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Inhumacija djece na nekropoli Više grobalja antičkog Viminacija

Skeletal graves of children from the necropolis Više grobalja of ancient Viminacium

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Predmet rada su grobovi inhumiranih pokojnika dječjeg uzrasta na nekropoli Više grobalja, antičkog Viminacija. Ukupno su analizirana 2273 groba s ostacima inhumiranih pokojnika, od kojih 639 pojedinaca pripada dječjem uzrastu (28%) životne dobi od novorođenčeta do petnaeste godine. Među grobovima su obrađene i grupne sahrane više pokojnika u kojima je pored jedne, ili više odraslih osoba, sahranjeno i dijete. Iako je u prvim stoljećima kremacija bila jedini oblik sahranjivanja, djeca nisu spaljivana, prije svega iz praktičnih razloga, odnosno nije bilo dovoljno koštanih ostataka koji bi se mogli sahraniti, zato su inhumirana. Prevladavaju sahrane slobodno ukopanih pokojnika ili u drvenom lijesu. Grobovi s konstrukcijom od opeke su rijetki, kao i sahrane s pokrivačem od polovice amfore. Grobni su prilozi iz grobova inhumirane djece jednolični. Među njima dominiraju posude od keramike (vrč, lonac, zdjela, pehar...) i svjetiljke. Ipak, dječji se grobovi po pojedinim prilozima izdvajaju od grobova odraslih. Predmeti kao što su bule, raznobojne perle, različiti privjesci, školjke i puževi, osim što su bili posebno vezani uz pokojnika, imali su cilj štititi ga od zlih duhova.

Ključne riječi: djeca, inhumacija, nekropola, grobni prilog, Više grobalja, Viminacij

The topic of this paper are the skeletal children's graves of the classical Viminacium necropolis Više grobalja. A total of 2273 graves with the remains of inhumed individuals were analysed, 639 of which (28%) belong to children up to 15 years of age. Among the graves, group funerals of several deceased individuals where a child was found buried next to one or more adults were also analysed. Although cremation was the only form of burial in the first centuries AD, the children were not incinerated, primarily due to practical reasons; there would not be enough skeletal remains to bury after burning, so they were inhumed. Funerals in grave pits or in wooden coffins are dominant at the site. Graves made of bricks and burials with a half of an amphora as cover are rare. The grave inventory of the inhumed children is uniform. Among the finds, the most dominant are ceramic vessels (jugs, pots, bowls, cups...) and oil-lamps. Still, the children's graves differ from those of adults regarding certain grave goods. The objects such as bullae, polychrome beads, various pendants, shells and snails, apart from being specially linked with the deceased, served the purpose of protecting the deceased against evil spirits.

Keywords: children, inhumations, necropolis, grave inventory, Više grobalja, Viminacium

Kontinuirana zaštitna arheološka istraživanja antičkog Viminacija (naselje Kostolac, Srbija), nekadašnjega glavnoga grada provincije Gornje Mezije (*Moesia Superior*), iza sebe su ostavila brojne podatke koji se uglavnom odnose na nekropole kojima je grad bio okružen.¹ Saznanja o svakodnevnom životu, običajima i navikama, kako u ovozemaljskom tako i onozemaljskom svijetu žitelja Viminacija, temelje se na analizama grobova i priloga kojima ovaj grad prednjači u odnosu na njemu slične. Tijekom duge povijesti istraživanja viminacijskih nekropola ukupno je istraženo više od 14 000 grobova u kojima je sahranjeno preko 30 000 pokojnika u rasponu od 1. do 4. stoljeća.

Južne su nekropole Viminacija teritorijalno i brojčano u najvećoj mjeri istražene i još se istražuju, stoga predstavljaju najbolji uzorak za proučavanja sepulkralnog života žitelja antičkog Viminacija. Među njima se izdvaja nekropola Više grobalja, čiji je naziv preuzet iz suvremene katastarske podjele zemljišta (karta 1). Nekropola je teritorijalno ograničena u većoj mjeri istraženim rovovima s jugozapadne i sjeveroistočne strane te kronološkim razdobljem u trajanju od dva i pol stoljeća (od 1. do sredine 3. stoljeća).²

Na materijalu s ove nekropole u najvećoj je mjeri izvršena antropološka analiza skeletnih ostataka pa su zbog toga grobovi inhumiranih pokojnika dječje dobi tema ovog rada. Iako je na nekropoli istovremeno primjenjivano biritualno sahranjivanje, zbog nedovoljnog broja antropološki obrađenih ostataka kremiranih kostiju i uslijed njihovih nedostataka pri oštećenju grobova radom mehanizacije, nismo u mogućnosti primjereno pristupiti analizi grobova koji se odnose na pojedince dječje dobi, u kojih

¹ Mirković 1968, 56–73; 1986, 21–59; Зотовић, Јордовић 1990; Korać, Golubović 2009.

² Prvi su grobovi na nekropoli istraženi 1983. godine i u kontinuitetu su istraživani sve do 1986. godine. Iskopavanja su zaštitnog karaktera u manjem obimu vršena tijekom 2009. i 2013. godine, a nastavljena su u 2015. godini. Grobovi inhumiranih pokojnika u terenskoj su dokumentaciji označeni slovom G, dok su kremacije G1. Isti je sustav primijenjen i u ovom radu.

A decade long research in conservative archaeology of the ancient Viminacium (today near the village of Kostolac, Serbia), a former capital of the Upper Moesia province (*Moesia Superior*) has resulted in abundant data mostly referring to the surrounding necropolises.¹ The findings about the everyday lives of the inhabitants of Viminacium, and their customs and habits, both in this world and the next, are based on the analysis of the graves and grave inventories found in greater number in this city than in any other similar city. Throughout the long history of excavations on the necropolises of Viminacium, over 14,000 graves with over 30,000 deceased individuals from the period between the 1st and the 4th century AD were excavated and studied.

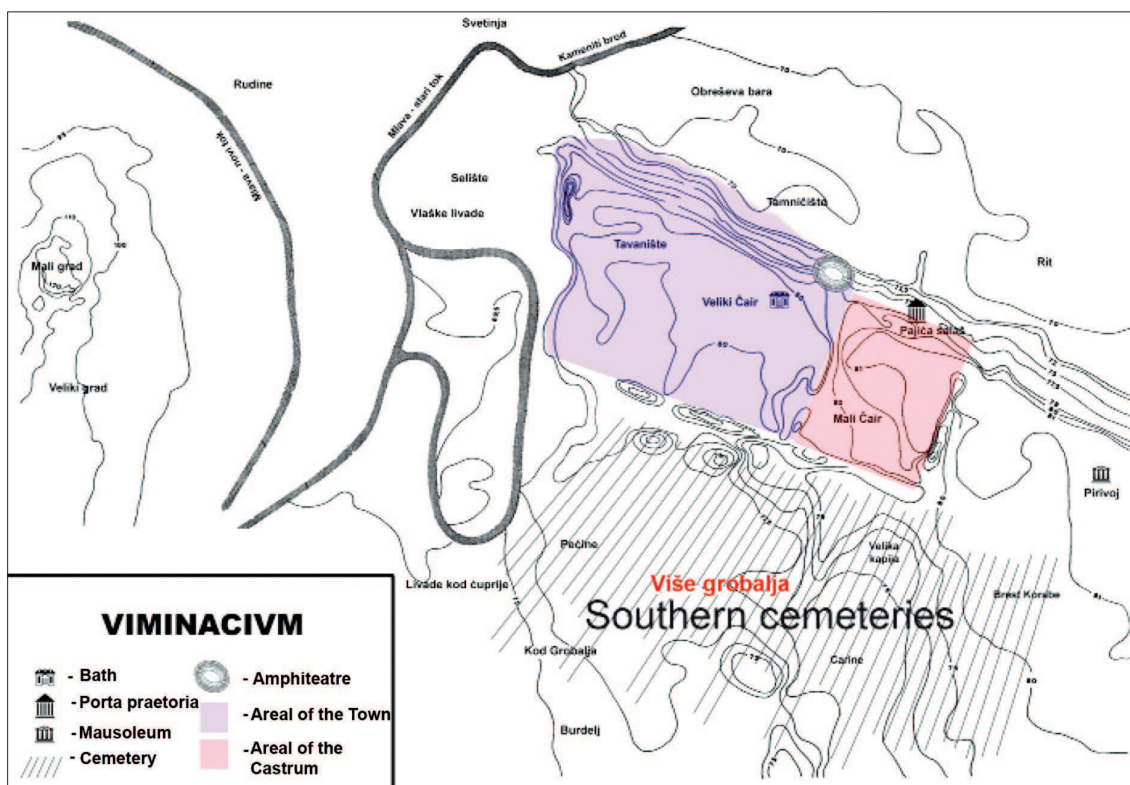
The southern Viminacium necropolises are territorially and in number greatly explored and some are still under research, thus representing the best exemplar for the analysis of the sepulchral life of the inhabitants of classical Viminacium. Among the necropolises, the most prominent one is the Više grobalja necropolis, its name being taken from the contemporary land registry (Map 1). The necropolis is encircled by researched trenches on its southeast and northwest side and by graves belonging to a chronological period lasting for two and a half centuries (1st–3rd c. AD).²

The topic of this paper are the skeletal children's graves found at this necropolis because anthropological analysis of most other skeletal remains in the area was already conducted. Although biritual burials were simultaneously being practised on the necropolis, due to insufficient anthropological analysis of the cremated remains and the lack of bones themselves, which is a result of excavation with machines, we are unable to adequately analyse children's cremation graves, the practice of which was usually avoided.³ Still, it should be noted that a recent

¹ Mirković 1968, 56–73; 1986, 21–59; Зотовић, Јордовић 1990; Korać, Golubović 2009.

² The first graves on the necropolis were being continuously researched from 1983 until 1986. Rescue excavations were conducted in smaller range during 2009 and 2013, and continued in 2015. The skeletal graves of the deceased were marked with the letter G in the field documentation, while cremation was marked with G1. The same system was used in this paper.

³ Mikić 1987, 33–44.



Karta / Map 1. Prikaz opće situacije na lokalitetu Viminacij / General situation at the site Viminacium (Golubović, Mikić 2012, 174, Fig. 1).

je inače izbjegavana kremacija.³ Ipak, treba navesti da novije analize spaljenih kostiju iz Zvonimirova (Hrvatska)⁴ pokazuju mogućnost prikupljanja korisnih informacija o pokojniku (spol, starost, bolesti...) i stoga očekujemo u budućnosti više radova na ovu temu. Dokazano je da pirolitičkim procesom spaljene kosti dobivaju homogenu strukturu i postaju otpornije na promjene u zemlji (vlaga, kiselost zemljišta i prodiranje mikroorganizama) nego što je to slučaj s inhumiranim kosturom.⁵

Navedeni su razlozi bili presudni da bi se analiza odnosila isključivo na grobove inhumiranih pokojnika dječje dobi. Antropološka je analiza pouzdana samo kod skeleta koji su bolje sačuvani, ali treba naglasiti da su analize vršene osamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća, kada je istraživana nekropola, dakle u vrijeme kada su bili ograničeni do-

analysis of the cremated bones from Zvonimirovo (Croatia)⁴ shows the possibility of collecting useful information about the deceased (sex, age, illnesses etc.), and therefore more papers on this topic are expected in the near future. It has been proven that bones burned through the pyrolytic process gain a homogenous structure and become less susceptible to changes in the soil (humidity, soil acidity, and microorganism activity) than inhumed skeletons.⁵

The aforementioned reasons were crucial when deciding to analyse exclusively the graves of inhumed children. Anthropological analysis is reliable only in the skeletons that are better preserved, but it should be noted that the analysis undertaken during the 1980s, when the necropolis was excavated, was conducted in a time when the range of the anthropological profession was limited. It should also be noted that modern anthropology is not able to reliably determine the sex of children until their fifteenth

³ Mikić 1987, 33–44.

⁴ Šlaus, Novak 2013, 513–521.

⁵ Миладиновић-Радмиловић 2009, 9.

⁴ Šlaus, Novak 2013, 513–521.

