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## Crvenofiguralni riblji tanjur iz Ise\*

### The Red-figure fish plate from Issa\*

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Za istraživanja istočne nekropole antičke Ise (*Issa*) otkriven je unutar groba 66 zanimljiv i na području Hrvatske unikatan keramički predmet, crvenofiguralni riblji tanjur. Donešen je kratak pregled primjene tog keramičkog oblika i različitih radionica u kojima se proizvodio. Na osnovi potanje analize tanjura iz Ise autorica predlaže njegovu dataciju u drugu polovicu 4. st. pr. Kr., raspravlja o mogućem mjestu njegove proizvodnje te o njegovoj funkciji unutar pogrebnog rituala. U grob 66 položen je jedan pokojnik muškog spola, a riblji tanjur kao grobni prilog, zajedno s mogućim drvenim lijesom kao grobnom konstrukcijom, upotpunjuje sliku isejskih pogrebnih običaja u 4. st. pr. Kr.

*Ključne riječi: crvenofiguralni riblji tanjur, Issa, istočna isejska nekropola, 4. st. pr. Kr., pogrebni običaj, drveni lijes*

During research at the eastern necropolis in ancient Issa, an interesting - and in Croatia's territory, unique - ceramic object was found inside grave 66: a Red-figure fish plate. The author's intention is to provide a brief review of the application of this pottery form and the various workshops in which it was produced. Based on a detailed analysis of the plate from Issa, the author proposes dating to the latter half of the fourth century BC, and discusses a possible production site and its function inside burial rites. A deceased male was interred in grave 66, while the fish plate as a grave good, together with a possible wooden coffin as a grave structure, supplement the picture of burial customs in Issa in the fourth century BC.

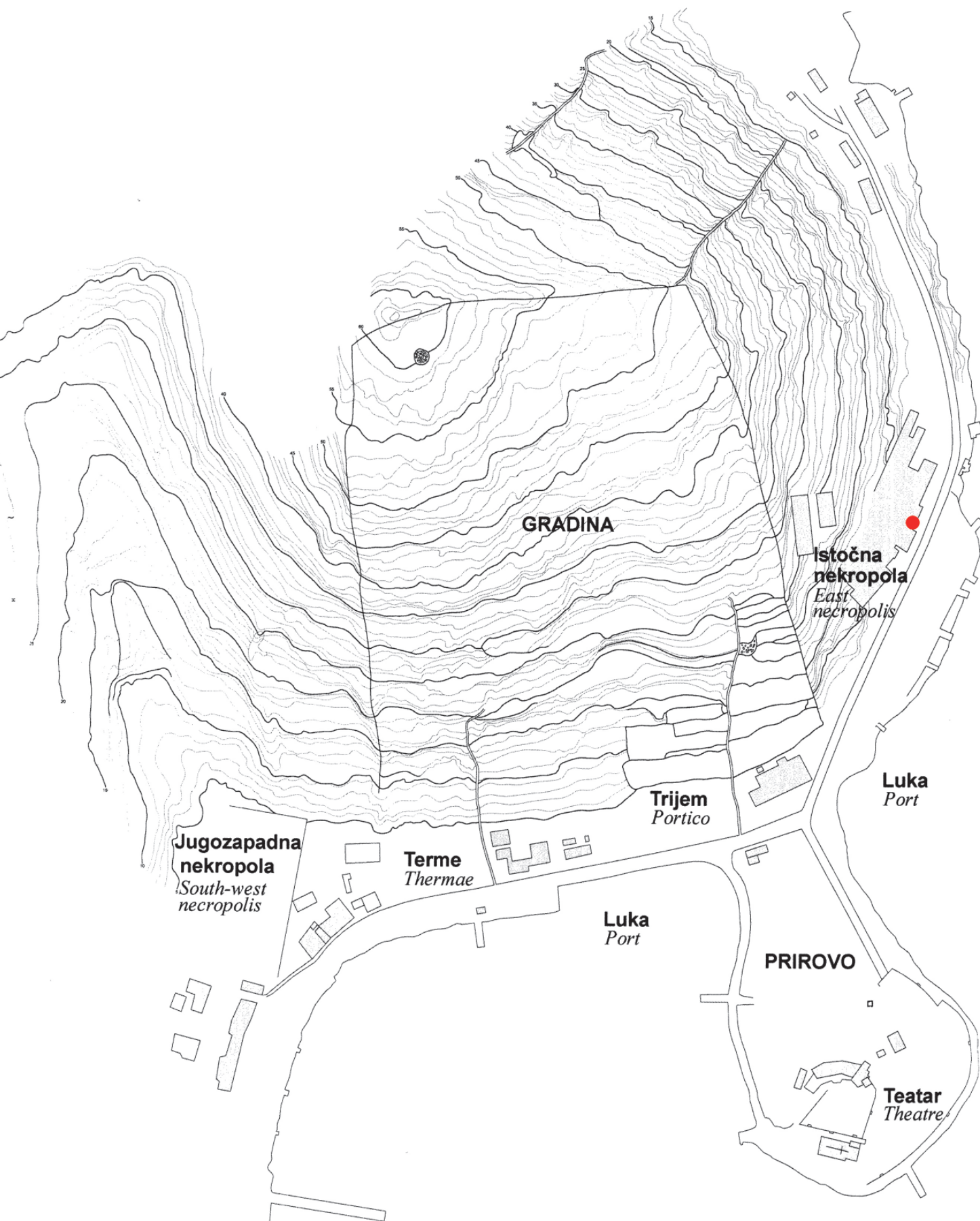
*Key words: Red-figure fish plate, Issa, eastern Issa necropolis, fourth century BC, burial custom, wooden coffin*

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\* Zahvaljujem B. Kiriginu, koji mi je ustupio materijal na objavu. Nadalje, L. Šešelj i K. Botić najljepše zahvaljujem na korisnim savjetima i komentarima. Konzervaciju nalaza obavila je I. Prpa Stojanac, crteže su izradili Z. Podrug i M. Galić, a fotografije T. Seser, kojima ovom prigodom zahvaljujem.

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Slika 1.  
 Geodetska snimka Ise (prema Kiriginu). Preuzeto iz knjige: B. Čargo, Martvilo,  
 s označenim položajem groba 66.

Figure 1.  
 Land survey image of Issa (based on Kirigin), taken from the book by B.  
 Čargo, Martvilo, with the position of grave 66 marked.

## Uvod

U zaštitnim iskopavanjima godine 1983. koja su prethodila gradnji hotela *Issa* u gradu Visu, otkrivena je antička nekropola.<sup>1</sup> Riječ je o istočnoj isejskoj nekropoli, koja se, prema lokalnom toponimu, naziva i Vlaška njiva.<sup>2</sup> Nekropola se prostire izvan istočnih bedema helenističke i rimske Ise prema obali i duž obale u pravcu uvale Stonca (sl. 1). Na njezinu istraženom dijelu, koji je obuhvaćao samo površinu budućeg hotela *Issa*, otkriveno je 249 grobova.<sup>3</sup> Grobovi su datirani u razdoblje od ranog helenizma do prijelaza u kasnu antiku, no rezultati istraživanja, osim kraćeg stručnog izvješća, nisu objavljeni.<sup>4</sup> Zabilježeno je da 98 grobova pripada razdoblju helenizma.<sup>5</sup> Među brojnim grobnim priložima iz helenističkih grobova i grobnica otkrivenih na ovoj nekropoli, osobito se ističe nalaz iz groba br. 66. Riječ je o grčkom keramičkom predmetu, tzv. ribljem tanjuru, koji je u literaturi poznatiji pod nazivom *fish plate* ili *piatto da pesce*. Tanjur tog karakterističnog oblika ukrašen tehnikom crvenih figura poznajemo s niza sredozemnih i crnomorskih nalazišta iz 4. st. pr. Kr. Ovo je za sada jedini takav poznati nalaz iz Hrvatske, odnosno s hrvatskog dijela istočnog Jadrana.

## Kontekst nalaza

Stotinjak metara sjeverno od istočnih bedema, na 20 metara udaljenosti od morske obale, pronađen je grob 66 (vidi sl. 1). Prema originalnoj dokumentaciji riječ je o ukopu u drveni lijes.<sup>6</sup> Nacrt groba sugerira da je bio omeđen dvama usporednim redovima kamenja (kamenih klesanica?) (sl. 2).<sup>7</sup> Orijeantiran je u pravcu sjever - jug, a pretpostavljene dimenzije groba su 170 x 80 cm.<sup>8</sup> Originalni položaj pokojnika ne može se odrediti prema

## Introduction

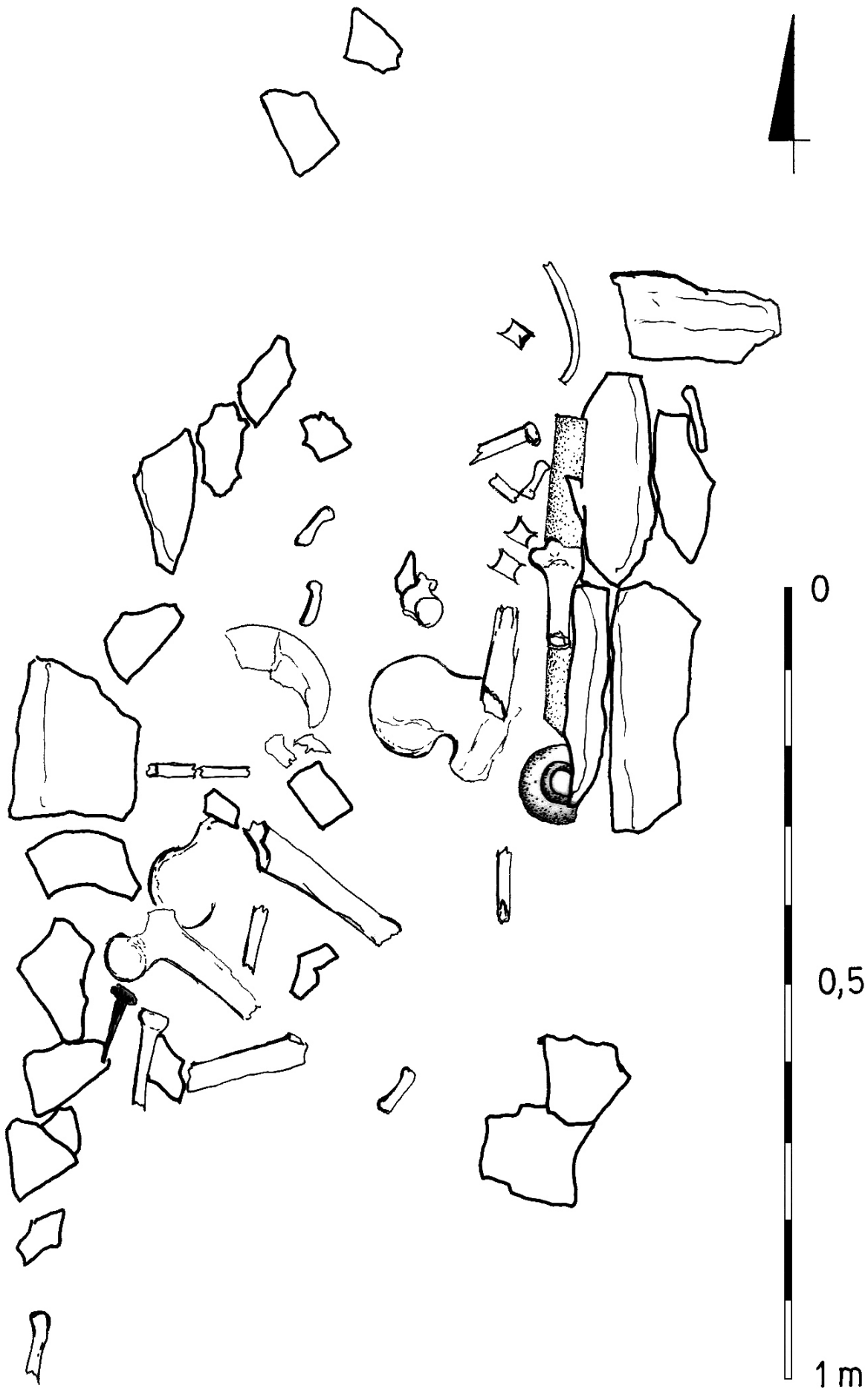
During rescue excavations conducted during 1983, which preceded construction of the Hotel Issa in the town of Vis, an ancient necropolis was discovered.<sup>1</sup> This is the eastern Issa necropolis which, based on a local toponym, is also called Vlaška njiva.<sup>2</sup> This necropolis extends outside of the eastern outer wall of Hellenistic and Roman Issa, toward the seashore and along the same direction as Stonca Cove (Fig. 1). In its researched portion, which encompasses only the surface of the future Hotel Issa, 249 graves were found.<sup>3</sup> These graves have been dated to the period of early Hellenism to the transition to Late Antiquity, but the results of this research, besides a brief technical report, have not been published.<sup>4</sup> The dating of 98 graves to the Hellenistic period was registered.<sup>5</sup> Among the numerous grave goods from the Hellenistic graves and tombs found in this necropolis, a find from grave 66 is noteworthy. This is a Greek ceramic object, a so-called fish plate, also known in the literature as *piatto da pesce*. Plates with this typical shape decorated by Red-figure technique are known from a series of Mediterranean and Black Sea sites of the fourth century BC. This is thus far the sole known find of this type from Croatia, i.e., the Croatian part of the eastern Adriatic.

## Find context

Grave 66 was found roughly one hundred meters north of the eastern city wall, 20 m from the seashore (see Fig. 1). According to the original documentation, this was a burial in a wooden coffin.<sup>6</sup> The layout of the grave suggests that it was bordered by two parallel rows of stones (dressed stones?) (Fig. 2).<sup>7</sup> It is oriented in north-south direction, and the assumed dimensions of the grave are 170 x 80 cm.<sup>8</sup> The original position of the deceased cannot be determined based on the skeletal

1 Zaštitna iskopavanja provedena su u razdoblju od 21. srpnja do 2. studenog 1983. pod stručnim vodstvom Branka Kirigina (Kirigin 1983).  
2 Kirigin 1983. Naziv Vlaška njiva zabilježen je u podacima o katastarskim česticama na kojima je izgrađen hotel *Issa* (7137/1, 7138, 7139 i 7170/1), a koji su dio službene dokumentacije Državne geodetske uprave, Područnoga katastarskog ureda u Splitu - Ispostave Vis.  
3 Kirigin 1983. Prema katastarskim podacima riječ je o površini od 2513 metara četvornih, dok se istočna isejska nekropola nesumnjivo prostirala na širem području, koje do danas nije istraženo.  
4 Objavljeno je preliminarno izvješće o zaštitnim istraživanjima ovog lokaliteta te otkriću istočne nekropole (Kirigin 1983), potom su objavljene dvije keramičke vaze oslikane u gornjojadranskom stilu, koje su bile prilozi u grobovima (Kirigin 1992) te jedna rimska grobna cjelina (Buljević 2006). Autorica ovog rada priprema doktorsku disertaciju u kojoj će biti obrađene sve istražene grobne cjeline.  
5 Kirigin 1983. Nakon kompletne konzervacije materijala postalo je evidentno da nekolicina ovih grobova prethodi helenističkom razdoblju.  
6 Izrađen je plan nekropole s tipologijom grobova na kojem je grob 66 označen kao ukop u drveni lijes, što se navodi i na originalnim grobnim formularima koji su se ispunjavali na licu mjesta tijekom istraživanja.  
7 Plan groba izradila je arhitektica Dunja Gerić.  
8 Dimenzije su izmjerene na temelju crteža groba.

