

**A Step into the Past**  
**Approaches to Identity, Communications and Material Culture in**  
**South-Eastern European Archaeology**





Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade

Monographs No. 87 (printed) • Monographs No. 88 (digital)

# A STEP INTO THE PAST

Approaches to Identity, Communications and  
Material Culture in South-Eastern European  
Archaeology

Papers dedicated to Petar Popović  
for his 78<sup>th</sup> birthday

**Editors**

Blagoje Govedarica  
Ivan Vranić  
Aleksandar Kapuran

Belgrade  
2023

**Publisher**

Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade

**Editor in chief**

Snežana Golubović

**Editors**

Blagoje Govederica, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin, blagoje.govederica@dainst.de

Ivan Vranić, Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade, ivanvran@gmail.com

Aleksandar Kapuran, Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade, a.kapuran@gmail.com

**Reviewd by**

Dr Marko Dizdar, Institute of Archaeology, Zagreb

Dr Vujadin Ivanišević, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts

Dr Hrvoje Potrebica, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb

**Reviewers of the chapters**

Dragana Antonović, Staša Babić, Vedran Barbarić, Vesna Bikić, Martina Blečić Kavur, Aleksandar Bulatović, Danijel Džino, Marko Dizdar, Vojislav Filipović, Mario Gavranović, Blagoja Govederica, Mitja Guštin, Barbara Horejs, Aleksandar Kapuran, Boris Kavur, Branko Kirigin, Daria Ložnjak Dizdar, Vincent Megaw, Dušan Mihailović, Tina Milavec, Mihailo Milinković, Sofija Petković, Ivana Popović, Aurel Rustoiu, Milena Tonkova, Boban Tripović, Chavdar Tzochev, Marina Ugarković, Ivan Vranić

**Monograph Series Editorial Board**

Snežana Golubović, Emilija Nikolić, Aleksandar Kapuran, Ivan Bugarski

**Secretary of the Editorial Board**

Ana Gavrilović

**Language editting by**

Dave Calcutt (English)

**Graphic design**

Institute of Archaeology

**Printed by**

Birograf comp DOO, Beograd

**Printed in**

100 copies

Printed (ISBN-978-86-6439-096-5)

Digital (ISBN-978-86-6439-097-2)

[https://doi.org/10.18485/arhe\\_step2past.2023](https://doi.org/10.18485/arhe_step2past.2023)



Република Србија

МИНИСТАРСТВО НАУКЕ,  
ТЕХНОЛОШКОГ РАЗВОЈА И  
ИНОВАЦИЈА

This volume was published with financial support from  
the Ministry of Science, Technological Development and  
Innovation of the Republic of Serbia

# CONTENTS

- 9 БИБЛИОГРАФИЈА ПЕТРА ПОПОВИЋА / BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PETAR POPOVIĆ**  
*Слађана Радивојчевић, Санја Никић / Sladjana Radivojčević, Sanja Nikić*
- 15 Introduction: Petar Popović and South-Eastern European Archaeology**  
Blagoje Govedarica, Ivan Vranić, Aleksandar Kapuran
- THE DANUBE AS A “HIGHWAY”: IDENTITY, COMMUNICATIONS AND MATERIAL CULTURE CHANGES IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPEAN PREHISTORY AND PROTOHISTORY**
- 27 “Brussels Sprouts and Post-Neolithic Archaeology”: The Metal Age Settlement at Foeni-Salaš**  
Haskel J. Greenfield, Aleksandar Kapuran
- 39 Tanged arrowheads and the problem of their origin in the Early Eneolithic in the Central Balkans**  
Vera Bogosavljević Petrović
- 49 Bosut gold**  
Martina Blečić Kavur, Jovan D. Mitrović
- 65 New finds of pechiera fibulae in the Iron Gates region**  
Aca Đorđević, Aleksandar Kapuran
- 71 Dimensions of a site – the case of Vajuga**  
Staša Babić
- 79 The so-called Illyrian-Pannonian kantharoi: revival or transformation?**  
Mariana Egri
- 89 More than meets the eye... Looking at the decorated scabbard from Ritopek**  
Boris Kavur, Miloš Spasić
- 99 Middle La Tène Bronze Belts of the Scordiscan Type with Lyre-Shaped Segments of the Surčin Variant – What Did the Scordiscan Women Like to Wear?**  
Marko Dizdar
- 111 Two Iron Swords from the lower course of the South Morava**  
Petar Milojević, Vojislav Filipović
- 123 The Scordiscian lady and her attire from “Sremska Mitrovica”**  
Mitja Guštin
- 137 A Three-Headed Glass Bead from Viminacium**  
Ognjen Mladenović, Mladen Jovičić
- 145 The magic of the “left”. A fragment of a statuette from the Dacian fortress on the Piatra Craivii in Transylvania (Romania)**  
Aurel Rustoiu

**THE MEDITERRANEAN CONNECTIONS: SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL  
INTERACTIONS BETWEEN THE COMMUNITIES FROM SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE AND  
THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD, FROM PREHISTORY TO THE MIDDLE AGES**

- 153** Zur Chronologie und Bedeutung der Gräber aus dem Bereich des Westtors von Monkodonja in Istrien  
Blagoje Govedarica
- 169** The Masters of Silver in the Central Balkans - A Brief Outline  
Biba Teržan
- 191** Some Characteristic Jewellery Types from the Pre-Roman and Roman Central Balkans:  
Similarities and Differences, Hellenistic Influences and Local Adaptations  
Ivana Popović
- 209** Paeonian Cultural Marks  
Dragi Mitrevski
- 221** Cultural biographies of Greek pots: Attic red-figure and other glazed pottery consumption at  
Kale-Krševica  
Ivan Vranić, Nenad Radojčić
- 235** De nouveau sur le kéramarque des timbres amphoriques thusiens  
Alexandru Avram
- 241** Towards the prosopography of Macedonian commanders in Thrace during the reign of Philip  
II and Alexander III  
Emil Nankov
- 249** Protecting the *chora*: the Greek tower at Maslinovik on the Adriatic island of Hvar – excavations  
in 1987, 2011-2012, and 2016-2018  
Branko Kirigin
- 291** Gilded wreath from Kale, Krševica  
Vera Krstic, Milica Maric Stojanovic
- 299** Gradište above the church of St. Erasmus near Ohrid: on the trail of the Illyrians  
Aleksandar Bandović
- 315** Dionysos in the province. Dionysian motifs on a Poetovian monument  
Bojan Djurić
- 325** The cult of the god Mars on the territory of Serbia  
Radmila Zotović
- 331** Das Weiterleben der Romanen auf der Balkanhalbinsel nach 476 n. Chr. – archäologische  
Nachweise aus dem südostadriatischen Küstengebiet und seinem Hinterland, mit besonderer  
Berücksichtigung einiger ausgewählter Funde  
Mihailo Milinković
- 353** Early Mediaeval bronze fibula from the church of St. Stephen in Dubrovnik  
Ante Milošević
- 365** A shield-shaped ring of embossed sheet metal from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb  
Željko Demo

**A STEP INTO THE PAST  
APPROACHES TO IDENTITY,  
COMMUNICATIONS AND  
MATERIAL CULTURE IN  
SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPEAN  
ARCHAEOLOGY**



Henry Turner

## **Библиографија Петра Поповића**

Библиографија Петра Поповића израђена је према Интернационалном стандарду за скраћени библиографски опис (ISBD). Референце су подељене у три целине: монографске публикације, прилози у зборницима, серијским и осталим публикацијама и преводи, прикази књига, унутар којих су поређане хронолошки.

