Branka Migotti

TWO ROMAN FUNERARY MEDALLIONS FROM NORTH CROATIA IN THE CONTEXT OF NORICO-PANNONIAN STONE CARVING PRODUCTION

Dr. sc. Branka Migotti Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti Odsjek za arheologiju Ulica Ante Kovačića 5 HR – 10000 Zagreb e-mail: branka.migotti@gmail.com DOI: 10.21857/m16wjce069 Original scientific paper

The funerary medallion is a kind of Roman gravestone that was widespread in Noricum, and somewhat less so in Pannonia. So far only two examples are known from Croatia, one from the village of Majur to the west of Bjelovar, and the other one from the village of Biškupci southeast of Daruvar, both unfortunately chance finds without a precise archaeological context. The first part of the paper addresses a general spatial-chronological and cultural context for such finds. The second part discusses the only two such monuments from north Croatia, which were first published in 2018 within a wider evidence of Roman funerary monuments from north-western Croatia. In this paper these two medallions are juxtaposed and discussed in minute detail in their archaeological and cultural-historical context within Norico-Pannonian funerary art. The example from Biškupci is dated to the early 3rd century, and the one from Majur to the mid or later 3rd century.

Key words: Roman funerary medallion, Noricum, Pannonia, Majur near Bjelovar, Biškupci near Daruvar / Ključne riječi: rimski nadgrobni medaljon, Norik, Panonija, Majur kod Bjelovara, Biškupci kod Daruvara

Introduction

This paper addresses two Roman funerary medallions, one from the village of Majur, 12 km in a straight line to the west of Bjelovar, and the other one from the village of Biškupci, 35 km in a straight line to the south-east of Daruvar (**fig.** 1). Recently, novel data has accumulated on the previously very poorly known Roman settlement of Bjelovar and its surroundings. This is only logical, because

^{*} This paper was delivered at the 2015 annual conference of the Croatian Archaeological Society in Bjelovar, and has been submitted (in Croatian) for publication in the conference's proceedings.

Jakovljević 2012.

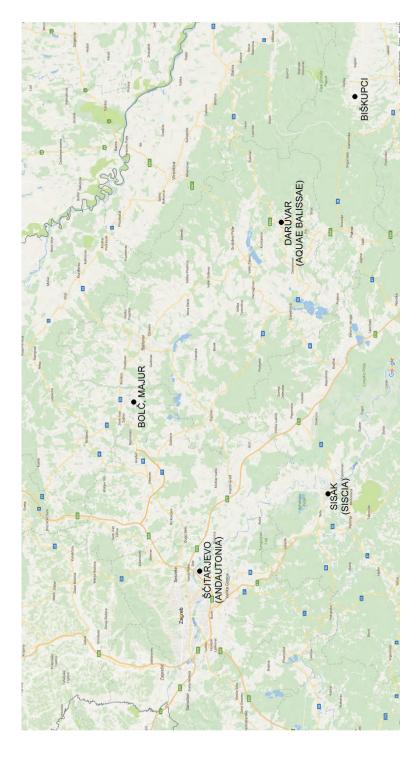


Fig. 1. Map of northern Croatia (author: Lj. Perinić, after Google Maps) / Sl. 1. Karta sjeverne Hrvatske (Lj. Perinić, prema Google Maps)

natural resources of the Bjelovar area and the town's position between two important supra-regional roads along the rivers Drava and Sava generated favourable predispositions for Roman settling. This provides not only a cultural, but also an archaeological context for a fragment of a Roman *stela* walled in the façade of the baroque cathedral of St. Teresa of Avila; the walling occurred during the building of the church in the 2nd half of the 18th century. Thus, the question of the archaeological context for a marble *stela* featuring a sophisticated mythological scene of Iphigenia in Tauris becomes clearer and does not require searching for wider cultural circumstances that should have brought it to an archaeological "desert", such as was presumed for Bjelovar until recently. The *stela* probably stems from the Roman cemetery found in the centre of Bjelovar during construction works in 1956.

In spite of many tools for fixing the territories of Roman autonomous towns, starting from boundary stones and finishing with "spatial geometry" exercised through the so-called Thiessen polygons, the ager of the majority of Roman provincial cities remains notoriously conjectural.⁴ Therefore, it can only be hypothesized that the area of the town of Bjelovar was part of the *ager* of Aquae Balissae (the town of Daruvar, 45 km in a straight line to the south-east of Bjelovar), while the village of Majur, the findspot of the other medallion, could have been either in the territory of Aquae Balissae or Andautonia (Ščitarjevo, 54 km in a straight line south-west of Majur, the distance between the latter and Daruvar being 64 km). The distance of 35 km between Daruvar and the village of Biškupci, the findspot of the other medallion discussed in this paper, strongly supports the latter's location in the *ager* of Aquae Balissae. The two monuments are addressed here in tandem, because they are the only of their kind of funerary stones found so far in the territory of Croatia.

The stone medallion as a type of Norico-Pannonian funerary monument

Despite some differences between the evidence of Noricum and Pannonia, the Norico-Pannonian funerary medallion is marked by some common structural and iconographic traits. Its central part is shaped as a regular roundel, very rarely developing into an oval or some other shape, and customarily holding relief portraits of two deceased, and less often one or more than two. The roundel's rim can be either plain and smooth or decorated with floral or geometric pattern, as can be the roundel's sides. The roundel sits on a base in the shape of a truncated

² Medar 1986; Cambi 2003.

³ Jakovljević 2012, 9.

⁴ Migotti 2011, 38–45; Ragolič 2014; Migotti 2018, 133.

pyramid, and is customarily topped by a roof carved in one piece with the medallion. The roof is sometimes decorated in the manner of a *stela* pediment with a middle acroterion; the latter is mostly missing but is confirmed by a socket on the top of the roof.⁵ Contrary to the suggestion that the roof was intended as a protection from the elements,⁶ a symbolic interpretation in the sense of the religious conception of *domus aeterna*, ascribable to all grave stones containing a roof, seems more plausible.⁷ Attention should be payed to the fact that funerary medallions are more often than not either walled in buildings or preserved fragmentarily, rendering their full dimensions and appearance unknown. For instance, while the majority of medallions did have a roof, we still do not know how many pieces were structurally conceived as lacking it from the start. Thus, there is no knowing whether roofless medallions were perhaps more popular in Pannonia, as the evidence from the two provinces disclose some differences, such as in dimensions, with Pannonia showing predilection for smaller pieces.⁸

