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**Belaj, Juraj; Migotti, Branka**

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# Rimski grobni spomenik s lokaliteta Stari grad u Ivancu

## Roman tombstone from the Stari grad site in Ivanec

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JURAJ BELAJ  
Institut za arheologiju  
Ulica Ljudevita Gaja 32  
HR-10000 Zagreb  
juraj.belaj@iarh.hr

BRANKA MIGOTTI  
Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti  
Odsjek za arheologiju  
Ante Kovačića 5  
HR-10000 Zagreb  
branka.migotti@zg.t-com.hr

*U arheološkim istraživanjima koje Institut za arheologiju od 1998. provodi na Starome gradu u središtu Ivanca, utvrđena je dugotrajna naseljenost tog lokaliteta od prapovijesnog i rimskog razdoblja do polovine 20. stoljeća. U dvorištu tamošnjeg renesansno-baroknog kaštela istražene su, između ostalog, romanička i gotička crkva s kontinuitetom ukapanja do u 17. stoljeće. U kampanji 1998., u zidovima gotičke crkve kao spolij je zatečen ulomak rimskog grobnog spomenika načinjenog od lokalnog vapnenca, ukrašenog reljefnim ljudskim likovima na prednjoj i bočnoj plohi. U ovome radu taj se nalaz objavljuje po prvi put i obrađuje cjelovito s obzirom na ikonografiju i formalnu tipologiju te datiranje i društvene okolnosti nastanka. S obzirom na ne cjelovitost, izvorni izgled spomenika ostaje nepoznat, ali se on pretpostavlja rekonstruirano kao ugaoni blok grobne građevine ili tzv. grobnog stupa (Grabpfeiler) te se datira u 3. stoljeće. Zajedno s drugim predmetima (keramika, opeka, kost, staklo), taj je nalaz prvo svjedočanstvo o rimskodobnom naselju na području Ivanca.*

*Ključne riječi: Ivanec – Stari grad, rimsko razdoblje, spolij, grobni spomenik*

*Archaeological excavations, carried out since 1998 by the Institute of Archaeology in Stari Grad in the centre of Ivanec, have established long-term human presence at the site, from prehistoric and Roman times to the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Among other things excavated in the courtyard of the local Renaissance and Baroque fort were a Romanesque and a Gothic church where burials continued into the 17<sup>th</sup> century. During the 1998 campaign, a fragment of a Roman tombstone, made from local limestone and decorated with human figures carved in relief on the front and side surfaces, was found as a spolium in the walls of the Gothic church. This text publishes the find for the first time and provides a comprehensive analysis of its iconography, formal typology, dating and the social circumstances in which it came into being. Although, due to its incompleteness, the original appearance of the tombstone remains unknown, we presume it was a corner stone of a tomb or a so-called grave pillar (Grabpfeiler), and date it back to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Along with other items (ceramics, brick, bone, glass), this find provides our first evidence of a Roman settlement on the territory of Ivanec.*

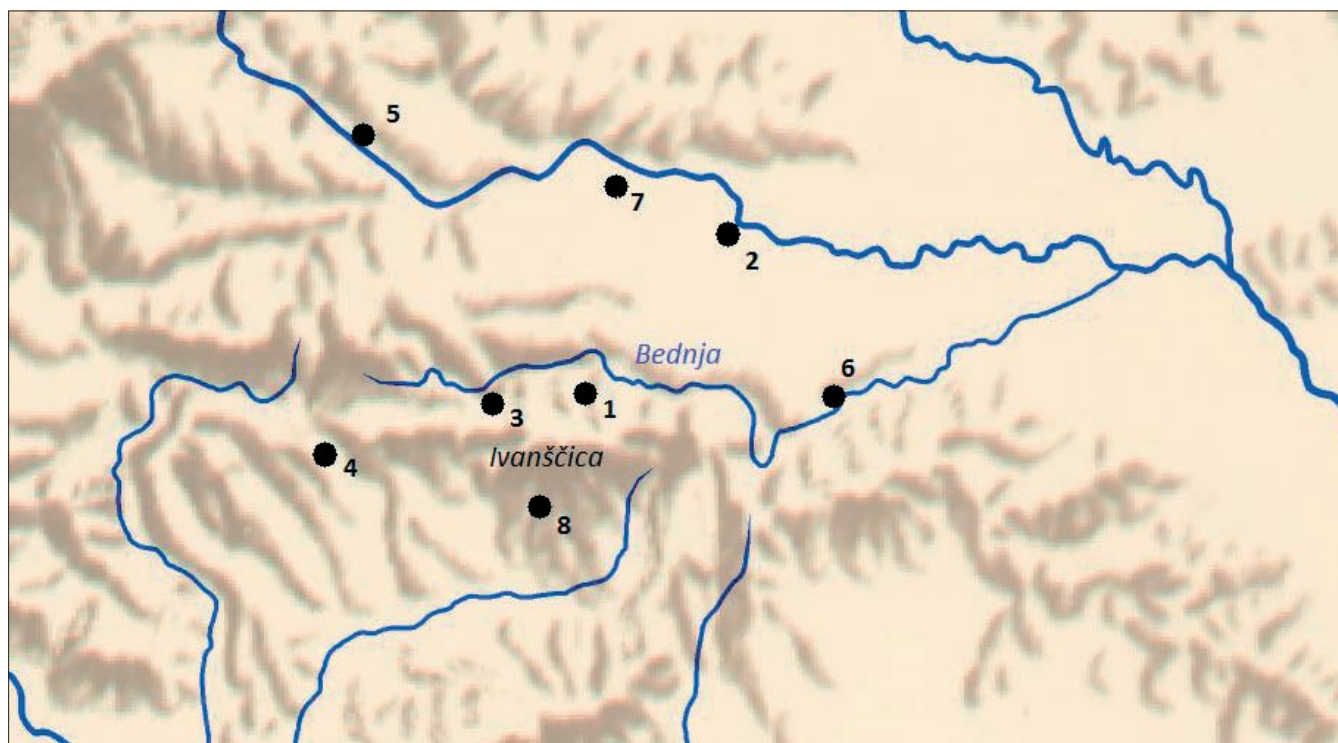
*Key words: Ivanec – Stari grad, Roman period, spolium, tombstone*

