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### ROMAN GLASS FROM THE SITE OF ŠTRBINCI NEAR ĐAKOVO IN ITS SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT

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So far a total of 174 skeletal inhumations of a cemetery dating from the 2nd half of the 4th and the 1st half of the 5th centuries have been recovered at the site of Štrbinci near Đakovo, the hypothesised location of the Roman small town of Certissia. In spite of the poor preservation of the graves, a considerable amount of glass vessels and jewellery items have been recovered (glasses, jugs, bottles, toilet bottles, dishes and beads). Quite a few vessels were heavily damaged or completely crushed, while a smaller number were suitable for an ideal reconstruction and restoration. In a number of examples it was not possible to establish either the shape of the vessel(s) or even the number of them to a grave. On the other hand, the majority of the vessels were preserved enough to allow the class and type to be established, rendering them suitable for study, including a meaningful statistical analysis. Accordingly, the purpose of this paper is twofold. Firstly, it is to bring selected statistical data on the gender-driven usage of various groups of glass vessels as a contribution towards a better understanding of the social context of the role of glass in funerary ritual. Secondly, it is to give an overview and comparison of the glass fabrics and forms found at Štrbinci, as a contribution to the still inadequate knowledge of the production of and trade in glass vessels in southern Pannonia.

Keywords: Štrbinci, Pannonia, glass vessels, glass workshops, statistical data (Ključne riječi: Štrbinci, Panonija, stakleno posuđe, staklarske radionice, statistički podaci)

#### Introduction

The site of Štrbinci in the vicinity of Đakovo (NE Croatia) is a plateau covering some 63 hectares and consisting of two hills divided by a ravine with a water so-

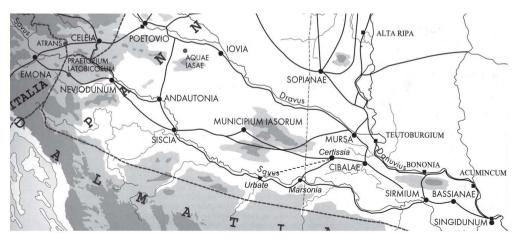


Fig. 1. Map of southern Pannonia (readjusted after Šašel Kos and Scherrer 2003) / Sl. 1. Karta južne Panonije (preuređeno prema Šašel Kos, Scherrer 2003).

urce and a fishpond. The location of the Roman small town of Certissia, recorded in several Roman itineraries from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries as a station on the road between Emona and Sirmium, has been hypothesised there (Fig. 1).1 The site has been much destroyed due to centuries-long ploughing, occasional building works, and constant robbing, with the majority of finds ending in private collections and only a smaller part in the museums in Zagreb, Osijek and Đakovo. Systematic rescue excavations started there in 1999 and have been going on till now, though not regularly each year. The funding has namely been circumstantial and very modest, so that until now it has not been possible to get anywhere near the establishing of the inner micro-topography and the nature and identity of the site, which was set as the main goal of the project.2 The excavations have been concentrated on the locality of Ribnjak (Fig. 2) that holds a substantial Neolithic settlement, late La Tène finds, and a late Roman cemetery dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries. So far only 174 late Roman inhumation graves have been recovered, which is understandable in view of the dynamics of research and the fact that much time and energy was spent on excavating large Neolithic pits with abundance of pottery and other finds. The purpose of this paper is twofold. Firstly, it is to bring selected statistical data on the

Migotti 1998a.

The research was undertaken as a collaborative project of the Archaeological Department of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb and the Museum of the Dakovo Region in Dakovo. So far ten excavating seasons were carried out (1999, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008, 2011, and 2012) and an area of 2,200 square metres archaeologically researched. Cf. Migotti, Perinić 2001; Migotti 2004; Migotti 2007; Migotti 2009; Migotti, Leleković 2013.



Fig. 2. The air view of the site of Štrbinci (Photo Archive of the Arch. Dep.) / Sl. 2. Zračna snimka nalazišta Štrbinaca (Foto arhiv Odsjeka za arheologiju HAZU).

gender-driven usage of various groups of glass vessels as a contribution towards a better understanding of the social context of the role of glass in funerary ritual. Secondly, it is to give an overview and comparison of the glass fabrics and forms found at Štrbinci, as a contribution to the still poor knowledge of the production of and trade in glass vessels in southern Pannonia.