## **Bibliography of Petar Popović**

This bibliography was compiled in accordance with the International Standards for Bibliographic Description (ISBD). The references are divided into three segments: monographs; chapters, papers and other periodicals; and translations and book reviews, all of which are placed in chronological order.

### **Монографске публикације / Monographs**

**1977**

1. Prolegomena proučavanju novca i kovanja kod Skordiska : magistarski rad / Petar Popović. - Beograd : [P. Popović], 1977. - 60, II, XIX, [2] lista ; 30 cm.

**1986**

2. Novac i novčani opticaj u ilirskim oblastima do kraja I века пре наše ere : doktorska disertacija / Petar Popović. - Beograd : [P. Popović], 1986. - 220, 29 listova ; 30 cm.

**1987**

3. Новац Скордиска : новац и новчани промет на Централном Балкану од IV до I века пре н. е.= Le monnayage des Scordisques : les monnaies et la circulation monétaire dans le centre des Balkans IVe-Ier s.av.n.è. / Петар Поповић. - Београд : Археолошки институт ; Нови Сад : Матица српска, Одељење за друштвене науке, 1987. - 221 стр. (од тога 29 с таблама) : илустр. ; 29 см. (Посебна издања / Археолошки институт ; књ. 19)

**1998**

4. Vajuga - Pesak, nekropolja starijeg kamenog doba = Vajuga - Pesak, Early Iron Age Cemetery / Petar Popović, Mirjana Vukmanović. - Belgrade : Archaeological Institute ; = Beograd : Arheološki institut, 1998. - 159 str. : ilustr. ; 29 cm. (Đerdapske sveske / Posebna izdanja ; 3)

**2006**

5. Coins of the Roman Republic : collections of the National Museum in Belgrade and Belgrade University / Bojana Borić-Brešković, Petar Popović. - Belgrade ; = Београд : Народни музеј, 2006. - 470 str. : илустр. ; 29 см. (Нумизматика = Numismatics ; 2)

### **Прилози у зборницима, серијским и осталим публикацијама / Chapters, papers and other periodicals**

**1971**

6. Налази новца из латенског насеља на Гомолави 1970. године // Рад војвођанских музеја (Нови Сад). 29 (1971) 147-160.

**1974**

7. Hoard of Imitations of Roman Republican Denarii from the Belgrade National Museum // Numizmatikai Közlöny (Budapest). 72-73 (1974) 7-13.

**1975**

8. Налаз римских денара из Текије // Зборник радова Народног музеја (Београд). 8 (1975) 97-107.
9. Грчки, илирски и варварски новац // Ковање и ковнице античког и средњевековног новца. – Београд: Народни музеј, 1975. – Стр. 15-20.

**1976**

10. Остава драхми Аполоније из Челопека код Пећи // Старијар (Београд). 27 (1976) 175-179.
11. On the Dating of Drachmas of Apollonia and Dyrrachium // Kovanje i kovnice antičkog i srednjovekovnog novca. – Beograd: Narodni muzej, 1976. – Str. 13-17.

**1978**

12. Остава драхми Аполоније и Дирахиона из Пећинаца // Нумизматичар (Београд). 1 (1978) 9-22.
13. Gradina „Kaljaja“ buštranje kod Vranja „Kacipur“, Oraovica kod Preševa-gradine gvozdenog doba / Mirjana Vukmanović // Arheološki pregled (Beograd). 19 (1978) 43-47.

**1979**

14. Les débuts du monnayage barbare dans les régions centrales des Balkans // Archaeologia Iugoslavica (Beograd). 19 (1978) 26-30.
15. Sondažna istraživanja gradinskih naselja na području Vranjsko-preševske kotline / Mirjana Vukmanović // Arheološki pregled (Beograd). 20 (1979) 159-164.

**1980**

16. О „октодрахми племена Дерона“ из збирке Народног музеја у Београду // Зборник радова Народног музеја (Београд). 9-10 (1979) 23-26.
17. Тетрадрахме Филипа II и њихове најраније имитације из збирке Народног музеја у Београду // Нумизматичар (Београд). 3 (1980) 7-20.
18. Остава варварског новца из Баанде // Старијар (Београд). 31 (1980) 171-177.

