: parts of the one or more strings (with perforated coin): bronze <i>bulla</i> , 3 ceramic beads, 2 glass beads, amber pendant, bronze pendant with hoop, wild boar tooth pendant with bronze ring, cattle tooth pendant with bronze ring, sea snail pendant with bronze ring (cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 212, 6p. 221)

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 NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
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37	VG/G-252 (cf. VG I, p. 71)	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs
38	VG/G-261 Fig. 44.1 (cf. VG I, p. 72)	Plain burial; dated 2/2 1 st or 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: 2 beakers Metal: silver earring (type V.a; cf. p. 68, no. 246; dated 2 nd – end of the 3 rd c.) Other: cattle tooth pendant, ceramic bead
39	VG/G-275 (cf. VG II, p. 265)	Plain burial; dated 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: pot Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
40	VG/G-276 (cf. VG II, p. 266)	Plain burial	2 nd c. (lost), position G	Pottery: bowl
41	VG/G-280 (cf. VG II, p. 280)	Plain burial	M. Aurelius caesar (Cat. 1213), position A	Pottery: 2 beakers Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
42	VG/G-303 (cf. VG II, p. 284)	Plain burial; below was VG/G-322 with coin of Domitian (Cat. 2495); dated 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, beaker
43	VG/G-307 (cf. VG II, p. 287)	Plain burial; dated 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: beaker
44	VG/G-323 (cf. VG II, p. 294)	Plain burial; dated 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: pot, beaker, bowl Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
45	VG/G-372 (cf. VG II, p. 324)	Plain burial	End of the 1 st or beginning of the 2 nd c. (Cat. 2017), position B	Pottery: 3 jugs, lamp
46	VG/G-405 (cf. VG II, p. 344)	Plain burial	1 st c. (Cat. 1973), position D	Pottery: jug Other: 6 sea shells
47	VG/G-435 (cf. VG II, p. 360)	Plain burial; dated 2 nd c.	No coin	Other: sea shell
48	VG/G-474 (cf. VG II, p. 384)	Plain burial	2 coins: 2 nd c., triple perforated (Cat. 2109), position D; Trajan (Cat. 1817), position D	Pottery: beaker Other: 9 sea shells
49	VG/G-485 (cf. VG II, p. 391)	Plain burial; dated 2 nd c.	No coin	Other: 5 sea shells
50	VG/G-501 (cf. VG II, p. 404)	Plain burial	Domitian (Cat. 310), position B	

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51	VG/G-506 (cf. VG II, p. 406)	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 525), postion H	Pottery: 2 jugs
52	VG/G-518 (cf. VG II, p. 414)	Plain burial; dated in 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: pot Glass: 2 <i>balsamarii</i> Bone: 2 spatulas
53	VG/G-548 (cf. VG II, p. 437)	Plain burial	Domitian (Cat. 313), position B	Bone: sewing needle
54	VG/G-553	Plain burial	Nero (Cat. 1783), position A	
55	VG/G-598	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 572), position A	
56	VG/G-603	Plain burial; near are children's graves: VG/G-604 (coin of Hadrian, Cat. 705); VG/G-605; VG/G-616 and VG/G-622	No coin	Pottery: pot
57	VG/G-611	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 523), position unknown	Pottery: pot
58	VG/G-646	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs
59	VG/G-680	Plain burial; no dating elements	Bronze coin (lost), position C	
60	VG/G-723	Plain burial	Vespasian (Cat. 193), position A	
61	VG/G-744	Plain burial; near in the layer bronze coin of Hadrian was found (Cat. 806)	No coin	Other: 2 glass beads
62	VG/G-751	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot, bowl, miniature pot
63	VG/G-754	Plain burial; near by VG/G-843 with coin of Gaius (Agrippa) (Cat. 88)	No coin	potery: bowl
64	VG/G-778	Plain burial	Gordian III provincial Viminacium (Cat. 2577), position F	Pottery: pot Other: glass bead
65	VG/G-800	Plain burial; near by VG/G-809 with coin of Faustina II <i>diva</i> (Cat. 1400)	No coin	Pottery: pot
66	VG/G-808	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 532), position D	
67	VG/G-824	Plain burial; near by VG/G-825 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 1821)	No coin	Pottery: bowl, lamp

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NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
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68	VG/G-837	Plain burial; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-837 (bronze coin, lost); VG/G-848 (coin of Claudius, Cat. 130), VG/G-852, VG/G-853, VG/G-870	Bronze coin (lost), position A	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot Metal: bronze pendant Other: stone pendant
69	VG/G-897	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-722 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 436)	Bronze coin broken (Cat. 2676), position unknown	Pottery: pot, 2 bowls, plate Metal: bronze mount Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
70	VG/G-903	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
71	VG/G-951	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot
72	VG/G-952	Plain burial	1 st c. bronze coin (Cat. 1953), position unknown	Glass: 2 <i>balsamarii</i>
73	VG/G-957	Plain burial	Faustina II (Cat. 1392), position unknown	Pottery: pot, lamp
74	VG/G-967	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs
75	VG/G-972	Plain burial	Trajan (Cat. 464), position unknown	Pottery: 2 jugs, bowl, lamp
76	VG/G-1025	Plain burial	Hadrian, single perforated (Cat. 608), position G	
77	VG/G-1066	Plain burial	Faustina II (Cat. 1381), position A	Pottery: 3 jugs
78	VG/G-1067	Plain burial; damaged the VG/G-1066 with coin of Faustina II (Cat. 1381)	No coin	Pottery: jug, beaker
79	VG/G-1106	Plain burial; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-1101, VG/G-1102, VG/G-1106; G-1102 damaged the VG/G-896 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 565)	No coin	Pottery: lamp
80	VG/G-1196	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Glass: 2 <i>balsamarii</i>
81	VG/G-1236	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1072 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 435)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, bowl, lamp
82	VG/G-1251	Plain burial	Vespasian (Cat. 181), position unknown	Metal: bronze mount
83	VG/G-1264	Plain burial near by VG/G-1261 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 538)	No coin	Pottery: 2 jugs

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84	VG/G-1267	Plain burial	2 coins: Claudius (Cat. 93); Trajan Decius provincial Dacia (Cat. 2605), position unknown both	Pottery: 2 jugs, bowl
85	VG/G-1268 Fig. 30.1	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1209 with coin of Elagabalus (Cat. 1602)	No coin	Pottery: jug, pot Metal: bronze bell
86	VG/G-1296 Fig. 30.3	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Other: 2 sea snails; parts of the necklace: bronze bell, bone pendant, 3 glass beads
87	VG/G-1309	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1359 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 559)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs
88	VG/G-1319	Plain burial; near by children's VG/G-1267 with 2 coins (<i>cf.</i> Cat. this group)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs Other: 2 glass beads
89	VG/G-1339 Fig. 7.1–4	Plain burial	Trajan, single perforated (Cat. 499), position D	Pottery: jug Other: 3 sea shells; parts of the necklace: bronze ring, 2 glass beads, circle glass pendant, perforated coin
90	VG/G-1346	Plain burial	Trajan (Cat. 475), position unknown	
91	VG/G-1362	Plain burial	1/2 1st c. bronze coin (Cat. 1772), position unknown	Pottery: jug, 3 lamps Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
92	VG/G-1369	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 639), position unknown	Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> , double-handled jar
93	VG/G-1408	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: bowl
94	VG/G-1415	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1460 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1089)	No coin	Pottery: pot, lamp
95	VG/G-1416	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1415 and VG/G-1460 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1089)	No coin	Pottery: pot, lamp
96	VG/G-1421	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1261 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 874) and VG/G1-1262 with 2 coins: Severus Alexander provincial Nicaea (Cat. 2239); bronze coin (lost)	No coin	Pottery: 2 censers, 2 lamps

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NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
južna nekropola Viminacijuma

97	VG/G-1422	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1421 and VG/G1-1261 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 874) and VG/G1-1262 with 2 coins: Severus Alexander provincial Nicaea (Cat. 2239); bronze coin (lost)	No coin	Pottery: 2 censers, 2 lamps
98	VG/G-1521	Plain burial	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 892), position A	Pottery: 3 jugs
99	VG/G-1543	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1544 with coin of Faustina I (Cat. 1158);	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot
100	VG/G-1660	Plain burial	Domitian (Cat. 264), position B	
101	VG/G-1699	Plain burial	Severus Alexander provincial Nicaea (Cat. 2324), position unknown	
102	VG/G-1726 Fig. 33.1 (cf. Spasić-Đurić 2008, p. 135-139)	Plain burial; dated from middle of the 2 nd to the middle of the 3 rd c.	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, 3 beakers, lamp Metal: iron key Glass: 3 <i>balsamarii</i> Other: 5 sea shells; parts of the necklace: 3 ceramic beads, glass bead, phallic bronze pendant
103	VG/G-1740	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1376 with 3 coins: 1/2 1 st c. bronze coin (Cat. 1775); Faustina I (Cat. 1275); bronze coin (lost)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, lamp
104	VG/G-1752	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1538 with 2 coins of: Domitian (Cat. 256); Faustina II (Cat. 1404)	No coin	Pottery: jug, pot, lamp, miniature jug
105	VG/G-1805	Plain burial; damaged by children's VG/G-1806 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 526)	No coin	Pottery: pot, 2 beakers
106	VG/G-1811	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, plate
107	VG/G-1884	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1881 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 511)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, bowl
108	VG/G-1946	Plain burial	1 st c. bronze coin (Cat. 1930), position unknown	Pottery: jug
109	VG/G-1949 Fig. 22.2	Plain burial; above was VG/G1-1577 with coin of Faustina II (Cat. 1892)	No coin	Metal: bronze <i>bullae</i>
110	VG/G-1965	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: lamp Glass: <i>guttus</i>

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111	VG/G-1981	Plain burial; near by children's VG/G-2002 with 2 coins: Hadrian (Cat. 688); bronze coin triply perforated (lost)	No coin	Metal: bronze ring
112	VG/G-1999	Plain burial; near by children's VG/G-1986 A, B (Cat. group VI.1, Cat. 1046) with bronze coin dated to end of 2 nd or beginning of the 3 rd c. (Cat. 2131)	No coin	Pottery: pot
113	VG/G-2030	Plain burial	Severus Alexander provincial Nicaea (Cat. 2287), position A	
114	VG/G-2064	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: jug, 2 pots
115	VG/G-2077	Plain burial; near by VG/G-2089 with coin of Valentinianus I (Cat. 1704)	No coin	Pottery: pot Metal: iron mount, iron cramp Other: 4 sea shells
116	VG/G-2082 Fig. 22.3	Plain burial; near by VG/G-2102 with bronze coin from the end of the 4 th c. (Cat. 2152)	No coin	Pottery: pot Metal: bronze <i>bullā</i>
117	VG/G-2088	Plain burial; near by VG/G-2089 with coin of Valentinianus I (Cat. 1704)	No coin	Pottery: <i>balsamarium</i> , pot
118	VG/G-2092	Plain burial; near by VG/G-2089 with coin of Valentinianus I (Cat. 1704)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, beaker, lamp
119	VG/G-2099	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1676 with coin of Claudius (Cat. 104)	No coin	Pottery: jug, bowl, plate, lamp
120	VG/G-2100	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1715 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 774)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs
121	VG/G-2105	Plain burial; above was VG/G1-1726 with coin of Severus Alexander (2316)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
122	VG/G-2116 Fig. 9.1–4	Plain burial, near by VG/G-2114	2 coins: Trajan, triple perforated, provincial Heraclea Pontica (Cat. 2620); 3 rd c., single perforated, provincial Nicaea (Cat. 2618), position unknown both	Pottery: jug, pot Metal: bronze button Other: parts of the necklace: bronze <i>bullā</i> , 3 glass beads, 2 perforated coins

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123	VG/G-2130	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 5 jugs
124	VG/G-2139	Plain burial; near by children's VG/G-2133 with 2 coins: Nero (Cat. 148); Domitian (Cat. 279)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs
125	VG/G-2152	Plain burial; above was VG/G1-1726 with coin of Severus Alexander (2316)	Bronze coin (lost), position unknown	Pottery: 3 jugs, bowl, lamp Other: 2 sea shells
126	VG/G-2175	Plain burial; damaged the VG/G1-1762 with coin of Claudius provincial Macedonian koinon (Cat. 2487)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs; pot
127	VG/G-2190	Plain burial; near by VG/G-2189 (Hadrian coin, Cat. 597) and VG/G-2188 (Hadrian coin, Cat. 818)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, lamp Glass: <i>guttus</i>
128	VG/G-2202	Plain burial; damaged by VG/G1-1769 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 673)	Claudius (Cat. 132), position unknown	Pottery: 2 jugs
129	P/G-295	Plain burial covered with amphora	Antoninus Pius (lost), position unknown	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
130	P/G-3293	Plain burial covered with amphora; near in the layer coins were found: Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 1027) and 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2491)	No coin	Pottery: lamp
131	P/G-5003	Plain burial covered with pot; near by P/G-5001 with coin of Nero provincial Macedonian koinon (Cat. no 3135)	No coin	Pottery: pot, lamp
132	VG/G-210 (cf. VG I, p. 68)	In amphora; near by VG/G-245 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 1845)	No coin	Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> , <i>guttus</i> Metal: bronze pendant in the form of a key with bronze ring Other: glass bead
133	VG/G-673	In amphora; below was VG/G-685 with coin of Domitian (Cat. 277)	No coin	Metal: bronze button
134	VG/G-1091	In amphora	Tiberius (<i>divus Augustus pater</i>) (Cat. 48), position unknown	Pottery: lamp

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135	P/G-2719	In wooden coffin	No coin	Pottery: pot, lamp Metal: 2 gold earrings (type VI.a.2; <i>cf.</i> p. 83, no. 357; dated 2 nd –3 rd c.) Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Bone: 3 sewing needles
136	P/G-2947	In wooden coffin	3 coins: Nero provincial Side (?), single perforated (Cat. 3388), position A; Trajan (Cat. 386), position B; Hadrian (Cat. 2405), position D	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, lamp
137	P/G-3062	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 648), position B	
138	P/G-3117	In wooden coffin	Nerva (Cat. 233), position D	Pottery: lamp Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
139	P/G-3250	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 429), position unknown	Pottery: 3 jugs, bowl, lamp
140	P/G-3254	In wooden coffin; below was P/G-3255 with coin of Augustus (Cat. 22)	No coin	Pottery: 3 beakers Metal: bronze bracelet
141	P/G-3374	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 598), position D	Pottery: 3 jugs Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
142	P/G-3397	In wooden coffin	Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 1005), position unknown	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, lamp
143	P/G-3399	In wooden coffin	Marcus Aurelius caesar (Cat. 920), position unknown	Pottery: 3 pots
144	P/G-3427	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 422), position B	Pottery: 3 jugs
145	P/G-3479	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 2 jugs, pot, lamp Metal: bronze mount
146	P/G-4386	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	No coin	Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
147	P/G-4604	In wooden coffin	Gordian III provincial Viminacium (Cat. 3187), position F	
148	P/G-4758	In wooden coffin	1st c. bronze coin (Cat. 2309); position unknown	
149	P/G-5013	In wooden coffin; dislocated bones	Caracalla provincial Stobi (Cat. 3169), position unknown	Pottery: lamp
150	VG/G-52 (<i>cf.</i> VG I, p. 59)	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1869), position D	Pottery: bowl (with a piece of sulfur), lamp

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151	VG/G-83 (cf. VG I, p. 61)	In wooden coffin	Domitian (Cat. 296), position B	Pottery: 3 jugs, lamp Metal: bronze mount Bone: 2 hair-pins (cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 196, бр. 159), 8 sewing needles Other: 8 sea shells
152	VG/G-85 (cf. VG I, p. 62)	In wooden coffin; dated 1/2 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: beaker, lamp Metal: bronze and iron mounts, iron handle Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Other: 4 sea shells
153	VG/G-160 (cf. VG I, p. 64)	In wooden coffin; dated middle 2 nd –middle 3 rd c.	No coin	Pottery: 2 jugs, beaker Metal: bronze brooch (type XXI, var. 4; cf. p. 47, no. 241; dated middle 2 nd –middle 3 rd c.)
154	VG/G-169 (cf. VG I, p. 65)	In wooden coffin;	2 nd c. bronze coin (lost), position B	Pottery: pot (with a piece of sulfur)
155	VG/G-182 (cf. VG I, p. 66)	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot
156	VG/G-188 (cf. VG I, p. 66)	In wooden coffin (on the left flank)	2 nd c. bronze coin (lost), position B	
157	VG/G-189 Fig. 33.2 (cf. VG I, p. 66; Спасић-Ђурић 2008, p. 128-130)	In wooden coffin	2 coins: bronze coin (lost); 2 nd c. bronze coin (lost), position unknown	Bone: double row comb Other: sea snail; parts of the necklace: phallic bone pendant, bone bead, 9 glass beads
158	VG/G-208 (cf. VG I, p. 67-68)	In wooden coffin; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-179, VG/G-195, VG/G-196, VG/G-199, VG/G-208, VG/G-215; VG/G-179 damaged by VG/G1-162 with coin of Hadrian (lost); whole group is dated in 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: jug, bowl, lamp
159	VG/G-212 (cf. VG I, p. 68)	In wooden coffin; dated 1/2 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: beaker
160	VG/G-216 Fig. 21.1–7 Fig. 22.6 (cf. VG I, p. 68)	In wooden coffin covered with stones	3 coins: Domitian (Cat. 294), position A; 1 st c., triple perforated (Cat. 1909), position A (with remnants of fabric); illegible bronze coin (lost), position F	Pottery: 3 jugs Metal: 3 bronze <i>bullae</i> , silver <i>bullae</i> , 2 small bronze bells Other: vertebrae of young cattle (in which the coin was placed – lost); 3 sea shells; parts of the necklace (to which probably belong 2 bronze and silver <i>bullae</i> and 2 bells); 2 glass beads, bone bead, wild boar tooth pendant with bronze ring

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161	VG/G-217 (cf. VG I, p. 68)	In wooden coffin	Trajan (lost), position unknown	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot Other: ceramic bead
162	VG/G-234 (cf. VG I, p. 69)	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 2 jugs, pot, beaker
163	VG/G-240 (cf. VG I, p. 70)	In wooden coffin; dated 1/2 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot
164	VG/G-249 (cf. VG I, p. 71)	In wooden coffin	Faustina I (Cat. 1175), position B	Pottery: pot, 2 beakers, lamp
165	VG/G-251 (cf. VG I, p. 71)	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (lost), position G/H	Pottery: lamp Metal: gold earring (type V.a; cf. p. 66, no. 227; dated 2 nd –end of 3 rd c.) Other: sea shell
166	VG/G-290 Fig. 52.1–3 (cf. VG II, p. 277)	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1006), position B	Pottery: pot, beaker, lamp Other: parts of the string: bone pendant with bronze ring, 3 ceramic beads, bronze string buckle
167	VG/G-328 (cf. VG II, p. 296)	In wooden coffin	Faustina I (Cat. 1182), position B	Pottery: beaker
168	VG/G-348 Fig. 22.5 (cf. VG II, p. 307-308)	In wooden coffin	Vespasian (lost), position unknown	Pottery: 3 jugs, lamp Metal: bronze <i>bullā</i> , bronze sewing needle Bone: sewing needle
169	VG/G-361 (cf. VG II, p. 316)	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G-350 with Antoninus Pius coin (Cat. 1094); dated 2/2 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs Other: 4 sea shells
170	VG/G-365 (cf. VG II, p. 318)	In wooden coffin	Faustina I (Cat. 1183), position B	Pottery: beaker Other: glass bead
171	VG/G-370 (cf. VG II, p. 322)	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (lost), position A	Pottery: 3 jugs, beaker
172	VG/G-462 (cf. VG II, p. 377)	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G-418 with coin of Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 1889); dated end of the 2 nd or beginning of the 3 rd c.	No coin	Pottery: beaker, bowl Other: 6 sea shells
173	VG/G-483 (cf. VG II, p. 390)	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G1-390 with 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2090); dated 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs

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174	VG/G-511 (cf. VG II, p. 409)	In wooden coffin; near were: VG/G1-817 with coin of Marcus Aurelius caesar (Cat. 1214) and VG/G1-373 with coin of Lucilla (Cat. 1425); dated 2/2 of 2 nd or beginning of the 3 rd c.	Bronze coin (lost), position F	Pottery: bowl
175	VG/G-522 (cf. VG II, p. 416)	In wooden coffin	Lucius Verus (Cat. 1364), position B	Pottery: 2 pots Other: 2 river shells
176	VG/G-530 (cf. VG II, p. 423)	In wooden coffin	Caracalla, provincial (unknown) (Cat. 2633), position B	Pottery: pot
177	VG/G-561	In wooden coffin	Claudius (Cat. 106), position B	Pottery: pot
178	VG/G-740	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 509), position A	Pottery: 3 jugs; pot, beaker, lamp
179	VG/G-760	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G-767 with 2 nd c. coin (Cat. 2071)	No coin	Pottery: pot
180	VG/G-764	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G-775 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1864)	No coin	Pottery: 2 jugs Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
181	VG/G-856 Fig. 46.1–2	In wooden coffin; near were: VG/G-809 with coin of Faustina I (Cat. 1400) and VG/G-810 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1021)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs Metal: bronze object (?); bronze application (in the shape of a frog) Other: perforated sea snail
182	VG/G-1040	In wooden coffin	Gordian III provincial Nicaea (Cat. 2412), position unknow	Pottery: pot Metal: silver spatula (placed in a pot) Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Other: parts of the necklace: 20 glass beads
183	VG/G-1042 Fig. 30.2	In wooden coffin	2 coins: Antoninus Pius (Cat. 983), position G/H; bronze coin (lost), position D	Pottery: pot, bowl Metal: bronze bell
184	VG/G-1055	In wooden coffin	Faustina I (Cat. 1122), position A	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, lamp
185	VG/G-1056	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G-1036 with Nero Macedonian koinon coin (Cat. 2490)	Bronze coin (lost), position unknown	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot
186	VG/G-1062	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G-1065 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 540)	No coin	Metal: single blade side iron knife
187	VG/G-1065	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 540), position A	Pottery: 3 jugs

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188	VG/G-1071	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1103), position A	
189	VG/G-1087	In wooden coffin	Faustina II (Cat. 1286), position B	Pottery: 3 jugs
190	VG/G-1142	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G-1141 with 2 coins: Severus Alexander provincial unknown (Cat. 2641); 3 rd c. provincial bronze coin (Cat. 2690)	No coin	Pottery: 2 jugs, pot, beaker Bone: hair-pin
191	VG/G-1160	In wooden coffin	Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 1324), position unknown	Pottery: pot, lamp
192	VG/G-1195	In wooden coffin	Nerva (Cat. 320), position A	Pottery: pot, <i>balsamarium</i> , lamp Metal: iron mounts (parts of chest)
193	VG/G-1320	In wooden coffin	Nerva (Cat. 324), position unknown	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot
194	VG/G-1333	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, lamp
195	VG/G-1337	In wooden coffin; above was VG/G1-1096 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 765)	Bronze coin (lost), position unknown	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot Other: 5 sea shells
196	VG/G-1477 Fig. 44.2	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 642), position A	Pottery: pot, beaker Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Metal: bronze ring, bronze mounts (parts of chest), bronze object (?) Other: deer antler pendant
197	VG/G-1617	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 916), position unknown	Pottery: 3 jugs, lamp
198	VG/G-1674	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G1-1365 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1080)	No coin	Pottery: pot Other: 6 glass bead
199	VG/G-1775 Fig. 10.1–3	In wooden coffin	Nero, triple perforated (Cat. 164), position unknown	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot Other: 25 sea shells; parts of the necklace: bronze <i>bullae</i> , 6 ceramic beads, 3 glass beads, perforated coin
200	VG/G-1862	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 2 miniature pots
201	VG/G-1864	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	Bronze coin (lost), position unknown	Pottery: 2 jugs, bowl, lamp
202	VG/G-1865	In wooden coffin	2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 1992), position unknown	
203	G-1995	In wooden coffin	Domitian (Cat. 241), position unknown	Pottery: 3 jugs, lamp

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204	VG/G-2001	In wooden coffin; near by children's VG/G-2002 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 688)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs
205	VG/G-2015	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G-2039 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 691)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, lamp Other: sea shell
206	VG/G-2072	In wooden coffin	Caracalla provincial Stobi (Cat. 2532), position A	Pottery: 2 beakers Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Metal: bronze bracelet (ending with snake heads) Other: glass bead
207	VG/G-2081	In wooden coffin	Domitian (Cat. 252), position unknown	Pottery: 3 jugs Glass: 2 <i>balsamarii</i> Other: 2 sea shells
208	VG/G-2159	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, lamp
209	P/G-339	In lead coffin	Septimius Severus (Cat. 1129), position B	Metal: 2 gold earrings (type IV.a1; cf. p. 64, no. 211; dated 2 nd –end of 3 rd c.) Other: glass bead
210	P/G-75	Brick-built grave; no dating elements	No coin	Other: 2 glass beads
211	P/G-317	Brick-built grave; no dating elements	No coin	Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
212	P/G-946	Brick-built grave; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: lamp
213	P/G-959	Brick-built grave	Salonina (Cat. 1268), position E	Metal: bronze needle Other: parts of the necklace: 21 beads (8 of bone, 13 of glass)
214	P/G-2886	Brick-built grave; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: gold earring (type II.a; cf. p. 39, no. 48; dated 2 nd –4 th c.)
215	P/G-3165	Brick-built grave; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot
216	P/G-4419	Brick-built grave dated 2 nd –end of 4 th c.	No coin	Metal: 2 gold earrings (type V.b; cf. p. 16; dated 2 nd –end of 4 th c.)
217	P/G-4553	Brick-built grave; dislocated bones	Bronze coin provincial Nicaea (Cat. 3361), position unknown	
218	P/G-5128	Brick-built grave; dislocated bones; no dating elements	No coin	Other: parts of the necklace: 259 glass beads
219	P/G-5204	Brick-built grave; dislocated bones	Tiberius (<i>divus Augustus pater</i>) (Cat. 32), position A	
220	P/G-5281	Brick-built grave; dislocated bones; no dating elements	No coin	Other: 4 glass beads
221	VG/G-33 (cf. VG I, p. 57)	Brick-built grave; dated 1/2 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>

I.2 – BURIED WITHOUT GRAVE GOODS

Cat. nos.	P – Pećine; VG – Više grobalja / Grave no. / Fig.	Burial rites / dating elements, if there is no coin as grave goods
222	P/G-110a	Plain burial; no dating elements
223	P/G-531	Plain burial; no dating elements
224	P/G-1495	Plain burial; belongs to group of graves: P/G-1492, P/G-1493, P/G-1495; near in the layer coins were found: Severus Alexander provincial unknown (Cat. 3336) and provincial Viminacium (Cat. 3282)
225	P/G-1835	Plain burial; no dating elements
226	P/G-2712	Plain burial; no dating elements
227	P/G-3019	Plain burial; no dating elements
228	P/G-3116	Plain burial; near by P/G-3117 with coin of Nerva (Cat. 233)
229	P/G-3126	Plain burial (on the right flank); near by P/G-3125 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 253)
230	P/G-3166	Plain burial (on the right flank); near by children's P/G-3126 and P/G-3125 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 253)
231	P/G-3287	Plain burial; no dating elements
232	P/G-3301	Plain burial; no dating elements
233	P/G-3302	Plain burial; no dating elements
234	P/G-3489	Plain burial; near by P/G1-961 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 366)
235	P/G-3490	Plain burial; near by P/G1-970 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 322)
236	P/G-3519	Plain burial; below was P/G-3522 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 521)
237	P/G-4352	Plain burial; no dating elements
238	P/G-4628	Plain burial; no dating elements
239	P/G-4693	Plain burial; no dating elements
240	P/G-4875	Plain burial; no dating elements
241	P/G-5351	Plain burial; near by P/G-5335 with 2 coins: Trajan Decius (Cat. 1207, 3241)
242	VG/G-22 (cf. VG I, p. 56)	Plain burial; no dating elements

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243	VG/G-67 (cf. VG I, p. 60)	Plain burial; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-58, VG/G-59, VG/G-60, VG/G-62, VG/G-63, VG/G-67, VG/G-69, VG/G-70, VG/G-72, VG/G-81; the whole group is dated 2/2 2 nd c.
244	VG/G-171 (cf. VG I, p. 65)	Plain burial; dated 2/2 2 nd c.
245	VG/G-191 (cf. VG I, p. 67)	Plain burial no dating elements
246	VG/G-195 (cf. VG I, p. 67)	Plain burial; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-179, VG/G-195, VG/G-196, VG/G-199, VG/G-208, VG/G-215; VG/G-179 damaged by VG/G1-162 with Hadrian coin (lost); whole group is dated in 2 nd c.
247	VG/G-196 (cf. VG I, p. 67)	Plain burial: belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-179, VG/G-195, VG/G-196, VG/G-199, VG/G-208, VG/G-215; VG/G-179 damaged by VG/G1-162 with Hadrian coin (lost); whole group is dated in 2 nd c.
248	VG/G-203 (cf. VG I, p. 67)	Plain burial; below was VG/G1-224 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 374); dated 2 nd c.
249	VG/G-214 (cf. VG I, p. 68)	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-194 with coin of Antoninus Pius (lost) dated 2/2 2 nd c.
250	VG/G-215 (cf. VG I, p. 68)	Plain burial; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-179, VG/G-195, VG/G-196, VG/G-199, VG/G-208, VG/G-215; VG/G-179 damaged by VG/G1-162 with Hadrian coin (lost); whole group is dated in 2 nd c.
251	VG/G-225 (cf. VG I, p. 69)	Plain burial; no dating elements
252	VG/G-248 (cf. VG I, p. 71)	Plain burial; dated 2 nd c. after Hadrian
253	VG/G-310 (cf. VG II, p. 289)	Plain burial; below was VG/G1-239 with coin of Nerva (Cat. 358); dated 1/2 2 nd c.
254	VG/G-311 (cf. VG II, p. 290)	Plain burial; below was VG/G1-239 with coin of Nerva (Cat. 358); dated 1/2 2 nd c.
255	VG/G-312 (cf. VG II, p. 290)	Plain burial; below was VG/G1-239 with coin of Nerva (Cat. 358); dated 2 nd c.
256	VG/G-330 (cf. VG II, p. 297)	Plain burial; no dating elements
257	VG/G-354 (cf. VG II, p. 313)	Plain burial; near by VG/G-348 with coin of Vespasian (lost); dated 2 nd c.
258	VG/G-412 (cf. VG II, p. 349)	Plain burial; damaged VG/G1-381 with bronze coin from end of the 1 st or beginning of the 2 nd c. dated 2 nd c.

