## Strategie e Programmazione della Conservazione e Trasmissibilità del Patrimonio Culturale

A cura di

Aleksandra Filipović Williams Troiano

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## Indice

### **CAPITOLO I**

#### Architetture

IL RESTAURO ARCHITETTONICO: FORMAZIONE SPECIALISTICA E STRATEGIE DI POLITICA CULTURALE Giovanni Carbonara	16
L'ESERCIZIO DELLA DIREZIONE NEI CANTIERI DI RESTAURO, SOPRAVVIVERE ALLE SCELTE Williams Troiano	30
VULNERABILITÀ DEL PATRIMONIO CULTURALE: UNA GERARCHIA DELLE URGENZE Carlo Mambriani, Eva Coïsson, Elisabetta Fadda	40
LA BASILICA DI SANTA MARIA DI COLLEMAGGIO. LA STORIA, LE ATTIVITÀ, IL TERREMOTO DEL 2009, GLI STUDI PER LA RICOSTRUZIONE Elena Antonacci, Vincenzo Gattulli, Fabio Graziosi, Marco Lepidi, Fabrizio Vestroni	46
IL CAMPANILE DEL DUOMO DI SAN MARTINO IN PIETRASANTA: TECNICA COSTRUTTIVA E COMPORTAMENTO A FRONTE DI AZIONI DINAMICHE	
Alessandro Nardini	58
CHIESA DELLA PURISSIMA CONCEZIONE, CAGLIARI Paola Mura	68
I CASTELLA DIVIDICULA A PALERMO Tiziana Firrone	78
IL SISTEMA DEI FORTI MILITARI DI ROMA. RIFUNZIONALIZZAZIONE ED EFFICIENTAZIONE ENERGETICA DEL PATRIMONIO PUBBLICO Silvia Cimini	88
NOTE SUL RESTAURO DELLA "SALA DELLE ARMI" E DEL PIAZZALE DEL COMPLESSO DELL'ACCADEMIA DI SCHERMA DI LUIGI MORETTI AL FORO ITALICO (EX FORO MUSSOLINI) IN ROMA Alessandra Nizzi, Marco Giunta	98
IL VALORE E IL RUOLO DELL'ARCHITETTURA MODERNA, TRA CONSERVAZIONE, INDIFFERENZA E DISTRUZIONE. IL CASO DI PALAZZO MOSCONI A VERONA (1969-1973)  Barbara Bogoni, Giorgia Ottaviani	
SANT'AGNESE IN AGONE A PIAZZA NAVONA A ROMA. LA CASA DELLA DIVINITÀ FRA IL PALAZZO DEL RE E QUELLO DEL SACERDOTE Giuseppe Simonetta, Laura Gigli, Gabriella Marchetti	
LITURGICAL RENOVATION OF THE PRESBYTERY AREA IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCHES  Daniela Concas	
LINGUAGGIO EDILIZIO. L'EDILIZIA DI BASETRA SPONTANEITÀ COSTRUTTIVA E INTENZIONALITÀ FORMALE NEL CASO STUDIO DI FERRARA Veronica Balboni	136
LA PIAZZA DEL COMUNE DI ANGUILLARA SABAZIA. STUDIO STORICO E RESTAURO	
Maria Clara Lanzara	144
L'ADDIZIONE DI BORSO: ANALISI DELL'EDILIZIA STORICA SULL'ASSE QUATTROCENTESCO DI VIA GHIARA  Chiara Nardelli	154