1 Rescue research was conducted from 21 July to 2 November 1983 under the expert leadership of Branko Kirigin (Kirigin 1983).  
2 Kirigin 1983. The name Vlaška njiva is registered in the data on the cadastral lots on which the Hotel Issa was built (7137/1, 7138, 7139 and 7170/1), which are a component of the official documentation of the National Land Survey Bureau, Regional Cadastral Office in Split, Vis Station.  
3 Kirigin 1983. According to cadastral data, this is a surface of 2,513 m<sup>2</sup>, while the eastern Issa necropolis undoubtedly covered a wider area which has yet to be researched.  
4 A preliminary report on rescue research at this site and discovery of the eastern necropolis (Kirigin 1983), two ceramic vases painted in the Alto Adriatico (Upper Adriatic) style, which were found in graves (Kirigin 1992) and one Roman grave unit (Buljević 2006) have been published. The writer of this work is preparing a doctoral dissertation in which all grave units will be analyzed.  
5 Kirigin 1983. After the complete conservation of the material, it became evident that few of these graves pre-date the period of Hellenism.  
6 A map of the necropolis with grave typology was drafted, in which grave 66 is indicated as a burial in a wooden coffin, which was recorded in the original paperwork on the grave completed on site during research.  
7 The grave's layout sketch was drafted by architect Dunja Gerić.  
8 The dimensions were altered on the basis of a sketch of the grave.



Slika 2.  
Plan groba 66 (izradila D. Gerić).

Figure 2.  
Layout of grave 66 (made by D. Gerić).

ostacima skeleta jer su kosti pronađene razbacane duž groba.<sup>9</sup> Antropološka analiza pokazala je da je riječ o ukopu jedne jedinke, muškarca u dobi od tridesetak godina.<sup>10</sup>

U blizini duže istočne stranice groba pronađen je naopako okrenut crvenofiguralni riblji tanjur. Osim tanjura, na jugozapadnoj je strani groba zabilježen željezni čavao s okruglom glavicom, dužine 8 cm. Oba predmeta i njihov izvorni položaj dokumentirani su na priloženom nacrtu groba 66 (sl. 2).<sup>11</sup> Osim tanjura i željeznog čavla, u depou Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu sačuvani su ulomci keramike, stakla i željeza koji su prema oznaci pronađeni za istraživanja ovoga groba, ali nisu pripadali grobnoj cjelini.<sup>12</sup> Prema nalazu kostura, kamenja i samog materijala te prema opisu u dnevniku istraživanja zaključujemo da je dio konteksta groba 66 djelomično narušen, najvjerojatnije tijekom poljoprivrednih aktivnosti, poput sadnje vinove loze, koja se donedavno uzgajala na ovim prostorima. Prema planu groba možemo ipak pretpostaviti da je dio njegove duže, istočne strane izvoran, što je razvidno po sačuvanosti kamenih klesanaca *in situ*. Upravo je na tom dijelu pronađen i riblji tanjur, pa ga smatramo jedinim grobnim prilogom koji na osnovi dostupnih informacija možemo vezati uz ovaj ukop. Nadalje, prema njegovu položaju možemo pretpostaviti da je izvorno postavljen približno po sredini groba, možda u blizini zdjelice pokojnika.

remains, because the bones were found scattered throughout the grave.<sup>9</sup> Anthropological analysis has shown that only single individual was buried here, a man roughly 30 years of age.<sup>10</sup>

An upturned Red-figure fish plate was found near the eastern side of the grave. Besides the plate, an 8 cm long iron nail with a round head was noted on the south-west side. Both objects and their positions were documented on the attached plan of grave 66 (Fig. 2).<sup>11</sup> In addition to this plate - which shall be covered in detail below - and the aforementioned nail, potsherds and pieces of glass and iron are also held in the depot of the Archaeological Museum in Split, which according to their labels were found during research into this grave, although they did not belong to the grave unit.<sup>12</sup> Based on the find of the skeleton, the stones and the materials themselves, as well as the description in the research journal, it may be concluded that part of the context of grave 66 was partially demolished, most likely during agricultural activities, such as the planting of wine grape plants, an activity that has long flourished in this area. Based on the grave's layout, it is possible to suggest that its longer, eastern side is original, which can be seen in the preserved condition of the *in situ* dressed stones. It was precisely here that the fish plate was found, so I consider it the sole grave good which can be linked to this burial based on the available information. Furthermore, based on its position, it may be assumed that it was originally placed near the middle of the grave, perhaps near the pelvis of the deceased.

9 Može se pretpostaviti kako je tijelo položeno u pravcu sjever-jug, odnosno da je pratilo orijentaciju groba, no nemoguće je govoriti o detaljima (položaj glave, itd.).

10 Antropološku analizu kostura obavio je prof. Ž. Mikić, s Odsjeka za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu, te mu ovom prigodom zahvaljujemo na dopuštenju da u ovom radu upotrijebim podatke iz njegovog izvješća.

11 Na planu groba u neposrednoj blizini crvenofiguralnog tanjura zabilježena su još dva predmeta, ali njihovo se postojanje pregledom materijala s Vlaške njive nije moglo potvrditi. Prema grobnim formularima dokumentirano je više željeznih čavala, a samo je jedan nacrtan na planu groba.

12 U manjoj kutiji s oznakom *grob 66*, bez detaljnije dokumentacije, pronađeni su sljedeći ulomci: 68 sitnijih, jako istrošenih ulomaka grublje keramike, smeđih, oker i narančastih nijansi, od kojih je jedan rub, a ostalo su ulomci trbuha; šest ulomaka trbuha grube kuhinjske keramike; jedan rub rimske kuhinjske keramike iz 2./3. st.; osam ulomaka kasnohelenističke keramike sa sivim premazom, sive fature, od kojih su tri dna te jedna ručka; tri ulomka male helenističke pikside od svijetlosmeđe-okere gline, od kojih su dvije ručice u obliku omega te rub; ulomak trbuha rebraste posude *Gnathia 3/2*. st. pr. Kr.; 13 ulomaka keramike fine svjetlije fature sa crnim premazom, od kojih su četiri ulomka dna; sedam ulomaka skifa, od kojih su tri ruba, dva dna, dvije ručice; mali ulomak oboda rimske staklene urne, četiri korodirana željezna čavla i veći broj njihovih ulomaka, te amorfnog grumen željeza/željeznog predmeta. Budući da su ovi ulomci prilično loše sačuvani, vrlo fragmentarni i izlizani, može se zaključiti da ne pripadaju izvornom grobnom kontekstu te da su prikupljeni u njegovoj neposrednoj okolini, kako je i zabilježeno u grobnim formularima. No čavli, kako je već spomenuto, pripadaju grobu 66 (vidi bilj. 12 i 14).

9 It may be assumed that the body was laid north to south, i.e., adhering to the grave's orientation, but it is impossible to speak of any details (position of the head, etc.).

10 The anthropological analysis of the skeleton was done by Prof. Ž. Mikić from the Archaeology Department at the Faculty of Arts and Letters in Belgrade, and I would like to thank him for allowing me to use the data from his report in this article.

11 In the layout plan, two additional objects were recorded in the immediate vicinity of the Red-figure plate, but their existence could not be confirmed in an inspection of the materials. According to the paperwork on the grave, several iron nails were recorded, while only one is indicated in the grave's layout sketch.

12 The following fragments were found in a small box designated as grave 66, without detailed documentation: 68 tiny, almost entirely worn coarse potsherds, with brown, ochre and orange fabric, of which one is a rim, while the rest are body sherds; six body sherds of coarse kitchenware; one rim of a Roman kitchenware piece from the second/third century; eight sherds of gray painted late Hellenistic ware with gray fabric, of which three are bases and one is a handle; three sherds of a small Hellenistic pyxis made of light brown-ochre Gnathian vessel of the third/second century BC; 13 sherds of ceramic with fine lighter fabric, painted black, of which four are base sherds; seven skyphos sherds, of which three are from the rim, two from the base, and two from the small handles; a small shard of a Roman glass urn; four corroded iron nails and several pieces of the same; and an amorphous nugget of iron/iron object. Given that these fragments are rather poorly preserved, very fragmented and worn, it may be concluded that they were not part of the original grave context, and that they were gathered in its immediate vicinity, as noted in the paperwork on the grave. However the nails, based on the aforementioned, belonged to grave 66 (see notes 12 and 14).

Osim čavla koji je ucrtan na planu groba, i ostali čavli u depou Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu (vidi bilj. 12) pripadali su istom tipu željeznih čavala s okruglom glavicom, a bili su približno sličnih dimenzija.<sup>13</sup> To dodatno pridonosi spomenutoj mogućnosti da je za ovaj ukop korištena konstrukcija drvenog ljesa.<sup>14</sup> Na susjednoj jugozapadnoj isejskoj nekropoli, Martvilu, za sada nema arheoloških potvrda drvenih ljesova,<sup>15</sup> kao ni u ostalim pojedinačnim grčkim ukopima na hrvatskom Jadranu.<sup>16</sup> No ukop u drvenom ljesu nije nepoznat običaj klasičnoga i helenističkog razdoblja grčkog svijeta. Već je Nikolanci u svojoj pionirskoj sintezi helenističkih isejskih grobova raspravljao o mogućnosti postojanja drvenih ljesova u Isi te naveo njihovu pojavu unutar kamenih sarkofaga u helenističkom razdoblju Bugarske.<sup>17</sup> U muzeju u Pireju izložen je drveni ljes u cijelosti sačuvan, koji potječe iz Egalea.<sup>18</sup> Iako bez previše detalja, legenda pojašnjava kako je taj ljes iz klasičnog razdoblja pronađen unutar kamenog sarkofaga.<sup>19</sup> Za pričvršćivanje u ovom slučaju nisu korišteni metalni čavli, već drveni klinovi.<sup>20</sup> U helenističkim grobovima u Ateni katkad su nalaženi dijelovi drveta, što sugerira upotrebu ili drvenog ljesa ili drvenih nosila na kojima je pokojnik polagan.<sup>21</sup> U istim grobovima pronađeno je i više čavala.<sup>22</sup> Novija zaštitna iskopavanja, prilikom gradnje podzemne željeznice u Solunu, iznijela su na vidjelo ranohelenistički ukop u drvenom ljesu.<sup>23</sup> Običaj polaganja pokojnika u drvene ljesove tipičan je za helenističko razdoblje Olinta, gdje su unutar grobova 4.-2. st. pr. Kr. često nalaženi dijelovi drveta, zajedno sa željeznim ili brončanim čavlima.<sup>24</sup> U Apoloniji, na albanskoj obali Jadrana, još je u prošlom stoljeću pri austrijskim istraživanjima nekropole Kryegjata dokumentiran drveni ljes sa željeznim čavlima, koji je poslužio za ukop djeteta.<sup>25</sup> Nekropola u Tarantu u južnoj Italiji iznijela je na svjetlo dana niz grobova klasičnoga i helenističkog razdoblja s drvenim ljesovima, indiciranih prema ostacima metalnih aplikacija i dijelova terakota tipičnih za kraj 4. st. pr. Kr. koji su ih ukrašavali

Besides the nail, which has been indicated in the grave's layout sketch, the other nails found in the depot of the Archaeological Museum in Split (see not 12) are the same type of iron nails with a round head, and they have roughly the same dimensions.<sup>13</sup> This serves as further evidence to support the aforementioned possibility that a wooden coffin was used in this burial.<sup>14</sup> At the neighbouring south-west Issa necropolis, Martvilo, there is as yet no evidence to confirm wooden coffins,<sup>15</sup> nor in any other individual Greek burials on the Croatian Adriatic.<sup>16</sup> However, interment in a wooden coffin was not an unknown custom in the Greek world during the Classical and Hellenistic eras. Already in his pioneering synthesis of the Hellenistic Issa graves, Nikolanci discussed the possibility of the existence of wooden coffins in Issa and noted their appearance inside stone sarcophaguses in Bulgaria from the Hellenistic era.<sup>17</sup> A whole wooden coffin, originally from Egaleo, is on exhibit in the museum in Piraeus.<sup>18</sup> Although lacking many details, the label explains that this coffin from the Classical era was found inside a stone sarcophagus.<sup>19</sup> In this case, wooden pegs rather than iron nails were used as fasteners.<sup>20</sup> Sometimes pieces of wood can be found in Hellenistic graves in Athens, which suggests the use of either wooden coffins or biers onto which the deceased was laid.<sup>21</sup> A number of nails were found in these same graves.<sup>22</sup> More recent rescue excavations conducted during construction of an underground railway in Thessaloniki yielded an early Hellenistic burial in a wooden coffin.<sup>23</sup> The custom of laying the deceased were typical of the Hellenistic era in Olynthus, where pieces of wood together with iron or bronze nails were often found inside graves of the fourth to second centuries BC.<sup>24</sup> In Apollonia on the Albanian Adriatic coast, during Austrian research into the Kryegjata necropolis, a wooden coffin with iron nails which served to inter a child was found in the past century.<sup>25</sup> The necropolis in Taranto in southern Italy brought to the light of day a series of graves from the Classical and Hellenistic era with wooden coffins, indicated according to the remains of metal applications and parts of terracotta

13 Kao što smo spomenuli u bilješci 12, iako je na planu ucrtan samo jedan željezni čavao, prema grobnim formularima dokumentirano je više željeznih čavala unutar samoga groba, koji se nesumnjivo odnose na čavle u depou AMS-a.

14 Uporabom čavala za pričvršćivanje konstrukcije drvenog ljesa trebalo bi se ozbiljnije pozabaviti i eksperimentalnom metodom utvrditi koja je vrsta čavala i kojih dimenzija mogla služiti toj svrsi.

15 Čargo 2010, str. 35.

16 Gaffney et al. 1997, str. 179, 194 (br. nalazišta 0009.00 i 0031.00); Kirigin 1990, str. 311-312; Kirigin et al. 2006.

17 Nikolanci 1969, str. 63.

18 Steinhauer 1998, str. 34.

19 Zahvaljujem G. Papamichelakisu koji mi je ukazao na ovaj podatak.

20 Steinhauer 1998, str. 34.

21 Kurtz, Boardman 1971, str. 164.

22 Kurtz, Boardman 1971, str. 164.

23 Prema izjavi Ministarstva kulture Grčke, objavljenoj u Naftemporiki tisku [http://www.balkantravellers.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=598](http://www.balkantravellers.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=598) (21. 10. 2011).

24 Panayotova 2007, str. 94, i ondje spomenuta literatura.

25 Grazia Amore 2010, str. 24. Grobovi su datirani od 4. do 1. st. pr. Kr.

13 As already stated in note 12, although only one is drawn into the layout sketch, according to the paperwork several iron nails were documented in the grave, which undoubtedly means the nails found in the AMS depot.

14 The use of nails to fasten wooden coffin structures should be more seriously considered by means of experimentation, to ascertain the types and dimensions of the nails which could have served this purpose.

15 Čargo 2010, p. 35.

16 Gaffney et al. 1997, p. 179, 194 (site no. 0009.00 and 0031.00); Kirigin 1990, pp. 311-312; Kirigin et al. 2006.

17 Nikolanci 1969, p. 63.

18 Steinhauer 1998, p. 34.

19 I would like to thank G. Papamichelakis who informed me of this.

20 Steinhauer 1998, p. 34.

21 Kurtz, Boardman 1971, p. 164.

22 Kurtz, Boardman 1971, p. 164.

23 According to the Greek Ministry of Culture, published in the Naftemporiki publication -[http://www.balkantravellers.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=598](http://www.balkantravellers.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=598) (21 Oct. 2011).