**1981**

19. Le trésor de monnaies barbares de Krčedin / Velika Dautova-Ruševljanin // Numizmatičar (Beograd). 4 (1981) 15-59.

20. Bibliographie de la période de La Tène en Yougoslavie (1945-1975) / Borislav Jovanović // *Études Celtiques* (Paris). 18 (1981) 297-318.
- 1982**
21. Остава из „Јужне Србије“- Јабуковца // Нумизматичар (Београд). 5 (1982) 13-40.
22. Sondažna istraživanja gradinskih naselja na području Vranjsko-preševske kotline / Mirjana Vukmanović // *Godišnjak - Jahrbuch. (Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja)* (Сарајево). 18 (1982) 189-210.
- 1983**
23. Остава сребрног новца из Крчедина // Нумизматичар (Београд). 6 (1983) 11-28.
24. Le monnayage des Scordisques // *Études Celtiques* (Paris). 20-21 (1983) 59-80.
- 1984**
25. Кожица I, II- праисторијска насеља // Старијар (Београд). 33-34 (1982/83) [шт. 1984] 135-136.
26. Манастир-Госпођин вир, праисторијско налазиште // Старијар (Београд). 33-34 (1982/83) [шт. 1984] 151.
27. Песача, праисторијско насеље // Старијар (Београд). 33-34 (1982/83) [шт. 1984] 169.
28. Ливаде, Мала Врбица / Мирјана Вукмановић // Ђердапске свеске (Београд). 2 (1984) 85-91.
29. Вајуга-Песак: извештај о сондажним ископавањима у 1980. години / Ана Премк, Љиљана Ђелјајац // Ђердапске свеске (Београд). 2 (1984) 111-124.
30. Љубичевац-Горње острво // Ђердапске свеске (Београд). 2 (1984) 133-137.
31. Егета: извештај о археолошким истраживањима у 1980. години (праисторија) // Ђердапске свеске (Београд). 2 (1984) 151-152.
32. Брза Паланка-Егета: извештај о археолошким истраживањима у 1980. години (антика) // Ђердапске свеске (Београд). 2 (1984) 153-166.
- 1986**
33. Vajuga / Pesak nekropola starijeg gvozdenog doba / Mirjana Vukmanović // Arheološki pregled (Ljubljana). 26 (1985) 77-78.
34. Recherches archéologiques sur la localité „Livade“ près de Mala Vrbica / Mirjana Vukmanović // Ђердапске свеске (Београд). 3 (1986) 7-26.
35. Fouilles de sondage sur la localité Vajuga-Pesak / Mirjana Vukmanović, Nenad Radojčić // Ђердапске свеске (Београд). 3 (1986) 168-183.
36. Prospection par sondage de la localité Ljubičevac-Obala / Dušan Mrkobrad // Ђердапске свеске (Београд). 3 (1986) 308-328.
- 1987**
37. Остава римских денара из Бољетина // Нумизматичар (Београд). 10 (1987) 5-23.
- 1988**
38. Nalazi novca iz latenskog naselja na Gomolavi // Gomolava: naselje mlađeg gvozdenog doba. - Novi Sad: Vojvođanski muzej ; Beograd: Arheološki institut, 1988. – Str. 101-104.
39. Keramika latenskog naselja na Gomolavi (statistička analiza) / V. Stančić // Gomolava: naselje mlađeg gvozdenog doba. - Novi Sad: Vojvođanski muzej ; Beograd: Arheološki institut, 1988. – Str. 105-110.
40. La contribution de la numismatique à la continuité des habitats sur le territoire des Scordisques // Gomolava. Chronologie und Stratigraphie der vorgeschichtlichen und antiken Kulturen der Donauunterwerfung und Südosteuropas. - Novi Sad : Vojvođanski muzej ; Beograd : Balkanološki institut SANU, 1988. – Str. 71-76.
41. Maslinovik: A Greek Watchtower in the Chora of Pharos. A preliminary report / Branko Kirigin // Recent Developments in Yugoslav Archaeology. – Oxford: †British Archaeological Reports, 1988. – p. 177-189.
- 1990**
42. Mala Vrbica – Konopište / Mirjana Vukmanović, Nenad Radojčić // Arheološki pregled (Ljubljana). 29 (1988) 82-83.
43. Остава из Костолца и осврт на један предлог хронологије драхми Аполоније и Дирахија // Нумизматичар (Београд). 13 (1990) 5-16.
- 1991**
44. Остава републиканских денара из околине Крагујевца // Нумизматичар (Београд). 14 (1991) 5-8.
45. Grčki i varvarski novac // Tri numizmatička legata Univerziteta u Beogradu. - Beograd: Filozofski fakultet, Centar za arheološka istraživanja, 1991. – Str. 17-28.
46. Млађе гвоздено доба Ђердапа // Старијар (Зборник Милутина Гараšанина) (Београд). 40-41 (1989/90) [шт. 1991] 165-176.
47. The Scordisci / Borislav Jovanović // The Celts, the origins of Europe. - Milano: Bompiani, 1991. – p. 337-347.
48. Les Celtes orientaux et la formation des Scordisques: aspects archéologique, numismatique et chronologique // *Études Celtiques* (Paris). 28 (1991) 339-348.
- 1992**
49. Фибуле типа „Орлеа-Маглавит“ // Зборник Народног музеја. Археологија (посвећен Драги Гараšанин) (Београд). 14-1 (1992) 319-326.
50. Новац пеонских владара Патраоса и Аудолеона из Народног музеја у Београду // Нумизматичар (Београд). 15 (1992) 5-8.
51. Italische Bronzegefäße im Skordiskergebiet // Germania (Frankfurt am Main). 70.1 (1992) 61-74.

# A Step into the Past: Approaches to Identity, Communications and Material culture in South-Eastern European Archaeology