### 1. Okolnosti nalaza

U centru grada Ivanca, jugozapadno od Varaždina, Institut za arheologiju od 1998. godine provodi arheološka istraživanja višeslojnog lokaliteta Stari grad. Lokalitet je smješten na blago povišenome terenu, na prometnome pravcu koji od Varaždina vodi preko Lepoglave za Krapinu, a uz odvojak prema jugu što se penje prema Ivanščici (karta 1). Taj se pravac – pretpostavlja se – u kontinuitetu koristio barem od rimskih vremena i prolaskom kroz ovaj kraj pridonosio nastanku i razvoju naselja kroz povijest (Belaj 2005a; 2005b; 2006; 2007; 2008a; 2008b; 2009; 2010; Belaj, Sirovica 2010). Svoj naziv lokalitet duguje renesansno-baroknom, više pu-

### 1. Circumstances of the find

Since 1998, the Institute of Archaeology has been conducting archaeological excavations of the multi-layered site of Stari Grad in the centre of the town of Ivanec, southwest of Varaždin. The site is located on a slightly elevated area, on the road leading from Varaždin, via Lepoglava, to Krapina, by the side of a road branching off southwards and up towards Mt Ivanščica (Map 1). This route is presumed to have been in continuous use since, at least, Roman times and, by passing through this region, to have contributed to the establishment and development of various settlements throughout history (Belaj 2005a; 2005b; 2006; 2007; 2008a;



Karta 1 Važniji lokaliteti spomenuti u radu: 1 Ivanec; 2 Varaždin; 3 Lepoglava; 4 Krapina; 5 Ptuj (Petovio); 6 Varaždinske Toplice (Aquae lasae); 7 Petrijanec (Aqua Viva?); 8 Lohor

Map 1 Sites mentioned in the text: 1 Ivanec; 2 Varaždin; 3 Lepoglava; 4 Krapina; 5 Ptuj (Poetovio); 6 Varaždinske Toplice (Aquae lasae); 7 Petrijanec (Aqua Viva?); 8 Lohor



Sl. 1 Rimski spomenik *in situ* (snimio H. Jambrek)  
Fig. 1 The Roman tombstone *in situ* (photo: H. Jambrek)

ta pregrađivanom, kaštelu koji se na tome položaju nalazio sve do sredine prošloga stoljeća. U arheološkim je istraživanjima utvrđena i daleko dugotrajnija naseljenost lokaliteta. U dvorištu grada istražena je gotička crkva s grobljem, još starija crkva, romanička, otkrivena je ispod središnje četvrtaste kule Staroga grada, u i oko nje je također otkriveno groblje s ponekim nalazima tipičnima za vrijeme bjelobrdске kulture (S-karičice). Prije toga (vjerojatno tijekom 9. i 10. st.) na istome se položaju nalazilo srednjovjekovno naselje čiji je kulturni sloj pronađen presječen brojnim ukopima spomenutih srednjovjekovnih i novovjekovnih grobova,

2008b; 2009; 2010; Belaj, Sirovica 2010). Although the site owes its name to an often-reconstructed Renaissance and Baroque fortress which stood at the site until the middle of last century, archaeological excavations have found evidence of much earlier human habitation at the site. A Gothic church with a cemetery was excavated in the courtyard of the citadel, and an even older, Romanesque, church was discovered under the central rectangular tower of *Stari grad*. A graveyard was also discovered in and around it, containing some findings typical of the Bijelo Brdo culture (S-shaped loops). Prior to this (probably in 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> c.), the site was occupied by a medieval settlement: its cultural layer was found intersected by numerous medieval and modern graves, wall foundations, pillar holes, etc. Under the "black" medieval layer, an even older, "brown", Roman settlement layer was found, to which there will be further reference in the chapter dealing with the context of the find. Naturally, due to the aforementioned intensive burial practice, the Roman layer found in the segments excavated at this site is also only partially preserved. Also found at the site were sporadic fragments of late La Tène and late Bronze Age vessels, at present still unattributable to a specific context.<sup>1</sup> In other words, the prehistoric horizons of human occupation of certain areas in the very centre of Ivanec have been indicated but not confirmed by archaeological excavations. A

<sup>1</sup> Among the few vessels which, based on their rims, can be dated back to the Late Bronze Age, are rim fragments of a pot, decorated by faceting and attributed to the early phase of the Urnfield culture (Virovitica II group). A fragment of a small thin-walled cup belongs to the same period. We wish to thank our colleague Andreja Kudelić from the Institute of Archaeology for the preliminary analysis.





Sl. 2 Ekipa prve arheološke kampanje provedene 1998. godine uz otkriveni spolij (snimka: Grad Ivanec)

Fig. 2 The team of the first archaeological campaign, carried out in 1998, standing by the discovered spolium (photo: Grad Ivanec)

temeljima za zidove, rupama za stupove i sl. Ispod srednjovjekovnog – “crnog” sloja – ustanovljen je još stariji sloj naselja – rimski “smeđi” sloj. O njemu ćemo više riječi reći u poglavlju o kontekstu nalaza. Naravno da je i taj sloj, u do sada istraživanim segmentima lokaliteta, pronađen tek djelomično očuvan zbog spomenutih intenzivnih ukopavanja. Sporadično se na lokalitetu, za sada samo izvan sigurnoga konteksta, javljaju i ulomci kasnolatenskih i kasnobrončanodobnih posuda.<sup>1</sup> Prapovijesni se horizonti naseljavanja prostora u samome centru Ivanca – dakle – naslućuju, no nisu potvrđeni u arheološkim istraživanjima. Dio je prapovijesnih nalaza pronađen i u sloju rimskoga naselja što otvara razne mogućnosti. Možda će nam neka buduća sonda pozicionirana podalje od crkava s grobljima i od temelja gradskih zidova pružiti bolji uvid u slojevitost lokaliteta, osobito onu prapovijesnu.

