

# Poznorimske pasne garniture z jezdecimi iz jugovzhodnih Alp in Panonije

## *Late Roman belt sets with riders from the southeastern Alps and Pannonia*

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*Prispevek predstavlja poznorimski pasni zaključek z jezdecem s Tonovcovega gradu pri Kobaridu v zahodni Sloveniji in primerljive pasne garniture s pravokotnimi okovi spon ter pasnimi zaključki, ki so bile najdene v jugovzhodnih Alpah in Panoniji. Avtorica obravnava okrasni motiv jezdeca oz. Belerofonta in Himere, ki se pojavlja na garniturah, in ga povezuje z motivom zmage nad sovražnikom ter z opremo višjih vojaških predstavnikov na panonskem limesu in v njegovem zaledju v kritičnem času konca 4. in začetka 5. st.*

*Ključne besede: jugovzhodne Alpe, Panonija, Tonovcov grad, poznorimsko obdobje, pasne garniture, pasni zaključki, Belerofont in Himera*

*The paper presents a Late Roman strap end with a rider from Tonovcov grad above Kobarid in western Slovenia and comparable belt sets with rectangular buckle plates and strap ends from the southeastern Alps and Pannonia. The author discusses the decorative motif of the rider or Bellerophon and Chimera which appears on belts sets and links it to the representation of victory over the enemy and the equipment of high military representatives on the Pannonian limes and its hinterground in the critical time of the late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> century.*

*Keywords: southeastern Alps, Pannonia, Tonovcov grad, Late Roman period, belt sets, strap ends, Bellerophon and Chimera*

### 1. Uvod

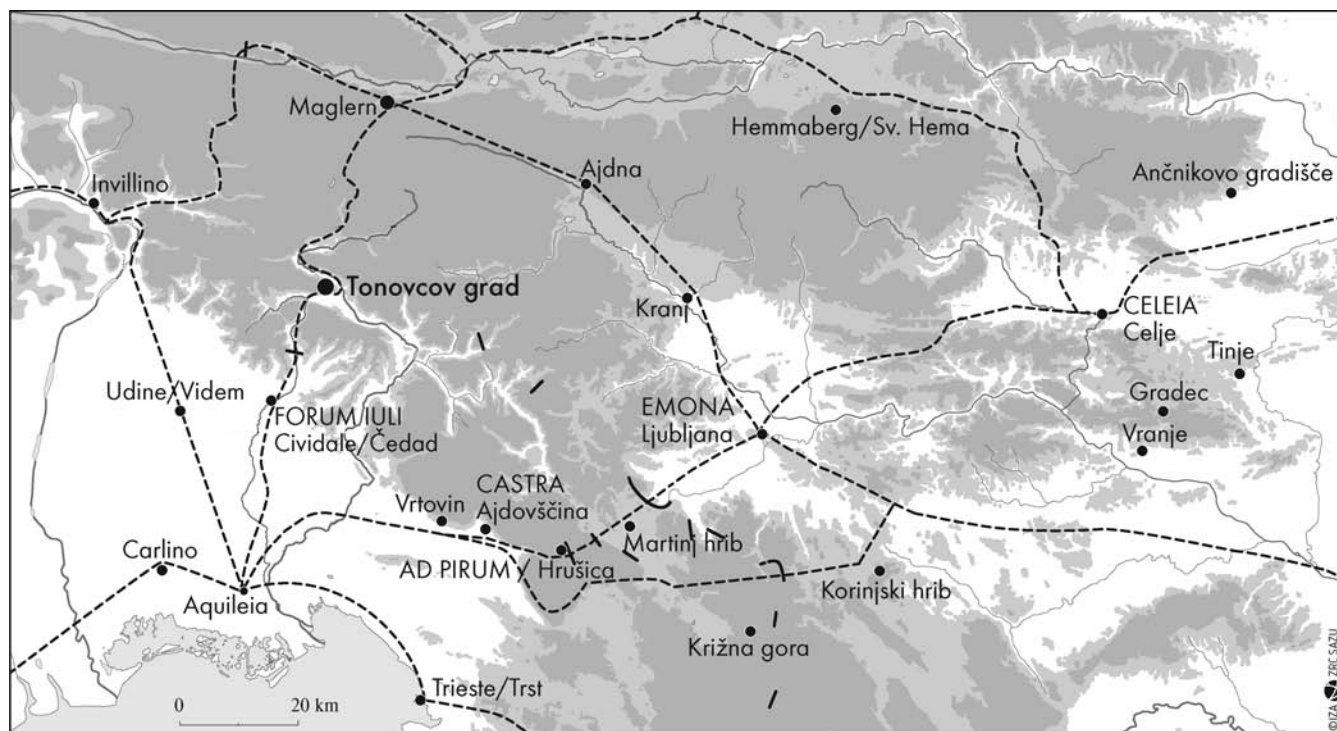
Tonovcov grad pri Kobaridu je poznoantična višinska utrjena naselbina v dolini Soče v zahodni Sloveniji, ki je svoj vrhunec doživela v obdobju med koncem 5. in začetkom 7. stoletja, ko je tu obstajala kompleksna naselbina romanskih staroselcev s pomembnim cerkvenim središčem in dobro strateško lego ob cesti iz Furlanije na Koroško (sl. 1). Skalnata kopa v ožini nad reko, na kateri stoji poznoantična naselbina, je bila tekom zgodovine večkrat poseljena. Med sistematičnimi izkopavanji so bili dokumentirani ostanki iz časa med paleolitikom in eneolitikom, s posameznimi najdbami pa tudi čas starejše in mlajše železne dobe. Rimsko obdobje med 1. in 3. stol. je zastopano predvsem s številnimi novčniki in posameznimi najdbami, prvi ostanki daljše poselitve pa izvirajo iz časa od druge polovice 4. do prvih desetletij 5. stoletja.

V rimskem in poznorimskem obdobju je v neposredni bližini živela tudi naselbina na Gradiču nad Kobaridom. V drugi polovici 4. stoletja je na hribu delovalo svetišče in najverjetneje tudi močna vojaška postojanka, ki je varovala cesto in prehod čez Sočo (Osmuk 1997; Ciglencečki 2000: 53–54).

### 1. Introduction

Tonovcov grad near Kobarid is a Late Antique fortified hilltop settlement in the Soča valley in western Slovenia. In the time between the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century Tonovcov grad was a complex settlement of the Romanized autochthonous population with an important ecclesiastical complex and strategic position on the road from the Friuli plain to Carinthia (Fig. 1). The Late Antique site, situated on a hill above the Soča river, was settled periodically through time. The systematic excavations uncovered remains from the period between the Paleolithic and the Copper Age, as well as some finds from the Early and Late Iron Age. The Roman period of the 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century is represented by several coins and individual finds and the first traces of a permanent settlement belong to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the first decades of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

In the Roman and Late Roman period another settlement existed in the near vicinity of Tonovcov grad at Gradič near Kobarid. In the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century there was a sacred site and a military fort that controlled the road and



Sl. 1 Claustra Alpium Iuliarum in glavne cestne povezave (obrada: M. Belak)  
 Fig. 1 Claustra Alpium Iuliarum and the main road connections (processed by: M. Belak)

Že v tem času je na nekaj kilometrov oddaljenem Tonovcovem gradu obstajala verjetno manjša postojanka, neke vrste predstraža na odličnem strateškem položaju. To potrjujejo ostanki zidane arhitekture pod dvema raziskanimi kasnejšima stavbama iz 6. stoletja, ter keramika, novci in druge drobne najdbe (Ciglencečki 2008: 511–524; Modrijan 2009). Še dodatno pa je postojanka pridobila na pomenu po opustitvi glavne ceste Poetovio-(oz. Siscia)-Aquileia ter linije zapor imenovanih *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*, ki so varovale dostop do Italije na tem izpostavljenem delu zahodnega dela imperija. V prvih letih ali desetletjih 5. stoletja je delovala kot ena izmed mnogih vojaških postojank, ki so sestavljale globinsko zasnovano obrambo Italije na strateško pomembnih mestih ob komunikacijah, ki so močnejše prišle do izraza ravno po opustitvi glavne itinerarske ceste in vsaj delni razpustitvi ter odsotnosti redne rimske vojske (sl. 1) (Ciglencečki 2007; Ciglencečki, Milavec 2009; podobno za Panonijo Christie 2007).

Po prekinitvi življenja v naselbini, ki se kaže skozi časovno opredeljive keramične in druge najdbe, je na koncu 5. stoletja nastala velika poznoantična naselbina, ki je živel do začetka 7. stoletja.