#### The state of preservation of the glass material and some statistical data

Within the site much disturbed in its entirety the hardest hit were the late Roman graves, and among them especially masonry tombs. As far as the grave finds are concerned, the worst damage was sustained by the most sensitive finds, that is, glass vessels. Even though, quite a considerable amount of such vessels (glasses, jugs, bottles, toilet vessels, and dishes) have been recovered, and also some 700 beads, mostly made of glass. In some examples, the finds were crushed beyond the possibility of even an ideal reconstruction of the shapes, and in some graves so much so that it was not possible even to conjecture the number of the vessels, let alone their shapes. Only a small number of the vessels were found as either wholly preserved or suitable for a full reconstruction and restoration, while the majority could be ideally reconstructed and thus rendered usable for a formal and typological analysis (Fig. 3). On balance, the material as a whole is still

suitable for a meaningful and relatively well founded statistical analysis, which will be attempted here. The sample is based on a total of 178 graves, meaning that to the 174 graves excavated from 1999, four more have been added, that had been recovered previously on two discrete locations within the site of Štrbinci.<sup>3</sup> At this stage we cannot be sure whether these four graves belong to one and the same cemetery as the finds from Ribnjak, or whether we are dealing with two or even more smaller burying plots.

The total number of graves that have yielded grave finds remains inconclusive because of the already mentioned poor state of preservation of masonry tombs and the well-known fact of ancient and modern robbery. Arguably, the number of finds was bigger than the present evidence testifies. On the other hand, with the presence of grave finds once established, the number of glass artefacts among them is fairly dependable. What does remain inconclusive in some cases is the presence (or the number) of items of certain groups or types to a grave, given that the vessels are quite often completely crushed.

Although glass vessels are generally quite frequent finds in Pannonian late Roman graves, the cemetery on Štrbinci still counts among those that are particularly rich in such finds. Of a total of 178 graves, 109 (61%) held grave goods. Of these 109, 65 (60%) have yielded a total of 89 glass vessels. For the sake of comparison, let us bring the percentage of glass vessels in several Norican and Pannonian late Roman cemeteries: Leibnitz (*Flavia Solva*, Austria) – 0.3%; Espelmayrfeld (*Lauriacum*, Austria) – 6.8% Sviloš (Serbia) – 18%; Ságvár (*Tricciana*, Hungary) – 29%; Somogyszil (Hungary) – 16%. With such conspicuous advantage of Štrbinci, we cannot discard the possibility that small glass fragments were just not taken into account in the above-referenced graves, but even than Štrbinci remains a site particularly rich in glass. In view of the frequency of glazed pottery in Pannonian late Roman graves, it comes as a surprise that so far the Štrbinci cemetery has yielded only 15 (12%) such vessels. In view of that, the amount of glass finds becomes even more conspicuous.

In what follows we bring some quantitative indicators and relationships concerning the distribution of the glass evidence at Štrbinci (see the Appendix). Glass vessels were found in 29 female, 20 male, and 17 child burials. It remains unknown whether the sex of the children, which cannot be established on physical

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Two graves were found at the end of the 19th century on the location Matičnjak to the west of Ribnjak, and two additional were excavated in the 1960s, at the location of the transformer station to the northwest of Ribnjak. Cf. Migotti 1998a, 75-76.

Steinklauber 2002 (Leibnitz); Kloiber 1962 (Espelmayrfeld); Dautova Ruševljan 2003 (Sviloš); Schmidt 2001 (Ságvár); Burger 1979 (Somogyszil).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Graves 4\*(2), 8, 12, 62, 64, 67, 68, 72, 81, 84, 134, 140, 171(2). On the frequency of glazed pottery in late Roman graves in Pannonia see Schmidt 2001, 401-402.