Premda se prava slojevitost lokaliteta pokazala tek tijekom kasnijih arheoloških kampanja, već je i prva kampanja, poduzeta 1998. godine, dala naslutiti što skriva glavni gradski park. Naime, na spoju južnog i istočnog zida pravokutnog svetišta gotičke crkve – već vrlo plitko ispod tankog sloja humusa uočen je kamen osobitog oblika i teksture; izgledalo je da se ispod sloja nečistoće naziru tragovi reljefa. Pokazalo se da je riječ o *spoliju* – dijelu rimskoga grobnog spomenika. Bio je uzidan tako da reljefni prikaz pokojnika nije bio vidljiv, dakle uporabljen je bio isključivo kao gra-

number of prehistoric items found in the Roman settlement layer have also opened up various possibilities. Some future probe, positioned away from the churches, their adjoining graveyards and city wall foundations might provide a better insight into the site's layers, in particular the prehistoric one.

Even though the true multi-layered nature of the site was only revealed during subsequent archaeological campaigns, the first hints of what lay hidden under the main city park were already received during the first campaign, conducted in 1998, when a stone was found at the junction of the southern and eastern walls of the rectangular sanctuary of the Gothic church, under a thin layer of humus, very close to the surface. It was of distinct shape and texture, with traces of a relief discernible under a layer of dirt. It turned out to be a *spolium* – part of a Roman tombstone. The way it was built in made it impossible to see the relief depicting the deceased; in other words, it was used exclusively as building material (Figs. 1, 2). Its brief description was published in 2010<sup>2</sup> (Belaj 2006: 24, 26, Fig. 2; 2010: 229).

## 2. Description and dating of the tombstone

The partially preserved tombstone, 49 x 42 x 28 cm in size, is made of yellowish porous limestone.<sup>3</sup> Due to the

<sup>1</sup> Među nevelikim brojem posuda koje, s obzirom na njihove rubove, možemo datirati u kasno brončano doba, nalaze se i ulomci oboda lonca ukrašeni tehnikom fasetiranja, koji se pripisuju razdoblju starije faze kulture polja sa žarama (grupa Virovitica II). Istom razdoblju pripada i ulomak manje šalice tankih stijenci. Na preliminarnoj analizi se zahvaljujemo kolegici Andreji Kudelić iz Instituta za arheologiju.

<sup>2</sup> We wish to thank Sanja Ivčević from the Archaeological Museum in Split for her helpful suggestions during the compiling of the brief description and Bojan Djurić from the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana for his assistance in the drafting of the final version of the manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> The analysis, carried out by Dražen Kurtanjek from the Institute for Mineralogy and Petrology of the Faculty of Science in Zagreb, has shown that the stone comes from the sediments extending in a discontinuous tectonic zone along the Dubovec-Strmec axis, in the immediate vicinity of Ivanec.



Sl. 3 Ulomak grobnog spomenika iz Ivanca (snimio: I. Krajcar)  
Fig. 3 Fragment of the tombstone from Ivanec (photo: I. Krajcar)

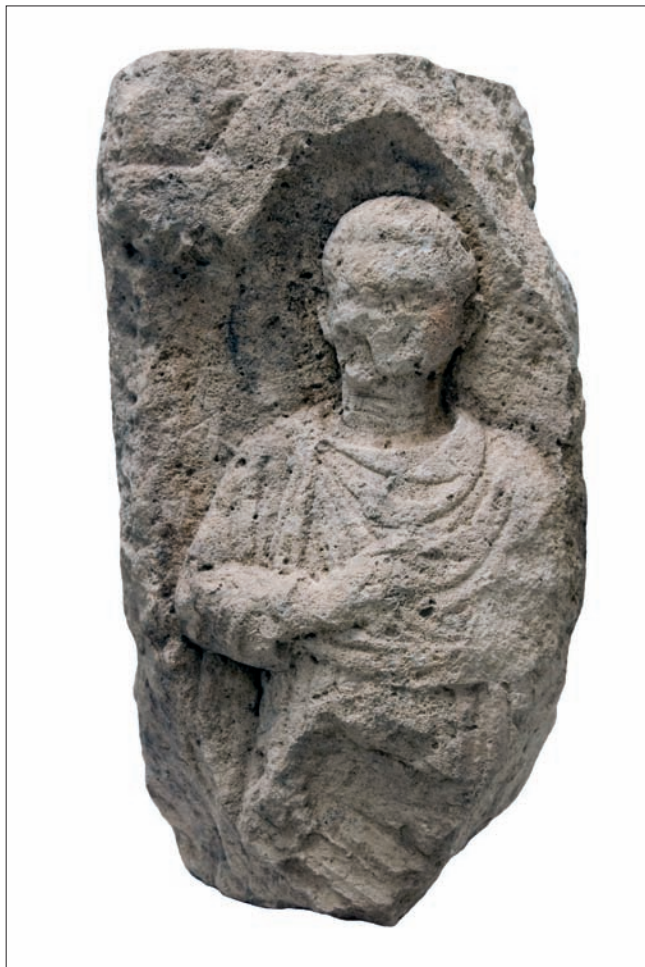
đevinski materijal (sl. 1, 2). Objavljen je preliminarno<sup>2</sup> (Belaj 2006: 24, 26, sl. 2; 2010: 229).

## 2. Opis i datiranje spomenika

Spomenik je načinjen od žućkastog šupljikavog vapnenca<sup>3</sup>, a sačuvan je djelomično, u veličini od 49 x 42 x 28 cm. Radi izrazitih neravnina lomova na cijeloj površini, navedene su dimenzije približne, a ni jedna strana nije sačuvana u izvornoj veličini. Obje vanjske plohe ukrašene su reljefnim ljudskim likovima, od kojih je jedan sačuvan bolje, a drugi je toliko oštećen da je nemoguće sigurno ustanoviti koga predstavlja (sl. 3). S obzirom na to da se ni kategorija spomenika ne može posve pouzdano odrediti, uvjetno ćemo njegovom prednjom stranom smatrati onu na kojoj se ljudski lik jasnije razabire (sl. 4). Na njoj je prikazan stojeći muškarac sačuvan otprilike do razine bedara, s time da nedostaje lijeva ruka; izvorno je najvjerojatnije bio isklesan u punoj visini. Smješten je u oblo izdubljenoj zasvođenoj niši, koja je na gornjoj strani naznačena djelomično sačuvanim jednostavnim lukom i ravnom gredom u njegovu nastavku.