⁵ Миладиновић-Радмиловић 2009, 9.

meti antropološke struke. Također, treba naglasiti da suvremena antropologija nije u mogućnosti pouzdano odrediti spol djece sve do njihove petnaeste godine. Mada postoje kriteriji i za to razdvajanje.⁶ Uzrast je djece određen samo u manjeg broja skeleta. Zbog loše očuvanosti, u velikom broju slučajeva duge kosti dječjih skeleta nisu mogle biti izmjerene. U tim je situacijama erupcija mliječnih i trajnih zuba morala biti osnovni kriterij utvrđivanja starosti.⁷ Tijekom tekuće godine obranjena je doktorska disertacija koja se bavi antropološkom analizom skeleta iz rimskog razdoblja Viminacija, u kojoj je od arheološki iskopanih 7839 inhumiranih skeleta, antropološki obrađeno 4498 pojedinačnih i grupnih grobova. Na osnovu izvršene paleodemografske analize, zaključeno je kako postotak sahranjene djece do 19. godina iznosi 27,22%.⁸

Na nekropoli Više grobalja ukupno su analizirana 2273 groba s ostacima inhumiranih pokojnika, od kojih 639 pojedinaca pripada dječjem uzrastu (28%) životne dobi od novorođenčeta do petnaeste godine. Među grobovima su obrađene i grupne sahrane više pokojnika u kojima je osim jedne, ili više odraslih osoba, sahranjeno i dijete. Statistički su dječje sahrane manje zastupljene na nekropoli Više grobalja nego što je to situacija na sličnim nekropolama iz istog razdoblja.⁹ Rezultat toga može biti stupanj očuvanosti osteološkog materijala koji ovisi o više čimbenika:

- o destrukciji grobova
- o gubitku kostiju poremećajem tla (eroziji)
- o kemijskom sastavu zemljišta (kiselosti tla)
- o aktivnosti mikroorganizama u tlu
- o prisutnosti vode; temperaturi tla
- o intenzitetu sahranjivanja (uništavanju starih grobova ukopavanjem novih)
- o postojanju ili nepostojanju grobne konstrukcije.

⁶ Schutkowski 1993, 199–205.

⁷ Хошовски 1991, 273–278.

⁸ Микић 2016, 64.

⁹ Kreković 1992, 71–79.

year. Even though there are criteria for such a distinction.⁶ The age of the children was determined only in a small number of skeletons. Due to poor preservation, long bones of children's skeleton could not be used as parameters in many cases. In these cases, the eruption of deciduous or permanent teeth had to be the main criterion for determining age.⁷

This year, a doctoral dissertation has been defended, in which an anthropological analysis of the skeletons from the Roman period of Viminacium has been carried out. Out of the 7839 excavated inhumed skeletons, 4498 individual and group graves were anthropologically analysed. Based on the paleodemographic analysis, it was concluded that the percentage of buried children up to 19 years of age was 27,22%.⁸

From the necropolis Više grobalja, a total of 2273 graves with the remains of inhumed individuals was analysed, 639 of which belong to children (28%) up to 15 years of age. Among the graves, group funerals of several deceased individuals where a child was found buried next to one or more adults were also analysed. Children's graves are present to a lesser extent at the explored necropolis than is the case with similar necropolises from the same time period.⁹

The cause of this may be the preservation level of the osteological material which depends on many factors:

- The destruction of graves
- The loss of bones by soil disruption (erosion)
- Chemical composition of the soil (the acidity)
- The activity of microorganisms in the soil
- The presence of water; the soil temperature
- Burial intensity (destruction of old graves to create space for new ones)
- The existence of grave construction – or the lack thereof.

Furthermore, the mechanical destruction of the skeletons which occurred during the archaeological excavations should not be disregarded, as well as the unsuitable storage of the osteological material in the museums.¹⁰

⁶ Schutkowski 1993, 199–205.

⁷ Хошовски 1991, 273–278.

⁸ Микић 2016, 64.

⁹ Kreković 1991, 71–79.

¹⁰ Miladinović 2006, 15–17.

Ne treba zanemariti ni mehanička oštećenja skeleta pri arheološkim iskopavanjima, i na kraju neprimjeren smještaj osteološkog materijala u muzejskim ustanovama.¹⁰

Poput situacije u Viminaciju, niža je stopa smrtnosti djece zabilježena i na lokalitetima u Sremskoj Mitrovici (*Sirmium*) i njezinoj okolici, gdje je od 188 antropološki analiziranih osoba, 44 dječje dobi (23,4%).¹¹ Slične su rezultate dale i analize skeleta iz antičkog razdoblja Hrvatske. Najmanja je smrtnost djece zabilježena u kontinentalnom dijelu Hrvatske (23,2%), zatim slijede Zadar s okolinom (25,1%) i istočnojadransko područje s najvišom stopom smrtnosti djece (34,6%).¹²

Za strukturalnu analizu grobova inhumirane djece opredijelili smo se kako bismo došli do saznanja o njihovu socijalnom statusu u društvu, običajima i vjerovanjima koja su Rimljani njegovali prema najmlađim članovima Carstva. Klasifikacija grobova i analiza grobnih priloga najbolji su pokazatelji koji nam daju određena saznanja vezana uz položaj djece u jednom dijelu Carstva u razdoblju njegove najveće moći (1. – 3. stoljeće) koji se svakako mogu implementirati i na druge oblasti Carstva. Do sada se stručna javnost nije bavila ovom problematikom na prostorima rimske provincije Gornje Mezije i jedino su obrađene sahrane novorođenčadi ili infanata (lat. *infans* – onaj koji nije sposoban govoriti), dakle djece do godinu dana života s jednog dijela viminacijske nekropole Više grobalja.¹³ Jedan od razloga nedostatka literature koja se bavi ovom starosnom kategorijom su poteškoće s kojima se suočavaju antropolozi tijekom analize antropološkog materijala koji je problematičan i često ne pruža mogućnost utvrđivanja precizne starosti. Posebice se to odnosi na skeletne ostatke novorođenčadi koji su fragilniji i podložni bržem propadanju u tlu.¹⁴ Tek se posljednjih desetljeća javljaju studije

Like the situation in Viminacium, the lower death rate of children was noted on the sites in and near Sremska Mitrovica (*Sirmium*) where 44 skeletons of juvenile age were found out of 188 anthropologically analysed individuals (23.4%).¹¹ Similar results were also found by the analyses of skeletons dating from the classical period in Croatia. The lowest death rate of children was noted in the continental part of Croatia (23.2%), followed by Zadar and the surrounding area (25.1%), and the East Adriatic area with the highest death rate for children (34.6%).¹²

We have opted for the structural analysis of the skeletal children's graves to reach conclusions about their social status, as well as the customs and beliefs the Romans had towards the youngest members of their Empire. The classification of the graves and the analysis of the grave inventory best demonstrate the specific information regarding the status of children in one part of the Empire during the period of its greatest power (1st – 3rd c. AD). These findings could certainly be applied to other regions of the Empire as well. So far, scientists have not dealt with this problem in the region of the Upper Moesia province and only graves of infants were analysed (Lat. *infans* - the one unable to speak); children up to one year of age from one part of the Viminacium necropolis Više grobalja.¹³ One of the reasons for the lack of literature on children are the difficulties anthropologists frequently meet with during the analysis of the dubious anthropological material which often does not give the opportunity for determining the precise age of the individuals. This especially applies to the more fragile skeletal remains of infants, which are prone to faster decay in the soil.¹⁴ Only in recent years have studies been published with the analyses of the osteological material of adults' and children's skeletons from the classical period on the sites in the surrounding area (Sremska Mitrovica, Zadar and the surrounding area, continental Croatia, and the East Adriatic region).¹⁵

¹⁰ Miladinović 2006, 15–17.

¹¹ Miladinović-Radmilović 2009a, 827.

¹² Novak 2008, 154–155.

¹³ Радовић 2010, 175–186.

¹⁴ Радовић 2010, 176.

¹¹ Miladinović-Radmilović 2009a, 827.

¹² Novak 2008, 154–155.

¹³ Радовић 2010, 175–186.

¹⁴ Радовић 2010, 176.

¹⁵ Novak 2008; Miladinović-Radmilović 2009a.

u kojima je obrađivan osteološki materijal odraslih i dječjih skeleta iz antičkog razdoblja s lokaliteta iz okruženja (Sremska Mitrovica, Zadar i okolica, kontinentalna Hrvatska i istočnojadranska oblast).¹⁵

Velika je stopa smrtnosti djece bila realnost s kojom su se Rimljani svakodnevno srećali i prihvaćali kao neizbježnost. U doba Republike po zakonu Nume Pompilija (7. stoljeće pr. n. e.) preminula djeca do godinu dana života nisu bila oplakivana, međutim, to se često odnosilo i na djecu starije dobi. Razlog tomu bila je velika stopa smrtnosti djece čije bi žaljenje ograničavalo roditelje u obavljanju važnih državnih poslova, prije svega ako su bili pripadnici viših društvenih klasa. U praksi to nije bilo pravilo, o čemu svjedoče antički izvori i arheološki dokazi koji potvrđuju da su roditelji tugovali za svojom rano preminulom djecom, sahranjivali ih uz omiljene predmete, amulete i obavljali pogrebne rituale, odnoseći se prema njima kao prema ravnopravnim članovima obitelji i društva.¹⁶ Imućni su roditelji podizali i nadgrobne spomenike svojoj rano preminuloj djeci.¹⁷

U sepulkralnoj praksi ranog Rimskog Carstva dominira kremacija koja se zadržala do sredine 3. stoljeća, međutim, iznimku su predstavljale sahrane djece do prve godine života, a ponekad i starije, koja su inhumirana. Prema Pliniju, novorođenčad kojoj nisu izrasli zubi uvijek su inhumirana.¹⁸ U antičkim izvorima spominje se pojam *suggrunadaria* koji se odnosio na grobove novorođene djece koja nisu napunila četrdeset dana, jer takvi grobovi nisu tretirani kao bustumi zbog nedovoljne mase kostiju koja bi pri spaljivanju uopće mogla izazvati plamen.¹⁹ Bioantropologija potvrđuje da je tijekom prve godine života ljudski kostur formiran od malo tvrdoga koštanog tkiva, stoga nakon spaljivanja nema dovoljno ko-

The high mortality rate in children was a reality the Romans were dealing with on a daily basis and accepted as an inevitable part of life. In the age of the Roman Republic, according to the law passed by Numa Pompilius (7th century BC), deceased children up to one year of age were not mourned. This often applied to older children as well. The reason was a high mortality rate in children, the mourning of whom would limit their parents in performing important government work, all the more so if they belonged to a higher social class. However, ancient sources and archaeological evidence confirm that this was not done so in practice. Namely, parents would mourn their early deceased children, bury them with their favourite objects or amulets, and hold commemorations, regarding them as equal members of a family and society.¹⁶ This is confirmed by the inscriptions on grave stones dedicated to the young deceased children.¹⁷

In the sepulchral practice of the Early Roman Empire, cremation was the dominant method of burial until the middle of the 3rd century AD, the only exception being infants, and sometimes older children who were inhumed without cremation. According to Pliny, infants who have not grown teeth were always inhumed without cremation.¹⁸ In ancient sources, the term *suggrunadaria* is mentioned, referring to the graves of newborns not older than forty days, because those graves were not treated as *bustums* due to the insufficient bone mass that could start a flame in the first place.¹⁹ Bioanthropology confirms that during the first year of life the human skeleton is formed by a small amount of bone tissue, so there would be no bone remains to bury after cremation - rather, they would disintegrate. Thus, due to practical reasons, i.e. physical characteristics, the Romans would not cremate the skeletons of infants, and often children in the early years of their life, but rather inhumed them without cremation.²⁰

¹⁵ Novak 2008; Miladinović-Radmilović 2009a.

¹⁶ Seneca, *Epistula* XCIX; Зотовић, Јордовић 1990; Korać, Golubović 2009.

¹⁷ Rubel, Soficaru 2012, 165.

¹⁸ Plinius, *Naturalis historiae* VII, XVI: 72.

¹⁹ Fulgentius, *Expositio ermonum antiquorum*, 7.

¹⁶ Seneca, *Epistula* XCIX; Зотовић, Јордовић 1990; Korać, Golubović 2009.

¹⁷ Rubel, Soficaru 2012, 165.

¹⁸ Plinius, *Naturalis historiae* VII, XVI: 72.

¹⁹ Fulgentius, *Expositio ermonum antiquorum*, 7.

²⁰ Rubel, Soficaru 2012, 163.

štanah ostataka koji bi se mogli sahraniti, već dolazi do njihove razgradnje.²⁰ Dakle, iz praktičnih razloga, odnosno fizičkih osobina, skelete novorođenčadi, a često i starije djece, Rimljani nisu podvrgavali obredu kremacije, već su ih inhumirali.