Notwithstanding that funerary medallions are by some authors defined as free-standing monuments, how exactly they were posted in funerary settings remains disputed. Various possibilities of reconstruction exist, including a fusion with other monuments to form complex structures. In guite a number of medallions only the roundels have been preserved, but those whose lower sections survive partly or even completely, testify that all of them were equipped with a device for fixing onto a pedestal of some kind, with two possible restorations. In the first case there was a tongue-like projection acting as a kind of tenon, while the other, more often evidenced form, is represented by a truncated-pyramidal (rarely prismatic) base containing a middle socket along the whole height for fitting onto a pedestal; the latter should have held a corresponding fitting device. While the bonding device is usually not mentioned in descriptions of fully preserved pieces, examples in which the pedestal has been broken to show the socket are sometimes commented, providing a very useful information for a reconstruction of this mechanism.9 The medallion from the village of Majur is one such example, to be discussed below. A lucky find of a funerary altar from Camporosso (Seifnitz) (fig. 2) in Italy, in which the full mechanism for fitting the medallion with its pedestal (the altar) has been preserved, gives a clue for other, less wellpreserved pieces. The mechanism in question was composed of holes in the me-

Schober 1923, 144–154, 180–182, 209–212; Piccottini 1972, 11–18; Boppert 1997, 56–61; Kremer 2001, 344–347; Walde 2005, 131; Pochmarski 2011, 22–26, 41–57.

⁶ Schober 1923, 180; Walde 2005, 131.

⁷ Gregl, Migotti 2000, 150–151.

⁸ For roofless examples see *lupa* 306, 1118, 2733, 2980. On the average dimensions see fn. 19.

⁹ Pochmarski 2011, 22, 51, T. 9: 1; 55, T. 12: 1.



Fig. 2. Reconstructed funerary monument with a medallion from Camporosso (photo: O. Harl) / Sl. 2. Rekonstruirani nadgrobni spomenik s uklopljenim medaljonom, Camporosso (fotografija: O. Harl)

dallions base and corresponding ones in the altar's top, preserving traces of lead which served as a bonding substance. 10

There is one funerary medallion from Flavia Solva, which does not sit on a truncated-pyramidal base, but on a rectangular prismatic one, holding an epitaph. While E. Pochmarski did not set it apart structurally from the remainder pieces, G. Piccottini considered two similar examples from Virunum as a transition (*Übergangsform*) towards medallions inserted in rectangular slabs in the form of an inscribed *stela*.¹¹ As far as my knowledge goes, only one funerary medallion, the abovementioned one from Camporosso, has been restored from fragments found at the same place but on different occasions, to produce a structure comprising a roundel and an altar beneath. The fact that the constituent elements were found at different times, made some commentators doubtful about the suggested restoration, the more so as the number of persons mentioned in the

¹⁰ Kremer 2004, 150, 157, figs 2 and 3. A similar technique was used in Roman building construction (Kremer 2001, 13–14; Ertel 2010, 104, *passim*).

¹¹ Pochmarski 2011, 44, no. 5; Piccottini 1972, 21–22, nos 122 and 123.

epitaph do not correspond with those portrayed on the medallion.¹² Given these inconsistencies, it remains questionable whether an amalgamation of a medallion and altar should be taken into account at all in considering the restoration of other fragmentarily preserved pieces. 13 In addition to a hypothetical joining to altartype pedestals and similar stone blocks, some funerary medallions were found in contexts suggestive of their connection to funerary enclosures, either through walling or abutting the enclosure walls.¹⁴ As was already mentioned, there existed medallions lacking a truncated-pyramidal base, but were instead equipped with a tongue-like tenon for inserting into a base. Given that such monuments are mostly smaller than those possessing a base, the former's function as tops of stelae or even ash-chests, has been hypothesized. It should also be noted that such medallions were by far more popular in Pannonia than Noricum.¹⁵ While any kind of merging of the medallion with other structures is conceivable, a medallion from Palatiano (Greece) testifies to the possibility that such monuments were still used as free-standing individual gravestones. The monument from Palatiano was namely equipped with a tiny prismatic tenon and a base with a hole for taking it, both fully preserved. 16

In spite of the fact that the kind of monument discussed here is customarily referred to as the Norico-Pannonian funerary medallion, the amount of the evidence from Noricum in comparison with Pannonia suggests that the former province was the original area of its formation and development, with two main production centres in Flavia Solva (Leibnitz, AU) and Virunum (in the vicinity of Klagenfurt, AU).¹⁷ The majority of Pannonian pieces stem from northern Hungary, although quite a number was found also in its south-western (Lake Balaton) and south-eastern (the Baranja) regions, with additional few coming from Sremska Mitrovica (west Serbia). The number of medallions from Noricum has been estimated at between 54 and 69, and those from Pannonia at between 20 and 25 pieces.¹⁸ A larger number of the monuments figuring on the Internet database *lupa* than in the literature, results from the fact that the former comprised both separate medallions and those

¹² Schober 1923, 137–138, no. 307, fig. 159; Pochmarski 1991, 126, 134, fig. 10; Kremer 2001, 345, T. 14/I, 102; Pochmarski 2011, 22–23.

¹³ Cf. Pochmarski 2011, 23.

Schober 1923, 180; Harl 1991, 33–34; Palágyi 1991, 287; Boppert 1997, 58–59; Kremer 2001, 345; Walde 2005, 131; Pochmarski 2011, 22–23.

¹⁵ Schober 1923, 180; Harl 1991, 32–34; Kremer 2001, 345–346; Pochmarski 2011, 23–24, fn. 141.

¹⁶ Ioakimidou 1999, 2014, T. 49: 1.

¹⁷ Kremer 2001, 347.