2 Na korisnim sugestijama prigodom preliminarne objave zahvaljujemo Sanji Ivčević iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu, a na pomoći pri izradi konačne verzije rukopisa Bojanu Djuriću s Filozofskog fakulteta u Ljubljani.

3 Analiza, koju je načinio Dražen Kurtanjek iz Mineraloško-petrografskog zavoda PMF-a u Zagrebu, pokazala je da kamen potječe iz naslaga koje se protežu u obliku tektonski isprekidane zone na potezu Dubovec–Strmec u neposrednoj okolini Ivanca.



Sl. 4 Prednja strana spomenika (snimio: I. Krajcar)  
Fig. 4 Front of the tombstone (photo: I. Krajcar)

uneven fractures spreading over its entire surface and the fact that none of the sides was preserved in its original size, the above dimensions are approximate. Both external surfaces are decorated with reliefs of human figures, of which one is better preserved than the other, the latter being so badly damaged that it is impossible to ascertain whom it represents (Fig. 3). As not even the category of the tombstone can be determined with full confidence, we will provisionally consider the side on which the human figure is more clearly distinguishable to be the front (Fig. 4). It shows a standing man, preserved approximately to the level of his thighs, his left arm missing, originally most probably carved in full height. He is placed in a spherically-carved vaulted niche, defined on its upper side by a partially preserved simple arch and a straight beam extending from it. The upper lines of the arch and the beam are executed graphically, hollowed into the rectangular surface of the tombstone. On the inside, the arch is created by a recess, while the surface immediately under the beam is carved in the shape of an arch, like a corbel. At first sight, it leaves the impression of a pillar, i.e. an architectural element, but neither the pillar nor the capital can be discerned, and the edge of the stone under the “corbel” is level with the entire niche. This may be the stylization of an original architectural element





Sl. 5 Lijevo bočna strana spomenika (snimio: I. Krajcar)  
Fig. 5 Left side of the tombstone (photo: I. Krajcar)



Sl. 6 Desna bočna strana spomenika (snimio: I. Krajcar)  
Fig. 6 Right side of the tombstone (photo: I. Krajcar)

Gornje linije luka i grede izvedene su grafički, udubljivanjem u pravokutnu plohu spomenika. S unutrašnje strane luk je predložen prostornim udubljenjem, a površina neposredno ispod grede izvedena je lučno, poput konzole. Na prvi pogled takvo rješenje ostavlja dojam stupa, odnosno arhitektonske građe spomenika, ali se ni stup ni kapitel ne razabiru, a rubni dio kamena ispod "konzole" u istoj je razini s cjelinom niše. Moguće je da je posrijedi stilizacija izvorno arhitektonskog elementa u tipološkom razvoju grobne građevine od one tipa edikula do jednostavnijih oblika.<sup>4</sup> Prikazani muškarac odjeven je u tuniku dugih širokih rukava, moguće stegnuta manšetom koja se naslućuje na gornjem dijelu zapešća desne ruke. Poviše tunike nosi ogrtač (*sagum*), prebačen preko prsiju i lijevog ramena, a dio koji pada niz leđa vidljiv je u obliku okomitih nabora ispod desne podlaktice. Ispod saguma izviruje donji dio tunike, koji pada u usporednim okomitim naborima preko trbuha, gdje je na sredini prekinut okruglim oštećenjem kamena. Ogrtač je na desnom ramenu prikopčan kopčom koja nije sačuvana, ali se prema okruglom oštećenju na mjestu na kojemu je bila prikazana može gotovo sigurno zaključiti da je i sama bila okrugla. Premda je tunika morala biti opasana, opasač nije prikazan, već je pokriven donjim rubom prsnog dijela saguma. Desna ruka, presavijena u laktu, oštećena je u području šake. Usprkos tome, prema nizu analogija na sličnim prizorima u noričko-panonskoj grobnoj arhitekturi, gotovo je sigurno da je prikazani lik ispruženim prstima desne ruke

<sup>4</sup> S noričkih nalazišta potječe nekoliko ulomaka konzola, ali njihovo mjesto u tipološkoj rekonstrukciji grobnih građevina nije ustanovljeno (Kremer 2001: 279–281, Abb. 14).

in the typological development of tombs from aediculae to simpler funerary forms.<sup>4</sup> The man is wearing a tunic with long and wide sleeves, possibly tightened by a cuff, discernible on the upper right wrist. Over the tunic, he is wearing a cloak (*sagum*), thrown over his chest and left shoulder, the part falling down his back depicted by vertical folds under his right lower arm. The lower part of the tunic comes out from under the *sagum*, falling in parallel vertical folds over the abdomen, cut off in the middle by circular-shaped damage to the stone. The cloak is fastened on the right shoulder with a clasp that has not been preserved, but the circular-shaped hollow at the place where it stood allows us to conclude with near certainty that its shape was circular as well. Even though the tunic must have been belted, the belt is not shown: it is covered by the lower rim of the chest part of the *sagum*. The right arm is bent at the elbow and the hand is damaged. Nevertheless, based on a number of analogies with similar scenes from the Norico-Pannonian funerary architecture, the extended fingers of the figure's right hand were almost certainly pointing towards a roll (*rotulus*) held in his left hand (Grabher 1993; Migotti 2005a: 373–374). His head is thick-set and wide, with a high rounded crown. Although his hair is short and rather close to the scalp, it has volume and internal structure. The elongated triangular locks extend from the crown to the front, where the hairline is rounded, receding at the ends and continuing at a right angle from the temples to the earlobes. The latter

<sup>4</sup> Several corbel fragments originate in Norican sites, but their place in the typological reconstruction of tombs has not been determined (Kremer 2001: 279–281, Abb. 14).