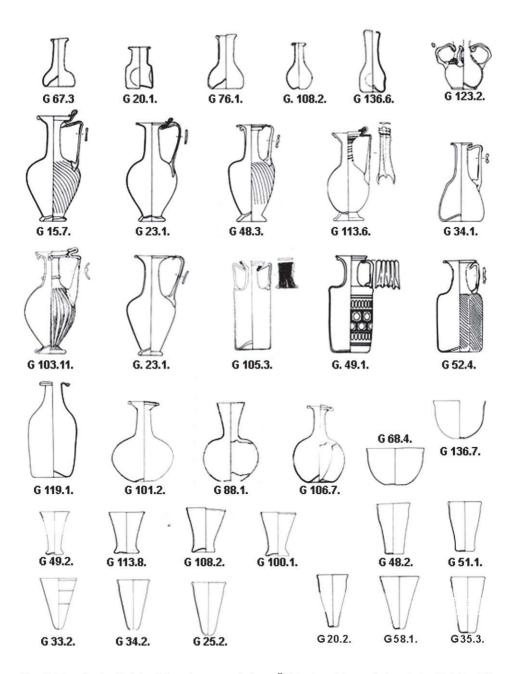


Fig. 3. Typological table of the glass vessels from Štrbinci, not to scale (made by B. Migotti). Sl. 3. Tipološka tabla staklenih posuda sa Štrbinaca, bez mjerila (napravila B. Migotti).

evidence, would enhance the prevalence of females, or would perhaps balance out the proportion of males and females. If we exclude 14 vessels whose shapes could not be established, the most frequently represented groups are glasses (26), followed by jugs (15, or, rather 146), and handless (13) or handled bottles (4). At the end of the list come toilet bottles (7) and dishes (2). It should be noted that toilet bottles make the only category of glass vessels that is clearly gender definable: 6 of the total of 7 examples were found in female burials, and one with a child, therefore probably a girl.

All the glasses represented at Štrbinci are conical, with the majority of them featuring more or less pointed bottoms (Fig. 3).7 As this is not the place to discuss in detail the problem of the usage of conical vessels as glasses or lamps, we would just like to note that in the context of the Štrbinci cemetery conical vessels should be considered as glasses rather than lamps.8 This is mostly because such glasses are usually put in the grave together with other vessels, thus producing a kind of drinking sets, and because of the lack of forms that were used exclusively as lamps, such as those with drop-like bottoms or those provided with small handles around the rim.9 Another potentially contested issue, which is related to the gender usage of glass vessels, is the problem of differentiating between bottles and jugs, both in terms of nomenclature and usage. First, there are two categories of glass vessels whose definition as jugs and bottles, respectively, is straightforward, jugs being defined as vessels with mostly oval or sub-oval bodies, provided with one handle (Fig. 3: G 15.7, G 23.1., G 48.3., G 113.6., G 34.1., G 103.11, G 23.1.) and bottles as handless vessels with mostly globular or oval bodies (Fig. 3: G 119.1., G 101.2., G 88.1., G 106.7).<sup>10</sup> The problem arises with the definition of the vessels with cylindrical, square or hexagonal bodies equipped with one or two handle(s), which are in the literature referred to as either bottles, that is, mostly storage vessels, or as jugs, that is, as exclusively serving vessels (Fig. 3: G 105.3., G 49.1., G 52.4.; Fig. 4: G 121.18.). This issue is further complicated by the fact that the serving function is hypothesized also for at least some of the bottles. This is especially indicative if we take into account that jugs are considered to be serving vessels even if not equipped with a spout,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The bottom of a jug from grave 45, which among other grave goods produced a gold-sandwich glass (see bellow), is not counted among jugs, because it was not contributed to the deceased as a complete vessel, but as a bottom.

Migotti 2004, 197-198; Migotti 2007, 183-184; Migotti 2009, 165; Leljak 2011, 147-151, 161-168.

Migotti 2004, 197; Migotti 2007, 183; Leljak 2011, 149. On conical glasses as lamps see Lazar 2003, 198-199.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Cf. Fadić 1998, 249-250, figs. 2, 3, and 5; Lazar 2003, 199, fig. 52: 9.2.1. and 9.3.1.