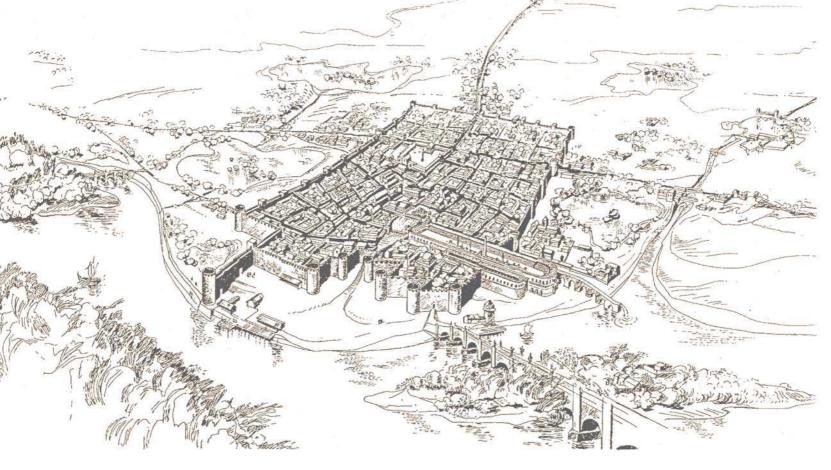
IL RESTAURO DEI TEMPLI IN GIAPPONE. TRA TANGIBILITÀ E INTANGIBILITÀ  Olimpia Niglio	164
DRAA VALLEY: MAPS FOR SUSTAINABLE FLOWS Paola Raffa	172
COMMUNICATION AND DEVELOPMENT. STRATEGIES FOR BRANDING HERITAGE  Massimo Giovannini	
COOPERAZIONE INTERNAZIONALE E MANAGEMENT DEL CULTURAL HERITAGE. LA MEMORIA DELLA CIVILTÀ CHAM NEL VIETNAM CENTRALE Fausto Pugnaloni, Cecilia Carlorosi	186
<b>CAPITOLO II</b> Grandi scavi: Conoscere e preservare	
UNA CITTÀ PALEOBIZANTINA DELLA LICIA COSTIERA:L'ISOLA DI GEMILE NEL GOLFO DI BELCEĞIZ Aleksandra Filipović	196
REDISCOVERING THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT IRAQ: THE EXCAVATIONS AT ABU TBEIRAH Franco D'Agostino, Licia Romano	212
LA CITTADELLA DI ERBIL. LE ATTIVITÀ DEL PROGETTO DI COOPERAZIONE ITALIANO DELLA SAPIENZA AD ERBIL Carlo G. Cereti, Angela Bizzarro, Luca Colliva, Gianfilippo Terribili	222
THE ARROWS PROJECT FOR UNDERWATER ARCHAEOLOGY  Benedetto Allotta et al	232
UN'ESPERIENZA DI PROJECT MANAGEMENT IN SIRIA: TELL DEINIT E UN PROGETTO MULTIDISCIPLINARE NELLA CURA DEL PATRIMONIO CULTURALE Marco Rossi	240
IL PAESAGGIO ARCHEOLOGICO COME TEMA DI PROGETTO Francesco Baratti	250
POSSIBILITIES OF DEFINING THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE OF VIMINACIUM AS A UNIQUE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE  Emilija Nikolić, Olivera Ilić, Dragana Rogić	260
THE LATE ANTIQUE NECROPOLIS IN JAGODIN MALA, NIŠ (NAISSUS), SERBIA – EIGHTY YEARS OF RESEARCH  Gordana Jeremić	272
CARING FOR THE HUMAN SKELETON REMAINS IN SREMSKA MITROVICA (SIRMIUM), SERBIA Nataša Miladinović - Radmilović	282
CAPITOLO III Restauri: Studi e tecnologie	
CONOSCERE PER CONSERVARE E VALORIZZARE Francesco Colalucci	294
STORIA DELLE TECNICHE ARTISTICHE, DIAGNOSTICA, RESTAURO: LUCI E OMBRE DI UN RAPPORTO COMPLESSO Paolo Bensi	302
PITTURA PROFANA DI EPOCA BASSO MEDIEVALE IN TRENTINO ALTO ADIGE: IL CICLO DI TRISTANO E ISOTTA A CASTEL RONCOLO Pamela Breda	314
IL RITRATTO DI ANTONIO NAVAGÈRO DI GIOVAN BATTISTA MORONI: STORIA, INDAGINI DIAGNOSTICHE E RESTAURO Mariolina Olivari, Roberta Grazioli, Fabio Frezzato, Paolo Cornale	
IL MIRACOLO DI SAN GUALBERTO. CAMPAGNA DI STUDIO E DIAGNOSTICA PER PROGETTARE IL RECUPERO DEL CROCIFISSO MIRACOLATO DI SAN GUALBERTO. CHIESA DI SANTA TRINITA, FIRENZE	
Daniela Murphy Corella	336

IMAT – TOWARD AN INNOVATIVE INTELLIGENT MOBILE ACCURATE THERMO-ELECTRICAL (IMAT) DEVICE FOR STRUCTU CONSERVATION OF PAINTINGS	RAL
Monica Carfagni, Rocco Furferi, Lapo Governi, Yary Volpe, Tomas Markevicius, Nina Olsson, Helmut Meyer	346
LA RICOSTRUZIONE DELLA "FONTE DI MARMO" NELL'EX MONASTERO DEI BENEDETTINI IN CATANIA. UNA COMPLESSA ESPERIENZA DI RESTAURO	
Alessandro Lo Faro	354
LA MANUTENZIONE ED IL MONITORAGGIO DEL MUSEO APERTO BILOTTI DI COSENZA	
Gianluca Nava	366
IL RECUPERO DEI MATERIALI SULLO SCAVO: ESPERIENZE DI RESTAURO E CONSERVAZIONE DAL 1990 AL 2010 NEL SITO ARCHEOLOGICO DI TELL AFIS (SIRIA)	
Anna Maria Graziani	378
TECNICHE DI CONSOLIDAMENTO E DI DIAGNOSTICA APPLICATE AL RESTAURO DEI PAPIRI DI PROVENIENZA ORIENTALE RITROVATI A ROMA	
Paola Boffula	386
IL RESTAURO DI CABIRIA	
Stella Dagna	394
<b>CAPITOLO IV</b> Musei ed esposizioni: Rassegna e critica	
I PROGETTI PER L'ACCOGLIENZA NEI SITI ARCHEOLOGICI DELLA LIBIA: LEPTIS MAGNA, SABRATHA E TOLEMAIDE Umberto Trame	408
IL MUSEO DEL SILENZIO DELLE CLARISSE EREMITE DI FARA IN SABINA Mao Benedetti, Sveva Di Martino	416
IL MUSEO DELL'OLIO DELLA SABINA DI CASTELNUOVO DI FARFA Sveva Di Martino, Mao Benedetti	424
L'ARTE NELL'EPICENTRO: SALVAGUARDIA E VALORIZZAZIONE DEL PATRIMONIO CULTURALE NELL'EMILIA FERITA DAL TERREMOTO Jacopo Ferrari, Simona Roversi	436
PALAZZO TE ALLO SPECCHIO: UNA MOSTRA TRA CLASSICITÀ E AVANGUARDIA PER LA DIVULGAZIONE DEL PATRIMONIO ARCHITETTONICO Alessandro Bianchi	444
<b>CAPITOLO V</b> Conservazione e divulgazione degli Archivi storici	
IL PROGETTO DI CATALOGAZIONE E STUDIO DEI DOCUMENTI MUSICALI CONSERVATI NELL'ARCHIVIO RAI DI TORINO: STRATEGIE E OBIETTIVI DELLA RICERCA Andrea Malvano	456
MEMORIA E SPIRITUALITÀ. FRUIZIONE MULTIMEDIALE DELL'ARCHIVIO DIOCESANO DI MELFI Nicola Montesano, Ciro Guerra	462
LA COSTITUZIONE DI UN ARCHIVIO DIGITALE PER I MODELLI DI SUPERFICI DELL'UNIVERSITÀ "FEDERICO II" DI NAPOL Nicla Palladino	
LA PIEDIGROTTA DEI BAMBINI NELLE IMMAGINI DELL'ARCHIVIO FOTOGRAFICO PARISIO Helga Sanità	478
LE FORME RISCOPERTE DELLA MANIFATTURA GINORI DI DOCCIA: DOCUMENTAZIONE, CONSERVAZIONE E FRUIZIONE DI UN PATRIMONIO CULTURALE Rita Balleri, Lucia Ciofi, Sergio Di Tondo, Monica Gherardelli	486
	150