52. Some Remarks on the Early Iron Age Cemetery at Vajuga-Pesak / Mirjana Vukmanović // Balcanica (Hommage à Nikola Tasić) (Beograd). 23 (1992) 359-370.
53. Celtic cemeteries in the iron gates area // Scordisci and the Native Population in the Middle Danube Region. - Belgrade : Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, Balkanološki institut, 1992. – Str. 58.
54. The Scordisci from the fall of Macedonia to the Roman conquest : Skordisci od pada Makedonije do rimskog osvajanja // Scordisci and the Native Population in the Middle Danube Region : Skordisci i starosedeoci u Podunavlju. - Belgrade : Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, Balkanološki institut, 1992. – Str. 35-51 ; 95-110.
- 1994**
55. Латенски налази из Брестовика // Зборник Народног музеја. Археологија (Београд). 15-1 (1994) 51—56.
56. Дорослово-Ђепфелд, налази млађег гвозденог доба / Душанка Трајковић // Културе гвозденог доба југословенског Подунавља. - Београд : Балканолошки институт САНУ ; Сомбор : Градски музеј, 1994. – Стр. 137-147.
57. The Territories of Scordisci // Starinar (Beograd). 43-44 (1992/93) [št. 1994] 13-21.
58. Lanzenfibeln des Westbalkans und der Donauinvasion // Balcanica (Beograd). 25-1 (1994) 53-71.
59. Basarabi - Balta Verde - Vajuga Pesak // The Early Hallstatt Period (1200-700 B.C.) in South - Eastern Europe : proceedings of the International Symposium from Alba Iulia, 10-12 June, 1993. - Alba Iulia : Muzeul Național al Unirii, 1994. – p. 143-153.
- 1995**
60. Сондажна истраживања локалитета Хисар (Лесковац) / Игор Богдановић, Мирослава Јоцић // Лесковачки зборник (Лесковац). 35 (1995) 13-24.
- 1996**
61. Остава новца града Киме // Нумизматичар (Београд). 18-19 (1996) 5-12.
62. Предмети култне намене на налазиштима бронзаног доба на Ђердану / Мирјана Вукмановић // Зборник Народног музеја. Археологија (Београд). 16-1 (1996) 89-99.
63. Konopište - Roman Architectural complex (I-II Century A.D.) // Roman Limes on the Middle and Lower Danube. - Belgrade : Archaeological Institute, 1996. – Str. 101-103.
64. Early La Tène Between Pannonia and the Balkans // Starinar (Beograd). 47 (1996) 105-125.
65. Mala Vrbica, Vajuga and the beginning of the Iron Age / Mirjana Vukmanović // Der Basarabi-Komplex in Mittel- und Südosteuropa : Kolloquium in Drobeta-Turnu Severin (7.-9. November 1996). - Bukarest : [Rumänisches Institut für Thrakologie], 1996. – Str. 67-77.
- 1997**
66. Млађе гвоздено доба источне Србије / Миодраг Сладић // Археологија источне Србије : научни скуп Археологија источне Србије, Београд - Доњи Милановац, децембар 1995. године. - Београд : Филозофски факултет, Центар за археолошка истраживања, 1997. – Стр. 101-114.
67. Les perles de verre en forme de vase ou d'amphore sur l'espace entre la mer Adriatique et le Danube // Starinar (Beograd). 48 (1997) 165-171.
68. Les Celtes du Danube // Les Dossiers d'archéologie (Dijon). 220 (1997) 52-59.
- 1998**
69. Problem of Cult Features in the Late Bronze Age Cemetery at Konopište // Die Kulturen der Bronzezeit in dem Gebiet des Eisernen Tores : Kolloquium in Drobeta - Turnu Severin (22.-24. Novembar 1997). - Bukarest : [Rumänisches Institut für Thrakologie], 1998. – p. 147- 153.
- 1999**
70. The Scordisci and the Bastarnae // Le Djerdap, les Portes de Fer à la deuxième moitié du premier millénaire av. J.Ch. jusqu'aux guerres daciques : Kolloquium in Kladovo - Drobeta - Turnu Severin, (September-October 1998). - Beograd : Arheološki institut : Balkanološki institut SANU ; Bukarest : Rumänisches Institut für Thrakologie, 1999. – Str. 47-54.
- 2000**
71. Le perle di vetro a forma di vaso o di amfora nella regione compresa tra l'Adriatico e il Danubio // Ocnus : Quaderni della Scuola di Specializzazione in Archeologia (Bologna). 8 (2000) 269-276.
- 2001**
72. Мала Врбица – Конопиште, некропола XII века / Ненад Радојчић // Зборник Народног музеја. Археологија (Београд). 17-1 (2001) 371-376.
73. La céramique de la Tène finale sur le territoires des Scordisques : (Ier siècle av. n. è.- Ier siècle de n. è.) // Starinar (Beograd). 50 (2000) [št. 2001] 83-111.
- 2002**
74. Enamel and Scordisci // Godišnjak - Jahrbuch. (Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja) (Sarajevo). XXXII/30 (2002) 349-361.
- 2003**
75. Глождак у Параћину – дачка некропола I века н. е. // Рад Драгослава Срејовића на истраживању античке археологије : Крагујевац, 31. октобар - 2. новембар 2002. -Крагујевац : Центар за

- научна истраживања САНУ и Универзитета у Крагујевцу, 2003. – Стр. 257-266.
76. Vranjsko-bujanovačka kotlina i helenizacija doline južne Morave : Vranje Bujanovac valley and hellenisation of the Morava valley // Pyraichmes (Kumanovo). 2 (2003) 197-213.
  77. Gradina na Bosutu kod Vašice // Opuscula Aerchæologica (Zagreb). 27 (2003) 311-320.
  78. Le site laténien de Dautovac-Korićani et les fibules ornées de “boucles” ou de “huit” (“a brandebourgs”) // Starinar (Beograd). 52 (2002) [št. 2003] 145-155.
- 2004**
79. Локалитет Кале у селу Кршевица – истраживања 2001-2003. године / Мирослав Јеремић, Ненад Радојчић // Старијар (Београд). 53-54 (2003/04) [шт. 2004] 270-274.
  80. Die Skordiskische Münzprägung. // Silber der Illyrer und Kelten im Zentralbalkan : [Hochdorf, Keltenmuseum], Sonderausstellung vom 25. November 2004 - 31. juli 2005. - Belgrad : Nationalmuseum ; Hochdorf : Keltenmuseum, 2004. – p. 73-77.
- 2005**
81. Кале – Кршевица, истраживања 2001-2004. године : прелиминарни резултати // Врањски гласник (Врање). 33 (2005) 25-58.
  82. Kale - Krševica: Investigations 2001-2004. Interim Report // Зборник Народног музеја. Археологија (Београд). 18-1 (2005) 141-174.
  83. Nešto više o Keltima na našem prostoru // Kelti u Evropi : umetnost, religija i istorija / Toni Liversejdž. - Beograd : Clio, 2005. – Str. 171-179.
  84. Le sépulture 1-3/378 de la nécropole de Pećine près de Kostolac / Borsilav Jovanović // Balcanica (Beograd). 35 (2004) [št. 2005] 23-34.
  85. “... cum a Scordiscis Dacisque premeretur” // Celts on the Margin: Studies in European Cultural Interaction, 7th Century BC-1st Century AD Dedicated to Zenon Woźniak. - Krakow: Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, 2005. – p. 77-83.
- 2006**
86. Central Balkans between the Greek and Celtic World: Case Study Kale Krševica // Homage to Milutin Garašanin. - Belgrade : Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts ; Skopje : Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2006. – p. 523-536.
- 2007**
87. Nakit iz Krševice (The jewellery from Krševica) // Scripta praehistorica in honorem Biba Teržan. – Ljubljana : Narodni muzej Slovenije, 2007. – Str. 813-820.
  88. Krševica et les contacts entre l’Egée et les centre des Balkans // Histria Antiqua (Pula). 15 (2007) 125-136.
89. Numismatic finds of the 4th- 3rd centuries BC from Kale at Krševica (southeastern Serbia) // Arheološki vestnik (Ljubljana). 58 (2007) 411-417.
  90. Millstones from Kale in Krševica (Sauteastern Serbia) / Aleksandar Kapuran // Godišnjak - Jahrbuch. (Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja) (Sarajevo). XXXVI/34 (2007) 83-96.
- 2008**
91. The Textile Industry at Krševica (southeast Serbia) in the Fourth-Third Centuries B.C / Ivan Vranić // Starinar (Beograd). 56 (2006) [št. 2008] 309-326.
  92. Кале Кршевица (раноантичко насеље IV/III век пре н. е.) // Археолошки преглед (Београд). 4 (2008) 69-72.
  93. Les îles du Danube et les habitats laténiens des Portes de Fer // The Iron Gates region during the second Iron Age: settlements, necropolises,treasures : proceedings of the International colloquium from Drobeta - Turnu Severin, June 12th-15th, 2008. - Craiova : Editura Universitaria, 2008. – p. 63-71.
- 2009**
94. Krševica: Forty Years after // Zbornik Narodnog muzeja. Arheologija (Beograd). 19-1 (2009) 141-153.
  95. New Numismatic Finds from Krševica / Goran Mitrović // Zbornik Narodnog muzeja. Arheologija (Beograd). 19-1 (2009) 155- 162.
  96. Archaeological Finds from the Vaulted Building at Krševica // Starinar (Beograd). 58 (2008) [št. 2009] 95-106.
  97. Scordisci on the Fringes of the Hellenistic World // Keltske študije II = Studies in Celtic Archaeology : papers in honour of Mitja Guštin. - Montagnac : Éditions Monique Mergoil, 2009. – p. 247-258.
  98. Sanctuaire, culte et rite à Krševica // Histria Antiqua (Pula). 18-2 (2009) 121-128.
- 2010**
99. Оружје из келтских гробова са непознатог локалитета / Старијар (Београд). 60 (2010) 85-93.
  100. Les données chronologiques sur l’habitat laténien Kale à Krševica // Tracii și vecinii lor în antichitate = The Thracians and their neighbours in Antiquity : studia in honorem Valerii Sîrbu. - Brăila : Muzeul Brăilei : Editura Istros, 2010. – p. 431-438.
- 2011**
101. Water Supply System at Krševica (4<sup>th</sup> century BC) / M. Vukadinović // Starinar (Beograd). 61 (2011) 155-170.
  102. Late Iron Age pits at Kale-Krševica // The eastern Celts : the communities between the Alps and the Black Sea. - Koper : Univerza na Primorskem,