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259	VG/G-432 (cf. VG II, p. 359)	Plain burial; above was VG/G1-258 with coin of Lucilla (lost); dated 2 nd c.
260	VG/G-434 (cf. VG II, p. 360)	Plain burial; dated 2 nd c.
261	VG/G-441 (cf. VG II, p. 365)	Plain burial; no dating elements
262	VG/G-447 (cf. VG II, p. 368)	Plain burial; near by VG/G-454 with coin of Tiberius (<i>divus Augustus pater</i>) (Cat. 51) and VG/G-457 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 739); dated 2/2 2 nd c.
263	VG/G-449 (cf. VG II, p. 369)	Plain burial; damaged by VG/G1-390 with 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 209); dated 2 nd c.
264	VG/G-452 (cf. VG II, p. 370)	Plain burial; above was VG/G1-399 with bronze coin from end of the 1 st or beginning of the 2 nd c. (Cat. 1960); dated 2 nd c.
265	VG/G-488 (cf. VG II, p. 396)	Plain burial; dated 2 nd c.
266	VG/G-499 (cf. VG II, p. 404)	Plain burial; above were: VG/G-428 with coin of Faustina I (Cat. 1170) and VG/G1-305 with coin of Tiberius (<i>divus Augustus pater</i>) (Cat. 49); dated 2/2 2 nd c.
267	VG/G-532 (cf. VG II, p. 425)	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-442 with 2 coins: Domitian (Cat. 273) and Antoninus Pius (Cat. 961); dated 2/2 2 nd c.
268	VG/G-538 (cf. VG II, p. 430)	Plain burial; above was VG/G1-437 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 377); dated 2 nd c.
269	VG/G-542 (cf. VG II, p. 434)	Plain burial; no dating elements
270	VG/G-546 (cf. VG II, p. 436)	Plain burial; dated 2 nd c.
271	VG/G-550 (cf. VG II, p. 438)	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-448 with coin of Faustina I (Cat. 1274); dated 2/2 2 nd c.
272	VG/G-551	Plain burial; above was VG/G1-277 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 782)
273	VG/G-554	Plain burial; near by VG/G-677 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1863)
274	VG/G-591	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-487 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1027)
275	VG/G-605	Plain burial; near are children's graves: VG/G-603, VG/G-604 (Hadrian coin Cat. 705); VG/G-616 and VG/G-622
276	VG/G-608	Plain burial; near by VG/G-610 with Hadrian coin (Cat. 786)
277	VG/G-612	Plain burial; near are children's graves: VG/G-669 and VG/G1-470 dated in end of the 2 nd c.

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278	VG/G-616	Plain burial; near are children's graves: VG/G-603, VG/G-604 (Hadrian coin Cat. 705); VG/G-605 and VG/G-622
279	VG/G-622	Plain burial; near are children's graves: VG/G-603, VG/G-604 (Hadrian coin Cat. 705); VG/G-605 and VG/G-616
280	VG/G-662	Plain burial; near by VG/G-682 with coin of Domitian (Cat. 277)
281	VG/G-670	Plain burial; near by children's grave VG/G-666 with bronze coin (lost); both graves are below VG/G1-504 with coin of Faustina I (Cat. 1189)
282	VG/G-721	Plain burial; near by VG/G-768 with coin of Domitian (Cat. 1809)
283	VG/G-722	Plain burial; near by VG/G-593 with coin of Domitian (Cat. 248)
284	VG/G-734	Plain burial; no dating elements
285	VG/G-739	Plain burial; near by children's grave VG/G-706 with 2 coins: Lucilla (Cat. 1432), Severus Alexander perforated, provincial Nicaea (Cat. 2616)
286	VG/G-765	Plain burial; no dating elements
287	VG/G-787	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-665 with coin of Faustina II (Cat. 1901)
288	VG/G-846	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-373 with coin of Lucilla (Cat. 1425)
289	VG/G-857	Plain burial; no dating elements
290	VG/G- 876	Plain burial; near by VG/G-830 with coin of Claudius (Cat. 99)
291	VG/G-928	Plain burial; buried in upper level of VG/G1-745 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 417)
292	VG/G-1024	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1049 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 542)
293	VG/G-1108	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1885 with coin of Vespasian (Cat. 1792)
294	VG/G-1248	Plain burial; no dating elements
295	VG/G-1307	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1089 with Commodus coin (Cat. 1437)
296	VG/G-1345	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1378 with coin of Marcus Aurelius caesar (Cat. 1226)
297	VG/G-1356	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1336 with coin of Lucius Verus (Cat. 1366)
298	VG/G-1409	Plain burial; no dating elements
299	VG/G-1410	Plain burial; no dating elements

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300	VG/G-1419	Plain burial; no dating elements
301	VG/G-1440	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1238 with coin of Sabina (Cat. 839)
302	VG/G-1443	Plain burial; below was children's VG/G-1512 with perforated coin of Claudius (Cat. 118)
303	VG/G-1476	Plain burial; near by children's grave VG/G-1512 with perforated coin of Claudius (Cat. 118) and below VG/G-1443
304	VG/G-1511	Plain burial; near by children's graves VG/G-1476 and grave VG/G-1512 with perforated coin of Claudius (Cat. 118)
305	VG/G-1576	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1575 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 437)
306	VG/G-1678	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1365 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1080)
307	VG/G-1746	Plain burial; buried in upper level of VG/G1-1416 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 777)
308	VG/G-1749	Plain burial; buried in upper level of VG/G1-1426 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 575)
309	VG/G-1867	Plain burial; buried in upper level of VG/G1-1535, which is damaged the VG/G1-1575 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 762)
310	VG/G-1977	Plain burial; no dating elements
311	VG/G-2000	Plain burial; near by children's graves: VG/G-1999 and VG/G-1986 A, B with bronze coin dated to end of 2 nd or beginning of the 3 rd c. (Cat. 2131)
312	VG/G-2031	Plain burial; no dating elements
313	VG/G-2168	Plain burial; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-2168, VG/G-2169, VG/G-2170; near by VG/G1-1731 with bronze coin (Cat. 2056)
314	P/G-641	Plain burial covered with bricks; no dating elements
315	P/G-666	Plain burial covered with bricks; no dating elements
316	VG/G-86 (cf. VG I, p. 62)	Plain burial covered with bricks; no dating elements
317	P/G-2741	Plain burial covered with amphora; above was P/G1-672 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 682)
318	P/G-5288	Plain burial covered with amphora; no dating elements
319	P/G-3252	Plain burial covered with bowl; no dating elements
320	VG/G-1088	in amphora; near by VG/G-1091 with coin of Tiberius (<i>divus Augustus pater</i>) (Cat. 48)
321	VG/G-176 (cf. VG I, p. 65)	In wooden coffin; damaged VG/G1-148 with second half of 1 st c. bronze coin

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322	VG/G-177 (cf. VG I, p. 65)	In wooden coffin; no dating elements
323	VG/G- 179 (cf. VG I, p. 65-66)	In wooden coffin; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-179, VG/G-195, VG/G-196, VG/G-199, VG/G-208, VG/G-215; VG/G-179 damaged by VG/G1-162 with coin of Hadrian (lost); whole group is dated in 2 nd c.
324	VG/G-510 (cf. VG II, p. 409)	In wooden coffin; near were: VG/G1-347 (Hadrian coin, Cat. 766), VG/G1-365, VG/G1-689 and VG/G1- 892 (1 st c. bronze coin, Cat. 1947); dated 2 nd c.
325	VG/G-519 (cf. VG II, p. 415)	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G-518 which is dated in 2 nd c.
326	VG/G-1955	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G-1808 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1576)
327	P/G-2	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
328	P/G-77	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
329	P/G-350	Brick-built grave; near by P/G-295 with coin of Antoninus Pius (lost)
330	P/G-380	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
331	P/G-409	Brick-built grave; dislocated bones; no dating elements
332	P/G-857	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
333	P/G-1150	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
334	P/G-1175	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
335	P/G-3922	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
336	P/G-4508	Brick-built grave; dislocated bones; no dating elements
337	P/G-5125	Brick-built grave; dislocated bones; no dating elements
338	P/G-5157	Brick-built grave; dislocated bones; no dating elements
339	P/G-5220	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
340	VG/G-482 (cf. VG II, p. 389)	Brick-built grave; near by VG/G1-405 with coin of Commodus caesar (Cat. 1369); dated 2/2 2 nd c.
341	P/G-428	Dislocated skull; destroyed grave

AGE GROUP II (2–4)

CHILDREN WHO PASSED AWAY BETWEEN THE AGES OF TWO AND FOUR YEARS

II.1 – BURIED WITH GRAVE GOODS

Cat. nos.	P – Pećine; VG – Više grobalja / Grave no. / Fig.	Burial rites / dating elements, if there is no coin as grave goods	Coin/Coins and their position in relation to the deceased (from A to G/H)	Grave goods by material (except coins): pottery, metal, glass, bone, other
342	P/G-779	Plain burial; below was P/G-799 with Antoninus Pius coin (lost)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs
343	P/G-799	Plain burial	Antoninus Pius (lost), position B	Pottery: 3 jugs
344	P/G-964	Plain burial	Tiberius (Cat. 28), position B	
345	P/G-1137	Plain burial	3 coins: 2 nd c. (Cat. 2572), position A; Domitian provincial Koinon Makedonon (Cat. 3138), position B; Hadrian (?) (Cat. 2400), position F	Pottery: jug, pot
346	P/G-1494	Plain burial; belongs to the graves group: P/G-1492, P/G-1493, P/G-1495; near in the layer coins were found: Severus Alexander provincial unknown (Cat. 3336); provincial Viminacium (Cat. 3282) and provincial unknown (Cat. 3389)	No coin	Metal: bronze bracelet
347	P/G-1720	Plain burial; near by P/G-1692 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 2350)	Bronze coin (lost), position D	Metal: silver necklace buckle
348	P/G-1734	Plain burial; dislocated bones	Hadrian (Cat. 528), position B	
349	P/G-1850	Plain burial	Marcus Aurelius caesar (Cat. 950), position D	
350	P/G-1922	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 501), position A	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot
351	P/G-2559 Fig. 31.1	Plain burial	Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 1019), position B	Metal: silver bell

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352	P/G-2610	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: beaker
353	P/G-2703	Plain burial	1/2 1 st c. bronze coin (Cat. 2264), position B	
354	P/G-2769	Plain burial; above in the layer was found the coin of Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 1013)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, bowl
355	P/G-3045	Plain burial; dislocated bones	Tiberius (Cat. 52), position B	Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
356	P/G-3091	Plain burial	Trajan (Cat. 387), position G/H	Pottery: 2 beakers, bowl, lamp Glass: 4 <i>balsamarii</i> , 2 bottles, <i>guttus</i> Other: eggshell (cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 109, сл. 111)
357	P/G-3360	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, lamp
358	P/G-3537	Plain burial	Faustina I (Cat. 902), position B	
359	P/G-4649	Plain burial	Severus Alexander provincial Nicaea (Cat. 2945), position B	Pottery: lamp Metal: silver earring (type V.b; cf. p. 16; dated 2 nd –4 th c.) Other: parts of the necklace: 78 glass beads (cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 207, бр. 204)
360	P/G-4688 Fig. 37.1	Plain burial	Constantine II caesar (Cat. 1457), position B	Other: parts of the string: 3 gold beads, 2 amber beads (stylized fish)
361	P/G-4934 Fig. 23.1	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: bronze <i>bulla</i> ; bronze mounts of chest with the rectangular keyhole and iron key
362	P/G-5139	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Glass: pot Metal: silver earring (type II.b; cf. p. 13; dated 2/2 2 nd –4 th c.), bronze bracelet (ending with snake heads), fragmented iron bracelet, fragments of gilded bronze sheet Other: parts of the necklace: 29 glass beads
363	P/G-5353 Fig. 20.1	Plain burial dated 3 rd c.	silver coin in medallion (lost), position D	Other: parts of the necklace: 24 glass beads, silver ivy-leaf-shaped pendant, medallion (coin in silver sheet – lost)
364	P/G-5389	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Other: glass bead
365	VG/G-37 (cf. VG I, p. 57)	Plain burial; dated 2 nd c.	2 nd c. bronze coin (lost), position D	Pottery: pot Metal: fragmented bronze needle

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366	VG/G-59 (cf. VG I, p. 59)	Plain burial; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-58, VG/G-59, VG/G-60, VG/G-62, VG/G-63; VG/G-67; VG/G-69, VG/G-70, VG/G-72, VG/G-81; the whole group is dated to 2/2 of the 2 nd c.	Faustina I (Cat. 1178), position B	Pottery: 2 pots, lamp
367	VG/G-60 (cf. VG I, p. 60)	Plain burial; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-58, VG/G-59, VG/G-60, VG/G-62, VG/G-63; VG/G-67; VG/G-69, VG/G-70, VG/G-72, VG/G-81; the whole group is dated to 2/2 of the 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: beaker
368	VG/G-62 (cf. VG I, p. 60)	Plain burial; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-58, VG/G-59, VG/G-60, VG/G-62, VG/G-63; VG/G-67; VG/G-69, VG/G-70, VG/G-72, VG/G-81; the whole group is dated to 2/2 of the 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: pot
369	VG/G-73 (cf. VG I, p. 60-61)	Plain burial	Nerva (Cat. 689), position A	Pottery: 3 jugs, lamp Glass: 3 <i>balsamarii</i>
370	VG/G-81 (cf. VG I, p. 61)	Plain burial; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-58, VG/G-59, VG/G-60, VG/G-62, VG/G-63; VG/G-67; VG/G-69, VG/G-70, VG/G-72, VG/G-81; the whole group is dated to 2/2 of the 2 nd c.	Trajan (Cat. 689), position A	Pottery: jug, pot, 2 beakers, bowl, lamp Glass: 2 <i>balsamarii</i>
371	VG/G-262 (cf. VG I, p. 72)	Plain burial; dated 2 nd c.	Bronze coin 2 nd c. (lost), position E	
372	VG/G-277 (cf. VG II, p. 266)	Plain burial; dated 1/2 3 rd c.	Bronze coin (lost), position B	Pottery: jug Glass: <i>guttus</i>
373	VG/G-408 (cf. VG II, p. 347)	Plain burial; near by VG/G-407 and VG/G-352 with Nerva coin (Cat. 333); dated 2 nd c.	No coin	

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374	VG/G-487 (cf. VG II, p. 394)	Plain burial	Marcus Aurelius caesar (Cat. 1254), position B	Pottery: 3 jugs, 2 pots, beaker, 2 bowls, plate Metal: 2 bronze rings Other: 2 ceramic beads
375	VG/G-529 (cf. VG II, p. 422)	Plain burial	Gaius (Agrippa) (Cat. 83), position A	Pottery: bowl
376	VG/G-537 (cf. VG II, p. 430)	Plain burial; dated 2 nd –1/2 3 rd c.	No coin	Other: 2 glass beads
377	VG/G-583	Plain burial	Gallienus (Cat. 1670), position G/H	
378	VG/G-610	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 786), position B	Pottery: pot Other: glass bead
379	VG/G-643	Plain burial	Trajan (Cat. 459), position C	Pottery: pot, lamp Metal: bronze part of belt-set (type XXII, var. 2; cf. p. 274, Cat. 689; dated 2 nd c.), circular and perforated bronze sheet Other: 3 glass beads; sea snail
380	VG/G-706 Fig. 14.1–3	Plain burial	2 coins: Lucilla (Cat. 1432); 1/2 3 rd c. single perforated, provincial Nicaea (Cat. 2616), position unknown both	Other: parts of the string: 2 glass beads, pendant made of animal tooth, perforated coin
381	VG/G-717	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: jug
382	VG/G-728	Plain burial	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1018), position B	Other: 4 glass bead
383	VG/G-753	Plain burial	Nero (Cat. 166), position B	Pottery: 2 jugs
384	VG/G-793	Plain burial; near by VG/G-736 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 554)	No coin	Other: 2 glass bead
385	VG/G-805	Plain burial	Faustina I (Cat. 1161), position D	Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
386	VG/G-830	Plain burial	Claudius (Cat. 99), position unknown	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, 3 bowls, 2 plates, lamp Metal: bronze pyxis lid Other: sea shell
387	VG/G-839	Plain burial	Domitian (Cat. 298), position A	Pottery: pot
388	VG/G-852	Plain burial; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-837 (bronze coin, lost), VG/G-848 (coin of Claudius, Cat. 130), VG/G-852, VG/G-853 and VG/G-870	No coin	Pottery: 2 lamps

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389	VG/G-880	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: jug Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Bone: spatula Other: ceramic bust of Minerva
390	VG/G-895 Fig. 47	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-663 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1081)	Bronze coin (lost), position B	Pottery: beaker Metal: part of a bronze belt (?) Other: 15 sea shells and sea snail; parts of the necklace: sea snail pendant with bronze ring, glass bead, 2 glass beads on bronze wire
391	VG/G-927	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 776), position B	Pottery: beaker, 3 bowls, lamp Metal: part of belt-set (type XXII, var. 6; cf. p. 286, Cat. 717; dated 2 nd c.) Bone: circular pendant (?) pierced in center Other: 2 glass beads
392	VG/G- 988	Plain burial; no dating elements	Bronze coin (lost), position B	Pottery: pot
393	VG/G- 1012	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1013 with 1 st c. coin (Cat. 1971)	No coin	Pottery: pot
394	VG/G-1037	Plain burial; no dating elements	Bronze coin (lost), position unknown	Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
395	VG/G-1043	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 790), position D	
396	VG/G-1059	Plain burial	Faustina I (Cat. 1298), position H	Pottery: jug
397	VG/G-1070	Plain burial	Domitian (Cat. 291), position B	Pottery: pot Metal: 2 gold earrings (type V.a; cf. p. 65, no. 218; dated 2 nd –end of the 4 th c.)
398	VG/G-1109	Plain burial; dated 3 rd c.	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, bowl Metal: bronze ring, bronze ring-key (Миловановић, Мрђић 2016, p. 254, no. 57; dated 3 rd c.) Other: 3 glass beads
399	VG/G-1122	Plain burial	Faustina II (Cat. 1410), position D	Pottery: jug Other: stone bead
400	VG/G-1127	Plain burial	Trajan (Cat. 432), position A	Pottery: 3 jugs, lamp Metal: bronze belt buckle (type III, var. 1; cf. p. 42, no. 21; dated 2 nd c.)
401	VG/G-1135	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot
402	VG/G-1238	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 556), position F	Glass: 2 <i>balsamarii</i> Metal: gold earring (type II.a; cf. p. 40, no. 51; dated 2/2 2 nd –4 th c.)
403	VG/G-1245	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 563), position B	Pottery: jug, pot, lamp Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
404	VG/G-1341	Plain burial no dating elements	Bronze coin (lost), position D	Other: parts of the necklace: 18 glass beads

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405	VG/G-1351	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-927 with 4 coins: Claudius (Cat. 126), Trajan (Cat. 489), Hadrian (Cat. 1843) and Faustina II (Cat. 1894)	Bronze coin (lost), position B	
406	VG/G-1385	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: bronze ring
407	VG/G-1426 Fig. 12.1–7	Plain burial	Augustus single perforated (Cat. 14), position H	Metal: 2 gold earrings (type V.b; <i>cf.</i> p. 76, no. 311; dated 2 nd –end of 4 th c.), bronze part of belt-set (type XXII, var. 2; <i>cf.</i> p. 275, no. 692; dated 2 nd c.) Other: parts of the string (with a perforated coin and part of belt- set): sea snail pendant, glas bead, bronze bead, bronze pendant (hair- pin head ?), bronze pendand (circle perforated sheet)
408	VG/G-1483	Plain burial	End of the 1 st or 2 nd c. (Cat. 2008), position A	Pottery: pot
409	VG/G-1558	Plain burial; above was VG/G1-1265 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1104)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot; Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> ; Other: 19 sea shells
410	VG/G-1697	Plain burial; damaged by VG/ G1-1419 with coin of Domitian (Cat. 262)	No coin	Metal: silver earring (type II.a (?); <i>cf.</i> p. 13; dated 2/2 2 nd –4 th c.), bronze earring (type II.a; p. 45, no. 83; dated 2/2 2 nd –4 th c.)
411	VG/G-1786	Plain burial	Bronze coin 1 st to 3 rd c. provincial (Cat. 2698), position A	Other: ceramic pendant
412	VG/G-1815	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1445 with coin of Domitian (Cat. 1801)	No coin	Pottery: handmade pot
413	VG/G-1888	Plain burial	Marcus Aurelius caesar (Cat. 1221), position D	Pottery: pot Other: 4 glass beads
414	VG/G-1923	Plain burial; dated 2 nd –1/2 3 rd c.	No coin	Metal: bronze brooch (type XXI, var. 1; <i>cf.</i> p. 46, no. 234; dated 2 nd – 1/2 3 rd c.)
415	VG/G-2073	Plain burial; above was VG/G1-1698 with 2 nd c. coin (Cat. 2077)	No coin	Pottery: 3 beakers
416	P/G-201	Plain burial covered with bricks; near by P/G-189 with bronze coin (lost); no dating elements	No coin	Other: parts of the necklace: 29 glass beads

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417	P/G-204	Plain burial covered with bricks; near by P/G-189 with bronze coin (lost); no dating elements	No coin	Other: 4 glass beads
418	VG/G-811 Fig. 49.1–3	Plain burial covered with stones (only above the head)	Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 1340), position D	Pottery: beaker, lid, lamp Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Other: parts of the necklace: stone pendant with a relief representation of a young Horus, 8 glass beads
419	VG/G-859	Plain burial covered with stones (only above the head); damaged the VG/G1-684 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 783)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs
420	P/G-331	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs Glass: bowl Metal: 2 bronze rings
421	P/G-332	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 453), position unknown	Pottery: 2 jugs, pot Metal: gold earring (type V.a1; cf. p. 71, no. 275; dated 2 nd –4 th c.)
422	P/G-344	In wooden coffin	2 coins: Trajan (Cat. 350), position D; Marcus Aurelius, caesar (Cat. 929), position D	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, lamp Other: glass bead
423	P/G-1943	In wooden coffin	2 coins: Augustus (Cat. 14), position G/H; Hadrian (Cat. 680), position E	Pottery: pot Metal: cylindrical bronze pendant, single blade side iron knife Other: 3 glass beads
424	P/G-1953	In wooden coffin	Tiberius (<i>divus Augustus pater</i>) (Cat. 31), position A	Pottery: lamp
425	P/G-1977	In wooden coffin	Caracalla or Geta (?) (Cat. 2610), position unknown	Other: 2 glass beads
426	P/G-3011	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 777), position B	Pottery: bowl, lamp
427	P/G-3208	In wooden coffin; near in the layers 2 nd c. bronze coin was found (Cat. 2507)	No coin	Pottery: 2 jugs
428	P/G-3480	In wooden coffin	Bronze coin 2 nd c. (Cat. 2532), position B	Pottery: pot, lamp
429	P/G-4905	In wooden coffin	Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 2436), position F	Metal: bronze ring Other: glass bead
430	P/G-4983	In wooden coffin	Trajan (Cat. 2358), position B	
431	P/G-5187 B	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 743), position G/H	

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432	P/G-5237	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 783), position B	Pottery: 3 jugs Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Metal: bronze bracelet
433	VG/G-53 (cf. VG I, p. 59)	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1860), position B	Pottery: 2 pots Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> , bowl Metal: bronze ring Other: 2 glass beads, 2 glass gaming chips
434	VG/G-71 (cf. VG I, p. 60)	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 917), position D	Pottery: 3 jugs
435	VG/G-92 Fig. 23.2 (cf. VG I, p. 62)	In wooden coffin	1/2 1 st c. bronze coin (Cat. 1777), position B	Pottery: pot Metal: bronze <i>bullā</i> , bronze brooch (type XXI, var. 3; cf. p. 47; dated 2 nd -1/2 3 rd c.)
436	VG/G-108 (cf. VG I, p. 63)	In wooden coffin;	2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 1999), position A	
437	VG/G-178 (cf. VG I, p. 65)	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	Bronze coin (lost), position D	
438	VG/G-199 (cf. VG I, p. 67)	In wooden coffin; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-179, VG/G-195, VG/G-196, VG/G-199, VG/G-208, VG/G-215; VG/G-179 damaged by VG/G-162 with Hadrian coin (lost); whole group is dated to 2 nd c.	Bronze coin (lost), position A	
439	VG/G-221 (cf. VG I, p. 68-69)	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1053), position E	Pottery: pot
440	VG/G-254 (cf. VG I, p. 71)	In wooden coffin	Claudius (Cat. 128), position B	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, lamp
441	VG/G-283 (cf. VG II, p. 271)	In wooden coffin	Bronze coin 1/2 3 rd c. (Cat. 2132), position B	
442	VG/G-293 (cf. VG II, p. 279)	In wooden coffin; dislocated bones	2 coins: Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1005), position B; Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 1346), position E	Pottery: beaker, bowl, lamp
443	VG/G-305 (cf. VG II, p. 287)	In wooden coffin; dated 2/2 1 st c.	Bronze coin (lost), position B	Other: 3 sea shells

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444	VG/G-331 Fig. 34.1 (cf. VG II, p. 298; Spasić-Đurić 2008, p. 133-135)	In wooden coffin; dated 1/2 2 nd c.	1st c. bronze coin (Cat. 1940), position B	Pottery: beaker, lamp Metal: bronze buckle (poorly preserved) Bone: hair-pin Other: parts of the bracelet: 3 glass beads, amber bead, phallic bronze pendant
445	VG/G-334 (cf. VG II, p. 299)	In wooden coffin; dislocated bones; dated end of the 1 st c. or 2 nd c.	Bronze coin (lost), position B	Pottery: 3 jugs, lamp Bone: 3 sewing needles
446	VG/G-350 (cf. VG II, p. 309)	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 1094), position B	Pottery: 3 jugs, lamp Glass: 2 <i>balsamarii</i> Other: 4 sea shells; 2 sea snails
447	VG/G-407 Fig. 23.3 (cf. VG II, p. 346)	In wooden coffin; dislocated bones; near by VG/G1-352 with coin of Nerva (Cat. 333)	No coin	Pottery: censer Metal: bronze <i>bulla</i> Glass: jug
448	VG/G-411 (cf. VG II, p. 349)	In wooden coffin	Marcus Aurelius (lost), position unknown	
449	VG/G-466 (cf. VG II, p. 379)	In wooden coffin; dislocated bones	Commodus (Cat. 1450), position B	
450	VG/G-540 (cf. VG II, p. 432)	In wooden coffin;	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1868), position D	Pottery: beaker Metal: 2 gold earrings (type V.a; cf. p. 66, no. 231; dated 2 nd –end of the 4 th c.); 2 bronze buckles
451	VG/G-677	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1863), position B	Pottery: 3 jugs, lamp
452	VG/G-699	In wooden coffin	1 st c. bronze coin (Cat. 1965), position A	Pottery: 3 jugs, <i>balsamarium</i> , lamp, rattle shaped like a rooster Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
453	VG/G-715	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 1846), position B	Pottery: 3 jugs, bowl (with bird bones), plate, pot, lamp
454	VG/G-825 Fig. 31.2	In wooden coffin	Trajan (Cat. 1821), position B	Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Metal: gold earring (type IV.a; cf. p. 61–62, no. 185; dated end of 1 st –end of 3 rd c.), 2 bronze bells Other: 5 river shells
455	VG/G-833	In wooden coffin	Tiberius (<i>divus Augustus pater</i>) (Cat. 61), position A	Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
456	VG/G-945	In wooden coffin	2 bronze coins (lost), position F and H	Pottery: pot Metal: part of belt-set (type III, var. 1; cf. p. 45, Cat. 30; dated from 2/4 2 nd to middle of the 3 rd c.)
457	VG/G-1045	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G-1155 with coin of Faustina I (Cat. 1122)	No coin	Pottery: bowl