## 2. Okov z jezdecem

Med več drugimi deli poznorimske vojaške noše s Tonovcovega gradu je posebno zanimiva najdba pravokoten pasni zaključek iz bronaste pločevine, okrašen z iztolčenim bisernim nizom in reliefnim prizorom lova na jelena (sl. 2) na obeh straneh (rekonstruirane mere: 4,9 x 5,5 cm). Najden je bil za vzhodnim zidom stavbe 1, ki je bila postavljena konec 5. stoletja. V poznorimskem obdobju je na istem prostoru stala starejša zgradba, od katere se je ohranilo le nekaj

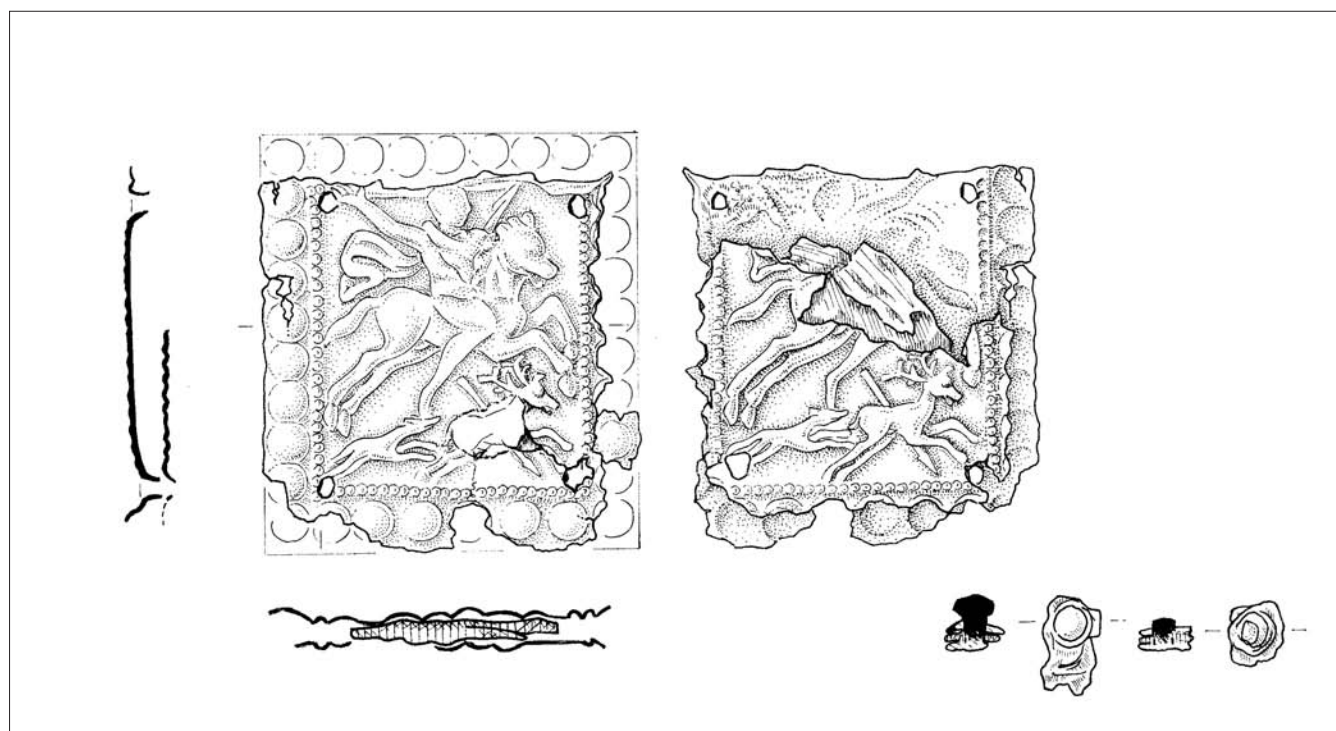
the river crossing (Osmuk 1997; Ciglencečki 2000: 53–54).

In that period Tonovcov grad was probably a smaller military post, a kind of outpost to Gradič on an excellent strategic position. This is confirmed by architecture remains under two later 6<sup>th</sup> century buildings, pottery, coins and other finds (Ciglencečki 2008: 511–524; Modrijan 2009). The post gained additional importance after the abandonment of the main road Poetovio-(or Siscia)-Aquileia and the *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* defense system which guarded the access to Italy in this exposed part of the Western Empire. In the first years or decennia of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, when the main road was abandoned and the regular army at least partly disbanded, Tonovcov grad was a part of the in-depth defense system of Italy (Fig. 1) (Ciglencečki 2007; Ciglencečki, Milavec 2009; similar for Pannonia Christie 2007).

After the settlement was discontinued for a short time as shown by datable pottery and other small finds, a large Late Antique settlement was founded in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century, which continued to the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

## 2. Strap end with a horse rider

One of the most interesting parts of Late Roman military costume found at Tonovcov grad is a rectangular bronze sheet strap end decorated on both sides with embossed motive of a stag hunt in a pearl border (Fig. 2) (reconstructed measures 4.9 x 5.5 cm). It was found behind the eastern wall of house no. 1 which was constructed at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. In the Late Roman period an earlier building stood there, of which only modest wall remains and layers



Sl. 2 Tonovcov grad pri Kobaridu, jermenski zaključek. Bron. M = 1:1 (risba: D. Knific Lunder)  
 Fig. 2 Tonovcov grad near Kobarid, strap end. Bronze. Scale = 1:1 (drawing: D. Knific Lunder)

delov zidov in nekaj plasti pod kasnejšo stavbo 1. Plasti so vsebovale malo značilnih najdb. Najdeni predmeti kažejo na bivalen značaj zgradbe, keramične najdbe pa jo časovno postavljajo v čas od 2. polovice 4. do začetka 5. stoletja. Obravnavani zaključek je bil najden v plasti, ki je datirana v čas obstoja stavbe 1 med koncem 5. in začetkom 7. stoletja, v njej pa je najdenih tudi več drugih starejših najdb.

Pasni zaključek s Tonovcovega gradu (sl. 2) je sestavljen iz dveh poškodovanih kosov bronaste pločevine, v katera je na obeh straneh vtolčen enak prizor. Upodobljen je jezdec na konju, ki se premika v desno, oblečen je v plašč, ki vihra za njim. Desno roko ima visoko dvignjeno, z eno sulico je že prebodel jelena, ki je prikazan pod konjem, druga pa je upodobljena za njim, očitno jo drži v levi roki. Spremlja ga pes, ki teče za prebodenim jelenom. Cel prizor je obrobljen z dvema vrstama bisernega niza, velikim in majhnim.

Po osnovni opredelitvi poznorimske pasne opreme ta kos spada med pravokotne pasne zaključke, ki so lahko eno-ali dvodelni, uliti ali pločevinasti in okrašeni ali neokrašeni. Po M. Sommerju pravokotni pasni zaključki, obrobljeni z bisernim nizom, spadajo v podobliko C/b. Datira jih široko v 4. stoletje, pojavljajo pa se v Galiji in Podonavju (Sommer 1984: 53–54).

V tem prispevku se bomo osredotočili na poznorimske pravokotne<sup>1</sup> ulite in pločevinaste pasne zaključke in pravokotne okove pasnih spon, ki so obrobljeni z bisernim nizom ter imajo na okrasnem polju upodobljene prizore, podobne tonovškemu (sl. 3).

<sup>1</sup> Kot posamezna najdba na višinski postojanki na Gradišču pri Dunaju v vzhodni Sloveniji je bil najden tudi okrogel bronast ulit pasni zaključek, obrobljen z bisernim nizom in z dvema vrezanima figuralnima prizoroma (erota, portret moškega in ženske), ki je datiran na konec 4. in začetek 5. stoletja (Ciglencečki 1994: sl. 2: 9).