pokazivao na svitak (*rotulus*) koji je držao u lijevoj (Grabher 1993; Migotti 2005a: 373–374). Glava mu je zbijena i široka, s visokim zaobljenim tjemenom. Kosa je kratka i razmjerno tijesno prilježla uz lubanju, ali ipak posjeduje vlastiti volumen i unutrašnju strukturu. Izvedena je duguljastim trokutastim pramenovima koji se nižu od tjemena prema čelu, gdje je njena linija zaobljena i na krajevima uvučena, te se pod pravim kutom spušta od sljepoočnica do ušnih školjki. Potonje su pravilne i nisu predimenzionirane, kao što je često slučaj kod noričko-panonskih grobnih portreta. Lice je znatno oštećeno, a djelomice i otučeno, tako da se ne razabire oblik nosa ni usta, a tek je djelomično ocrtana lijeva očna šupljina, koja daje naslutiti oči ovalnog oblika i prosječne veličine. Na lijevoj strani vrata razabiru se vodoravne bore, koje su na desnoj strani nejasne radi oštećenja u obliku vodoravnih crta koje isto tako nalikuju borama. Na jedinom sačuvanom dijelu lica – lijevom obrazu, ne uočava se obraslost. Usprkos oštećenosti, sačuvano je dovoljno elemenata portreta da bi se on mogao ocijeniti kao razmjerno vrsno klesarsko ostvarenje u kontekstu noričko-panonske grobne umjetnosti svog vremena, što se očituje u prirodnim oblicima i pravilnim razmjerima pojedinih dijelova tijela i njegove cjeline, kao i u preciznosti klesanja. S obzirom na portretne osobine, opisani lik nesumnjivo prikazuje pokojnika.

Susjedna bočna (?) ploha znatno je oštećenija od prethodne, ali je niša po svemu sudeći bila oblikovana na jednak način (sl. 5). Ljudski lik, predodčen u jednakoj veličini kao i prethodni, toliko je oštećen da nije moguće sa sigurnošću utvrditi je li u pitanju žena ili muškarac. Odjeća se sastoji od tunike dugih širokih rukava; jasno se razabire rukav desne, podignute ruke, kao i ravni usporedni nabori tkanine koja zvonoliko pada od desnog pazuha prema bedru. Snažni nabori tkanine na lijevom ramenu dopuštaju pretpostavku o sagumu, što bi podrazumijevalo mušku osobu. Nažalost, radi oštećenja na desnom ramenu, gdje bi ogrtač trebao biti prikopčan, nagađanje o sagumu i muškom liku ostaje tek pretpostavka. S druge strane, nabori odjeće na lijevom ramenu mogli bi biti i dio ženske gornje haljine, ali i ženske ili muške tunike, pa čak i samostalnog komada tkanine prebačenog preko ramena. Budući da je desna ruka savijena u laktu i podignuta, nema dvojbe da je prikazani lik u njoj nešto držao; nažalost, kamen je odlomljen upravo na podlaktici. Položaj lijeve ruke nije jasan, jer je sačuvano jedino rame. U svakom slučaju, morala je biti priljubljena uz tijelo i moguće presavijena prema trbuhu ili prsima, na što upućuje rub niše na tome dijelu spomenika. Usprkos jakom oštećenju na području glave, prilično se jasno razabire da je ona bila okrenuta nadesno. Tjeme je zaobljeno, a na dijelu uz vrat ističe se zadebljanje koje podsjeća na ženski način češljanja koji podrazumijeva kosu skupljenu u obliku zamotuljka na zatiljku. Takva je frizura u noričko-panonskoj grobnoj skulpturi uobičajena kod prikaza služavki (Piccottini 1977: Taf. 1: 173 i d., osobito Taf. 7: 195). Ako je uistinu posrijedi ženska frizura, lik se može protumačiti kao služavka koja gleda nadesno i u lagano podignutoj desnoj ruci drži vrč, dok lijevom pridržava ručnik prebačen preko ramena (Piccottini 1977: Taf. 3: 182). S druge strane, kosa na našem spomeniku nije dovoljno ja-

are regular and not too large, as is often the case in Norico-Pannonian grave portraits. The face is badly damaged, with parts of it broken off, so that neither the shape of the nose or that of the mouth can be discerned; the left eye socket is but partially outlined, merely suggesting the presence of oval, average-sized eyes. Horizontal wrinkles, visible on the left side of the neck, are not discernible on its right side due to damage in the shape of horizontal lines also resembling wrinkles. The left cheek, the only preserved part of the face, shows no facial hair. In spite of the damage sustained, a sufficient number of the portrait's elements have been preserved to qualify it as a competent piece of stonemason's work within the context of the Norico-Pannonian funerary art of the time: the natural forms, the correct proportions of body parts with respect to the body as a whole and the precision of the stone carving. Taking into account the traits of the portrait, the figure described undoubtedly represents the deceased.

The neighbouring side (?) surface is more severely damaged than the previous one, although there is every indication that the niche was shaped in the same fashion (Fig. 5). The human figure, presented in the same size as the previous one, is so severely damaged that it cannot be determined with certainty whether it is a woman or a man. The clothes consist of a tunic with long and wide sleeves; the sleeve of the right raised arm is clearly distinguishable, as are the parallel folds of the cloth, falling, bell-shaped, from the right armpit towards the thigh. The heavy folds of the cloth on the left shoulder allow us to assume that this is a sagum, which would imply a man. Unfortunately, due to the damage suffered by the right shoulder, where the cloak should be fastened, our assumptions about the sagum and a male figure remain within the realm of the hypothetical. On the other hand, the folds of cloth on the left shoulder could also be part of a female upper dress, or of a female or male tunic, or even a single piece of cloth thrown over the shoulder. With the right arm bent at the elbow and raised, there is no doubt that the figure was holding something in it, but, unfortunately, the stone is broken off at the lower arm. The position of the left arm is unclear because only the shoulder has been preserved. In any case, it must have been pressed close to the body and, possibly, bent towards the abdomen or the chest, as indicated by the edge of the niche on that part of the tombstone. The head, in spite of being severely damaged, was quite obviously turned to the right. The crown is rounded and the neck area displays a bulge suggestive of a female hairstyle, i.e. hair tied into a chignon at the back of the head. In Norico-Pannonian grave sculpture, such hairstyle was common in the depiction of servant women (Piccottini 1977: T. 1: 173, *passim*, in particular T. 7: 195). If, indeed, this is a female hairstyle, the figure can be interpreted as a female servant looking towards the right, holding a jug in a slightly raised right arm and, with her left arm, a towel thrown over the shoulder (Piccottini 1977: T. 3: 182). On the other hand, as the hair on our tombstone is not clearly discernible, with only its contours preserved but not volume, it could also belong to a man. The first thought