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458	VG/G-1061	In wooden coffin; dislocated bones	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1859), position A	Glass: bottle Other: parts of the necklace: 7 glass beads
459	VG/G-1075	In wooden coffin	Vespasian (Cat. 208), position A	Pottery: 3 jugs Other: 6 sea shells
460	VG/G-1101	In wooden coffin; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-1101, VG/G-1102, VG/G-1106; VG/G-1102 damaged the VG/G-896 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 565)	No coin	Pottery: pot Other: 7 sea shells
461	VG/G-1102	In wooden coffin (on the left flank); belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-1101, VG/G-1102, VG/G-1106; VG/G-1102 damaged the VG/G-896 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 565)	No coin	Pottery: pot
462	VG/G-1121	In wooden coffin	2 coins: Titus (Cat. 226), position G/H; Hadrian (Cat. 1009), position B	Pottery: 2 jugs, pot Other: parts of the necklace: 4 glass beads
463	VG/G-1166	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: bronze key
464	VG/G-1176 Fig. 13.1–3 Fig. 23.4	In wooden coffin	3 coins: 1 st c. triply perforated (Cat. 1963), position G; Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1017), position H; 1/2 3 rd c. single perforated (Cat. 1748), position G	Metal: bronze <i>bullā</i> Bone: sewing needle, gaming chip Other: parts of the string: 2 glass beads, 2 perforated coins
465	VG/G-1183	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G1-1008 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 772)	No coin	Pottery: pot, beaker Metal: bronze bracelet (fragmented)
466	VG/G-1189	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs Other: 4 sea shells
467	VG/G-1241	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1041), position B	Pottery: 3 jugs Metal: 2 gold beads
468	VG/G-1261	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 538), position H	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, lamp
469	VG/G-1316	In wooden coffin	Tiberius (Cat. 7), position A	Pottery: jug, bowl Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Other: parts of the string: 2 glass beads, 2 ceramic beads, bronze mount (necklace fastening part)
470	VG/G-1364	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1019), position D	Pottery: pot, lamp

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471	VG/G-1486	In wooden coffin	2 nd c. (Cat. 2095), position A	Pottery: 2 jugs, beaker Metal: bronze chain (fragmented), bronze finger-ring (ends with snake heads), bronze finger-ring (with inlay of glass paste); bronze brooch with enamel (type XXI, var. 5; cf. p. 47, no. 242; dated 2 nd -3 rd c.) Other: 9 glass beads; 10 river shells
472	VG/G-1603 Fig. 53.1-2	In wooden coffin	Claudius (Cat. 117), position B	Other (parts of the necklace): 8 glass beads, 2 bronze rings
473	VG/G-1640	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G-1646 with coin of Faustina II (Cat. 1301)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot Other: glass bead; 2 sea shells
474	VG/G-1844	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 727), position B	
475	VG/G-1874	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 880), position D	Pottery: 3 beakers, lamp Other: parts of the necklace: 102 glass beads
476	VG/G-1901	In wooden coffin	Claudius (Cat. 129), position A	Pottery: pot, 2 lamps Other: 7 sea shells
477	VG/G-1935	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 555), position D	Pottery: jug, pot, lamp Glass: 4 <i>balsamarii</i> ; Other: 7 sea shells
478	VG/G-2002 Fig. 11.1-3	In wooden coffin	2 coins: Hadrian (Cat. 688), position A; bronze coin triply perforated (lost), position A	Metal: iron mounts (parts of chest) Other: parts of the necklace: bronze bead, glass bead, perforated coin
479	P/G-4615	In wooden coffin covered with bricks	Constans (Cat. 1489), position unknown	
480	VG/G-308 Fig. 37.2 (cf. VG II, p. 288)	In wooden coffin covered with stones; dated 2/2 1 st c. or beginning of the 2 nd c.	No coin	Metal: bronze brooch (type V, var. 1; cf. p. 19, no. 40; dated 1 st c.); bronze sewing needle Other: parts of the necklace: 3 amber beads
481	P/G-4427	In lead coffin	Nerva (Cat. 237), position F	Metal: 2 gold earrings (type VI.a; cf. p. 17; dated 2 nd -3 rd c.) Other: remnants of fabric
482	P/G-321	Brick-built grave	Bronze coin provincial Severan dynasty (Cat. 3349), position unknown	Metal: bronze brooch (type XXXVI, var. 3; cf. p. 69, no. 378; dated 2/2 4 th c.)
483	P/G-588	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: bronze earring (type II.a; cf. p. 44, no. 73; dated 2/2 2 nd -4 th c.)
484	P/G- 627	Brick-built grave (on the right flank) no dating elements	No coin	Other: parts of the necklace: 72 glass beads

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485	P/G-730 Fig. 34.2 (cf. Spasić- Đurić 2008, 147-149)	Brick-built grave; destroyed; near by P/G-705 with coin of Crispina (Cat. 1107)	No coin	Other: parts of the necklace: 4 amber beads (2 of them in shape of phallus)
486	P/G-3647	Brick-built grave; dislocated bones; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: 2 gold earrings (type V.a1; cf. p. 16; dated 2 nd -4 th c.)
487	P/G-4495	Brick-built grave; no dating elements	No coin	Glass: bottle
488	P/G-4543	Brick-built grave; near by P/G-4541 with coin of Constantine I (Cat. 1420)	No coin	Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
489	P/G-4573	Brick-built grave	Constantine I (Cat. 1380), position A	
490	P/G-4838	Brick-built grave; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: 2 gold earrings (type IX.b; cf. p. 20; dated 3 rd -4 th c.)
491	P/G-4964	Brick-built grave; dislocated bones	Bronze coin (lost), position A	
492	P/G-5289	Brick-built grave; near by P/G-5261 with 3 coins: Trajan (Cat. 2354); Hadrian (Cat. 536); Antoninus Pius (Cat. 710)	No coin	Other: glass bead
493	P/G-5347	Brick-built grave; destroyed; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: gold earring (type II.b; cf. p. 13; dated 2/2 2 nd -4 th c.)
494	P/G-5349	Brick-built grave; destroyed; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: bowl
495	P/G-5362	Brick-built grave	Caracalla provincial Stobi (Cat. 3162), position D	Metal: bronze torque

II.2 – BURIED WITHOUT GRAVE GOODS

Cat. nos.	P – Pećine; VG – Više grobalja / Grave no. / Fig.	Burial rites / dating elements, if there is no coin as grave goods
496	P/G-8	Plain burial; near by P/G-27 with coin of Constantius II (Cat. 1551)
497	P/G-34	Plain burial; no dating elements
498	P/G-263	Plain burial; no dating elements
499	P/G-544	Plain burial; no dating elements
500	P/G- 685	Plain burial; no dating elements
501	P/G-928	Plain burial; no dating elements.
502	P/G- 1299	Plain burial; belongs to group of children's graves: P/G-1299, P/G-1300, P/G-1301; near in the layer was found coin of Gordian III (Cat. 3015)
503	P/G-1300	Plain burial; belongs to group of children's graves: P/G-1299, P/G-1300, P/G-1301; near in the layer was found coin of Gordian III (Cat. 3015)
504	P/G-1301	Plain burial belongs to group of children's graves: P/G-1299, P/G-1300, P/G-1301; near in the layer was found coin of Gordian III (Cat. 3015)
505	P/G-1350	Plain burial; no dating elements
506	P/G-1392	Plain burial; no dating elements
507	P/G-1963	Plain burial; near in the layer 2 coins were found: Trajan (Cat. 258), Gordian III (Cat. 3201)
508	P/G-2220	Plain burial; near by P/G-2201 with a belt buckle (type XVIII, var. 1; <i>cf.</i> p. 221, no. 512; dated 2/2 2 nd -1/2 3 rd c.)
509	P/G-2563	Plain burial; near by P/G-2558 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 2399)
510	P/G-2711	Plain burial in a well within the craft center (on the right flank); no dating elements
511	P/G-2932	Plain burial; near by P/G-2904 with a bronze brooch (type IV, var. 5; <i>cf.</i> p. 17, no. 21; dated 2 nd -1/2 of the 3 rd c.)
512	P/G-3073	Plain burial; no dating elements
513	P/G-3469	Plain burial; 2 nd c. silver coin was found (Cat. 2152)
514	P/G-4425	Plain burial; no dating elements

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515	P/G-5113	Plain burial; no dating elements
516	P/G-5126	Plain burial (on the left flank); no dating elements
517	P/G-5180	Plain burial; no dating elements
518	P/G-5355	Plain burial; dislocaed bones; no dating elements
519	P/G-5360	Plain burial; no dating elements
520	P/G-5396	Plain burial; no dating elements
521	VG/G-39 (cf. VG I, p. 58)	Plain burial; dated 2 nd c.
522	VG/G-58 (cf. VG I, p. 59)	Plain burial; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-58, VG/G-59, VG/G-60, VG/G-62, VG/G-63; VG/G-67; VG/G-69, VG/G-70, VG/G-72, VG/G-81; the whole group is dated to 2/2 of the 2 nd c.
523	VG/G-64 (cf. VG I, p. 60)	Plain burial; dated 1/2 3 rd c.
524	VG/G-250 (cf. VG I, p. 71)	Plain burial; above was VG/G1-181 with coin of Septimius Severus (lost); dated 2 nd c.
525	VG/G-408 (cf. VG II, p. 347)	Plain burial; dated 2 nd c.
526	VG/G-421 (cf. VG II, p. 353)	Plain burial; near by VG/G-426 with coin of Caracalla (Cat. 2535); dated 3 rd c.
527	VG/G-453 (cf. VG II, p. 371)	Plain burial; above was VG/G1-399 with 1 st c. bronze coin (Cat. 1960); dated 1/2 2 nd c.
528	VG/G-502 (cf. VG II, p. 405)	Plain burial; above was VG/G-503 with 2 coins: Domitian (Cat. 1805); 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2066); dated 2 nd c.
529	VG/G-601	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-490 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 551)
530	VG/G-1288	Plain burial; near in the layer 2 nd c. coin was found (Cat. 2084)
531	VG/G-1380	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-928 with coin of Faustina I (Cat. 1300)
532	VG/G-1432	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1224 with coin of Antoninus Pius caesar (Cat. 857)
533	VG/G-1496	Plain burial; near are graves: VG/G-1603 (Claudius coin, Cat. 117) and VG/G-1571 (Antoninus Pius coin, Cat. 1031)
534	VG/G-1530	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1529 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 669)

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535	VG/G-1572	Plain burial; near are graves: VG/G-1603 (Claudius coin, Cat. 117) and VG/G-1571 (Antoninus Pius coin, Cat. 1031)
536	VG/G-1581	Plain burial; below was VG/G1-1569 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 67)
537	P/G-5455	Plain burial covered with amphora; no dating elements
538	P/G-169	Plain burial covered with bricks; near by P/G-170 with coin of Severus Alexander (Cat. 2951)
539	P/G-2799	Plain burial covered with bricks; no dating elements
540	P/G-3080	Plain burial covered with bricks; no dating elements
541	P/G-4782	Plain burial covered with bricks; no dating elements
542	VG/G-563	Plain burial covered with bricks; damaged the VG/G1-193 with coin of Antoninu Pius (lost)
543	VG/G-737	Plain burial covered with stones; damaged the VG/G-833 with coin of Tiberius (<i>divus Augustus pater</i>) (Cat. 61)
544	P/G-2367	In wooden coffin; no dating elements
545	P/G-4820	In wooden coffin; no dating elements
546	VG/G-547 (cf. VG II, p. 436)	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G-552 with broken coin dated widely from 1 st to 3 rd c.
547	VG/G-1485	In wooden coffin; dislocated bones; no dating elements
548	P/G-3640	In lead coffin; dislocated bones; no dating elements
549	P/G-53	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
550	P/G-67	Brick-built grave; near by P/G-95 with coin of Julian II (Cat. 1645)
551	P/G-119	Brick-built grave; near were: P/G-124 (Constantine I coin, Cat. 2654) and P/G-128 (Valens coin, Cat. 1686)
552	P/G-180	Brick-built grave; dislocated bones; no dating elements
553	P/G-241	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
554	P/G-269	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
555	P/G-418	Brick-built grave; no dating elements

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556	P/G-441	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
557	P/G-461	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
558	P/G-764	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
559	P/G-896	Brick-built grave; near by P/G-864 with coin of Faustina I (Cat. 3310)
560	P/G-1015	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
561	P/G-2631	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
562	P/G-2699	Brick-built grave; dislocated bones; near by P/G-2800 with coin hoard (22 pcs. Constans and Constantius II; 348-351 AD)
563	P/G-3017	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
564	P/G-4367	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
565	P/G-4376	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
566	P/G-4403	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
567	P/G- 4516	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
568	P/G-4673	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
569	P/G-4799	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
570	P/G-5078	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
571	P/G-5150	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
572	P/G-5309	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
573	P/G-5319	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
574	P/G-5320	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
575	P/G-5339	Brick-built grave; no dating elements

AGE GROUP III (5–9)

CHILDREN WHO PASSED AWAY BETWEEN THE AGES OF FIVE AND NINE YEARS

III.1 – BURIED WITH GRAVE GOODS

Cat. nos.	P – Pećine; VG – Više grobalja / Grave no. / Fig.	Burial rites / dating elements, if there is no coin as grave goods	Coin/Coins and their position in relation to the deceased (from A to G/H)	Grave goods by material (except coins): pottery, metal, glass, bone, other
576	P/G-128	Plain burial	Valens (Cat. 1686), position E	
577	P/G-216	Plain burial	Valentinianus I (Cat. 1656), position A	Metal: gold earring (type II.a; cf. p. 45, no. 80; dated 2/2 2 nd –4 th c.); bronze bracelet Other: parts of the necklace: 112 glass beads
578	P/G-337	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: jug, pot
579	P/G-476 Fig. 29.1	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: bronze torque with lunate pendant (cf. Zotović 1995, 156)
580	P/G-477	Plain burial	2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2558), position B	Pottery: pot Metal: iron bracelet
581	P/G-818	Plain burial	Lucius Verus provincial Serdica (Cat. 3111), position B	
582	P/G-847	Plain burial	Trajan (Cat. 385), position E	Pottery: 3 jugs, beaker
583	P/G-849	Plain burial	Constantine I (Cat. 1438), position A	Metal: 3 bronze bracelets, bronze finger-ring Other: parts of the necklace: 98 glass beads
584	P/G-870	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 513), position B	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot
585	P/G-968	Plain burial	1/2 1 st c. bronze coin (Cat. 2241), position B	Other: glass bead
586	P/G-1090	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 402), position G	
587	P/G-1204	Plain burial dated 2 nd –3 rd c.	No coin	Metal: 2 silver bracelets (Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 199, бр. 173)
588	P/G-1364	Plain burial; near by P/G1-361 with 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2528)	No coin	Pottery: plate
589	P/G-1388	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: bronze button, iron button

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590	P/G-1402	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: amphora
591	P/G-1561	Plain burial dated 1/2 2 nd –3 rd c.	No coin	Pottery: pot Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Metal: gold earring with green stone (type VI.b1; <i>cf.</i> p. 885, no. 375; dated 1/2 2 nd –3 rd c.) Other: parts of the necklace: 7 long cylindrical glass beads
592	P/G-1676	Plain burial dated 2 nd – 3 rd c.	No coin	Pottery: 2 pots Metal: gold earring (type II.a1; <i>cf.</i> p. 48, no. 101; dated 2 nd – 3 rd c.) Bone: hair-pin Other: carnelian gem with a female bust, to left, holding flower (the stylistic characteristics of the gem correspond to the portraits of Faustina II)
593	P/G-1696	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot
594	P/G-1708	Plain burial	Constantius II caesar (Cat. 1540), position F	Metal: 3 bronze applications, bronze brooch (type XXX, var. 3; <i>cf.</i> p. 60; dated 4 th c.) Other: parts of the necklace: 3 glass and 65 ceramic beads
595	P/G-1740	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Other: 3 glass beads
596	P/G-1776	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: lamp
597	P/G-1782	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 640), position B	Pottery: lamp, censer
598	P/G-1935	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: 2 bronze rings
599	P/G-1951	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 636), position B	
600	P/G-2051	Plain burial; dislocated bones	Gordian III provincial Nicaea (Cat. 3070), position D	
601	P/G-2065	Plain burial	Severus Alexander provincial Nicaea (Cat. 3345), position A	Other: glass bead
602	P/G-2219	Plain burial	Trajan (Cat. 278), position B	
603	P/G-2359	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: 2 bronze buttons
604	P/G-2461	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 2 jugs, pot
605	P/G-2508	Plain burial	Trajan (Cat. 327), position C	Glass: <i>guttus</i>

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606	P/G-2540	Plain burial	Claudius (Cat. 70), position G/H	Pottery: 2 pots, bowl, 2 lamps
607	P/G-2552	Plain burial; near by P/G-2555 with 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2555); dated 3 rd -4 th c.	No coin	Pottery: lamp Metal: silver bracelet (<i>cf.</i> Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 201, бр. 180), bronze bracelet, iron bracelet Other: parts of the necklace: 31 glass beads, silver buckle
608	P/G-2705	Plain burial	Augustus (Cat. 2191), position D	Pottery: 2 pots
609	P/G-2822	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 545), position B	Pottery: pot Metal: gold earring (type V.a; <i>cf.</i> p. 64, no. 213; dated 2 nd -end of 4 th c.)
610	P/G-2870	Plain burial	Claudius (Cat. 2197), position D	
611	P/G-2891	Plain burial; damaged by P/G1-748 with 2 coins: 1/2 1 st c. bronze coin (Cat. 2260); Antoninus Pius (Cat. 778)	No coin	Pottery: pot
612	P/G-3179	Plain burial; near by P/G-3180 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 615)	No coin	Pottery: pot
613	P/G-3232	Plain burial (on the right flank); above was P/G1-868 with 2 coins: Hadrian (Cat. 553), fragment of the 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2644)	No coin	Pottery: bowl with lid, lamp
614	P/G-3411	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot
615	P/G-3429	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: lamp Metal: bronze finger-ring
616	P/G-3473	Plain burial	Nero (Cat. 98), position B	
617	P/G-3510	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 2392), position B	
618	P/G-3677	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: lamp, lid
619	P/G-4561	Plain burial	Philip I provincial Viminacium (Cat. 3214), position D	
620	P/G-4641	Plain burial	Antoninianus 2/2 3 rd c. (Cat. 2170), position E	
621	P/G-4644	Plain burial; near by P/G-4641 with antoninianus 2/2 3 rd c. (Cat. 2170)	No coin	Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>

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622	P/G-4711	Plain burial	Sabina (Cat. 663), position B	
623	P/G-4813	Plain burial	Gordian III provincial Nicaea (Cat. 3031), position G	
624	P/G-4978	Plain burial (on the left flank); dated from 2/2 2 nd to middle of the 3 rd c.	No coin	Metal: bronze belt part (type XXVIII, <i>cf.</i> p. 341, Cat. 861; dated from 2/2 2 nd to middle of the 3 rd c.) Bone: needle (fragment)
625	P/G-4998	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot
626	P/G-5117	Plain burial; damaged by P/G-5118 on the chest - the bovine bone; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: iron spatula
627	P/G-5408	Plain burial; dated 2 nd –end of 4 th c.	No coin	Metal: 2 gold earrings (type V.a; <i>cf.</i> p. 16; dated 2 nd –end of 4 th c.), bronze bracelet, two silver chains connected by an ring (fragmented)
628	VG/G-21 (<i>cf.</i> VG I, p. 56)	Plain burial	Faustina I (Cat. 1167), position B	Pottery: lamp
629	VG/G-23 (<i>cf.</i> VG I, p. 56)	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 808), position B	Pottery: pot
630	VG/G- 62* (<i>cf.</i> VG I, p. 60)	Plain burial; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G- 58, VG/G-59, VG/G-60, VG/G-62, VG/G-63, VG/G- 67, VG/G-69, VG/G-70, VG/G-72, VG/G-81; the whole group is dated to 2/2 of the 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: pot
631	VG/G-75 (<i>cf.</i> VG I, p. 61)	Plain burial	Trajan (Cat. 369), position B	Pottery: jug, pot, beaker, lamp Metal: silver mirror, bronze mount Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> , beaker, bottle Bone: 2 sewing needles Other: parts of the necklace: 8 glass beads
632	VG/G-220 (<i>cf.</i> VG I, p. 68)	Plain burial; dated 2/2 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: pot
633	VG/G- 236 (<i>cf.</i> VG I, p. 70)	Plain burial	bronze coin 2 nd c. (Cat. 2112), position A	Pottery: beaker Metal: 2 gold earrings (type V.a1; <i>cf.</i> p. 72, no. 286; dated 2 nd –4 th c.)
634	VG/G-238 (<i>cf.</i> VG I, p. 70)	Plain burial	Gaius (Agrippa) (Cat. 78), position B	

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635	VG/G-239 (cf. VG I, p. 70)	Plain burial	Trajan (Cat. 358), position B	Pottery: pot Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
636	VG/G-242 (cf. VG I, p. 70)	Plain burial	bronze coin 1 st c. (Cat. 1924), position unknown	Pottery: pot Metal: hobnails
637	VG/G-279 (cf. VG II, p. 267-268)	Plain burial; the deceased was covered with bone needles and seashells; near by VG/G-280 with coin of Marcus Aurelius caesar (Cat. 1213); dated 2/2 2 nd c.	Bronze coin (lost), position H	Bone: pyxis (with lid), 3 sewing needles, hair-pin with female head at the top, hair-pin with small ball at the top, 4 needles, pricker, gaming chip Other: 18 sea shells
638	VG/G-285 (cf. VG II, p. 272)	Plain burial	Faustina I (Cat. 1282), position A	
639	VG/G-444 (cf. VG II, p. 366)	Plain burial	Bronze coin end of the 1 st or beginning of the 2 nd c. (Cat. 1989), position B	Metal: bronze finger-ring with carnelian gem, 2 gold earrings (type V.a; cf. p. 66, no. 229; dated 2 nd – end of 3 rd c.)
640	VG/G-473 (cf. VG II, p. 383)	Plain burial	Faustina II (Cat. 1414), position B	
641	VG/G-534 (cf. VG II, p. 426)	Plain burial; dated 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, bowl
642	VG/G-580	Plain burial; dislocated bones; near by VG/G-583 with coin of Gallienus (Cat. 1670)	No coin	Metal: gold earring (type VIII c; cf. p. 90, no 413; dated 2 nd –4 th c.)
643	VG/G-615	Plain burial	Constantius II (Cat. 1701), position F	Pottery: lamp Metal: silver finger-ring with inscription VTE/RE
644	VG/G-653	Plain burial	Julia Domna provincial Laodicea (Cat. 2459), position E	
645	VG/G-695	Plain burial	Bronze coin 2 nd c. (Cat. 2108), position D	Pottery: beaker
646	VG/G-762	Plain burial	Faustina I (Cat. 1115), position D	

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647	VG/G-790	Plain burial; above was VG/G1-645 with silver coin (lost); VG/ G1-645 damaged the VG/G1-664 with coin of Tiberius (<i>divus Augustus pater</i>) (Cat. 40)	No coin	Pottery: lamp Metal: bronze ring
648	VG/G-810	Plain burial (on the left flank)	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1021), position E	
649	VG/G-896	Plain burial; near by VG/G-726 with coin of Faustina I (Cat. 1115)	No coin	Pottery: pot
650	VG/G-921	Plain burial; no dating elements	Bronze coin (lost), position A	Pottery: pot, bowl
651	VG/G-936	Plain burial	Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 1262), position B	Pottery: pot
652	VG/G-961	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: cylindrical bronze object (?)
653	VG/G-986	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 3 pots
654	VG/G-1018	Plain burial; no dating elements	Bronze coin (lost), position B	Pottery: bowl, lamp Other: 5 glass beads, carnelian gem (Minerva)
655	VG/G-1038	Plain burial	2 coins: Faustina I (Cat. 1181), position F; bronze coin 2 nd c. (Cat. 2032), position E	Pottery: pot
656	VG/G-1044	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1010 with Sabina coin (Cat. 842)	No coin	Other: 3 glass beads
657	VG/G-1049	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 542), position B	Pottery: pot Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
658	VG/G-1060	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 833), position F	Pottery: bowl
659	VG/G-1068	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1064 which is damaged by VG/G1-854 with coin of Nero (Cat. 1762)	No coin	Metal: bronze earring (fragment)
660	VG/G-1090	Plain burial	1/2 3 rd c. denarius (Cat. 1744), position B	
661	VG/G-1092	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 576), position A	Pottery: lamp
662	VG/G-1131	Plain burial	Claudius (Cat. 120), position B	Pottery: jug

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663	VG/G-1156	Plain burial	No coin	Metal: bronze needle (fragment)
664	VG/G-1175	Plain burial; below was VG/G1-1010 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1862)	No coin	Metal: 2 gold earrings (type V.b; <i>cf.</i> p. 75, no. 307; dated 2 nd –3 rd c.)
665	VG/G-1292	Plain burial; dislocated bones; below was VG/G1-1127 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 606)	Bronze coin (lost), position D	Metal: bronze belt buckle (type XI, var. 1, <i>cf.</i> p. 110, Cat. 181; dated from end of the 2 nd to 1/2 of the 4 th c.)
666	VG/G-1425 Fig. 38.1	Plain burial; dislocated bones; no dating elements	No coin	Other: parts of the necklace: 71 glass beads, parts of the bracelet: 2 glass and 1 amber beads
667	VG/G-1427	Plain burial; dislocated bones; near by VG/G-1426 with coin of Augustus (Cat. 14)	No coin	Pottery: pot
668	VG/G-1458	Plain burial; below were graves: VG/ G1-1223 (Vespasian coin; Cat. 201) and VG/G1- 1236 (2 nd c. bronze coin; Cat. 2062)	No coin	Pottery: 2 jugs Metal: gold earring (type V.b; <i>cf.</i> p. 76, no. 310; dated 2 nd –3 rd c.)
669	VG/G-1472	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1483 with 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2008)	No coin	Pottery: bowl, plate
670	VG/G-1679	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 592), position H	
671	VG/G-1708 Fig. 15.1–5	Plain burial	3 coins: Trajan, single perforated (Cat. 469), position E; Hadrian, single perforated (Cat. 723), position D; Antoninus Pius (Cat. 888), position C	Pottery: bowl Metal: silver bell, gold earring (type V.a; <i>cf.</i> p. 65, no. 219; dated 2 nd –end of the 3 rd c.), bronze earring (type V.a; <i>cf.</i> p. 69, no. 263; dated 2 nd –end of 3 rd c.) Other: glass bead
672	VG/G-1728	Plain burial; near by VG/G-191 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 433)	No coin	Metal: bronze bracelet Other: parts of the necklace: 12 glass beads
673	VG/G-1779	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: jug
674	VG/G-1787	Plain burial; dislocated bones; no dating elements	No coin	Other: parts of the necklace: 64 glass beads
675	VG/G-1793	Plain burial	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1066), position A	

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676	VG/G-1803	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 654), position F	
677	VG/G-1910	Plain burial; above was VG/G1-1524 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 616)	No coin	Pottery: 2 pot
678	VG/G-1945	Plain burial; dislocated bones; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot Metal: iron mount with nails
679	VG/G-1953	Plain burial; dislocated bones; no dating elements	No coin	Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
680	VG/G-2074	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
681	P/G-398	Plain burial covered with bricks; dislocated bones; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: bronze bracelet
682	P/G-1656	Plain burial covered with bricks	Hadrian (lost), position D	
683	P/G-4587	Plain burial covered with bricks	Salonina (Cat. 1270), position E	Other: 2 glass beads
684	P/G-5241 Fig. 38.2	Plain burial covered with bricks	Severus Alexander provincial Nicaea (Cat. 2966), position F	Pottery: lamp Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Other: parts of the necklace: 7 glass and 3 amber beads
685	P/G-5155	Plain burial covered with bricks and stones; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: unknown iron object
686	P/G-5323	Plain burial covered with bricks and stones; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: unknown iron object
687	P/G-2744	Plain burial in the well; dislocated bones; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: 2 bronze bracelets, iron bracelet
688	P/G-318	In wooden coffin; dislocated bones; no dating elements	No coin	Glass: pot
689	P/G-1006	In wooden coffin	4 coins: Aemilianus provincial Viminacium (Cat. 3272); 3 antoniniani Gallienus (Cat. 1236, 1260, 1261), position G (all)	Metal: 2 bronze rings, bronze brooch (type XV, var. 5, cf. p. 40, Cat. 201; dated 2 nd –middle 3 rd c.)