Noricum: Pochmarski 2011, 23 (54 pieces); lupa, s. v. Grabmedaillon (69 pieces). Pannonia: Palágyi 1991, 287; Boppert 1997, 57–58; Pochmarski 2011, 24 (20 pieces); lupa, s. v. Grabmedaillon (25 pieces).

incorporated in complex structures. Norican medallions are generally larger than Pannonian, although smaller pieces can be found in both provinces. Large Norican examples are approximately 30 cm thick, measuring around one metre in diameter, while Pannonian pieces' diameter is approximately 60 cm and the thickness some 15 cm. However, the thickness of a medallion is not always proportional to its overall dimensions. As for chronology, the majority of medallions in Noricum and Pannonia date from the early 2nd to the early 4th century, with the peak of production falling in the Antonine and Severan periods. ²⁰

When discussing the origin of the Norico-Pannonian funerary medallion, commentators usually look towards north Italy, the area customarily considered as having exerted the most important influences on the art of Noricum and Pannonia generally, with the city of Altino in the region of Veneto in the foreground in this particular case.²¹ Contrarily, E. Walde posited that the spreading of the funerary medallion took the opposite route, starting from Greece and reaching north Italy and the western provinces via two possible directions. The first was a river route, starting at the Black Sea and proceeding by the rivers Danube, Sava, and Drava to reach Noricum, while the other was a maritime route via the eastern Adriatic towards Aquileia.²² This hypothesis denies north Italy a central place in the development of the funerary medallion, relegating it to the role of its transmitter towards Noricum and Pannonia. While this theory cannot be straightforwardly rejected, it is not consistent with a fairly small number of pieces from south Pannonia, which should have been larger had the spreading taken place via the rivers Sava and Drava. Therefore, at this stage the "north-Italian theory" figures as more convincing.²³ The number of funerary medallions in the Croatian part of Pannonia should have been bigger in any case, if their number in the northern part of the province is considered (see above). This is further suggested by three south-Pannonian examples from the wider surroundings of Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica, Serbia).²⁴ Therefore, only two such pieces from north Croatia should probably be ascribed to inadequate research.

Boppert 1997, 58; Walde 2005, 131. The majority of the data on the measurements has been taken from the *lupa*. The diameter of Norican medallions is between 50 and 120 cm (usually between 80 and 100 cm) and their thickness between 8 and 42 cm (usually between 20 and 30 cm). The measurements for Pannonian medallions: diameter between 50 and 80 cm (usually between 50 and 70 cm); thickness between 10 and 29 cm (usually less than 20 cm).

Piccottini 1972, 15, T. 4: 112; Pochmarski 1991, 126; Boppert 1997, 57; Kremer 2001, 347; Walde 2005, 138; Pochmarski 2011, 23.

²¹ Boppert 1997, 59; Kremer 2001, 346–347; Walde 2005, 131, 137–138; Pochmarski 2011, 24-26.

²² Walde 2005, 135–139.

 $^{^{23}\,\,}$ Cf. Pochmarski 2001, 126; Pochmarski 2011, 26.

²⁴ Dautova-Ruševljan 1983, 163–164, 175, T. 7: 1–3.

The funerary medallion from the village of Majur

A marble²⁵ funerary medallion, now in the Museum of Bjelovar (inv. no. 3428), was found by chance in 1968 in the village of Majur, 12 km west of the city of Bielovar, in somewhat unusual circumstances. Because its topmost part had been protruding from the surface of the village road for a long time, standing in the way of traffic, the villagers decided to take it out.²⁶ From such scanty data we cannot be sure whether the described findspot was at the same time the original place of the monument's use. Unfortunately, my search for any relevant additional data on this find failed, both in the archives and through personal communications. The data on the village of Majur as a Roman site is equally meagre and/ or inconclusive. In his report on the find in question, Z. Lovrenčević mentioned that some four kilometres to the south-east of Majur "a substantial Roman site" was discovered by chance in 1976. This claim was based on fragments of Roman pottery, which the author spotted as scattered over a large surface. However, the above statement was never discussed subsequently or verified archaeologically, and my attempt at locating this site in 2016 failed. The only written information on Roman pottery dates from 2009, when altogether 13 fragments were found during the watching brief ahead of a highway construction in the village of Bolč, in close vicinity to the southeast of Majur.²⁷ On balance, the archaeological context of the find-spot of the medallion from the village of Majur remains unknown. It could have been a Roman settlement or a villa cemetery, but the possibility cannot be excluded that the stone was brought to its find-spot at some later point in time, but again, in unknown circumstances and from an unknown original spot. The funerary medallion under discussion never really drew attention of archaeologists, so it remained practically unpublished, apart from random mentions on a couple of occasions.²⁸ Nevertheless, in 2016 it was uploaded on the *lupa* (26274).

In terms of form, the monument from Majur (figs 3a, b) is slightly at odds with the usual shape of the Norico-Pannonian funerary medallion, in that at first glance its central roundel does not appear as a typically regular circle. Instead, it looks as of a slightly oval shape, which actually results from damage to the inner edge on the right-hand side of the banded rim, while in reality the monument's

The monument was almost certainly made of Pohorje marble. The characterization was conducted by Walter Prochaska (the Department of Applied Geological Sciences of the University of Leoben) within the project *Roman Funerary Monuments of South-Western Pannonia in their Material, Social, and Religious Context* (2015–2018), financed by the Croatian Science Foundation and led by B. Migotti.

²⁶ Lovrenčević 1981, 202; Medar 1998, 50.

²⁷ Vujnović, Burmaz 2010, 232–233.

²⁸ Medar 1998, 50; Medar 2012, 14.





Fig. 3a. Funerary medallion from Majur (photo: The Museum of Bjelovar) / Sl. 3a. Nadgrobni medaljon iz Majura (fotografija: Gradski muzej Bjelovar)

Fig. 3b. Funerary medallion from Majur (drawing: M. Galić) / Sl. 3b. Nadgrobni medaljon iz Majura (crtež: M. Galić)

measurements indicate that the inner roundel was only a slightly sub-regular circle. Another (seeming) deviation from the classic shape concerns the rim, which stops at approximately the upper third of the medallion, giving it a false appearance of a roofed example (cf. Fig. 2). It is, however, clear that no roof was intended here, as transpires from several details. Firstly, there is no trace of a connection between the roundel and a hypothetical roof above, and secondly, the decorative banded rim evidently encircled the whole circumference of the roundel, as witnessed by its completely preserved inner edge. Finally, a break on the front side of the base testifies that the medallion suffered damage that should be responsible for its today's appearance, while a reworking in the Roman period is a less likely cause for a first impression of a roofed piece. All in all, the monument comprised a circular medallion and a socketed base in the form of a truncated pyramid. As already mentioned, the lower part of the rim and the base front are chipped off to leave visible a socket for joining to some kind of a pedestal, such as an altar, a wall, or the like. The decorative border in the form of a banded rim has been preserved only in the upper third of the circumference; the reliefs in the roundel are much weathered and abraded, with two major chips out of the niche on the left side and with deep cracks on the left short side of the medallion. A vein of brownish colour is running through the whole width of the piece, sticking out along the upper rim. The short-side walls are partly smoothed and partly fairly roughly worked, while the back is so rough as to leave the impression of an unfinished state (**figs 4, 5, 6**). The measurements given below are somewhat approximate, as it was not possible to take them precisely due to many irregular breaks at various places: width 69 cm (without the rim 49 cm); height 67 cm (with the pedestal 78 cm); the roundel with the rim excluded 49×50 cm; width of the rim 7–9 cm; thickness 20-24 cm.