Na nekropoli Više grobalja istovremeno su obavljane sahrane inhumiranih i kremiranih pokojnika iz kanaba i vojnika iz logora. Na njoj su primjenjivani funerarni obredi autohtonog (Kelti, Tračani i Iliri), orijentalnog (obrtnici, trgovci i vojnici iz Male Azije i grčke oblasti) i rimskog stanovništva.²¹ Kremacije, kao osnovni tip sahranjivanja u razdoblju ranog Carstva, pripadaju autohtonom i rimskom stanovništvu, dok inhumacije pripadaju doseljenicima iz istočnih provincija i djeci mlađe dobi u koje su se izbjegavala kremiranja.

Pouzdanost se od 405 antropološki opredijeljenih kremiranih pokojnika s jednog dijela nekropole Više grobalja može reći da su 36 dječje dobi, s tim što su 17 inhumirani u grobovima kremiranih pokojnika, dok su 19 kremirana samostalno ili zajedno s odraslim osobama. Dakle, statistički, riječ je o 9%. Slična je situacija na nekropoli Zadar-Relja.²² Ukratko ćemo analizirati situacije u kojima su djeca inhumirana u kremiranim grobovima nekropole Više grobalja. U osam grobova djeca u dobi do jedne godine inhumirana su pokraj kremirane odrasle osobe različitog spola, za koju se može pretpostaviti da predstavlja roditelja. U tri je groba ponovljena ista situacija, s tim što su inhumirana djeca starijeg uzrasta (od 4 do 10 godina). U tri su groba djeca inhumirana s oba kremirana roditelja, dok je u grobu G1-191 uz kremiranu osobu muškog spola (između 20 i 30 godina) kremirano dijete (između 12 i 15 godina), dok je novorođenče inhumirano. Specifičnost predstavlja grob (G1-249) u kojem je kremirano dijete od dvije godine, dok je novorođenče inhumira-

Funerals of the inhumed and cremated deceased inhabitants from the settlements and the soldiers from the camp were performed at the same time at the Više grobalja necropolis. On the necropolis, indigenous funerary rituals (Celtic, Thracian, and Illyrian), Oriental (craftsmen, merchants and soldiers from Asia Minor and Greece) and the customs of the Roman population were practised.²¹ Cremation as a basic type of burial in the early period of the Empire is attributed to the indigenous and Roman population, while regular inhumation is attributed to immigrants from Eastern provinces and children under the age at which cremation was avoided.

It can be said with certainty that 36 out of 405 anthropologically analysed cremated individuals from one part of the Više grobalja necropolis were children, 17 of which were inhumed in graves of cremated individuals, while 19 were cremated independently or together with adults. In percentages, this would lead to a figure of 9%. The situation is similar at the necropolis Zadar-Relja.²²

We will briefly analyse the cases where the children were inhumed in cremated graves at the Više grobalja necropolis. In eight of the graves, children up to one year of age were inhumed next to cremated adults of both sexes, which may lead to the assumption that the adult in question was a parent. The same situation was present in three other graves, with the difference in the age of the children, who were somewhat older (4 to 10 years of age). The children in yet another three graves were inhumed with both parents cremated, while in grave G1-191, there is a cremated male individual (between 20 and 30 years old) together with a cremated child (12 – 15 years old), and the skeletal remains of an infant. A peculiarity is grave G1-249, in which a two-year-old child was cremated, while an infant was inhumed without cremation. In three cases, the inhumed infants were covered with ceramic pots. When it comes to the graves where the children were cremated, the obtained

²⁰ Rubel, Soficaru 2012, 163.

²¹ Mirković 1968, 57, 69; 1986, 58–59; Јовановић 1984, 100–129; Jovanović 2000, 210; .

²² Novak 2008, 144–145. S antičke nekropole Zadar-Relja su od ukupno 22 paljevinska groba, dvoje djece (9,1%).

²¹ Mirković 1968, 57, 69; 1986, 58–59; Јовановић 1984, 100–129; Jovanović 2000, 210.

²² Novak 2008, 144–145. On the necropolis Zadar-Relja from the classical period, out of 22 cremated skeletons, two belonged to children.

no. U tri su slučaja inhumirana novorođenčad bila pokrivena keramičkim loncem. Ako analiziramo grobove u kojima su kremirana djeca, onda dobiveni rezultati pokazuju da su ona starijeg uzrasta (od 6 do 15 godina), samostalno kremirana ili su kremirana uz jednu odraslu osobu (16 grobova), dok su samo tri novorođenčeta kremirana uz odraslu osobu. Često su grobovi kremirane djece imali pokrivač od imbreksa, tegula i opeka (četiri groba) ili su djeca bila sahranjena u zdjeli ili amfori (dva groba).²³

TIPOLOŠKA KLASIFIKACIJA GROBOVA INHUMIRANE DJECE

Prve skeletne sahrane u Viminaciju su s kraja 1. stoljeća n. e. Tijekom 2. stoljeća dolazi do postupnog prodora doseljenika iz istočnih provincija, za koje je inhumacija jedini oblik sahranjivanja.²⁴ U tome razdoblju prevladavaju sahrane slobodno ukopanih pokojnika ili u drvenom lijesu. Takav slučaj odnosi se, kako na odrasle osobe tako i na djecu. Grobovi s konstrukcijom od opeke datirani su nešto kasnije i u njima su uglavnom sahranjivane odrasle osobe različitog spola, dok su rijetki dječji grobovi istoga tipa. Teritorijalno, ovaj tip grobova izdvaja se od ostalog dijela nekropole jer uglavnom obuhvaća južni dio nekropole Više grobalja (Trasa odlagača i Kanal) na kojoj su vršene sahrane do kraja 3. stoljeća.

Na istraživanoj nekropoli, od ukupnog broja inhumirane djece (639), najviše je slobodno ukopanih, odnosno sahranjenih u običnoj grobnoj raci, manje ili više pravokutnog oblika (405 grobova, 63%). U više od polovice grobova ovog tipa nema priloga (40%), dok su ostali s priložima (23%). Na slici 1 prikazana je tipološka klasifikacija dječjih grobova sa i bez priloga.

²³ Analiza se odnosi samo na kremirane grobove s nekropole Više grobalja koji je publicirao i čiju je antropološku analizu načinio antropolog Ž. Mikić. Vidjeti u Зотовић, Јордовић 1990; Korać, Golubović 2009.

²⁴ Göricke-Lukić 2000, 96.

results show older children (6 – 15 years old) individually cremated or cremated with an adult (16 graves), while only three infants were cremated with an adult. Often the graves of cremated children had a layer of imbrices, tegulae, and bricks (4 graves) over them, or were buried in a bowl or amphora (2 graves).²³

TYPOLICAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE SKELETAL CHILDREN'S GRAVES

The first skeletal funerals in Viminacium date to the end of the 1st century AD. During the 2nd century a gradual arrival of settlers from eastern provinces who use skeletal inhumation as the only form of burial occurs.²⁴ During this period, funerals in plain grave pits or burial of the deceased in a wooden coffin are dominant. This refers to both adult individuals and children. Graves constructed with bricks – where mostly adult individuals of both sexes were buried, while children's graves of this type are very rare – were established somewhat later. Territorially, these types of graves are separated from the rest of the necropolis, mostly located in the southern part of the necropolis Više grobalja (Trasa odlagača and Kanal) where funerals were performed until the end of the 3rd century.

At the excavated necropolis, out of 639 inhumed children, the majority was naturally buried, i.e. buried in a plain grave pit, more or less rectangular in shape (405 graves, 63%). In more than half of the graves of this type there were no grave goods (40%), while other graves contained grave goods (23%). Figure 1 shows the typological classification of children's graves with and without grave goods.

²³ The analysis refers solely to the cremated graves from the Više grobalja necropolis, which are published, and for which a careful anthropological analysis by Ž. Mikić was conducted. See in Зотовић, Јордовић 1990 and Korać, Golubović 2009.

²⁴ Göricke-Lukić 2000, 96.

Drugu grupaciju grobova čine djeca sahranjena u drvenom lijesu ili položena na drvenu dasku, dok su u rijetkim slučajevima samo prekrivena daskom (210 grobova, 33%). Ostaci su lijesa iznimno rijetki i oskudni, dok su željezni čavli pronađeni kod lubanje, stopala i s bočnih strana skeleta, kao jedini svjedoci o postojanju sanduka. Grobovi s priložima čine 30%, dok su preostala 3% bez priloga.

Trećoj skupini pripadaju grobovi djece sahranjene u lijesu od opeka ili tegula (18 grobova, 3%). Grobovi su formirani od zidanih, vodoravno složenih opeka, povezanih zemljom ili vapnenim mortom, ili su od nasatično postavljenih opeka i tegula. U rijetkim su slučajevima sačuvani pokrivači od opeka, tegula ili imbreksa iako su u većini slučajeva oštećeni radom mehanizacije, pljačkom ili ukopom drugog groba. Grobni prilozima su nađeni u 2% grobova, dok u 1% nema priloga.

U rijetkim slučajevima u grobovima slobodno pokopanih pokojnika, sahranjenih u drvenom lijesu ili u grobovima zidanim od opeka, nailazi se na neobrađeno kamenje (škriljevac, vapnenac ili „crvenka“)²⁵ kojim su grobovi bili pokriveni ili su pojedinačni nalazi predstavljali obilježje groba.

Slobodno pokopani pokojnici dječje dobi, pokriveni polovicom amfore, a u jednom slučaju zdjelom, pronađeni su u šest slučajeva (1%). Kod polovice je utvrđeno da su novorođenčad, dok za ostale nije bilo moguće utvrditi dob. Tri su pokojnika s priložima. U grobu G-210 pronađeni su: staklena posuda, perle, balzamarij i brončani ključ, dok su u preostala dva, s po jednim prilogom: novac Trajana i brončano zvonce. Brojni su primjerci sahrane novorođenčadi ispod amfore ili drugog recipijenta širom Carstva, posebno tijekom kasnoantičkoga razdoblja (Dobrudža, Gruzija). Neki autori povezuju taj običaj s povratkom u uterus.²⁶

²⁵ „Crvenka“ je prirodna vrsta kamena iz lokalnog kamenoloma u blizini Viminacija.

²⁶ Rubel, Soficaru 2012, 164–165.

The second group of graves belongs to children buried in a wooden coffin or laid on a wooden board, while in rare cases they are simply covered with a board (210 graves, 33%). The remains of the coffins are very rare and scarce, and iron nails are found next to the skull, feet, and on the sides of the skeleton as the only evidence of the existence of a coffin. Grave goods were found in 30% of the graves, while the other 3% did not contain grave goods.

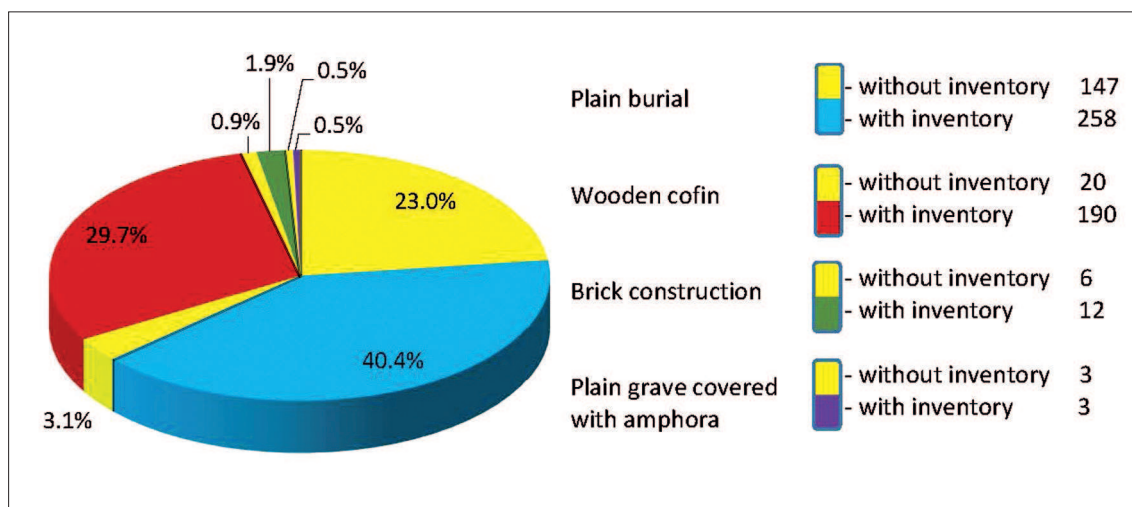
The third group consists of the graves of children buried in a coffin made of bricks or tegulae (18 graves, 3%). The coffins are formed by horizontally laid bricks interconnected with earth or lime plaster or by edgewise set bricks or tegulae. In rare cases the covers of bricks, tegulae, or imbrex were preserved, even though they were in most cases damaged by the machine work, looting, or digging another grave. Grave goods were found in 2% of the graves, while in 1% there were no grave goods.