#### **CAPITOLO VI**

#### Fruibilità dei Beni Culturali

UN PORTALE PER LA COMUNICAZIONE E LA DIVULGAZIONE DEL PATRIMONIO CULTURALE: PROGETTARE UN LESSICO MULTILINGUE DEI BENI CULTURALI ON-LINE Marcello Garzaniti, Annick Farina	500
T-VEDO: RICOSTRUZIONE TRIDIMENSIONALE PER NON VEDENTI DI OPERE D'ARTE PITTORICHE Monica Carfagni, Rocco Furferi, Lapo Governi, Giovanna Tennirelli, Yary Volpe	510
LA CONOSCENZA CINEMATOGRAFICA DELL'OPERA D'ARTE E TRE ESPERIENZE CONCRETE: GIOVANNI BELLINI, PIETRO LONGHI, WILLIAM CONGDON Marco Del Monte	516
ITINERARI CULTURALI E PATRIMONIO DIFFUSO. IL RUOLO DEL PAESAGGIO PER CONOSCERE, CONSERVARE E INNOVARE NEL CAMPO DEL PATRIMONIO CULTURALE Maria Teresa Idone	526
APPARATI	
SCHEDA PER IL RILIEVO DEI DANNI AGLI APPARATI DECORATIVI E ALLE OPERE D'ARTE Maria Giovanna Romano	537
SCAMBI D'INFORMAZIONE TRA RESTAURATORI: L'ESPERIENZA DEL TRIMESTRALE NOVANTATREROSSO DELL'ASSOCIAZIONE BASTIONI A FIRENZE	
Francesca Attardo	548



# CARING FOR THE HUMAN SKELETON REMAINS IN SREMSKA MITROVICA (SIRMIUM), SERBIA\*

#### INTERESSARSI DEI RESTI DI SCHELETRI UMANI A SREMSKA MITROVICA (SIRMIUM). SERBIA

di Nataša Miladinović - Radmilović

Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade

Questo documento fornisce una breve panoramica storica delle ricerche eseguite a Sremska Mitrovica (Sirmium) e presenta anche alcune delle lettere scritte da un insegnante e commissario del Museo Nazionale di Zagabria I. Jung che raffigurò in modo colorato e talvolta critico il destino del materiale osteologico in questa città dal XIX secolo. Sembra che il destino di questo tipo di materiale è un pò migliorata da allora. Nel periodo 1957-2007, un centinaio di siti sono stati esplorati sul territorio della città di Sremska Mitrovica (Sirmium) e nei dintorni più vicini. Materiale osteologico umano è stato trovato nei 70 siti durante scavi archeologici. Tuttavia, il materiale osteologico da solo 35 siti di Sremska Mitrovica e di un sito del suo circostante erano disponibili per l'analisi antropologica. In altre parole, solo la metà dei resti di scheletri trovati è stato conservato per l'analisi antropologiche. Ci sono un certo numero di motivi per quello, a partire dal fatto che il materiale da diversi siti è stato inviato al USA negli anni 70, fino al fatto che parte del materiale fu sepolto in modo da liberare spazio nel deposito di museo per altri manufatti senza che vi sia stata qualsiasi analisi eseguita. Lo scopo di questo lavoro è un tentativo di porre fine a decenni di incuria verso tali risultati, a sottolineare i problemi che incontrano gli antropologi mentre stanno lavorando su resti di scheletri, per portare a conoscenza dei ricercatori tali dati antropologicamente rilevanti provenienti dagli scavi archeologici quali, basati su una interpretazione più completa di una certa necropoli, o di una sepoltura individuale possono essere fatti, oltre che una ricostruzione dei costumi funerari.