Jugs: Šaranović-Svetek 1986, 19-20, pls. v, vi, vii: 1-2; Barkóczi 1988, 187-198, nos. 459-496; Lazar 2003, 126-138, figs. 37-40. Bottles: Šaranović-Svetek 1986, 22, pls. ix: 3-4, x, xi: 1-2; Barkóczi 1988, 133-148, nos. 273-325; Lazar 2003, 139-149, figs. 41, 42, 43: 6.2.9.

which makes the handled bottle with the same shape of mouth equally suitable for the purpose of serving. 11 Again, this is not the right place for entering a discussion on the usage and nomenclature of these two groups of vessels. On the other hand, since an input is needed for a sex/gender statistics, we have juxtaposed bottles and jugs as definitely or potentially serving vessels with glasses as purely drinking vessels. Of the 27 or 26<sup>12</sup> glasses, 12 were found in male burials, 8 in female, and 6 in graves of children. In spite of the fact that the sex in children remains unknown, the prevalence of men equipped with glasses is certain, though not very conspicuous. Of 40 bottles and jugs, 28 were found in female burials, 6 in male and another 6 in child burials, so the prevalence of females is evident. On the presumption that the category of vessels in grave reflected everyday routine, the above ratios would suggest that men mostly drank and women filled their glasses. This, in turn, would have a bearing on the issue of the sex/gender relationship in late Roman society. As a matter of fact, the above tentative explanation of the attempt at a gender statistics based on specific grave goods is in accordance with the subordinate role of women in Late Antiquity.<sup>13</sup> However it may be, these reflexions should be balanced by a necessary caution in judging the above statistical results, which remain inconclusive for two reasons: the lack of knowledge of the sex in children, and the fact that glasses were quite often combined with jugs and bottles in one and the same grave. By and large, the statistics concerning the gender-driven usage of bottles and jugs still remains thought provoking.

# The glass evidence from Štrbinci in the context of the presumed workshop provenances

The only glass workshops within southern Pannonia archaeologically proven beyond doubt were in Sirmium and Poetovio, while the same has been strongly suggested for Siscia and Cibalae. The same should probably be presumed for Mursa, at least in the later Roman period, but what about the site of Štrbinci, if indeed it is the location of the small town of Certissia? This issue should be observed against the background of the typology of the late Roman glass evidence in Pannonia, as well as the general framework of the late Roman craft produc-

Various highly instructive details of the above discussion can be found in works of I. Lazar (2003, especially pp. 135, 139-149, 152; Lazar 2008, especially pp. 63, 66, 75). On the determination of handled cylindrical- and hexagonal-bodied vessels as jugs instead of bottles cf. Šaranović-Svetek 1986, nos. 65-67; Barkóczi 1988, nos. 501-512; Ružić 1994, nos. 92-93, 116-118.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> One glass was found lacking a grave context: Migotti 2007, 171, fig. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Beaucamp 1999. On the contrary opinion see Keegan 2002, 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Lazar 2003, 219-232 (Poetovio); Milošević 2001, 93-94 (Sirmium); Lolić and Petrinec 2001; Fadić 2004, 98 (Siscia); Vulić 2009 (Cibalae).

tion in the western provinces. It appears that the glass production in the given period is characterised by a relatively small number of main types and a wide variety of subtypes, pointing thus to a dispersed production. Indeed, local craft production in various materials, especially pottery, bone and glass, seems to be a specifically late antique phenomenon, related to a reduced scope of long-distance trade within which even smaller settlements were able and actually compelled to develop local manufactures of less demanding nature. <sup>15</sup> In the light of this, it is even possible to speculate on the existence of a glass workshop in a small town located on the site of Štrbinci, but only as concerns the later Roman period. This, of course, is highly hypothetical and is so far based on circumstantial evidence, such as a general dispersion of late antique manufacturing, as well as some features concerning the site of Štrbinci: production of glaze for pottery vessels, failed examples of glass jewellery, typology of some examples and a very poor quality of glass fabric and execution of some of the pieces (see bellow).16 In any case, the syntagm *local production* in the present context relates to the hypothesised glass manufacturing at the site of Štrbinci itself, while the importation could have originated from three different directions: a) nearby towns of southeast Pannonia, notably Sirmium, Cibalae and possibly Mursa; b) further-away towns in northern Pannonia; c) other provinces. Preliminary, it can be presumed that the majority of glass finds from Štrbinci was either local if such production did exist, or they came from the nearby southeast-Pannonian towns, while only a smaller amount would come from northern Pannonia or other provinces.