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690	P/G-1017	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 428), postion B	Pottery: bowl Glass: bottle Metal: iron finger-ring with gem, bronze seal box with yellow, green and red enamel; hobnails Bone: 3 triangular bone tiles, with perforations in the corners Other: ceramic bead, sea shell
691	P/G-1083	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot
692	P/G-2356	In wooden coffin	Faustina II (Cat. 1059), position E	
693	P/G-2714	In wooden coffin	Julia Domna provincial Stobi (Cat. 3159), position F	Pottery: plate, lamp Glass: small bottle Metal: hobnails
694	P/G-2778	In wooden coffin	Bronze coin (fragment) 1 st to 3 rd c. (Cat. 3456), position B	Pottery: 2 bowls, lamp
695	P/G-3199	In wooden coffin; dated 2 nd -1/2 4 th c.	Bronze coin (lost), position D	Metal: bronze finger-ring with gem, 2 gold earrings with glass bead (type V.b1; <i>cf.</i> p. 78, no. 329; dated 2 nd -1/2 4 th c.), gold earring (type IV.a; <i>cf.</i> p. 61, no. 186; dated end of the 1 st -end of the 3 rd c.)
696	P/G-3247	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 646), position C	Pottery: pot, bowl
697	P/G-3321	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot
698	P/G-3468	In wooden coffin; damaged by P/G-3466 above whom it is P/G1-903 with 1 st c. bronze coin (Cat. 2300)	No coin	Pottery: pot
699	P/G-3515	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 2 lamps
700	P/G-4531	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	No coin	Other: parts of the necklace: 13 long cylindrical glass beads
701	P/G-4611	In wooden coffin	Faustina I (Cat. 847), position C	
702	P/G-4818	In wooden coffin	Faustina II (Cat. 1054), position B	
703	P/G-4833	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 770), position F	Pottery: jug
704	P/G-4834	In wooden coffin	Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 2456), position F	

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705	P/G-5015	In wooden coffin	2 coins: Antoninus Pius (Cat. 830), position G/H; bronze coin (lost), position A	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, bowl
706	VG/G-12 (cf. VG I, p. 55)	In wooden coffin (on the right flank); dated 2 nd –end of 3 rd c.	No coin	Metal: gold earring (type V.a; cf. p. 66, no. 228; dated 2 nd –end of 3 rd c.); Bone: hair-pins
707	VG/G-109 (cf. VG I, p. 63-64)	In wooden coffin	Nero provincial Macedonian Koinon (Cat. 2501), position unknown	Pottery: beaker
708	VG/G-164 (cf. VG I, p. 64-65)	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1090), position B	
709	VG/G-167 (cf. VG I, p. 65)	In wooden coffin	Faustina I (lost), position C	Pottery: beaker Metal: bronze bracelet
710	VG/G-198 (cf. VG I, p. 67)	In wooden coffin; above was VG/G1-140 with coin of Antoninus Pius (lost)	Bronze coin (lost), position B	Pottery: pot
711	VG/G-260 (cf. VG I, p. 71)	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 680), position D	Pottery: bowl
712	VG/G-321 (cf. VG II, p. 293)	In wooden coffin; dated 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: beaker
713	VG/G-376 (cf. VG II, p. 326)	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 911), position B	Pottery: pot, beaker, bowl, lamp
714	VG/G-409 (cf. VG II, p. 348)	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1050), position F	Pottery: 2 pots, lamp
715	VG/G-418 (cf. VG II, p. 352)	In wooden coffin	Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 1889), position A	Metal: circular bronze application with enamel Glass: gaming chip Bone: 2 gaming cubes, gaming chip
716	VG/G-479 (cf. VG II, p. 387)	In wooden coffin	Marcus Aurelius caesar (Cat. 1264), position B	Pottery: bowl Metal: 2 gold earrings (type V.b; cf. p. 75, no. 304; dated 2 nd –3 rd c.)
717	VG/G-503 (cf. VG II, p. 405)	In wooden coffin	2 coins: Domitian (Cat. 1805), position H; bronze coin 2 nd c. (Cat. 2066), position F	

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718	VG/G-531 (cf. VG II, p. 424)	In wooden coffin; above was VG/G1-372 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1858); dated end of the 1 st or beginning of the 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot Metal: bronze finger-ring, hobnails
719	VG/G-535 (cf. VG II, p. 427)	In wooden coffin	Nero provincial Macedonian Koinon (Cat. 2492), position B	Pottery: jug, beaker, lamp
720	VG/G-733	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	Bronze coin (lost), position D	
721	VG/G-775	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1864), position C	Pottery: pot
722	VG/G-923	In wooden coffin	Trebonianus Gallus provincial Viminacium (Cat. 2596), position B	
723	VG/G-925	In wooden coffin	Hostilian provincial Viminacium (Cat. 2594), position F	
724	VG/G-974	In wooden coffin; dislocated bones; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot
725	VG/G- 982	In wooden coffin (on the left flank)	Trajan (Cat. 452), position A	
726	VG/G-1022	In wooden coffin	2 coins: Severus Alexander provincial Nicaea (Cat. 2307); bronze coin (lost), position F both	Pottery: pot Metal: perforated bronze pyxis lid; bronze brooch (poor state of preservation), 6 bronze buttons Glass: 3 gaming chips Bone: 5 gaming cubes Other: parts of the necklace: 14 glass beads
727	VG/G-1028	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G-1049 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 542)	No coin	Pottery: pot, bowl, lamp Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Other: glass bead
728	VG/G-1036	In wooden coffin	Nero provincial Macedonian Koinon (Cat. 2490), position E	Pottery: 3 jugs Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
729	VG/G-1084	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1092), position B	Pottery: pot
730	VG/G-1093	In wooden coffin	Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 1338), position A	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot Metal: bronze finger-ring

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731	VG/G-1191	In wooden coffin; dislocated bones	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 977), position D	Pottery: pot
732	VG/G-1194	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 680), position B	Metal: hobnails
733	VG/G-1230	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot
734	VG/G-1368	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 899), position E	Pottery: pot, lamp Metal: bronze buckle (type III, var. 1; <i>cf.</i> p. 43, no. 24; dated 2 nd c.)
735	VG/G-1571	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1031), position A	Other: glass bead
736	VG/G-1785 Fig. 48.1–2	In wooden coffin	Severus Alexander provincial Nicaea (Cat. 2301), position A	Metal: 2 gold earrings (type V.a; <i>cf.</i> p. 65, no. 224; dated 2 nd –end of the 3 rd c.) Other: parts of the necklace: 54 glass and one amethyst bead, glass pendant (in form of sea shell)
737	P/G-349	In lead coffin	Bronze coin 2 nd c. (Cat. 2565), position B	Metal: 2 gold earrings (type V.b; <i>cf.</i> p. 74–75, no. 300; dated 2 nd –3 rd c.) Bone: 3 hair-pins, sewing needle, gaming cube Other: wooden object (fragment)
738	P/G-3	Brick-built grave; dated 4 th c.	No coin	Metal: bronze rhomboid shape pendant with ring, bronze belt buckle (type XII, var. 2; <i>cf.</i> p. 139, no. 286; dated 4 th c.), hobnails
739	P/G-105	Brick-built grave; below was P/G1-3 with coin of Tiberius (Cat. 27)	No coin	Pottery: 2 jugs
740	P/G-141	Brick-built grave; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot Metal: bronze bracelet Other: parts of the necklace: 30 glass beads
741	P/G-146	Brick-built grave; below was P/G1-29 with 1/2 1 st c. bronze coin (Cat. 2231)	No coin	Pottery: pot (fragment)
742	P/G-192	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: bronze bracelet
743	P/G-224	Brick-built grave	9 coins (lost all): Valentinianus I (1), Valens (2), Gratian (1), Theodosius I (3), Arcadius (1), unknown (1), position A (all)	
744	P/G-327	Brick-built grave; robbed	Severus Alexander (lost), position A	

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745	P/G-361	Brick-built grave	6 bronze coins: 4 th c. (lost), position E	
746	P/G-649	Brick-built grave; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: jug Metal: iron spatula
747	P/G-658	Brick-built grave; no dating elements	3 coins (lost), position unknown	
748	P/G-735	Brick-built grave; no dating elements	No coin	Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
749	P/G-863 Fig. 24	Brick-built grave	11 coins: Marcus Aurelius imperial; provincial: Julia Domna Stobi; Caracalla Nicaea; Geta Kalchedon; Severus Alexander Nicomedia, Nicaea (2); Julia Mamaea Nicaea; Gordian III Nicaea (3), (Cat. 1728-1738), position unknown	Metal: bronze <i>bullae</i> , perforated bronze pyxis lid, 3 bronze rings
750	P/G-866	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: part of the iron lock
751	P/G-970	Brick-built grave; dated 3 rd -4 th c.	No coin	Other: parts of the necklace: 31 glass beads connected with bronze wire
752	P/G-1107	Brick-built grave; robbed	Constantius Gallus (Cat. 1632), position A	Pottery: pot Metal: bronze ring
753	P/G-2048	Brick-built grave; robbed; dated 4 th c	No coin	Metal: 2 shoe bronze buckles (type XII, var. 2; cf. p. 138; dated 4 th c.)
754	P/G-2145	Brick-built grave	Caracalla provincial unknown (Cat. 3322), position G	
755	P/G-4368	Brick-built grave; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: 2 bronze bracelets
756	P/G-4493	Brick-built grave; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: bronze bracelet; Other: 4 glass beads
757	P/G-5121	Brick-built grave; robbed; dated 4 th c.	No coin	Metal: bronze brooch (type XXXVI, var. 3; cf. p. 68, no. 368; dated 4 th c.)
758	P/G-5169 Fig. 38.3	Brick-built grave.	Julia Domna (Cat. 1133), position G	Metal: 2 bronze earrings (type II.a; cf. p. 13; dated 2/2 2 nd -4 th c.), bronze bracelet Other: parts of the necklace: one amber and 71 glass beads

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759	VG/G-2029	Brick-built grave	Severus Alexander provincial Nicaea (Cat. 2196), position unknown	Pottery: 3 jugs Metal: bronze belt pendant (type XXIX, var. 2; <i>cf.</i> p. 348, no. 874; dated middle 3 rd c.); bronze brooch (type XXI, var. 4; <i>cf.</i> p. 47, no. 240; dated 2 nd -1/2 3 rd c.) Other: 2 glass beads
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III.2 – BURIED WITHOUT GRAVE GOODS

Cat. nos.	P – Pećine; VG – Više grobalja / grave no. / Fig.	Burial rites / dating elements, if there is no coin as grave goods
760	P/G-18	Plain burial; dislocated bones; no dating elements
761	P/G-111	Plain burial; no dating elements
762	P/G-145	Plain burial; no dating elements
763	P/G-166	Plain burial; no dating elements
764	P/G-262	Plain burial; no dating elements
765	P/G-470	Plain burial; dislocated bones no dating elements
766	P/G-525	Plain burial; dislocated bones; no dating elements
767	P/G-527	Plain burial; dislocated bones; no dating elements
768	P/G- 535	Plain burial; dislocated bones; no dating elements
769	P/G-567	Plain burial; dislocated bones; no dating elements
770	P/G-594	Plain burial; near by P/G-633 with coin of Constantinus I (Cat. 1374)
771	P/G-605	Plain burial; no dating elements
772	P/G-634	Plain burial; no dating elements
773	P/G-651	Plain burial; no dating elements
774	P/G-691	Plain burial; no dating elements

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775	P/G-761	Plain burial (on the left flank); below was P/G-201 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 802)
776	P/G- 771	Plain burial; no dating elements
777	P/G-930	Plain burial; near by P/G1-257 with 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2578)
778	P/G-937	Plain burial; below was P/G-938 with coin of Trajan Decius provincial Viminacium (Cat. 3244)
779	P/G-1027	Plain burial; near by P/G-1018 with 1/2 4 th c. bronze coin (Cat. 2707)
780	P/G-1311	Plain burial; no dating elements
781	P/G-1322	Plain burial; no dating elements
782	P/G-1403	Plain burial; no dating elements
783	P/G-1407	Plain burial; no dating elements
784	P/G-1452	Plain burial; no dating elements
785	P/G-1460	Plain burial; no dating elements
786	P/G-1535	Plain burial; no dating elements
787	P/G-1536	Plain burial; no dating elements
788	P/G-1571	Plain burial; below was P/G-1569 with coin of Severus Alexander provincial Nicaea (Cat. 2954)
789	P/G-1652	Plain burial; no dating elements
790	P/G-1786	Plain burial; no dating elements
791	P/G-1794	Plain burial; no dating elements
792	P/G-1923	Plain burial (on the left flank); no dating elements
793	P/G-2016	Plain burial; below was P/G-2017 with coin of Gordian III provincial Nicaea (Cat. 3017)
794	P/G-2026	Plain burial; dislocated bones; no dating elements
795	P/G-2042	Plain burial; no dating elements
796	P/G-2107	Plain burial; no dating elements
797	P/G-2108	Plain burial; no dating elements

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798	P/G-2281	Plain burial; no dating elements
799	P/G-2390	Plain burial; near by P/G1-592 with coin of Vespasian (Cat. 113)
800	P/G-2482	Plain burial; no dating elements
801	P/G-2500	Plain burial (on the left flank); near by P/G-2538 below whom is P/G-2539 with 1/2 1 st c. bronze coin (Cat. 2248)
802	P/G-2515	Plain burial; no dating elements
803	P/G-2518	Plain burial; near by P/G1-695 with 2 coins: Faustina I (Cat. 861) and Marcus Aurelius caesar (Cat. 922)
804	P/G-2547	Plain burial; no dating elements
805	P/G-2560	Plain burial; no dating elements
806	P/G-2618	Plain burial; no dating elements
807	P/G-2740	Plain burial; no dating elements
808	P/G-2751	Plain burial; near in the layer Faustina I coin was found (Cat. 892)
809	P/G-2768	Plain burial; near by P/G-2756 with 2 coins: Augustus (Cat. 15) and Marcus Aurelius caesar (Cat. 945)
810	P/G-3009	Plain burial; near by P/G-3008 with 1/2 1 st c. bronze coin (Cat. 2238)
811	P/G-3148	Plain burial; no dating elements
812	P/G-3214	Plain burial; near in the layer an Domitian coin was found (Cat. 156)
813	P/G-3224	Plain burial; no dating elements
814	P/G-3366	Plain burial; no dating elements
815	P/G-3401	Plain burial; no dating elements
816	P/G-3433	Plain burial; no dating elements
817	P/G-3481	Plain burial; near by P/G1-959 with coin of Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 993)
818	P/G-3482	Plain burial; no dating elements
819	P/G-3678	Plain burial; no dating elements
820	P/G-4411	Plain burial; no dating elements

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821	P/G-4417	Plain burial; no dating elements
822	P/G-4514	Plain burial; no dating elements
823	P/G-4563	Plain burial; no dating elements
824	P/G-4702	Plain burial; no dating elements
825	P/G-4743	Plain burial; no dating elements
826	P/G-4783	Plain burial; no dating elements
827	P/G-5018	Plain burial; near by P/G-5015 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 830)
828	P/G-5199	Plain burial; no dating elements
829	P/G-5230	Plain burial; no dating elements
830	P/G-5269	Plain burial; no dating elements
831	P/G-5291	Plain burial; no dating elements
832	P/G-5295	Plain burial; no dating elements
833	P/G-5332	Plain burial; no dating elements
834	P/G-5345	Plain burial; near by P/G-5346 with coin of Gordian III provincial Viminacium (Cat. 3207)
835	P/G-5348	Plain burial; no dating elements
836	P/G-5391	Plain burial (on the right flank); no dating elements
837	P/G-5394	Plain burial (on the right flank); no dating elements
838	P/G-5399	Plain burial; no dating elements
839	P/G-5400	Plain burial; no dating elements
840	P/G-5405	Plain burial; no dating elements
841	P/G-5429	Plain burial; no dating elements
842	VG/G-20 (cf. VG I, p. 56)	Plain burial; dated 2/2 2 nd c.
843	VG/G-256 (cf. VG I, p. 71)	Plain burial; dated 1/2 2 nd c.
844	VG/G-368 (cf. VG II, p. 320)	Plain burial; below was VG/G-506 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 525);

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845	VG/G-381 (cf. VG II, p. 331)	Plain burial; no dating elements
846	VG/G-420 (cf. VG II, p. 353)	Plain burial; no dating elements
847	VG/G-495 (cf. VG II, p. 400)	Plain burial; no dating elements
848	VG/G-524 (cf. VG II, p. 417)	Plain burial; no dating elements
849	VG/G-620	Plain burial; no dating elements
850	VG/G-621	Plain burial; no dating elements
851	VG/G-632	Plain burial; above was VG/G1-538 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 968)
852	VG/G-727	Plain burial; near by children's grave VG/G-728 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1018);
853	VG/G-781	Plain burial; near by children's grave VG/G-753 with coin of Nero (Cat. 166)
854	VG/G-1011	Plain burial; below was VG/G1-827 with coin of Claudius (Cat. 97)
855	VG/G-1063	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-876 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 895)
856	VG/G-1064	Plain burial; damaged by VG/G1-854 with coin of Nero (Cat. 1762)
857	VG/G-1079	Plain burial; no dating elements
858	VG/G-1147	Plain burial; no dating elements
859	VG/G-1174	Plain burial; no dating elements
860	VG/G-1379	Plain burial (on the left flank); near by VG/G1-928 with coin of Faustina II (Cat. 1300)
861	VG/G-1504	Plain burial; near in the layer coin of Antoninus Pius was found (Cat. 960)
862	VG/G-1509	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1521 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 892)
863	VG/G-1513	Plain burial; no dating elements
864	VG/G-1528	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1921 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 792)
865	VG/G-1567	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1632 with coin of Gaius (Cat. 73)
866	VG/G-1606	Plain burial; no dating elements
867	VG/G-1702	Plain burial; no dating elements
868	VG/G-1743	Plain burial; no dating elements

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869	VG/G-1841	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1530 with coin of Faustina I (Cat. 1127)
870	VG/G-1906	Plain burial; below was VG/G1-1574 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 934)
871	P/G-504	Plain burial covered with bricks; no dating elements
872	P/G-1347	Plain burial covered with bricks; near by P/G-1348 with unknown provincial coin of Severus Alexander (Cat. 3333)
873	P/G-2110	Plain burial covered with bricks; near by P/G-2023 with coin of Geta caesar (Cat. 1155)
874	P/G-5063	Plain burial covered with bricks; no dating elements
875	P/G-5178	Plain burial covered with bricks; no dating elements
876	P/G-757	Plain burial covered with amphora; no dating elements
877	P/G-2727	Plain burial in the well (level 13; together with P/G-2728 and P/G-2729); no dating elements
878	P/G-2760	Plain burial in the well (level 15; together with P/G-2745, P/G-2759 and P/G-2761); no dating elements
879	P/G-2761	Plain burial in the well (level 15; together with P/G-2745, P/G-2759 and P/G-2760); no dating elements
880	P/G-1043	In wooden coffin; below was P/G-1109 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 748)
881	P/G-1089	In wooden coffin; no dating elements
882	P/G-1461	In wooden coffin; dislocated bones; no dating elements
883	P/G-2905	In wooden coffin; no dating elements hobnails
884	P/G-2978	In wooden coffin; above was P/G-2979 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 602)
885	P/G-3313	In wooden coffin; near in the layer was found 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2586)
886	P/G-4533	In wooden coffin; above was P/G1-1054 with 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2518)
887	P/G-4694	In wooden coffin; no dating elements
888	P/G-4814	In wooden coffin; near by P/G-4813 with coin of Gordian III provincial Nicaea (Cat. 3031)
889	P/G-5000	In wooden coffin; no dating elements
890	P/G-5176	In wooden coffin; no dating elements
891	VG/G-675	In wooden coffin; no dating elements

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892	VG/G-735	In wooden coffin; no dating elements
893	VG/G-838	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G-713 with coin of Faustina I (Cat. 1184)
894	VG/G-888	In wooden coffin; near were: VG/G-895 (bronze coin, lost) and VG/G1-663 (Antoninus Pius coin, Cat. 1081)
895	VG/G-938	In wooden coffin; no dating elements
896	VG/G-1020	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G-1040 with coin of Gordian III (Cat. 2412)
897	VG/G-1077	In wooden coffin; no dating elements
898	VG/G-1139	In wooden coffin; no dating elements
899	P/G-2046	In lead coffin in Brick-built grave; robbed; fabric remains with gold threads
900	P/G-14	Brick-built grave; Christ's monogram on one brick; dated 4 th or 5 th c.
901	P/G-135	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
902	P/G-160	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
903	P/G-187	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
904	P/G- 368	Brick-built grave; robbed; near by P/G-367 with coin of Constans (Cat. 1485)
905	P/G-377	Brick-built grave; no dating elements; hobnails
906	P/G-620	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
907	P/G-623	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
908	P/G-660	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
909	P/G-758	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
910	P/G-975	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements

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911	P/G-1338	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
912	P/G-1976	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
913	P/G-2095	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
914	P/G-2765	Brick-built grave; robbed; below was P/G-2781 with Viminacium provincial coin of Philip I (Cat. 3231)
915	P/G-3050	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
916	P/G-3625	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
917	P/G-4374	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
918	P/G-4526	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
919	P/G-4687	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
920	P/G-4708	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
921	P/G-4842	Brick-built grave; robbed; below was P/G-4843 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 2386)
922	P/G-5073	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
923	P/G-5097	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
924	P/G-5123	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
925	P/G-5153	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
926	P/G-5159	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
927	VG/G-672	Brick-built grave; no dating elements

AGE GROUP IV (10–14)

CHILDREN WHO PASSED AWAY BETWEEN THE AGES OF 10 AND 14 YEARS

IV.1 – BURIED WITH GRAVE GOODS

Cat. nos.	P – Pećine; VG – Više grobalja / Grave no. / Fig.	Burial rites / dating elements, if there is no coin as grave goods	Coin/Coins and their position in relation to the deceased (from A to G/H)	Grave goods by material (except coins): pottery, metal, glass, bone, other
928	P/G-644 Fig. 25.1	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: bronze <i>bullae</i> , 2 bronze rings, 3 bronze bracelets
929	P/G-683	Plain burial	Julia Domna (Cat. 1137), position G	
930	P/G-707	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot
931	P/G-766	Plain burial; near by P/G1-193 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 345)	No coin	Pottery: pot; lamp
932	P/G-820	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Other: parts of the necklace: 10 glass beads
933	P/G- 839	Plain burial; near by P/G-829 with coin of Gratian (Cat. 1714)	No coin	Metal: 2 bronze bracelets
934	P/G- 844	Plain burial; dislocated bones	Nero (Cat. 99), position unknown	
935	P/G-962	Plain burial; dislocated skull; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery:
936	P/G-1003	Plain burial; dislocated bones; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: bronze chest lid with handle
937	P/G-1099	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: iron needle (fragment)
938	P/G-1159	Plain burial	Constantine I (Cat. 1442), position D	
939	P/G-1205	Plain burial	2 bronze coins: 1/2 1 st c. (Cat. 2277); 2 nd c. (Cat. 2566), position unknown	Pottery: lamp Metal: bronze ring, bronze sewing needle, bronze button
940	P/G-1327 Fig. 41.1	Plain burial; near in the layer provincial coin from 1/2 3 rd c. was found (Cat. 3109)	No coin	Other: 4 semicircular jet segments with 2 perforations

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941	P/G-1376	Plain burial; near by P/G-1378 with 3 coins: two 2 nd c. bronze coins (Cat. 2343, 2604) and Philip I (Cat. 3232)	No coin	Metal: silver finger-ring
942	P/G-1424	Plain burial (on the left flank); no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 2 plates, pot
943	P/G-1784	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 525), position B	
944	P/G-1809	Plain burial	Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 2437), position B	
945	P/G-1894	Plain burial; dislocated bones; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot
946	P/G-1941 Fig. 25.2	Plain burial	Domitian (Cat. 199), position E	Metal: bronze <i>bullae</i> , cylindrical silver bead
947	P/G-2207	Plain burial; near by P/G-2187 with Hadrian coin (Cat. 475)	No coin	Pottery: amphora Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
948	P/G-2314	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 634), position A	
949	P/G-2421	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot Metal: bronze finger-ring
950	P/G-2454	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: bronze button
951	P/G-2753	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 578), position A	
952	P/G-2871	Plain burial	Trajan (Cat. 300), position B	
953	P/G-2904	Plain burial; dated 2 nd – 1/2 3 rd c.	No coin	Metal: bronze brooch (type IV, var. 5; <i>cf.</i> p. 17, no. 21; dated 2 nd – 1/2 3 rd c.), hobnails
954	P/G-2975	Plain burial	Domitian (Cat. 209), position B	
955	P/G-3142	Plain burial; near by P/G-3143 with coin of Marcus Aurelius caesar (Cat. 947); below was P/G1- 840 with coin of Domitian (Cat. 183)	No coin	Pottery: bowl, lamp
956	P/G-3477	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 809), position B	Pottery: pot Metal: bronze brooch (type XIII, var. 1; <i>cf.</i> p. 33, no. 141; dated 2 nd –1/2 3 rd c.)