Key words: Sirmium, ancient period, Middle Ages, necropolis, human remains, inhumation, incineration.

<sup>(\*)</sup> This paper is a result of the projects Romanization, Urbanization and Transformation of Urban Centers of Civil, Military and Residential Character in Roman Provinces on the Territory of Serbia (No. 177007) and Urbanization Processes and Development of Medieval Society (No. 177021) funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia. I express my gratitude to Mr M. Radmilović for maps of the sites (Fig. 1 and 3), made according to my observations, and to Jelena Vitezović for translating the text.

#### A short historical overview of the researches at Sremska Mitrovica (Sirmium)

cientific interest in Sirmium began relatively late, even though the name of the city and its' walls was mentioned in many travellers' writings during the whole of Middle Ages1. Systematic archaeological excavations in Sirmium, however, did not begin until the summer of 1957, more precisely, the 2nd of July 1957, and they are continued even today. Intense research in Sremska Mitrovica, in which hundreds of archaeologists from former Yugoslavia and many other countries took part, lead to many prominent and important archaeological findings. The original archa-

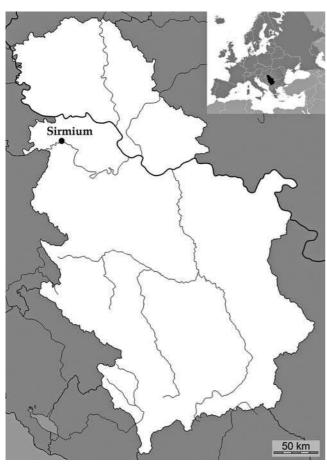


Fig. 2 - Map of the Republic of Serbia, the location of Sremska Mitrovica (Sirmium), (MILADINOVIĆ-RADMILOVIĆ 2011, map 1)

On the opposite page, Fig. 1 - Sirmium during the 4th century, an ideal reconstruction (JEREMIĆ 2004, p. 11, fig. 12).

eological documentation from the excavations for the period until the beginning of 1962 (diaries, inventories, plans, drawings and photographs) can be found at the Institute for the Cultural Heritage Preservation of Novi Sad<sup>2</sup>. The documentation from 1962 up to today can be found at the Institute of Archaeology in Belgrade and at the Centre for Research and Documentation (CAID) of the Museum of Srem in Sremska Mitrovica<sup>3</sup>. All of the portable material is at the Museum of Srem. When it comes to direct international cooperation, two interstate contracts should be mentioned. The first interstate contract was made in 1968 with the Smithsonian Institute from Washington D.C. for joint research in Sirmium (figs. 4, 5). Experts from Denison University, Ohio, and City University of New York also took part. Joint excavations continued until 1972. The head of the Yugoslav-American project was M. Grbić, and the coordinators were A. Lengyel and V. Popović. After the death of M. Grbić (1969), the director's place was taken by V. Popović for the Yugoslav part, and by E. Ochsenschlager for the American part<sup>4</sup>. In 1973 another international contract was made, this time with Ecole Française de Rome. The research continued until 1977, with the participation of many experts from the Louvre<sup>5</sup>.

#### Excerpts from letters by I. Jung, witnessing the fate of human osteological material since the 19th century

The beginning of the first scientific research at Sremska Mitrovica can be dated at the second half of the 19th century. At that time, a teacher I. Jung lived at Mitrovica, and he was also a commissary of the National museum of Zagreb.

From the middle of 1884 up until 1908, when he left the city, I. Jung had been sending detailed, carefully numbered letters from Mitrovica to the National Museum of Zagreb, letters that represent today a priceless documentary treasury<sup>6</sup>. Showing us the immense importance of it is also the fact that his correspondence ends with the number 337 and that the largest part of the letters had drawings, sketches, plans and maps included. He tirelessly kept track of all construction work, channel digging, railroad and road construction and left precise records and drawings of them all. His topographical research of Srem is also very important, since no one undertook that work before him7. In ca 1900, Jung even

MILOŠEVIĆ 2001, p. 7 (figs. 1-3).

Copies of this documentation can also be found today at the Institute of Archaeology in Belgrade and at the Museum of Srem.

The Centre for Archaeological Research and Documentation (CAID) of the Museum of Srem was founded in 1976. The Institute of Archaeology of Belgrade and the Institute for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage of Sremska Mitrovica also take part in the work of the CAID. The forming of the CAID enabled the application of all modern multidisciplinary methods in archaeological researches. Ibid., p. 9.

MILOŠEVIĆ 1997, pp. 7 and 8. MILOŠEVIĆ 1974-1978, p. 55.