A small group of vessels possibly reveals local provenance. Among them are five conical glasses with an extended concave base (**Fig. 3**: G 49.2., G 100.1., G 108.2., G 113.8.).<sup>17</sup> The example from grave 49 is more elegantly executed, and was possibly imported, to give impetus for the local production of lower quality. Variants of this type of glass have been evidenced in northern Pannonia, but they do not seem to be very numerous there.<sup>18</sup> When V. Šaranović-Svetek proclaimed the two similar pieces from Sirmium as problematic in terms of the workshop origin, she was apparently not aware of either a further piece of unknown provenance, kept in the Museum in Novi Sad, or of several fragmented pieces from various places

Lányi 1972, 135; Vágó and Bóna 1976, 168, passim; Fitz 1980, 332; Šaranović-Svetek 1980, 125; Liebeshuetz 1996, 11; Ottományi 1999, 367; Luik 2001, 258.

 $<sup>^{16}</sup>$  On the production on glaze and on the failed pieces of glass rings see Migotti 1998b.

Finds G 41.1., G 49.2., G 100.1., G 108.1., G 113.8. Cf. Migotti 2004, 163, 174; Migotti 2009, 139, 146, 150; Leljak 2011, 151, 164-168. The codes used in the footnotes refer to the number of the grave and the accompanying find(s) within it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Barkóczi 1988, 79-80, no. 90; Dévai 2012, 14, pl. 1B: 48-51; 15-16, pl. 1: 53-57.



Fig. 4. Photos of the selected glass vessels from Štrbinci (Photo Archive of the Arch. Dep.). Sl. 4. Fotografije izabranih staklenih posuda sa Štrbinaca (Foto arhiv Odsjeka za arheologiju HAZU).

along the Serbian (both Pannonian and Moesian) stretch of the Danube *limes*.<sup>19</sup> With this evidence, Sirmim appears as a likely place of origin for this type of glasses and their dissemination in southern Pannonia. On the other hand, Emona is also the find-spot of a number of such glasses of, as it seems, higher quality than those from southeast Pannonia.<sup>20</sup> Given the one good example from Štrbinci and others poorly executed, a presumed import from Emona could have given impetus for the local imitation. If, however, glass manufacturing was non-existent at Štrbinci, these five glasses were most probably imported from Sirmium. A further two conical flat-bottomed glasses could have also been produced locally, given that they are poorly executed and completely identical in all details of the shape and fabric, lacking at the same time close parallels in the published material from anywhere in Pannonia or elsewhere (**Figs. 3 and 4**: G 48.2., G 51.1.).<sup>21</sup>

Several glass vessels were probably imported from outside southeastern Pannonia. The suggestion for such identification is based on several individual or combined characteristics: quality and colour of glass fabric and a demanding technique of execution, as well as the lack of close parallels in southern Pannonia. They could have originated from northern-Pannonian or even the Rhineland workshops. Among the conical glasses, which make the most frequent type at Štrbinci, one example with the rounded bottom stands out from the average by its size, the quality of execution and the olive-green colour (Figs. 3 and 4: 33.2.).22 While initially produced in the Black Sea-Germanic cultural circle, this type of glass was soon taken over by the Rhineland workshops, which could have been a possible source of the Štrbinci example.<sup>23</sup> The same origin can be deduced for three handled bottles that were manufactured by relatively complicated techniques, two of them by double mould blowing and one by mould blowing and subsequent wheel cutting (Fig. 3: G 49.1., G 52.4.; Fig. 4. G 121.18.).24 A probable Rhineland origin for some vessels could be deduced on the basis of the quality of execution, such as a bottle and two jugs (Figs. 3 and 4: G 105.3., G 103.11, G 138.1.).25 Bluish colour, typical of some of the Rhineland production, can possibly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Šaranović-Svetek 1986, 15, nos. 39, 40; Ružić 1994, 50-51, nos. 969, 972, 977, 978, 980-1011.