24 Panayotova 2007, p. 94, and in the literature mentioned therein.

25 Grazia Amore 2010, p. 24. The graves were dated from the fourth to first centuries BC.

te kutnim jamama u kojima su nekoć bile postavljene četiri noge na koje se lijes oslanjao.<sup>26</sup> U nekropoli Kalfata, u crnomorskoj Apoloniji, koja je bila u upotrebi od sredine 5. do početka 2. st. pr. Kr., dokumentirana su dva tipa drvenih ljesova: s čavlima i s klinovima.<sup>27</sup>

Ovdje bismo napomenuli kako nisu nepoznati primjeri kada je unutar grčkih grobova pronađen jedan čavao ili dva čavla, čija funkcija nije sasvim jasno objašnjena.<sup>28</sup> Ni za grob 66 ne treba posve isključiti tu mogućnost, pogotovo stoga što ne možemo s potpunom sigurnošću ustvrditi da ostali čavli potječu iz istoga groba. No u tom bi slučaju ostalo otvoreno pitanje zašto su istraživači groba 66 dokumentirali drveni lijes kao njegovu grobnu konstrukciju. Potrebno je, međutim, imati na umu da je, ako svi čavli potječu iz istoga groba, njihova funkcija, osim učvršćivanja drvenog lijesa, mogla biti i drugačije prirode, vezana, primjerice, za učvršćivanje nekog ukrasa.<sup>29</sup> Naravno, to ne isključuje drveni lijes kao moguću konstrukciju, koji je u tom slučaju mogao biti pričvršćen drvenim klinovima. Ostaje nejasno i pitanje kamenih klesanaca. Jesu li Isejci, kao što je primijećeno u Egaleu i Bugarskoj, drveni lijes okružili kamenom konstrukcijom, u ovom slučaju ne kamenim sarkofagom, nego naslaganim kamenim klesancima? Trenutačno dostupni podaci ne nude sigurne odgovore na ta pitanja. Zasad je jedino moguće prihvatiti postojeću dokumentaciju kao najvjerojatniju i predložiti, uz oprez, mogućnost drvenog lijesa kao grobne konstrukcije, koji je s vanjske strane bio u cijelosti ili djelomično obložen kamenim klesancima. Buduća će terenska ili arhivska otkrića, nadamo se, donijeti nepobitne dokaze za taj običaj.

### Nalaz iz Ise

Unutar isejskoga groba 66, na već opisanome mjestu, pronađen je, kako smo prethodno spomenuli, zasad jedini dokumentirani crvenofiguralni riblji tanjur u Hrvatskoj (sl. 3). Riječ je o manjem tanjuru, promjera 8,3 cm i visine 1,3 cm. Sačuvan je u cijelosti, a manji je dio ruba bio okrhnut, te je naknadno rekonstruiran.<sup>30</sup> Plitki recipijent diskoidnog je oblika, a njegova se gotovo vodoravna stijenka blago spušta prema sredini tanjura (sl. 4). U samoj sredini nalazi se kružno udubljenje promjera 1,3 cm, koje je od ostatka recipijenta odvojeno brazdom. Druga brazda prati rub tanjura. Obod je kraći i izvnut, odnosno "visi" preko ruba tanjura. Niska prstenasta stopa, promjera 3,5 cm, blago je po sredini zadebljana s vanjske i unutarnje strane. Dno je udubljeno, s blagim središnjim ispupčenjem.

typical of the fourth century BC which adorned them, and angular pits into which four legs on which the coffin rested were placed.<sup>26</sup> At the Kalfata necropolis, in Black Sea Apollonia, which was in use from the mid-fifth to the early second centuries BC, two types of wooden coffins were documented: with nails and with pegs.<sup>27</sup>

Here it should be noted that examples of a single nail, or two, with a not entirely clear function, inside Greek graves are not unknown.<sup>28</sup> This possibility should also not be excluded in this case of grave 66, particularly since it cannot be stated with certainty that the remaining nails were from the same grave. However, in this case the question remains as to why the researchers examining grave 66 documented a wooden coffin as its grave structure. It should be borne in mind that if all of the nails are from that same grave, their function, besides fastening the wooden coffin, may also have been of a different nature, e.g. to fasten some type of ornament.<sup>29</sup> Naturally, this does not exclude the wooden coffin as a possible structure, which in this case could have been fastened with wooden pegs. The question of the dressed stones is also unclear. Did the Issa natives, as observed in Egaleo and Bulgaria, surround the wooden coffin with a stone structure, in this case not a sarcophagus but rather stacked dressed stones? The currently available data do not provide certain answers to these questions. For now, it is only possible to accept existing documentation as the most credible, and propose, with some caution, the possibility of a wooden coffin as the grave structure, which was entirely or partially lined with dressed stones on the outside. One may hope that future discoveries in the field or in archives will generate incontrovertible evidence of this custom.

### The find from Issa

As noted above, the only documented Red-figure fish plate in Croatia (Fig. 3) was found inside Issa grave 66, at the site described above. This is a small plate, with a diameter of 8.3 cm and a height of 1.3 cm. It is entirely preserved, with a small part of the edge chipped off, which was later reconstructed.<sup>30</sup> The shallow recipient is discoid, while its horizontal lip descends slightly toward the plate's middle (Fig. 4). In the very middle there is a circular depression, or cup, 1.3 cm in diameter, which is separated from the rest of the recipient by a groove. A second groove follows the edge of the plate. The rim is short and flared, i.e., it "hangs" downward over the edge of the plate. The low ring-shaped foot, with a diameter of 3.5 cm, thickens in the middle from outside to inside. The base is recessed, with slight protrusion in the middle.

26 Lippolis 1994, str. 131; Maruggi 1994, str. 72. Za drvene ljesove u Kartagi vidi Lippolis 1994, bilj. 4, str. 147.

27 Panayotova 2007, str. 85, 94.

28 Kurtz, Boardman 1971, str. 164, 216; Hägg, Fossey 1980, str. 53, 72, 75; Kovacovics 1990, str. 35, 113, 117, 119-120, 124-125.

29 Osim metalnih ili terakotnih aplikacija lijes je mogla ukrašavati i jednostavna dekorativna tkanina koja se mogla pričvrstiti čavlima, a čije bi postojanje danas teško bilo dokazati. Zahvaljujem kolegici K. Botić na ovoj sugestiji.

30 Rekonstrukciju ruba tanjura napravila je I. Prpa Stojanac.

26 Lippolis 1994, p. 131; Maruggi 1994, p. 72. For wooden coffins in Carthage see Lippolis 1994, note 4, p. 147.

27 Panayotova 2007, str. 85, 94.

28 Kurtz, Boardman 1971, pp. 164, 216; Hägg, Fossey 1980, pp. 53, 72, 75; Kovacovics 1990, pp. 35, 113, 117, 119-120, 124-125.

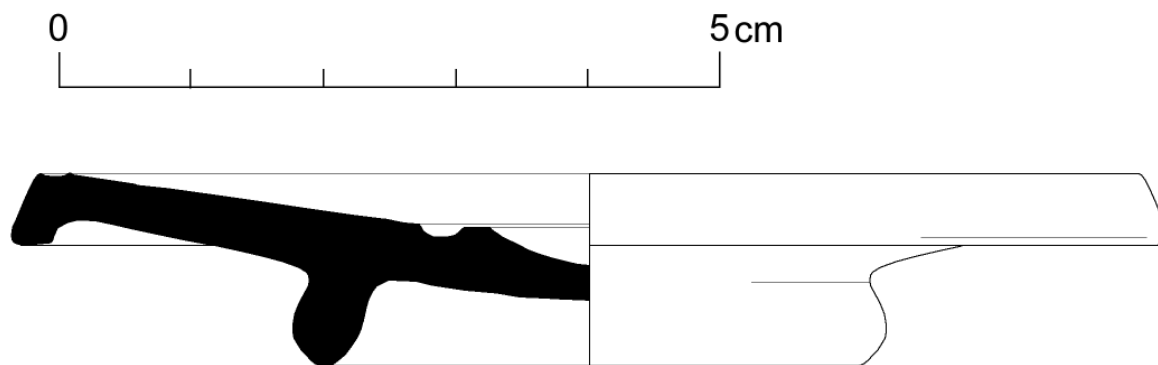
29 Besides metal or terracotta appliqué, the coffin may have been adorned with simple decorative fabrics which could be fastened with nails, but the existence of which would be difficult to prove now. I thank my colleague K. Botić for this suggestion.

30 The edge of the plate was reconstructed by I. Prpa Stojanac.



Slika 3.  
Crvenofiguralni riblji tanjur iz Ise, pogled ukoso (foto: T. Seser).

Figure 3.  
The Red-figure fish plate from Issa, diagonal view (photograph by T. Seser).



Slika 4.  
Profil tanjura iz Ise (crtež: Z. Podrug).

Figure 4.  
Profile of the plate from Issa (sketch by Z. Podrug).

Tanjur je izrađen od izrazito fino pročišćene gline, koja je pečenjem poprimila boju *Munsell 7.5 YR 7/4 (pink)*. Eventualne dodatke glini prilikom procesa proizvodnje, ako ih je bilo, nemoguće je detektirati golim okom. Tanjur je premazan crnom bojom, koja je nejednako sačuvana, dok je na pojedinim dijelovima sasvim izbledjela. Iznimku čini brazda oko središnjeg udubljenja, koja nije premazana, te dijelovi dna na kojemu je crni premaz ograničen na dvije podeblje koncentrične zone (sl. 5).

Recipijent tanjura ukrašen je motivom riba u tehnici crvenih figura (sl. 6). Četiri ribe prikazane su oko središnjeg udubljenja.

This plate was made of exceptionally high-quality refined clay, which acquired *Munsell colour 7.5 YR 7/4 (pink)* when fired. Possible additives to the clay during the production process, if there were any, cannot be detected by the naked eye. The plate is coated in black glaze, which has been unevenly preserved, while individual parts are entirely faded. An exception is the groove around the cup, which was not painted, and parts of the base on which the black glaze is limited to two thicker concentrated areas (Fig. 5).

The plate's recipient is adorned with a fish motif in Red-figure technique (Fig. 6). Four fish are depicted around the cup. Their bellies





Slika 5.  
Crvenofiguralni riblji tanjur iz Ise,  
donja strana (foto: T. Seser).

Figure 5.  
Red-figure fish plate from Issa,  
lower side (photograph by T. Seser).



Slika 6.  
Crvenofiguralni riblji tanjur iz Ise,  
gornja strana (foto: T. Seser).

Figure 5.  
Red-figure fish plate from Issa,  
upper side (photograph by T. Seser).

Trbuhom su okrenute prema samom udubljenju, čime se stvara dojam kao da plivaju u pravcu obrnutom od kazaljke na satu. Dvije ribe, jedna nasuprot drugoj, nešto su šireg tijela u odnosu na preostale dvije. Oko je u crnoj boji naznačeno krugom i točkom u sredini, a nekoliko detalja na ribama istaknuto je razmućenim premazom: škržni poklopci (polukružne linije), repna peraja (nekoliko kratkih vodoravnih linija na repu), leđna peraja (nekoliko kratkih okomitih linija duž gornjeg ruba tijela) te bočna linija (vodoravna linija duž tijela). Rep je kratak i u odnosu na tijelo manjih je dimenzija nego u prirodnom obliku. Nije zamijećena dodatna dekoracija. Prikazana riba pripada porodici *Sparidae*, a moguće je da je na isejskom tanjuru prikazana ovčica, *Lithognathus mormyrus*.<sup>31</sup>

are turned toward the cup, creating the impression that they are swimming in a counter clockwise direction. Two fish opposite each other have somewhat wider bodies than the remaining two. The eyes, painted black, are indicated by circles with dots in the middle. Several details on these fish are highlighted with daubed paint: gill slits (semi-circular lines), tail fins (several short horizontal lines on the tail), dorsal fins (several short vertical lines along the upper edge of the bodies) and the pectoral line (a horizontal line down the length of the body). The tail is short and in comparison to the body it has smaller dimensions than in natural form. No additional decorations were observed. The portrayed fish belong to the *Sparidae* family, and it is possible that the sand steenbras (*Lithognathus mormyrus*) is depicted on the Issa plate.<sup>31</sup>

31 To je mišljenje P. Ugarković, dipl. ekonomista i vrsnog poznavatelja podmorja, koje je potvrdio B. Dragičević, znanstveni novak s Instituta za oceanografiju i ribarstvo u Splitu; ovom prigodom obojici zahvaljujem na pomoći. Iako su na isejskom tanjuru prikazane četiri ribe, od kojih su dvije malo deblje od ostale dvije, moguće je da je ipak riječ o istoj vrsti, no o različitom spolu (P. Ugarković, usmeno priopćenje). Naime, ženke koje nose jajašca napuhnju se te su nešto većih dimenzija.

31 This hypothesis was put forth by P. Ugarković, an economist with great knowledge of the undersea environment, and confirmed by B. Dragičević, a junior researcher at the Oceanography and Fisheries Institute in Split, whom I thank for their assistance. Even though four fish are depicted on the Issa plate, and two are slightly fatter than the remaining two, it is possible that they were the same species, only different sexes (P. Ugarković, oral statement). This is because females carrying roe are bloated with somewhat broader dimensions.

## Općenito o ribljem tanjuru

### Ime i funkcija

Ribljí tanjur dobio je naziv prema upečatljivoj crvenofiguralnoj dekoraciji na kojoj dominiraju ribe;<sup>32</sup> naziv je modernog podrijetla, a ime koje su koristili antički Grci još nije sa sigurnošću potvrđeno. Mišljenje je, naime, nekih autora da se na ribljim tanjurima, neovisno o dekoraciji, posluživala riba,<sup>33</sup> dok je središnja udubina mogla bila namijenjena posluživanju umaka (tzv. garuma),<sup>34</sup> ulja ili octa, a u njoj su se mogli skupljati i sokovi poslužene ribe.<sup>35</sup> Za posluživanje ribe u svakodnevnoj prehrani vjerojatno su se koristili drveni tanjuri, ali i tanjuri od ostalih prikladnih materijala. Podatak o tome donosi Aristofan u svojem djelu *Plutus*, gdje ih naziva ...*pinakiskou stous saprous tous ixthyrous...*<sup>36</sup> U doslovnom prijevodu to bi bili riblji pladnjevi od materijala koji nije trajan. Stoga se nameće tumačenje da je riječ o drvenim pladnjevima.<sup>37</sup> Postoji mogućnost, dakle, da se riječ *pinax* koristila za riblje tanjure u grčko doba.<sup>38</sup> Grob iz Spine, iz druge polovice 5. st. pr. Kr., mogao bi potkrijepiti to mišljenje. U ovom je grobu kao grobni prilog pronađen antički riblji tanjur s urezanim grafitom *pina*.<sup>39</sup> Ako se natpisu *pina* na kraju doda *x*, dobije se *pinax*, što znači pladanj. S obzirom da su stijenke ribljeg tanjura gotovo vodoravne te se time izrazito približavaju ravnom obliku, odnosno pladnju, moguće je ozbiljno razmatrati ovu teoriju. Druga teorija smatra pak da je izvorno ime ovog oblika moglo biti *ὄξύβαφον*.<sup>40</sup> Taj se naziv pojavljuje kao natpis na jednom ribljem tanjuru iz Olinta.<sup>41</sup> Sama riječ znači 'vinegar-dip' i vjerojatnije je da je korištena za zdjelice, tzv. soljenke, u kojima se držala neka vrsta umaka/začina.<sup>42</sup> U Italiji su upravo riblji tanjuri često nalaženi zajedno sa soljenkom, koja je katkad

## On the fish plate in general

### Name and function

The fish plate was given its name based on the striking Red-figure decoration in which fish predominate,<sup>32</sup> but it should borne in mind that this term is of modern origin, while the name used by the ancient Greeks has still not been confirmed with any certainty. Some scholars believe that regardless of the decorations, these plates were used to serve fish,<sup>33</sup> wherein the central cup may have been intended to serve sauce (so-called garum)<sup>34</sup>, oil or vinegar, and they may have served to collect the drippings from the fish so served.<sup>35</sup> Wooden plates and other suitable materials were probably used to serve fish in everyday meals. Aristophanes wrote about this in his play *Plutus*, in which he called them, "...*pinakiskou stous saprous tous ixthyrous...*" ('...our rotten old trenchers for the fish...').<sup>36</sup> In literal translation, this citation pertains to fish platters made of a non-durable material. The interpretation that these were wooden platters imposes itself.<sup>37</sup> There is a possibility, to be sure, that the word *pinax* was used for fish plates in the Greek era.<sup>38</sup> The grave from Spina, from the latter half of the fifth century BC, may back this theory. In this grave, an ancient fish plate was found as a grave good which has on it the engraved graffiti: *pina*.<sup>39</sup> If an *x* is added to the inscribed *pina*, then *pinax* is obtained, which is known to mean platter. Since the lip of the fish plate is almost horizontal, giving it an almost flat shape, i.e., like a platter, then this theory may be seriously considered. According to the second theory, the original name of this form may have been *ὄξύβαφον*.<sup>40</sup> This term appears as an inscription on a fish plate from Olynthus.<sup>41</sup> The actual word means 'vinegar-dip', and it was probably used for small bowls, so-called salt-cellars, in which sauces or seasonings were held.<sup>42</sup> In Italy, fish plates were often found together

32 Osim ukrašenog ribljeg tanjura postoji i jednostavnija inačica s crnim premazom (vidi povijest proizvodnje). Crvenofiguralni tanjur prvi je privukao pozornost znanstvenika, te je po dekoraciji dobio i ime, a zbog mišljenja da se na tim tanjurima, bez obzira na dekoraciju, posluživala riba (vidi dalje u tekstu) naziv je zadržan i za crnopremazanu i za crvenofiguralnu inačicu.