In rare cases of plain graves pits, burials in wooden coffins, or those made of bricks rough stones were found (shale, lime, or “crvenka”),²⁵ which either covered the graves or such individual finds marked the grave site.

Plain grave pits covered with a half of an amphora, and in one case by a bowl, were found in six graves (1%). Half of them were infants, while the age of the others remains unidentified. Three graves contained grave goods. Grave G-210 contained a glass bottle, beads, a balsamarium, and a bronze key, while the remaining two each contained one object; a coin of Trajanus and a bronze bell. The burial of newborns in amphorae or some other recipient is known throughout the whole Roman Empire, especially in the late classical period (Dobrudža, Georgia). Some authors tend to link this tradition to the idea of the return to the uterus.²⁶

²⁵ “Crvenka” is a type of rock (red petrified clay) from the local Viminacium query.

²⁶ Rubel, Soficaru 2012, 164–165.



Slika / Figure 1. Tipološka klasifikacija inhumiranih dječjih grobova / Typological classification of the inhumed children's graves.

Dob djece u većini slučajeva nije precizno utvrđena. Od ukupnog broja dječjih grobova (639), za 268 pojedinaca dob nije precizno određena. Djeca su po dobi izdvojena u pet skupina. Prvu skupinu čine novorođenčad, odnosno djeca do prve godine života. Ova je dobna skupina najbrojnija (152). Uglavnom, slobodno su pokopani i sahranjeni u drvenom lijesu, dok ih je najmanje sahranjeno u kovčegu od opeka, odnosno pokriveno amforom.

Sljedeću skupinu čine djeca od druge do četvrte godine (41). Gotovo je polovica sahranjena u drvenom lijesu, a nešto manje ih je slobodno ukopano. S djecom dobi od četvrte do osme godine suprotna je situacija. Od trideset tri sahrane, dvije je trećine slobodno pokopane djece, dok je jedna trećina sahranjena u sanduku od drva. Djeca starije dobi, od osme do dvanaeste godine (23), gotovo su podjednako sahranjivana u drvenom lijesu, ili su slobodno pokopana, dok je jedno u dobi između desete i dvanaeste godine sahranjeno u kovčegu od opeke.

Brojčano su najmanje zastupljeni grobovi djece u dobi od dvanaeste do petnaeste godine života (19). Od ovog broja za dvije sahrane može se reći da su izvršene u drvenom lijesu, dok su svi ostali pokojnici slobodno pokopani. Grupne sahrane djece

The age of the children in most cases is not precisely determined. Out of 639 children's graves, age was determined approximately for 268 individuals. The children are divided by their age into five groups. The first group consists of infants, i.e. of one-year-old children. This age group is the most numerous (152). The children from this group were mostly buried in plain grave pits or in a wooden coffin, while a very small number was buried in a brick structure, or covered by an amphora.

The next group consists of children ranging from two to four years of age (41). Almost half of the children in this group were buried in a coffin made of wood, and a little less than that was buried in plain grave pits. The situation is reversed for the children of four to eight years of age. Out of 33 graves, two thirds are plain grave pits, while one third contained a wooden coffin. Older children, 23 of them (8 – 12 years old) were almost equally buried in wooden coffins or in grave pits, while one aged between ten and twelve was buried in a brick structure.

The rarest are the graves of children between the ages of twelve to fifteen (19). Of these two funerals can be said to have been made in a wooden coffin, while all other deceased were buried directly in grave pits. Group funerals of children with adult individuals or older children are present in several cases. A plain grave pit of

s odraslim pojedincima ili starijom djecom prisutne su u nekoliko slučajeva. Grob slobodno pokopanog djeteta (G-26) pronađen je iznad groba slobodno sahranjene odrasle žene (G-24). Vjerojatno je riječ o sahrani djeteta iznad majčina groba. Dvojni je grob (G-47 i 48) u drvenom lijesu sadržavao skelete dviju osoba, od kojih je jedna u dječjoj dobi od 10 do 12 godina, dok je druga odrasla osoba ženskog spola u dobi oko 30 godina. U grobu G-106 slobodno su ukopane tri osobe, dvije odrasle nepoznate dobi i spola, dok je treća dječje dobi. Dijete od šest godina sahranjeno je u drvenom lijesu (G-167) i sahranjeno je u grobu kremiranog pokojnika mlađe dobi (G1-229). Slična je situacija s djetetom od šest mjeseci (G-169) koje je sahranjeno u grobu kremiranog djeteta u dobi od 10 godina (G1-138). Dvojna sahrana djeteta od 4 do 6 godina i žene od 30 do 40 godina izvršena je u slobodno ukopanom grobu G-194.²⁷ Slična je situacija u dvojnim grobovima G-625 A, B i G-798 A, B u kojima su slobodno pokopani dijete i odrasla osoba. Precizna dob i spol pokojnika nisu utvrđeni.²⁸

Skeletni ostaci pokojnika dječje dobi često su nedovoljno sačuvani i nije moguće utvrditi točan položaj. U slučajevima gdje je to bilo moguće utvrditi, skeleti su uglavnom položeni na leđa, s rukama pored tijela ili na zdjelici. Međutim, sedam pokojnika dječje dobi bilo je sahranjeno na lijevom, odnosno desnom boku, u zgrčenom položaju. Svi su slobodno pokopani, u jednom je grobu novac Hadrijana, dok su dva iz druge polovine 2. stoljeća. Prilozi su prisutni samo u dva slučaja, i to su novac i jedna keramička posuda. Dob je utvrđena u četvero djece i kreće se od osamnaest mjeseci do osme godine.²⁹

²⁷ Zotović, Jordović 1990, 56, 58, 63, 65, 67.

²⁸ Podaci su preuzeti iz dokumentacije Arheološkog instituta u Beogradu, terenski dnevnik Više grobalja iz 1984. godine, str. 880 i 1040.

²⁹ Zotović, Jordović 1990, 56, Г-20; 66, Г-188; 68, Г-220; Korać, Golubović 2009, 353, G-421; Podaci za ostale dvojne grobove preuzeti su iz dokumentacije Arheološkog instituta u Beogradu, terenski dnevnik Više grobalja iz 1984. godine, str. 809, G-551 i iz 1985. godine, str. 2000, G-1882 i str. 2259, G-2169.

a child (G-26) was found above a grave of an adult woman (G-24). This was probably a child's burial above the mother's grave. A double grave (G-47 and 48) contained skeletons of two individuals in a wooden coffin. One of the individuals was a child aged between ten and twelve and the other an adult female around the age of 30. In grave 106 there were three buried individuals; two adults of unknown age and sex, while the third individual was a child. A six-year-old child was buried in a wooden coffin (G-167) in the grave of a cremated younger individual (G1-229). This is similar to the burial of a six-month-old child (G-169) who was buried in a ten-year-old child's grave (G1-138). A double funeral of a child four to six years of age and a woman aged between 30 and 40 was performed in a plain grave pit (G-194).²⁷ The situation is similar to double graves 625 A, B and 798 A, B where a child was buried with an adult individual. The precise age and sex of the deceased were not determined.²⁸

The skeletal remains of children are often not preserved and it is not always possible to determine their exact position. In cases where this was possible, the skeletons are mostly supine burials, with arms laid next to the body or crossed over the pelvis of the deceased. However, seven deceased children were buried on their sides, either left or right, in foetal position. The burials were all plain grave pits; one had a coin of Hadrian inside, while two are from the second half of the 2nd century. Grave goods are present only in two instances – coins and a ceramic vessel. The age of the four children was determined to be between eighteen months and eight years.²⁹

²⁷ Zotović, Jordović 1990, 56, 58, 63, 65, 67

²⁸ The data was taken from the Institute of Archaeology in Belgrade's documents; field diary of Više grobalja from 1984, pg. 880 and 1040.

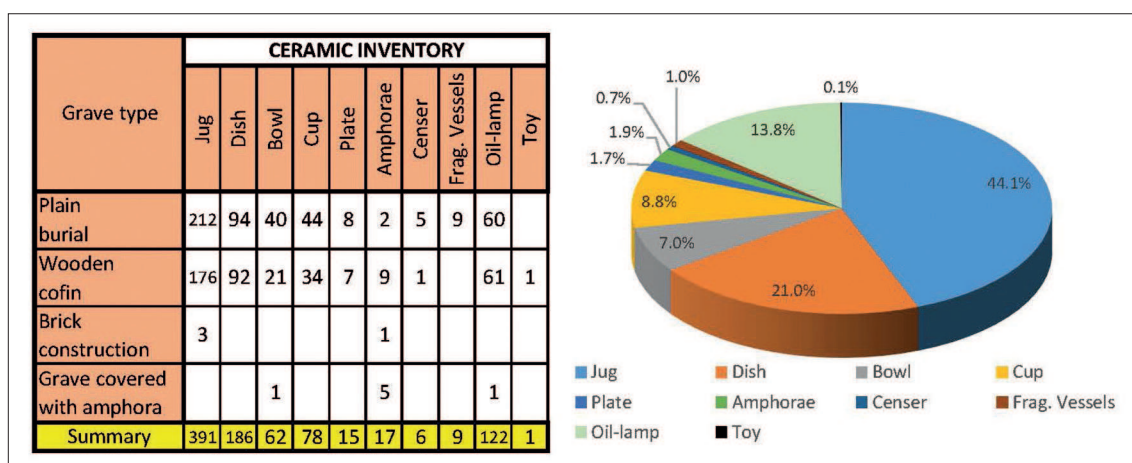
²⁹ Zotović, Jordović 1990, 56, Г-20, 66, Г-188, 68, Г-220; Korać, Golubović 2009, 353, G-421. Data for the other double graves was taken from the Institute of Archaeology in Belgrade's documents; field diary of Više grobalja from 1984, pg. 809, G-551 and from 1985, pg. 2000, G-1882 and pg. 2259, G-2169.

GROBNI PRILOZI

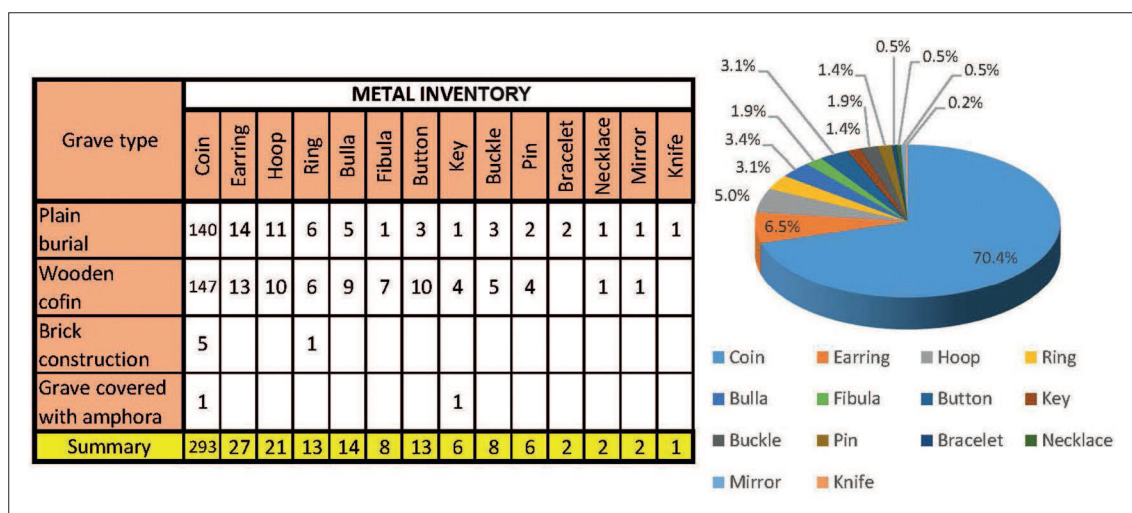
Grobni prilozi iz grobova inhumirane djece su jednolični. Među njima dominiraju posude od keramike (vrč, lonac, zdjela, pehar...) i svjetiljke (sl. 2). Gotovo su identični nalazi podjednako zastupljeni u grobovima slobodno ukopane djece i sahranjene u drvenom lijesu. Najčešće su pronađena po tri vrča u grobu, po jedan ili dva u manjoj mjeri, dok su u dva groba nađena čak po četiri vrča. Sve su ostale posude najčešće prisutne s po jednim primjerkom, ali ima i iznimaka, poput lonaca koji su s po dva primjerka prisutna u dvadeset grobova. Svjetiljke predstavljaju česte priloge i obično su zastupljene s po jednim primjerkom, rijetko s po dva, dok su u jednom grobu pronađene tri svjetiljke.