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957	P/G-3758	Plain burial	4 coins all provincial: Philip I Dacia (Cat. 3283); Trajan Decius Viminacium (Cat. 3246); 2 pcs Herrenia Etruscilla Viminacium (Cat. 3249, 3250), position C (all)	
958	P/G-4754	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Other: parts of the necklace: 85 glass beads
959	P/G-4940 Fig. 54.1–2	Plain burial; near by P/G-4941 which was damaged by P/G1-1088 with Antoninus Pius coin (Cat. 804)	No coin	Other: parts of the string: 2 glass beads, 2 bronze rings, bronze pendant
960	P/G-5052	Plain burial	Bronze coin provincial Caesarea 2 nd to 3 rd c. (Cat. 3365), position A	
961	P/G-5286	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Other: parts of the necklace: 37 glass beads
962	P/G-5414	Plain burial; dated end of the 3 rd to beginning of the 4 th c.	No coin	Metal: bronze brooch (type XXXIV, var. 6; <i>cf.</i> p. 63, no. 343; dated end of the 3 rd to beginning of the 4 th c.)
963	VG/G-4 (<i>cf.</i> VG I, p. 55)	Plain burial; dated 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: censer
964	VG/G-10 (<i>cf.</i> VG I, p. 55)	Plain burial	Lucius Aelius (Cat. 847), position B	Pottery: pot
965	VG/G-26 (<i>cf.</i> VG I, p. 56-57)	Plain burial; dated 1/2 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: lamp
966	VG/G-27 (<i>cf.</i> VG I, p. 57)	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot, amphora
967	VG/G-29 (<i>cf.</i> VG I, p. 57)	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 2 pots, lamp Metal: bronze button
968	VG/G-32 (<i>cf.</i> VG I, p. 57)	Plain burial; dated 3/4 2 nd –3 rd c.	Bronze coin (lost), position D	Pottery: pot
969	VG/G-46 (<i>cf.</i> VG I, p. 58)	Plain burial; dislocated bones; no dating elements	No coin	Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>

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970	VG/G-63 (cf. VG I, p. 60)	Plain burial; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-58, VG/G-59, VG/G-60, VG/G- 62, VG/G-63, VG/G-67, VG/G-69, VG/G-70, VG/G- 72, VG/G-81; the whole group is dated to 2/2 of the 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: beaker, bowl
971	VG/G-204 (cf. VG I, p. 67)	Plain burial; dated 1/2 3 rd c.	No coin	Pottery: beaker
972	VG/G-263 (cf. VG I, p. 72)	Plain burial	2/2 1 st c. bronze coin (Cat. 1969), position B	Pottery: beaker, lamp
973	VG/G-266 (cf. VG I, p. 72)	Plain burial	2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2096), position H	Pottery: beaker, 2 bowls
974	VG/G-267 (cf. VG I, p. 72)	Plain burial; dated 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: jug, beaker
975	VG/G-294 (cf. VG II, p. 280)	Plain burial	Domitian (Cat. 305), position A	Pottery: 3 jugs, beaker
976	VG/G-387 (cf. VG II, p. 334)	Plain burial; dated 2/2 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: lamp
977	VG/G-625	Plain burial	Vespasian (Cat. 188), position G/H	Pottery: pot, pot
978	VG/G-685	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 1832), position A	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, lamp
979	VG/G-741	Plain burial	Marcus Aurelius caesar (Cat. 1218), position B	Metal: bronze part of the belt set (type XXVI, var. 1; cf. p. 325, no. 801; dated 2 nd -4 th c.), bronze ring; Other: 5 glass beads
980	VG/G-768	Plain burial	Domitian (Cat. 1809), position D	Pottery: pot Metal: iron belt buckle (type III, var. 1; cf. p. 54, no. 65; dated 2/2 2 nd -1/2 3 rd c.)
981	VG/G-1460	Plain burial	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1089), position A	Pottery: pot Metal: 2 gold earrings (type V.a1; cf. p. 72, no. 282; dated 2 nd -4 th c.)
982	VG/G-1629	Plain burial	Severus Alexander provincial Nicaea (Cat. 2213), position F	Pottery: pot Metal: 2 twisted bronze wires
983	VG/G-1644	Plain burial; damaged the VG/G1-1382 with Domitian coin (Cat. 266)	No coin	Metal: bronze ring

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 NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
 južna nekropola Viminacijuma

984	VG/G-1677	Plain burial; dated 2 nd – 1/2 3 rd c.	No coin	Metal: bronze brooch (type IV, var. 1; cf. p. 15, no. 5; dated 2 nd – 1/2 3 rd c.)
985	VG/G-1747	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1690 with coin of Vespasian (Cat. 198)	No coin	Pottery: lamp
986	VG/G-1918	Plain burial; above was VG/G1-1535 (No coin) which was damaged VG/G1-1575 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 762)	No coin	Pottery: lamp
987	VG/G-1985	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1635 with Trebonianus Gallus Viminacium provincial coin (Cat. 2600)	No coin	Pottery: 2 pots, bowl, lamp
988	P/G-4624	Plain burial covered with brick and stone; dated 4 th c.	No coin	Metal: iron brooch (type XXXIII, cf. p. 60; dated 4 th c.)
989	P/G-5245	Plain burial covered with brick; near by P/G-5244 with 6 coins: Septimius Severus (Cat. 1114), Gallienus (Cat. 1264), antoninianus 2/2 3 rd c. (Cat. 2180), 3 coins (lost)	Bronze coin (lost), position B	Pottery: lamp
990	P/G-1007	In wooden coffin	Augustus (Cat. 21), position D	
991	P/G-2093	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot
992	P/G-2762	In wooden coffin; below was P/G1-710 with belt buckle (type III, var. 1; cf. p.47-48, no. 37; dated 2/4 2 nd to 1/2 3 rd c.)	No coin	Pottery: pot Metal: bronze object (?), iron object (?)
993	P/G-2770	In wooden coffin	Trajan (Cat. 313), position B	
994	P/G-2920	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 779), position G/H	Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
995	P/G-2931	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: jug, pot, pot
996	P/G-3012	In wooden coffin	2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2530), position B	Pottery: jug, pot, lamp
997	P/G-3344	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot, bowl Metal: bronze ring
998	P/G-4974	In wooden coffin; dislocated bones; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 2 pots Metal: 2 bronze rings, bronze mount Other: 3 glass beads

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COINAGE AND APOTROPAIC-PROPHYLACTIC ELEMENTS IN FUNERARY RITUALS –
southern Viminacium cemetery

999	P/G-4995	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 774), position F	Metal: bronze ring, hobnails
1000	P/G-5118	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot
1001	VG/G-50 (cf. VG I, p. 58)	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 759), position B	Pottery: pot, pot, bowl
1002	G-165 (cf. VG I, p. 65)	In wooden coffin	2 nd c. bronze coin (lost), position B	Pottery: pot
1003	VG/G-351 (cf. VG II, p. 311)	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G-343 with coin of Faustina I (Cat. 1163); dated 2/2 2 nd –3 rd c.	No coin	Pottery: pot, lamp Metal: bronze mount
1004	VG/G-567	In wooden coffin	2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2104), position B	Pottery: beaker
1005	VG/G-766	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G-809 with <i>diva</i> Faustina II coin (Cat. 1400)	No coin	Pottery: pot Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
1006	VG/G-920	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	Bronze coin (lost), position B	Pottery: beaker
1007	VG/G-1237	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: jug, 2 pots, perforated chip Metal: iron finger-ring
1008	VG/G-1816	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1069), position B	Pottery: beaker
1009	P/G-134	Brick-built grave; no dating elements	Bronze coin (lost), position E	Other: parts of the necklace: 20 glass beads
1010	P/G-307	Brick-built grave	Severus Alexander provincial Amphipolis (Cat. 3143), position A	
1011	P/G-801	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements	No coin	Glass: beaker
1012	P/G-1025 Fig. 41.3 (cf. Spasić-Đurić 2011, p. 10-11)	Brick-built grave; robbed; dated 3 rd c.	No coin	Pottery: jug Metal: bronze (with gilding) calotte-form object (?) Other: parts of the bracelet: 20 semicircular jet segments with 2 perforations (cf. Spasić-Ђурић 2015a, 209, бр. 214)
1013	P/G-4521	Brick-built grave; robbed; dated 2 nd –1/2 4 th c.	No coin	Metal: silver earring (type II.a1; cf. p. 49, no. 103; dated 2 nd –1/2 4 th c.) bronze <i>pyxis</i> with lid, iron spatula; Other: sea shell
1014	P/G-4559	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: 2 bronze bracelets

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NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
južna nekropola Viminacijuma

1015	P/G-4680	Brick-built grave; robbed; dated 2 nd -1/2 4 th c.	No coin	Metal: bronze earring (type II. c; cf. p. 56; dated 2 nd -1/2 4 th c.)
1016	VG/G-939 Fig. 25.3; Fig. 41.2 (cf. Spasić- Đurić 2011, p. 16-20)	Brick-built grave; near by were VG/G-941 (coin lost) and VG/G-942 with coin of Nero (Cat. 168); dated 3 rd c.	Bronze coin (lost), position D	Pottery: jug, miniature pot (lamp ?), gaming chip Metal: bronze <i>bullae</i> ; 2 calotte-form bronze objects (?), bronze ring Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> ; 2 gaming chips, 2 beads Bone: 4 gaming cubes, 8 hair-pins Other: bronze chain with 4 glass beads; semicircular jet segment with 2 perforations; see shell; parts of the necklace: 167 glass and 42 ceramic beads

IV.2 – BURIED WITHOUT GRAVE GOODS

Cat. nos.	P – Pećine; VG – Više grobalja / Grave no. / Fig.	Burial rites / dating elements, if there is no coin as grave goods
1017	P/G-62	Plain burial; no dating elements
1018	P/G-447	Plain burial; no dating elements
1019	P/G-592	Plain burial; no dating elements
1020	P/G-618	Plain burial; no dating elements
1021	P/G-622	Plain burial; no dating elements
1022	P/G-686	Plain burial; no dating elements
1023	P/G-694	Plain burial; no dating elements
1024	P/G-706	Plain burial; near by were P/G-731 with bronze coin (lost) and P/G-738 with bronze coin (lost); no dating elements
1025	P/G-871	Plain burial; near by P/G-873 with 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2584)
1026	P/G-892	Plain burial; no dating elements
1027	P/G-1001	Plain burial; no dating elements
1028	P/G-1029	Plain burial; below was P/G1-300 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 808)

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southern Viminacium cemetery

1029	P/G-1045	Plain burial; near by P/G-1052 with gold earrings (type II.a; <i>cf.</i> p. 38, no. 42; dated 2/2 2 nd -4 th c.)
1030	P/G-1054	Plain burial; near by P/G-1052 with gold earrings (type II.a; <i>cf.</i> p. 38, no. 42; dated 2/2 2 nd -4 th c.)
1031	P/G-1339	Plain burial; no dating elements
1032	P/G-1429	Plain burial; no dating elements
1033	P/G-1436	Plain burial; no dating elements
1034	P/G-1693	Plain burial; near by P/G1-410 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 245)
1035	P/G-1744	Plain burial; near by P/G-1745 with bronze buckle belt (type VI, var. 3; <i>cf.</i> p. 83, no. 123; dated 2/2 3 rd -beginning of the 4 th c.)
1036	P/G-1774	Plain burial; no dating elements
1037	P/G-1808	Plain burial; near by P/G-1809 with coin of Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 2437)
1038	P/G-1833	Plain burial (on the left flank); no dating elements
1039	P/G-1842	Plain burial; no dating elements
1040	P/G-1844	Plain burial; no dating elements
1041	P/G-1845	Plain burial; no dating elements
1042	P/G-1864	Plain burial; below was P/G1-443 with coin of Severus Alexander (Cat. 2956)
1043	P/G-1896	Plain burial; no dating elements
1044	P/G-1947	Plain burial; dislocated bones; no dating elements
1045	P/G-2086	Plain burial; below was P/G-2092 with coin of Severus Alexander (Cat. 2990)
1046	P/G-2102	Plain burial; hobnails; near by P/G-2241 with coin of Julia Domna (Cat. 3156)
1047	P/G-2152	Plain burial; no dating elements
1048	P/G-2279	Plain burial; no dating elements
1049	P/G-2416	Plain burial; dislocated bones; near by P/G-2418 with bronze brooch (type XXXIV, var. 4; <i>cf.</i> p. 62, no. 327; dated 1/2 4 th c.)

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NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
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1050	P/G-2967	Plain burial; dislocated bones; near by P/G-2975 with coin of Domitian (Cat. 209)
1051	P/G-3134	Plain burial; no dating elements
1052	P/G-3205	Plain burial; damaged by P/G1-867 with coin of Faustina I (Cat. 842)
1053	P/G-3353	Plain burial; near in the layer 2 coins were found: Septimius Severus (Cat. 3316) and Julia Mamaea (Cat. 1189)
1054	P/G-3420	Plain burial; no dating elements
1055	P/G-3436	Plain burial; no dating elements
1056	P/G-3553	Plain burial; no dating elements
1057	P/G-3717	Plain burial; no dating elements
1058	P/G-4444	Plain burial; near by P/G-4445 with coin of Constans caesar (Cat. 1499)
1059	P/G-4452	Plain burial; no dating elements
1060	P/G-4887	Plain burial; no dating elements
1061	P/G-5242	Plain burial; near by P/G-5227 with 2 coins: Gordian III (Cat. 3030) and Hostilian (Cat. 3252)
1062	P/G-5270	Plain burial; no dating elements
1063	P/G-5277	Plain burial; no dating elements
1064	VG/G-13 (cf. VG I, p. 56)	Plain burial; no dating elements
1065	VG/G-18 (cf. VG I, p. 56)	Plain burial; dated 2 nd c.
1066	VG/G-25 (cf. VG I, p. 56)	Plain burial; below was VG/G1-43 with 2 coins: Nero (Cat. 2493) and 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2083)
1067	VG/G-88 (cf. VG I, p. 62)	Plain burial; dated 2 nd c.
1068	VG/G-456 (cf. VG II, p. 372)	Plain burial; no dating elements
1069	VG/G-467 (cf. VG II, p. 380)	Plain burial; near by VG/G-444 with 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 1989)
1070	VG/G-592	Plain burial; near by VG/G-583 with coin of Gallienus (Cat. 1670)
1071	VG/G-669	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-470 dated to the end of the 2 nd c. (cf. VG II, p. 207)

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COINAGE AND APOTROPAIC-PROPHYLACTIC ELEMENTS IN FUNERARY RITUALS –
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1072	VG/G-983	Plain burial; hobnails; no dating elements
1073	VG/G-1178	Plain burial; no dating elements
1074	VG/G-1242	Plain burial; below was VG/G1-1097 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 486)
1075	VG/G-1539	Plain burial; no dating elements
1076	VG/G-1555	Plain burial; no dating elements
1077	VG/G-1706	Plain burial; no dating elements
1078	VG/G-1927	Plain burial; no dating elements
1079	VG/G-1929	Plain burial; no dating elements
1080	VG/G-1970	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1969 with coin of Severus Alexander (Cat. 2306)
1081	VG/G-2041	Plain burial; below was VG/G1-1639 with coin of Severus Alexander (Cat. 2248)
1082	P/G-716	Plain burial covered with bricks; no dating elements
1083	P/G-2191	Plain burial covered with bricks; near by P/G1-523 with 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2600)
1084	P/G-4880	Plain burial covered with bricks and stones; no dating elements
1085	P/G-874	In wooden coffin; dislocated bones; near by P/G-873 with 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2584)
1086	P/G-2907	In wooden coffin; dislocated bones; hobnails; no dating elements
1087	VG/G-265 (cf. VG I, p. 72)	In wooden coffin; no dating elements
1088	VG/G-924	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G-923 with coin of Trebonianus Gallus (Cat. 2596)
1089	VG/G-1021	In wooden coffin; no dating elements
1090	P/G-35	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1091	P/G-509	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements

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NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
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1092	P/G-611	Brick-built grave; robbed; near by P/G-612 with belt buckle (type XII, var. 1; <i>cf.</i> p. 130, no. 257; dated 2/3 4 th c.)
1093	P/G-795	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1094	P/G-829	Brick-built grave; robbed; near, in the layer, coin of Gratian was found (Cat. 1714)
1095	P/G-4651	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements

AGE GROUP V (15–19)

CHILDREN WHO PASSED AWAY BETWEEN THE AGES OF 10 AND 14 YEARS

V.1 – BURIED WITH GRAVE GOODS

Cat. nos.	P – Pećine; VG – Više grobalja / Grave no.	Burial rites / dating elements, if there is No coin as grave goods	Coin/Coins and their position in relation to the deceased (from A to G/H)	Grave goods (except coins): pottery, metal, glass, bone, other
1096	P/G-551 Fig. 42 (<i>cf.</i> Spasić-Đurčić, 2011, p. 26)	Plain burial; dated 1/2 3 rd c.	Geta (Cat. 1157), position A	Other: 5 glass beads, parts of the bracelet: 15 semicircular jet segments with 2 perforations (<i>cf.</i> Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 210, бр. 215)
1097	P/G-625	Plain burial; dated 2/2 2 nd –4 th c.	No coin	Metal: silver earring (type II.a; <i>cf.</i> p. 42, no. 66; dated 2/2 2 nd –4 th c.), 2 bronze bracelets Glass: bracelet Other: parts of the necklace: 53 glass beads
1098	P/G-2028	Plain burial; dated 2 nd –1/2 3 rd c.	No coin	Pottery: pot, lamp Metal: bronze brooch (type XXII, var. 7; <i>cf.</i> p. 50, no. 263; dated 2 nd –1/2 3 rd c.) Glass: bowl
1099	P/G-2055	Plain burial	Elagabalus provincial Nicopolis ad Istrum (Cat. 3129), position D	Pottery: pot
1100	P/G-3394	Plain burial	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 784), position E	Pottery: lamp Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>

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COINAGE AND APOTROPAIC-PROPHYLACTIC ELEMENTS IN FUNERARY RITUALS –
southern Viminacium cemetery

1101	P/G-3471	Plain burial	Domitian (Cat. 148), position A	Pottery: bowl, lamp, rattle (in form of a dove) Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Bone: 3 spatulas, hair-pin, fragmented needle Other: 5 perforated sea shells, 6 sea shells
1102	P/G-3548	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot
1103	P/G-5243	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot
1104	P/G-5409	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 555), position A	Pottery: pot, plate
1105	VG/G-51 (cf. VG I, p. 58-59)	Plain burial	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1075), position B	Pottery: pot
1106	VG/G-185 (cf. VG I, p. 66)	Plain burial; damaged the VG/G1-181 with coin of Septimius Severus (lost); dated 2/2 3 rd c.	No coin	Pottery: beaker
1107	VG/G-475 (cf. VG II, p. 385)	Plain burial (on right flank); no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot
1108	VG/G-480 (cf. VG II, p. 388)	Plain burial	Marcus Aurelius caesar (Cat. 1257), position A	Other: glass bead
1109	VG/G-613	Plain burial; dated 2/4 2 nd –1/2 3 rd c.	No coin	Metal: bronze belt buckle (type III, var. 1; cf. p. 52, no. 54; dated 2/4 2 nd –1/2 3 rd c.), 2 bronze rings
1110	VG/G-795	Plain burial; above was VG/G1-717 with 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 1996)	Bronze coin (lost), position B	
1111	VG/G-820	Plain burial; near by VG/G-834 with coin of Faustina II (Cat. 1406)	No coin	Metal: circle bronze application
1112	VG/G-1148.	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 2 jugs, pot, pot, lamp
1113	VG/G-1258	Plain burial	1 st to 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2007), position B	
1114	VG/G-1348	Plain burial	Vespasian (Cat. 189), position unknown	Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
1115	VG/G-1891	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1980 with Severan dynasty bronze coin (Cat. 1908)	No coin	Metal: iron rings

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NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
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1116	VG/G-1954	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: jug, plate
1117	P/G-841	Plain burial covered with bricks; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: lamp
1118	P/G-3410	Plain burial covered with bricks; dated 3 rd –4 th c.	No coin	Pottery: lamp Metal: gold earring (type IX.b; <i>cf.</i> p. 93, no. 428; dated 3 rd –4 th c.); Other: parts of the necklace: one gold and 11 glass beads
1119	P/G-4737	Plain burial covered with bricks; near by P/G-4678 with Faustina II coin (Cat. 1067)	Bronze coin (lost), position F	Metal: bronze bracelet
1120	P/G-4710	In wooden coffin; near by P/G-4712 with coin of Sabina (Cat. 663)	Fragment of the 1 st to 3 rd c. bronze coin (Cat. 3443), position B	Pottery: 3 jugs, lamp
1121	P/G-5004	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	Bronze coin (lost), position D	Pottery: lamp
1122	VG/G-696	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 826, position F)	Pottery: pot Metal: hobnails
1123	VG/G-973	In wooden coffin	Claudius (Cat. 1754), position C	Pottery: 2 bowls, pot
1124	VG/G-1161	In wooden coffin	2 coins: Claudius (Cat. 161), position C; bronze coin (lost), position D	
1125	VG/G-1336	In wooden coffin	Lucius Verus (Cat. 1366), position B	
1126	VG/G-1557	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 929), position D	Pottery: pot
1127	VG/G-1833	In wooden coffin; dated 2 nd –3 rd c.	No coin	Pottery: 2 jugs Metal: 2 silver earrings (type V.a; <i>cf.</i> p. 68, no. 248; dated 2 nd –3 rd c.)
1128	P/G-373	Brick-built grave; dated 2/2 2 nd –4 th c.	No coin	Metal: bronze earring with glass bead (type II.b; <i>cf.</i> p. 54, no. 141; dated 2/2 2 nd –4 th c.)
1129	P/G-785	Brick-built grave; robbed	Hadrian (Cat. 580), position A	
1130	P/G-2192	Brick-built grave; robbed; below were graves: P/G-2338 (No coin) and P/G-2337 with Antoninus Pius coin (Cat. 806)	No coin	Metal: bronze finger-ring, hobnails
1131	P/G-5129	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: bronze mount Other: glass bead

V.2 – BURIED WITHOUT GRAVE GOODS

Cat. nos.	P – Pećine; VG – Više grobalja / Grave no. / Fig.	Burial rites / dating elements, if there is no coin as grave goods
1132	P/G-536	Plain burial; no dating elements
1133	P/G-840	Plain burial; near were: P/G-939 (Trajan coin, Cat. 320), P/G-949 (Hadrian coin, Cat. 2393) and P/G1-224 (Hadrian coin, Cat. 591)
1134	P/G-1419	Plain burial; no dating elements
1135	P/G-1438	Plain burial; no dating elements
1136	P/G-1478	Plain burial; no dating elements
1137	P/G-1630	Plain burial; no dating elements
1138	P/G-1638	Plain burial; no dating elements
1139	P/G-1855	Plain burial; no dating elements
1140	P/G-2199	Plain burial; no dating elements
1141	P/G-2483	Plain burial; no dating elements
1142	P/G-2519	Plain burial; no dating elements
1143	P/G-2730	Plain burial; no dating elements
1144	P/G-2966	Plain burial; above were: P/G-2967 (No coin) and P/G-2975 with coin of Vespasian (Cat. 209)
1145	P/G-3020	Plain burial; near were: P/G-3005 (1 st c. bronze coin, Cat. 2304) and P/G1-792 (2 coins: 1 st c. bronze coin, Cat. 2292; and coin of Hadrian, Cat. 526)
1146	P/G-3083	Plain burial; no dating elements
1147	P/G-3185	Plain burial (on left flank); no dating elements
1148	P/G-3314	Plain burial; no dating elements
1149	P/G-3462	Plain burial; near by P/G-3463 with coin of Augustus (Cat. 8)
1150	P/G-4716	Plain burial; no dating elements
1151	P/G-5051	Plain burial; no dating elements
1152	P/G-5090	Plain burial; no dating elements

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1153	P/G-5131	Plain burial; no dating elements
1154	P/G-5145	Plain burial; no dating elements
1155	P/G-5175	Plain burial; no dating elements
1156	P/G-5247	Plain burial; no dating elements
1157	P/G-5258	Plain burial (on right flank); no dating elements
1158	P/G-5276	Plain burial; no dating elements
1159	P/G-5371	Plain burial; no dating elements
1160	VG/G-90 (cf. VG I, p. 62)	Plain burial (on left flank); dated end of the 2 nd c.
1161	VG/G-445 (cf. VG II, p. 366)	Plain burial; no dating elements
1162	VG/G-574	Plain burial; near by VG/G-663 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1856)
1163	VG/G-581	Plain burial; near by VG/G-484 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 360)
1164	VG/G-886	Plain burial; near were: VG/G-880 (coin lost) and VG/G1-663 (coin of Antoninus Pius, Cat. 1081)
1165	VG/G-898	Plain burial; no dating elements
1166	VG/G-955	Plain burial; no dating elements
1167	VG/G-960	Plain burial (on right flank); near by VG/G-927 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 776)
1168	VG/G-1069	Plain burial; no dating elements
1169	VG/G-1149	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1131 with coin of Claudius (Cat. 120)
1170	VG/G-1546	Plain burial; no dating elements
1171	VG/G-1713	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1693 with coin of Faustina II (Cat. 1387)
1172	VG/G-1866	Plain burial; no dating elements
1173	VG/G-1900	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1524 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 616)
1174	VG/G-1913	Plain burial; no dating elements
1175	VG/G-1994	Plain burial; no dating elements
1176	VG/G-2065	Plain burial; no dating elements

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1177	P/G-2038	Plain burial covered with bricks; near by P/G-2049 with coin of Philip I (Cat. 3221)
1178	P/G-3031	In wooden coffin; no dating elements
1179	P/G-3119	In wooden coffin; no dating elements
1180	VG/G-516 (cf. VG II, p. 413)	In wooden coffin; above was VG/G-409 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1050)
1181	VG/G-1086	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G-1010 with coin of Sabina (Cat. 842)
1182	VG/G-1979	In wooden coffin; no dating elements
1183	P/G-787	Brick-built grave;robbed; no dating elements
1184	P/G-1321	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1185	P/G-1658	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1186	P/G-2636	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1187	P/G-2638	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1188	P/G-4488	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1189	P/G-4618	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1190	P/G-4723	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements

GROUP VI

CHILDREN OF UNDETERMINED AGE

VI.1 – BURIED WITH GRAVE GOODS

Cat. nos.	P – Pećine; VG – Više grobalja / Grave no. / Fig.	Burial rites / dating elements, if there is no coin as grave goods	Coin/Coins and their position in relation to the deceased (from A to G/H)	Grave goods by material (except coins): pottery, metal, glass, bone, other
1191	P/G-117	Plain burial	1 st c. bronze coin provincial Macedonian koinon (Cat. 3139), position E	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, lamp Metal: 2 gold earrings (type VI a; cf. p. 79, no. 339; dated 2 nd –3 rd c.) Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
1192	P/G-1296 Fig. 26.3	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: bronze <i>bullae</i> , bronze ring Other: parts of the necklace: bronze jingle bell, bronze filigree pendant, silver pendant
1193	P/G-1697	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 2 jugs, lamp
1194	P/G-1783	Plain burial; near by P/G-1782 (Cat. 640)	No coin	Pottery: bowl Glass: <i>guttus</i>
1195	P/G-1785	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: 2 bronze sewing needles Bone: spoon, hair-pin
1196	P/G-1815	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Glass: 2 <i>balsamarii</i>
1197	P/G-1857	Plain burial	No coin	Pottery: 4 jugs, pot Metal: 2 silver earrings (type II.c; cf. p. 57, no. 156; dated 2 nd –1/2 4 th c.); bronze bracelet Other: parts of the necklace: 57 glass beads
1198	P/G-1921	Plain burial; near were: P/G-1922 (Hadrian coin, Cat. 501) and P/G-1917 (Faustina I coin, Cat. 855)	No coin	Pottery: pot
1199	P/G-2017	Plain burial	Gordian III provincial Nicaea (Cat. 3017), position D	Pottery: lamp Glass: bottle
1200	P/G-2245	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 557), position A	Pottery: 2 jugs, pot, bowl Other: sea shell
1201	P/G-2271	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: jug
1202	P/G-2426	Plain burial	Lucius Verus (Cat. 1079), position B	Pottery: jug

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1203	P/G-2437	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs Metal: small iron hook Other: 3 sea shells
1204	P/G-2459	Plain burial; near by P/G-2444 with Vespasian coin (Cat. 118)	No coin	Pottery: beaker
1205	P/G-2556	Plain burial; near by P/G-2555 with 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2575)	No coin	Pottery: pot, beaker
1206	P/G-2614	Plain burial	Trajan (Cat. 284), position B	
1207	P/G-2615	Plain burial; near by P/G-2614 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 284)	No coin	Pottery: plate
1208	P/G-2661	Plain burial; infant bone remains were not found; near by P/G-2669 with triple perforated coin of Claudius (Cat. 77)	No coin	Pottery: 2 pots
1209	P/G-2673	Plain burial; infant bone remains were not found; damaged the P/G1-662 with 2 coins: Nerva (Cat. 2288) and Antoninus Pius (Cat. 2426)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, lamp
1210	P/G-2689	Plain burial; near by P/G1-662 with 2 coins: Nerva (Cat. 2288) and Antoninus Pius (Cat. 2426)	No coin	Pottery: pot, bowl
1211	P/G-2696	Plain burial; near in the layer provincial coin of Severus Alexander Nicaea was found (Cat. 2932)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot Metal: circle bronze pendant with 3 perforation
1212	P/G-2750	Plain burial; near in the layer coin of Faustina I was found (Cat. 892)	No coin	Pottery: lamp Other: glass bead
1213	P/G-2774	Plain burial; near by P/G1-695 with 2 coins: Faustina I (Cat. 861) and Marcus Aurelius caesar (Cat. 922)	No coin	Pottery: beaker Glass: <i>guttus</i> Other: ceramic bead
1214	P/G-2813	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 517), position B	Pottery: 3 jugs, lamp Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>

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1215	P/G-2818	Plain burial; near by P/G1-735 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 592)	No coin	Pottery: bowl
1216	P/G-2835	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot Bone: fragmented needle Other: river shell
1217	P/G-2836	Plain burial	Nero (Cat. 2203), position D	
1218	P/G-2892	Plain burial	Vespasian (Cat. 119), position B	Pottery: jug, lamp
1219	P/G-2940	Plain burial; near in the layer coin of Nerva (Cat. 217) was found	No coin	Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
1220	P/G-3068	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 431), position G/H	Pottery: 2 pots, lamp
1221	P/G-3203	Plain burial; infant Bone remains were not found; near in the layer coin of Trajan (Cat. 346) was found	No coin	Pottery: jug, lamp Metal: circle bronze mount Other: parts of the bracelet: 4 glass beads; parts of the string: 11 glass beads
1222	P/G-3204	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
1223	P/G-3239 Fig. 26.6 (cf. Spasić- Đurić 2011, 28-29)	Plain burial; near by P/G-3238 with coin of Constantius II (Cat. 1585)	No coin	Metal: bronze <i>bullā</i> Other: parts of the necklace: 4 glass beads, anthropomorphic jet pendant (cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 211, бр. 218)
1224	P/G-3241 Fig. 55.1–2	Plain burial	Commodus (Cat. 1091), position A	Pottery: lamp Other: sea shell; parts of the necklace: stone circle pendant, 2 glass beadc, ceramic bead
1225	P/G-3267	Plain burial; near by P/G1-890 with 2 coins: Nero (Cat. 2202) and Antoninus Pius (Cat. 696)	No coin	Pottery: bowl
1226	P/G-3425	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot, bowl
1227	P/G-3472	Plain burial; no dating elements	Bronze coin fragment (Cat. 3453) undated, position A	Metal: bronze ring Other: 3 ceramic beads
1228	P/G-3476	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: small bowl
1229	P/G-3541	Plain burial	1/2 1 st c. triple perforated (Cat. 2242), position unknown	