33 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 21-22.

34 Robinson 1950, str. 128; Sparkes, Talcott, Richter 1970, str. 147.

35 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 22, 56; McPhee, Trendall 1990, str. 32; Sparkes, Talcott, Richter 1970, str. 147.

36 Aristophanes, *Ploutos* 813. (... *πινακίσκους τούς σαπρούς τούς ίχθυηρούς...* - <http://perseus.uchicago.edu/perseus-cgi/citequery3.pl?dbname=GreekTexts&query=Ar.Plut.802&getid=0> (16. 1. 2011.))

37 Sparkes, Talcott, Richter 1970, str. 144.

38 McPhee, Trendall 1990, str. 22.

39 Tanjur je pronađen u grobu 324 nekropole Valle Pega (dell dosso B) u Spini (Berti 2005).

40 Kunisch 1989, str. 51-62.

41 Robinson 1933, T. 191, br. 1057.

42 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 22; Sparkes, Talcott, Richter 1970, str. 132, bilj. 3. Iako postoji niz inačica ovog oblika, zapremnina različitih zdjelica uvijek je ista; stoga je predložena i mogućnost da se radi o količinskoj oznaci. Spomenuti natpis na tanjuru sadržavao je osim spomenutog naziva i neke brojeve koji možda idu u prilog toj ideji (Sparkes, Talcott, Richter 1970, str. 8, 132).

32 Besides decorated fish plates, there are simpler Black-slipped versions (see the production history section). The Red-figure plate first drew the attention of scholars, and named based on its decoration, because of the view that fish were served on them regardless of their decoration (see below), and the name was retained for Black-slipped and Red-figure variants.

33 McPhee, Trendall 1987, pp. 21-22.

34 Robinson 1950, p. 128; Sparkes, Talcott, Richter 1970, p. 147.

35 McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 22, 56; McPhee, Trendall 1990, p. 32; Sparkes, Talcott, Richter 1970, p. 147.

36 Aristophanes, *Ploutos* 813. (... *πινακίσκους τούς σαπρούς τούς ίχθυηρούς...* - <http://perseus.uchicago.edu/perseus-cgi/citequery3.pl?dbname=GreekTexts&query=Ar.Plut.802&getid=0> (16 Jan. 2011)).

37 Sparkes, Talcott, Richter 1970, p. 144.

38 McPhee, Trendall 1990, p. 22.

39 This plate was found in grave 324 of the Valle Pega necropolis (dell dosso B) in Spina (Berti 2005).

40 Kunisch 1989, pp. 51-62.

41 Robinson 1933, P. 191, no. 1057.

42 McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 22; Sparkes, Talcott, Richter 1970, p. 132, note 3. Although there are many variants of this form, the capacity of the various bowls is always the same, so the possibility that this was a designation of quantity has also been proposed. The aforementioned inscription on the plate bore, besides this designation, several numbers which may possibly back that idea (Sparkes, Talcott, Richter 1970, pp. 8, 132).

bila postavljena u središnje udubljenje tanjura.<sup>43</sup> Nameće se pitanje zašto bi antički Grci pisali naziv posude na samoj posudi, kad je to bila svima znana činjenica. To bi ujedno bio i nedostatak obiju teorija o antičkom imenu. Eksperimentima se pokušala dokazati praktičnost ovog oblika za posluživanje ribe i umaka. Tako se, kao nedostatak, ukazalo na nepostojanje ručki, a na nekim su udubinama primijećene sitne pukotine, nastale vjerojatno prilikom proizvodnje, kroz koje bi umak jednostavno mogao iscuriti.<sup>44</sup> Zanimljiv podatak o ovoj raspravi donosi grob iz punske nekropole u Palermu, gdje su uz dva riblja tanjura, crvenofiguralni i crnopremazani, pronađene i veće količine ribljih kostiju.<sup>45</sup> Time je potvrđena teorija o posluživanju ribe na ovim tanjurima, barem u određenim prilikama, ali nije isključena ni mogućnost da je takva svrha vezana samo uz pogrebni ritual. Osim za posluživanje ribe, predloženo je da je tanjur mogao služiti i za druge namirnice, poput voća, orašastih plodova ili čak kruha.<sup>46</sup>

Druga popularna teorija o funkciji ribljeg tanjura interpretira ih kao grobni prilog, a ako je riječ o crvenofiguralnoj inačici, prikazi riba tretiraju se kao simbolični darovi korišteni u pogrebnom ritualu.<sup>47</sup> Dodatni ukrasi koji se javljaju na ovim tanjurima, poput lovorike ili valova, korišteni su kao simboli u pogrebnim ritualima. U novije vrijeme predložena je još jedna teorija o mogućoj funkciji ribljih tanjura. Kunisch, naime, smatra da se s ovih tanjura nije konzumirala riba, već da su isključivo korišteni kao ciljevi u igri *κότταβος* (opisana u Ateneja).<sup>48</sup> U 5. i 4. st. pr. Krista ova igra je bila vrlo popularna kod antičkih Grka, posebice na gozbama. Kunisch to objašnjava, između ostalog, činjenicom da su riblji tanjuri pronađeni i u pogrebnim i u naseobinskim kontekstima.<sup>49</sup> Zabilježeno je devet različitih inačica spomenute igre, a jedna od njih zvala se *κότταβος δι' οξυβάφων*.<sup>50</sup> Igralo se na način da bi se bačva napunila vodom, a na površini su plutale male posude. Igrači bi s vinom koje bi preostalo u njihovim čašama pokušali pogoditi i potopiti te posudice, a pobjednik bi bio onaj koji bi ih potopio najviše. Gubitnici su bili prisiljeni u veoma kratkom roku ispiti velike količine vina. Kunisch tumači kako je moguće, odnosno po njegovu mišljenju i poprilično vjerojatno, da su upravo riblji tanjuri služili kao posudice koje bi plutale u bačvi, a cilj je bio njihovo potapanje. Nadalje opisuje kako bi se čitav tanjur mogao potopiti ako bi se vinom točno pogodila središnja udubina.<sup>51</sup> McPhee i Trendall eksperimentalnom su metodom dokazali da bi to moglo biti izvedivo samo u slučaju tanjura malih

with salt-cellars, which were sometimes set in the middle of the plate's cup.<sup>43</sup> The question arises as to why the ancient Greeks would write the name of a piece of tableware on the piece itself, when this was obvious, and this is in fact the drawback in both theories on the ancient name. Several experiments were conducted in order to confirm the practicality of this form for fish serving. Thus, the absence of handles was noted, which is impractical, while tiny cracks were observed in some of the dimples, which probably appeared during production.<sup>44</sup> The sauce would simply seep out through them. An interesting fact for this discussion comes from a grave in the Punic necropolis in Palermo, where a high quantity of fish bones were found together with two fish plates, one Red-figure and the other Black-slipped ware.<sup>45</sup> This confirms the theory on fish being served on these plates, at least on certain occasions, but it does not exclude the possibility that such a function was only associated with burial rituals. In everyday life, the fish plate may have been used to serve fish, but also other foods such as fruit, nuts or even bread.<sup>46</sup>

Another popular theory on the function of the fish plate is that it was a grave good, and insofar as it is a Red-figure version, the images of fish are treated as symbols of the gifts used in burial rites.<sup>47</sup> Additional ornaments, such as laurel or waves, which appear on these plates, were used as symbols in burial rites. More recently, another theory has been proposed for the function of fish plates. Kunisch believes that fish were not eaten from these plates, rather they were used as targets in the game *κότταβος* (described by Athenaeus).<sup>48</sup> In the fourth and fifth centuries BC, this game was very popular among the ancient Greeks, particularly during feasts. According to Kunisch's interpretation, the direct link between these plates with feasts is explained by the fact that fish plates were found in both funerary and settlement contexts.<sup>49</sup> Nine variants of this game have been registered, and one of them was called *κότταβος δι' οξυβάφων*.<sup>50</sup> It was played by filling a barrel with water, with small vessels floating on the surface. The players would attempt to hit and sink these vessels with the wine remaining in their cups, and the winner was the one who sank the most vessels. Kunisch proposed that it would have been possible, or in his view rather likely, that the fish plates were used as the vessels that floated in the barrel during this game which had to be sunk. Furthermore, he described how the entire plate would sink if the wine hit the exact centre of the cup.<sup>51</sup> McPhee and Trendall employed an experiment to prove that this would have been feasible if the plates had small dimensions, and not many of these

43 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 56.

44 McPhee, Trendal 1987.

45 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 56.

46 McPhee, Trendal 1990, str. 33.

47 Zindel 1998; Thimme 1969; Schefold 1934.

48 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai*, XV, 666-803. <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/searchresults?q=athenaeus&target=en&collections=Perseus%3ACollection%3AGreco-Roman> (25. 6. 2011).

49 Kunisch 1989, str. 45.

50 Sartoris 1893.

51 Kunisch 1989.

43 McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 56.

44 McPhee, Trendal 1987.

45 McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 56.

46 McPhee, Trendal 1990, p. 33.

47 Zindel 1998; Thimme 1969; Schefold 1934.

48 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai*, XV, 666-803. <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/searchresults?q=athenaeus&target=en&collections=Perseus%3ACollection%3AGreco-Roman> (25 June 2011).

49 Kunisch 1989, p. 45.

50 Sartoris 1893.

51 Kunisch 1989.

dimenzija, a pronađeni broj takvih tanjura zapravo i nije velik.<sup>52</sup>

Prilikom razmišljanja o interpretaciji ribljeg tanjura, ne vidimo razlog zbog kojeg bismo se morali ograničiti na samo jednu moguću funkciju te smatramo kako ih je moglo biti nekoliko. Pritom treba imati na umu i nekoliko odlučujućih čimbenika. Od najvećeg je značenja pritom sam kontekst nalaza. Sve varijante ribljih tanjura pronađene su u naseobinskim, pogrebnim, ali i kulturnim kontekstima. Doduše, najviše ih je nađeno u grobovima, no s obzirom na ostala spomenuta mjesta nalaza McPhee i Trendall smatraju da keramičari pri proizvodnji ovih tanjura nisu na umu imali posebnu simboliku.<sup>53</sup> Stoga se nameće mišljenje kako funkcija nije bila strogo određena, već se definirala samom uporabom, koja je najviše ovisila o ljudskom faktoru. Ipak, neke indicije upućuju na zaključak da se u nekim slučajevima već samom izradom tanjura isključivala određena funkcija, a možda su se katkad posebno naručivali riblji tanjuri koji bi služili isključivo u posebne svrhe (uloga u svetištima). Pritom u prvom redu mislimo na materijale od kojih su ovi tanjuri mogli biti izrađeni, kao i njihove dimenzije. U svakodnevnom su životu svakako mogli biti korišteni za posluživanje ribe, što je, prema nalazima iz Palermo, očito bio običaj tijekom pogrebnog rituala. Ako je sirovinski materijal bio značajan za uporabu, moglo bi se predložiti da su možda drveni riblji tanjuri korišteni pri posluživanju ribe u svakodnevnom životu, dok su keramički korišteni u posebne svrhe, na gozbama i ritualnim manifestacijama ili pak na nekropolama kao dio pogrebnih običaja. No budući da je drvene tanjure gotovo nemoguće arheološki dokazati, ne možemo utvrditi ni njihovu ulogu. Dimenzije ribljih tanjura, koje se u prosjeku kreću od 15 do 20 cm, svakako mogu samo potvrditi da se na njima mogla posluživati riba.<sup>54</sup> No katkad su riblji tanjuri premalih dimenzija, pa ta svrha ne bi bila moguća iz praktičnih razloga. Izrazito mali tanjuri, primjerice promjera oko 5 cm, pronađeni su u svetištima, ali tanjuri istih dimenzija nađeni su i u istraživanjima atenske agore.<sup>55</sup> U svetištima su vjerojatno korišteni za pridošenje zavjetnih darova. Riblji tanjuri pronađeni unutar grobova dio su pogrebnog rituala pripremljenog za pokojnika. Mogli su imati funkciju u službi prinošenja simboličnih žrtava za preminule. Možda je ovdje zanimljivo spomenuti da su u grobovima zastupljeni riblji tanjuri svih dimenzija, od manjih (veoma rijetko), do izrazito velikih, dok najmanje dimenzije koje su zabilježene u svetištima, oko 5 cm, nisu pronađene u grobovima.<sup>56</sup> Naravno, ne treba zaboraviti ni na dekoraciju kao čimbenik koji je možda utjecao na funkciju. Unutar grobova dokumentirane su obje inačice ovog tanjura, ali primijećeno je da je dekorirana inačica ovog keramičkog oblika u najvećem postotku pronađena unutar samih grobova. Jedna dobra baza podataka o objavljenim ribljim tanjurima, koja bi uključivala sve relevantne podatke, svojim bi statističkim zaključcima svakako omogućila sigurnije tumačenje značenja i funkcije ovih predmeta.

have actually been found.<sup>52</sup>

In considering the interpretation of the fish plate, I do not see a reason why the field should be restricted to a single function, as I believe it may have had several. A few crucial factors should be kept in mind in this regard. When interpreting these plates, the find context is of utmost importance. All variants of fish plates were found in habitation, burial, and also cult contexts. Certainly, most of them were found in graves, but given the remaining find sites, McPhee and Trendall believed that the potters did not have any particular symbolism in mind when making them.<sup>53</sup> This imposes the view that the function was not rigidly specified, but rather defined by actual use, which primarily depended on the human factor. Nonetheless, there is some indication that in certain cases the actual rendering of these plates excluded certain functions, and perhaps sometimes fish plates were specially ordered to serve very specific purposes (a role in shrines). Here I primarily mean the materials from which the plates were made, as well as their dimensions. In everyday life, these plates certainly could have been used to serve fish, which based on the finds from Palermo was obviously also a custom during burial rites. If the raw material was significant to use, it may be proposed that wooden fish plates were used to serve fish in everyday life, while the ceramic examples were used on special occasions, whether in settlements, during feasts and other ritual events, or at necropolises as a component of burial rites. However, since wooden plates are virtually impossible to prove archeologically, there is no way of knowing the extent of their role within the context of the aforementioned speculation. The dimensions of fish plates, which ran from 15-20 cm on average, may certainly only confirm that fish could have been served on them.<sup>54</sup> However, sometimes fish plates have excessively small dimensions, so this purpose could not be served due to practical reasons. Extremely small plates, such as those with diameters of 5 cm, have been found at shrines, but plates of the same dimensions were also found in research at the Athenian Agora.<sup>55</sup> In shrines they were probably used when offering votive gifts to the gods. Fish plates found in graves were a part of the burial rites prepared for the deceased. Perhaps it would be interesting here to note that all dimensions of fish plates have been recorded in graves, from small (very rarely) to exceptionally large, while the smallest dimensions recorded at shrines, approximately 5 cm, were not found in graves.<sup>56</sup> And naturally, the influence of decoration on function is a factor which should not be overlooked. Although both Black - slipped and Red - figure versions have been documented in graves, the Red - figure fish plates have been found mostly in graves. A solid database on published fish plates that would include all relevant data would allow for a more certain interpretation of the significance and function of these objects.