Fig. 4. Funerary medallion from Majur, left side (photo: The Museum of Bjelovar) / Sl. 4. Nadgrobni medaljon iz Majura, lijeva strana (fotografija: Gradski muzej Bjelovar)

Fig. 5. Funerary medallion from Majur, right side (photo: The Museum of Bjelovar) / Sl. 5. Nadgrobni medaljon iz Majura, desna strana (fotografija: Gradski muzej Bjelovar)

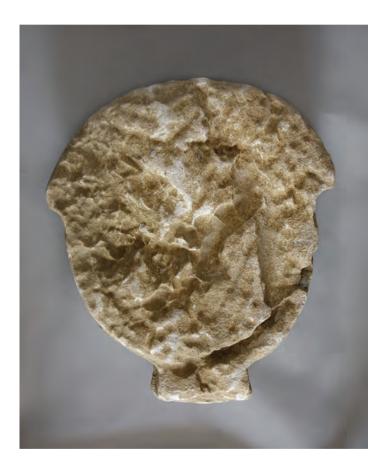


Fig. 6. Funerary medallion from Majur, back side (photo: The Museum of Bjelovar) / Sl. 6. Nadgrobni medaljon iz Majura, poleđina (fotografija: Gradski muzej Bjelovar)

Despite heavy damage to the banded rim, which accordingly appears to be smooth, there is a slight possibility that it holds traces of the original geometricized decorative pattern in the form of a simplified guilloche (?).²⁹ However, it should be observed that this motif or its stylized variants are quite rarely found, while the most popular patterns were in the form of laurel leafs or some other plants. The medallion's roundel contains a niche with a rounded-back, holding half-figures of a man on the right-hand side and a male youth on the left side. Their portrait features and clothes are not very clear due to the wear of the stone, but are still discernible enough for an overall description and chronology. The man, depicted in a frontal view, is embracing the youth with his right arm and is

²⁹ A similar decoration can be discerned on some funerary medallions (cf. lupa 851, 15038).

resting his left hand on the latter's upper arm, while the youth is turned slightly towards the man. The man (fig. 7) has an oval elongated face, prominent, slightly sticking ears, and a short curly beard. His hair is short and close cropped on a slightly flattened crown, while it is somewhat thicker at the receded temples. featuring a very slightly concave fringe. He is wearing a sagum or paludamentum³⁰ fastened with (probably) a round brooch on the right shoulder. The boy (fig. 8) also has an oval elongated face, but with somewhat chubby cheeks, and shortcropped hair with a slightly concave fringe. The last-mentioned detail is somewhat unusual in a boy, as it should indicate an adult. The boy's ears are guite prominent, especially the right, better visible one. He seems to be wearing only a tunic hanging loosely around his neck and featuring a slightly peaked neckline, with parallel folds on the chest taking a corresponding (V-shaped) direction of draping. The hypothesis that here a tunic is depicted as the only item of clothing is based on the comparison with a different styling of the man's sagum, whose fabric is draped in oval folds across the chest. This is certainly not a conclusive proof, because the sagum is often represented as draped in folds resembling the letter V.³¹ Nevertheless, it should be expected that the same item of clothing on two persons in one and the same depiction would be styled in the same manner. Otherwise, in this case the tunic as the only item of clothing can be ascribed to the deceased's young age. On the other hand, adults wearing only a tunic in their funerary portraits are not customary in Norico-Pannonian art, with the social symbolism of this phenomenon remaining unresolved.³² Presumably, the *sagum* fastened with a round metal brooch, when worn by the adult man, was generally a mark of citizenship of either a civilian or military background, and probably also of holding an official post.³³ Therefore, the substitution of such clothes with a simple tunica could perhaps denote a man not serving in the civil administration or the army, that is, a private person with or without civil rights.

The difference between the *sagum*, worn by common soldiers, and *paludamentum*, sported by military commanders, was in the colour (brown nuances for the former, white and red for the latter) and the cut of the lower part (straight for the former and [optionally] rounded for the latter). However, neither of the two details can be established for monuments holding only busts or half-portraits of the deceased, and lacking epitaphs. Cf. Croom 2002, 52; Sumner 2009, 71–96; Paetz gen. Schieck 2012, 95–97.

³¹ Cf. lupa 485, 858, 885, etc.

E. Pochmarski (2011, 18, 65, no. 31) does not comment on this phenomenon, while O. Harl (2003, 342) ascribes it tentatively to local civilians (*peregrini*). The example from Pochmarski (no. 31) further testifies that citizens could also have been portrayed as wearing only a tunic. According to U. Rothe (2012, 144), the tunic worn on its own marked craftsmen and tradespeople.

³³ Cf. Migotti 2018, 178, fn. 329.



Fig. 7. Funerary medallion from Majur, a portrait of the man on the right side (photo: The Museum of Bjelovar) / Sl. 7. Nadgrobni medaljon iz Majura, portret muškarca na desnoj strani (fotografija: Gradski muzej Bjelovar)

Although the assessment of the workmanship of the reliefs remains inconclusive because of the heavy wear of the stone, it was evidently mediocre. This is seen in the execution of the drapery in the form of deep and wide geometricized folds, and in the oversized left hand of the man. However, it should be remembered that the latter feature is also perceived as an intentional detail within the conception of symbolical gesticulation in funerary art.³⁴ In sum, although the portrait features are blurred, they are still discernible enough to reveal hair-dos of the so-called soldier emperors, which dates the monument to the mid or the 2nd half of the 3rd century.³⁵

Oversized hands typically occur in Norico-Pannonian provincial portraiture (cf. Cambi 1989, 67; Facsády 2014, 196), but this feature seems to have been a wider provincial phenomenon of funerary iconography (cf. Lafli 2018: 438).

Bergmann 1977, 30–39, passim, T. 6, 10–25, 32–39; Cambi 2000, 72–76, T. 154–164; Pochmarski 2011, 46–55, 87–111, T. 6–11, 33–48.