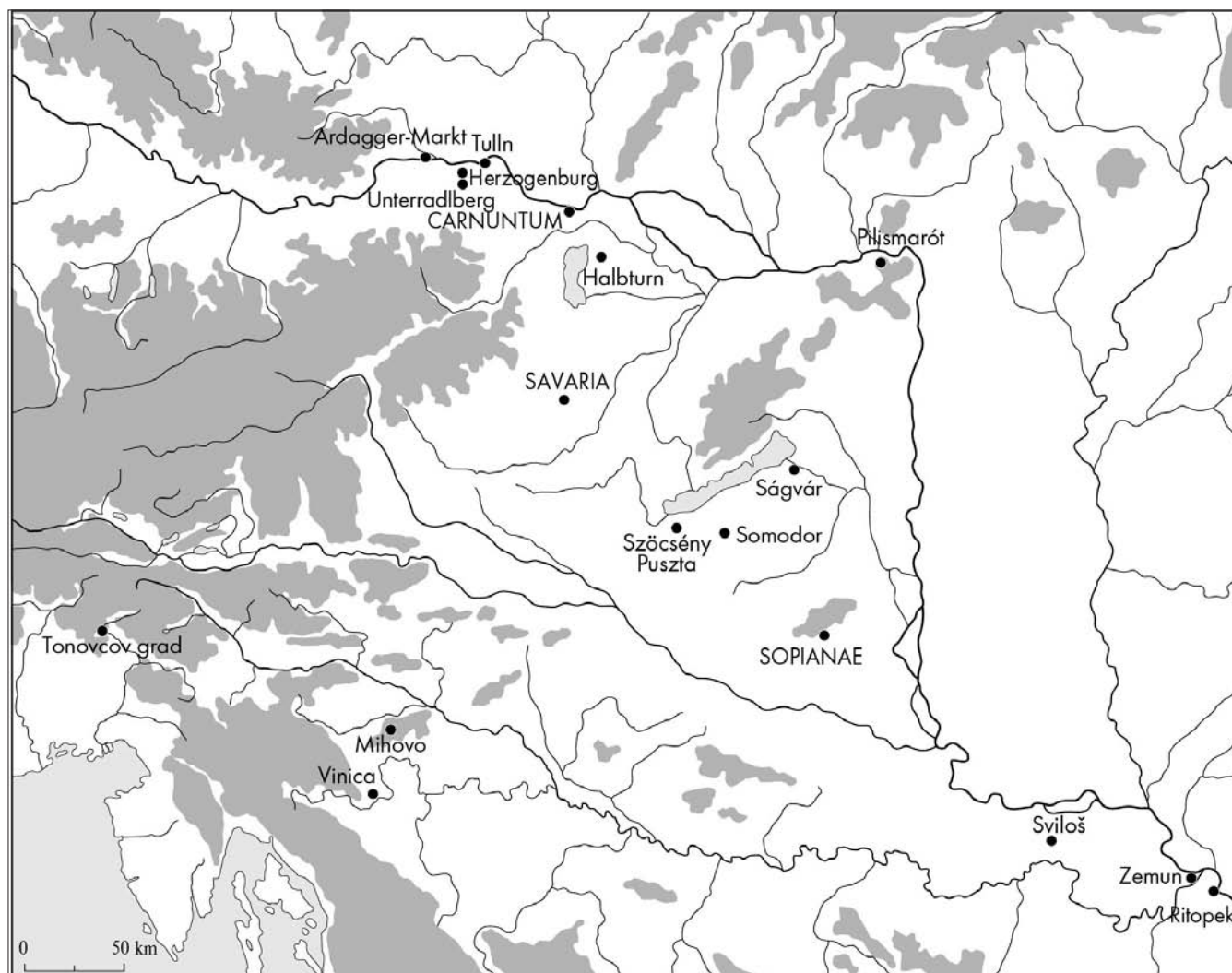
remain under house no. 1. Finds from those layers show that the building was used as a dwelling house and functioned between the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. The strap end was found in a layer belonging to house no. 1 and dated to the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, which also contained several earlier finds.

The strap end from Tonovcov grad (Fig. 2) is composed of two bronze sheets with the same scene embossed on both sides. The scene represents a mounted hunter moving to the right and wearing a cloak, which is shown fluttering in the wind behind him. His right arm is upraised, with one lance he had already pierced a stag shown below the horse, the second lance is pictured behind him - apparently he holds it in his left hand. The rider is accompanied by a dog running behind the wounded stag. The whole scene is framed in a double pearl border.

In the basic typology this piece belongs to rectangular strap ends which can be one-piece or two-partite, cast or made of bronze sheet and decorated or not. After M. Sommer the rectangular strap ends with a pearl border belong to the subtype C/b and are dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century in Gaul and the Danubian region (Sommer 1984: 53–54).

In this paper the focus is on Late Roman rectangular<sup>1</sup> cast and bronze sheet strap ends and rectangular buckle plates with pearl border and figural scenes similar to that from Tonovcov grad (Fig. 3).

<sup>1</sup> On the hilltop site of Gradišče near Dunaj in eastern Slovenia a round cast bronze strap end with a pearl border and cut figural scenes on both sides (two erotes, a portrait of a couple) dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup>-early 5<sup>th</sup> century was found (Ciglencečki 1994: Fig. 2: 9).



Sl. 3 Karta razprostranjenosti okrašenih jermenskih zaključkov in spon (obrada: M. Belak)  
 Fig. 3 Distribution map of decorated strap ends and buckles (processed by: M. Belak)

### 3. Pravokotni pasni zaključki in okovi spon z bisernim nizom

#### 3.1 Slovenija

Za začetek pregleda primerjav lahko v osnovnih potezah omenimo pasni zaključek, ki je bil najden na severnem grobišču Emone (Ljubljana) v grobu 170. Gre za bronast in ulit zaključek z razcepljenim zgornjim delom in dvema peltastima odprtinama, osrednje polje pa je pri tem kosu povsem neokrašeno. V grobu je bil najden skupaj s pasno spono z ledvičastim obročem in pravokotnim okovom ter novcem Valentinijana I ali Gracijana (364–375) (Plesničar Gec 1972: 40, T. 47: 15).

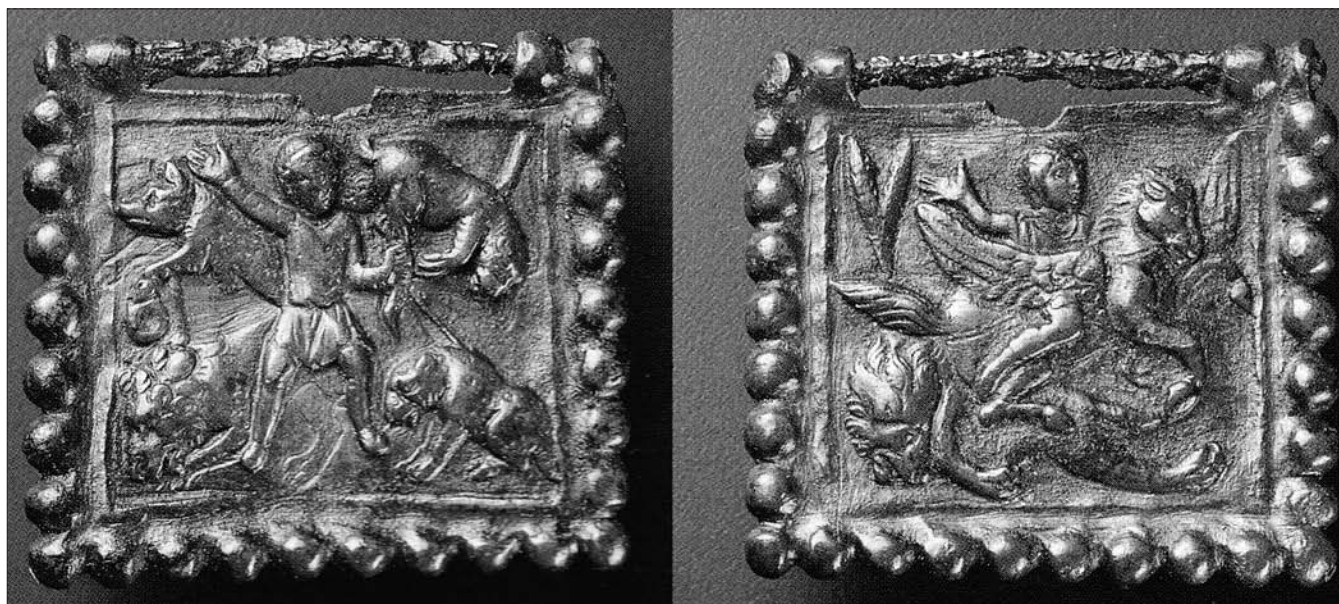
Iz vzhodne Slovenije je poznan ulit dvodelen pasni zaključek z bisernim nizom ki je okrašen z različnim prizorom na vsaki strani. Najden je bil kot posamezna najdba brez konteksta, na višinski postojanki Gradec nad Mihovim (sl. 4) (Pflaum 2001), z njim pa sta se ukvarjala že V. Pflaum in M. Feugère, ki sta ga na podlagi analogij in primerjave s prizorom gladiatorskih iger na diptihu iz sanktpeterburškega Eremitaža uvrstila na začetek 5. stoletja (Pflaum 2000: 97–101). Na eni strani zaključka sta prikazana Belerofont, ki s krlatega Pegaza pobija Himero, na drugi pa (po interpretaciji

### 3. Rectangular strap ends and buckle plates with pearl border

#### 3.1 Slovenia

A strap end without a figural scene was found in grave 170 at the northern necropolis of Emona (Ljubljana). It is made of cast bronze with a pearl border, split upper part and two pelta-shaped perforations. The panel is not decorated. It was found in the grave with a kidney-shaped belt buckle with rectangular plate and a coin of Valentinian I or Gratian (364–375) (Plesničar Gec 1972: 40, Pl. 47: 15).

From eastern Slovenia a cast two-partite strap end with different scenes on the two panels is known. It was found as an individual find on the hilltop settlement of Gradec above Mihovo (Fig. 4) (Pflaum 2001) and had already been discussed by V. Pflaum and M. Feugère. On the basis of analogies and comparison to a circus scene on a diptych from the Sankt Petersburg Hermitage they dated it to the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century (Pflaum 2000: 97–101). On one panel there is a scene with Bellerophon on Pegasus and Chimera and on the other (according to V. Pflaum) a scene from the circus. A gladiator with uplifted right arm is standing among killed



Sl. 4 Gradec nad Mihovim, jermenski zaključek (po Pflaum 2001). Bron, železo. Ni v merilu  
 Fig. 4 Gradec above Mihovo, strap end (after Pflaum 2001). Bronze, iron. Not in scale

V. Pflaum) prizor iz gladiatorskih iger; gladiator z dvignjeno desnico in lokom v levici stoji med pobitimi zvermi (medved, divja svinja, lev, leopard).<sup>2</sup>

E. Vogt v katalogu predmetov iz zbirke vojvodinje Mecklenburške *Treasures of Carniola* omenja rimske grobove v Vinici v vzhodni Sloveniji. Kot najdbo iz groba 328 v Podklancu opisuje "a bronze belt-clasp with quadrangular strap-plate on which is embossed a rider in motion, with cloak, helmet and lance, a beautiful object in the Roman style" (Vogt 1934: 55–56). To bronasto pasno spono z okovom hranijo v harvardskem Peabody Museum (pod številko 40-77-401/12583: Spletni vir 1).<sup>3</sup> Obroč spona je ledvičaste oblike, na slabo ohranjenem okovu iz bronaste pločevine pa je prizor z Belerofantom in Himero obrobjen z bisernim nizom. Spona je povsem enaka sponi iz Dunaja in zelo podobna tisti iz Unterradlberga (glej spodaj, sl. 5: 4).