52 McPhee, Trendall 1990, str. 33.

53 To se odnosi na crvenofiguralnu inačicu: McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 21.

54 McPhee, Trendall 1990, str. 33.

55 Sparkes, Talcott, Richter 1970, str. 310, inv. br. 14579 i 17169.

56 McPhee, Trendall 1990, str. 33.

52 McPhee, Trendall 1990, p. 33.

53 This pertains to the Red-figure version: McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 21.

54 McPhee, Trendall 1990, p. 33.

55 Sparkes, Talcott, Richter 1970, p. 310, inv. no. 14579 and 17169.

56 McPhee, Trendall 1990, p. 33.

## Povijest proizvodnje

Tanjur je kao keramički oblik poznat u grčkoj civilizaciji od kasnog arhajskog razdoblja, premda svoju popularnost stječe tek nakon godine 480. pr. Kr.<sup>57</sup> Prethodnikom ribljeg tanjura smatra se galatinski tanjur, čija je proizvodnja u Ateni započela krajem 6. st. pr. Krista, a nastavila se i u 5. st. te sporadično i u 4. st. pr. Kr.<sup>58</sup> Značajke, poput sličnog oboda i malog središnjeg udubljenja koje se katkad javlja na galatinskom tanjuru, jasno ga povezuju s našim oblikom.<sup>59</sup> Riblji tanjur kao keramička vrsta pojavljuje se oko 400. g. pr. Kr. ili neznatno ranije.<sup>60</sup> Razlikuju se dvije inačice: crnopremazana i crvenofiguralna.<sup>61</sup>

## Crnopremazani riblji tanjur

Crnopremazani riblji tanjur imao je kronološki i geografski rasprostranjeniju upotrebu. Iako proizvodnja ove jednostavnije inačice započinje otprilike u isto vrijeme kao i proizvodnja crvenofiguralne, neznatno prije početka 4. st. pr. Kr., riblji tanjur s crnim premazom nastavlja svoj razvoj prema kraju helenizma. U prvoj polovici 4. st. pr. Kr. proizvodnja ovih tanjura potvrđena je u Ateni<sup>62</sup> i Korintu.<sup>63</sup> Tijekom 3. st. pr. Kr. zamijećen je pad proizvodnje, no crnopremazani riblji tanjur na repertoaru je spomenutih keramičkih radionica sve do 2. st. pr. Krista.<sup>64</sup> Imitacija ovog oblika i njegova proizvodnja potvrđeni su tijekom helenizma u mnogim radionicama, ne samo u Grčkoj nego i diljem Mediterana, od Male Azije do Italije, Crnog mora i Mezopotamije.<sup>65</sup> S obzirom na velik broj različitih radionica koje su rabile lokalnu sirovinu i tehnologiju, ova keramička vrsta pojavljuje se u različitim bojama gline, od svijetlosmeđe-

## Production history

The plate, as a pottery form, was known in Greek civilization from the late Archaic period, although it only became popular after 480 BC.<sup>57</sup> The Galatina plate is deemed the predecessor to the fish plate; its production in Athens began at the end of the sixth century BC, and continued into the fifth, and sporadically into the fourth century BC.<sup>58</sup> Features such as a similar rim and a small cup, which sometimes appear on the Galatina plate, clearly link it to the form examined herein.<sup>59</sup> The fish plate as a ceramic variety appeared at around 400 BC or negligibly earlier.<sup>60</sup> Two variants have been distinguished: Black-slipped and Red-figure.<sup>61</sup>

## Black-slipped fish plate

Use of the Black-slipped fish plate was chronologically and geographically widespread. Although production of this simple variant began at roughly the same time as its Red-figure counterpart, not long before the onset of the fourth century BC, the Black-slipped fish plate continued its development toward the end of the Hellenistic era. Production of these plates was confirmed in Athens<sup>62</sup> and Corinth<sup>63</sup> in the first half of the fourth century BC. A drop in production was noticed during the third century, but the Black-slipped fish plate was on the repertoire of the aforementioned pottery workshops until the second century BC.<sup>64</sup> An imitation of this form and its production have been confirmed during the Hellenistic era in many workshops, not only in Greece, but throughout the Mediterranean, from Asia Minor to Italy, and also the Black Sea and distant Mesopotamia.<sup>65</sup> Given the high number of different workshops which used local raw materials and technology, this pottery type appeared with

57 Sparks, Talcott, Richter 1970, str. 144.

58 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 23-26; Sparkes, Talcott, Richter 1970, str. 142, pl. 25.

59 Ovaj se obod, osim kod ribljeg tanjura i njegovog prethodnika, primjećuje katkad i kod tanjura sa zadebljanim obodom (Sparkes, Talcott, Richter 1970, str. 148). Stoga u slučajevima kad su pronađeni samo ulomci oboda, valja biti oprezan s dijagnostikom, a time i datacijom ulomaka.

60 Corbett, Woodhead 1955, str. 265. S. Rotroff nas izvješćuje kako su u Mitileni otkriveni i nešto stariji primjerci ribljeg tanjura, ali još nisu objavljeni (Rotroff 1997, str. 146, bilj. 11). Osim keramičkih tanjura, u grobnici u Vergini pronađen je i jedan metalni (srebrni) tanjur ovog oblika. Vidi Andronicos 1984, str. 209, sl. 63 na str. 201.

61 Iznimka su dva crvenofiguralna primjerka pronađena u Olintu i Elisi (Robinson 1933, str. 64, T. 55; McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 52; McPhee 1990, str. 37-38).

62 Sparkes, Talcott, Richter 1970, str. 147-148, inv. br. 1061-1067, sl. 10, T. 37.

63 Edwards 1975, str. 40-42, br. 131-137.

64 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 19; Rotroff 1997, str. 147.

65 Rotroff 1997, str. 146, te popisana bibliografija iz bilj. 13, str. 147, bilj. 15. Za Crno more vidi Handberg, Stobla, Ušakov, u tisku, str. 169-170; Hannestad, Blinkenberg Hastrup, Stolba 2002, str. 130-131, i ondje navedena bibliografija. Ovaj oblik pojavljuje se i u istočnoj sigilati A, u kasnom 2. st. i 1. st. pr. Kr. (Rotroff 1997, str. 148, te bibliografija u bilj. 17; Hayes 1991, str. 33).

57 Sparks, Talcott, Richter 1970, p. 144.

58 McPhee, Trendall 1987, pp. 23-26; Sparkes, Talcott, Richter 1970, pp. 142, pl. 25.

59 This rim, besides appearing on the fish plate and its predecessor, was sometimes observed on plates with thickened rims (Sparkes, Talcott, Richter 1970, p. 148). Therefore it is necessary to be cautious in drawing conclusions, and also dating, if only rim sherds are found.

60 Corbett, Woodhead 1955, p. 265. S. Rotroff pointed out that somewhat earlier examples of the fish plate were discovered in Mytilene, but they have not yet been published (Rotroff 1997, p. 146, note 11). Besides ceramic, a metal (silver) plate of this type was found in a grave in Vergina. See Andronicos 1984, p. 209, Fig. 63 on p. 201.

61 An exception is the two Black-figure examples found in Olynthus and Elisa (Robinson 1933, p. 64, P. 55; McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 52; McPhee 1990, pp. 37-38).

62 Sparkes, Talcott, Richter 1970, pp. 147-148, inv. no. 1061-1067, Fig. 10, P. 37.

63 Edwards 1975, pp. 40-42, no. 131-137.

64 McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 19; Rotroff 1997, p. 147.

65 Rotroff 1997, p. 146 and the bibliography listed in note 13, p. 147, note 15. For the Black Sea, see Handberg, Stobla, Ušakov, in press, pp. 169-170; Hannestad, Blinkenberg Hastrup, Stolba 2002, pp. 130-131 and the bibliography cited therein. This form appeared in eastern sigillata A, in the late second and first centuries BC (Rotroff 1997, p. 148 and the bibliography in note 17; Hayes 1991, p. 33).

narančaste do crvenkastosmeđe i sive. Ako je riječ o sivoj keramičkoj vrsti, premaz je više tamnosive negoli crne boje. Na Jadranu je lokalna proizvodnja dokumentirana u radionicama u Apoloniji<sup>66</sup> u Albaniji te u Adriji<sup>67</sup> i Spini<sup>68</sup> u sjevernoj Italiji. Osim na spomenutim lokalitetima na istočnoj je obali Jadrana crnopremazana inačica ribljeg tanjura pronađena i u Lisu,<sup>69</sup> a veći broj tanjura ove vrste dokumentiran je kao grobni prilog na helenističkoj nekropoli u Budvi.<sup>70</sup> Dva primjerka iz Budve čuvaju se u Arheološkome muzeju u Zagrebu, a onamo su dospjeli kao dio privatne zbirke M. Pavletića.<sup>71</sup> Tanjur *a* iz Budve može se prema konkavnoj stijenci datirati u kraj 3. st. do 2. st. pr. Krista, no s obzirom na tendenciju ka nešto dubljem recipijentu vjerojatnije je da je proizveden u prvoj četvrtini 2. st. pr. Kr. (sl. 7a).<sup>72</sup> Tanjur *b* iz Budve vrlo je sličan tanjuru pronađenom u Lisu, koji je datiran u 3.-2. st. pr. Kr. (sl. 7b).<sup>73</sup> Objavljen je crnopremazani tanjur iz Fara (*Pharos*) koji je interpretiran kao antički import i datiran u prijelaz 4. na 3. st. pr. Kr.<sup>74</sup> U depou Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu nalazi se i jedan crnopremazani tanjur iz Ise koji nije objavljen (uvid u inventarne knjige AMS-a), a veći broj ulomaka ovih tanjura pronađen je tijekom istraživanja istočne isejske nekropole (uvid u materijal). Crnopremazani riblji tanjur dokumentiran je i u Traguriju, datiran u kraj 3. st. i 2. st. pr. Kr., te u Epetiju.<sup>75</sup> Prema dosad objavljenim podacima s hrvatskog dijela jadranske obale, zasad nema dokaza koji bi upućivali na to da se ovaj keramički oblik proizvodio u jednoj od lokalnih helenističkih radionica.

### Crvenofiguralni riblji tanjur

Kao što smo rekli na samom početku ovog poglavlja, u otprilike isto vrijeme kad se počinju proizvoditi crnopremazani riblji tanjuri, javljaju se i drugi tanjuri koji su uz crni premaz ukrašeni motivom riba; uz motiv riba prisutni su, rjeđe, i motivi drugih morskih stvorenja, u tehnici crvenih figura.<sup>76</sup> Crvenofiguralna inačica ribljeg tanjura zauvijek je nestala krajem 4. st. pr. Kr. Keramičke radionice koje su proizvodile ovakav tanjur nalazile su se u Ateni i južnoj Italiji, a sukladno tome postoje i stanovite stilske razlike između antičkoga i južnoitalijskoga crvenofiguralnog ribljeg tanjura. Prvi koji je zamijetio stilske posebnosti između ove dvije tradicije

differently coloured clay, from light brown/orange to red-brown and gray. In cases of the gray ceramic type, the glaze is dark gray, and not black. On the Adriatic, local workshops have been documented in Apollonia<sup>66</sup> in Albania, and in Adria<sup>67</sup> and Spina<sup>68</sup> in northern Italy. Besides these sites, a Black-slipped variant of the fish plate was also found in Lissus,<sup>69</sup> while several plates of this type were documented as grave goods at the Hellenistic necropolis in Budva.<sup>70</sup> Two examples from Budva are held in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, whence they came from the private collection of M. Pavletić.<sup>71</sup> Based on the concave lip, the plate may be dated from the end of the third to the second centuries BC, but given the tendency toward a somewhat deeper recipient, it is more likely that this plate was made during the first quarter of the second century BC (Fig. 7a).<sup>72</sup> The plate from Budva is very similar to the plate found in Lissus, which has been dated from to third to second centuries BC (Fig. 7b).<sup>73</sup> A Black-slipped plate from Pharos was published which has been interpreted as an ancient import and dated to the turn of the fourth into the third century BC.<sup>74</sup> The depot of the Archaeological Museum in Split also holds a Black-slipped plate from Issa which has not been published (based on an inspection of the AMS inventory log), while several pieces of these plates were found during research at the eastern Issa necropolis (inspection of materials). A Black-slipped fish plate was also documented in Tragurium, dated from the end of the third to the second century BC, and in Epetium.<sup>75</sup> Based on the data published so far from the Croatian part of the eastern Adriatic coast, there is no evidence that would indicate whether these pottery forms were produced in one of the local Hellenic workshops.

### Red-figure fish plate

As stated at the very beginning of this section, at roughly the same time that production of Black-slipped fish plates began, other plates appeared which besides black slip also featured decorative motifs of fish or, more rarely, other undersea life, done in the Red-figure motif.<sup>76</sup> The Red-figure variant of the fish plate definitively disappeared at the end of the fourth century BC. The pottery workshops which made these plates were located in Athens and southern Italy, and in this regard there are also certain stylistic differences between Attic and southern Italian Red-figure fish plates. The first to notice the stylistic traits of these two traditions

66 Vreka 1998, tip III, T.V., VI. 46-55, str. 139-140.

67 Bonomi, Peretto, Tamassia 1994, grobnica 70, str. 108-109.

68 Cassai 1993, str. 331, 724-742.

69 Prendi 2008.

70 Marković, usmeno priopćenje; Marković 2005, str. 14.

71 Ožanić, Radman Livaja, Rendić-Miočević 2003, str. 60. kat. br. 36 i 37.

72 Rotroff 1997, str. 147.

73 Prendi 2008, str. 199, 206, pl. 2, 6.

74 Jeličić Radonić 1996, str. 110, br. 4, str. 111.

75 Kovačić 2002, str. 384, sl. 17; Faber 1983, T. 3, 6.

76 Dva tanjura, pronađena u Olintu i Elisi, ukrašena su crnofiguralnim ribama (Robinson 1933, str. 64; McPhee, Trendall 1990, str. 37). Ovi se s pravom smatraju izuzetima.