# A Step into the Past: Approaches to Identity, Communications and Material culture in South-Eastern European Archaeology

Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče, Univerzitetna založba Annales ; Beograd : Filozofski fakultet, 2011. – Str. 151-162.

103. La tombe de Mokranje / Aleksandar Kapuran // Archaeology : making of and practice : studies in honor of Mircea Babeş at his 70th anniversary. - Piteşti : Ordessos, 2011. – p. 287-304.

**2012**

104. Централни Балкан између грчког и келтског света – Кале-Кршевица 2001-2011 // Централни Балкан између грчког и келтског света : Кале - Кршевица, 2001-2011. - Београд : Народни музеј, 2012. – Стр. 11-52.  
105. Perirhanteria stands from Krševica // Scripta in Honorem Bojan Đurić. - Ljubljana : Zavod za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije, 2012. – Str. 265-269.

**2013**

106. One possible location of Damastion – Kale by Krševica (south-eastern Serbia) / Ivan Vranić // The Bosphorus: Gateway between the Ancient West and East (1st Millennium BC-5th Century AD) : proceedings of the Fourth International Congress on Black Sea Antiquities Istanbul, 14th-18th September 2009. – Oxford : Hadrian Books. – p. 309-314.

**2014**

107. Balkan Kantharoi // Celtic Art in Europe: making connections. Essays in honour of Vincent Megaw on his 80th birthday. - Oxford ; Philadelphia : Oxbow Books; 2014. – p. 187-192.

**2015**

108. It is a long way to Damastion? // The Danubian Lands between the Black, Aegean and Adriatic Seas : 7th Century BC-10th Century AD : proceedings of the Fifth International Congress on Black Sea Antiquities (Belgrade - 17-21 September 2013). - Oxford : Archaeopress, 2015. – p. 550.

**2016**

109. Painted Pottery from Kale-Krševica: Imported or of Local Provenance? // Traditions and Innovations. Tracking the Development of Pottery from the late Classical to the Early Imperial Periods Proceedings of the 1st Conference of IARPotHP Berlin, November 2013, 7th-10th. – Wien : Phoibos-Vlg, 2016. – p. 169-175.

**2017**

110. Kale-Krševica, izbor metalnih nalaza s akropole // Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku (Split). 110-1 (2017) 275-280.

**2019**

111. "Macedonian Amphoras" at Kale, Krševica Site–Another Evidence about Chronology of the Iron Age Settlement and Connections with the Hellenistic World / Aca Đorđević // Godišnjak - Jahrbuch. (Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja) (Sarajevo). 48 (2019) 231-236.

**Преводи, прикази књига / Translations and book reviews**

112. Нова историјска и археолошка истраживања средњовековног Београда и Србије / [организација научног скупа Народни музеј у Београду, Музеј града Београда ; превод француског текста Петар Поповић ; превод енглеског текста Мира Ловричек-Јовановић ; превод немачког текста Бригита Симић]. - Београд : Народни музеј : Музеј града Београда, 1979. - 183 стр. : илустр. ; 27 см. (Годишњак града Београда 1978 ; књ. 25)  
113. Decorated Weapons of the la Tène Iron Age in the Carpathian Basin / Miklos Szabó, Éva F. Petres // Starinar (Beograd). 42 (1991) [št. 1993] 202-204.

Слађана Радивојчевић, Народна библиотека Србије  
Сања Никић, Археолошки институт

Slađana Radivojčević, National Library of Serbia  
Sanja Nikić, Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade

[https://doi.org/10.18485/arhe\\_step2past.2023.ch1](https://doi.org/10.18485/arhe_step2past.2023.ch1)



**Radmila Zотовић**  
Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade  
[rzotovic@eunet.rs](mailto:rzotovic@eunet.rs)

## THE CULT OF THE GOD MARS ON THE TERRITORY OF SERBIA

**Abstract:** On the Serbian territory, a total of 11 votive monuments dedicated to the god Mars have been noted to date. Of these, seven monuments belong to the independent cult of the god Mars. In contrast, the remaining four belong to this cult's symbioses with imperial or other deities' cults. Two votive monuments have been preserved at the Ravna location. It is there that the god Mars is presented in a cult symbiosis with the imperial cult in two votive monuments - one with Jupiter, and the other with the Capitoline triad, Fortuna, and other gods and goddesses. There are a total of five monuments dedicated to Mars in Central Serbia and six in Vojvodina. The six monuments in Vojvodina originate from the area of Sremska Mitrovica. As for Central Serbia, four monuments originate from the Ravna location, and one from the Kaliste (Viminacium) location. A monument dated within the period 208-211 A.D., and originating from Ravna, confirms that a temple dedicated to the god Mars was located in this area. Other monuments may be dated within a broader historical period, from the second half of the 2nd century to the beginning of the 3rd century.

**Keywords:** Serbia, Central Serbia, Vojvodina, Mars, Fortuna.

---

On the Serbian territory, a total of 11 votive monuments dedicated to the god Mars have been noted to date. Of these, seven monuments belong to the independent cult of the god Mars. In contrast, the remaining four belong to this cult's symbioses with imperial or other deities' cults. There are a total five monuments dedicated to Mars in Central Serbia and six in Vojvodina (map I). All six monuments in Vojvodina originate from the area of Sremska Mitrovica. As for Central Serbia, four monuments originate from the Ravna location, and one from Kaliste (Viminacium) location (map II).