### 3.2 Avstrija

Pločevinast bronast zaključek z Belerofantom in Himero je bil najden v grobu 61 grobišča Halbtturn v Avstriji (sl. 5: 1). Zaključek je bil tekom uporabe popravljen (žica je napeljana skozi zgornji del prizora). V grob sta bili skeletu priloženi dve pasni garnituri, ena na desno in ena na levo stran. Sponi imata obe usločen obroč in pravokoten okov, zaključek pa je enkrat pravokoten (z Belerofantom), drugič pa okrogel in neokrašen. Poleg tega je bila v grobu najdena še keramika, lesena skrinjica in fibula s čebulastimi gumbi tipa 3/4 B po P. Pröttlu. Grob 61 je del skupine 4 grobov na vzhodnem delu grobišča, ki z drugačno orientacijo od ostalih in uporabo lesenih krst po mnenju izkopavalcev nakazuje pokope skupine višjega statusa. Datiran je v čas od konca 4. do sredine 5. stoletja (Daim, Stuppner 1991: 55; Stuppner 1996: 51–61,

<sup>2</sup> V. Pflaum in M. Feugère sta pripravljala prispevek o tem zaključku vendar žal ni bil objavljen.

<sup>3</sup> Dragan Božič me je opozoril, da je fotografija spona dosegljiva na spletu, za kar se mu najlepše zahvaljujem.

beasts (bear, boar, lion and leopard).<sup>2</sup>

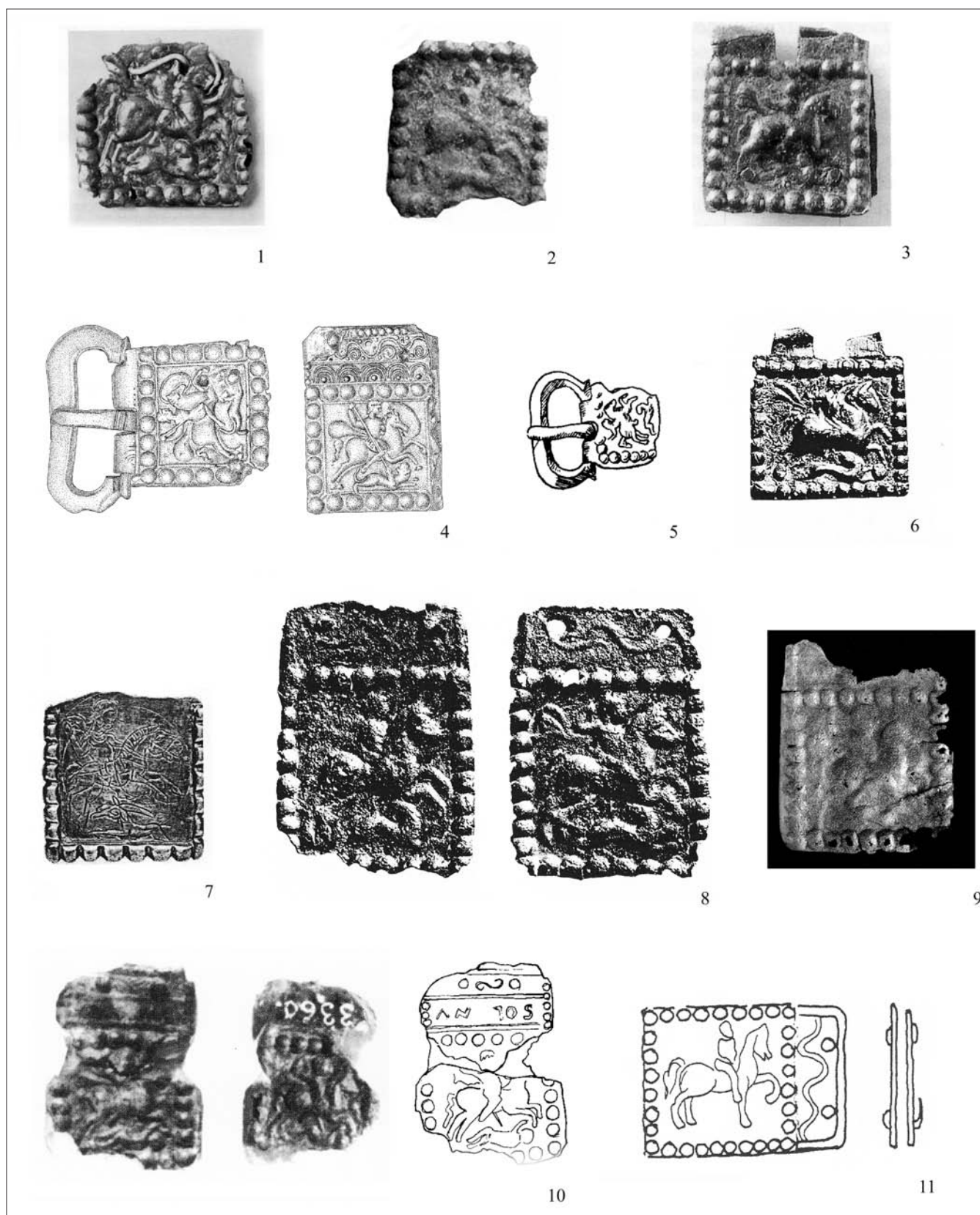
E. Vogt mentions Roman graves in Vinica in *Treasures of Carniola*, an auction catalogue of the Mecklenburg collection. As belonging to grave 328 in Podklanc near Vinica he describes "a bronze belt-clasp with quadrangular strap-plate on which is embossed a rider in motion, with cloak, helmet and lance, a beautiful object in the Roman style" (Vogt 1934: 55–56). This bronze belt buckle with a plate is kept at the Harvard Peabody Museum (No. 40-77-401/12583: Internet source 1).<sup>3</sup> The buckle is kidney-shaped and on the damaged plate the Bellerophon and Chimera scene is embossed inside the pearl border. The buckle is almost identical to that from Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and very similar to that from Unterradelberg (see below, Fig. 5: 4).

### 3.2 Austria

A bronze sheet strap end with Bellerophon and Chimera was found in grave 61 at Halbtturn in Austria (Fig. 5: 1). It had been repaired during use, there is a wire through the upper part of the scene. The grave goods consisted of two belt sets; one was laid on the right and one on the left side of the body. Both buckles are kidney-shaped, one plate is rectangular (with Bellerophon) and the other round and undecorated. Other grave goods were pottery, a wooden casket and a fibula type Pröttel 3/4 B. Grave 61 belongs to a group of graves on the eastern part of the graveyard. This group no. 4 is differently oriented than other graves and the use of wooden coffins was documented. The excavators believe these are graves of high status individuals from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century (Daim, Stuppner

<sup>2</sup> V. Pflaum and M. Feugère prepared an article on this piece but unfortunately it had not been published.

<sup>3</sup> I am grateful to Dragan Božič for the information that a photo of the buckle is available on the museum webpage.



Sl. 5 1 Halbtürn (po Daim, Stuppner 1991); 2 Ardagger-Markt (po Buschhausen 1971); 3 Tulln (po Mayr, Winkler 1991); 4 Unterradlberg (po Neugebauer 2001); 5 Ságvár (po Burger 1966); 6 Somodor (po Tóth 2005); 7 Szösény Puszta (po Thomas 1988); 8 Pilismarót (po Tóth 2005); 9 Ritopek (po Jovanović 2006); 10 Zemun (po Jovanović 2006; Krunic 1998-1999); 11 Sviloš (po Dautova Ruševljan 2003). Ni v merilu.

Fig. 5 1 Halbtürn (after Daim, Stuppner 1991); 2 Ardagger-Markt (after Buschhausen 1971); 3 Tulln (after Mayr, Winkler 1991); 4 Unterradlberg (after Neugebauer 2001); 5 Ságvár (after Burger 1966); 6 Somodor (after Tóth 2005); 7 Szösény Puszta (after Thomas 1988); 8 Pilismarót (after Tóth 2005); 9 Ritopek (after Jovanović 2006); 10 Zemun (after Jovanović 2006; Krunic 1998-1999); 11 Sviloš (after Dautova Ruševljan 2003). Not in scale.

3.40).