GRAVE INVENTORY

The grave inventory of the skeletal graves of children is uniform. Among the grave goods, the most dominant find are ceramic vessels (jugs, pots, bowls, cups...) and oil-lamps (Fig. 2). Almost identical finds are equally present in children's burials in plain grave pits and burials in wooden coffins. Three jugs in a single grave are the most common find; finds of one or two jugs are less common, while two graves yielded as many as four jugs. All other ceramic vessels are usually present with one piece in each grave, but there are some exceptions to the rule, such as the twenty graves containing two ceramic pots each. Oil-lamps are common grave goods and one is usually found per grave, rarely two, whereas in one grave three were discovered.



Slika / Figure 2. Prikaz keramičkih nalaza / Ceramic finds.



Slika / Figure 3. Prikaz metalnih nalaza / Metal finds.



Slika / Figure 4. Nalazi iz dječjega groba G-2250 / Finds from child's grave G-2250 (Dokumentacioni centar Viminacium / The Documentation Centre of Viminacium; snimila / photo by B. Milovanović).

Novac je najbrojniji od svih grobnih priloga (sl. 3). Podjednako je prisutan u grobovima slobodno ukopanih pokojnika i onih sahranjenih u drvenom lijesu. Rijetko je prisutan u kovčezima od opeka i samo je jedan primjerak iz groba pokrivenog amforom. Uglavnom, nalazi se po jedan novac u grobu, a u iznimno rijetkim slučajevima po dva ili tri.

Postoje primjerci koji su perforirani, što ukazuje da su nošeni kao privjesci na ogrlici ili naušnici, a pronađeni su s raznovrsnim privjescima, kao što su: bule, školjke, falusi, zvonca, perle i sl. (sl. 4). Za razliku od jednog probušenog novca, koji se uglavnom smatra privjeskom, kod onih tri puta probušenih pojavljivala su se i drugačija mišljenja, da su povremeno bili prišivani i na odjeću.³⁰ Ostatak je tkanine pronađen na novcu iz dječjega groba G-216. Novac s viminacijske nekropole Više grobalja posebno je obrađen i publiciran u monografiji koja je korištena za datiranje obrađenih grobova u ovome radu.³¹

Ostali prilozi odnose se na dijelove nošnje (fibule, gumbi, kopče, igle, čavli za cipele), osobni nakit (naušnice, alke, prstenje, ogrlice), toaletni pribor (balzamariji, ogledala, boce) i na predmete koji su imali ulogu amuleta, odnosno apotropijskog znak (bule, perle, privjesci u obliku falusa, zvonca, zubi divljih životinja, školjke i puževi). Predmete za igru čine rijetki primjerci žetona, kockica i jedna zvečka (sl. 3, 5, 6).

Of all the grave goods, coins are the most numerous (Fig. 3). They are equally present in the plain grave pits and in burials in wooden coffins. They are rarely present in brick structures and there was only one find in an amphora-covered grave. One coin is usually found per grave, and in extremely rare cases up to two or three are found.

Some are perforated, which suggests that they used to be worn as pendants on a necklace or earring and were found with various other pendants: bullae, shells, phalluses, bells, beads etc. (Fig. 4). Unlike singly perforated coins, which are generally assumed to be pendants, different opinions arise with regard to those with three perforations which state that sometimes they were also sewn onto clothing.³⁰ In child's grave G-216, cloth remnants were preserved on the coin. The coins from the Viminacium necropolis Više grobalja were separately analysed and published in a study used for dating the analysed graves in this paper.³¹

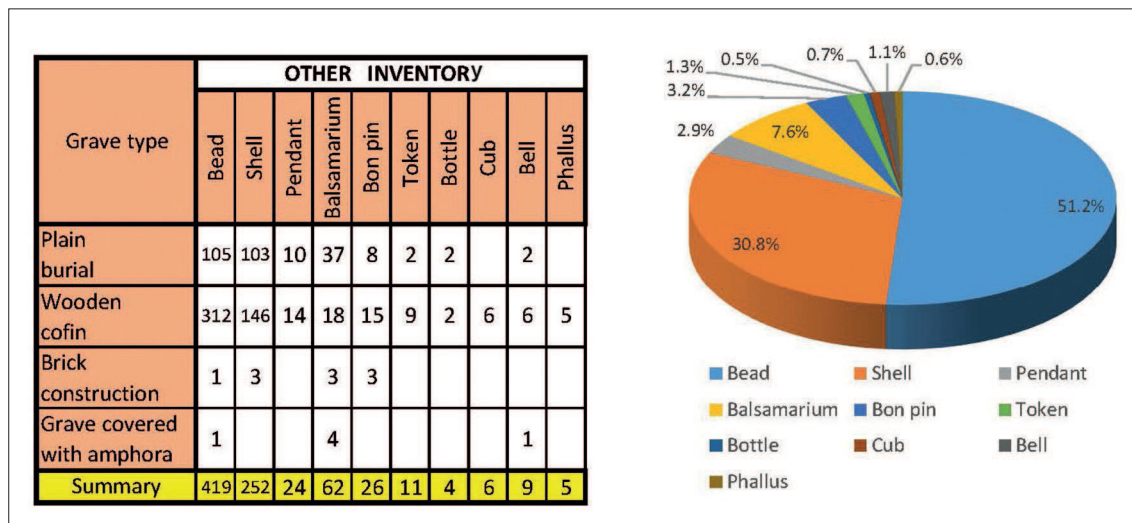
The rest of the grave inventory consists of parts of clothing (fibulas, buttons, buckles, pins, hobnails), personal jewellery (earrings, hoops, rings, necklaces), toiletries (balsamariums, mirrors, bottles), and objects that had the role of an amulet, or were of apotropaic character (bullae, beads, bell and phallus shaped pendants, wild animals' teeth, shells and snails). Rare are objects representing toys – tokens, cubes, and a rattle (Fig. 3, 5, 6).

³⁰ Vojvoda, Mrdić 2015, 30–36.

³¹ Vojvoda, Mrdić 2015.

³⁰ Vojvoda, Mrdić 2015, 30–36.

³¹ Vojvoda, Mrdić 2015.



Slika / Figure 5. Prikaz ostalih nalaza / Other finds.



Slika / Figure 6. Pijetao, zvečka iz dječjega groba G-699, C-4749 / Rooster, rattling toy from child's grave G-699, C-4749 (Narodni muzej Požarevac / National Museum of Požarevac; Д. Спасић-Ђурић 2015, 170, кат. бр. / cat. no. 72).



Slika / Figure 7. Dečji grob G-2250 / Child's grave G-2250 (dokumentacija Arheološkog instituta u Beogradu / documentation of the Institute of Archaeology in Belgrade).



Slika / Figure 8. Detalj iz dječjega groba G-2267 / Detail from child's grave G-2267 (dokumentacija Arheološkog instituta u Beogradu / documentation of the Institute of Archaeology in Belgrade).

Primjećujemo da u grobovima inhumirane djece dominira standardni repertoar: novac, vrč i svjetiljka, kao i u grobovima odraslih osoba (sl. 7, 8).³² U pogrebnom ritualu djece nije primjenjivan poseban tretman u odnosu na starije. Grobni su prilozima uglavnom imali cilj osigurati ugodan put i boravak pokojnika u zagrobni život. Novcem je plaćan prelazak preko rijeke, svjetiljkom je osvjetljen put, u vrčevima su se nalazile tekućine za libaciju (voda, vino i ulje), a hrana u posudama za blagovanje (zdjele, tanjuri).

Ipak, dječji se grobovi po pojedinim prilozima izdvajaju od grobova odraslih. Predmeti, kao što su bule, raznobojne perle, različiti privjesci, školjke i puževi, osim što su bili posebno vezani uz pokojnika, imali su cilj štititi ga od zlih duhova (sl. 4, 9).³³

³² Korać, Golubović 2009, 527–528.

³³ Barber, Bowsher 2000, 325.

We can see that in skeletal children's graves the usual inventory predominates: coins, a jug, and an oil-lamp, the same as in graves of adult individuals (Fig. 7, 8).³² The funeral rites for children were not different from those performed for adults. The grave goods were usually placed there to secure a safe journey to the afterlife for the deceased and secure their stay there. The coins are used to pay for the fare across the river, the oil-lamp served to light the way, while the jugs contained liquid sacrifices (water, wine, and oil), and the food was put in dining dishes (bowls, plates...).

Still, children's graves differ from the graves of adults by some grave goods. The objects such as bullae, polychrome beads, various pendants, shells and snails, apart from being specially linked with the deceased, protected against evil spirits (Fig. 4, 9).³³

³² Korać, Golubović 2009, 527–528.

³³ Barber, Bowsher 2000, 325.



Slika / Figure 9. Moguća rekonstrukcija ogrlice iz dječjega groba G-2250 / Possible reconstruction of a child's necklace from grave G-2250 (Dokumentacioni centar Viminacium / The Documentation Centre of Viminacium; snimila / photo by B. Milovanović).

Inhumirana djeca na nekropoli Više grobalja pripadaju siromašnijoj društvenoj klasi Viminacija, o tome svjedoče jednostavne sahrane u običnim rakama i drvenim sanducima, dok su rijetko zastupljeni kovčeži od opeka i tegula. Također, skromni i malobrojni prilozima potvrđuju ovu činjenicu, ali isto tako je sigurno da su žitelji Viminacija poštovali djecu. Tijekom pogreba djece primjenjivani su svi pogrebni rituali kojima nije zaobiđena ni novorođenčad koja je uglavnom inhumirana. Iznad dječjih su grobova pronađene žrtvene površine koje svjedoče o održavanju redovitih pogrebnih obreda.

Bule su nalažene u grobovima slobodno ukopane djece i sahranjene u drvenom lijesu.³⁴ U grobovima inhumirane djece s istražene nekropole, ukupno je pronađeno četrnaest primjeraka, s tim što je u grobu djeteta sahranjenog u drvenom lijesu bilo četiri bule (G-216). Jedna je srebrna, a ostale su

³⁴ Goette 1986, 138, bilj. 24. Bulu su prema pisanim izvorima nosili slobodno rođeni dječaci do stjecanja zrelosti (između 14. i 17. godine), a onda su je prilagali Larima. Na brojnim reljefima i skulpturama dječaci su doista prikazivani s bulom oko vrata. Prema Plautu, i žene su do udaje mogle nositi bulu.

The inhumed children from the necropolis Više grobalja belong to a poorer social class of Viminacium, simple funerals in ordinary grave pits and wooden coffins being proof of that, while brick structures are rare. Modest and scarce inventories also serve to confirm this fact, but it is also obvious that the residents of Viminacium respected children. When burying children, the same funeral rites as for adults were performed – even for infants who were inhumed. Sacrificial surfaces were found above the children's graves, which give proof of regular commemorations.

Bullae were found in plain grave pits as well as in burials in wooden coffins.³⁴ A total of 14 bullae were found in the skeletal graves of children at the excavated necropolis, and as many as 4 were found in a grave of a child buried in a wooden coffin (G-216). One bulla is silver, while the other bullae are made of bronze. One was found on the chest, while the other bullae were found together with pendants of wild boar teeth, shells, beads, and two bells at the child's

³⁴ Goette 1986, 138, n. 24. According to written sources, the bulla was carried by freeborn boys until maturity (between 14 and 17 years of age), when they would offer it to the Larres. On numerous reliefs and sculptures, boys were depicted with bullae around their necks. According to Plautus, women were also allowed to wear bullae until marriage.

brončane. Jedna je pronađena na grudima, dok su se ostale, zajedno s privjescima od zuba vepra, školjkama, perlama, i dva zvonca, nalazile pokraj nogu, kao i dio narukvice ili ogrlice pohranjene vjerojatno u drvenoj škrinji. Dijete je u dobi do jedne godine. Novcem Domicijana, grob je datiran u kraj 1. i početak 2. stoljeća.³⁵ Slična je situacija i s ostalim grobovima.³⁶ Međutim, u jednom grobu bula je jedini grobni prilog ili se nalazi samo uz fibulu, dok je u drugome grobu sa svjetiljkom, vrčem i kadionicom.