sna jer je sačuvan samo obris, a ne i volumen, pa je stoga mogla pripadati i muškoj osobi. U naznačenom kontekstu prva pomisao jesu sluge. Oni se naime ponekad prikazuju s modnim frizurama odraslih ljudi, ali često i s kosom dužom i bujnijom od uobičajene, koja ponekad pokriva vrat, pa čak i uši (Piccottini 1977: Taf. 20: 243, 245; 22: 252). Međutim, nisu nam poznati primjeri slugu u položaju kakav je prikazan na ivanečkom spomeniku: ako im je glava okrenuta nadesno, a lijeva ruka priljubljena uz tijelo, desna je redovito spuštena (Piccottini 1977: Taf. 17: 230; 28: 276; UEL 3644). Kad se uzmu u obzir svi predočeni elementi, vjerojatnijom nam se čini mogućnost da je opisani lik prikazivao služavku s vrčem u desnoj ruci i ručnikom prebačenim preko lijevog ramena, negoli slugu u mogućim različitim položajima. Ako je ta pretpostavka točna, osobitost ivanečkog kamena jest u prikazu sluge i portreta pokojnika, za razliku od uobičajenog obrasca noričko-panonske grobne ikonografije, koji podrazumijeva dvoje slugu samih, bez portreta pokojnika (Piccottini 1977; Migotti 2001: 60–65). Ipak, potrebno je spomenuti i druge mogućnosti tumačenja, koje proizlaze iz analogija predočenih u poglavlju *Vrsta spomenika*: stvarni ili mitološki likovi. Potonje treba odbaciti jer su oni u pravilu posve nagi ili samo zaogrnuti plaštem. S druge strane, likovi odjeveni u tuniku i (ponekad) plašt, poput Atisa i/ili orijentalnih pastira, inače uobičajenih u grobnoj ikonografiji, prepoznatljivi su po osobitoj odjeći i gestikulaciji (Piccottini 1984: Kat. 301–306; Cambi 2003; Cambi 2010: 102–103); na ivanečkom spomeniku nema takvih elemenata. Od stvarnih osoba u obzir dolaze likovi muškaraca ravnopravni onima na glavnoj plohi, dakle mogući drugi pokojnik (UEL 3632), ili pak sluga s oružjem gospodara (pokojnika) (UEL 2488). Potonji prizor iskače iz obrasca prikaza slugu i ikonografijom i združivanjem s likom pokojnika. Uzevši sve u obzir, lik služavke s ručnikom i vrčem ipak nam se čini najvjerojatnijim, a njegovu logičnu ikonografsku cjelinu moguće je zamisliti rekonstrukcijom koja podrazumijeva još jedan kameni blok s portretom pokojnika na prednjoj strani i slugom na bočnoj, o čemu će biti riječi u poglavlju *Vrsta spomenika*.

Osim dvaju opisanih reljefa, klesani tragovi vidljivi su i na drugoj bočnoj plohi spomenika, na čijoj su neobrađenoj i izrazito neravnoj površini udubljene četiri isprekidane linije. Da su sačuvane u cijelosti, zatvarale bi se pod pravim kutom, oblikujući pravokutnik približne veličine 28 x 33 cm i ostavljajući vanjski obrub najveće širine 13 cm. Na donjem dijelu površine pravokutnika (27 cm od gornjeg i 5 cm od donjeg ruba) uočava se plitka pravokutna udubina veličine 4,5 x 1,5 cm i dubine od oko 1 cm (sl. 6). Usprkos neravnoj površini kamena i mnogim pukotinama, udubljenje je najvjerojatnije djelo klesara, koje je moguće protumačiti kao ostatak uređaja za spajanje s drugim kamenim blokom, na što upućuje i naznačeni pravokutnik. Međutim, opisani elementi smještajem ne odgovaraju uobičajenom objašnjenju u spomenutom okviru. Naime, različita tehnička pomagala u vidu udubina, koja su služila spajanju blokova pomoću metalnih dijelova, kao i njihovu podizanju, nalaze se uvijek na gornjim ili donjim površinama (Klemenc et al. 1972: 13; Kremer 2001: 13–14). S obzirom na položaj reljefnih prizora,

that comes to mind in this context is servants. Sometimes depicted with grown-up hair styles, they also frequently had hair that was longer and thicker than usual, sometimes covering the neck or, even, the ears (Piccottini 1977: T. 20: 243, 245; 22: 252). However, we are not familiar with examples of servants arranged in the position shown on the Ivanec tombstone: if their head is turned to the right and their left arm pressed close to the body, their right arm is usually lowered (Piccottini 1977: T. 17: 230; 28: 276; UEL 3644). Having taken into consideration all the elements mentioned above, we believe that it is more likely that the described figure represents a female servant with a jug in her right arm and a towel thrown over her right shoulder, than a male servant in various potential positions. If this assumption is true, the Ivanec stone is specific because it shows a servant and a portrait of the deceased, contrary to standard patterns of Norico-Pannonian funerary iconography which depict two servants alone, with no portrait of the deceased (Piccottini 1977; Migotti 2001: 60–65). It is, however, necessary to mention other possible interpretations deriving from the analogies presented in the chapter *Type of funerary monument*: real or mythological figures. The latter should be discarded because, as a rule, they are fully naked or merely wrapped in a cloak. On the other hand, figures wearing tunics and (sometimes) cloaks, such as Attis and/or Oriental shepherds, common in funerary iconography, are recognisable by their particular clothes or gesticulation (Piccottini 1984: Cat. 301–306; Cambi 2003; Cambi 2010: 102–103). There are no such elements on the Ivanec tombstone. As for real persons, we can take into consideration male figures equal to those on the main surface, i.e. perhaps another deceased (UEL 3632) or a male servant with the weapon of his master (the deceased) (UEL 2488). The latter is not consistent with the pattern of depicting slaves both because of its iconography and because it is joined with the figure of the deceased. Taking all this into account, we believe the figure of a female servant with a towel and a jug to be the most probable interpretation; to see it as a logical iconographic whole, one should imagine a reconstruction involving another block of stone decorated with the portrait of the deceased at the front and a male servant on the side, of which more will be said in the chapter entitled *Type of funerary monument*.