One example, but made of much thicker glass, stems from Salona (Fadić 1997, 198, no. 200).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> G 48.2., G 51.1. Cf. Migotti 2004, 173; Migotti 2007, 164; Leljak 2011, 150, 163-164.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> G 33.2. cf. Migotti 2004, 159; Leljak 2011, 149, 162.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Barkóczi 1988, 82-85, nos. 98-106; Koch 1989; Migotti, Perinić 2001, 155, note 132; Schmidt 2001, 403; Migotti 2004, 197.

Double mould-blown: G 52.4., G 121.18 (Migotti 2004, 175; Leljak 2011, 153, 169-170; Migotti, Leleković 2013, 242); mould-blown and wheel-cut: G 49.1. (Migotti 2004, 173-174; Leljak 2011, 152-153, 169).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> G 105.3. (bottle), G 103.11. and 138.1. (jugs). Cf. Migotti 2009, 142, 144; Leljak 2011, 172-173, 178-179; Leljak 2013, 221-222; Migotti, Leleković 2013, 253.

point to the workshop origin for a jug and a toilet bottle (Figs. 3 and 4: G 34.1., G 108.2.).26 The latter is otherwise a curious example in that it is stems from a 4thcentury context although, typologically, its date should not go beyond the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Thus, it remains unclear whether this piece managed to survive as a family heirloom for nearly three centuries, which is less likely, or whether it was still produced in Pannonian workshops in Late Antiquity on the model of an earlier, possibly Rhineland type.<sup>27</sup> The possibility of a later production is adumbrated by a similar example from Beška in Serbia (Pannonia), also dated to the 4th century.<sup>28</sup> Two very fine jugs with the decoration of glass threads on the neck have parallels in the east-Mediterranean, notably Syrian material, but since their execution does not measure up to Syrian examples, they are more probably north-Pannonian imports made on the model of the eastern pieces (Fig. 3: G 113: 6; Fig. 4: G 113.6. and 7).<sup>29</sup> The only certain import from outside Pannonia in this group is a fragmentarily preserved globular toilet bottle, whose complete reconstruction is not possible, but the shape and the yellowish colour of the glass, as well as a delicate execution, point to the Syrian-Palestinian area (Figs. 3 and 4: G 123.2.)30 Again, there is no certainty about the exact route of the importation, which could have been direct from the East or perhaps via Dalmatia.

#### Gold-sandwich glasses

The last two pieces to be shortly mentioned in this article are double glass bottoms with a gold foil featuring family portraits set in between; they most probably belonged to shallow dishes (**Figs. 5 and 6**).<sup>31</sup> They were certainly imports to Štrbinci, although possibly not from the same area. In a way, they epitomise the whole issue of the glass material from Štrbinci in its various aspects: chronology, origin, social and historical context, and ritual function. One of them is a chance find in 1965, from an un-established context, but probably funerary and not residential as was initially presumed. The other one stems from the 2001 excavation

G 108.2. (toilet bottle: Migotti 2009, 146), G 34.1. (jug: Migotti 2004, 159; Leljak 2011, 176-177; Leljak 2013, 222-223). On the bluish-green colour of the cologne raw glass see Fremersdorf 1967, 12, and on bluish glass as typical for some of the Rhineland glass imports in Pannonia see Šaranović-Svetek 1986, 50, and 52. Arguably, bluish glass, as one of the natural glass colours, appears everywhere and not only in the Rhineland, but the fact remains that the abovementioned vessels are the only specimens of this colour found so far at Štrbinci.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Migotti 2004, 198; Leljak 2011, 176, and 157.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Šaranović-Svetek 1986, 20, type 6, with an adduced parallel from Köln.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> G 113.6., G 113.7. Migotti 2009, 149-150; Leljak 2013, 174-175, 154-155; Leljak 2013, 220-221.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> G 123.2. Migotti, Leleković 2013, 243, 259.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Migotti 2002; Migotti 2003; Leljak 2013, 218-220.



Fig. 5. Gold-sandwich glass from Štrbinci found in 2001 (Photo Archive of the Arch. Dep.).