Na svim do sada istraženim nekropolama Viminacija pronađeno je 167 bula (jedna zlatna, jedanaest srebrnih, dok su ostale od bronce). Više su zastupljene u grobovima inhumiranih (78), a manje u grobovima kremiranih pokojnika (29) različitih uzrasta i spola, iako prevladavaju dječje sahrane (najmanje 35). Za sada je potvrđeno sedam sahrana odraslih osoba s bulama (tri muškarca, dvije žene i dva odrasla pokojnika neutvrđenog spola). Na temelju položaja unutar grobova, utvrđeno je kako je bula nošena na ogrlici oko vrata, pokraj nogu naknadno stavljena zajedno sa sličnim priložima apotropejskog karaktera, dok je jedan nalaz korišten kao privjesak na narukvici.³⁷ Bula na torkvesu pronađena je u četiri groba (tri kremacije i jedna inhumacija).³⁸

Na prostoru rimskih provincija Panonije, Norika, Recije, Germanije i Britanije bule su uglavnom pronađene u grobovima inhumirane i kremirane djece. Ovo potvrđuju pojedini grobovi iz Panonije, u kojima su bule pronađene, ne samo u grobovima dječaka već i djevojčica, dok je po jedan primjerak iz groba odraslog muškarca, odnosno žene. Dosadašnji nalazi bula iz gro-

feet, as parts of bracelets or necklaces probably stored in a wooden box. The child belongs to the group of children up to one year of age. The grave is dated with a coin of Domitian to the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century AD.³⁵ The situation is similar in the other graves as well.³⁶ However, in one grave, the bulla was the only grave good, with the addition of a single fibula, while in a second grave it was found together with an oil-lamp, a ceramic jug, and a censer.

In all the cemeteries of Viminacium excavated so far, 167 bullae were found (one gold, eleven silver, and the rest bronze). Bullae are found more often in skeletal graves (78), and less in cremation graves (29) of individuals of different ages and sexes, but they definitely predominate in children's burials (at least 35). For now, seven burials of adults with bullae were confirmed (three male; two female, and two adults of undetermined sex). Based on the location of the bullae inside the graves, it was noted that they were worn around the neck, and subsequently placed by the legs together with similar grave goods of apotropaic character, while one find was used as a pendant on a bracelet.³⁷ Bullae on torques were found in four graves (three cremation graves and one skeletal grave without cremation).³⁸

In the Roman provinces of Pannonia, Noricum, Raetia, Germania, and Britannia, bullae are usually found in graves of inhumed (without cremation) and cremated children. This is supported by individual graves from Pannonia in which bullae were found not only in the graves of boys, but also girls, while one specimen was found in the grave of an adult male or female. The former finds of bullae from the graves of

³⁵ Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 68, Т. 36: 2–12, Т. 37: 13–15; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 19, kat. br. 294. U grobu s viminacijske nekropole (lokalitet Pirivoj, G -379) sahranjeno je novorođenče s tri bule različitog materijala (srebro, bronca i olovo). Grob je datiran u prvu polovicu 3. stoljeća (Stojić 2015, 51).

³⁶ U trideset grobova sa svih do sada istraženih viminacijskih nekropola bula je činila sastavni dio ogrlica od različitih perli i privjesaka, školjki i puževa (Stojić 2015, 48).

³⁷ Stojić 2015, 47–48, 50.

³⁸ Zotović 1995, 160–162.

³⁵ Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 68, Т. 36: 2–12, Т. 37: 13–15; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 91, cat. no. 294. A grave from the necropolis of Viminacium (site Pirivoj, G-379) containing a new-born baby with three bullae of different materials (silver, bronze, and lead). The grave is dated to the first half of the 3rd century (Stojić 2015, 51).

³⁶ In 30 graves from all of the investigated necropolises of Viminacium, bullae are an integral part of necklaces made out of different beads and pendants, shells and snails (Stojić 2015, 48).

³⁷ Stojić 2015, 47–48, 50.

³⁸ Zotović 1995, 160–162.



Slika / Figure 10. Moguća rekonstrukcija ogrlice od školjki iz dječjega groba G-2250 / Possible reconstruction of a shell necklace from child's grave G-2250 (Dokumentacioni centar Viminacium / The Documentation Centre of Viminacium; snimila / photo by B. Milovanović).

bova Panonije,³⁹ Mezije⁴⁰ i Dakije⁴¹ ukazuju da nošenje bule nije bio odraz društvenog statusa pokojnika, već je bula prilagana kao amulet i imala je apotropejsko značenje. Sadržaj bule najčešće čine ostaci biljke ili biljke umotane u tkaninu. Rijetko se nalaze sjemenke voća, korijandra, a u jednom slučaju mali kip Harpokrata u lovorovu listu.⁴² Zaštitnička moć sadržaja bule spominje se jedino kod Makrobija koji navodi da štiti od "urokljivog oka".⁴³

Ljušture školjki i puževa (uglavnom morskih, rijetko riječnih) u grobovima mogu imati utilitarnu, dekorativnu, votivnu i simboličku funkciju (sl. 10; privjesci za ogrlice, za dekoraciju odjeće ili toaletnih kutija; kao simboli Venere, boginje ljepote i plodnosti).

³⁹ Migotti 2007, 187–219;

⁴⁰ Petrović 1993, 69; Grbić 1994, 208, kat. br. 490, T. 54: 1; Petrović 1997, 133; Černač 2000, 52, kat. br. 2, T. 1: 2; Pop-Lazić 2002, 67–68;

⁴¹ Benea 2004, 141–143; Hamat 2010, 214.

⁴² Migotti 2007, 187–219.

⁴³ Brown 2000, 259.

Pannonia,³⁹ Moesia⁴⁰ and Dacia⁴¹ show that bullae were not a reflection of the social status of the deceased, but that they were put in graves as amulets and had apotropaic significance. The bulla usually contains the remains of plants or plants wrapped in cloth. More rare finds are seeds of fruits, coriander, and in exceptional cases, a small statue of Harpocrates in laurel leaf.⁴² The protective power of the contents of a bulla is mentioned only by Macrobius, who states that they protect the wearer against "evil eye".⁴³

Shells and snails (mostly marine, rarely fresh water species) in graves can have a utilitarian, decorative, votive, and symbolic function (Fig. 10; as necklace pendants, to adorn clothes or jewellery boxes; as symbols of Venus, the goddess of beauty and fertility). In children's graves,

³⁹ Migotti 2007, 187–219;

⁴⁰ Petrović 1993, 69; Grbić 1994, 208, cat. no. 490, T. 54: 1; Petrović 1997, 133; Černač 2000, 52, cat. no. 2, T. 1: 2; Pop-Lazić 2002, 67–68.

⁴¹ Benea 2004, 141–143; Hamat 2010, 214.

⁴² Migotti 2007, 187–219.

⁴³ Brown 2000, 259.

U dječjim su grobovima imale funkciju amuleta, odnosno zaštite protiv uroka. Često je riječ o primjercima nejestivih gastropoda (*Conus mediterraneus*, *Pirenella conica*, *Certhium vulgatum*) koji su korišteni kao privjesci na ogrlicama, narukvicama i naušnicama.⁴⁴

Na nekropoli Više grobalja u grobovima inhumiranih pokojnika dječje dobi školjke su pronađene u 53 groba, i to duplo više u drvenim kovčezima nego u slobodno ukopanih pokojnika. U jednom grobu s konstrukcijom od opeke (G-2040) pronađena je polovica ljušture školjke uz dva vrča, tri koštane igle i svjetiljka. Školjke su pronađene uz različite perle i privjeske (bula, falus, zvonce, perforirani zub životinja, perforirana ljuštura puža). Pojedine ljušture školjki su s perforacijom, ali često su oštećene i nije uvijek pouzdano jesu li korištene kao privjesci. Školjke pronađene u ovome kontekstu bile su sastavni dio ogrlica i narukvica koje su imale funkciju zaštite pokojnika od zlih sila u onozemaljskom životu. Međutim, školjke se nalaze i uz različite posude od keramike, svjetiljke i novac. U ovim slučajevima mogle su predstavljati hranu (kad je riječ o većoj količini) ili su imale simboličku funkciju vezanu uz boginju Veneru, plodnost i besmrtnost.

Brončana su zvonca pronađena u sedam grobova, s tim što su u grobovima 216 i 825, nađena po dva primjerka. Ima ih u grobovima slobodno ukopane djece (G-1296 i 1373), sahranjene u drvenom kovčegu (G-216, 825, 1655 i 2124) i u grobu prekrivenom polovicom amfore (G-673). U navedenim grobovima nalaze se zajedno s ljušturama školjki, koštanim privjescima, perlama, životinjskim zubima i bulama. Dio su ogrlice magijsko-apatropejskog karaktera koja specifičnim zveckanjem štiti pokojnika.⁴⁵ Perforirani zubi divljih životinja u

they served as amulets, or as protection against evils. Inedible gastropods (*Conus mediterraneus*, *Pirenella conica*, *Certhium vulgatum*) were usually used as pendants on bracelets, necklaces, or earrings.⁴⁴

When it comes to the skeletal graves of children from the necropolis Više grobalja, shells were found in 53 graves, and the graves of the individuals buried in wooden coffins contained double the amount of shells than those of individuals buried in plain grave pits. In one grave with a brick structure (G-2040), a half of a shell was found together with two jugs, three bone pins and an oil-lamp. The shells in other graves were found next to various beads and pendants (a bulla, a phallus, a bell, a perforated animal tooth, or a perforated snail). Some shells were perforated, while others are damaged so it is not known whether they were used as pendants. The shells found in this context were parts of necklaces and bracelets with the purpose to protect the deceased from evil spirits in the otherworldly life. However, the shells are most often found with various ceramic vessels, oil-lamps, and coins. In these cases, they might have represented food (when a larger amount is present) or had a symbolic function associated with the goddess Venus – fertility and immortality.

A bronze bell was found in seven graves, with the exception of graves G-216 and G-825, in which two were found in each. They were found in plain graves pits (G-1296 and 1373), burials with wooden coffins (G-216, 825, 1655, 2124), and in a grave covered with a half of an amphora (G-673). In these graves, the bells were found together with shells, bone pendants, beads, animal teeth, and bullae, thus composing a necklace of magical and apotropaic character that would produce a specific jingling sound used to protect the deceased.⁴⁵ Perforated teeth of wild animals found in children's graves (G-216, 247, 261, 490) symbolise the strength of those animals whose power is in their strong teeth,

⁴⁴ Спасић-Ђурић 2015, 104–105.

⁴⁵ Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 122–128, Fig. 2. U grobu inhumiranog djeteta iz viminacijske nekropole (lokalitet Pećine, G-1807), uz brončano zvonce pronađeni su sljedeći predmeti: školjka, bula, zub divlje svinje, koštani privjesak, tri falusa od kosti, perle od kojih je jedna od karneola, falusnog oblika. Svi su bili pohranjeni u drvenom kovčežiću i vjerojatno su predstavljali dio ogrlice. Osim u funerarnom kontekstu, zvona su se vješala ispred kućnih vrata, hramova, ali su činila i dio konjske orme.

⁴⁴ Спасић-Ђурић 2015, 104–105.