Ibid., p. 55.

undertook the reconnaissance of the roman road *Sirmium–Bononia* (Banoštor)<sup>8</sup>. One of I. Jung's most admirable qualities was also the precision with which he performed the charting and locating of monuments found. Many a monument, before and after Jung, had a very vaguely defined finding spot, determined as "from Mitrovica on the Sava" – Berlin Academy of Science, Vienna, Budapest, and even Zagreb would sometimes publish them like that<sup>9</sup>. He fought against illegal archaeologists, i.e. ploughmen "explorers" and stonecutters from Mitrovica. He bought off minor objects, partially with his own money, and partially with small sums sent to him for that purpose

by the National Museum of Zagreb<sup>10</sup>. Often ridiculed and always all on his own, in letter No. 115 of the 29<sup>th</sup> of November 1900, Jung bitterly remarked: "It is hard to find a single man of intelligence in whole of Mitrovica who would be interested in the antiquity"<sup>11</sup>.

In his letters he gave information about Roman cemeteries and many finds that would remain unknown if it weren't for him.

One of the interesting data he gave was the one about an unknown Roman cemetery near Klenak: "During the construction of the Ruma–Klenak railroad, eight sarcophagi were found near the bridge" 12.

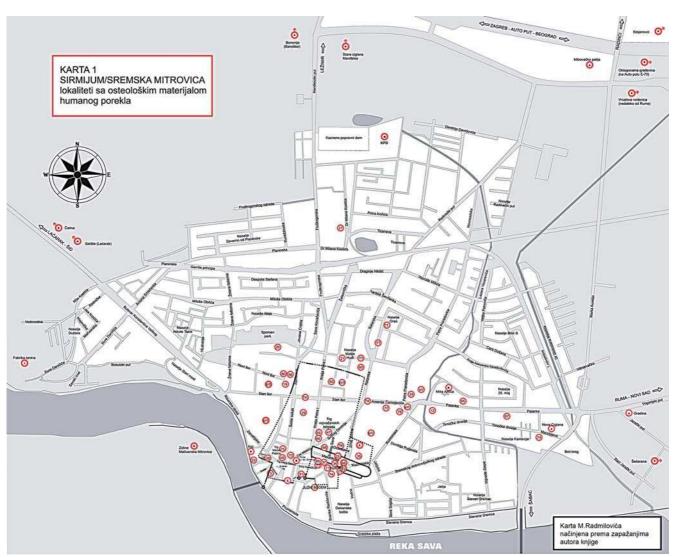


Fig. 3 - Map of all sites discovered in Sremska Mitrovica (Sirmium) with human skeletal remains.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

In the letter dated January the 15<sup>th</sup> 1885, Jung wrote that "during the digging of some fosses around Mitrovica last year, a relief of Apollo with cithara was found at the Laćarak's side". Even though Jung did not know at the time that the relief belongs to one of the earliest sarcophagi in *Sirmium*, it was this way that he marked the whereabouts of an early Roman necropolis, and the location was verified eight decades later<sup>13</sup>.

In letter No. 3, dated March the  $12^{\rm th}$  1885, Jung reported that a sarcophagus – which is lost today – was found at the ploughman Gecinger's estate in Mitrovica, and gave an extraordinary technical drawing of it<sup>14</sup>.

In letter No. 47, dated December the 12<sup>th</sup>, he wrote about a sarcophagus with an inscription (CIL III 3245), dug out at the estate of the locksmith D. Avramović in 71 Novi šor, right next to the entrance to Bašta. He also reports that the sarcophagus was broken, but that the owner had another fragment, which was out for sale 15. In letter No. 51, dated March the 8<sup>th</sup> 1894, Jung specified the details of the finding of built tombs at the estate of the ploughman Tomšić in 738 Palanka Street and a lead sarcophagus, which was recast straight away 16.

The observations he made on Roman cemeteries are also very significant. For the so-called Eastern, i.e. Roman cemetery or the Cemetery of Saint Dimitrije, as he heard it was called in the local tradition, he wrote that illegal excavation began in 1848, when the first sarcophagus was dug out accidentally. He also wrote that

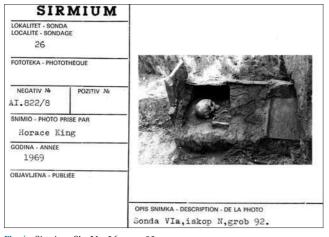


Fig. 4 - Sirmium, Site No. 26, grave 92. (photo documentation of CAID, The Museum of Srem in Sremska Mitrovica).

from that time on, every winter, when there was no work in the field, the ploughmen from Mitrovica would "explore" the cemetery site with iron bars and that they were taking away building material, especially stone and lead, which they would sell to stonecutters and merchants<sup>17</sup>.

In letter No. 66, dated November the 29<sup>th</sup> 1894, Jung said that the stonecutters weren't idle themselves, and that they did not just sit and wait for the ploughmen to bring them what they found, but that they were also doing the "explorations". Thus S. Jovanović declared that after Hitrek excavated the cemetery of Saint Sinerot in 1882/3, he dug out and took away ca thirty constructed tombs, which Hitrek had already found and interred again. Among them was one fresco decorated tomb<sup>18</sup>.