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1230	P/G-3562	Plain burial; infant bone remains were not found	Trajan, triple perforated (Cat. 352), position unknown	Metal: bronze sewing needle, bronze ring, 2 circle bronze applitations, bronze mount; stone: gaming chip Other: sea shell
1231	P/G-3619	Plain burial	1/2 1st c. bronze coin (Cat. 2243), position D	
1232	P/G-3692	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: circle bronze application Other: parts of the necklace: 15 glass beads
1233	P/G-3724	Plain burial	Trajan (Cat. 290), position E	Pottery: pot
1234	P/G-3763	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: silver torque (<i>cf.</i> Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 200, бр. 175; dated 2 nd -3 rd c.)
1235	P/G-3858	Plain burial	Trajan (Cat. 339), position A	Pottery: 2 jugs, lamp Other: 10 sea shells
1236	P/G-4160	Plain burial	Aurelian single perforated (Cat. 1324), position D	
1237	P/G-4305	Plain burial	Domitian (Cat. 162), position A	Pottery: 3 jugs
1238	P/G-4933	Plain burial; near were: P/G1-1086 with bronze coin (lost) and P/G1-1087 with coin of Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 1026)	No coin	Other: glass bead
1239	P/G-5008	Plain burial	Nero (Cat. 101), position A	Pottery: 3 jugs Metal: 2 gold earrings (type V.a; <i>cf.</i> p. 16; dated 2 nd -4 th c.)
1240	P/G-5010 Fig. 32.4	Plain burial; dated 2 nd -1/2 3 rd c.	No coin	Metal: bronze bell, bronze brooch (type XVII, <i>cf.</i> p. 42, no. 216; dated 2 nd -1/2 3 rd c.) Other: 2 ceramic beads
1241	VG/G-223 (<i>cf.</i> VG I, p. 69)	Plain burial	Bronze coin 2/2 1 st c. (Cat. 1933), position B	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot (with a piece of sulfur), beaker
1242	VG/G-291 (<i>cf.</i> VG II, p. 278)	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: bronze bracelet, 2 bronze two chain links Bone: pendant Other : glass bead
1243	VG/G-404 (<i>cf.</i> VG II, p. 343)	Plain burial; above was VG/G-506 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 525)	Nero (Cat. 152), position unknown	Pottery: pot Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
1244	VG/G-507 (<i>cf.</i> VG II, p. 407)	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-431 with 1 st c. bronze coin (Cat. 1918); dated 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: beaker, lamp

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1245	VG/G/604	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 705), position unknown	Pottery: beaker, bowl, lamp
1246	VG/G-645	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: beaker
1247	VG/G-679	Plain burial	Marcus Aurelius caesar (Cat. 1242), position D	
1248	VG/G-738	Plain burial; damaged the VG/G-729 with coin of Claudius (Cat. 1759)	No coin	Pottery: pot
1249	VG/G-759	Plain burial	Nero (Cat. 144), position unknown	Pottery: pot, beaker
1250	VG/G-784	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: jug, pot, lamp
1251	VG/G-806	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: beaker Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Other: parts of necklace: 5 glass beads, stone bead
1252	VG/G-831	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: bowl
1253	VG/G-848	Plain burial; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-837 (bronze coin, lost), VG/G-848 (coin Claudius, Cat. 130), VG/G-852, VG/G-853, VG/G-870	Claudius (Cat. 130), position A	Pottery: pot
1254	VG/G-864	Plain burial	Domitian (Cat. 299), position D	
1255	VG/G-870	Plain burial; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-837 (bronze coin, lost), VG/G-848 (coin Claudius, Cat. 130), VG/G-852, VG/G-853, VG/G-870	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, lamp
1256	VG/G-871	Plain burial; near by VG/G-864 with Domitian coin (Cat. 299)	No coin	Pottery: 2 jugs
1257	VG/G-877	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, 2 bowls Other: glass bead
1258	VG/G-947	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot, lamp
1259	VG/G-966	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: bowl, lamp Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
1260	VG/G-989	Plain burial; dated 2 nd –end of 3 rd c.	Bronze coin (lost), position A	Metal: 2 gold earrings (type V.a; cf. p. 65, no. 217; dated 2 nd –end of 3 rd c.) Other: 2 glass beads

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1261	VG/G-991	Plain burial; near by VG/G-762 with coin of Faustina I (before her death) (Cat. 1115)	No coin	Pottery: pot Glass: <i>guttus</i>
1262	VG/G-994	Plain burial	Nerva (divus Augustus) (Cat. 327, position unknown)	Pottery: 3 jugs, lamp Metal: bronze ring Bone: needle (fragment) Other: 2 sea shells
1263	VG/G-1228	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1080 with coin of Lucius Aelius caesar (Cat. 850)	No coin	Pottery: pot, 2 lamps; Bone: bead
1264	VG/G-1327	Plain burail; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: jug, pot, beaker, 2 lamps Glass: 3 <i>balsamarii</i>
1265	VG/G-1343	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1378 with coin of Marcus Aurelius caesar (Cat. 1226)	No coin	Pottery: 2 jugs
1266	VG/G-1347	Plain burail; near by VG/G-1373 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 894),	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, small bowl
1267	VG/G-1366	Plain burial	Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 1312), position B	Pottery: pot
1268	VG/G-1373 Fig. 32.1	Plain burial	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 894), position A	Pottery: 2 pots Metal: bronze bell Other: ceramic bead
1269	VG/G-1374	Plain burial	Trajan (Cat. 440), position unknown	Pottery: 3 jugs, lamp; Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
1270	VG/G-1384	Plain burial	Marcus Aurelius caesar (Cat. 1202), position A	Pottery: jug
1271	VG/G-1407	Plain burial	1/2 1st c. bronze coin (Cat. 1779), position A	Pottery: pot, 2 bowls
1272	VG/G-1423	Plain burial; damaged the VG/ G1-1226 with coin of Severus Alexander provincial Nicaea (Cat. 2315)	No coin	Pottery: pot; Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
1273	VG/G-1456	Plain burial	Marcus Aurelius caesar (Cat. 1204), position B	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, bowl, lamp Metal: bronze pendant, bronze button, bronze ring, iron finger-ring Other: 4 glass beads
1274	VG/G-1470	Plain burial	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 952), position A	

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1275	VG/G-1471	Plain burial	Severus Alexander provincial Nicaea (Cat. 2423), position D	
1276	VG/G-1490	Plain burial	Commodus (Cat. 1442), position D	
1277	VG/G-1588	Plain burial	Nerva (Cat. 337), position A	Pottery: pot
1278	VG/G-1648	Plain burial	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 983), position A	Pottery: pot Other: 3 glass beads
1279	VG/G-1679	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 592), position H	
1280	VG/G-1717	Plain burial	Elagabalus (Cat. 1584), position D	
1281	VG/G-1733 Fig. 39.5; Fig. 43 (cf. Spasić- Đurić 2007, p. 333; 2011, p. 16)	Plain burial	Elagabalus provincial Nicopolis ad Istrum (Cat. 2545), position unknown	Metal: gold earring (type VIII a1; cf. p. 88, no. 396; dated 2 nd –3 rd c.), gold mount, silver finger-ring Glass: finger-ring Other: amber pendant; parts of the necklace: 54 glass beads and silver pendant with cameo (cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 203, бр. 187); parts of the bracelet: 16 semicircular jet segments with 2 perforations
1282	VG/G-1760	Plain burial; damaged the VG/ G1-1445 with coin of Domitian (Cat. 1801)	No coin	Pottery: pot Metal: bronze earring (fragment)
1283	VG/G-1794	Plain burial; near were: VG/G-1806 (Hadrian coin, Cat. 526) and VG/G-1810 (coin lost)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
1284	VG/G-1799	Plain burial; above was VG/G-1773 with coin of Domitian (Cat. 267)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, lamp
1285	VG/G-1810	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1806 (Hadrian coin, Cat. 526)	Bronze coin (lost), position A	Pottery: 2 jugs, pot Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
1286	VG/G-1825	Plain burial	2 coins: 1st c. triple perforated (Cat. 1936); Hadrian (Cat. 787), position unknown both	Pottery: beaker, lamp glass 2 <i>balsamarii</i>
1287	VG/G-1832	Plain burial; near were: VG/G-1917 (Gaius coin, Cat. 91) and VG/G-1846 (Faustina I coin, Cat. 1177)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, lamp Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Other: 9 sea shells

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1288	VG/G-1868	Plain burial	Augustus (Cat. 8), position F	Pottery: 2 jugs
1289	VG/G-1870	Plain burial	Julia Domna (Cat. 1541), position unknown	Pottery: 2 jugs
1290	VG/G-1917	Plain burial	Gaius (Agrippa) (Cat. 91), position B	
1291	VG/G-1942	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1668 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 1837)	Bronze coin (lost), position D	
1292	VG/G-1944	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 510), position B	Pottery: bowl, plate, lamp Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
1293	VG/G-1978	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1600 with unknown provincial coin of Trajan (Cat. 2612)	No coin	Pottery: pot, lamp
1294	VG/G-1998	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1566 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 933)	No coin	Pottery: lamp Other: glass bead
1295	VG/G-2027	Plain burial; near by VG/G-2039 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 691)	No coin	Pottery: pot Metal: bronze rivet Other: sea shell
1296	VG/G-2035	Plain burial	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 998), position F	Pottery: jug, pot Other: glass bead
1297	VG/G-2044	Plain burial	3 rd c. bronze provincial coin (Cat. 2653), position G	
1298	VG/G-2052	Plain burial	Vespasian (Cat. 187), position B	Pottery: plate Other: 2 glass beads
1299	VG/G-2058	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot
1300	VG/G-2059	Plain burial; near were: VG/G-2094 (Hadrian coin, Cat. 533) and VG/G-2068 (Marcus Aurelius caesar coin, Cat. 1222)	No coin	Metal: bronze brooch (type XXV, var. 1; <i>cf.</i> p. 51-52, no. 267; dated 2 nd –middle 3 rd c.), bronze ring
1301	VG/G-2069	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 560), position A	Pottery: 3 jugs
1302	VG/G-2087	Plain burial; near by VG/G-2089 with coin of Valentinianus I (Cat. 1704)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, beaker, lamp

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1303	VG/G-2101	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 662), position	Pottery: jug
1304	VG/G-2106	Plain burial	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 891), position A	Pottery: jug, 3 plates
1305	VG/G-2114	Plain burial	Tiberius (divus Augustus pater) (Cat. 33), position A	Pottery: pot
1306	VG/G-2128	Plain burial	Augustus (Cat. 21), position G/H	Pottery: 2 jugs, lamp
1307	VG/G-2141	Plain burial; near by VG/G-2140 with coin of Faustina I (Cat. 1142)	Bronze coin (lost), position A	Pottery: pot Metal: bronze finger-ring
1308	VG/G-2144	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 584), position A	Glass: <i>guttus</i>
1309	VG/G-2148	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1401 with provincial coin of Severus Alexander Nicaea (Cat. 2178)	Bronze coin (lost), position B	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot Glass: <i>guttus</i> Other: 4 sea shells
1310	VG/G-2167	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 516), position A	Other: glass bead
1311	VG/G-2172	Plain burial	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 943), position B	Pottery: pot Other: parts of the necklace: 30 glass beads
1312	VG/G-2180	Plain burial; near were: VG/G-2182 (Trajan coin, Cat. 479) and VG/G-2184 (Hadrian coin, Cat. 644)	No coin	Pottery: jug, pot
1313	VG/G-2182	Plain burial	Trajan (Cat. 479), position A	
1314	VG/G-2184	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 644), position A	
1315	VG/G-2185	Plain burial; near were: VG/G-2182 (Trajan coin, Cat. 479) and VG/G-2184 (Hadrian coin, Cat. 644)	No coin	Pottery: pot, miniature pot with lid
1316	VG/G-2186	Plain burial; near were: VG/G-2182 (Trajan coin, Cat. 479) and VG/G-2184 (Hadrian coin, Cat. 644)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, 2 pots, (one of them with a piece of sulfur) Glass: 2 <i>gutti</i> , bottle
1317	VG/G-2188	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 818), position A	Metal: iron finger-ring with gemstone Glass: <i>guttus</i>
1318	VG/G-2189	Plain burial	Hadrian (Cat. 597), position A	Pottery: pot

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1319	VG/G-2200	Plain burial	2 coins: Severus Alexander (Cat. 1628); bronze coin (lost), position A both	
1320	P/G-2316	Plain burial surrounded by stones; infant bone remains were not found	Faustina I (Cat. 846), position unknown	Pottery: 3 jugs
1321	P/G-5021 Fig. 26.1	Plain burial covered with bricks; no dating elements	No coin	ceramic: fragmentary lamp mold; Metal: 2 bronze <i>bullae</i>
1322	P/G-5574	Plain burial covered with bricks; no dating elements	Bronze coin (lost), position B	
1323	VG/G-70 (cf. VG I, p. 60)	Plain burial covered with stones; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-58, VG/G-59, VG/G-60, VG/G-62, VG/G-63, VG/G-67, VG/G-69, VG/G-70, VG/G-72, VG/G-81; the whole group is dated to 2/2 of the 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs
1324	VG/G-2095	Plain burial covered with bricks; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: iron mount
1325	VG/G-2040	Plain burial covered with stones; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 2 jugs, lamp Bone: needle (fragment) Other: 3 sea shells
1326	VG/G-2120	Plain burial covered with stones; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: bowl
1327	VG/G-1253	Plain burial covered with pot fragments; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: lamp
1328	P/G-342	In wooden coffin	Tiberius, triple perforated (Cat. 2195), position unknown	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot Metal: gold earring (type V.a; cf. p. 64, no. 209; dated 2 nd -3 rd c.) Other: glass bead, ceramic pendant triple perforated
1329	P/G-1138	In wooden coffin	2 coins: Domitian (Cat. 150), position B; Hadrian (Cat. 477), position G/H	Pottery: 3 jugs, 2 pots, lamp Glass: 2 <i>balsamarii</i> , <i>guttus</i>

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1330	P/G-1807 Fig. 16.1–13 (<i>cf.</i> Spasić- Đurić 2008, p. 122-128; Спасић-Ђурић 2021, сл. 11)	In wooden coffin; dated middle 2 nd – beginning of 3 rd c.	Augustus, single perforated (part of the string)	Pottery: jug, lamp Metal: bronze brooch in the form of a stylized turtle (type XX, var. 2; <i>cf.</i> p. 45, no. 233; dated 2 nd c.), silver earring (type II a1; <i>cf.</i> p. 49, no. 105; dated 2 nd –3 rd c.), iron bracelet, iron finger- ring; Glass: 3 <i>balsamarii</i> Other: parts of one or more strings: perforated sea shell, bronze <i>bullae</i> , bronze bell, pendant made from wild boar tooth, pendant made of deer antler, bronze hair-pin (modeled in a triangle pendant), pendant made from bovine tooth, 3 bone phallic pendants, 3 glass beads, ceramic pendant with bronze ring, 2 pendants made from bronze wire, carnelian phallic pendant
1331	P/G-1933	In wooden coffin; infant bone remains were not found; near by P/G1-725 with Antoninus Pius coin (Cat. 725)	No coin	Pottery: pot
1332	P/G-2669	In wooden coffin	Claudius, triple perforated (Cat. 77), position D	Metal: iron knife, bronze sewing needle Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> , 2 bottles, <i>guttus</i> Bone: spatula, sewing needle
1333	P/G-2708	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 2 jugs
1334	P/G-2952	In wooden coffin; infant bone remains were not found	Caracalla provincial Stobi (Cat. 3165), position unknown	Pottery: 3 pots Metal: 2 gold earrings (type V.a; <i>cf.</i> p. 65, no. 214; dated 2 nd –end 3 rd c.), bronze ring Other: parts of the necklace: 51 glass beads with gold plate
1335	P/G-3021	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 608), position A	Pottery: plate Metal: bronze earring (type I.a; <i>cf.</i> p. 34, no. 9; dated end of the 3 rd –beginning of 5 th c.), bronze button; Other: 6 glass beads
1336	P/G-3078	In wooden coffin; near by P/G-3079 with coin hoard (86 pcs. from Constans 347/348 to Constantius II 361; Cat. 1988-2073)	No coin	Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
1337	P/G-3319	In wooden coffin	1st c. bronze coin (Cat. 2312), position B	Pottery: lamp

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1338	P/G-3323	In wooden coffin; infant bone remains were not found; near by P/G-3319 with 1st c. bronze coin (Cat. 2312)	No coin	Pottery: bowl
1339	P/G-3332	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 692), position B	Pottery: 3 jugs, 2 beakers, bowl Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> , <i>guttus</i>
1340	P/G-3338	In wooden coffin	Marcus Antoninus (Cat. 994), position unknown	
1341	P/G-3359	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 681), position A	Pottery: pot, 4 bowls, lamp
1342	P/G-3463	In wooden coffin; above was a pig skeleton	Augustus (Cat. 8), position unknown	Pottery: jug Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
1343	P/G-3514	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 2375), position A	Metal: 2 gold earrings (type V.a1; cf. p. 16; dated 2 nd –3 rd c.)
1344	P/G-3522	In wooden coffin; infant bone remains were not found	Hadrian (Cat. 521), position unknown	Pottery: jug, 2 beakers, 4 plates
1345	P/G-4288 Fig. 17; Fig. 39.1 (cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2021, сл. 10)	In wooden coffin	2 coins: Claudius provincial Macedonian Koinon (Cat. 3133), position G; Hadrian, double perforated (part of the necklace)	Other: amber needle; parts of the necklace: double perforated coin, bronze <i>bullā</i> , amber and ceramic circle pendants, sea snail pendant; bone, stone and glass beads
1346	P/G-4365	In wooden coffin	2nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2571), position F	
1347	P/G-4455	In wooden coffin	Trajan (Cat. 2367), position B	Pottery: lamp
1348	P/G-4456	In wooden coffin; near by P/G-4461 with Titus coin (Cat. 137)	Bronze coin undeterminate (Cat. 2641), position E	Metal: bronze brooch (type XVII; cf. p. 42, no. 217; dated 2 nd –1/2 3 rd c.)
1349	P/G-4740	In wooden coffin	Gordian III provincial Nicaea (Cat. 3068), position F	Pottery: 2 miniature jugs Metal: 2 gold earrings (type V.a; cf. p. 16; dating 2 nd –end of 4 th c.) Other: parts of the necklace: 128 glass beads
1350	P/G-4928 Fig. 32.2	In wooden coffin	Trajan (Cat. 297), position A	Pottery: 4 jugs, pot, beaker, bowl Metal: bronze bell

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1351	P/G-4932	In wooden coffin; near were: P/G1-1086 with bronze coin (lost) and P/G1-1087 with coin of Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 1026)	No coin	Pottery: lamp Other: 5 glass bead
1352	P/G-5001	In wooden coffin	Nero (Cat. 3135), position A	Pottery: 2 lamps
1353	P/G-5022	In wooden coffin; dated 2 nd –end of 4 th c.	Bronze coin (lost), position unknown	Pottery: jug, bowl Metal: 2 gold earrings (type V.a; cf. p. 16; dated 2 nd –end of 4 th c.)
1354	P/G-5298	In wooden coffin; near by P/G-5271 with 4 th c. bronze coin (Cat. 2749)	No coin	Pottery: jug, pot Metal: silver mirror Other: parts of the necklace: 36 glass beads
1355	P/G-1213 Fig. 26.2	In wooden coffin covered with bricks; near by P/G-5261 with 3 coins: Trajan (Cat. 2354), Hadrian (Cat. 536), Antoninus Pius (Cat. 710)	No coin	Metal: silver earring (type Ie; cf. p. 37, no. 37; dated 4 th –5 th c.), silver <i>bullā</i> (cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 201, бр. 178), bronze <i>bullā</i> Other: 2 glass beads, sea snail
1356	P/G-3115	In wooden coffin covered with bricks; infant bone remains were not found; near by P/G-3113 with Constantine I coin (Cat. 1409)	No coin	Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Other: glass pendant in jug shape, 2 glass beads
1357	VG/G-69 (cf. VG I, p. 60)	In wooden coffin; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-58, VG/G-59, VG/G-60, VG/G-62, VG/G-63, VG/G-67, VG/G-69, VG/G-70, VG/G-72, VG/G-81; the whole group is dated to 2/2 of the 2 nd c.	Hadrian (Cat. 661), position unknown	Pottery: pot, lamp
1358	VG/G-98 (cf. VG I, p. 63)	In wooden coffin dated 2/2 2 nd to beginning of the 3 rd c.	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, lid
1359	VG/G-292 (cf. VG II, p. 278)	In wooden coffin; dated 2 nd c.	Bronze coin (lost), position B	Pottery: beaker
1360	VG/G-353 (cf. VG II, p. 312)	In wooden coffin	Faustina I (Cat. 1165), position A	Pottery: 2 jugs, 2 lamps
1361	VG/G-380 (cf. VG II, p. 330)	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1107), position B	Pottery: 2 jugs Other: 2 glass beads

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1362	VG/G-406 (cf. VG II, p. 345)	In wooden coffin; dated 2 nd c. or later	No coin	Pottery: pot, 2 beakers, bowl, lamp
1363	VG/G-459 (cf. VG II, p. 375)	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 508), position unknown	
1364	VG/G-464 (cf. VG II, p. 378)	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 870), position B dated 139	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, beaker
1365	VG/G-465 (cf. VG II, p. 379)	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 666), position unknown	Pottery: lamp
1366	VG/G-472 (cf. VG II, p. 381)	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 713), position unknown	Metal: iron mount
1367	VG/G-490 Fig. 45 (cf. VG II, p. 397)	In wooden coffin	Tiberius (<i>divus Augustus pater</i>) (Cat. 28), position B	Pottery: jug Other: parts of the necklace: perforated animal tooth, sea snail pendant, 2 bronze rings
1368	VG/G-513 (cf. VG II, p. 411)	In wooden coffin	Bronze coin end of the 1 st or beginning of the 2 nd c. (Cat. 2020), position B	Pottery: 3 beakers, lamp Metal: 2 gold earrings (type V.a; cf. p. 66, no. 230; dated 2 nd –end of 3 rd c.) Glass: <i>guttus</i> Other: 6 sea shells
1369	VG/G-517 (cf. VG II, p. 413)	In wooden coffin; above was VG/G-464 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 870)	No coin	Other: 6 sea shells
1370	VG/G-536 Fig. 39.6 (cf. VG II, p. 428)	In wooden coffin; dated 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, plate Metal: iron key, fragmented bronze buckle (?), bronze button Other: 2 sea shells; parts of the string: 3 glass beads, 2 amber pendants (one of them in shape of axe), perforated animal horn
1371	VG/G-541 (cf. VG II, p. 433)	In wooden coffin; dated 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: pot, lamp Other: sea shell, sea snail
1372	VG/G-641	In wooden coffin	Trajan (Cat. 474), position unknown	Pottery: 3 jugs Other: bone pendant with bronze chain, 2 glass beads
1373	VG/G-666	In wooden coffin	Bronze coin (lost), position B	Pottery: lamp Glass: 2 <i>balsamarii</i>
1374	VG/G-682	In wooden coffin	Domitian (Cat. 277), position unknown	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, small bowl, plate, lamp Bone: button

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1375	VG/G-853	In wooden coffin; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-837 (bronze coin, lost), VG/G-848 (coin Claudius, Cat. 130), VG/G-852, VG/G-853, VG/G-870	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot
1376	VG/G-932	In wooden coffin; infant bone remains were not found	Vespasian (Cat. 205), position unknown	Pottery: 3 jugs Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Other: 2 sea shells
1377	VG/G-1137	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 2 jugs, beaker Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Other: 3 glass beads
1378	VG/G-1181	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1023), position A	Metal: bronze hoop
1379	VG/G-1357	In wooden coffin	Commodus caesar (Cat. 1367), position unknown	Pottery: 2 pots Metal: silver earring (fragment)
1380	VG/G-1378	In wooden coffin	Marcus Aurelius caesar (Cat. 1226), position B	Pottery: 2 pots, bowl, plate
1381	VG/G-1405 Fig. 39.2	In wooden coffin	Nero (Cat. 155), position unknown	Metal: 2 gold earrings (type V.a; cf. p. 66, no. 226; dated 2 nd –end of 3 rd c.) Other: parts of the necklace: 2 amber and 7 glass beads
1382	VG/G-1465	In wooden coffin	Trajan (Cat. 425), position A	Pottery: 3 jugs
1383	VG/G-1478 Fig. 39.3	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 773), position A	Other: parts of the string: 5 amber pendants, 2 bronze and 3 glass beads
1384	VG/G-1512	In wooden coffin	Claudius, triple perforated (Cat. 118), position A	Pottery: 2 jugs
1385	VG/G-1529	In wooden coffin	Faustina II (Cat. 1273), position A	Pottery: pot, lamp
1386	VG/G-1535	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1865), position A	Pottery: pot Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Other: 3 glass beads, 5 glass gaming chips
1387	VG/G-1618	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G1-1316 with coin of Atoninus Pius (Cat. 991)	No coin	Pottery: jug, pot Other: 6 sea shells, sea snail
1388	VG/G-1655 Fig. 32.3	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G-1654 with 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2010)	No coin	Pottery: beaker Metal: bronze bell Other: 13 sea shells
1389	VG/G-1768	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot, bowl

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1390	VG/G-1791	In wooden coffin; infant bone remains were not found	Trajan (Cat. 433), position unknown	Pottery: 2 jugs, 2 pots, miniature pot, lamp Metal: bronze earring (type V.a; cf. 69, no. 259; dated 2 nd –end of 3 rd c.), bronze ring Other: 2 glass beads
1391	VG/G-1806	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 526), position B	Pottery: pot (with a piece of sulfur)
1392	VG/G-1814	In wooden coffin	2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2021), position unknown	Pottery: 3 jugs Other: 3 sea shells
1393	VG/G-1836	In wooden coffin	Faustina I (Cat. 1402), position unknown	Bone: needle (fragmented)
1394	VG/G-1871	In wooden coffin	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1008), position B	Pottery: 2 pots, bowl, 2 plates, lamp
1395	VG/G-1897 Fig. 18.1–3; Fig. 39.4 (cf. Spasić- Đurić, 2008, p. 130-133; Спасић-Ђурић 2021, сл. 7)	In wooden coffin	2 coins: 3 rd c. unknown bronze provincial coin (Cat. 2650), position B; Marcus Aurelius caesar single perforated (part of the necklace), position F	Pottery: 2 jugs, pot, beaker Metal: bronze finger-ring, bronze buckle (type XXII, var. 2; cf. p. 279, no. 701; dated 3 rd c.) Bone: hair-pin with amphora-shaped head Other: parts of the string: 9 glass beads, amber bead; parts of the string: phallic bronze pendant, ax-shaped stone pendant, perforated coin
1396	VG/G-2084	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G-2067 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 412)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, bowl Metal: iron cramp
1397	VG/G-2086	In wooden coffin	Faustina I (Cat. 1180), position B	Pottery: lamp
1398	VG/G-2094	In wooden coffin	Hadrian (Cat. 533), position unknown	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, lamp
1399	VG/G-2104	In wooden coffin	Claudius (Cat. 116), position unknown	Pottery: pot, lamp Glass: 2 <i>balsamarii</i>
1400	VG/G-2123	In wooden coffin; above was VG/G1-1726 with coin of Severus Alexander (2316)	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Bone: bone object (?) with gold mount Other: 9 sea shells
1401	VG/G-2124 Fig. 32.5	In wooden coffin	Nerva (Cat. 318), position B	Pottery: pot Metal: bronze bell Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Bone: pendant Other: 4 sea shells, 8 sea snails
1402	VG/G-2132	In wooden coffin	2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 1988), position unknown	Pottery: 3 jugs, lamp