Besides Jupiter, the god Mars is the most significant Italic and Roman deity, having praised him from ancient times. The ancient Etruscans, Oscs, and Sabinians, also honoured the god Mars. It was a supreme Italic deity first, but Jupiter, the former god of the heavens and weather conditions, later became the supreme god, while Mars was primarily celebrated as the god of war and warfare.

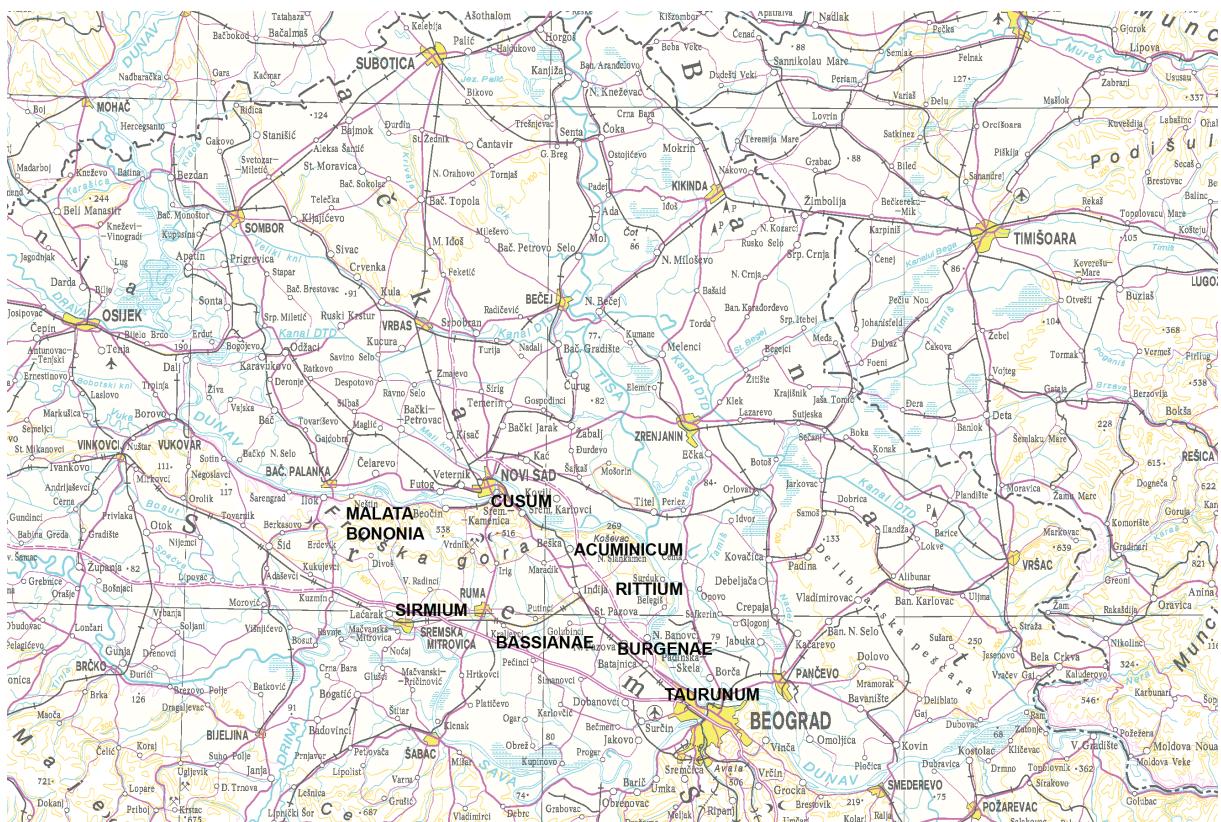
However, the rural population considered him the god of livestock and agriculture. They honoured Mars and believed he was the protector of

cattle and crops, as these could have been compromised or destroyed in warfare. Being the god of cattle and fields, the rural population addressed prayers to him to protect their land from enemies and to grant progress with their livestock and agriculture. The Romans considered Mars the god protector of the nation and state (Замуровић 1936; Срејовић, Ђермановић Кузмановић 1979).

It is also likely that the aforementioned quality connected Mars to Jupiter, who was the patron deity of the entire nation and the state. In this form, a cult symbiosis, Mars is presented on a monument on the territory of Vojvodina. On the same memorial, Jupiter is designated as Jupiter, the Capitoline. It is little wonder that this monument intensified the concept of *praefectus*.

A much more interesting monument is the votive monument dedicated to the Capitoline Triad, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, as well as Fortuna and other deities.

Mars was connected to the Capitoline Triad not only because of Jupiter but also because of Juno. People believed that Mars was the son of



Map 1. Vojvodina

Juno (and therefore Minerva's brother). He was conceived when Juno received a flower gift from Flora. This beautiful myth points to the potential connection of Mars with many other gods and goddesses, especially those referring to bushes, woods, pastures, and meadows. In this reference, the god Silvan was believed to have evolved into an independent deity from the attributes of the god Mars (Mars Silvicolus). In addition, connections among other deities with either Jupiter or Juno are persistent, according to finds on the territory of Central Serbia. This territory is featured by the formula "other deities" (*dis deabusque*); Western provinces are featured by the formula "all deities" (*omnes*).

In particular, the connection with Fortuna focused on prayers addressed to both the Capitoline Triad and the god Mars to grant good fortune, something that was both essential and unpredictable during times of war. Fortuna was referred to as the first daughter of Jupiter. This is the origin of the link between Mars and Fortuna, which was mediated by the god Jupiter. At the same time, this monument especially presents Mars and Fortuna to highlight Mars' significance in the Roman