In letter No. 95, dated March the 10<sup>th</sup> 1898, Jung gave enough elements to locate an early Christian cemetery, unknown until then, at the so-called Northeastern necropolis of *Sirmium*. He linked the discovery of a built tomb at the estate of P. Petrović at Ratarska Street to the fact that during the 19<sup>th</sup> century over 300 tombs and lead and stone sarcophaguses were found in very near surroundings – one of them, because of the plastic Christian symbols on it, certainly, ended up being built into the floor of a chapel on the catholic cemetery in 1878<sup>19</sup>.

The biggest part of the letters written in 1902 was dedicated to the so-called Eastern Roman cemetery, which was cut through by the Palanka Street in Mitrovica in the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>20</sup>. Thus in letter No. 147, dated February the 7th 1902, he wrote "Palanka is a true Via Appia..."<sup>21</sup>. He also stated that there were several sepulchral objects and memoriae in the vast Eastern cemetery, which stood on both sides of the roman road. Jung made sketches of all walls that were discovered in his time. Those plans are precious to those who explore the necropolis today, especially since in 1976 a basilica was found there of the first bishop of *Sirmium* to be historically recorded, Saint Irinej, the well known martyr from 304<sup>22</sup>.

The findings of brick and pot furnaces, that were precisely located on Jung's sketches, gave accurate information about the peripheral outlines of the Eastern necropolis. The craftsmen who used fire in production had

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56 and p. 57.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58. The site in question is Site 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

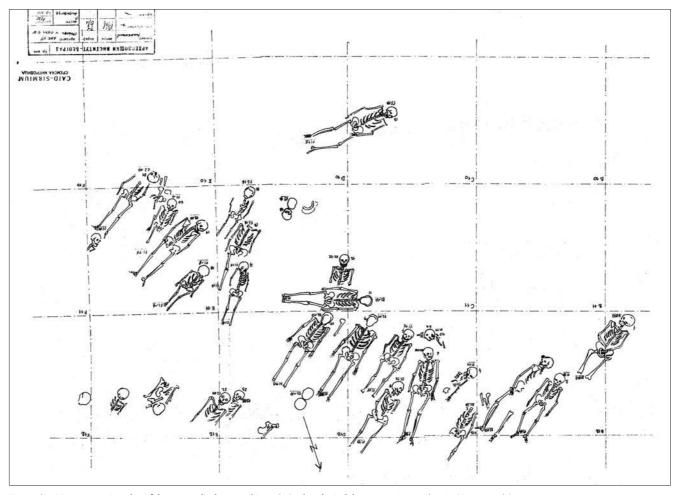


Fig. 5 - Site No. 37, situation plan of the necropolis discovered in 1968 (archaeological documentation, 35657, site No. 37, 1968).

to be located at the peripheral parts of necropolis, according to the city  $laws^{23}$ .

The lengthiest letter Jung wrote was No. 320, dated February  $4^{\text{th}}$ – $6^{\text{th}}$  1905, in which he enumerates once more all the known cemeteries in *Sirmium* and gives a critical review of the excavations performed by A. Hitrek, whom he considered an unscrupulous and superficial explorer, who did more damage than good to Mitrovica<sup>24</sup>.

Systematical archaeological researches of *Sirmium* were often relying on suggestions given by I. Jung. Even though the biggest part of those letters remained in the archive of the National Museum, some of them were published in the editions of the Herald of Croatian Archaeological Society of Zagreb (Vjesnik hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva u Zagrebu) of that time and they

were thus saved from oblivion. Certain letters and plans, however, seem to be, unfortunately, lost forever $^{25}$ .

#### **Human skeletal remains**

In the period from 1957 to 2007 at the territory of the city of Sremska Mitrovica (*Sirmium*) and its' nearer surrounding, ca one hundred sites were explored<sup>26</sup>. During those archaeological excavations human osteological material was found at 70 sites (*figs. 1-3*). Osteological material from only 35 sites from Sremska Mitrovica and one from its' surroundings, however, was available for anthropological analysis (*fig. 6*). The material in question is from sites: 1a, 3, 12, 24, 26, 28, 31, 49, 50, 55, 56, 59, 60, 75, 76, 77, 80, 85, Mačvanska Mitrovica, Kej, Porta crkve Svetog Dimitrija, Južni bedem, Sektor III,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* p. 55

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> MILOŠEVIĆ 1994, pp. 11–50; ID. 1997, 8-15; JESRETIĆ 2007, pp. 30, 38, 40.

Sektor V, Trasa toplovoda (site 83), Trasa toplovoda (Pivarska Street), Trasa toplovoda (suburb Dekanska bašta, i.e. the space between the Fire brigade station and the Brewery), Trasa toplovoda (suburb Matija Hui), Trasa toplovoda (suburb Orao), Trasa toplovoda (space between suburbs Matija Huđi and Orao), Trasa kanalizacije (Arsenija Čarnojevića Street), Trasa kanalizacije (Dositejeva Street), Trasa kanalizacije (Stari Šor), from the painted tomb found in Mike Antića Street, from the sarcophagus found in the north-eastern part of Sremska Mitrovica (near KPD) and the site Stara ciglana (near the village of Manđelos) – one grave (fig. 3).