Bronasta pasna spona z okovom in pločevinast zaključek (z Belerofontom na okovu spone in obeh straneh zaključka) sta bila najdena v grobu 4015 v Unterradlbergu v Avstriji (sl. 5: 4). Na vseh treh upodobitvah se vidi celo druga, kozja glava Himere, ki raste iz hrbta pošasti. Zgornja dela obeh strani zaključka sta okrašena z vijugo, spiralami in polkrogi. Okras vijuge, ki je dokaj pogost na tovrstnih okovih, predstavlja bolj ali manj stilizirano upodobljeno vinsko trto. Pasna spona ima ovalen usločen obroč in pravokoten okov z enakim prizorom kot zaključek in bisernim nizom. Poleg pasne garniture je bila v grobu na levem ramenu najdena fibula s čebulastimi gumbi tipa 3/4 B po Pröttlu, pri nogah pa še ena spona z ovalnim usločenim obročem in pravokotnim pločevinastim okovom, železen nož in keramičen vrček. Grob je po dodatkih eden dveh najbogatejših moških grobov na grobišču (Neugebauer 2001: 198, sl. 42).

Dvodelen zaključek z enako upodobitvijo je bil najden v grobu 10 v Tullnu, grobišče Bahnhofstrasse (sl. 5: 3). Poleg zaključka z Belerofontom in Himero sta bila v grobu najdena še delček bronaste zapestnice s stilizirano živalsko glavo in fibula s čebulastimi gumbi tipa 3/4 B. Grobišče je datirano v 4. in začetek 5. stoletja (Mayr, Winkler 1991: 34–35, 43, sl. 38). Izkopavalki omenjata še en očitno enak ali enako okrašen zaključek iz dokaj bližnjega groba, katerega objava nam žal ni bila dosegljiva.

Naslednji bronasti pločevinasti zaključek z Belerofontom in Himero je bil najden v dvojnem grobu v Ardagger-Marktu (sl. 5: 2), skupaj s pasno spono s pravokotnim okovom in fibulo s čebulastimi gumbi tipa 3/4 D. Ti dodatki naj bi pripadali skeletu odraslega moškega, drugemu skeletu otroka v istem grobu pa je bilo pridanih nekaj školjk in steklena jagoda (Buschhausen 1971: 170).

V kastelu v Karnuntu (Carnuntum) je bil najden bronast ulit enodelen pasni zaključek z vrezanima prizoroma na obeh straneh. Na eni strani je skiciran bojevnik in na drugi jezdec, oba z levjo kožo. Poleg jezdecja je upodobljena še ena žival (Anke, Exterbrink 2007: 221).

V Umetnostnozgodovinskem muzeju na Dunaju se nahaja komplet pasne spone in zaključka z upodobitvami Belerofonta in Himere neznane provenience. Oba sta narejena iz bronaste pločevine in dobro ohranjena. Vsi trije prizori, na okovu spone in na obeh straneh zaključka, so enaki; Belerofont na konju prebada Himero, le da je zgornji del obeh strani zaključka okrašen še z dvema poljema, pri čemer je na zgornjem upodobljen preplet vitic, na spodnjem pa napis UTEREFELIX (Lochin 1994: sl. 177). Ta garnitura povsem spominja na tisto iz Unterradlberga (sl. 5: 4).

### 3.3 Madžarska

Pasna spona s pločevinastim okovom s prizorom Belerofonta in Himere je bila najdena v grobu 89 grobišča v Ságvárju (sl. 5: 5) skupaj s koščki svinca, stekleno steklenico in novci, datiranimi med 355–363 (Burger 1966: 108). Fotografija sicer izgubljene spone (Toth 2005: sl. 4: 4) kaže, da je ostal do takrat le še okov, pa še ta je poškodovan. Na grobišču v Ságvárju je bilo, za razliko od drugih tu omenjenih grobišč, najdenih precej podobnih pravokotnih pasnih

1991: 55; Stuppner 1996: 51–61, 3.40).

A bronze belt buckle and a bronze sheet strap end with Bellerophon on the buckle plate and both sides of the strap end were found in grave 4015 in Unterradlberg in Austria (Fig. 5: 4). In all three scenes even the second, goat head growing from the back of the monster Chimera can be seen. The upper parts of the strap end are decorated with a wavy line, spiral and semicircles. The decoration of a wavy line, rather common on this type of fittings, represents the more or less stylized vine tendril. The buckle is kidney-shaped and had a rectangular plate with an identical scene and pearl border as the strap end. Apart from the belt set the grave also contained a fibula type Pröttel 3/4 B on the left shoulder, another kidney-shaped belt buckle with rectangular plate at the feet, a knife and a jug. The grave is one of two richest male graves in the graveyard (Neugebauer 2001: 198, Fig. 42).

A two-partite strap end with the same scene was found in grave 10 in Tulln, Bahnhofstrasse (Fig. 5: 3). Beside the Bellerophon and Chimera strap end the grave contained a fragment of a bronze bracelet with stylized animal head and a crossbow fibula type Pröttel 3/4B. The graveyard is dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century (Mayr, Winkler 1991: 34–35, 43, Fig. 38). The excavators mention one other identical strap end from a nearby site of Herzogenburg near St. Pölten, but the publication was unfortunately unavailable.

The next bronze sheet strap end with Bellerophon and Chimera was found in a double grave in Ardagger-Markt (Fig. 5: 2) together with a belt buckle with rectangular plate and a crossbow fibula Pröttel 3/4D. These grave goods are supposed to belong to the skeleton of an adult male while the second skeleton, a child, was only given some shells and a glass bead (Buschhausen 1971: 170).

In Carnuntum a cast bronze one-piece strap end with cut figural scenes on both sides was found. On one side there is a warrior and on the other side a horse rider, both with lion skins. Next to the rider there is another animal (Anke, Exterbrink 2007: 221).

In the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna a belt set of a buckle and strap end with Bellerophon and Chimera of unknown provenience is kept. Both are made of bronze sheet and well preserved. All three scenes, on the rectangular buckle plate and both sides of the strap end are almost identical with Bellerophon on Pegasus piercing Chimera with a lance. The only difference is that the upper parts of the strap end sides are additionally decorated with tendrils on top and the inscription UTEREFELIX below (Lochin 1994: Fig. 177). This set is almost identical with the one from Unterradlberg (Fig. 5: 4).

### 3.3. Hungary

A belt buckle with a bronze sheet plate with Bellerophon was also found in grave 89 at Ságvár (Fig. 5: 5). Other grave goods were pieces of lead, a glass bottle and coins from years 355–363 (Burger 1966: 108). A photograph of the otherwise lost buckle (Toth 2005: Fig. 4: 4) shows that until then only the damaged plate remained. At Ságvár several



Sl. 6 1 Mala Azija (po Feugère 1992); 2 Mala Azija (po Sommer 1984); 3 Pariz (po Labatut 1877); 4 Akvileja (po Forlatti Tamaro 1980); 5 Balatonlovas; 6 Intercisa; 7 Keszthely-Dobogó (po Tóth 2005). Ni v merilu.

Fig. 6 1 Asia Minor (after Feugère 1992); 2 Asia Minor (after Sommer 1984); 3 Paris (after Labatut 1877); 4 Aquileia (after Forlatti Tamaro 1980); 5 Balatonlovas; 6 Intercisa; 7 Keszthely-Dobogó (after Tóth 2005). Not in scale.

zaključkov z bisernim nizom, vendar drugačnimi prizori in okraši. Nekateri od njih imajo upodobljeno zgodnjekrščansko motiviko (kristogram, orans).

Še en bronast okov spona (ali polovica dvodelnega zaključka) z Belerofantom in Himero je bil najden v grobu 64 v Somodoru (sl. 5: 6). Tejral ga omenja med značilnimi predmeti valentinijanskega in po-valentinijanskega obdobja (Tejral 1997: 323–324, sl. 1: 11; Tóth 2005: sl. 4: 3).

rectangular strap ends with pearl border were found, but the scenes are different. Some of them bear Christian motives (Christogram, an orans).

Another buckle plate (or a half of a strap end) with Belerophon and Chimera was found in grave 64 in Somodor. Tejral mentions it among the typical objects of the Valentinianic and post-Valentinianic period (Tejral 1997: 323–324, Fig. 1: 11; Toth 2005: Fig. 4: 3).



V Szösény Puszti je bil najden ulit srebrn pasni zaključek z vrezanima upodobitvama na obeh straneh (sl. 5: 7). Na eni strani je upodobljen lov na jelena (jezdec naj bi nosil cesarski diadem), na drugi pa je skiciran homoerotičen prizor. Avtorica je mnenje, da sta oba prizora le zlatarjevi poskusni skici in ne končan izdelek (Thomas 1988: 140, T. V: 6–7), vendar bi glede na druge podobno okrašene ulite zaključke (npr. Carnuntum, glej zgoraj) domnevali, da gre vendarle za dokončan kos, okrašen po ulivanju s to preprostejšo tehniko. Ker je zgornji del odlomljen, ne moremo ugotoviti, ali je bil eno- ali dvodelen.