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1403	VG/G-2133	In wooden coffin	2 coins: Nero (Cat. 148); Domitian (Cat. 279), position unknown both	Pottery: 3 jugs, 2 pots Glass: 3 <i>balsamarii</i>
1404	VG/G-2134	In wooden coffin	Claudius (Cat. 115), position F	Pottery: 3 jugs, 2 pots, 2 lamps Metal: bronze bracelet
1405	VG/G-2137	In wooden coffin	Claudius (Cat. 1758), position A	Pottery: pot, lamp Metal: silver earring (type IV.a; <i>cf.</i> p. 62, no. 195; end of the 1 st –end of the 3 rd c.), bronze ring Glass: beaker
1406	VG/G-2145	In wooden coffin	Crispina (Cat. 1467), position F	
1407	VG/G-2196	In wooden coffin; dated 2 nd –middle 3 rd c.	No coin	Pottery: pot Metal: bronze brooch (type XXII, var. 4; <i>cf.</i> p. 49, no. 257; dated 2 nd –middle 3 rd c.), circle bronze mount Other: 8 glass beads
1408	VG/G-2197	In wooden coffin; dated 3 rd c.	No coin	Pottery: pot Metal: 2 silver brooches (type XXXIV, var. 5; <i>cf.</i> p. 62, no. 331-332; dated 3 rd c.)
1409	P/G-1825	In stone sarcophagus	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 712), position F	Metal: bronze bracelet Other: fabric remains
1410	P/G-46	Brick-built grave; near by P/G-59 with coin of Constantius II (Cat. 1572)	No coin	Metal: bronze bracelet
1411	P/G-66	Brick-built grave; dated 2/2 2 nd – 4 th c.	No coin	Metal: bronze earring (type II.b; <i>cf.</i> p. 52, no. 129; dated 2/2 2 nd – 4 th c.) Glass: fragmentary pot
1412	P/G-227	Brick-built grave	Tiberius, triple perforated (Cat. 26), position F	
1413	P/G-698 Fig. 26.5	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: bronze <i>bullae</i>
1414	P/G-1165	Brick-built grave	3 coins: Constantius II caesar (all) (Cat. 1458, 1523, 1543), position D (all)	Metal: gold earring (type II.a; <i>cf.</i> p. 38, no. 43; dated 2/2 2 nd –4 th c.), 2 bronze bracelets, iron rim Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
1415	P/G-2309	Brick-built grave; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: jug

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1416	P/G-2581 Fig. 26.4	Brick-built grave; dated 2/2 2 nd -4 th c.	No coin	Metal: bronze bracelet; bronze <i>bullae</i> ; 2 bronze earrings (type II.b; <i>cf.</i> p. 54, no. 139; dated 2/2 2 nd -4 th c.) Bone: bracelet Other: parts of the necklace: 13 glass beads
1417	P/G-2649	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: jug
1418	P/G-3041 Fig. 39.7	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements	No coin	Other: parts of the necklace: amber bead and 58 glass beads
1419	P/G-3434 Fig. 26.8	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: bronze <i>bullae</i> Other: glass bead
1420	P/G-3572 Fig. 29.2	Brick-built grave; dated 2 nd -1/2 3 rd c.	No coin	Metal: bronze torque with lunate pendant (<i>cf.</i> Zotović 1995, 156)
1421	P/G-3587	Brick-built grave; near by P/G-3585 with coin of Licinius (Cat. 1362)	No coin	Pottery: pot, bowl Metal: 2 silver rings, 2 bronze earrings (type V.b; <i>cf.</i> p. 16; dated 2 nd -4 th c.) Other: parts of the necklace: 53 glass beads
1422	P/G-3588	Brick-built grave; near by P/G-3585 with coin of Licinius (Cat. 1362)	No coin	Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
1423	P/G-3591	Brick-built grave; near by P/G-3585 with coin of Licinius (Cat. 1362)	No coin	Glass: pot (fragment)
1424	P/G-3592	Brick-built grave; near by P/G-3585 with coin of Licinius (Cat. 1362)	No coin	Pottery: amphora
1425	P/G-3606	Brick-built grave	Aurelian (Cat. 1317), position unknown	
1426	P/G-3912	Brick-built grave; dated 2/2 3 rd - end of 4 th c.	No coin	Metal: iron brooch (type XXX, var. 2; <i>cf.</i> p. 57 no. 298; dated 2/2 3 rd -end of 4 th c.), bronze ring
1427	P/G-3936	Brick-built grave; dated 2 nd -1/2 3 rd c.	No coin	Metal: bronze brooch (type XV, var. 3; <i>cf.</i> p. 39, no. 188; dated 2 nd -1/2 3 rd c.)
1428	P/G-3990	Brick-built grave; dated 2/2 2 nd -end of 4 th c.	No coin	Metal: 2 gold earrings (type II.a; <i>cf.</i> p. 13; dated 2/2 2 nd -end of 4 th c.) Other: parts of the necklace: 59 glass beads
1429	P/G-4022	Brick-built grave; dated 2 nd -end of 4 th c.	No coin	Metal: 2 gold earrings (type V.b; <i>cf.</i> p. 16; dated 2 nd -end of 4 th c.)

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1430	P/G-4335 Fig. 26.7	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; near by P/G-4324 with coin of Gordian III (Cat. 1201)	Provincial bronze coin, undetermined (Cat. 3410), position unknown	Metal: silver <i>bullā</i> Other: amber crescent shaped pendant (cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 209, бр. 211)
1431	P/G-4749	Brick-built grave; dated 2/2 2 nd -end of 4 th c.	No coin	Metal: 2 gold earrings (type II.a; cf. p. 13; dated 2/2 2 nd -end of 4 th c.)
1432	P/G-5149	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found	Bronze coin end of the 4 or beginning of the 5 c. (Cat. 2899), position unknown	
1433	P/G-5492	Brick-built grave; dated 2/2 2 nd -end of 4 th c.	No coin	Metal: 2 gold earrings (type II.c; cf. p. 14; dated 2/2 2 nd -end of 4 th c.)
1434	P/G-5551	Brick-built grave	Valens (Cat. 1694), position H	Bone: fragmentary object (part of the bracelet ?)
1435	P/G-5602	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found	Domitian (Cat. 164), position unknown	
1436	P/G-5606	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; no dating elements	No coin	Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
1437	VG/G-1256	Brick-built grave	Commodus caesar (Cat. 1903), position unknown	
1438	VG/G-2014	Brick-built grave	Domitian (Cat. 309), position B	
1439	VG/G-2126	Brick-built grave	Domitian (Cat. 244), position A	Pottery: 3 jugs Other: 3 sea shells

VI.2 – BURIED WITHOUT GRAVE GOODS

Cat. nos.	P – Pećine; VG – Više grobalja / Grave no. / Fig.	Burial rites / dating elements, if there is no coin as grave goods
1440	P/G-112	Plain burial; no dating elements
1441	P/G-561	Plain burial; no dating elements
1442	P/G-1724	Plain burial; no dating elements
1443	P/G-2014	Plain burial; near by P/G-2017 with coin of Gordian III Nicaea provincial (Cat. 3017)
1444	P/G-2015	Plain burial; near by P/G-2017 with coin of Gordian III Nicaea provincial (Cat. 3017)

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1445	P/G-2401	Plain burial; near in the layer provincial coin of Gordian III Viminacium was found (Cat. 3243)
1446	P/G-2837	Plain burial; near by P/G-2836 with coin of Nero (Cat. 2203)
1447	P/G-2854	Plain burial; no dating elements
1448	P/G-3023	Plain burial; no dating elements
1449	P/G-3230	Plain burial; no dating elements
1450	P/G-3234	Plain burial; no dating elements
1451	P/G-3418	Plain burial; no dating elements
1452	P/G-3540	Plain burial; near by P/G-3541 with 1/2 1st c. bronze coin, triple perforated (Cat. 2242)
1453	P/G-3719	Plain burial; no dating elements
1454	P/G-3809	Plain burial; no dating elements
1455	P/G-3849	Plain burial; near by P/G-3858 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 339)
1456	P/G-4293	Plain burial; no dating elements
1457	P/G-4340	Plain burial; no dating elements
1458	P/G-4348	Plain burial; no dating elements
1459	P/G-5249	Plain burial; no dating elements
1460	P/G-5459	Plain burial; no dating elements
1461	P/G-5512	Plain burial; near by P/G1-1134 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 587)
1462	P/G-5514	Plain burial; no dating elements
1463	P/G-5552	Plain burial; near by P/G-5551 with coin of Valens (Cat. 1694)
1464	P/G-5605	Plain burial; no dating elements
1465	P/G-5620	Plain burial; no dating elements
1466	VG/G-66 (cf. VG I, p. 60)	Plain burial; dated 2 nd c. after Hadrian
1467	VG/G-324 (cf. VG II, p. 295)	Plain burial; no dating elements
1468	VG/G-332 (cf. VG II, p. 299)	Plain burial; no dating elements

MORS IMMATURA
NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
južna nekropola Viminacijuma

1469	VG/G-386 (<i>cf.</i> VG II, p. 333)	Plain burial; no dating elements
1470	VG/G-533 (<i>cf.</i> VG II, p. 425)	Plain burial; no dating elements
1471	VG/G-700	Plain burial; near by VG/G-677 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1863)
1472	VG/G-709	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-589 with coin of Nero (Cat. 153)
1473	VG/G-752	Plain burial; no dating elements
1474	VG/G-844	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-817 with coin of Marcus Aurelius caesar (Cat. 1214)
1475	VG/G-847	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-373 with coin of Lucilla (Cat. 1425)
1476	VG/G-854	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-373 with coin of Lucilla (Cat. 1425)
1477	VG/G-902	Plain burial; no dating elements
1478	VG/G-965	Plain burial; damaged by VG/G1-745 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 417)
1479	VG/G-1190	Plain burial; above was VG/G1-1010 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1862)
1480	VG/G-1406	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1089 with coin of Commodus (Cat. 1437)
1481	VG/G-1453	Plain burial; near were: VG/G-1490 (Commodus coin, Cat. 1442) and VG/G-1456 (Marcus Aurelius caesar coin, Cat. 1204)
1482	VG/G-1457	Plain burial; near were: VG/G-1490 (Commodus coin, Cat. 1442) and VG/G-1456 (Marcus Aurelius caesar coin, Cat. 1204)
1483	VG/G-1468	Plain burial; near were: VG/G-1490 (Commodus coin, Cat. 1442) and VG/G-1456 (Marcus Aurelius caesar coin, Cat. 1204)
1484	VG/G-1526	Plain burial; above was VG/G1-1292 with 2 coins: Elagabalus (Cat. 1595); Gordian III Viminacium provincial (Cat. 2564); damaged by VG/G-1522 with coin of Faustina I (Cat. 1288)
1485	VG/G-1527	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1317 with bronze coin (without data; <i>cf.</i> p. 368, 383) no dating elements
1486	VG/G-1611	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1361 with belt buckle (type III, var. 1; <i>cf.</i> p. 40-41, no. 18; dated from 2/4 2 nd to beginning of the 3 rd c.)
1487	VG/G-1759	Plain burial; below was VG/G1-1445 with Domitian coin (Cat. 1801)
1488	VG/G-1765	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1733 with provincial coin of Elagabalus, Nicopolis ad Istrum (Cat. 2545)
1489	VG/G-1778	Plain burial; no dating elements

MORS IMMATURA
COINAGE AND APOTROPAIC-PROPHYLACTIC ELEMENTS IN FUNERARY RITUALS –
southern Viminacium cemetery

1490	VG/G-1781	Plain burial; no dating elements
1491	VG/G-1850	Plain burial; near were: VG/G1-1416 (Hadrian coin, Cat. 777) and VG/G1-1426 (Hadrian coin, Cat. 777)
1492	VG/G-1882	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1868 with coin of Augustus (Cat. 8)
1493	VG/G-1957	Plain burial; near by VG/G-1980 with bronze coin of Severan dynasty (Cat. 1908)
1494	VG/G-2016	Plain burial; no dating elements
1495	VG/G-2020	Plain burial; near by VG/G-2039 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 691)
1496	VG/G-2026	Plain burial; near by VG/G-2089 with coin of Valentinianus I (Cat. 1704)
1497	VG/G-2110	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1731 with 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2056)
1498	VG/G-2147	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-1731 with 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2056)
1499	VG/G-2149	Plain burial; near were: VG/G-2148 (bronze coin, lost) and VG/G1-1401 (Severus Alexander Nicaea provincial, Cat. 2178)
1500	VG/G-2169	Plain burial; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-2168, VG/G-2169, VG/G-2170; near by VG/G1-1731 with 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2056)
1501	VG/G-2170	Plain burial; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-2168, VG/G-2169, VG/G-2170; near by VG/G1-1731 with 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2056)
1502	VG/G-2193	Plain burial; no dating elements
1503	VG/G-2208	Plain burial; no dating elements
1504	VG/G-726	Plain burial covered with stones; no dating elements
1505	VG/G-438 (cf. VG II, p. 362)	Plain burial covered with amphora; damaged by VG/G-419 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 628); damaged the VG/G1-170 with coin of Trajan (lost)
1506	P/G-51	Plain burial covered with bricks; infant bone remains were not found; no dating elements
1507	P/G-89	Plain burial covered with bricks; no dating elements
1508	P/G-136	Plain burial covered with bricks; no dating elements
1509	P/G-188	Plain burial covered with bricks; near by P/G-189 with bronze coin (lost); no dating elements
1510	P/G-369	Plain burial covered with bricks; no dating elements

MORS IMMATURA
 NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
 južna nekropola Viminacijuma

1511	P/G-4241	Plain burial covered with bricks; no dating elements
1512	P/G-4494	Plain burial covered with bricks; infant bone remains were not found; no dating elements
1513	P/G-5589	Plain burial covered with bricks; no dating elements
1514	P/G-2951	In wooden coffin; near by P/G-2952 with coin of Caracalla (Cat. 3165)
1515	P/G-3444	In wooden coffin; no dating elements
1516	VG/G-36 (cf. VG I, p. 57)	In wooden coffin; dated 1/2 2 nd c.
1517	VG/G-122 (cf. VG I, p. 64)	In wooden coffin; dated 1/2 2 nd c.
1518	VG/G-326 (cf. VG II, p. 295)	In wooden coffin; above was VG/G-255 with coin of Nerva (lost); dated beginning of the 2 nd c.
1519	VG/G-929	In wooden coffin; no dating elements
1520	VG/G-937	In wooden coffin; near were: VG/G-923 (Trebonian Gallus Viminacium provincial coin, Cat. 2596) and VG/G-925 (Hostilian Viminacium provincial coin, Cat. 2594)
1521	VG/G-1328	In wooden coffin; damaged by VG/G-1330; below was VG/G-1396 with coin of Galba (Cat. 173)
1522	VG/G-1330	In wooden coffin; damaged the VG/G-1328 below which is VG/G-1396 with coin of Galba (Cat. 173)
1523	VG/G-1570	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G1-1336 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 1829)
1524	VG/G-1848	In wooden coffin; near by VG/G-1708 with 3 coins: Trajan (Cat. 469), Hadrian (Cat. 723), Antoninus Pius (Cat. 888)
1525	P/G-48	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1526	P/G-48	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1527	P/G-50	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1528	P/G-1193	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1529	P/G-2001	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1530	P/G-2120	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1531	P/G-2143	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1532	P/G-2166	Brick-built grave; no dating elements

MORS IMMATURA
COINAGE AND APOTROPAIC-PROPHYLACTIC ELEMENTS IN FUNERARY RITUALS –
southern Viminacium cemetery

1533	P/G-2284	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1534	P/G-2589	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1535	P/G-2597	Brick-built grave; near by P/G-2599 with 3 coins: Constantius II (Cat. 2683), 2 coins lost
1536	P/G-2637	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1537	P/G-2641	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1538	P/G-2650	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1539	P/G-2656	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1540	P/G-2686	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1541	P/G-2700	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1542	P/G-2747	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1543	P/G-2885	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; no dating elements
1544	P/G-2902	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; no dating elements
1545	P/G-3028	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1546	P/G-3064	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; no dating elements
1547	P/G-3065	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; no dating elements
1548	P/G-3067	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1549	P/G-3129	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1550	P/G-3161	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1551	P/G-3590	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1552	P/G-3620	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1553	P/G-3699	Brick-built grave; no dating elements

MORS IMMATURA
 NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
 južna nekropola Viminacijuma

1554	P/G-3907	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1555	P/G-3908	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1556	P/G-3909	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1557	P/G-3917	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; no dating elements
1558	P/G-3920	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1559	P/G-3929	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1560	P/G-3930	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; no dating elements
1561	P/G-3939	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1562	P/G-3954	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1563	P/G-3968	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; robbed; no dating elements
1564	P/G-3984	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1565	P/G-3991	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; robbed; no dating elements
1566	P/G-3993	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1567	P/G-3994	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; robbed; no dating elements
1568	P/G-3998	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; robbed; no dating elements
1569	P/G-4013	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1570	P/G-4028	Brick-built grave; no dating elements

MORS IMMATURA
COINAGE AND APOTROPAIC-PROPHYLACTIC ELEMENTS IN FUNERARY RITUALS –
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1571	P/G-4034	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1572	P/G-4043	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1573	P/G-4046	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1574	P/G-4057	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1575	P/G-4064	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; robbed; no dating elements
1576	P/G-4084	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; no dating elements
1577	P/G-4086	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; no dating elements
1578	P/G-4097	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; robbed; no dating elements
1579	P/G-4106	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; robbed; no dating elements
1580	P/G-4108	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; robbed; no dating elements
1581	P/G-4109	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; robbed; no dating elements
1582	P/G-4112	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; robbed; no dating elements
1583	P/G-4117	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; robbed; no dating elements
1584	P/G-4118	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; robbed; no dating elements

MORS IMMATURA
 NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
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1585	P/G-4121	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; robbed; no dating elements
1586	P/G-4214	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1587	P/G-4220	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; robbed; no dating elements
1588	P/G-4277	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; no dating elements
1589	P/G-4331	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1590	P/G-4422	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; robbed; no dating elements
1591	P/G-4440	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found robbed; no dating elements
1592	P/G-4667	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1593	P/G-4668	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1594	P/G-4952	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; robbed; no dating elements
1595	P/G-5058	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found robbed; no dating elements
1596	P/G-5069	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1597	P/G-5076	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; robbed; no dating elements
1598	P/G-5083	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1599	P/G-5086	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements

MORS IMMATURA
COINAGE AND APOTROPAIC-PROPHYLACTIC ELEMENTS IN FUNERARY RITUALS –
southern Viminacium cemetery

1600	P/G-5088	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1601	P/G-5132	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1602	P/G-5158	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; no dating elements
1603	P/G-5211	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; no dating elements
1604	P/G-5264	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1605	P/G-5283	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; no dating elements
1606	P/G-5365	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; no dating elements
1607	P/G-5422	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; no dating elements
1608	P/G-5557	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1609	P/G-5575	Brick-built grave; near by P/G-5574 with bronze coin (lost); no dating elements
1610	P/G-5588	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1611	P/G-5603	Brick-built grave; robbed; near by P/G-5602 with coin of Domitian (Cat. 164)
1612	P/G-5604	Brick-built grave; robbed; near by P/G-5602 with coin of Domitian (Cat. 164)
1613	P/G-5610	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1614	P/G-5621	Brick-built grave; infant bone remains were not found; robbed; no dating elements
1615	VG/G-324 (cf. VG II, p. 292)	Brick-built grave; near by is the ruined grave with coin of Severus Alexander (Cat. 1657)
1616	VG/G-389 (cf. VG II, p. 335)	Brick-built grave; no dating elements

1617	VG/G-1263	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
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SEVERAL DECEASED CHILDREN OF WHICH AT LEAST ONE IS A CHILD

GROUP VII

SEVERAL DECEASED CHILDREN

THE SAME OR DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS (age groups I to V)

VII.1 – WITH GRAVE GOODS

Cat. nos.	P – Pećine; VG – Više grobalja / Grave no. / Fig.	Burial rites / dating elements, if there is no coin as grave goods	Coin/Coins and their position in relation to the deceased (from A to G/H)	Grave goods by material (except coins): pottery, metal, glass, bone, other
1618	P/G-4931 A group II B group I C group I Fig. 27	Plain burial; <i>bullae</i> belongs to A; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: bronze <i>bullae</i> Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> , a fragment of a vessel (?)
1619	P/G-595 A group II B group II	Plain burial; dated from 2/2 2 nd c. to the 4 th c.	No coin	Metal: 2 silver earrings (type II.b; <i>cf.</i> p. 52, no. 127; dated 2/2 2 nd –4 th c.) Other: parts of the string: 18 glass beads
1620	VG/G-798 B group II A group IV	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot
1621	VG/G-1707 B group II A group III Fig. 27.2; Fig. 40	Plain burial; finds belongs to A	Hadrian (Cat. 611), position E	Metal: 2 gold earrings (type V.a; <i>cf.</i> p. 16; dated 2 nd –4 th c.), bronze <i>bullae</i> , bronze needle key Other: parts of the bracelet: 3 glass beads, amber bead
1622	P/G-2445 B group III A group V	Plain burial	Geta (lost), position G	Metal: parts of the belt set (type IX, var. 1; <i>cf.</i> p. 100, no. 157; dated 3/3 2 nd to the 2/3 3 rd c.)
1623	P/G-3034 A group I B group II	In wooden coffin; coin belongs to the B	Lucius Aelius (Cat. 670), position C	
1624	VG/G-1986 B group II A group III	In wooden coffin; finds belongs to A	2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2131), position B	Pottery: lamp
1625	VG/G-767 B group III A group V	In wooden coffin	2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2071), position B	Metal: bronze ring
1626	G-1372 A group III B group IV	In wooden coffin; find belongs to B; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot

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1627	P/G-5318 A group I C group I B group II	Brick-built grave; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: bronze bracelet
1628	P/G-2667 A group II B group III	Brick-built grave; finds belongs to B; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: bronze bracelet, bronze pin
1629	G-287 A group III B group IV (cf. VG II, p. 274)	Brick-built grave	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 951), position A	Metal: small bronze tube, bronze ring; hobnails Other: 4 glass beads

VII.2 – BURIED WITHOUT GRAVE GOODS

Cat. nos.	P – Pećine; VG – Više grobalja / Grave no. / Fig.	Burial rites / dating elements, if there is no coin as grave goods
1630	VG/G-218 A group I B group III (cf. VG I, p. 68)	Plain burial; near by VG/G-217 with coin of Trajan (lost); dated 2 nd c.
1631	VG/G-725 B group I A group V	Plain burial; no dating elements
1632	VG/G-619 A group III B group II	Plain burial (on the left flank) belongs to group of children's graves: VG/G-620 and VG/G-621; no dating elements
1633	P/G-1948 A group III B group III	Plain burial; dislocated skulls; no dating elements
1634	P/G-4910 A group III B group IV	Plain burial (on the left flank); no dating elements
1635	P/G-4977 A group II B group III	In wooden coffin; no dating elements
1636	P/G-3443 B group II A group V	In wooden coffin; no dating elements
1637	P/G-4912 A group II B group II	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1638	P/G-3635 A group IV B group IV	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1639	P/G-4896 A group II B group I	Brick-built grave; no dating elements

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NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
južna nekropola Viminacijuma

1640	P/G-4472 A group III B group I	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
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GROUP VIII

SINGLE DECEASED CHILD (age groups I to V)

AND SINGLE OR SEVERAL ADULTS

INCLUDING CHILDREN'S INHUMATIONS WITHIN CREMATED ADULT GRAVES

VIII.1 – BURIED WITH GRAVE GOODS

Cat. nos.	P – Pećine; VG – Više grobalja / Grave no. / Fig.	Burial rites / dating elements, if there is no coin as grave goods	Coin/Coins and their position in relation to the deceased (from A to G/H)	Grave goods by material (except coins): pottery, metal, glass, bone, other
1641	P/G-1298 B group I A adult male	Plain burial; coin belongs to A	4 th c. double perforated bronze coin (Cat. 2744), position A	
1642	VG/G-1757 B group I A male < 40	Plain burial; coin belongs to A	Tiberius (<i>divus Augustus pater</i>) (Cat. 41), position B	
1643	VG/G-1633 child group I G1-1374 adult Fig. 6	Plain burial (inhumated child) in cremation grave (adult); coins belongs to the adult person	2 coins: Claudius (Cat. 134); Hadrian (Cat. 745)	Pottery: pot, 2 bowls, lamp Bone: hair-pin
1644	P/G-451 B group II A male > 45 (P/G-452)	Plain burial; found belongs to A; near by P/G-450 with earring (type II.a1; <i>cf.</i> p. 49, no. 104; dated 4 th c.)	No coin	Metal: bronze button
1645	P/G-1887 A group II B male < 40	Plain burial; earring belongs to B; dated 2/2 2 nd to 4 th c.	No coin	Metal: gold earring (type II.a; <i>cf.</i> p. 39, no. 45; dated 2/2 2 nd –4 th c.)
1646	P/G-2092 B group II A female < 21	Plain burial; coin belongs to A	Severus Alexander provincial Nicaea (Cat. 2920), position B	
1647	P/G-2442 B group II A adult male	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot
1648	P/G-2695 B group II A adult male	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: 3 jugs, lamp Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>

MORS IMMATURA
COINAGE AND APOTROPAIC-PROPHYLACTIC ELEMENTS IN FUNERARY RITUALS –
southern Viminacium cemetery

1649	P/G-3248 B group II A adult female	Plain burial; dislocated bones; pot belongs to A; a beef bone was placed between the skeletons; a dog's fork was placed near by the pelvis of the A; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: lamp, pot (with a piece of the sulfur)
1650	P/G-3345 B group II A adult female	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: jug
1651	P/G- 3386 C group II A adult male C female < 40	Plain burial; coin belongs to C	Marcus Aurelius caesar (Cat. 951), position B	Other: parts of the string: 13 glass beads with gilding; linen fabric with gold threads
1652	VG/G-714 B group II A female < 45 Fig. 27.3	Plain burial; near by VG/G1-583 with 2 nd c. bronze coin	No coin	Metal: bronze <i>bullae</i> Other: 2 glass beads
1653	VG/G-716 B group II A female 30-40	Plain burial; coin belongs to A	Bronze coin 1 st to 2 nd c. (Cat. 2029), position B	Pottery: pot
1654	VG/G-1668 B group II A female < 60	Plain burial; coin belongs to B; below was VG/G1-1402 with coin Augustus (Cat. 10)	Bronze coin (lost), position D	
1655	VG/G-1875 A group II B male < 50	Plain burial; coin belongs to B	Hadrian (Cat. 810), position B	
1656	P/G-931 A group III B female 20-30	Plain burial; near by P/G1-257 with 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2578)	No coin	Metal: silver finger-ring
1657	P/G-1325 B group III A adult male	Plain burial; coin belongs to A	Bronze coin 4 th c. (Cat. 2734), position A	
1658	P/G-1372 B group III A male < 30	Plain burial; dated from 3 rd to 5 th c.	No coin	Pottery: pot, bowl Metal: silver earring (type I.b; cf. p. 35, no. 11; dated 3 rd -5 th c.)
1659	P/G-1410 B group III A adult male	Plain burial; pot belongs to A; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot
1660	P/G-1581 B group III A male < 30	Plain burial; coins belongs to A	2 coins: Antoninus Pius (Cat. 769), position F; bronze coin 2 nd c. (Cat. 3467), position C	

MORS IMMATURA
NOVAC I APOTROPEJSKO-PROFILAKTIČKI ELEMENTI U POGREBNIM RITUALIMA –
južna nekropola Viminacijuma

1661	P/G-1945 B group III A adult female	Plain burial; near by children's grave P/G-1943 with 2 coins: Augustus (Cat. 14) and Hadrian (Cat. 680)	No coin	Pottery: pot
1662	P/G-2380 B group III A male < 30	Plain burial; coin belongs to A	Faustina I (Cat. 883), position B	
1663	P/G-2543 B group III A adult female	Plain burial; dislocated bones; coin belongs to A	Hadrian (Cat. 606), position B	
1664	P/G-2877 B group III A adult female	Plain burial; dated 4 th c.	No coin	Metal: bronze bracelet (cf. Спасић- Ђурић 2015a, 201, бр. 181; dated 4 th c.)
1665	P/G-3718 B group III A adult undetermined sex	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: 2 bronze rings
1666	P/G-4445 B group III A adult male C adult female	Plain burial; unsure to whom belongs coin	Constans caesar (Cat. 1499), position unknown	
1667	P/G-4602 A group III B adult female	Plain burial; finds belongs to B	Antoninianus 2/2 3 rd c. (Cat. 2175), position A	Metal: 2 gold earrings (type IX.a; cf. p. 91, no. 416; dated 3 rd -1/2 4 th c.; cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2015a, 204, бр. 192), 2 bronze hear-pin, 3 bronze rings Bone: needle fragmented Other: parts of the necklace: 32 glass beads
1668	VG/G-442 B group III A male < 30 (cf. VG II, p. 365)	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Glass: bottle
1669	VG/G-1974 G group III A-F and H-J all males 40-60	Plain burial; coins belongs to deceased C	7 coins: Agrippa under Gaius single perforated (Cat. 80); Nero (Cat. 158); Domitian (Cat. 1665); Gordianus III (Cat. 1665); Trebonianus Gallus provincial Viminacium (Cat. 2601, 2602); Aemilianus provincial Viminacium (Cat. 2603)	Metal: bronze finger-ring (belongs to the deceased I)