The material from the other 27 sites of Sremska Mitrovica and seven others in its' surroundings were not available for anthropological analysis. Unfortunately, the material from several sites was dispatched to the USA for anthropological analyses in 1970s<sup>27</sup>, and another part was interred in 1985 in Palanka (a Street in Sremska Mitrovica)<sup>28</sup>. This is the material from sites: 4, 5, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 34, 35, 37, 46, 47, 66, 67, 68, 72, 74, Sektor IV, Sektor VII, Sektor IX, Nova ciglana, Gradina, Šećerana, Fabrika tanina (Mitrošper), Trasa toplovoda (Vuka Karadžića Street), Mitrovačka petlja (at the exit from Sremska Mitrovica), Stejanovci (near Sremska Mitrovica), Čalma (near Sremska Mitrovica), Selište (Laćarak), Oktogonalana građevina (at the highway E-70), Bononija (Banoštor) and Vrcalova vodenica (near Ruma)29.

## Preservation degree of the human osteological material

The preservation degree of bones depends on two groups of factors. The first group comprehends those factors that the archaeologist cannot interfere with, such as, for example: bone loss due to disturbances in the ground (erosion) or due to ploughing; chemical composition of the ground, i.e. acidity of the ground, microorganisms activity in the ground, presence of water in the ground, temperature of the ground; natural resistance of different bone groups to destruction; funerary practice, i.e. whether the dead were interred

more or less carefully, burial intensity (digging new cemeteries into old ones), whether the graves were marked or not, whether there are any grave constructions or not, and many other factors<sup>30</sup>.

The second group of factors is linked to the actual excavations and techniques that archaeologists can more or less control. The procedures for human remains found on archaeological sites have a specific, usually identical course: when the outer layer of earth is removed, "rough" superficial cleaning of skeleton is applied, which is then photographed and documented, and after that it is removed from the soil. It is at this point that mechanical damaging to the skeleton may occur, as well as the "failure to recognize" fragmented pieces in the soil<sup>31</sup>. Unfortunately, it is not seldom that bones suffer damaging after the archaeological excavations, in the museum facilities, due to: inadequate "temporary" packing; high degree of humidity and notable changes in temperature in the rooms where human osteological material is deposited, which are often in attics and cellars, and rarely depots with appropriate conditions; occasional "rearranging", removals and building new premises for other archaeological collections, that usually end with a new interment of the human and animal osteological material into the ground, etc.

Factors that affect the deterioration of skeleton remains are numerous, and since we mostly cannot influence them, it is very important that we be aware of their existence and that they can sometimes cause serious biases in paleodemographical data.

The bones preservation degree determines directly the limits of anthropological interpretations and special attention should be paid to it, i.e. it should be determined in a very precise way. Therefore, instead of a rough and somewhat outdated scheme (well preserved, semi preserved and poorly preserved), we adopted a more precise description scheme as proposed by Ž. Mikić:

I – well preserved skeleton, complete;

II – well preserved skeleton, incomplete;

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> This is the human osteological material from sites 4, 26, 37, 47 and Mačvanska Mitrovica. It is possible that human remains from sites 1a (one part of the material) and 46 are also in the USA. Also, we cannot rule out the possibility that entire parts of skeleton of certain individuals from other sites were taken away in case they were deemed to be anthropologically "interesting". One part of the osteological material from sites 26 and Mačvanska Mitrovica was found in the depots of the Museum of Srem in Sremska Mitrovica.

The archaeological documentation does not hold any data as to the sites from which the osteological material kept there came from (archaeological documentation, 356<sub>92</sub>, site 67, diary, May/June 1985, p. 60; archaeological documentation, 356<sub>92</sub>, site 67, diary, July 1985, p. 1). It is our opinion that in 1985 the archaeologists were taking the material from the depot of the Museum of Srem to Palanka without any particular order, even randomly. That can be concluded from the remaining human osteological material as well. Namely, there are sites from which all of the osteological material was interred, but there are those where the osteological material from individual graves is missing, or parts of a skeleton of a single individual are missing if they were not all placed in the same packing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Unfortunately, the human osteological material found at the sites in the near surroundings of Sremska Mitrovica was not placed in the depot of the Museum of Srem. Whether it was interred at Palanka, or placed somewhere else – we were unable to establish. Fortunately, the results of anthropological analyses of the human osteological material from some of these sites (Mitrovačka petlja, Vrcalova vodenica...) were published in scientific literature, so we were able to use them for our research.

Miladinović 2006, pp. 15–17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

III – semi preserved skeleton (semi-preservation means that the complete skeleton is present in the grave, but the bones are very fragile and they brake during the excavation);

IV – partially preserved skeleton remains (partial preservation means that only parts of a skeleton are registered in the grave, showing high level of fragility during excavations, and are virtually impossible to be lifted, packed and transported) and

V – poorly preserved skeleton remains (poor preservation of skeleton remains means that skeleton remains can only be registered in traces and it's virtually impossible to lift them without causing damage)<sup>32</sup>. According to this scheme, we were able to determine that preservation level of bone remains of individuals