V Pilismarótu (natančnejši najdiščni podatki niso navedeni) je najden še en bronast pločevinast zaključek (sl. 5: 8) z Belerofantom in Himero in zgornjim delom, okrašenim z vitico (Toth 2005: sl. 4: 2). Okov je zelo podoben tistim iz Unterradlberga (sl. 5: 4), dunajskega muzeja in Sviloša (glej spodaj).

E. Tóth omenja še okova z upodobitvijo Belerofonta iz Sopian in Savarie (Tóth 2005: 185, op. 15; navedena literatura nam ni bila dosegljiva).

### 3.4 Srbija

V grobu 1 iz skupine treh poznorimskih grobov v Zemunu (*Taurunum*) v Srbiji je bil najden bronast pločevinast pasni okov s podobnim prizorom na obeh straneh, le da jezdec pobija človeka (sl. 5: 10). Zgornji del zaključka je razdeljen v dve polji, pri čemer je na zgornjem upodobljena vitica, na spodnjem pa je napis SOL NV (*sol invictus*). Poleg zaključka je bila v grobu najdena še fibula tipa 3/4 D. Grobovi so datirani v konec 4. stoletja (Krunić 1998-1999: 15).

Še en bronast pločevinast zaključek je bil najden kot slučajna najdba v Ritopeku (sl. 5: 9), nedaleč stran od Zemuna in Beograda (Krunić 1998-1999: 22; Jovanović 2006: 81–83). Del zaključka, kjer je prikazana žival pod konjem, je poškodovan, zato upodobitev žal ni dobro razvidna.

Še en bronast pločevinast zaključek s konjenikom je bil najden kot del skupka predmetov poleg grobnice 4 na grobišču v Svilošu v Vojvodini (sl. 5: 11). Avtorica meni, da sta bila v izropani grobnici pokopana dva moška in da skupina predmetov, med katere spada tudi zaključek, pripada tej grobnici. Risba ne prikazuje podrobnosti, opis pa pove, da je pod konjevimi nogami upodobljena žival. Avtorica predvideva, da prizor prikazuje Belerofonta in Himero, vendar tega ne moremo potrditi. Zaključek je na zgornjem delu okrašen z vijugo brez napisa, prizor konjenika pa je v primerjavi z drugimi okovi obrnjen za 90 stopinj v obratni smeri urinega kazalca in gleda proti vrhu zaključka (Dautova Ruševljan 2003: 32).

### 3.5 Zakladne najdbe

Odkritih je bilo tudi nekaj posebej dragocenih, srebrnih, pozlačenih in zlatih primerkov spon in pravokotnih zaključkov z bisernim nizom in figuralnimi prizori. Ti primerki so najdeni v zakladnih najdbah ali hranjeni v muzejih in nimajo podatkov o kontekstu, vseeno pa so zanimivi, saj močno poudarjajo posebno mesto tovrstnih pasnih zaključkov med različnimi elementi poznorimskih pasnih garnitur.

Razkošen srebrn in pozlačen primerek spon z okovom,

In Szösény Puszta a cast silver strap end with two cut scenes was found. On one side there is a scene of a stag hunt (the hunter is supposed to be wearing an emperor's diadem), on the other side the scene is homoerotic. Thomas believes both scenes are only sketches and not the final product (Thomas 1988: 140, Pl. V: 6–7), but if compared to other similar pieces (e.g. Carnuntum, see above), it can be assumed that this is nevertheless a finished piece, decorated after casting in a simpler technique. As the upper part is broken off it cannot be seen whether the strap end was two-partite or not.

In Pilismarót (context data is not given) another bronze sheet strap end with Bellerophon and Chimera and tendrils on the upper part was found (Toth 2005: Fig. 4: 2). The piece is very similar to those from Unterradlberg (Fig. 5: 4), Vienna and Sviloš (see below). E. Tóth mentions two further strap ends with Bellerophon from Sopianae and Savaria (Tóth 2005: 185, footnote 15; the publications were not available).

### 3.4 Serbia

In grave 1 in a group of three graves from Zemun (*Taurunum*) in Serbia a bronze sheet strap end with a similar scene on both sides was found. The horse rider on these scenes is striking down a man (Fig. 5: 6). The upper part of the strap is divided in two sections with a tendril on the top and the inscription of SOL NV (*sol invictus*) below. The grave also contained a crossbow fibula type Pröttel 3/4D. The graves are dated to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Krunić 1998-1999: 15).

A bronze sheet strap end was found as an individual find in Ritopek, not far from Zemun and Belgrade (Krunić 1998-1999: 22; Jovanović 2006: 81–83). The part of the scene where the animal under the horse is pictured is damaged, so the scene is not clear.

Another bronze sheet strap end with a horse rider was found in a heap of finds next to tomb no. 4 on the cemetery of Sviloš in Vojvodina, Serbia (Fig. 5: 7). The author believes that the robbed tomb had contained two male skeletons and that the heap of objects found next to it belonged to this tomb. The drawing of the strap end is not detailed but the description says that an animal is shown under the horse. The author believes the scene is that of Bellerophon and Chimera but this cannot be verified. The upper part of the strap end is decorated with a wavy line and in comparison to other pieces the scene is rotated by 90 degrees counterclockwise (Dautova Ruševljan 2003: 32).

### 3.5 Hoards

Some of the discovered buckles and strap ends with figural scenes and pearl borders are especially fine and made of silver or gold. They were found in hoards or are kept in museums with no provenience data. They are nevertheless important as they stress the special position of this object type among the various Late Roman belt sets.

A luxurious silver gilt example of a buckle (supposedly from Asia Minor) was published by M. Feugère (Fig. 6: 1).

izvirajoč predvidoma iz Male Azije, je objavil M. Feugère (sl. 6: 1). Na treh delih okova so v reliefu upodobljeni dva prizora lova (oz. Belerofonta in Himere, glede na upodobitev živali pod jezdecem) in en prizor z Dafne in Apolonom. Feugère ga datira v konec 4. in začetek 5. stoletja (Feugère 1992).

K zakladu iz Thetforda spada zlata pasna spona z okovom, ki je obrobljen z bisernim nizom, na njej pa je v reliefu upodobljen satir (Feugère 1992: 131, sl. 7).

Zlat in izjemno lepo izdelan primerak zaključka iz Male Azije je bil najden kot del zaklada, na njem je upodobljen prizor lova na panterja (?) (sl. 6: 2). Hranijo ga v British Museum v Londonu (Sommer 1984: T. 54: 10–11).

V objavi zakladne najdbe iz Ténèsa v Alžiriji je objavljena fotografija zaključka iz Coudraya v Franciji, ki se je nahajal v zasebni zbirki. Zaključek je masiven, enodelen, predvidoma zlat ali srebrn (ni podatka) in izredno kvalitetno okrašen z vrezanimi motivi, ki pa so iz fotografije predmeta slabo berljivi. Gre za kompleksne prizore v glavnih dveh poljih in manjših okroglih ter kvadratnih izsekih v vogalih okrasnih polj. J. Heurgon glede na okras in stil sklepa, da bi lahko izviral iz Sirije in da je na njem morda upodobljena alegorija Antiohije (Heurgon 1958: 39, T. 19: 1–2).

Še en zlat pasni zaključek, obrobljen z bisernim nizom in z upodobitvijo Aleksandra Velikega (?) (sl. 6: 3) hranijo v muzeju orožja v Parizu (Labatut 1877: sl. 324).

Feugère omenja še en (predvidoma bronast) zaključek z bisernim nizom z grobišča Saint-Marcel v Parizu, ki je shranjen v Musée Carnavalet v Parizu, vendar nam literatura ni bila dosegljiva (Feugère 1992: 131).

Na tem mestu bi omenili še dva zaključka iz Galije, ki ju objavlja M. Sommer. Oba sta ulita in obrobljena z bisernim nizom, okrasno polje pa je zapolnjeno z geometrijskim vrezanim okrasom. Zaključek iz Sissyja (Aisne) je bronast, za drugega iz Rheimsa pa material ni naveden (Sommer 1984: T. 21: 9, 10).

### 3.6 Okovi in skrinjice

Poleg pasnih spon in zaključkov je bil v Akvileji (sl. 6: 4) najden še okrogel okov z upodobitvijo Belerofonta in Himere, za katerega ne vemo, kaj je krasil (Forlatti Tamaro 1980: sl. 549).

Obravnavani motiv jezdeca ali Belerofonta znotraj obrobo iz bisernega niza se zelo pogosto pojavlja tudi na bronastih okovih lesenih skrinjic, na primer na skrinjicah iz Intercise (sl. 6: 6), Budimpešte, Balatonlovasa (sl. 6: 5) in Veszpréma (Buschhausen 1971: A 9, A 21, A 45, A 67). Na skrinjici z Dunaja je upodobljen jezdec, ki ubija barbara, na tisti iz Berlina pa jezdec na lovu (Buschhausen 1971: A 7, A 35). Dunajski okov je pravokotne oblike, berlinski prizor je del friza, ostali prizori pa so v okroglem medaljonu. Okova iz Intercise in Budimpešte sta z novci datirana v 4. stoletje, tisti iz Dunaja pa je bil v grobu (?) skupaj s fibulami s čebulastimi gumbi. Ostale skrinjice so brez neposredne datacije, vendar so večinoma postavljene v 4. stoletje.