66 Vreka 1998, type III, P.V, VI. 46-55, pp. 139-140.

67 Bonomi, Peretto, Tamassia 1994, grave 70, pp. 108-109.

68 Cassai 1993, pp. 331, 724-742.

69 Prendi 2008.

70 Marković, oral statement; Marković 2005, p. 14.

71 Ožanić, Radman Livaja, Rendić-Miočević 2003, p. 60. cat. no. 36 and 37.

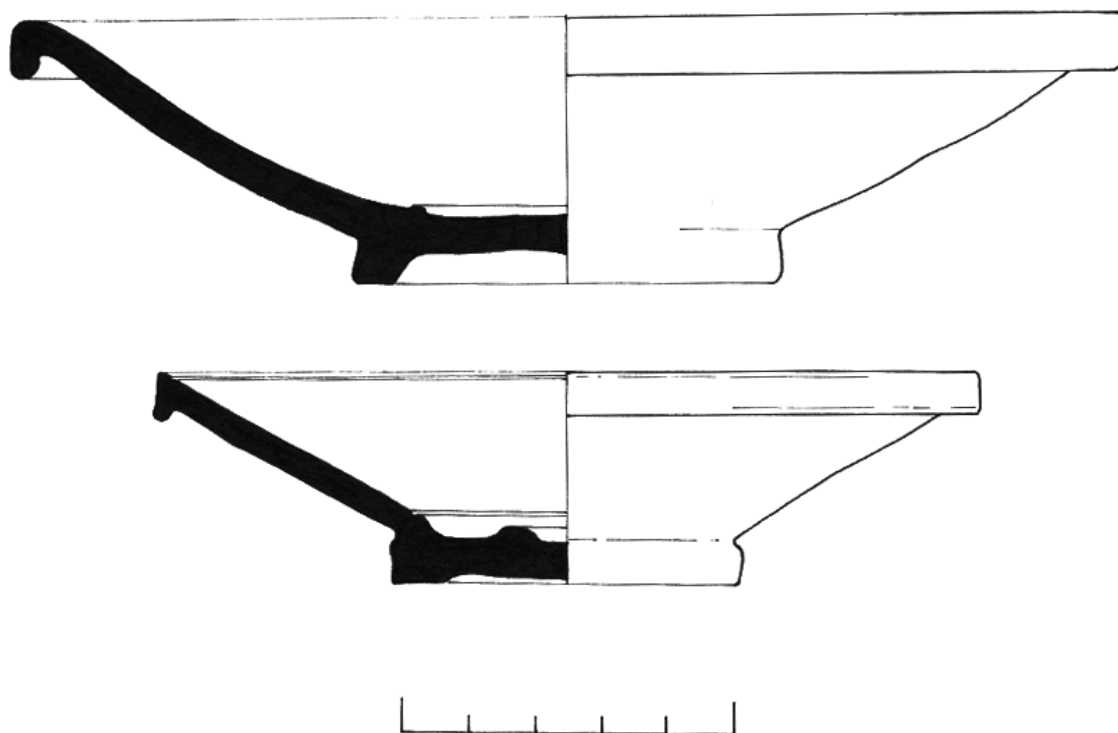
72 Rotroff 1997, p. 147.

73 Prendi 2008, pp. 199, 206, pl. 2, 6.

74 Jeličić Radonić 1996, p. 110, no. 4, p. 111.

75 Kovačić 2002, p. 384, Fig. 17; Faber 1983, P. 3, 6.

76 Two plates found in Olynthus and Elisa are decorated with Black-figure fish (Robinson 1933, p. 64; McPhee, Trendall 1990, p. 37). These are rightfully deemed exceptions.



Slika 7.

Profili ribljih tanjura s crnim premazom iz AMZ-a (crtež: M. Galić).

Figure 7.

Profiles of Black-glazed fish plates from the AMZ (sketch by M. Galić).

bio je Ludolf Stephani.<sup>77</sup> Vrlo je vjerojatno, za što u nekoliko slučajeva postoje i snažne indicije, da se s ovom vrstom dekoracije eksperimentiralo i u nekoliko ostalih keramičkih radionica. Riječ je zasigurno o daleko manjem broju primjeraka, gotovo zanemarivom u usporedbi s imitacijom inačice s crnim premazom. No treba imati na umu da većina lokalnih radionica svoju najveću aktivnost bilježi upravo u 3. i 2. st. pr. Kr., kad je crvenofiguralna dekoracija ribljev tanjura već davno bila izašla iz mode.

### Atički crvenofiguralni riblji tanjur

Atički crvenofiguralni riblji tanjur proizvodio se u razdoblju od samo pedesetak godina, u prvoj polovici 4. st. pr. Kr.<sup>78</sup> Sveukupno je pronađeno 160 ulomaka i cijelih tanjura.<sup>79</sup> Atička proizvodnja ponajprije je bila namijenjena izvozu na Crno more, posebno na područje Krima i Tamana.<sup>80</sup> Prvi crvenofiguralni riblji tanjuri pronađeni su upravo na tim područjima, a ne u Grčkoj, gdje su se proizvodili. Detaljno istraživanje stilskih odlika atičkoga crvenofiguralnoga ribljev tanjura rezultiralo je definiranjem

was Ludolf Stephani.<sup>77</sup> It is very likely, and in a few cases there are very strong indications of this, that experimentation with this decoration type was done in several other pottery workshops. This certainly involved a much smaller number of examples, almost negligible in comparison to the imitation Black-slipped variant. However, it is noteworthy that most local workshops registered their highest activity precisely in the third and second centuries BC, at a time when Red-figure decoration of fish plates had long since fallen out of fashion.

### Attic Red-figure fish plate

The Attic Red-figure fish plate was produced in a narrow period of roughly fifty years that chronologically corresponds to the first half of the fourth century BC.<sup>78</sup> A total of 160 sherds and whole plates have been found.<sup>79</sup> The Attic products were primarily intended for the Black Sea market, particularly the Crimea and Taman.<sup>80</sup> The first Red-figure fish plates were found precisely in these areas, and not in Greece, where they were made. Meticulous research into the stylistic traits of Attic Red-figure fish plates has resulted in the

77 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 18.

78 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 19.

79 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 19.

80 Mylona 2008, str. 121; McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 21.

77 McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 18.

78 McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 19.

79 McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 19.

80 Mylona 2008, p. 121; McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 21.

triju različitih serija proizvodnje. Prva serija (A)<sup>81</sup> donijela je na vidjelo tridesetak tanjura ukrašenih mitološkim scenama, točnije, prikazom otmice Europe. Ribe, bez dodatne dekoracije, na ovoj se varijanti pojavljuju samo kao usputni element. Umjetničko, ali i mitološko kulturološko značenje ovih tanjura ogleda se u činjenici što je upravo na njima najdetaljnije ilustriran mit o Europi i njezinom prelasku preko mora na biku. Tanjuri ove serije bili su nešto većih dimenzija u odnosu na uobičajene riblje tanjure, u promjeru između 38 i 40 cm, a pronađeni su pretežito u grobovima, isključivo na nalazištima južne Rusije.<sup>82</sup>

Druga serija (B)<sup>83</sup> donosi tanjure na kojima nema mitoloških motivi, dekoracija je usmjerena samo na prikaz riba te rjeđe nekog drugog morskog bića. Ribe su i dalje bez dodatne dekoracije, dok su neki detalji na njima, poput škrga ili peraja, istaknuti razmućenim premazom. Tanjuri ove produkcije izvoženi su osim na Crno more (uglavnom Kerč) i na Zapad: najviše ih je pronađeno u grobovima u Spini,<sup>84</sup> a pojedini primjerci dokumentirani su u Grčkoj (Atena, svetište Brauron), Africi (Kirena), Španjolskoj (nekropola u Ampuriasu), Portugalu (Alcácer do Sal) te u Turskoj (Larisa).<sup>85</sup>

Treću seriju (C) čine proizvodi crvenofiguralnih atenskih ribljih tanjura<sup>86</sup> na kojima je i dalje karakterističan prikaz riba, ali sada, prvi put, s dodatnom dekoracijom na njima; detalji su izrađeni korištenjem bijele ili crvene boje. Grčka ima veći broj nalazišta na kojima je registrirana ova serija (Atena,<sup>87</sup> Mykonos, Delos, Isthima,<sup>88</sup> Olintos<sup>89</sup>), a izvozom su dospjeli na Crno more (Tamam, Kerč),<sup>90</sup> u Italiju (Spina)<sup>91</sup> te u Španjolsku (Ampurias).<sup>92</sup>

Crvenofiguralni riblji tanjuri proizvedeni u atenskim keramičkim radionicama pokazuju niz zajedničkih osobina. Na početku smo spomenuli njihovu dataciju, no svakako je potrebno napomenuti da se već nakon prve četvrtine 4. st. pr. Kr. broj ovih tanjura znatno smanjio. Prve dvije serije proizvode se u prvoj četvrtini 4. st. pr. Kr., dok je serija C ograničena na drugu četvrtinu 4. st. pr. Kr.<sup>93</sup> Sve ribe na atičkim tanjurima trbuhom su, bez iznimke, okrenute prema rubu tanjura. Umjetnički prikaz sastojao se uglavnom od tri do četiri veće ribe, no ponekad se pojavljuje i niz manjih, koje popunjavaju prostor. Središnja udubina često je također ukrašena, i to prikazom manje ribe. Za

definition of three different production series. The first series (A)<sup>81</sup> was brought to light by approximately thirty plates decorated with mythical scenes, more precisely portrayals of the abduction of Europa. Fish, without additional decorations, appear on this variant only as an incidental element. The artistic, but also mythological/cultural significance of these plates is reflected in the fact that the myth of Europa and her crossing of the sea on a bull is illustrated in the greatest detail precisely on them. The dimensions of the plates in this series are somewhat larger than customary for fish plates, between 38 and 40 cm in diameter, while most were found in graves exclusively at sites in southern Russia.<sup>82</sup>

The second series (B)<sup>83</sup> generated plates on which the mythical motifs disappeared, and the decoration focused on depicting fish and, more rarely, other sea life. The fish still lack additional decoration, while some details on them, such as the gills or fins, are highlighted by daubed slip. The plates of this series were exported not only to the Black Sea (mainly Kerch), but also to the west: most of them were found in graves in Spina,<sup>84</sup> while individual examples have been documented in Greece (Athens, Brauron sanctuary), Africa (Cyrene), Spain (necropolis in Empúries) Portugal (Alcácer do Sal) and Turkey (Larissa).<sup>85</sup>

The third series (C) encompasses Red-figure Athenian fish plates<sup>86</sup> on which the fish portrayals are still typical, but now accompanied by additional decoration for the first time; the details are done in white or red pigment. Greece has several sites at which this series has been registered (Athens,<sup>87</sup> Mykonos, Delos, Isthima,<sup>88</sup> Olynthus<sup>89</sup>), while they were exported to the Black Sea (Tamam, Kerch),<sup>90</sup> Italy (Spina)<sup>91</sup> and Spain (Empúries).<sup>92</sup>

Red-figure fish plates produced in Athenian pottery workshops exhibit a series of common features. At the beginning I mentioned their dating, but it is certainly noteworthy that the number of these plates dropped considerably after the first quarter of the fourth century BC, while series C was limited to the second quarter of the fourth century BC.<sup>93</sup> All fish on the Attic plates have, without exception, their bellies turned toward the edge of the plate. The artistic portrayal consisted mainly of three to four larger fish, although sometimes a series of smaller ones appear to fill in space. The cup is also often decorated with an image of a smaller fish. Two grooves are typical of Attic production: one at the edge

81 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 29-34.

82 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 81.

83 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 34-43.

84 Berti 2005, str. 5; McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 34-43; Massei 1978 (Valle Pega - grobovi 121A, 278 A, 1064 B).

85 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 34-43.

86 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 43-50.

87 Watzinger 1901, str. 51-52; McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 49-50.

88 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 47.

89 Robinson, Mylonas 1939, sl. 35, T. 93, 74, T. 94, 78, T. 120, 202; Robinson 1950, T. 113, 231; T. 113, 232.

90 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 44-50.

91 Massei 1978 (grobovi 596, 650, 909); McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 48.

92 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 48.

93 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 19.

81 McPhee, Trendall 1987, pp. 29-34.

82 McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 81.

83 McPhee, Trendall 1987, pp. 34-43.

84 Berti 2005, p. 5; McPhee, Trendall 1987, pp. 34-43; Massei 1978 (Valle Pega - graves 121A, 278 A, 1064 B).

85 McPhee, Trendall 1987, pp. 34-43.

86 McPhee, Trendall 1987, pp. 43-50.

87 Watzinger 1901, pp. 51-52; McPhee, Trendall 1987, pp. 49-50.

88 McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 47.

89 Robinson, Mylonas 1939, Fig. 35, P. 93, 74, P. 94, 78, P. 120, 202; Robinson 1950, P. 113, 231; P. 113, 232.

90 McPhee, Trendall 1987, pp. 44-50.

91 Massei 1978 (grobovi 596, 650, 909); McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 48.

92 McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 48.

93 McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 19.



atičku produkciju karakteristične su dvije brazde: jedna na rubu tanjura te druga, koja je središnje udubljenje odvajala od ostatka recipijenta. Rub tanjura nerijetko je ukrašen motivom ovula, koji katkad obrubljuje i središnje udubljenje, a rjeđe motivom valova. U drugoj četvrtini 4. st. pr. Kr. noga ovog tanjura zadebljana je s vanjske strane, a katkad je ukrašeno i samo dno. Budući da su na antičkim tanjurima predstavljene samo riblje vrste karakteristične za egejsko područje, a tanjuri su bili namijenjeni ponajprije izvozu na Crno more, smatra se da je upravo ukus konzumenata diktirao njihovu proizvodnju.<sup>94</sup> Možda su Grci odselivši se na Crno more, korištenjem ovih tanjura na gozbama i tijekom pogrebnih običaja, koji bi u tom slučaju predstavljali određenu vrstu mnemoničkog uređaja, gajili sjećanje na grčka mora i delikatese davno napuštenog kraja.<sup>95</sup>

### Južnoitalski crvenofiguralni riblji tanjur

U južnoj Italiji crvenofiguralni riblji tanjur stekao je puno veću popularnost među lokalnim stanovništvom.<sup>96</sup> Ukupno je dokumentirano 850 primjeraka.<sup>97</sup> Razlikuju se četiri skupine proizvodnje: siciliska, kampanska, pestanska i apulska.<sup>98</sup> Za svaku od skupina karakterističan je poseban stilski izričaj, kojem se može pripisati nekoliko imenovanih ili neimenovanih keramičkih radionica i njihovih umjetnika. Najraniji južnoitalski crvenofiguralni riblji tanjuri proizvodili su se na Siciliji ili u južnoj Kalabriji.<sup>99</sup> Detaljnim proučavanjem stilskih odlika ovih tanjura, možemo primijetiti kako su se ostale skupine razvile pod utjecajem prve proizvodnje. Zanimljivo je naglasiti da, iako su se antički crvenofiguralni riblji tanjuri izvozili u sjevernu Italiju, što je najpoznatije na primjeru Spine, za sada ni jedan primjerak ove produkcije nije pronađen na Siciliji ili u južnoj Italiji.<sup>100</sup> To je od velike važnosti posebno stoga što se ostala antička crvenofiguralna keramika izvozila u te krajeve, pa je to pomalo neobična činjenica. Već se krajem 5. st. pr. Kr. na Siciliji pojavljuje imitacija galatinskog tanjura; nedugo nakon nje slijedi pokusna inačica ribljeg tanjura s crnim premazom, koji oko središnjeg udubljenja ima valovnicu kao ukras.<sup>101</sup> U sljedećoj etapi razvoja ove forme, početkom 4. st. pr. Kr. ili neznatno ranije, pojavljuju se prve prave crvenofiguralne inačice ribljeg tanjura. Prema tome, možemo zaključiti da su se najraniji proizvodi i u Ateni i na Siciliji i u južnoj Kalabriji pojavili otprilike u isto vrijeme. Najplodonosnija proizvodnja ovog oblika u južnoj se Italiji odvijala tek nakon što je antička proizvodnja utihnula,

of the plate and another that divides the middle depression from the remainder of the recipient. The edge of the plate is often decorated with an ovule motif, which sometimes also borders the middle depression, and more rarely a wave motif. In the second quarter of the fourth century BC, the foot of this plate type became broader from the external side, and sometimes the bottom itself is also decorated. Since only fish typical of the Aegean zone are represented on Attic plates, while the plates were intended primarily for the Black Sea region, it has been suggested that the tastes of consumers actually dictated this production.<sup>94</sup> Perhaps the Greeks, upon migrating to the Black Sea, evoked memories of the Greek sea and the delicacies of a place left behind long ago by using these plates at feasts and during burial rites, so that in this case they would have functioned as a sort of mnemonic device.<sup>95</sup>

### Southern Italic Red-figure fish plate

The Red-figure fish plate gained much greater popularity among the local population in southern Italy.<sup>96</sup> A total of 850 examples have been documented.<sup>97</sup> Four product groups have been distinguished: Sicilian, Campanian, Paestan and Apulian.<sup>98</sup> For each of these groups, a particular stylistic expression is typical which may be ascribed to several of the above-named or unnamed workshops and their artists. The earliest southern Italic Red-figure fish plates were produced on Sicily or in southern Calabria.<sup>99</sup> Based on a detailed study of the stylistic features of these plates, it may be noted that the remaining groups developed under the influence of the first plates. It is interesting to stress that even though the Attic Red-figure fish plates were imported to northern Italy, best known in the example of Spina, thus far not a single example of this industry has been found on Sicily or in southern Italy.<sup>100</sup> This is of particularly great importance, because the remaining Attic Red-figure ware was exported to these regions, so this fact is somewhat unusual. An imitation Galatine plate appeared on Sicily already at the end of the fifth century BC, which was soon followed by a trial version of a Black-glazed fish plate that has a wave pattern as a decoration around the middle depression.<sup>101</sup> The first genuine Red-figure version of the fish plate appeared in the next phase of this form's development, at the beginning of the fourth century BC or negligibly earlier. Consequently, it may be concluded that the earliest products in both Athens and on Sicily and in southern Calabria appeared at roughly the same time. The most fruitful production of this form in southern Italy proceeded only after the Attic production slowed, in the period from 350 to

94 Mylona 2008, str. 121.

95 Mylona 2008, str. 121-122.

96 McPhee, Trendall 1987.

97 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 58.