⁴⁵ Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 122–128, Fig. 2. In a grave of an inhumed child at the Viminacium necropolis (Pećine site, G-1807), the following objects were also found along with a bronze bell: a shell, a bulla, a tooth of a wild boar, a bone pendant, three phalluses made of bone, and beads (one of which was made of carnelian and has the shape of a phallus). The objects were buried in a small wooden box and were probably parts of a necklace. Outside the funerary context, the bells were hung above house doors, temples, and were a part of horse harnesses.

dječjim grobovima (G-216, 247, 261, 490) simboliziraju snagu tih životinja, čija se moć krije u jakim zubima, stoga su s tim ciljem i nošeni kao privjesci, a ponajprije su ih nosila djeca.⁴⁶

Falusi, kao privjesci ili aplikacije, imali su apotropejsku funkciju, posebno u dječjim grobovima.⁴⁷ Četiri su falusa (tri od bronce i jedan od kosti) iz grobova pokojnika dječje dobi sahranjenih u drvenom lijesu (G-189, 331, 1726 i 1897). Svi su imali funkciju privjesaka uz raznovrsne perle ili ljušturre školjki. Privjesak iz groba 189 reljefno je izrezan na tankoj trapezoidnoj koštanoj pločici, s prstenastom alkom u gornjem dijelu i stiliziranim stidnim dlačicama sa strane.⁴⁸ Falusoidni privjesci iz grobova istražene nekropole datirani su novcem od 2. do sredine 3. stoljeća.⁴⁹ Brončanim su primjercima analogni nalazi iz okruženja: Ritopek (*Castra Tricornia*), Beograd (*Singidunum-castrum*), Guberevac (iz groba), Ivoševac kod Knina (*Burnum*) i Bribir (*Varvaria*).⁵⁰ Sa šireg prostora Carstva identični su nalazi iz Triera, Ursina i Britanskog muzeja.⁵¹

U grobu G-2267, na predmetu od kosti (obrađeni parožak jelenjeg roga), koji je imao funkciju aplikacije ili poklopca, reljefno je prikazan falus (sl. 11). Grob pri-

which was why the teeth were worn as pendants by children.⁴⁶

Phalluses as pendants or ornaments had an apotropaic function, particularly in children's graves.⁴⁷ Four phalluses (three bronze, and one made of bone) were found in graves of children buried in wooden coffins (G-189, 331, 1726 and 1897). They all served as pendants, together with various beads or shells. A pendant found in grave 189 was carved in relief on a thin trapezoid bone plate with a round metal ring in its upper part and stylised pubic hair on the sides.⁴⁸ The dates for the phallic pendants from the excavated necropolis are based on the coins found there, ranging between the 2nd and the middle of the 3rd century AD.⁴⁹ Finds from the relative vicinity are analogous with the bronze ones: Ritopek (*Castra Tricornia*), Belgrade (*Singidunum-castrum*), Guberevac (from a grave), Ivoševac near Knin (*Burnum*), and Bribir (*Varvaria*).⁵⁰ From the wider area of the Empire, the finds from Trier, Ursine, and the British Museum are identical to the phalluses found at Viminacium.⁵¹

In grave G-2267, on an object made of bone (an analysed point of a deer antler) which served as a decorative feature or a lid, a phallus is shown in relief (Fig. 11). The grave is that of a newborn buried in a plain grave pit and with numer-

⁴⁶ Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, Т. 36: 7, Т. 43: 18, 19; Т. 46: 7; Korać, Golubović 2009, 397, G-490:4.

⁴⁷ Falusi su, osim djece, štitali i ostale čiji je život bio često ugrožen, a to su prije svih vojnici i gladijatori, zatim životinje, naročito konjsku opremu i sl. Lunulasti privjesci konjske orme s falusima poznati su iz Garduna (*Tilurium*; Sanader, Tončinić 2010, 97, kat. br. 89–90). U svakodnevnom životu falusoidni su prikazi postavljani ispred privatnih i javnih objekata, raskršća, gradskih vrata, s ciljem da štite životni prostor od svake vrste zla. Nekada su kombinirani sa zvončićima i tzv. praporcima (*tinnabulum*) i visjeli su na kućnim vratima označavajući sreću jer je falus neutralizirao nesreću (Johns 2002, 64–65, ill. 13–14).

⁴⁸ Analogni primjerak od bronce poznat je iz groba kremiranog pokojnika iz iste nekropole (G1-1365), a poznati su slični nalazi iz Triera, Britanskog muzeja, Germanije i Recije. Za navedene analogije vidjeti Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 130, 141.

⁴⁹ Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 66, Т. 31: 8–9, Т. 32: 9–13; Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 128–139; Korać, Golubović 2009, 298.

⁵⁰ Крунић 1997, 79–80, kat. br. 85–88; Miletić 2010, 155–157, kat. br. 34–44.

⁵¹ Bonnet *et al.* 1989, 118, N°55; Johns 2002, ill. 10; Faust, Seewaldt, Weidner 2007, 55, N°31b.

⁴⁶ Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, Т. 36: 7, Т. 43: 18, 19; Т. 46: 7; Korać, Golubović 2009, 397, G-490:4.

⁴⁷ In addition to children, phalluses also protected adults whose lives were often endangered such as soldiers and gladiators. They protected animals too, especially when they were a part of a horse's harness etc. Pendants for harnesses in the shape of a lunular phallus were found in Gardun (*Tilurium*; Sanader, Tončinić 2010, 97, cat. no. 89–90). In everyday life, the phallic ornaments were put in front of private and public buildings, on crossroads, and on city gates to protect the living area against any kind of evil. Sometimes, they were combined with small bells and so-called sleigh bells (*tinnabulum*), and would be hung on house entrances to signify fortune, because the phallus would neutralise misfortune (Johns 2002, 64–65, ill. 13–14).

⁴⁸ An analogous bronze exemplar was found in a grave of a cremated individual from the same necropolis (G1-1365) and we are familiar with similar finds from Trier, the British Museum, Germania, and Raetia. For the aforementioned analogies, see in Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 130, 141.

⁴⁹ Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 66, Т. 31: 8–9, Т. 32: 9–13; Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 128–139; Korać, Golubović 2009, 298.

⁵⁰ Крунић 1997, 79–80, cat. no. 85–88; Miletić 2010, 155–157, cat. no. 34–44.

⁵¹ Bonnet *et al.* 1989, 118, N°55; Johns 2002, ill. 10; Faust, Seewaldt, Weidner 2007, 55, N°31b.



Slika / Figure 11. Nalaz s prikazom falusa iz dječjega groba G-2267 / Object with a representation of a phallus from child's grave G-2267 (Dokumentacioni centar Viminacium / The Documentation Centre of Viminacium; snimila / photo by B. Milovanović).

pada slobodno ukopanom novorođenčetu s brojnim priložima (sl. 9; ljuštura puža, školjke, bula, perle, perforirani zub...). Prilozi su bili smješteni na gomili pokraj nogu, pretpostavljamo u kutiji ili torbici, i svi su u svojstvu amuleta. Dvije perle od raznobojnog stakla su sa "okcima", što dodatno opravdava prisutnost falusa koji štiti od "zlog oka". Grob je datiran novcem Antonina Pija. Analogni je nalaz poznat iz Britanskog muzeja.⁵²

Na kutiji za vosak iz Viminacija (lokali-tet Pećine, G1-1140) apliciran je brončani falus, a zbog apotropejske moći tog prikaza, predmet je vjerojatno nakon primarne upotrebe smješten u grob pokojnika neodređenog spola i dobi.⁵³ Na viminacijskim nekropolama poznati su slični privjesci u obliku falusa, ne samo od bronce i kosti, već i od srebra, karneola, jantara i stakla. Stilizirane su jantarne perle u obliku falusa poznate iz Hajdina i Ptuja, dok za primjerak od karneola i stakla nisu poznate analogije.⁵⁴

Falusoidni su privjesci nošeni na tijelu, oko vrata, nazivani su *fascinum* i imali su funkciju zaštite, kako na ovom tako i na onome svijetu. Plinije i Varon potvrđuju da su djeci oko vrata stavljeni falusni simboli kako bi

ous grave goods (Fig. 9: snails, shells, a bulla, a perforated tooth...). The finds were placed at the feet, presumably in a box or a bag, and they all served as amulets. Two beads made of polychrome glass have "eyes" on them, which additionally solidifies the function of the phallus as protection against "evil eye." A coin of Antoninus Pius was also found in the grave. An analogous find is known from the British Museum.⁵²

On a seal box from Viminacium (Pećine site, G1-1140) a bronze phallus is represented, and because of its apotropaic power, the object was probably buried after primary use in a grave of an individual whose age and sex are unknown.⁵³ Similar phallic pendants are found in Viminacium necropolises, made not only of bronze and bone, but also from silver, carnelian, amber and glass. We are familiar with the stylised amber beads shaped like phalluses from Hajdin and Ptuj, whereas there are no analogies for those made of carnelian and glass.⁵⁴

Phallic pendants were worn on an individual's body, around the neck, they were called *fascinum*, and protected the wearer in this world and the next. Plinius and Varro confirm that children wore phallic symbols around their necks to neutralise evil eye and attract good fortune.⁵⁵ Being

⁵² Johns 2002,73, ill. 56.

⁵³ Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 148–150, сл. 12: 8; Milovanović, Raičković Savić 2013, 222, tab. 1, 224 (Type II, Variant 1).

⁵⁴ Vomer-Gojković 1996, 315–316; Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 121–174.

⁵² Johns 2002,73, ill. 56.

⁵³ Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 148–150, Fig. 12: 8; Milovanović, Raičković Savić 2013, 222, Tab. 1, 224 (Type II, Variant 1).

⁵⁴ Vomer-Gojković 1996, 315–316; Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 121–174.

⁵⁵ Marcade 1969, 10–12, 20; Kiefer 1971, 115–117.

neutralizirali zlo urokljivih očiju i donijeli sreću.⁵⁵ Djeca, kao osjetljiva bića, bila su najugroženija i podložna zavidnim pogledima i urokljivim očima stoga im je bila neophodna zaštita kakvu im je pružao falus. U svim je dječjim grobovima falus imao dodatne "pratioce" (puževe, školjke, zub vepira, zvonce, bulu, perle s „okcima“) koji su dodatno pojačavali magijsko-apotropijski značaj ogrlice ili narukvice, imajući za cilj zaštitu pokojnikova groba, kao i njega samoga.

Igračke, poput zvečki od keramike u obliku raznih životinja, sporadično se nalaze u dječjim grobovima, a na istraženoj nekropoli pronađena je zvečka u obliku pijetla u grobu pokojnika sahranjenog u drvenom lijesu (G-699, sl. 6). U grobu su pronađeni sljedeći prilozi: tri vrča, stakleni i keramički balzamarij, svjetiljka i novac. Grob je iz 2. stoljeća.⁵⁶ Fragmentirana je glava pijetla pronađena u žrtvenom sloju iste nekropole, dok se ostale zoomorfne igračke od keramike (orao, golub, kokoš, konj, pas) nalaze u grobovima kremiranih i skeletno sahranjenih pokojnika, ali i u slojevima između grobova spomenute nekropole, kao i na nekropoli Pećine. Korištene su, ne samo kao igračke-zvečke već i kao votivni darovi namijenjeni božanstvima ili kao suvenir.⁵⁷

Tijekom antičkog razdoblja djeca su se bavljala na razne načine, igrajući se igračkama, o čemu svjedoče brojni reljefni i figuralni prikazi. Osim igračaka u obliku minijaturnih životinja, djeci su za igru bili namijenjeni i različiti minijturni predmeti (alati, dijelovi namještaja...). U Viminaciju je pronađen jedan minijturni krevet za bebe (krevetić) od kosti.⁵⁸ Kao predmeti za igru korišteni su žetoni od kosti, paste i kamena,

⁵⁵ Marcade 1969, 10–12, 20; Kiefer 1971, 115–117.

⁵⁶ Premk 1995, 147–148, Fig. 10; Спасић-Ђурић 2002, 137, сл. 115; 2015, 104, 170, кат. бр. 72. Zvečka u obliku goluba pronađena je na viminacijskoj nekropoli Pećine u grobu inhumiranog pokojnika G-3471.

⁵⁷ Premk 1995, 143–154; Спасић-Ђурић 2002, 136, сл. 114.

⁵⁸ Спасић-Ђурић 2006, 295–310, Т. 1: 1. Krevetić je iz kremiranoga groba (lokalitet Pećine, G1-95). U ovome slučaju svadbeni je krevetić položen kao žrtva Geniju od strane mlade, preminule nevjeste.

sensitive, children were the most endangered and susceptible to envious stares and evil eye, and therefore they need the protection provided by a phallus. In all children's graves, the phallus had additional "company" (snails, shells, a wild boar's tooth, a bell, a bulla, and beads with eyes), which enhanced the magical-apotropaic meaning of the necklace or bracelet, serving as protection for both the grave and the deceased.