Kot že omenjeno se predvsem na grobišču v Ságvárju pogosto pojavljajo zelo primerljivi pasni zaključki, okovi spon in skrinjic z mitološkimi in bibličnimi prizori (Burger 1966: gr. 8, 15, 54, 97, 111, 174, 177).

On the three panels of the buckle plate there are two relief scenes of hunt (or Bellerophon and Chimera, judging by depiction of the animal under the horse) and one scene with Daphne and Apollo. Feugère dated the piece to the 4<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century (Feugère 1992).

In the Thetford hoard there was also a gold belt buckle with a plate decorated with pearl border and a satyr depicted in relief (Feugère 1992: 131, Fig. 7).

An exquisitely made gold strap end from Asia Minor was also found as a part of a hoard, it shows scenes of panther (?) hunt (Fig. 6: 2). It is kept at the British museum (Sommer 1984: Pl. 54: 10–11).

The publication of the Ténès hoard from Algeria includes a photograph of a strap end from Coudray in France which was kept in a private collection. The strap end is cast, made of one part, presumably of gold or silver and decorated with cut motives which are hardly visible on the photograph. The decoration and style led J. Heurgon to believe that the piece could originate from Syria and that it perhaps shows an allegory of the city of Antioch (Heurgon 1958: 39, Pl. 19: 1–2).

Another gold strap end with pearl border and the bust of Alexander the Great (?) (Fig. 6: 3) is kept in the Musée de l'Armée in Paris (Labatut 1877: Fig. 324).

Feugère mentions (presumably bronze) strap end with pearl border from the necropolis of Saint Marcel in Paris which is kept at the Musée Carnavalet (Feugère 1992: 131), but the publication was unavailable.

Here we can also mention two strap ends from Gaul which were published by M. Sommer. Both are cast and with a pearl border, the panels are filled with cut geometrical decoration. The strap end from Sissy (Aisne) is made of bronze; the material of the one from Rheims is not given (Sommer 1984: Pl. 21: 9, 10).

### 3.6 Fittings and caskets

Apart from the discussed buckles and strap ends a round fitting of unknown function with Bellerophon and Chimera was found in Aquileia (Fig. 6: 4) (Forlatti Tamaro 1980: Fig. 549). The motif of a horse rider or Bellerophon inside a pearl border appears very often on fittings of wooden caskets, for example in Intercisa (Fig. 6: 6), Budapest, Balatonlovas (Fig. 6: 5) and Veszprém (Buschhausen 1971: A 9, A 21, A 45, A 67). The casket from Vienna shows a rider killing a Barbarian and the one from Berlin a hunter (Buschhausen 1971: A 7, A 35). The fitting from Vienna is round in shape, the one from Berlin is a part of a frieze and the others are inserted in round medallions. The fittings from Intercisa and Budapest are dated by coins to the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the one from Vienna was found in a grave (?) with crossbow fibulae. The other caskets are mostly dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

As already mentioned, similar strap ends, belt plates and casket fittings with mythological or Biblical motives were found in the cemetery of Ságvár (Burger 1966: graves 8, 15, 54, 97, 111, 174, 177).

#### 4. Motivi: Belerofont in Himera

Motiv Belerofonta je poznan in priljubljen že najmanj od helenizma dalje (Lochin 1994). Belerofont je mitološki junak, ki ga je kralj Lobates iz Likije poslal ubiti Himero, pošast sestavljeno iz levinje, katere rep se konča v kačo, iz srede hrbta pa ji rase še druga, kozja glava. Da bi to nalogo lahko opravil, si je z Atenino pomočjo pridobil krilatega konja Pegaza ter pošast uspešno pokončal.

Kot smo lahko opazili, izvira najpogostejši motiv na obravnavanih predmetih iz mita o Belerofontu in Himeri – prizor ko Belerofont na Pegazu zabada pošast s kopjem. Ta motiv, katerega osrednji del je jezdec v vihrajočem plašču in z dvignjeno desnico, se pojavlja v nekaj različicah, ki se med seboj v resnici le malo razlikujejo. Kot upodobitev Belerofonta lahko z veliko gotovostjo prepoznamo tiste prizore, pri katerih ima konj krila, torej je upodobljen Pegaz (Gradec nad Mihovim (sl. 4), okovi skrinjic iz Intercise (sl. 6: 6), in Budimpešte). Drugi dober znak je upodobitev živali pod jezdecem. Če je to levu podobna žival z nazaj obrnjeno glavo in dvignjenim repom, jo najlažje prepoznamo kot Himero (Gradec nad Mihovim, Ardagger, Halbtturn, Unterradelberg, Ságvár, okov spona iz Male Azije z Dafne in Apolonom, Tulln, skrinjice iz Intercise, Budimpešte, Balatonlovasa in Veszprema, okov iz Akvileje: sl. 4; 5: 1–4; 6: 1, 4–6). V nekaterih primerih je Himera dovolj dobro upodobljena, da prepoznamo njeno drugo, kozjo glavo, ki ji raste iz hrbta (Unterradelberg: sl. 5: 4). Prizori se razlikujejo tudi v podrobnostih, kot je na primer upodobitev drevesa ali manjšega rastlinja za jezdecem (Gradec nad Mihovim, sponi iz Male Azije: sl. 5; 6: 1), izdelanost detajlov opreme jezdeca in konja in podobno.

Nekoliko drugačne prizore prikazujejo na primer tonovški kos (sl. 2), na katerem je predstavljen jezdec s psom na lovu na jelena (brez psa tudi Karnunt, Szösény Puszta: sl. 5: 7), pasni zaključek iz Zemuna z jezdecem, ki pobija sovražnika (sl. 5: 10), skrinjica iz Berlina z jezdecem, ki prebada gazelo in drugi. Veliki večini okovov pa je skupna figura moškega, na konju ali ne, ki ima dvignjeno desnico in večinoma tudi vihrajoči plašč. Lahko bi trdili, da je velika večina motivov varianta na temo upodobitve Belerofonta v zmagovalni pozi. Enaka simbolika – zmagovalec nad nasprotnikom – je izražena tudi kot državna propaganda v upodobitvah zmagovalnih cesarjev na nekaterih poznorimskih novčnih serijah (Tóth 2005: 184), ki so prikazani v skoraj povsem enaki drži. Poleg pasne opreme in novcev se motiv pojavlja tudi na okrasnih ploščah lesenih skrinjic, na okrasnih okovih neznanega namena (Aquileia: sl. 6: 4) in pogosto na poznorimskih mozaikih ter drugih površinah (Tóth 2005: 185). Okovi in upodobitve so včasih okrogli, včasih pravokotni, vedno pa uokvirjeni v bolj ali manj natančno izdelanem bisernem nizu.

Seveda ne moremo mimo izjemne primernosti motiva za prenašanje krščanske simbolike, ki se je razmahnila v poznorimskem obdobju. Na grobišču v Ságvárju je kar nekaj okovov skrinjic in pasnih spon z upodobljenimi izrazitimi krščanskimi simboli (orans, kristogram). Motiv Belerofonta je sam po sebi sicer poganski, vendar se je njegovo osnovno sporočilo o zmagi nad nasprotnikom lahko bralo tudi v

#### 4. Motives: Bellerophon and Chimera

The motif of Bellerophon was known and popular since Hellenism (Lochin 1994). Bellerophon is the mythological hero who was sent by king Lobates of Lycia to kill Chimera. The monster Chimera has the body of a lioness, with a tail that ends in a snake and a second, goat's head growing out of its back. To be able to accomplish this mission Bellerophon obtained the winged horse Pegasus with the help of the goddess Athena and successfully slayed the monster.

The most often used motif on the discussed belt sets is derived from this myth – the scene of Bellerophon piercing Chimera with his lance. This central part of the motif – a rider in a fluttering cloak with right arm upraised – appears in several variations which do not differ greatly. As a Bellerophon scene we can recognize the ones where the horse is winged, therefore certainly Pegasus (Gradec above Mihovo (Fig. 4), caskets from Intercisa (Fig. 6: 6) and Budapest). The second indicator is the animal under the horse. When this is a lion-like beast with head turned back towards the rider and the tail upraised it is most probably Chimera (Gradec above Mihovo, Ardagger, Halbtturn, Unterradelberg, Ságvár, Asia Minor plate with Daphne and Apollo, Tulln, caskets from Intercisa, Budapest, Balatonlovas and Veszprem, Aquileia fitting: Fig. 4; 5: 1–4; 6: 1, 4–6). In some cases the monster is detailed enough so the second, goat's head is recognizable (Unterradelberg: Fig. 5: 4). The scenes also differ in details, such as shrubs or trees behind the rider on more luxurious examples (Gradec above Mihovo, Asia Minor pieces: Fig. 4: 6: 1), the details of the horse and rider etc.