Fig. 8. Funerary medallion from Majur, a portrait of the boy on the left side (photo: The Museum of Bjelovar) / Sl. 8. Nadgrobni medaljon iz Majura, portret dječaka na lijevoj strani (fotografija: Gradski muzej Bjelovar)

The funerary medallion from the village of Biškupci

The funerary medallion from the village of Biškupci in the vicinity of Daruvar (**fig. 9a, b**) has also remained practically unknown in archaeological circles, as it was first mentioned in a popular cultural-history publication.³⁶ It was described there as part of a sarcophagus, and was as such catalogued in the Museum of Požega inventory book (inv. no. 10.456). In 2016 it was uploaded on the *lupa* without illustrations, which were attached subsequently, after the piece was published in 2018.³⁷ The medallion was found by chance in 1953 during ploughing in the village of Biškupci, 35 km southeast of Daruvar (Roman Aquae Balissae). Luckily, its acquisition for the Museum of Požega was accompanied by some information

³⁶ Sokač-Štimac 2004, 26.

³⁷ *lupa* 26275; Migotti, Šašel Kos 2018, 120–121.

which does not leave its archaeological context in the complete darkness, as in the case of the piece from the village of Majur. The person who brought the medallion to the Museum reported that it had been found together with another stone in the form of a "square pyramid", unfortunately with no mention of the latter's dimensions. It was further reported that several stone structures resembling enclosure walls had been noticed there, with more such features in neighbouring plough-fields, as suggested by differentiating colours and quality of crops. These finds encouraged an oral tradition among the people, that namely a bishopric had existed in the surrounding of the village of Biškupci, whose name indeed derives from the Croatian word meaning a bishop. A mention of a pyramidal stone found together with the medallion suggests a base of the shape as witnessed in the medallion from Majur. However, a breakage on the lower rim possibly indicates an original tongue-like tenon for inserting into a pedestal or any kind of base. Further, judging from the information on presumed enclosure walls, a cemetery with funerary enclosures can be hypothesized as the medallion's archaeological context.





Fig. 9a. Funerary medallion from Biškupci near Daruvar (photo: The Museum of Požega) / Sl. 9a. Nadgrobni medaljon iz Biškupaca kod Daruvara (fotografija: Gradski muzej Požega)

Fig. 9b. Funerary medallion from Biškupci near Daruvar (drawing: M. Galić) / Sl. 9b. Nadgrobni medaljon iz Biškupaca kod Daruvara (crtež: M. Galić)

The monument was made of local bioaccumulated limestone, most probably quarried in the southern slopes of Papuk Mountain, not far to the north of the village of Biškupci.³⁸ It is fragmentarily preserved; a part of the right side and the lower rim are missing, the latter showing a breakage that possibly indicates a device for fixing onto a base or pedestal. The medallion is weathered, chipped and abraded all over, and has the form of an irregular roundel, whose dimensions are the following: the preserved width 38 cm, height 47 cm, and thickness 10 cm. Given the fragmentary state and the preserved measurements, it can be hypothesized that at least the medallion's niche was formed as a regular circle, while the monument's outer contours were slightly angular. Its band-like border, 4.5–5 cm thick, seems to be smooth, although a motif of parallel S- or V-lines, taking the whole of its surface, can be tentatively discerned. This, however, can also be an optical illusion coming from the worn-out and ruffled surface of the stone. The irregularly hollowed niche inside the border is taken by half-figures of a woman on the left and a man on the right side, squeezed together and practically merged, and executed so clumsily as to produce figures with blurred individual gender characteristics. The woman has an oval block-like face from which the nose and lips have been battered, while the only clearly visible details are an almond-shaped contour of the eyes and markedly arched eyebrows. Her neck is not depicted, leaving the impression of her head resting directly on the collar bones and shoulders; a rounded neckline of an underdress seems to be discernible immediately under the chin, but this is not certain. At the collar-bone area the woman is wearing a necklace composed of huge round beads, made in the Roman style, with only their largeness giving this piece of jewellery the appearance reminiscent of a native torques. Her ears are high-set and slightly sticking, and her hair with a central parting is arranged in fairly thick parallel strands, combed from the forehead towards the crown in a rough 'melon' style. The woman seems to be wearing a mantle of the Roman type (palla), although its shape is difficult to discern fully because of the blend of the left-hand side of her body with that of her husband. As a matter of fact, this piece of clothes is represented in a somewhat perplexing manner. It is falling down the woman's left shoulder in the form of two thick and wide, rounded vertical folds, while the three folds on her right shoulder are equally wide but thinner and are executed in linear engraving; they envelop the right-side part of the upper body and the right forearm, leaving visible the woman's hand, while its entwined ends seem to be depicted in the form of a bundle at the waist level, below the hand. Although the way of draping and thickness of the fabric of oval folds across the chest also suggest the cloak, they

³⁸ A petrographic analysis was conducted by M. Belak (the Croatian Geological Institute, Zagreb) within the project adduced in fn. 25.

most probably represent a crudely executed tunic. The fact that the mantle is draped symmetrically may suggest its local origin, as such draping is contrary to the Roman valla, which should have been folded asymmetrically across the chest.39 However, in a low-quality relief it is not easy to decide which kind of cloak draping the local sculptor had in mind. For instance, if his intention was to imitate the *palla* as seen on empresses from the mid 2nd and 3rd centuries, the result should easily be exactly as that on the grotesque example from Biškupci, because those Roman pallae were actually draped sub-symmetrically rather than asymmetrically. 40 Another argument in favour of the Roman palla in this case is an imitation of a Roman-style hair-do, specifically of the empress Plautilla, and the lack of a local headwear, but these elements remain inconclusive. 41 On balance, and notwithstanding some inconsistencies, the woman on this medallion should be perceived as portraved in Roman style. The last detail of the so-described curious iconography is a pear-shaped and thick-rimmed cup with a low foot and a wide base, sitting askew on the palm of the woman's right hand. This is contrary to the customary funerary iconography in the Norico-Pannonian region, where women mostly hold a fruit in their hand, and very rarely vessels. 42 The example from Biškupci is the only instance of such iconography in north Croatia, this being in discrepancy with the evidence from graves, which abound in pottery and glass vessels.43

Although portrayed in a similar style as the woman, the man's oval elongated face, narrowing at the chin, is shaped more naturally. Of his facial features only the contours of almond-shaped eyes and high-set, slightly sticking ears are visible. His thick hair is upswept from the forehead towards the crown in the form of a rounded cap, with the fringe stretching across the forehead in a continuous concave line. Similarly as in the woman, no neck has been depicted in this portrait. The man is wearing a *sagum* or *paludamentum*⁴⁴ fastened on the right shoulder with a round brooch, while an oval neckline of a tunic can possibly be discerned below the chin. His left arm is bent at the elbow, and due to damage on the stone, it can only be hypothesized that he was wearing a long- and tight-

³⁹ Cf. Rothe 2009, 44–45.