Sl. 5. Pozlaćeno stakleno dno sa Štrbinca nađeno 2001. (Foto arhiv Odsjeka za arheologiju HAZU).



Fig. 6. Gold-sandwich glass from Štrbinci found in 1965 (Photo Archive of the Arch. Dep.).

Sl. 6. Pozlaćeno stakleno dno sa Štrbinaca nađeno 1965. (Foto arhiv Odsjeka za arheologiju HAZU). campaign. These two glasses differ in terms of iconography, stylistic traits and technical execution, which most probably reflect a difference in both the chronology and workshop affiliation. It is possible that the first glass, which is somewhat earlier, stems from one of the several City-of-Rome workshops. Given a rougher execution and a very close parallel from Intercisa (Dunaújváros) in northern Hungary, the second glass possibly stems from an unknown Pannonian workshop. Owing to its known archaeological context, the second glass is quite revealing in terms of ritual. It was placed by the head of the deceased girl, that is, contrary to the standard practice in the Strbinci cemetery, with vessels usually deposited by the feet. Most unexpectedly, there were two additional plain glass bottoms with the gold one, testifying a kind of a glass-bottom ritual in late Roman funerary practice. The ritual aspects of this find has been discussed in detail already, so here we will tackle only one feature that is especially intriguing: the context of social and political geography. If namely we bear in mind that the only site in Pannonia to produce two gold-sandwich glasses is the provincial capital Carnuntum, and that the whole of Hungary can boast of only two such pieces from two discrete sites, than two gold glasses from a small town such as was probably that on Štrbinci poses the question of its place and status in the provincial context.

#### Instead of a conclusion

As it transpires from the above discussion, the site of Štrbinci is quite rich in glass finds in spite of a high level of disturbance and damage. Therefore, instead of a proper conclusion, we would just like to bring attention to the fact that it is a pity that the site has not been researched properly, that is, with more substantial funding, as it would certainly give more information of various aspect of south-Pannonian Roman archaeology, glass evidence included.

#### Appendix

Graves provided with grave finds 32

1\*(?), 2\*(f?), 3\*(f), 4(f)\*; 1(f)), 2(f), 3(m), 4 (m), 5(ch), 8(ch), 9(m), 10(ch), 12(f), 14(f), 15(ch), 17(ch), 19(f), 20(f), 23(ch), 24(?), 25(f), 27(f), 28(m), 29(m), 31(ch?), 33(ch), 34(ch), 35(f), 37(m), 38(f), 39(f), 40(m), 41(ch), 42(f), 45(ch), 48(m), 49(f), 50(f), 51(m), 52(f), 58(ch), 60(m), 62(m), 63(m), 64(ch?), 65(ch), 66(?), 67(ch³³), 68(m), 69(m), 71(f), 72(m),

Numerals followed by \* relate to the four graves excavated before the research at the locality of Ribnjak started. Abbreviations used: f (female), m (male), ch (child), but their traces on the ground stretched in the length of 85 cm, while the length of the pit was 130 cm, which points to a child burial.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> The bones have been completely disintegrated and are actually non-existent.

73(f), 74(m and ch), 75(m), 76(f), 77(?), 78(?), 79(f), 81(m), 83(m), 84(?), 85(?), 86(ch), 87 (f), 88(f), 92(m), 93(m), 94(ch?), 95(f and ch), 100(f),101(f), 103(f), 104(m), 105(f), 106(f and ch), 107(m), 108(f), 113(f and ch), 116(?), 117(m), 118(ch), 119(ch), 121(f), 122(m), 123(f), 125(ch), 126(ch), 128(?), 131(f), 133(f), 134(ch), 136( 2 f), 138(m), 140(m), 145(m), 149(m), 150(m), 152(f), 157(f), 159 (m), 163(m), 164(f), 168 (m), 169(f), 171(f), 172(ch), 173(f), 174(m).