In addition to the two reliefs described, traces of carving are also visible on the other side surface of the tombstone which is rough, extremely uneven and displays four hollowed-out dashed lines. Had they been preserved in their entirety, they would have met at right angles, creating a rectangle approximately 28 x 33 cm in size and leaving an external border, 13 cm wide at its widest point. In the lower part of the rectangle (27 cm from the upper and 5 cm from the lower edge) a shallow rectangular hollow can be observed, 4.5 x 1.5 cm in size and approximately 1 cm deep (Fig. 6). Although the stone's surface is uneven and heavily cracked, the hollow was most probably created by the stone carver and can be seen as the remains of a device designed to join it to the other stone block, which is also indicated by the rectangle itself. In this case, however, the position



očito je da je kod ivanečkog kamena posrijedi bočna ploha. S druge strane, bočna ploha jest uobičajeno mjesto za pomoćne linije koje olakšavaju usporedno spajanje kamenih blokova (Kremer 2001: 14). Zanimarimo li stoga udubinu kao nerazjašnjenu pojavu (napušteni stupanj obrade bloka radi promjene koncepcije spomenika?, trag sekundarne uporabe spomenika u romaničkoj fazi?), naznačeni pravokutnik mogao bi upućivati na složenu građevinu od koje je sačuvan samo dio jednog bloka.

Nekoliko pojedinosti glavnog prizora omogućuje okvirno datiranje spomenika. Frizura poput one koju ima pokojnik pojavljuje se tijekom čitavog 3. i 4. stoljeća (Migotti 2010: 112–113). Međutim, to se prije svega odnosi na njen vanjski obris, dok je razmjerno živa reljefna razrada duguljastih pramenova prije odlika 3. stoljeća negoli 4. (usp. Bergmann 1977: 67–86, Taf. 20–23, osobito Taf. 20: 3–4; Cambi 2000: 71–72, kat. 111). Osnovno obilježje muškog portreta u 3. stoljeću jest brada, ali postoje i iznimke, najčešće povezane s prikazivanjem mladih osoba (Migotti 2010: 112). Ipak, bore na vratu osobe portretirane na ivanečkom kamenu govore protiv takvog tumačenja. S druge strane, brada na portretu trećeg stoljeća varira od bujne obraslosti do jedva primjetnih dlačica, pa je moguće da se na oštećenom reljefu ona jednostavno ne razabire. Sagum sam po sebi ne sadrži dovoljno elemenata za pouzdano datiranje u 3. stoljeće, jer se, premda rjeđe, pojavljuje i na grobnim spomenicima u 2. stoljeću. Tek združen s vojničkim opasačem, prepoznatljivim po svojestvenoj okrugloj ili četvrtastoj kopči, pouzdan je pokazatelj za datiranje u 3. stoljeće (Pochmarski 1990; Migotti 2005a: 380; Migotti, u tisku). U našem slučaju dopušteno je sagum smatrati dodatnim osloncem za takvo datiranje, s obzirom na to da opisane portretne osobine pokojnika isključuju 2. stoljeće kao vrijeme nastanka spomenika. Osim toga, način i stil izvedbe u skladu je s klesarskim obrascima 3. stoljeća i općenito i u noričko-panonskom umjetničkom krugu. Riječ je o dubokim, krutim, žljebastim, usporednim naborima koji naglašavaju igru svjetla i sjene, a njihova unutrašnja logika počiva na usporednim linijama, zanemarujući oblik tijela i vjerojatnu različitu strukturu (debljinu, mekoću) tkanina saguma i tunike (Bergmann 1977: 26, Taf. 39: 5; Kastelic 1998: 160; Gregl, Migotti, 2000: 126–128; Newby 2007). Ipak, način prikazivanja odjeće ne pokazuje posvemašnju plošnost i linearnost, svojstvenu skulpturi 4. stoljeća (usp. Migotti 1996: 140–142). S obzirom na to da je sagum uobičajeni dio muške odjeće i u 4. stoljeću, treba imati na umu da pri kraju 3. stoljeća okruglu kopču zamjenjuje lukovičasta (Pochmarski 1990: 530; Gregl, Migotti 2000: 144, 150; Kremer 2001: 19). Na temelju svih nabrojanih elemenata, spomenik iz Ivanca datirali bismo u 3. stoljeće, uključujući sam početak stoljeća, ali ne i njegov kraj.

### 3. Vrsta spomenika

Izričita povezanost oblika različitih vrsta grobnih spomenika (edikulâ, arâ, cipusa, stelâ, urni, sarkofaga) te sadržaja i rasporeda njihovih ukrasa svjedoči da posrijedi nije slučajnost nego zakonitost u nastanku i razvitku njihove

of the elements is not consistent with standard explanations. Technical devices such as hollows, used to erect or join blocks by means of metal parts, were always located on the upper or lower surfaces of stones (Klemenc et al. 1972: 13; Kremer 2001: 13–14). Judging by the position of the reliefs, it is obvious that, in the case of the Ivanec stone, we are dealing with a side surface. On the other hand, the side surface is the usual location for the layout marks which facilitate the parallel joining of blocks of stone (Kremer 2001: 14). Thus, if we disregard the hollow as unexplained (carving abandoned due to a change in the concept of the tombstone? traces of its reuse in the Romanesque phase?), the rectangle might be indicative of a complex structure of which only a part of one block has been preserved.