⁴⁰ Cf. Kleiner 1992, 280, fig. 247; 327, fig. 290.

⁴¹ The "rule" of a combination of the Roman *palla* and Roman hairdo was put up by E Pochmarski (2011, 67, no. 34), but remains inconclusive because on some Norican monuments *pallae* are worn with local headwear; cf. *lupa* 492, 495; Rothe 2012, 193. On the empress Plautilla's hair-do see Nodelman 1983, 113, fig. 15.

⁴² Migotti 2018, 164; Migotti, Šašel Kos 2018, 12, *passim*.

⁴³ Migotti 2004, 195–196; Leleković 2012, 313, *passim*.

⁴⁴ Cf. fn. 30.

sleeved tunic. However, the man's hand depicted in a confusing way, rendering unclear whether his finger tips are tucked under the *sagum* or whether they are bent around one of the two objects in his hand. The first one is oval, while another one, which is tucked behind the hand and pressed onto the chest, is elongated, tapering towards the bottom and ending in an oval finial. These objects remain indiscernible and hardly interpretable within the context of familiar Norico-Pannonian funerary iconography, in which men usually carry a scroll, weapons or military insignia, and rather infrequently symbols of occupation or profession.⁴⁵

The workmanship is very primitive, with crudely stylised figures and geometricized drapery, but still without striking anatomical disproportions. Dating of the medallion rests on the woman's hair-do and the man's clothes. The hair-do of the so-called melon type is found in Roman imperial portraiture from the Antonine to the early Severan period, but the type exemplified here is the closest to the empress Plautilla's style of AD 202.⁴⁶ Men wearing *saga* fastened on the right shoulder with a round brooch appear in Norico-Pannonian funerary art already in the 2nd century, but are very typical of the whole of the 3rd century.⁴⁷ On the basis of the above arguments, it is possible to date the medallion to the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, or, rather, the beginning of the 3rd century.

An archaeological and cultural-historical context of the two north-Croatian funerary medallions

A precise archaeological context of the medallion from the village of Majur has remained completely unknown. On the other hand, the example from the village of Biškupci probably stems from a cemetery of a villa estate or another kind of Roman settlement, as transpires from the walls reported to have been observed during the finding, interpretable as funerary enclosures. ⁴⁸ Judging from the fact the both men are wearing a cloak of the *sagum* or *paludamentum* type, they were probably Roman citizens employed in the civilian or even military administration, which puts them into a middle or even a higher-middle class of society in terms of social status. ⁴⁹ It is a well-known fact that there is no hard and fast rule about a direct correlation between the the owners' wealth and the splendour of their funerary monuments, which reflects in two ways. On the one hand, rich

⁴⁵ Migotti, Šašel Kos 2108, 180–181.

Wegner, Bracker, Real 1979, 103–104, no. 152, T. 180; Nodelman 1983, 113, fig. 15; Cambi 2000, 67, T. 140.

⁴⁷ Pochmarski 2011, 18–21; Rothe 2012, 159–160, passim; Hainzmann 2015; Handy, Pochmarski 2016; Migotti 2018, 165, fn. 215.

⁴⁸ On funerary enclosures see Toynbee 1971, 73–100; Leleković 2012, 323–324.

⁴⁹ Cf. Migotti 2004, 181–182.

owners, especially of the high social standing, did not always care for an ostentatious display of their status in funerals, while for many others the funerary monument presented an opportunity for a self-representation in the best light and in a social position of their aspirations, even without legitimate entitlement.⁵⁰ Notwithstanding social approaches to the funerary ritual, people who could afford a marble monument certainly possessed substantial financial means. This is because a complex network of Roman social stratigraphy still rested on the interdependence of social status and material wealth.⁵¹ Although it is possible that the owner of the gravestone from the village of Biškupci did not care for such kind of a public display, it is still more probable that the family just could not afford a marble funerary monument. Apart from a costly material, the expensiveness of such acquisition was further enhanced by transportation costs, as the area of Biškupci was away from the main river routs (the Sava and Drava) by which marble products were most conveniently transported from Noricum to southern Pannonia. 52 A further indication of a lack of sufficient means for purchasing a marble monument is a very low quality of carving.

Despite belonging to the same category and kind of monument, the two funerary medallions discussed here are very different in terms of a formal structure and execution, suggesting different conceptual and artistic origins. If now the territories of Noricum and Pannonia are juxtaposed with the respective numbers of funerary medallions, it is evident that a much smaller area of Noricum produced a much larger evidence than Pannonia. Furthermore, if we remember that the majority of Pannonian pieces come from Aquincum, a city on the Danube, the origin of this kind of monument and the directions of its spreading become fairly transparent. In other words, the funerary medallion originated in Noricum, and spread towards Pannonia in two main directions: 1) by various routes towards southwestern Upper Pannonia; 2) via the river Danube towards the towns Carnuntum, Aquincum and Intercisa in northern Pannonia, to proceed further towards Lower Pannonia, and the province's southern stretches. Such reconstruction is indicated through examples from the surroundings of Lake Balaton (lupa 3821, 7192, 7193, 7194), via Petronel (Carnuntum, lupa 56), Budapest (Aquincum, lupa 2731 etc.), Dunaújváros (Intercisa, lupa 3895, 3975) and Pécs (Sopianae, lupa 737, 812), finally reaching Sremska Mitrovica (Sirmium, lupa 1787, 4325, 4327). While the fact that the majority of Norican funerary medallions are marble is just expected, it is a little surprising that all of those found in Pannonia were made of other (local) kinds of stone, with the exception of the example from the vil-

⁵⁰ Migotti 2008, fn. 147.

⁵¹ Migotti 2008, fn. 147; Mouritsen 2015, 248, *passim*.