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1670	P/G-81 B group IV A male 35-45	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: 2 bronze applications Bone: circle pendant (?)
1671	P/G-1709 B group IV A adult male	Plain burial; dislocated bones; near by P/G-1708 with coin of Constantius II caesar (Cat. 1540)	No coin	Pottery: lamp
1672	P/G-2460 B group IV A male < 24	Plain burial; coin belongs to A	Geta (Cat. 1159), position B	Pottery: pot, lamp
1673	P/G-2554 B group IV A adult male	Plain burial; near by P/G-2555 with 2 nd c. bronze coin	No coin	Pottery: jug
1674	P/G-3046 B group IV A female < 30	Plain burial; near by child's grave P/G- 3045 with coin of Tiberius (Cat. 52)	No coin	Metal: silver finger-ring
1675	P/G-4228 B group IV A male < 45	Plain burial; coin belongs to A	Philip I provincial, Viminacium (Cat. 3216), position D	
1676	VG/G-812 A group IV B adult male	Plain burial; damaged by another grave; near by child's grave VG/G-808 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 532)	No coin	Pottery: 2 jugs, pot, 2 lamps
1677	P/G-4481 B group III A male < 50 (only dislocated skull)	Plain burial covered with bricks; coin and other finds belongs to B	Severus Alexander provincial Nicaea (Cat. 2991), position H	Metal: bronze bracelet, hobnails Glass: bottle Other: 2 glass beads
1678	VG/G1-16 B group I A adult undetermined sex (cf. VG I, p. 78)	Plain burial (inhumated child) in cremation grave (adult); coin belongs to the adult person	Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 1314)	Pottery: beaker
1679	VG/G1-213 B group I A adult undetermined sex (cf. VG I, p. 101- 102)	Plain burial (inhumated child) in cremation grave (adult); coin belongs to the adult person	Hadrian (Cat. 707)	Pottery: pot Bone: hair-pin; sewing needle
1680	VG/G1-214 C group I A adult male B female 20 (cf. VG I, p. 102)	Plain burial (inhumated child) in cremation grave (adult); below was VG/G1-213 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 707)	No coin	Pottery: pot, beaker, 2 bowls, lamp Other: sea snail

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1681	VG/G1-217 B group I A adult female (cf. VG I, p. 102)	Plain burial (inhumated child) in cremation grave (adult); coin belongs to the adult person	Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1014)	Pottery: lamp
1682	VG/G1-228 B group I A adult female (cf. VG I, p. 103)	Plain burial (inhumated child) in cremation grave (adult); coin belongs to the adult person	Bronze coin 2 nd c. (lost)	Pottery: pot Metal: bronze mirror, bronze mount Bone: sewing needle stone: palette
1683	VG/G1-362 B group I A adult undetermined sex (cf. VG II, p. 103-105)	Plain burial (inhumated child) in cremation grave (adult); dated 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: 2 jugs, pot, lamp Metal: bronze spatula Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Bone: hair-pin, sewing needle Other: glass bead
1684	VG/G1-397 B group I A adult undetermined sex (cf. VG II, p. 138)	Plain burial (inhumated child) in cremation grave (adult); coin belongs to the adult person	Trajan (Cat. 387)	Pottery: pot
1685	VG/G1-407 C group I A adult undetermined sex B adult male (cf. VG II, p. 149-150)	Plain burial (inhumated child) in cremation grave (adult); near by VG/G1-849 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 375)	No coin	Pottery: 2 bowls, 2 plates, lamp Glass: 2 <i>balsamarii</i>
1686	VG/G1-201 B group III A adult undetermined sex (cf. VG I, p. 100)	Plain burial (inhumated child) in cremation grave (adult); coin belongs to the adult person	Lucilla (lost)	Pottery: bowl Metal: bronze belt set (type III, var. 1; cf. p. 37, no. 11; dated 2 nd c.), bronze ring
1687	VG/G1-433 B group III A adult male (cf. VG II, p. 172)	Plain burial (inhumated child) in cremation grave (adult); above was VG/G1-372 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1858)	No coin	Pottery: pot, lamp
1688	P/G-2722 child undetermined age G1-685 adult undetermined age Fig. 27.4	Plain burial (inhumated child) in cremation grave (adult); coin and chain belongs to child	Septimius Severus (Cat. 1127), position A	Pottery: 2 pots Metal: bronze chain with 3 hoops (type IV.a; cf. p. 15; dated end 1 st –end 3 rd c.) and <i>bullae</i>

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1689	P/G-3004 child undetermined age G1-783 adult undetermined age	Plain burial (inhumated child) in cremation grave (adult); finds belongs to adult person; below was P/G1-852 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 734)	No coin	Pottery: pot, plate, lamp
1690	VG/G-1822 child undetermined age G1-1490 adult undetermined age	Plain burial (inhumated child) in cremation grave (adult); 1 coin belongs to child; 2 coins belongs to adult	Bronze coin (lost), position B; 2 coins: Antoninus Pius provincial Nicaea (Cat. 2160); 2 nd c. bronze coin (Cat. 2117)	Pottery: 3 jugs, bowl, 2 lamps Glass: 2 <i>balsamarii</i>
1691	P/G-854 B group II A female 30-40	In wooden coffin; dated 2 nd -3 rd c.	No coin	Findings belong to A: Metal: 2 silver broochs (type VIII, var. 1; cf. p. 23, nos. 59-60; dated 2 nd c.), silver ring, bronze finger-ring, single blade side iron knife, iron ring-key (cf. Миловановић, Мрђић 2016, p. 254, no. 53; dated 2 nd -3 rd c.), bronze chain, silver case mount Other: parts of the necklace: 108 glass and 2 bronze beads, ceramic bead Findings belong to B: Pottery: bowl Metal: silver brooch (type XXIX; cf. p. 55, no. 289; dated 2/2 2 nd c.), bronze button with enamel Other: perforated sea snail
1692	P/G-2675 B group II A female 30-40 Fig. 40.2	In wooden coffin; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: bronze bracelet (A) Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Other: parts of the necklace: one amber and 50 glass beads (B); under the skull (B): a corroded fragment of iron with remnants of fabrics
1693	P/G-3387 B group II A female < 23	In wooden coffin; coin belongs to A	Hadrian (Cat. 571), position B	Metal: hobnails (A)
1694	P/G-1586 A group III B male < 45	In wooden coffin; coin belongs to B	Tiberius (<i>divus Augustus pater</i>) (Cat. 47), position B	Pottery: 2 lamps Metal: bronze finger-ring
1695	P/G-3526 A group III B female < 21 C adult male (B and C only dislocated skulls)	In wooden coffin; coin belongs to A	Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 1028), position E	Pottery: 2 bowls

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1696	P/G-4976 B group III A adult undetermined sex	In wooden coffin; coin belongs to the A	Faustina II (Cat. 1057), position unknown	Metal: gold earring (type V.b; cf. p. 16; dated 2 nd –4 th c.)
1697	P/G-4987 B group III A adult male	In wooden coffin; coin belongs to A; near by child's grave P/G-4983 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 2358)	Bronze coin (lost), position F	
1698	VG/G-1335 B group III A adult female Fig. 19	In wooden coffin; unperforated coin belongs to A; necklace belongs to B; near by VG/G1-1182 with coin of Claudius (Cat. 1757)	3 coins: Claudius (Cat. 98), position B; single perforated bronze coin; double perforated bronze coin (parts of the necklace both)	Pottery: pot, beaker Metal: iron brooch (fragmented), hobnails Other: parts of the necklace: wild boar tooth pendant, single perforated coin, double perforated coin, perforated sea shell, bronze ring, 5 glass beads
1699	VG/G-1372 A group III B female < 30 C adult female	In wooden coffin; near were: VG/G-1335 (Claudius coin, Cat. 98) and VG/G1-1182 (Claudius coin, Cat. 1757)	No coin	Pottery: pot
1700	VG/G-1852 B group III A adult female	In wooden coffin; above was VG/G1-1368 with 2 coins: Antoninus Pius (Cat. 1052) and Lucilla (Cat. 1426)	No coin	Pottery: pot, lamp Glass: bowl
1701	VG/G-48 group IV female < 30 (VG/G-47) (cf. VG I, p. 58)	In wooden coffin; dated 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: pot
1702	VG/G-1536 B group IV A female < 30	In wooden coffin; coin belongs to A	Faustina I (Cat. 1179), position D	Pottery: pot
1703	P/G-1592 A group V B adult male	In wooden coffin; coins belongs to B	2 coins: Claudius (Cat. 71), position F; bronze coin 1/2 1 st c. (Cat. 2217), position G/H	Pottery: pot (B)
1704	P/G-3256 group V (female 15-19) A male < 45 B male < 60 C male > 45 (A, B and C only dislocated skulls)	In wooden coffin; skulls: A – between the knees B – near by the pelvis C – at the feet; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot

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1705	P/G-3291 B group V A male > 45	In wooden coffin; finds belongs to A	2 coins: Trajan (Cat. 381), position D; bronze coin 1 st c. (Cat. 2328), position B	Pottery: bolw, lamp Metal: hobnails
1706	P/G-4997 B group V A adult male	In wooden coffin; coin belongs to A	Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 1011), position D	
1707	P/G-4387 A group I B adult female	Brick-built grave; finds belongs to B; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: bronze bracelet, bronze earring (fragmented)
1708	P/G-4582 B group II A and C adults undetermined sex	Brick-built grave; jewelry belongs to C; unsure to whom belong coins	2 coins: Gallienus (Cat. 1217); bronze coin provincial 3 rd c. (Cat. 3390), position unknown both	Metal: bronze earring (type II.a; <i>cf.</i> p. 13; dated 2/2 2 nd -4 th c.), 2 bronze bracelets
1709	VG/G-1951 B group II A male < 35	Brick-built grave; coin belongs to A	Severus Alexander provincial Nicaea (Cat. 2286), position A	Metal: 2 bronze bracelets, silver buckle (type XI, var. 1; <i>cf.</i> p. 111, no. 183; dated 2/2 2 nd -1/2 4 th c.)
1710	P/G-4552 B group III A male < 60 Fig. 35; Fig. 40.3 (<i>cf.</i> Spasić- Đurić 2008, p. 150-151)	Brick-built grave; robbed; dislocated bones; dated 2/2 3 rd to 1/2 4 th c.	No coin	Metal: bronze finger-ring Glass: phalic pendant (B) Other: parts of the string: 2 amber beads, 5 glass beads
1711	P/G-4855 B group III A female < 21 C female < 60	Brick-built grave; robbed; dislocated bones; unsure to whom belong coins	Valentinianus I (Cat. 1719), position unknown	Metal: bronze spatula; iron mount Glass: bottle Other: glass bead
1712	P/G-2252 B group IV A female < 40	Brick-built grave; dislocated bones; finds belongs to A	Aemilianus provincial Viminacium (Cat. 3266), position C	Other: parts of necklace (A): 16 glass beads
1713	P/G-2253 B group IV A male < 40 C female < 40	Brick-built grave; dislocated bones; unsure to whom belong finds; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: pot Metal: bronze application
1714	P/G-2624 B group V A male 60	Brick-built grave; dislocated bones; robbed; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: fragments of 2 dishes
1715	P/G-4726 A group V B male < 35	Brick-built grave; earrings belongs to A; dated 2/2 2 nd -beginning of the 4 th c.	No coin	Metal: 2 gold earrings (type V.a1; dated 2/2 2 nd -beginning of the 4 th c.)

VIII.2 – BURIED WITHOUT GRAVE GOODS

Cat. nos.	P – Pećine; VG – Više grobalja / Grave no. / Fig.	Burial rites / dating elements, if there is no coin as grave goods
1716	P/G-3052 B group I A male < 60	Plain burial; no dating elements
1717	VG/G-885 B group I A female 30	Plain burial; no dating elements
1718	P/G-2690 group I P/G1-671 adult undeterminate age	Plain burial (inhumated child) in cremation grave (adult person)
1719	VG/G1-421 B group I A adult female (cf. VG II, p. 163)	Plain burial (inhumated child) in cremation grave (adult person); dated 1/2 2 nd c.
1720	P/G-412 C group II A male 25-35 B adult female	Plain burial; no dating elements
1721	P/G-519 B group II A female < 21	Plain burial; no dating elements
1722	P/G-532 B group II A adult male	Plain burial; no dating elements
1723	P/G-1453 B group II A female < 21	Plain burial; no dating elements
1724	P/G-2153 B group II A female < 21	Plain burial; no dating elements
1725	P/G-2693 B group II A male > 45	Plain burial; damaged the P/G1-676 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 334); dated beginning of the 3 rd c.
1726	P/G-4938 B group II A adult female	Plain burial; no dating elements
1727	VG/G-1413 A group II B male < 50	Plain burial; dislocated bones; no dating elements
1728	VG/G-1520 E group II A male < 35 B male < 40 C male < 60 D male < 45	Plain burial; no dating elements

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1729	VG/G-2003 B group II A < 30 undetermined sex	Plain burial; no dating elements
1730	P/G-533 B group III A adult female	Plain burial; no dating elements
1731	P/G-754 B group III A adult male	Plain burial; near by P/G1-176 with coin of Domitian striking under Titus (Cat. 139)
1732	P/G- 869 B group III A adult male	Plain burial; near by P/G-870 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 513)
1733	P/G-1066 B group III A adult undetermined sex	Plain burial; no dating elements
1734	P/G-2133 A group III B adult undetermined sex	Plain burial; dislocated bones; near by P/G-2267 with coin of Severus Alexander (Cat. 2943)
1735	P/G-2388 B group III A adult female	Plain burial; no dating elements
1736	P/G-2492 A group III B female < 40	Plain burial (on the right flank); near by P/G-2470 with 3 coins of Gallienus (Cat. 1223, 1229, 1230)
1737	P/G-2531 A group III B adult female	Plain burial; no dating elements
1738	P/G-2890 B group III A adult male	Plain burial; no dating elements
1739	P/G-2896 B group III A adult male	Plain burial; no dating elements
1740	P/G-3396 A group III B adult female	Plain burial; near by P/G-3397 with coin of Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 1005)
1741	P/G-4883 B group III A adult male	Plain burial; no dating elements
1742	P/G-5238 B group III A male < 40	Plain burial; dislocated bones; near by P/G-5227 with 2 coins: Godrian III (Cat. 3030) and Hostilian caesar (Cat. 3252)
1743	P/G-5331 A group III B male < 30	Plain burial; near by P/G-5317 with brooch (type IX, var. 3; cf. p. 27, no. 99; dated 2 nd - 1/2 3 rd c.)
1744	VG/G-416 B group III A adult male (cf. VG II, p. 351)	Plain burial; no dating elements

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1745	VG/G-433 B group III A adult male (<i>cf.</i> VG II, p. 360)	Plain burial; no dating elements
1746	VG/G-779 J group III 2 males 30-40 3 males > 45 3 adult males 1 adult female 1 adult undetermined sex	Plain burial; dislocated bones; near were: VG/G-753 (Nero coin, Cat. 166) and VG/G-782 (Marcus Aurelius caesar coin, Cat. 1261)
1747	VG/G-1117 C group III A adult male B adult male D female < 45 F adult male	Plain burial; dislocated bones; no dating elements
1748	VG/G-1293 S group III 14 males 40-60 4 females 30-40 1 < 60 undetermined sex	Plain burial; 19 skeletons; below was VG/G1-1202 with coin of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 8464)
1749	VG/G-1681 B group III A male < 30	Plain burial; dislocated bones; near were children's graves: VG/G-1335 (Claudius coin, Cat. 98) and VG/G1-1182 (Claudius ? coin, Cat. 1757)
1750	VG/G-1169 A group III B adult male	Plain burial; no dating elements
1751	VG/G-1792 B group III A adult male	Plain burial; no dating elements
1752	VG/G-1950 A group III B male < 40	Plain burial; no dating elements
1753	VG/G1-60 B group III A adult undetermined sex (<i>cf.</i> VG I, p. 84)	Plain burial (inhumated child) in cremation grave (adult person); no dating elements
1754	P/G-465 B group IV A male > 45 female < 23 (P/G-466)	Plain burial; no dating elements
1755	P/G-798 B group IV A adult male	Plain burial; no dating elements
1756	P/G-1612 A group IV B female < 45	Plain burial; no dating elements

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1757	P/G-1625 A group IV B adult male	Plain burial; no dating elements
1758	P/G-1780 B group IV A male 30-40	Plain burial; near by P/G-1781 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 640)
1759	P/G-2180 A group IV B male < 40	Plain burial; near were: P/G-2178 (Gordian III coin, Cat. 3035) and P/G-2179 (Hadrian coin, Cat. 411)
1760	P/G-2391 A group IV B adult male	Plain burial; dislocated bones; no dating elements
1761	P/G-2532 B group IV A adult female	Plain burial; below was P/G-2545 with coin of Faustina I (Cat. 900)
1762	P/G-2725 A group IV B adult male	Plain burial; no dating elements
1763	P/G-3292 A group IV B male > 45	Plain burial; above was P/G1-809 with bronze coin 1/2 1 st c. (Cat. 2205)
1764	P/G-3419 B group IV A adult female	Plain burial; no dating elements
1765	P/G-4986 A group IV B adult undetermined sex	Plain burial; below was P/G1-1105 with coin Vespasian (Cat. 117)
1766	VG/G-813 A group IV B adult male	Plain burial; dislocated bones; near by child's grave VG/G-808 with coin of Hadrian (Cat. 532)
1767	P/G-1678 B group V A adult male	Plain burial; destroyed; no dating elements
1768	P/G-2412 A group V B adult male	Plain burial; near in layers was found coin of Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 1020)
1769	P/G-4949 B group V A female > 40 C female < 30 D male < 40 E male < 40 F male < 30	Plain burial; dislocated skulls 6 skulls in 2 rows above was P/G1-1100 with bronze coin (lost); no dating elements
1770	P/G-5257 B group V A adult female	Plain burial; no dating elements
1771	VG/G-618 B group V A adult male	Plain burial; near by VG/G-617 with coin of Caracalla Ephesys provincial (Cat. 2463)

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1772	VG/G-1398 B group V A male < 50	Plain burial; dislocated bones; near by VG/G1-1230 with coin of Trajan (Cat. 502)
1773	P/G-609 A group III B male 40-50	Plain burial covered with bricks; no dating elements
1774	P/G-3631 B group III A adult female	Plain burial covered with bricks; no dating elements
1775	P/G-4540 A group III B < 30 undetermined sex	Plain burial covered with bricks; robbed; no dating elements
1776	P/G-1817 B group III A adult female	In wooden coffin; no dating elements
1777	P/G-4914 A group III B female < 21	In wooden coffin; no dating elements
1778	P/G-120 B group I A adult male	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1779	P/G-2734 A group II B adult male	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1780	P/G-3044 C group II A adult male B male > 45	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1781	P/G-3096 B group II A adult male	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1782	P/G-5029 C group II A male < 40 B adult female	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1783	P/G-397 B group III A adult male	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1784	P/G-1973 B group III A female 30-40	Brick-built grave; no dating elements
1785	P/G-3626 A group III B female < 21 C adult male	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1786	P/G-3632 B group III A female < 45	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements

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1787	P/G-3641 B group III A female < 40 C male < 45 D male < 30	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1788	P/G-4485 A group III B adult female	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1789	P/G-4767 D group III A male < 60 B male < 30 C 20 undetermined sex	Brick-built grave in the family mausoleum; robbed; dated 4 th or beginning 5 th c.
1790	P/G-5135 B group III A adult male	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1791	P/G-5248 B group III A male < 45	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1792	P/G-2676 A group IV B female < 40	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1793	P/G-5041 B group IV A male < 45	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1794	P/G-5140 B group IV A male < 40	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1795	P/G-3442 B group V A male > 45	Brick-built grave; robbed; near by P/G-3412 with coin of Julian caesar (Cat. 1641)
1796	P/G-4490 B group V A male < 30	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements
1797	P/G-4994 A group V B male < 40	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements

GROUP IX

SEVERAL DECEASED CHILDREN (age groups I to V)

AND SINGLE OR SEVERAL ADULTS

INCLUDING CHILDREN'S INHUMATIONS WITHIN CREMATED ADULT GRAVES

IX.1 – BURIED WITH GRAVE GOODS

Cat. nos.	P – Pećine; VG – Više grobalja / Grave no. / Fig.	Burial rites / dating elements, if there is no coin as grave goods	Coin/Coins and their position in relation to the deceased (from A to G/H)	Grave goods by material (except coins): pottery, metal, glass, bone, other
1798	P/G-3212 A group II C group II B female 30-40	Plain burial; no dating elements	No coin	Pottery: beaker Metal: bronze spatula
1799	P/G-4285 C group II B group III A adult female D adult male Fig. 27.5	Plain burial; <i>bullae</i> belongs to B; no dating elements	No coin	Metal: bronze <i>bullae</i>
1800	P/G-4500 B group III C group IV A adult female	Plain burial; finds belongs to C; dated 2/2 2 nd -4 th c.	No coin	Metal: 2 bronze earrings (type II.a; cf. p. 13; dated 2/2 2 nd -4 th c.), iron key
1801	VG/G1-291 C group I D group II A adult male B adult female (cf. VG II, p. 38-40)	Plain burial (inhumated children) in cremation grave (adult persons); unsure to whom belongs finds	Hadrian (Cat. 724)	Pottery: 3 jugs, 2 pots, bowl, lid, 3 lamps Metal: bronze ring Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Other: 2 glass beads
1802	P/G-4848 A group II D group III B female > 45 C male 50	Brick-built grave; robbed; dislocated bones; unsure to whom belongs finds	2 coins: bronze coin 4 th c. (Cat. 2836), position unknown; bronze coin end of the 4 th or beginning of the 5 th c. (Cat. 2888), position unknown	Pottery: fragment of a ceramic object (?) Metal: bronze chain; lead pyxis Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>

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IX.2 – BURIED WITHOUT GRAVE GOODS

Cat. nos.	P – Pećine; VG – Više grobalja / Grave no. / Fig.	Burial rites / dating elements, if there is no coin as grave goods
1803	P/G-4703 B group I C group III A female < 40	Plain burial; hobnails belongs to A; no dating elements
1804	P/G-1956 C group II D group III A adult male B female < 35	Plain burial; no dating elements
1805	P/G-1055 A group III C group V 4 adult males female < 30	Plain burial; no dating elements
1806	P/G-2495 A group III B group V C adult male	Plain burial; no dating elements
1807	P/G-3337 C group II B group III A adult undetermined sex	In lead coffin; no dating elements
1808	P/G-4476 A group III D group III B adult female C male < 30	Brick-built grave; robbed; no dating elements

CHILDREN'S CREMATATIONS

GROUP X

GRAVES OF CREMATED CHILDREN (age groups I to V)

CREMATED CHILD OR CHILD AND ADULT

X.1 – BURIED WITH GRAVE GOODS

Cat. nos.	P – Pećine; VG – Više grobalja / Grave no. / Fig.	Burial rites / dating elements, if there is no coin as grave goods	Coin/Coins and their position in relation to the deceased (from A to G/H)	Grave goods by material (except coins): pottery, metal, glass, bone, other
1809	VG/G1-18 group III (cf. VG I, p. 79)	Cremation covered with <i>tegulae</i> and <i>imbrices</i> ; dated 1/2 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: 2 jugs, 2 beakers, miniature bowl
1810	VG/G1-115 group III (cf. VG I, p. 90)	Cremation; dated 2/4 2 nd –1/2 3 rd c.	No coin	Metal: bronze belt buckle (type III, var. 1; cf. p. 41, no. 19; dated dated 2/4 2 nd –1/2 3 rd c.), iron mount
1811	VG/G1-138 group III (cf. VG I, p. 93)	Cremation covered with bricks and <i>tegulae</i> ; dated 1/2 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: 4 jugs, bowl, censer, 3 lamps Metal: bronze bracelet Glass: <i>balsamarium</i> Bone: hair-pin
1812	VG/G1-519 group III (cf. VG II, p. 252)	Cremation	Trajan (Cat. 460)	
1813	VG/G1-66 group IV Fig. 28 (cf. VG I, p. 85)	Cremation in urn; dated 1/2 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: lamp, pot (vessel in the function of urn) Metal: bronze <i>bullae</i>
1814	VG/G1-129 group IV (cf. VG I, p. 92)	Cremation covered with bricks and <i>tegulae</i>	3 coins: Antoninus Pius (lost); bronze coin 2 nd c. (Isot); bronze coin illegible (lost)	Metal: bronze belt buckle (undetermined type), bronze bracelet, bronze ring Glass: bottle
1815	VG/G1-140 group IV (cf. VG I, p. 93)	Cremation	Antoninus Pius (lost)	Pottery: lamp Glass: <i>balsamarium</i>
1816	VG/G1-405 group IV (cf. VG II, p. 147)	Cremation	Commodus caesar (Cat. 1369)	Metal: silver bracelet; stone: altar without inscriptions
1817	VG/G1-448 group IV (cf. VG II, p. 187)	Cremation	Faustina II (Cat. 1274)	Pottery: beaker, miniature pot Metal: 4 bronze rings Other: 7 glass beads

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1818	VG/G1-118 group V (cf. VG I, p. 91)	Cremation	2 coins: Hadrian (lost)	Pottery: 3 jugs, pot, 2 lamps Bone: gaming cube
1819	VG/G1-515 child unspecified age group (cf. VG II, p. 247)	Cremation in urn = wooden coffin (0.60x0.30x0.20); all the finds were in a coffin; belongs to group of children's graves: VG/ G-666 with bronze coin (lost), VG/G-670 and VG/G1-515; group was under VG/ G1-504 with coin of Faustina I (Cat. 1189); dated 1/2 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: children's horse-shaped toy on wheels, beaker Metal: bronze brooch (fragmented) Glass: <i>guttus</i> Other: 2 glass beads
1820	VG/G1-176 B group I A adult male (cf. VG I, p. 97)	Cremation; dated 1/2 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: 2 bowls, beaker, lid, 2 lamps
1821	VG/G1-189 B group I A adult female (cf. VG I, p. 99)	Cremation	Antoninus Pius (lost)	Pottery: lamp Metal: bronze bracelet
1822	VG/G1-126 B group III A adult undetermined sex (cf. VG I, p. 92)	Cremation; dated 1/2 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: pot
1823	VG/G1-317 B group IV A adult male (cf. VG II, p. 58-59)	Cremation in urn (bowl covered with amphora) dated 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: bowl and amphora (vessels in the function of urn) Metal: bronze brooch (fragmented; types XII-XV ?)
1824	VG/G1-502 B group IV A adult male (cf. VG II, p. 235)	Cremation covered with <i>tegulae</i>	Trajan (Cat. 683)	
1825	VG/G1-330 B group V A adult female (cf. VG II, p. 70)	Cremation in 2 urns: B (pot), A (amphora)	Gaius (Cat. 72)	Pottery: lamp, pot and amphora (vessels in the function of urns), plate

IX.2 – BURIED WITHOUT GRAVE GOODS

Cat. nos.	P – Pećine; VG – Više grobalja / Grave no. / Fig.	Burial rites / dating elements, if there is no coin as grave goods
1826	VG/G1-512 group IV (cf. VG II, p. 245)	Cremation; near were: VG/G-552 with broken bronze coin (1 st -3 rd c.; Cat. 2727) and VG/G-780 with silver brooch (type XIII, var. 1; cf. p. 33, no. 138; dated 2 nd -1/2 3 rd c.); dated 2 nd -1/2 3 rd c.

GROUP XI

CREMATED AND INCHUMATED CHILDREN

(age groups I to V)

XI.1 – BURIED WITH GRAVE GOODS

Cat. nos.	VG – Više grobalja / Grave no.	Burial rites / dating elements, if there is No coin as grave goods	Coin/Coins and their position in relation to the deceased (from A to G/H)	Grave goods (except coins): pottery, metal, glass, bone, other
1827	VG/G1-249 A group II B group I (cf. VG I, p. 105-106)	Cremation (A) Inhumation (B); the bowl covered the remains of the deceased; dated 1/2 2 nd c.	No coin	Pottery: bowl, lamp
1828	VG/G1-191 A group IV C group I B male 20-30 (cf. VG I, p. 99)	Cremation (A and B) Inhumation (C)	Hadrian (lost)	Pottery: 3 jugs, 2 pots Glass: hair-pin

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