Toys such as ceramic rattles shaped like various animals are sporadically found in children's graves, and at the excavated necropolis a rattle shaped like a rooster was found in a grave of an individual buried in a wooden coffin (G-699; Fig. 6). The following grave goods were found in the grave: three jugs, a glass and ceramic balsamarium, an oil-lamp, and coins. The grave dates to the 2nd century AD.⁵⁶ The fragmented rooster's head was found in a sacrificial layer of the same necropolis, while other ceramic toys (an eagle, dove, chicken, horse, dog) were found in cremation and skeletal burials of the deceased, but also in layers between the graves at the mentioned necropolis, as well as the necropolis Pećine. Toys were used not only as rattles, but also as votive gifts intended for deities or as souvenirs.⁵⁷

During the classical period, children entertained themselves in a variety of ways; playing with toys as evidenced by numerous reliefs and figural representations. In addition to toys in the shape of miniature animals, various miniature objects (tools, pieces of furniture...) were designed for children to play with. In Viminacium, a tiny cot for babies was found made of bones.⁵⁸ Among the objects used for playing are also tokens made of bone, glass paste, and stone, as well as dice made of bone and clay. Tokens or tokens with dice were found only in six graves. In grave G-418, two bone dice were found with two tokens. The grave dates to the 2nd century

⁵⁶ Premk 1995, 147–148, Fig. 10; Спасић-Ђурић 2002, 137, Fig. 15; 2015, 104, 170, cat. no. 72; In the *Viminacium* necropolis (Pećine site), a rattle shaped like dove was found in an inhumed deceased grave G-3471.

⁵⁷ Premk 1995, 143–154; Спасић-Ђурић 2002, 136, Fig. 114.

⁵⁸ Спасић-Ђурић, 2006, 295–310, Т. 1: 1. The cot is from a cremation grave (Pećine site, G1-95). In this case, the bridal bed was an offering to Genius by the young, deceased bride.

kao i koštane i glinene kockice. Ukupno je u šest grobova bilo žetona ili žetona s kockicama. U grobu G-418 su pronađene dvije koštane kockice s dva žetona. Grob je datiran novcem Marka Aurelija u 2. stoljeće, a u njemu je sahranjeno dijete u dobi između šest i osam godina. U grobu G-1022 je pronađeno pet kockica s tri žetona. Grob je datiran novcem iz 3. stoljeća.⁵⁹

Zanimljivo je prisustvo sumpora u dječjim grobovima, kao i sahrane pasa u grobu neposredno ispod ili iznad dječjeg skeleta. Ove su dvije situacije vezane isključivo uz dječje sahrane, vjerojatno kao posebna zaštita pokojnika dječje dobi. Grumen je sumpora stavljan u lonac, zdjelu ili drugu keramičku posudu unutar groba. U četiri groba inhumirane djece pronađen je sumpor (G-52, 169, 221 i 223), dok je jedan nalaz iz groba s kremacijom (G1-18).⁶⁰ Specifičan je miris vjerojatno imao cilj odbiti zle sile i zaštititi, kako samog pokojnika tako i grob. Sahrana psa iznad (G-52) ili ispod (G-86) groba inhumiranog djeteta vjerojatno nije slučajnost. Takve su situacije poznate i na drugim nekropolama. Pas, kao pratitelj psihopompa, u ovome je slučaju čuvar dječjega groba.⁶¹ Međutim, nekada su djeca sahranjivana sa svojim ljubimcima, stoga ne treba odbaciti ni ovu mogućnost. Inače, sahrane su pasa poznate na teritoriju antičkog Viminacija, ne samo uz dječje grobove već i na žrtvenim površinama iznad grobova, kao i u slojevima između grobova. Ove sahrane tumače se kao ritualni obredi posvećeni htonskim božanstvima (Hekata, Dijana, Epona). Na istoimenoj nekropoli poznata je individualna sahrana psa s dvije keramičke svjetiljke. Pas je sahranjen oko 10 cm ispod donjeg sloja kremiranog pokojnika i očigledna je povezanost pokojnika s psom koji je imao poseban tretman. Slični su primjeri pronađeni i na ostalim viminacijskim nekropolama (Nad Klepečkom i Pirivoj). U jednom je slučaju pas sahranjen u blizini dislociranih kostiju konja i pokojnika mlađeg uzrasta.

⁵⁹ Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 268, kat. br. 1888; 304, kat. br. 2309.

⁶⁰ Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 116.

⁶¹ Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 115–116.

AD, based on a coin of Marcus Aurelius, and a child aged 6 – 8 was buried inside. In grave G-1022, five dice with three tokens were found. The date was determined by a coin from the 3rd century AD.⁵⁹

The presence of sulphur in children's graves is an interesting occurrence, as well as burials of dogs immediately below or above a child's skeleton. These are the two situations associated exclusively with children's funerals, and probably served as a special kind of protection for the deceased child. A lump of sulphur would be placed in a pot, bowl, or any other ceramic vessel inside the grave. Sulphur was found in four skeletal graves of children (G-52, 169, 221, and 223), while one was discovered in a grave of a cremated individual (G1-18).⁶⁰ The specific smell was probably used to repel the forces of evil and protect both the deceased and the grave itself. The burials of dogs above (G-52) or below (G-86) an inhumed child's grave are probably not a coincidence. Such situations were found in other necropolises as well. A dog as a psychopomp follower is in this case the guardian of the child's grave.⁶¹ However, sometimes the children would be buried with their pets, so this possibility should not be dismissed either. There are known dog funerals around the territory of ancient Viminacium, not only in children's graves, but also on sacrificial surfaces above the graves and in the layers between the graves. These funerals are interpreted as rituals dedicated to the chthonic deities (Hecate, Diana, or Epona). At the same necropolis, an individual dog burial was found with two ceramic oil-lamps. The dog was buried around 10 cm below the lower layer of a cremated deceased and the connection of the person to the dog – which had special treatment – is obvious. Similar examples are found in other Viminacium necropolises (Nad Klepečkom and Pirivoj). In one case, a dog was buried near dislocated horse bones and a younger human individual. This was probably a joint burial of animals and a human.⁶²

⁵⁹ Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 268, cat. no. 1888; 304, cat. no. 2309.

⁶⁰ Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 116.

⁶¹ Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 115–116.

⁶² Vuković-Bogdanović, Jovičić 2015, 687–702.

Vjerojatno je riječ o zajedničkoj sahrani životinja s čovjekom.⁶²

U pogrebnom ritualu inhumirane djece u grobu su ponekad prisutne i životinjske kosti (G-189, butna kost ovce, goveđa plećka). One predstavljaju hranu koja je polagana istovremeno sa sahranom pokojnika. Takva je praksa bila poznata i u grobovima odraslih inhumiranih i kremiranih pokojnika i svjedoči o vjeri u život poslije smrti i potrebi za hranom, kao osnovnim izvorom života.⁶³

Djeca na viminacijskoj nekropoli Više grobalja nisu sahranjivana na zasebnim, izdvojenim mjestima, kao što je to bio slučaj s novorođenčadi na nekropoli El Djem u istočnom Tunisu, na kojoj su sahranjeni na zasebnoj nekropoli. Brojni su slučajevi sahrane novorođene djece u Britaniji ispod podova kuća, u dvorištu i u različitim poljoprivrednim objektima. Ovaj običaj nije bio slučajnost, već predstavlja poseban odnos prema tek rođenoj djeci, za koju su posebno birana mjesta za pokop.⁶⁴ Identični slučajevi zasad nisu poznati na Viminaciju.

ZAKLJUČAK

Na nekropoli Više grobalja antičkog Viminacija inhumacija djece, posebno mlađe dobi, činila je gotovo trećinu ukupnog broja sahranjenih pokojnika. Stopa smrtnosti djece bila je visoka, ali znatno niža u odnosu na druge nekropole Carstva (*Cambodunum*, *Gerulata*), dok iznimku predstavlja nekropola u Pečuhu, sa samo 19,1%.⁶⁵ Iako je u prvim stoljećima kremacija bila jedini oblik sahranjivanja, djeca nisu spaljivana, prije svega iz praktičnih razloga, odnosno nije bilo dovoljno koštanih ostataka koji bi se mogli sahraniti, pa su inhumirana. Dakle, iz

⁶² Vuković-Bogdanović, Jovičić 2015, 687–702.

⁶³ Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 115.

⁶⁴ Moore 2009, 33–54; Soren, Soren 1999.

⁶⁵ Kreković 1992, 76; Mikić 1984, 5–109.

Animal bones are sometimes found in burials of inhumed children (G-189, a sheep femur and a bull scapula). The bones are the remains of food placed there together with the deceased. This was the practice in graves of adult individuals buried with and without cremation and signifies the belief in life after death and the need for food as the basic source of life.⁶³

The children at the Viminacium necropolis Više grobalja were not buried in a separate place, as was the case with the infants at the necropolis El Djem in eastern Tunisia, where they would be buried in a separate necropolis. There are numerous cases of newborn funerals in Britain under floors of houses, in yards, and in various agricultural buildings. This custom was not coincidental; it reflects a special relationship to the new-born children, for which sites for burial are specially selected.⁶⁴ Similar cases have not yet been observed at Viminacium.

CONCLUSION

The graves of children, especially younger children, at the classical period Viminacium necropolis Više grobalja accounted for almost one third of all the buried individuals. The mortality rate of children was high, but still significantly lower than in other necropolises of the Empire (*Cambodunum*, *Gerulata*), with the exception of the necropolis in Pécs, with a mortality rate for children of only 19.1%.⁶⁵ Although in the first centuries AD the only form of burial was cremation, children were not cremated, primarily due to practical reasons (there would not be enough bones to bury), so they were inhumed

⁶³ Зотовић, Јордовић 1990, 115.

⁶⁴ Moore 2009, 33–54; Soren, Soren 1999.

⁶⁵ Kreković 1992, 76; Mikić 1984, 5–109.

praktičnih razloga, odnosno fizičkih osobina, skelete novorođenčadi, a često i djece u prvim godinama života, Rimljani nisu podvrgavali obredu kremacije. Prevladavaju sahrane slobodno ukopanih pokojnika ili u drvenom lijesu. Grobovi s konstrukcijom od opeke su rijetkost, kao i sahrane s pokrivačem od polovice amfore. Na temelju grobnih tipova i skromnih priloga možemo zaključiti da su sahranjena djeca s istražene nekropole pripadala žiteljima skromnih ekonomskih mogućnosti. To su bili pripadnici romaniziranog i rimskog društva koji su djecu mlađe dobi skeletno sahranjivali, jednako kao i oni orijentalnog podrijetla. Djeca su u pogrebnom ritualu poštovana podjednako kao i odrasli. Žrtvene površine iznad dječjih grobova svjedoče da su vršeni redoviti grobni rituali, dok priloge iz grobova možemo podijeliti na one koji su predstavljali uobičajene nalaze vezane uz vjeru u zagrobni život: keramičke posude, svjetiljke, novac, dijelove odjeće, osobne predmete. Drugu skupinu čine predmeti koji se najčešće nalaze u dječjim grobovima: bule, ljušture školjki i puževa, privjesci u obliku falusa, zvonca i sl. Grumen sumpora i ukop psa, neposredno ispod ili iznad djeteta, predstavljaju specifičnost, vezanu isključivo uz osobe mlađe dobi. Navedeni su nalazi i situacije magijsko-apatropejskog značaja, a cilj im je sačuvati pokojnika, kao i grob od zlih sila, uroka i svih neugodnosti tijekom putovanja i boravka u onozemaljski svijet. Pas može biti i dječji ljubimac, a ne samo psihopomp. Još možemo zaključiti da djeca nisu sahranjivana na posebnim mjestima i imala su ista prava u pogrebnim obredima kao i odrasli.

without cremation. So, due to practical reasons, i.e. physical characteristics, infants' skeletons and often those of children in their early years of life were not cremated by the Romans. The funerals in plain grave pits or in wooden coffins are dominant. Graves made of bricks and burials with the half of an amphora cover are rare. Based on the grave types and scarce inventories, we can conclude that the buried children from the excavated necropolis were the offspring of citizens belonging to a lower economic rung. Romanized families and Romans here always inhumed their children without cremation, the same as citizens of Oriental descent. The children were honoured as much as adults when it came to funeral rites. Sacrificial surfaces above children's graves confirm that regular commemoration rituals were performed. The goods found in children's graves can be divided into three categories. The first group of finds represents the usual grave goods related to the belief in the afterlife: ceramic vessels, oil-lamps, coins, parts of clothing, and personal items. The second group consists of objects most commonly found in children's graves: bullae, shells, snails, phallic pendants, bells, and toys. Lumps of sulphur and the burial of dogs above or below the child represent a peculiarity, exclusively associated with the graves of children. These finds are of magical and apotropaic character; they serve to protect the deceased and their grave against evil forces, evil eye, and all other inconveniences during their journey to and stay in the afterlife. A dog could also be a child's pet and not just a psychopomp. Still, we can conclude that children were not buried in special places and had equal rights regarding funeral rites as adults.

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