98 Ovaj podatak korespondira s južnoitalskom proizvodnjom crvenofiguralne keramike, samo što se, kako se čini, riblji tanjuri nisu proizvodili u Lukaniji. Trendall 1990, str. 224.

99 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 54.

100 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 60.

101 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 60.

94 Mylona 2008, p. 121.

95 Mylona 2008, pp. 121-122.

96 McPhee, Trendall 1987.

97 McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 58.

98 This fact corresponds to the southern Italic Red-figure ware industry, although it appears that fish plates were not produced in Lucania. Trendall 1990, p. 224.

99 McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 54.

100 McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 60.

101 McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 60.

u razdoblju od 350. do 320. g. pr. Kr.<sup>102</sup> Nakon toga dolazi do naglog opadanja popularnosti takvih tanjura, premda se proizvode i do kraja 4. st. pr. Kr.<sup>103</sup> Broj tanjura najranije, siciliske proizvodnje jedva da premašuje 20, dok nam je naslijeđe od više od 200 primjeraka ostavila Kampanija, koja je cvjetala upravo u razdoblju od 360. do 320. g. pr. Kr.<sup>104</sup> Većina tanjura promjera je 15-25 cm, iako poneki prelazi i 30 cm, a zabilježen je jedan od 7,5 cm, sa Sicilije.<sup>105</sup> Stijenke južnoitalskog tanjura, kao i atičkog, nikada nisu u potpunosti vodoravne, premda su često blizu tome, već se neznatno spuštaju i zaobljuju prema sredini. Izvrnuti rub bio je manjih ili većih dimenzija, a katkad je pokrivao gotovo cijeli tanjur. Tipična je brazda oko ruba tanjura, a jedino se kod kampanske proizvodnje pojavljuje i brazda oko središnjeg udubljenja. Stopa južnoitalskih tanjura je prstenasta, katkad profilirana. Tri ili četiri ribe tipična su dekoracija, premda se katkad javlja i veći broj riba ako je riječ o tanjurima izrazito većih dimenzija. Značajna razlika u odnosu na atički stil jest to što su sve ribe, bez iznimke, trbuhom okrenute prema središnjem udubini. Nadalje, sve su ribe dodatno dekorirane upotrebom drugih boja. U kampanskoj i pestanskoj tradiciji karakterističan je ukras točkica na tijelu ribe ili oko njezina oka, dok je vanjska strana oboda nerijetko ukrašena bršljanom. Osim bršljana, na južnoitalskom se obodu pojavljuju i motivi valova, lovora te jednostavnih crta. Motiv točkica katkad se pojavljuje i na rubu tanjura (Sicilija, Pestum). Središnja je udubina prazna ili ima crni premaz, a katkad se oko nje zamjećuje pojas s ukrasnim motivom valova. U duhu apulske tradicije uobičajen je i prikaz nekog drugog motiva u središnjem udubljenju (poput rozete).<sup>106</sup> Apulska tradicija pokazuje također i sklonost k tanjurima većih dimenzija, a katkad i s višom stopom.<sup>107</sup> Nadalje, jedino se u apulskoj tradiciji ukras s morskim motivima pojavljuje i na drugim vazama, a proizvodnja crvenofiguralnih ribljih tanjura svakako se odvijala u dvjema vodećim radionicama u Tarantu, koje su pripisane slikaru Dariju i Slikaru podzemlja, te Kanuziju. Poznata su i dva primjerka apulskih ribljih tanjura koji nisu imali motiv riba, već su ukrašeni vegetabilnim ili figuralnim motivima.<sup>108</sup>

U južnoj Italiji u to doba cvjeta kulinarsko umijeće. Slavni grčki kuhari sastavljaju prve priručnike u kojima se naglašava umijeće pripremanja hrane te uživanje u hrani svim čulima. Umijeće kulinarstva s nizom različitih recepata i slikovitih detalja o pripremanju hrane, od sirovinskih sastojaka do završnog procesa, bilo je u punoj snazi, a riba se konzumirala u svim ambijentima, privatnim i javnim. Kako smo već napomenuli, u južnoj Italiji dosad nije pronađen ni jedan atički crvenofiguralni riblji tanjur. Možda

320 BC.<sup>102</sup> Thereafter its popularity rapidly declined, although its production continued until the end of the fourth century BC.<sup>103</sup> The number of plates of earlier, Sicilian production barely exceeds 20, while Campanian industry, which bloomed precisely from 360 to 320 BC, left behind a heritage of over 200 examples.<sup>104</sup> Most plates have a diameter of 15-25 cm, although some exceed even 30 cm, while one with diameter of 7.5 cm from Sicily has been recorded.<sup>105</sup> The lips of southern Italic plates, like those of Attica, are never entirely horizontal, although often quite close to this, rather they negligibly descend and become rounded toward the middle. The folded rim has larger or smaller dimensions, and sometimes covers the entire plate. A groove around the plate's edge is typical, with a groove around the cup appearing on the Campanian products. The foot of the southern Italic plates is ring-shaped, and sometimes articulated. Three or four fish are a typical decoration, although sometimes a higher number of fish appear if the plate has notably larger dimensions. A considerable difference from the Attic style is the fact that all fish, without exception, have their bellies turned toward the central depression. Furthermore, all of the fish are additionally decorated with the use of other colours. In the Campanian and Paestan tradition, a typical decoration is the dot on the body of a fish or around its eye, while the external side of the rim is not rarely adorned with ivy. Besides ivy, motifs of waves, laurel and simple dashes also appear on the southern Italic rims. The dot motif sometimes also appears on the edge of the plate (Sicily, Paestum). The cup is left empty or glazed black, while sometimes a band of wave decorations can be observed around it. It is only in the spirit of the Apulian tradition that the depiction of some other motif in the central depression (such as a rosette) is customary.<sup>106</sup> The Apulian tradition also exhibits an affinity for larger plates, sometimes also with a higher foot.<sup>107</sup> Furthermore, only in the Apulian tradition does the ornament with marine motifs appear on other vases as well, while the production of Red-figure fish plates certainly proceeded in the leading workshops in Taranto ascribed to the Darius Painter and the Underworld Painter, and Canosa. Two examples of Apulian fish plates are known which do not have fish as a motif, rather one is decorated with plant motifs, while the other features a figural image.<sup>108</sup>

Southern Italy in this era was highly developed in the culinary sense. Famed Greek chefs appeared with the first manuals in which they underscored the enjoyment of food with all senses and how to prepare it as such. The culinary arts with a diversity of recipes and picturesque details on food preparation, from the ingredients to the final process, were in full force, and fish were consumed in all ambients, both public and private. As noted previously, thus far not a single Attic Red-figure plate has been found in southern Italy.

102 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 58.

103 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 58.

104 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 69.

105 McPhee, Trendall 1990, str. 33.

106 Trendall 1990, str. 224.

107 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 54.

108 Zindel 1998, str. 187-190.

102 McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 58.

103 McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 58.

104 McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 69.

105 McPhee, Trendall 1990, p. 33.

106 Trendall 1990, p. 224.

107 McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 54.

108 Zindel 1998, pp. 187-190.

se upravo tu krije dokaz o njihovoj želji da opišu vlastiti doživljaj vezan uz ono što je riba značila toj kulturi, bilo gastronomski, bilo simbolično, i predoče ga u ovom keramičkom obliku.

Nažalost, iako je nekoliko ovih tanjura pronađeno unutar grobova tijekom samih istraživanja, većina crvenofiguralnih ribljih tanjura nalazi se danas u privatnim zbirkama i njihov je kontekst zauvijek izgubljen, što otežava interpretaciju.<sup>109</sup>

### Ostale radionice

Postoje naznake da su i druge radionice u Grčkoj, osim onih u Ateni, eksperimentirale s ovim oblikom. U Korintu su, uz već spomenutu proizvodnju inačice s crnim premazom, nađena i dva fragmenta koja upućuju na lokalnu produkciju s crvenofiguralnim ukrasom, a jedan ulomak sugerira i proizvodnju u Halkidi na Eubeji.<sup>110</sup> Vrlo je moguće da su i jadranske radionice eksperimentirale s ovim oblikom. Jedna od njih mogla je biti u Dirahiju, gdje su pronađeni ulomci ovog tanjura sa specifičnim stilskim odlikama, koje spajaju atičku i južnoitalsku tradiciju, a izrađeni su od sirovinskog materijala koji upućuje na lokalnu proizvodnju.<sup>111</sup> Trenutačno je riječ o samo nekoliko ulomaka, na osnovi kojih se ne mogu donositi sigurni zaključci, ali lokalna je keramička radionica u 4. st. pr. Kr. na ovom lokalitetu potvrđena, pa mogućnost da je iznjedrila i nekoliko primjera ovog keramičkog oblika sama po sebi nije nevjerovatna.

### Interpretacija tanjura iz Ise<sup>112</sup>

Crvenofiguralni riblji tanjur iz Ise s povijesnoumjetničkog aspekta svojom je jedinstvenošću na tlu Hrvatske zanimljiv keramički predmet vezan uz prisutnost Grka i njihove materijalne kulture na istočnom Jadranu. Kontekst njegova pronalaska potanje je opisan na samom početku ovoga rada, a predmet je interpretiran kao grobni prilog groba 66 na istočnoj isejskoj nekropoli. Budući da je riječ, kako je već naglašeno, o jedinom predmetu koji možemo vezati uz ovaj ukop, on nam je ujedno i jedini mogući oslonac za dataciju samoga groba. Pritom je potrebno detaljnije se osvrnuti na stilske odlike tanjura. Može se zamijetiti kako tanjur iz Ise stilski ne možemo vezati ni uz atensku ni uz južnoitalsku tradiciju, a posjeduje odlike obiju proizvodnja.<sup>113</sup> Stijenka isejskog tanjura, kao i atičkih, ali i južnoitalskih crvenofiguralnih primjeraka, poprilično je, premda ne sasvim, vodoravna. Usporedimo li to s

Perhaps this very fact is evidence of their desire to illustrate their own experience tied to what fish represented in that culture, whether dietarily or symbolically, and then present it in this ceramic form.

Unfortunately, even though a few of these plates were found inside graves during research itself, most Red-figure fish plates are currently held in private collections and their context has been forever lost, rendering their interpretation difficult.<sup>109</sup>

### Other workshops

Besides Athens, there are indications that other workshops in Greece experimented with this form. In Corinth, besides the already mentioned production of Black-slipped variants, two fragments were found which indicate local production with Red-figure decoration, and one fragment even suggests production in Chalcis, Euboea.<sup>110</sup> It is very likely that the Adriatic workshops experimented with this form. One of these may have been in Dyrhachium, where fragments of this plate were found with the specific stylistic features which blend the Attic and southern Italic traditions, and they were made of a material that suggests local industry.<sup>111</sup> Currently, this is a matter of only a few fragments, based on which no substantial conclusions may be made, but local pottery workshops in the fourth century BC at this site have been confirmed, so the possibility that a few examples of this pottery form emerged is not unlikely in and of itself.

### Interpretation of the plate from Issa<sup>112</sup>

From the vantage point of art history, the Red-figure fish plate from Issa, with its unique character in Croatian territory, is an intriguing pottery object tied to the presence of the Greeks and their material culture in the eastern Adriatic. The context of its discovery was described in greater detail at the beginning of this work, and the object has been interpreted as a grave good of grave 66 in the eastern Issa necropolis. Since this is - as noted - the sole object that may be linked to this burial, it also constitutes the sole possible basis for dating the grave itself. Here it is necessary to examine the stylistic features of this plate. Notable is that the plate cannot be linked to either the Athenian or southern Italic tradition, for it possesses the traits of both.<sup>113</sup> The lip of the Issa plate, like the Attic, but also southern Italian Red-figure examples, is considerably - albeit not entirely - horizontal. If this is compared to the development of Attic

109 Zindel 1998, str. 173.

110 McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 51-52.

111 McPhee, Trendall 1990, str. 38 T. 8. 5. Treba napomenuti da je u tekstu krivo označena ilustracija i piše 8. 6. Myrto 1995.

112 Osim ovog crvenofiguralnog tanjura autorici je poznat još samo jedan prikaz morskog svijeta na keramici iz Dalmacije, koji je pronađen u Faru. Radi se o crvenofiguralnom poklopcu koji je interpretiran kao južnoitalski import. Sačuvana dekoracija prikazuje ribe i morskog konjića. Jeličić Radonić 1996, str. 62, br. 7, 63, br. 4.

113 Stanovita, doduše slaba, stilska povezanost postoji možda sa skupinom Stromboli-Amatea (McPhee, usmeno priopćenje).

109 Zindel 1998, p. 173.

110 McPhee, Trendall 1987, pp. 51-52.

111 McPhee, Trendall 1990, p. 38 P. 8. 5. Note: the illustration is mistakenly designated in the text as 8. 6. Myrto 1995.

112 Besides the Red-figure plate, this author only knows of one other portrayal of the undersea world on pottery from Dalmatia, which was found in Pharos. This is a Red-figure lid which has been interpreted as a southern Italic import. Its preserved decoration depicts a fish and seahorse. Jeličić Radonić 1996, p. 62, no. 7, 63, no. 4.

113 A certain, admittedly slight, stylistic link may be observed with Stromboli-Amatea group (McPhee, oral statement).

razvojem atičkih tanjura s crnim premazom, primjećujemo da je ravna ili blago konveksna stijenka karakteristična za 4. st. i početak 3. st. pr. Kr., dok se tijekom 3. i 2. st. pr. Kr. zamjećuje tendencija prema stijenci blago konkavnog profila.<sup>114</sup> Nadalje, isejski tanjur ima dvije izrazite brazde: jednu na rubu tanjura, a drugu oko središnje udubine. To je specifičnost atenske proizvodnje,<sup>115</sup> premda se dvije brazde javljaju i u kampanskoj produkciji. Stopa tanjura iz Ise zadebljana je s vanjske strane, što je osobitost atenske proizvodnje, i to i crnopremazane inačice, tijekom 4. st. i na početku 3. st. pr. Kr., te crvenofiguralne inačice u drugoj četvrtini 4. st. pr. Kr.<sup>116</sup> Ribe na isejskom tanjuru okrenute su prema središnjoj udubini, što je odlika isključivo južnoitalske tradicije. No na ovim se ribama ne zamjećuje dodatna dekoracija, već su samo neki detalji naglašeni razmućenim premazom. Sve južnoitalske ribe bile su dekorirane, pa se ovdje ponovno vidi utjecaj atičkog stila, u ovom slučaju kod vrste ukrasa koji je specifičan za produkciju serije B.