A little different are the scenes from Tonovcov grad (Fig. 2), where a hunter with a dog is shown (without dog also Carnuntum and Szösény Puszta: Fig. 5: 7), from Zemun (Fig. 5: 10), where the rider is killing an enemy, the casket from Berlin where he is hunting a gazelle etc. What is common on most scenes is a male figure (on a horse or not) with an upraised arm and usually a cloak, fluttering in the wind. We could say that the majority of motifs are a variation of the Bellerophon theme – a victorious hero. The same symbolism of a winner is expressed as Imperial propaganda on some Late Roman coin series (Tóth 2005: 184) where Emperors are depicted in almost identical poses. Apart from the belt sets and coins the motif appears on casket fittings, other fittings (Aquileia: Fig. 6: 4) and often on Late Roman mosaics and other decorated surfaces (Tóth 2005: 185). The scenes are round or rectangular, always framed in a pearl border.

Of course we cannot fail to notice how appropriate this motif is to carry Christian symbolism, growing in popularity in the Late Roman period. On Ságvár necropolis there are several casket fittings and belt buckles with pronounced Christian symbols (orans, Christogram). The Bellerophon motif is in itself pagan but its basic message of victory over the enemy could be read in other contexts as well, certainly among the Christians. Regardless of which iconography the

drugih kontekstih, med njimi gotovo v zgodnjekrščanskem. Ne glede na to, katero ikonografijo je imel v mislih izdelovalec predmeta, je njegov uporabnik v prizoru lahko videl tudi drugo zgodbo. Toda bistveni del – sporočilo – je ostajal enak.

Po izredni priljubljenosti v poznorimskem obdobju se motiv Belerofonta pojavi še enkrat v skoraj nespremenjeni obliki na nekaterih od značilnih okroglih pločevinastih fibul Keszthely skupine 6. stoletja v Panoniji (sl. 6: 7) (Glaser 2002; Tóth 2005).

## 5. Zaključek

Znani pravokotni pasni zaključki se pojavljajo na širokem prostoru med Galijo in Malo Azijo, vendar smo lahko videli, da se delijo v nekaj izrazitejših skupin. V Galiji in Porenju se primerki z bisernim nizom redkeje pojavljajo, poznano nam je le nekaj primerkov, ki pa so večinoma uliti, iz dragocenih materialov in drugače okrašeni (npr. Sissy, Rheims). V tem delu države so se pogosteje nosili drugi tipi pravokotnih zaključkov: pločevinasti, brez bisernega niza in okrašeni z geometrijskimi ali živalskimi vrezanimi motivi (Sommer 1984: T. 23: 1–3).

Povsem drugačna slika se kaže na prostoru podonavskega limesa in panonskega zaledja med Karnuntom in Singidunom, kjer se koncentrirajo bronasti pločevinasti zaključki in okovi z (bolj ali manj spremenjeno) upodobitvijo Belerofonta, ali recimo raje kar zmagovalca. Pojavljajo se kot posamezne najdbe ali v nekaj grobovih, kjer jih najdemo v bolj ali manj popolnem kompletu pasne sponje z ledvičastim obročem, pravokotnim okovom in pravokotnim pasnim zaključkom (Emona, Unterradlberg, primerek iz dunajskega muzeja, Halbturm, Ardagger-Markt). Kombinacij z drugimi oblikami pasnih spon ali okovov doslej še nismo srečali. Vse kaže, da so te sponje in zaključki oblikovali posebno pasno garnituro, morda posebno nošo v civilni ali – morda bolj verjetno – vojaški hierarhiji. V grobovih se poleg pasne garniture večinoma nahajajo še fibule s čebulastimi gumbi tipov 3/4 B, 3/4 D ali 5 po Ph. Pröttlu, ki so datirane v drugo polovico in na začetek 5. st. (Pröttel 1988: 363, 372, sl. 11), keramično ali stekleno posodje in včasih novci. Nobena od teh skupin najdb ni podrobneje časovno opredeljiva.

Ti predmeti se pojavljajo ob limesu in v Panoniji na grobiščih s konca 4. stoletja, predvsem v času, ko po prenehanju rednega denarnega obtoka datiranje grobov glede na novce postane zelo nezanesljivo. Večina obravnavanih grobov in posamičnih najdb je postavljenih v konec 4. in začetek 5. stoletja, kar se resnično zdi najverjetnejša datacija za obravnavani tip pasne opreme (grobišča Tulln, Unterradlberg, Halbturm, Ságvár itd.).

Zaključki s figuralnimi upodobitvami sodijo med bogatejše primerke, kar velja tudi za bronaste kose, ne le za srebrne in redke zlate primerke. Lahko sklepamo, da gre za tip garnitur višjih vojaških ali civilnih predstavnikov, ki so bile posebej priljubljene v Panoniji.

Okovi skrinjic, na katerih najdemo enake upodobitve, se pogosteje pojavljajo v ženskih grobovih. Težko je reči, kakšna je resnična povezava med okovi pasov in skrinjic, najverjetneje pa prihajajo iz istih delavnic, ki so uporabljale enega bolj priljubljenih figuralnih motivov tistega časa.

artisan who produced the piece had in mind, the user could read a completely different story. But the crucial part – the message – remained the same.

After the popularity in Late Roman period the motif of Bellerophon appears again almost unchanged on some characteristic round fibulae of the Keszthely group in 6<sup>th</sup> century Pannonia (Fig. 6: 7) (Glaser 2002; Tóth 2005).

## 5. Conclusion

The known rectangular strap ends are distributed in a wide territory between Gaul and Asia Minor, but they are divided into a few groups. In Gaul and Rhine territory the examples with pearl border are rare, only a few are known and those are mostly cast from precious materials and bear different decoration (e.g. Sissy, Rheims). In this part of the Empire other strap ends were more popular: bronze sheet, with no pearl border and with geometrical or animal cut decoration (Sommer 1984: Pl. 23: 1–3).

Along the Danube limes and in Pannonia between Carnuntum and Singidunum the situation is different. There the popular strap ends are made of bronze sheet and bear the more or less adapted motif of Bellerophon, or rather, the victorious hero. They appear as individual finds or in graves. In graves they are found in a more or less complete set of a kidney-shaped buckle with a rectangular plate and a rectangular strap end (Emona, Unterradlberg, Halbturm, Ardagger-Markt, also set from Vienna). So far not one strap end has been found in any other belt set combination. It seems the buckles and strap ends formed a particular belt set, perhaps a particular costume in the civilian or – more probably military – hierarchy. The graves also often contain crossbow fibulae types Pröttel 3/4 B, 3/4 D or 5, which are dated to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> and to the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century (Pröttel 1988: 363, 372, Fig. 11), pottery or glass vessels and sometimes coins. None of these finds can be dated with more precision.

The discussed objects appear along the limes and in Pannonia on graveyards of the late 4<sup>th</sup> century and later when dating with coins becomes especially unreliable. Most of the above described graves are dated to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, which indeed seems the most appropriate time for the belt set in question (Tulln, Unterradlberg, Halbturm, Ságvár etc.).

The strap ends with figural decoration belong to the more luxurious examples, the bronze ones as well as the rare silver and gold ones. It can be assumed that this belt set type belonged to higher military or civilian representatives and that it was especially popular in Pannonia.

The casket fittings where the same motifs can be found are more often found in female graves. It is difficult to say what is the connection between the fittings and the belt sets, but they probably originate from the same workshops that used one of the favoured motifs of the time.

The discussed scenes share a common symbolic mes-

Z veliko gotovostjo lahko rečemo, da imajo te upodobitve skupno simbolično sporočilo: izražajo zmagovalca. To potrjujejo tudi napisi na nekaterih okovih (sol invictus) in dvignjena desnica glavnega lika.

Slovenska najdišča, na katerih se pojavljajo tovrstni zaključki, spadajo med poznorimske vojaške postojanke, tako Emona in Tonovcov grad kot Gradec nad Mihovim, ki pa je slabše poznan. Nепreverjen je podatek o še enem grobu z zaključkom iz Vinice, vendar lahko trdimo, da ne bi bil nič presenetljivega, saj je slovenski prostor v poznorimskem obdobju predstavljal enega bistvenih delov obrambe do stopa do Italije. Glavno območje motiva samega (tudi na fibulah v kasnejšem obdobju) in okovov s tem motivom je očitno podonavski limes in njegovo panonsko zaledje v kritičnih trenutkih konca 4. in začetka 5. stoletja, ko je bila propaganda zmage nad nasprotniki nedvomno velikega pomena.

sage – the winner. Also the inscriptions on some pieces (sol invictus) and the upraised right arm of the main character confirm this.

Slovenian sites where such strap ends were found belong to Late Roman military posts, Emona and Tonovcov grad, as well as Gradec above Mihovo, which is less well researched. The strap end from Vinica is supposed to originate from a grave, but this information cannot be confirmed. It would not be surprising, as the territory of Slovenia represented one of the crucial parts in the Late Roman defence of Italy. The main territory where strap ends with Bellerophon, the motif itself (caskets, mosaics etc.) and also 6<sup>th</sup> century fibulae with the same scene are distributed is apparently the Danubian limes and its Pannonian hinterland in the critical moments of the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, when victory over the enemy was doubtlessly of great importance.

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