⁵² Djurić, Müller, 2009, 115; Russell 2013, 105–110, passim; Migotti 2018, 184.

lage of Majur. With this in mind, there is no doubt that the latter was purchased in Noricum, most probably as a finished or half-finished product, while the one from the village of Biškupci was evidently carved in a local workshop by a fairly incompetent sculptor, and by using a very-low quality local limestone. The local workshop, probably situated in Aquae Balissae, is suggested by the stone used. However, the piece was evidently produced on the model of a workshop situated anywhere in Lower Pannonia, but most probably in its southern part. This is suggested by its Pannonian (to put it conditionally) formal structure, as revealed through its size and the possibility that the roundel did not sit on a base, but was provided with a tenon to be inserted into a pedestal/base; both these features seem to be characteristic of Pannonian medallions rather than Norican. 53 If the monument indeed had a tenon, this mechanism should perhaps be viewed in relation to a "pyramidal stone" described as found together with the medallion. As a matter of fact, this stone could have been the medallion's pedestal, equipped with a socket to receive a tenon, in spite of the fact that no such device was described in the report. If we presume that the Roman settlement in the surroundings of the village of Biškupci belonged to the ager of Aquae Balissae (Upper Pannonia), the monument in question indicates an expected feature in terms of cultural influences. These were, namely, dependent on the spatial vicinity rather than administrative borders. In other words, a place in the easternmost boundary region between Upper Pannonia and Lower Pannonia looked towards the latter in terms of artistic influences.⁵⁴

Acknowledgement

This paper could not have been written without many useful information of several colleagues, for which my sincere thanks go to Bojan Djurić, Mladen Medar, Goran Jakovljević, Mirela Pavličić Hein, Nikola Cesarik and Berislav Schejbal. The photographs were kindly supplied by the Museum of Bjelovar and the Museum of Požega.

⁵³ Pochmarski 2011, 24, fn. 141.

On the border between Upper Pannonia and Lower Pannonia in the territory of north Croatia, see Migotti 2012, 3–4. On the funerary evidence in boundary regions in terms of a cultural context see Migotti 2018, 133–143.

LITERATURE / LITERATURA

Bergmann 1977 Marianne Bergmann, Studien zum römischen Porträt des 3. Jahrhun-

derts n. Chr., Bonn.

Boppert 1997 Walburg Boppert, Ein freistehendes Rundmedaillon aus Worms, in:

B. Djurić, I. Lazar (Hrsg.), Akten des IV. internationalen Kolloquiums über Probleme des provinzialrömischen Kunstschaffens. Situla 36, 53–65.

Cambi 1989 Nenad Cambi, Bilješke uz dvije panonske nadgrobne stele, VAMZ

XXII. 59-76.

Cambi 2000 Nenad Cambi, *Imago animi*. *Antički portret u Hrvatskoi*, Split.

Cambi 2003 Nenad Cambi, Stela iz župne crkve u Bjelovaru, Radovi Instituta za

povijest umjetnosti 27, Zagreb 2003, 19-25.

Croom 2002 Alexandra T. Croom, Roman Clothing and Fashion, Stroud.

Dautova-Ruševljan 1983 Velika Dautova-Ruševljan, Rimska kamena plastika u jugoslovenskom

delu provincije Donje Panonije, Novi Sad.

Djurić, Müller 2009 Bojan Djurić, Harald Müller, White Marbles in Noricum and Pan-

nonia: an Outline of the Roman Quarries and Their Products, in: Ph. Jockey (ed.), Leukos Lithos. Marbres et autres roches de la Méditerranée antique – Interdisciplinary Studies on Mediterranean Ancient Marble and Stones. Proceedings of the VIIIth International Conference of the Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones Used in An-

tiquity, Paris, 111–127.

Ertel 2010 Christine Ertel (unter Mitwirkung von Margit Németh), Bestand-

teile von römischen Grabbauten aus Aquincum und dem Limesabschnitt im Stadtgebiet von Budapest, CSIR, Ungarn, Band IX, Budapest.

Facsády 2014 Annamária Facsády, Les traits iconographiques des stèles funéra-

ires familiales à Aquincum, in: I. Koncani Uhač (ed.), Proceedings of the 12th International Colloquium on Problems of Roman Provincial Art. The dating of stone monuments and criteria for determination of

chronology, Pula, 194-202.

Gregl, Migotti 2000 Zoran Gregl, Branka Migotti, Nadgrobna stela iz Siska (CIL III

3985), VAMZ, n. s. XXXII-XXXIII (1999–2000), 119–164.

Handy, Pochmarsky 2016 Markus Handy, Erwin Pochmarski, Das sagum in Noricum, JÖAI

83, 57–99.

Harl 1991 Ortolf Harl, Historische Selektion und Datierung römischer Stein-

denkmäler im Ostalpenraum, in: Praznovszky 1991, 15-51.

Heinzmann 2015 Manfred Heinzmann, Sagum – zu problematischen Datierungs-

ansätzen eines keltisch-römischen Kleidungsstückes, in: C.-G. Alexandrescu (ed.), *Proceedings of the 13th International Colloquium*

on Roman Provincial Art (CSIR), Cluj-Napoca, 263-274.

Ioakimidou 1999 Chrissula Ioakimidou, Ein makedonisches Grabmedaillon aus Pa-

latiano/Kilkis, in: Hans von Steuben (Hrsg.), Antike Porträts: zum

Gedächtnis von Helga von Heintze, Möhnesee, 203-214.

Jakovljević 2012 Goran Jakovljević, Registar arheoloških nalaza i nalazišta Bjelovarsko-

bilogorske županije, Bjelovar.