Na osnovi opisanih stilskih značajki možemo pretpostaviti da je crvenofiguralni riblji tanjur pronađen u isejskoj nekropoli proizveden u nekoj lokalnoj, manje poznatoj radionici, a predlažemo dataciju u drugu polovicu 4. st. pr. Kr. Isa je imala vlastitu keramičku proizvodnju, ali prema trenutačnim arheološkim podacima njezina aktivnost u 4. st. pr. Kr., za sada, nije potvrđena.<sup>117</sup> Isto tako niti jedan primjer keramičkih posuda ukrašenih u tehnici crvenih figura, ne može se vezati, za sada, uz lokalnu proizvodnju. Najbliža potvrđena radionica, koja je djelovala u 4. st. pr. Kr., a za koju postoje indicije da je imitirala crvenofiguralnu inačicu ribljeg tanjura na Jadranu, bila je u Dirahiju, u današnjoj Albaniji. Možda je ovaj tanjur došao u Isu upravo kao import iz Dirahija. Importi i utjecaji koju su iz dirahijske radionice stizali u srednju Dalmaciju tek su se nedavno počeli ozbiljnije istraživati.<sup>118</sup> Potvrđeni su za razdoblje od kraja 3. st. do 1. st. pr. Kr.<sup>119</sup> To naravno ne isključuje mogućnost da je import mogao postojati i ranije. Boja gline isejskog tanjura mogla bi odgovarati proizvodnji iz Dirahija, no bez mineraloških i kemijskih analiza nezahvalno je o tome spekulirati. U Dirahiju su pronađena dva ulomka crvenofiguralnih ribljih tanjura koji su interpretirani kao lokalna proizvodnja.<sup>120</sup> Na tim se ulomcima odmah primjećuje slična kombinacija atenskih i južnoitalskih stilskih odlika, baš kao i na tanjuru iz Ise. Ribe su okrenute prema središtu tanjura, dakle u južnoitalskoj tradiciji, dok druge stilske odlike, poput stope zadebljane s vanjske strane i brazde oko središnje udubine, sugeriraju atenski utjecaj. I na primjeru iz Dirahija i na tanjuru iz Ise brazda oko udubine nije premazana.<sup>121</sup>

Black-slipped plates, then it may be observed that the flat or slightly convex wall is typical of the fourth and early third century BC, while during the third and second centuries BC a tendency toward the slightly concave profile may be noticed.<sup>114</sup> Furthermore, the Issa plate has two marked grooves: one at the edge of the plate, and the other around the cup. This is a specific aspect of Athenian industry,<sup>115</sup> although the two grooves also appeared in Campanian industry. The foot of the Issa plate is thickened from the outside, which is unique to Athenian industry, specifically the Black-glazed version during the fourth and early third centuries BC, and the Red-figure version during the second quarter of the fourth century BC.<sup>116</sup> The fish on the Issa plate are turned toward the cup, which was practiced exclusively in the southern Italic tradition. However, no additional decoration has been observed on these fish, rather only certain details emphasized by daubed glaze. All of the southern Italic fish were decorated, so here the influence of the Attic style can once more be seen, in this case in the type of decoration which is typical of production series B.

Based on the described stylistic features, it may be assumed that the Red-figure fish plate found in the Issa necropolis was produced in some local, less well-known workshop, and I propose dating it to the latter half of the fourth century BC. Issa had its own pottery industry, and based on the current archaeological data, its activity in the fourth century BC has not been confirmed.<sup>117</sup> The nearest confirmed workshop which functioned in the fourth century BC, and for which there are indications that it imitated the Red-figure version of the fish plate on the Adriatic, was in Dyrrhachium in modern-day Albania. Perhaps this plate came to Issa as an import from Dyrrhachium. Imports and the influences which arrived from the Dyrrhachium workshop in central Dalmatia have only recently begun to be more seriously researched.<sup>118</sup> They have been confirmed for the period from the end of the third to the first century BC.<sup>119</sup> This does not, naturally, exclude the possibility that imports may have existed earlier. The colour of the clay on the Issa plate may have corresponded to production from Dyrrhachium, but without mineralogical and chemical analysis it would be hazardous to speculate. Two sherds of Red-figure fish plates were found in Dyrrhachium which may be interpreted as local industry.<sup>120</sup> The combination of Athenian and southern Italic styles, just as on the Issa plate, may be immediately discerned in these fragments. The fish are oriented toward the interior, thus following the southern Italic tradition, while the other stylistic features such as the foot thickened from the outside and the groove around the middle depression suggest the Athenian influence. On both the example from Dyrrhachium and the plate from Issa, the groove around the depression is not slipped.<sup>121</sup> Furthermore,

114 Rotroff 1997, str. 147.

115 Rotroff 1997, str. 147.

116 Rotroff 1997, str. 147; McPhee, Trendall 1987, str. 38.

117 Čargo, Miše 2010.

118 Šešelj 2005.

119 Šešelj 2005, str. 59.

120 Myrto 1995, str. 268.

121 Myrto 1995; Myrto 1987, str. 267, sl. 7; McPhee, Trendall 1990, str. 37-38, sl. 8.5.

114 Rotroff 1997, p. 147.

115 Rotroff 1997, p. 147.

116 Rotroff 1997, p. 147; McPhee, Trendall 1987, p. 38.

117 Čargo, Miše 2010.

118 Šešelj 2005.

119 Šešelj 2005, p. 59.

120 Myrto 1995, p. 268.

121 Myrto 1995; Myrto 1987, p. 267, Fig. 7; McPhee, Trendall 1990, pp. 37-38, Fig. 8.5.

Nadalje, zamjećuju se stanovite stilske sličnosti u izvedbi ribljeg repa, koji je prikazan na pomalo neprirodan način. Riblje oči naznačene su na isti način, crnom točkom i krugom oko nje, a slično su oblikovana i usta. U oba slučaja riječ je o ribama na kojima su neki detalji naglašeni razmućenim premazom, ali bez dodatne dekoracije. Navedene sličnosti ukazuju na mogućnost da su tanjur iz Ise i ulomci tanjura iz Dirahija proizvedeni u istoj radionici, možda u samom Dirahiju, ali trenutačno možemo govoriti samo o prijedlogu, koji može biti potvrđen ili pak opovrgnut novim arheološkim materijalom ili znanstvenom analizom sirovinskog materijala (u ovom slučaju gline). Trenutačno ne postoje dokazi koji bi ukazivali na postojanje neke druge lokalne radionice u relativnoj blizini koja je možda proizvodila crvenofiguralni riblji tanjur u 4. st. pr. Kr., što ne znači da budućnost neće donijeti nove spoznaje o tom pitanju.

Osvrnimo se još nakratko na ribe koje su prikazane na tanjuru iz Ise. Kad je riječ o dekoraciji s morskim motivima, katkad se jasno može zaključiti o kojoj je ribljoj vrsti ili vrsti mekušca riječ, dok se u drugim slučajevima to nikako ne može sa sigurnošću ustvrditi. Potrebno je pritom, naravno, uzeti u obzir i slobodu umjetničke interpretacije, umjetnikov doživljaj motiva i njegova prenošenja na medij, u ovom slučaju keramičku posudu. Često se ne može govoriti o ribljim vrstama, nego samo o porodicama, kao široj kategoriji. Za tanjur iz Ise i ribe prikazane na njemu već smo ustvrdili da je možda riječ o ovčici, vrsti ribe koja je, navedimo to kao zanimljivost, iznimno česta u viškoj uvali.<sup>122</sup> Ovčica kao motiv svakako nije nepoznata u grčkoj umjetnosti, ali ni na ribljim tanjurima.<sup>123</sup> Kao konkretan primjer navodimo riblji tanjur apulskog stila iz zbirke Norberta Schimmela te iz muzeja *Saint Raymond de Toulouse*.<sup>124</sup> Izvan je svake sumnje da ribe prikazane na tanjuru iz Ise, bile one ovčice ili možda neka druga slična vrsta, pripadaju porodici *Sparidae*, koja je često prikazivana na ribljim tanjurima, kako antičke tako i južnoitalske produkcije.

Budući da je crvenofiguralni riblji tanjur pronađen u grobu, kao grobni prilog, njegovu uporabu vezujemo uz pogrebni ritual. Riječ je o ukopu muškarca, pa crvenofiguralni tanjur iz Ise vezujemo uz pogrebni ritual vezan za mušku osobu.<sup>125</sup> Male dimenzije<sup>126</sup> tanjura isključuju mogućnost da je mogao biti korišten u svakodnevnom životu ili tijekom pogrebne gozbe za

certain stylistic similarities have been observed with regard to the fish tail, which is depicted rather unnaturally. The eyes of these fish are indicated in the same manner, with an encircled black dot, and they the mouths are similarly formed. In both cases, these are fish on which certain details are highlighted by daubed slipped, but without additional decoration. These similarities indicate the possibility that the plate from Issa and the plate sherds from Dyrhachium were made in the same workshop, possibly in Dyrhachium itself, but currently one may only speak of this as a suggestion which new archaeological materials or scholarly analysis of raw materials (in this case clay) may either confirm or refute. Currently there is no evidence which would point to the existence of some other local workshop in the relative vicinity which may have made the Red-figure fish plate in the fourth century BC, which does not mean that the future may not yield some new insights on this matter.

The fish depicted on the plate from Issa should be briefly considered once more. When speaking of decorations featuring marine motifs, the species of fish or mollusc can be clearly discerned, while in other cases they cannot be identified with any certainty. Naturally, it is necessary to bear in mind the freedom of artistic interpretation, the artist's experience of the motif and its conveyance to a medium, in this case a ceramic vessel. Often it is not possible to speak of species, but rather only families as a broader category. With reference to the plate from Issa and the fish portrayed thereon, I have already proposed the possibility that it may be the sand steenbras (Croatian *ovčica*), a species of fish which, interestingly enough, is quite common in the cove on which the town of Vis is situated.<sup>122</sup> The steenbras motif is certainly not unknown in Greek art, nor on fish plates.<sup>123</sup> As a specific example, there is the Apulian style fish plate from the Norbert Schimmel Collection in the Saint Raymond de Toulouse Museum.<sup>124</sup> There can be no doubt that the fish depicted on the plate from Issa, whether steenbras or perhaps some similar species, belonged to the *Sparidae* family which was frequently depicted on fish plates, both the Attic and southern Italic varieties.

Since the Red-figure fish plate was found in a grave, as a grave good, its use has been linked to a burial rite. This was the burial of a man, so the Red-figure plate from Issa has been linked to the burial rite prepared for a male individual.<sup>125</sup> The small dimensions<sup>126</sup> of this plate exclude the possibility that it may have been used

122 Plitke muljevite uvale, poput viške, iznimno su pogodne za razvoj ovčica te se najviše riba te vrste u srednjoj Dalmaciji može naći upravo u viškoj i starogradske (Hvar) uvali (P. Ugarković, usmeno priopćenje).

123 Kao poznati motiv u grčkoj umjetnosti objavljena je u vodiču podmorskih grčkih motiva: Delorme, Roux 1987, str. 142, T. XXIII. 5.

124 Delorme, Roux 1987, str. 61.

125 Autorici su poznati podaci o spolu pokojnika iz samo dva groba, i to iz nekadašnje Apulije (Canosa i Akropola Forentum) i u oba je slučaja riječ o pojedinačnim ukopima muškog spola (Zinsel 1998, str. 174). Svakako bi bilo zanimljivo proučiti jesu li crvenofiguralni tanjuri iz grobova vezani samo uz ukope muškaraca ili i žena.

126 Autorici je poznat samo jedan tanjur sličnih dimenzija, 7,5 cm, pronađen na Siciliji.

122 Shallow muddy coves, such as that of Vis, are very well suited to the steenbras, and in central Dalmatia the highest number of these fish can be found precisely in the coves of Vis and Star Grad (on the island of Hvar) (P. Ugarković, oral statement).

123 As a well-known motif in Greek art, it was published in the guide to Greek underwater motifs: Delorme, Roux 1987, p. 142, P. XXIII. 5.

124 Delorme, Roux 1987, p. 61.

125 This author is aware of the sex of the deceased from only two graves, both from the former Apulia (Canosa and the Forentum Acropolis) and in both cases these are individual burials of men (Zinsel 1998, p. 174). It would certainly be interesting to study whether the Red-figure plates from the graves were only associated with male or female burials.

126 This author knows of only a single plate with similar dimensions: 7.5 cm, found on Sicily.

posluživanje ribe, što nas navodi na zaključak da je njegova uloga bila simbolične naravi, i vrlo moguće reflektira određeni aspekt identiteta pokojnika, prema viđenju ožalošćenih. Jer, ipak su oni ti čijim je djelovanjem ovaj riblji tanjur položen u grob pokojnika.

Sukladno dataciji ovog tanjura, i grob 66 datiramo u drugu polovicu 4. st. pr. Kr. Time on pripada sloju za sada najstarijih isejskih grobova, na zalazu klasične epohe i na početku razdoblja helenizma, potvrđenih na Martvilu, u Moloj bondi, ali i na Vlaškoj njivi. No zasad je ovo jedini ukop iz helenističke epohe gdje je drveni lijes moguća grobna konstrukcija. Nadalje, sama Issa, kao jedini lokalitet s grčko-helenističkim nekropolama u Dalmaciji, pruža jedinstven uvid u mogućnost istraživanja i, barem u određenoj mjeri, razumijevanja pogrebnih običaja antičkih Grka u Dalmaciji, a time i društvenog i kulturološkog identiteta antičke Ise. Grob 66 s istočne nekropole mali je korak prema upotpunjavanju te slike. Običaj koji je često primijećen u grčkom svijetu tijekom 4. st. pr. Krista, diljem Mediterana i šire, da se crvenofiguralni riblji tanjur polaže kao grobni prilog, sada je potvrđen i u Isi. Issa, grčka naseobina u Dalmaciji, barem u razdoblju svojeg prosperiteta može se smatrati dijelom mediteranskog svijeta i kulture tog vremena, u čijem je stvaranju i sama aktivno sudjelovala.

practically in everyday life or during a funeral feast to serve fish, which leads to the conclusion that its role may have been symbolic in nature, possibly reflecting an aspect of the deceased identity, as perceived by the grieving ones. After all, it was the actions of the living that made the fish plate a part of the grave assemblage.

In line with the dating of this plate, grave 66 should be dated to the latter half of the fourth century BC. It thereby belongs to the oldest thus far known layer of Issa graves, at the transition from the Classical epoch into Hellenism, confirmed at Martvilo, Mala Bonda and also Vlaška Njiva. However, thus far this is the only burial from the Hellenistic era in which a wooden coffin is the possible grave structure. Furthermore, Issa itself, as the only site with Graeco-Hellenistic necropolises in Dalmatia, offers a unique insight into research possibilities and, at least to a certain degree, an understanding of the burial rites of the ancient Greeks in Dalmatia, and cultural and social identities of ancient Issa. Grave 66 from the eastern necropolis is a small step toward filling in this picture. A custom frequently observed in the Greek world during the fourth century BC, throughout the Mediterranean and beyond, of laying Red-figure fish plates as grave goods, has now also been confirmed in Issa. Issa, a Greek settlement in Dalmatia, may be deemed - at least in the period of its prosperity - a part of the Mediterranean world and culture of the time, and to whose creation it actively contributed.

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