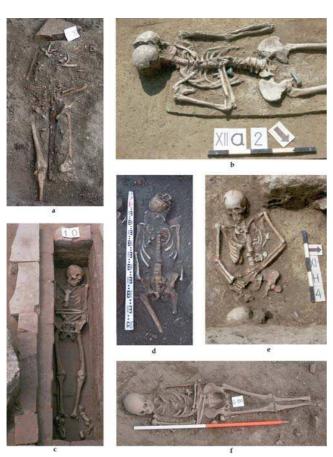


Fig. 6 - a) Site No. 85, grave 95 (individual I); b) Site No. 26, grave 2; c) Site No. 26, grave 10; d) Site No. 1a, 3a; e) Site No. 26, grave 4;< f) Site No. 85, grave 120 (individual I) (photo documentation of CAID, The Museum of Srem in Sremska Mitrovica and from the Cultural Heritage Preservation Institute from Sremska Mitrovica).

buried at various sites in Sremska Mitrovica (Sirmium) and its' nearer surroundings mostly belong to the second category - well preserved skeleton, incomplete. This preservation degree is a direct consequence of: erosion (graves in the shape of a well, at the banks of the river Sava); construction works (Sremska Mitrovica) and agricultural works (sites found in the surroundings of Sremska Mitrovica); robbing and destroying of graves and grave constructions by illegal diggers; funerary practise (high intensity of burials, i.e. digging new graveyards into old ones, and using architectural parts from the antiquity for medioeval funerals); high degree of humidity and notable changes of temperature in rooms where the human osteological material was deposited, without being mechanically cleaned and washed after the excavations, as well as placing the material into inadequate "temporary" packing. Apart from this, we should also take into consideration the fact that entire human osteological material from certain sites was sent to the USA for an anthropological analysis, as well as the already mentioned fact that in 1985, in Palanka Street, the archaeologists dug out probe 11 "in a sterile layer of yellow clay, up to 2 m deep, so as to inter in it human bones from archaeological excavations in Ruma and archaeological excavations in Sirmium"33. Also, another probe No.16 was dug out the same year, completely sterile, 1,55 m deep, "for the burial of bones from the Museum of Srem"34.

#### Research results

Anthropological research of the osteological material was performed 2004–2009 at the Museum of Srem in Sremska Mitrovica and at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Belgrade. A synthesis of the comprehensive research was presented in the book *Sirmium* – Necropolis (*Sirmium* – The City of Death) on 593 pages<sup>35</sup>.

The book shows the anthropological structure of the population that inhabited Sremska Mitrovica (*Sirmium*) in the period from the 1st to the 16th century, established directly on the basis of the anthropological analysis of human osteological material from 36 sites, and indirectly from 34 sites, thanks to the archaeological documentation available, papers published in scientific literature and reports handed to the author of the book from Brooklyn college, the City University of New York (USA). The anthropological analysis comprehended a total of 770 interred and two incinerated

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Mikić 1978, p. 9.

Archaeological documentation, 356<sub>92</sub>, site 67, diary, May/June 1985, p. 60.

Archaeological documentation, 356<sub>92</sub>, site 67, diary, July 1985, p. 1.

<sup>35</sup> Miladinović - Radmilović 2011.

individuals, of which 553 adults and 219 children, discovered during archaeological excavations in the period 1957-2007.

When it comes to sites for which the human osteological material was available, data given for interred individuals are: finding conditions, skeleton preservation degree, the smallest number of individuals, gender 36 individual age<sup>37</sup>, body height<sup>38</sup>, cranial and postcranial indexes, dental and paleopatological analyses39, investigation of the probable cause of death, epigenetical characteristics<sup>40</sup>, and markers of the occupational stress; for incinerated individuals: finding conditions, identification, fragmentation degree, total and specific weight of the findings from incinerated graves, identification, fragmentation degree and total weight of burnt bones for each body region separately<sup>41</sup>, the smallest number of individuals, gender<sup>42</sup>, individual age43, description of changes on the surface of burnt bones, description of cracks and abnormal bone contortions, oxidation degree of organic material44, dental and pathological analyses, epigenetical characteristics and reconstruction of funerary rites. All sites were illustrated with appropriate maps, situational plans, photographs of the sites and graves in situ, as well as photographs of the skeleton material.

#### **Future researches**

Archaeology should have the same obligations regarding the contents and methodology for both completely preserved skeletons and fragmented and incinerated skeleton remains as well, to preserve them for anthropological analyses, regardless of the presence of any remains of a material culture, and independently on the fact from which praehistorical or historical period they come. The aim of this contribution is an attempt to put an end to many decades of carelessness towards such findings, to point out the problems that anthropologists encounter while working on skeleton remains, to bring to the attention of researches those anthropologically relevant data from the very archaeological excavations based on which a fuller interpretation of a certain necropolis, or an individual burial can be made, as well as a reconstruction of funerary cu-

Comprehensive anthropological researches also began at other significant archaeological sites run by the Institute of Archaeology of Belgrade, to mention only a few: Jagodin Mala (Naissus), Ravna (Timacum Minus), Caričin Grad (Justiniana Prima), Beograd (Singidunum), etc.

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According to: Hauser, De Stefano 1989; Đurić-Srejić 1995.

<sup>41</sup> According to: McKinley 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> According to: Garn, Lewis, Kerewsky 1965; Mikić 1978; Ferembach, Schwidetzky, Stloukal 1980; Hillson 1990; Id. 1996; Mikić 1992; Buikstra, Ubelaker 1994.

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