Kleiner 1992	D. E. E. Kleiner, Roman Sculpture, New Haven, London.
Kremer 2001	Gabrielle Kremer, <i>Antike Grabbauten in Noricum. Katalog und Auswertung von Werkstücken als Beitrag zur Rekonstruktion und Typologie</i> , Sonderschriften des ÖAI, B. 36, Wien.
Kremer 2004	Gabrielle Kremer, Die norisch-pannonischen Grabbauten als Ausdruck kultureller Identität?, in: A. Schmidt-Colinet (Hrsg.), Lokale Identitäten in Randgebieten des Römischen Reiches. Akten des Internationalen Symposiums in Wiener Neustadt 2003, Wien, 147–159.
Lafli 2018	Ergün Lafli, Roman Portrait Grave Steles from Nicomedia and Bithynia (NorthwesternTurkey), <i>Pontica</i> LI, Constanţa, 433–449.
Leleković 2012	Tino Leleković, Cemeteries, in: B. Migotti 2012 (ed.), <i>The Archaeology of Roman Southern Pannonia, BAR</i> Intern. ser. 2393, 313–357.
Lovrenčević 1981	Zvonko Lovrenčević, Rimske ceste i naselja u bilogorsko-podravskoj regiji (II), <i>AP</i> 22, 195–206.
Medar 1986	Mladen Medar, O otkriću antičkog reljefa nad portalom bjelovarske župne crkve, <i>Muzejski vjesnik</i> 9, Koprivnica, 11–13.
Medar 1998	Mladen Medar, Razvitak arheoloških istraživanja na području Bjelovarsko-bilogorske županije (unpublished manuscript), Bjelovar.
Medar 2012	Mladen Medar, <i>Gradski muzej Bjelovar</i> , Informativni vodič, Bjelovar.
Migotti 2004	Branka Migotti, Kasnoantičko groblje na Štrbincima kod Đakova – iskopavanja u 2001., <i>ARR</i> 14, 141–246.
Migotti 2011	Branka Migotti, Prostor ranokršćanske biskupije Siscije i njegova arheološka ostavština, in: D. Tepert, S. Jurić (eds), <i>Sisačka biskupija</i> . <i>Antiquam fidem. Radovi sa znanstvenog skupa, Sisak 3.–5. prosinca</i> 2010, Zagreb, 37–68.
Migotti 2012	Branka Migotti, Introduction and Commentaries, in: B. Migotti (ed.), <i>The Archaeology of Roman Southern Pannonia, BAR</i> Intern. ser. 2393, 1–27.
Migotti 2018	Branka Migotti, Discussion of the evidence, in: B. Migotti, M. Šašel Kos, I. Radman-Livaja 2018, 133–201.
Migotti, Šašel Kos 2018	Branka Migotti, Marjeta Šašel Kos, Catalogues, in: B. Migotti, M. Šašel Kos, I. Radman-Livaja 2018, 5–132.
Migotti, Šašel Kos, Radman-Livaja 2018	Branka Migotti, Marjeta Šašel Kos, Ivan Radman-Livaja, Roman Funerary Monuments of South-Western Pannonia in their Material, Social and Religious Context, Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 45, Oxford.
Mouritsen 2015	Henrik Mouritsen, The Freedman in the Roman World, Cambridge.
Nodelman 1983	Sheldon Nodelman, A Portrait of the Empress Plautilla, <i>The Journal of J. P. Getty Museum</i> 1, Los Angeles, 105–120.
Palágyi 1991	Sylvia Palágyi, Zwei Grabmedaillons aus dem Balácaer Hügelgrab, in: Praznovszky 1991, 287–294.

Paetz gen. Schieck 2012 Annette Paetz gen. Schieck, A Late Roman Painting of an Egyptian Officer and the Layers of its Perception. On the Relation between Images and Textile finds, in: M.-L. Nosch (ed.), Wearing the Cloak. Dressing the Soldier in Roman Times, Oxford, Oakville, 85–108. Piccottini 1972 Gernot Piccottini, Die Rundmedaillons und Nischenporträts des Stadtgebietes von Virunum, CSIR Österreich, Band II/2, Wien. Pochmarski 1991 Erwin Pochmarski, Zum Porträtmedaillon in Noricum. Herkunft und Ausformung einer Gattung von Sepulkralreliefs, in: Praznovszky 1991, 123-134. Pochmarski 2011 Erwin Pochmarski, Die Porträtmedaillons und Porträtnischen des Stadtgebietes von Flavia Solva, CSIR, Österreich, Band IV/2, Wien. Praznovszky 1991 Mihály Praznovszky (Hrsg.), 2. Internationales Kolloquium über Probleme des provinzialrömischen Kunstschaffens: Vorträge der Tagung in Veszprém, Veszprém. Ragolič 2014 Anja Ragolič, The territory of Poetovio and the boundary between Noricum and Pannonia, AV 65, 323-351. Rothe 2009 Ursula Rothe, Dress and Cultural Identity in the Rhine-Moselle Region of the Roman Empire, BAR 2038. Rothe 2012 Ursula Rothe, Clothing in the Middle Danube provinces. The garments, their origins and their distribution, JÖAI 81, 137–231. Russell 2013 Ben Russell, The Economics of the Roman Stone Trade, Oxford. Sokač-Štimac 2004 Dubravka Sokač-Štimac, Arheološki nalazi u požeškom kraju, in: N. Čerti (ed.), Kulturna baština Požege i Požeštine, Požega, 14–35. Schober 1923 Arnold Schober, Die römischen Grabsteine von Noricum und Pannonien, Wien. Sumner 2009 Graham Sumner, Roman Military Dress, Stroud. Toynbee 1971 Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee, Death and Burial in the Roman World, Baltimore, London. Vujnović, Burmaz 2010 Nikša Vujnović, Josip Burmaz, Redni broj: 121, HAG 6 (2009), 231– 233. Walde 2005 Elisabeth Walde, Bemerkungen zu den freistehenden Grabmedaillons in Noricum, in: M. Sanader, A. Rendić-Miočević, D. Tončinić (eds), The Proceedings of the 8th International Colloquium on Problems of Roman Provincial Art. Religion and myth as an impetus for the Roman provincial sculpture, Zagreb, 131-139.

römische Herrscherbild III/3, Berlin.

Max Wegner, Jörgen Bracker, Willi Real, Gordianus bis Carinus. Das

Wegner, Bracker,

Real 1979

75

SAŽETAK

Dva rimska nadgrobna medaljona iz sjeverne Hrvatske u kontekstu noričko-panonske kamenoklesarske proizvodnje

Nadgrobni medaljon vrsta je rimskog grobnog spomenika veoma proširenog u provinciji Noriku, a nešto manje u Panoniji. Zasad su poznata tek dva primjerka iz Hrvatske – jedan iz sela Majura kod Bjelovara, a drugi iz Biškupaca kod Daruvara, oba nažalost slučajni nalazi bez pravog arheološkog konteksta. S obzirom na rijetkost takvih nalaza u Hrvatskoj i njihovo slabije poznavanje među stručnjacima, u prvome dijelu priloga donosi se općeniti prostorno-kronološki i kulturološki kontekst noričko-panonskih grobnih medaljona. Oba hrvatska primjerka objavljena su 2018. u cjelini rimskih grobnih spomenika sjeverozapadne Hrvatske, a ujedno i stavljena na internetsku bazu podataka *lupa*. U ovome radu oni se međusobno uspoređuju i razmatraju detaljno u svojemu ukupnom arheološkom i širem kulturno-povijesnom kontekstu u okvirima noričko-panonske antike, s naglaskom na hrvatskome dijelu Panonije. Primjerak iz Biškupaca datira se u rano 3. stoljeće, a onaj iz Majura u sredinu ili drugu polovicu 3. stoljeća.