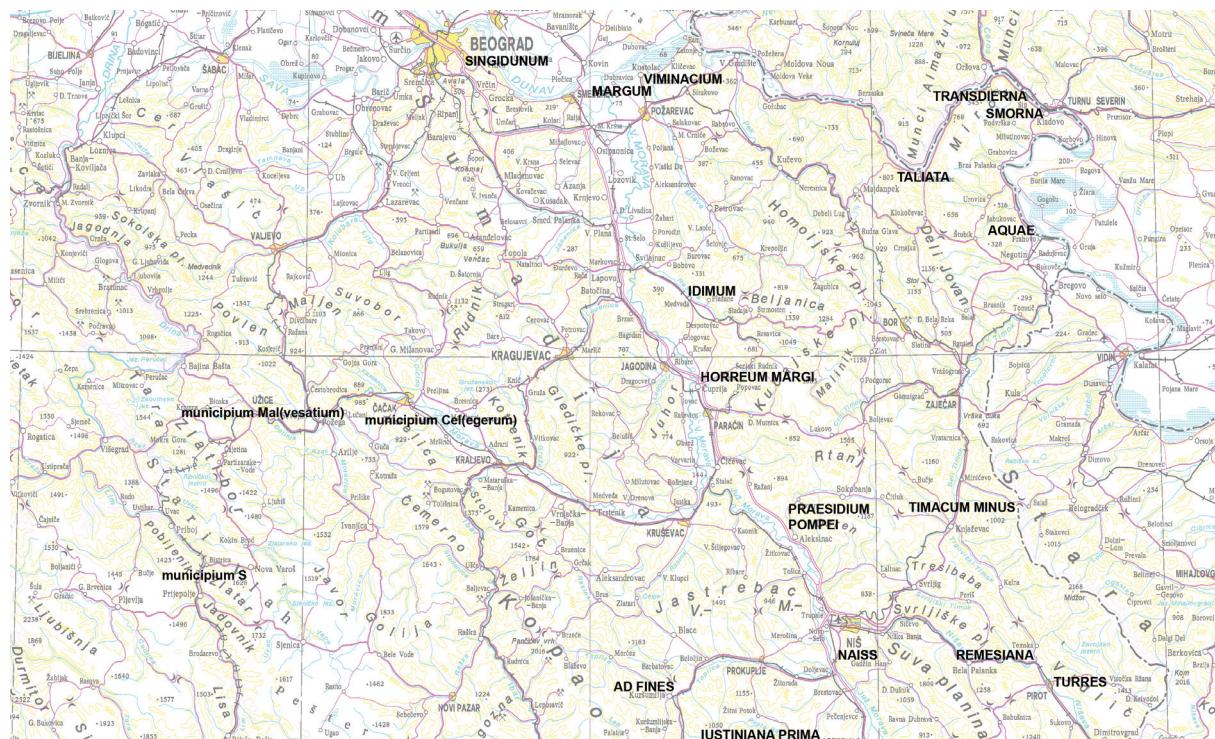
Pantheon. Designated as Campestri, Mars represents the protector of fields and plains. At the same time, the monument reflects the respect for the god Mars. Such respect is shown in the Field of Mars in Rome, where a temple dedicated to Mars was built. People highly respected Mars in connection with Minerva and these two deities were celebrated on a joint holiday on the 19<sup>th</sup> of March each year (*Quinquatrus maiores*), one of the oldest Roman holidays. At first, this was a holiday dedicated to the god Mars, but later it also included the goddess Minerva, with celebrations lasting for five days. Minerva had initially been praised and honoured as the goddess-protectress of crafts, craftsmen, and students. Craftsmen respecting Minerva included physicians, pipers, and trumpet players, as these were important for the army and military action. Juno had initially been recognised as the goddess-protectress of marriage and married women, the Moon, and childbirth. This deity later evolved into the goddess-protectress of the Roman family, Rome, and the entire Roman state. Each provincial town had a temple built in honour of the Capitoline Triad, similar to that built in Rome. Sirmium likely had a temple dedicated to Jupiter,

## A Step into the Past: Approaches to Identity, Communications and Material culture in South-Eastern European Archaeology

Juno, and Minerva. It is another question as to whether Sirmium had a separate temple dedicated to the god Mars, or if the dedications were made in the temple dedicated to the Capitoline Triad, as was the case in the sanctuary of the benefactor consuls.

On the territory of Central Serbia, the cult symbioses of the god Mars are shown on two monuments at the Ravna location. Mars is here related to the imperial cult. Both monuments connect him with the Severi and Antonini dynasties. Both monuments designate Mars by the attribute *equitum* – equestrian, as the protector of equestrians. One of these is particularly significant, as it serves as proof that a temple dedicated to the god Mars

the Ravna location, with one of them lacking the given feature. However, the other one is particularly interesting as it contains attributes to Mars. Mars is designated here by the attribute *campestris*, which can have multiple meanings. This attribute can refer to Mars as the god coming from fields for training the army, especially during wars. A more important meaning of this attribute refers to Mars as a god originating from the Field of Mars or a god standing on the Field of Mars (Bogdanovic 1931: 53). The dedicatory's name has not been preserved, but it is known that he belonged to the *equity cohort* II Aureliae Dardanorum. The aforementioned shows the multiple meaning of this attribute and Rome as its origin.



Map 2. Central Serbia

existed at the Ravna location (*Marti equitum templum*). As this monument can also be dated within the period 208-211 A.D., it means that a temple dedicated to the god Mars existed on the territory of Ravna at the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

Three monuments of the individual cult of the god Mars also originate from the territory of Central Serbia. One of them is situated at the border between the Viminacium and Horreum Margi location, where the attribute *sacrum* – saint designates Mars. Two other monuments were found at

On the territory of Vojvodina, four monuments dedicated to the individual cult of the god Mars have been found to date.

On two of these monuments, Mars is designated with no attributes involved; in the other two, Mars was referred to by the features “imperial” and “saint” (*Augusto* and *sacrum*). The designations lacking attributes are likely to include the overall significance and meaning of the god Mars. Simultaneously, the titles with details “imperial” and “saint” refer to the state’s patron and protector.

As for the monuments' tectonic appearance, each of them represents the front of a temple. It is surprising to see *pulvinus* as an ornament on the monument's capital. For the four monuments, some descriptions have not been lost. Of these four monuments, three include *pulvinus* as a decorative element of the capitol. In this sense, one can see the influence of the western provinces on the territory of the Roman Vojvodina, as *pulvinus* is almost never present anywhere else (with minor exceptions) on the territory of Central Serbia. The capital of these monuments is most often ornamented with rosettes positioned directly on the *pulvinus*, or on the triangular gable in the middle. There is only a single case with a spiral ornament positioned on the *pulvino*. This ornament is rare; it is found only on the side of a votive monument in Cajetina (Зотовић 2011). The decorative spiral element is considered to originate from the pre-historical tradition lasting until the ancient period, which saw it as rare, but distinct and acceptable. The rosette is a common decorative element on both the territory of Vojvodina and Central Serbia. The triangular gable and palmettes' presence re-confirms that the votive monument is a temple "miniature", with the capital imitating the temple roof.

It is interesting to review the votive monuments' dedicators. Four of them were found in the Jupiter sanctuary, erected and dedicated to Jupiter by the *beneficiarius consularis*. The benefactor consuls also had all the four monuments erected and dedicated to the god Mars. The fact that votive monuments dedicated to Mars were found in the sanctuary dedicated to the god Jupiter indicates a close relationship between Jupiter and Mars.

Personal names are not very helpful when dating monuments. Only the monument dedicated to Jupiter and Mars might be dated to Marcus Aurelius' reign. Following the information given on the monuments where consul pairs have been preserved, we can date the other monuments found in the Jupiter sanctuary into a broader chronological period, from the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century to the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

## Catalogue

### Mars

1. Ara, limestone, dimensions: 0.58 x 0.44 x 0.38 m. Capital accented with three-fold, and postament with two-fold proliferation. Acroteria in the capital corners, a triangle containing a rosette with palmettes in the middle.