Graves provided with glass vessels

2\*, 3\*, 4\*(2); 1(?), 2, 3, 4(2), 15, 17, 20(2), 23, 24, 25, 27, 29(2), 33, 34(2), 35, 37(2), 38, 41, 45(3), 48(3), 49(2), 51, 52, 58, 60, 62, 64, 65, 67, 68(2), 69(3), 71(2), 74, 75, 76, 77, 81, 83, 88, 92, 93, 95, 100, 101, 103(2), 105, 106, 108(2), 113(3), 117,119, 121(2), 122, 123, 125, 126, 128, 136(3), 138, 157, 168, 169(2).

Graves provided with glasses

20, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 41, 48,49, 51, 58, 62, 64, IG, 68, 69, 81, 92, 93,100, 108, 113, 117, 121, 122, 126, 168.

Graves provided with jugs

1(?), 15, 23, 24, 34, 45(bottom), 48, 60, 103, 113(2), 138, 164, 169(2).

Graves provided with handless bottles

2\*, 3\*, 17, 25, 27, 29(2), 48(?), 88, 101, 106, 119, 121.

Graves provided with handled bottles 49, 52, 105, 136.

Graves provided with toilet bottles

4/2, 20, 67, 69, 76, 108, 123, 136.

Graves provided with dishes

68, 69(?), 136.

Dish bottoms

45 (2 - one plain and one gold-sandwich).

Indeterminable

2\*, 37, 65, 71(2), 74, 75, 77, 83, 95, 103, 125, 128, 157.

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#### SAŽETAK

## Rimsko staklo sa Štrbinaca kod Đakova u društvenom i gospodarskom kontekstu

Na lokalitetu Štrbincima, pretpostavljenom rimskom naselju Certisiji (Certissia) u blizini Đakova, u istraživanjima kasnoantičkog groblja iz 2. polovice 4. stoljeća i 1. polovice. 5. stoljeća dosad je pronađeno 178 kosturnih grobova, ukupanih u goloj zemlji, drvenom sanduku ili pak zidanoj grobnici. Unatoč lošoj očuvanosti grobova, a osobito zidanih grobnica, pronađena je velika količina staklenih posuda i nakitnih predmeta (čaše, vrčevi, boce, toaletne posude, zdjele, perle i privjesci). Znatan broj posuda pronađen je oštećen ili potpuno razlomljen, tako da nekim primjercima nije bilo moguće utvrditi oblik, a ponekad čak ni broj posuda u grobu. Unatoč navedenim činjenicama, najveći broj primjeraka bio je pronađen cjelovit ili sačuvan u mjeri koja dopušta restauraciju ili barem idealnu rekonstrukciju, omogućivši tako određivanje tipologije i stručno-znanstvenu obradu, pa čak i statističku. Od ukupno 178 grobova njih 109 imalo je priloga, a od tih 109 njih 65 dalo je ukupno 89 staklenih posuda, zatečenih u 29 ženskih, 20 muških i 17 dječjih grobova. Najsnažnije zastupljen tip staklene posude stožaste su čaše, čime se Štrbinci uklapaju u panonski prosjek, a slijede ih vrčevi i boce. Među najraskošnijim primjercima dva su dvostruka staklena dna s umetnutom zlatnom folijom i urezanim obiteljskim prizorom, koja su vjerojatno pripadala plićim zdjelama. Takvi su nalazi razmjerno rijetki u Panoniji, pa dva primjerka sa Štrbinaca potiču na razmišljanje o naravi i važnosti tog rimskog naselja u provincijalnom kontekstu. Dva su osnovna cilja ovoga priloga. Jedan je usporediti statističke podatke o spolu pokojnika i vrsti priloženog posuđa, u svrhu boljeg razumijevanja socijalnog konteksta, odnosno uloge staklenih posuda u pogrebnim obredima, a slijedom toga, moguće i u svakodnevnom životu. Drugi je cilj na temelju usporedbe tipova i kvalitete izrade posuda pronađenih na Štrbincima s istim ili sličnim posudama iz užeg i šireg panonskog okružja, ali i drugih provincija, dati doprinos još uvijek nedovoljnom znanju o proizvodnji i trgovini staklenih posuda na području južne Panonije. Pritom se obrazlaže mogućnost, zasad nedokazana, da je staklarska proizvodnja u kasnoj antici postojala i u rimskom naselju na Štrbincima.