Location.: probably the border between the Viminacium and Horreum Margi

*Mart(i)/ sac(rum)/ T. F(lavius) Sapi ()/ ex viso(!).*

Literature: H. Вулић 1909, 143 – 144, n. 66; IMS II, 197, n. 299.

2. Ara, sandstone, dimensions: 0.82 x 0.42 x 0.36 m. A large libation opening on top.

Location.: Ravna

### *Marti*

Literature: H. Вулић, 1931, 82, n. 191; IMS III/2, 65 – 66, n. 6

3. Ara, sandstone, preserved in a fragmented condition.

Location: Ravna

Tekst:

Vulić:

*[Marti] Campestr[i coh(ors) II Aur(elia)/ Dard(anorum) ] equit(ata) pro [salute]/ [---*

Petrović (IMS III/2):

maybe: *[Marti] camperstr[i et] equit(um); or [Dis] Campestr[ibus et]/ [Marti] equitum?*

Literature: H. Вулић 1941 – 48, 81, n. 171; IMS III/2, 66, n. 7.

4. Ara.

Location.: Sremska Mitrovica

### *Marti*

Literature: M. Mirković 1971, 66 – 67, n. 22.

5. Ara, limestone, dimensions: 0.85 x 0.39 x 0.38 m. Capital carved with spirally ornamented pulvini, triangular gable in between, with two rosettes in the middle.

Location: Sremska Mitrovica

*Marti/ Aug(usto) sacr(um)/ Ti. Claud(ius)/ Fortis b(eneficiarius)/ co(n)s(ularis)/ v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

Literature: M. Mirković 1994, 382, n. 40. (fig. 1)

6. Ara, limestone, dimensions: 0.88 x 0.45 x 0.39 m. Capital carved with spirally ornamented pulvini, triangular gable in between, with a rosette in the middle.

Location: Sremska Mitrovica

*Marti/ Ti. Cl(audius)/ Postuminus/ b(ene)*



Fig. 1. Ara, Mars, Sremska Mitrovica



Fig. 2. Ara, Mars, Sremska Mitrovica

*f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)/ v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)  
m(erito).*

Literature: M. Mirković 1994, 383, n. 43. (fig. 2).  
7. Ara, limestone, dimensions: 0.99 x 0.43 x 0.39  
m. Capital with carved acroteria.

Location: Sremska Mitrovica

*Marti/ Aug(usto) sac(rum)/ C. Iul(ius) Valens/  
b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)/ v(otum) s(olvit)  
l(ibens) m(erito).*

Literature: M. Mirković 1994, 390, n. 56.

#### Mars – Imperial Cult

1. Ara, sandstone, dimensions: 0.98 x 0.48 x 0.32  
m.

Location: Ravna

*Mart(i) eq(uitum)/ pro salute do/minor(um) NN[N]  
Se/veri et Antonini/ IMPP G. Atrius Deco/rat(us)  
trib(unus) coh(ortis) II Aurel(iae)/ Dard(anorum)  
Antonini/anae (milliariae) eq(uitae) l(ibens)  
p(osuit).*

Literature: IMS III/2, 66 – 67, n. 8.

Dated: AD 208 – 211

2.

Ara, marble, dimensions: 0.59 x 0.52 x 0.10 m.

Location: Ravna

*[Mart]i equitum te[mplum/ pro s]alut(e)  
domino[rum n(ostrorum duorum)/ Seve]ri et  
Antonin[i imp(eratorum duorum)/ ---] Atrium  
Deco[rat]um trib(unum)/ coh(ortis)]/ II  
Aure[liae] Dard(anorum An[toni]nia]nae (milli-  
ariae) eq(uitatae) AE[---].*

Literature: Н. Вулић 1941 – 48, 81, n. 172; IMS  
III/2, 67 – 68, n. 9.

Dated: AD 208 – 211

Jupiter – Mars

1. Ara. Lost.

Location: Sremska Mitrovica

*I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo)/ et Marti/ custodi/  
Helvius/ Pertinax/ praef(ectus).*

Literature: CIL III 3232; M. Mirković 1971, 66,  
n. 20.

Dated.: most likely from the period of Marcus  
Aurelius.



Fig. 3. Ara, Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Fortuna, Mars and diis deabusque, Sremska Mitrovica

Jupiter – Juno – Minerva – Fortuna - gods and goddesses - Mars

1. Ara, sandstone, dimensions: 0.85 x 0.40 x 0.36 m. Capital with carved pulvini, with a rosette in the middle and embossed decoration of acanthus and palmette.

Location: Sremska Mitrovica

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)/ Iunoni Reg(inae)/ Min(ervae) Fort(unae) Mart(i)/ Cam(pestri) dis dea<bus>/que sacr(um) T./ Fl(avius) Aulus b(eneficiarius) co(n)s(ularis)/ ex n(umero) fr(umentariorum)/ v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

Literature: M. Mirković 1994, 385, n. 47. (fig. 3).

## Bibliography

CIL III. *Corpus Inscriptionum latinarum III.*

Mirković, M., 1971. Sirmium – its history from the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. to AD 582, in *Sirmium I*, Beograd: Arheološki institut, 5–94.

Mirković, M., 1986. *Inscriptiones de la Mésie Supérieure, vol. II (IMS II), Viminacium et Margum*. Beograd: Centre d'épigraphiques et numismatiques de la Faculté de l'Université de Beograd

Mirković, M., 1994. Beneficiarii consularis in Sirmium. *Chiron*, 24, 345–404.

Petrović, P., 1995. *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure, vol. III/2 (IMS III/2), Timacum Minus et la valée du Timok*. Beograd: Centre d'épigraphiques et numismatiques de la Faculté de l'Université de Beograd

Срејовић, Д. and Џермановић Кузмановић А., 1979. *Речник грчке и римске митологије*. Београд: Српска књижевна задруга

Вулић, Н., 1909. Антички споменици у Србији. *Споменик Српске краљевске академије*, 47, 109–191.

Вулић, Н., 1931. Антички споменици наше земље. *Споменик Српске краљевске академије*, 71, 4–259.

Вулић, Н., 1941–48. Антички споменици наше земље. *Споменик српске краљевске академије*, 98, 1–279.

Замуровић, А., 1936. *Митолошки речник*. Нови Сад: Издање књижаре „Славија“

Зотовић, Р., 2011. Два римска камена споменика из Чајетине. *Зборник Народног музеја*, 20(1), 209–215.

Translated by Radosav Milutinović