Several details of the main image allow for an approximate dating of the tombstone. Hair styles resembling the one sported by the deceased appear throughout the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries (Migotti 2010: 112–113). This, however, primarily pertains to its contours, while the rather lively and elaborated relief of the elongated locks is more characteristic of the 3<sup>rd</sup> than the 4<sup>th</sup> century (cf. Bergmann 1977: 67–86, T. 20–23, in particular T. 20: 3–4; Cambi 2000: 71–72, cat. 111). The main feature of 3<sup>rd</sup>-century male portraits was the beard, although there were exemptions, mostly with respect to younger persons (Migotti 2010: 112). However, the wrinkles on the neck of the person portrayed on the Ivanec stone speak against this interpretation. On the other hand, as beards on 3<sup>rd</sup> century portraits vary from great thickness to barely visible hairs, it is possible that it cannot be discerned on the damaged relief. Usually, the sagum in itself is insufficient to reliably date it to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century because, albeit rarely, it also appears on the tombstones from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Only in conjunction with the military belt, recognisable by the typical circular or rectangular buckle, can it be a reliable indicator of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (Pochmarski 1990; Migotti 2005a: 380; Migotti, in press). In this case, however, the sagum may be used to support the dating because the described characteristics of the deceased's portrait exclude the 2<sup>nd</sup> century as the time of the tombstone's creation. In addition to that, the manner and style of work are in keeping with 3<sup>rd</sup>-century stone-masons' practices, both generally and within the Norico-Pannonian artistic circle: deep, rigid, groove-like, parallel folds accentuating the play of light and shadow; their internal logic rests on the parallel lines, disregarding the shape of the body and the probably different structure (thickness, softness) of the cloths of the sagum and the tunic (Bergmann 1977: 26, T. 39: 5; Kastelic 1998: 160; Gregl, Migotti, 2000: 126–128; Newby 2007). The manner in which clothes are represented, however, is not completely one-dimensional and linear, i.e. characteristic of 4<sup>th</sup>-century sculpture (cf. Migotti 1996: 140–142). Although the sagum was a standard part of the male costume also in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, we should bear in mind that, towards the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the circular fibula was replaced by a crossbow one (Pochmarski 1990: 530; Gregl, Migotti 2000: 144, 150; Kremer 2001: 19). Based on all of the above elements, we have dated the Ivanec tombstone back to the 3<sup>rd</sup>

formalne i ukrasne koncepcije, premda kronološki slijed tog zbivanja u pravilu ostaje nerazjašnjen (Gabelmann 1977: 225–227; Pflug 1989: 42–43, *passim*; Noelke 1996: 78–80; Verzár-Bass 1996: 247–255; Kremer 2001: 134–147, *passim*; Cambi 2010: 65, *passim*; Migotti 2010: 98–102). S obzirom na to, ponekad nije moguće odrediti kojoj kategoriji spomenik pripada, osobito ako je necjelovit ili znatno oštećen. Upravo je takav primjer kameni ulomak o kojemu se raspravlja u ovome radu, s time da je njegovo određenje dodatno otežano radi nejasnih obrisa lika na užoj strani. U kontekstu grobnih spomenika, portret pokojnika u sagumu uobičajeno se pojavljuje na stelama, urnama i sarkofazima (Migotti, u tisku). Međutim, prema sačuvanim dimenzijama i ukupnoj ikonografiji, odnosno prizorima na obje sačuvane površine, kamen iz Ivanca ne može se pripisati ni jednoj od spomenutih skupina. Usprkos njegove necjelovitosti, jasno je da posrijedi nije ulomak kamene urne ili sarkofaga, jer su to u osnovi recipijenti kojima debljina stijenki ne prelazi 20–ak cm.<sup>5</sup> Osim toga, portret na kamenu iz Ivanca nije smješten u niši nadsvođenoj noričko-panonskom volutom, veoma svojstvenom bočnim nišama prednje strane noričko-panonskih sarkofaga i urni.<sup>6</sup> Stela se pak uobičajeno definira kao spomenik namijenjen isključivo frontalnom pogledu, visine izrazito veće od širine, a širine veće od debljine. Primjerci znatno veće debljine približavaju se kategoriji grobnih oltara (ara), odnosno grobnih stupova (*cippus*, *Pfeilermonument*) (Pflug 1989: 1; Starac 2002: 62; Kremer 2001: 134–174). Istina je da i spomenici nedvojbeno definirani kao stele ponekad imaju bočne strane ukrašene, ali u pravilu ne prizorima koji bi po veličini ili sadržaju bili ravnopravni portretima na prednjoj strani. Bočne plohe stela uobičajeno su ukrašene biljnim motivima, mjestimice isprepletenima s malim životinjskim ili ljudskim likovima iz mitološke i alegorijske sfere (Hoffiller, Saria 1938: br. 455, *passim*; Gregl, Migotti 2000: 128, sl. 6, 155; Pflug 1989: kat. 18, *passim*). Kod stela visine oko 2 m bočne strane, ukrašene na opisani način, prosječne su debljine 20–30 cm; veća debljina upozorava na to da su posrijedi spomenici koji se ne mogu pouzdano smatrati stelama.<sup>7</sup> I u toj kategoriji neizbježni su granični primjeri, poput stele iz Odre kod Siska (Hoffiller, Saria 1938: br. 579). Ukupna visina tog spomenika nije poznata, ali njena širina (0,88 m) i tipološke analogije (Hoffiller, Saria 1938: br. 45, 47, 50, 53, 58) potvrđuju da najvjerojatnije nije dosizala visinu od 2 metra. Prema tome, na njen graničan položaj između plošnih i trodimenzionalnih spomenika upućuju dva detalja: razmjerno široke bočne strane (33 cm), ali i likovi sluge i služavke na njima. Prikazi slugu doživljavaju se naime kao prijelaz između čisto ukrasnih biljnih motiva i malih mitoloških likova, svoj-

5 Ipak, mjestimice se pojavljuju dvojbe oko određivanja fragmentarnih spomenika, u smislu razlikovanja ulomaka recipijenata i kamenih blokova. Tako se, primjerice, dva reljefna kamena ulomka iz Ptuja navode kao dijelovi sarkofaga (Djurić 2001a: 48, 58, Figs. 7, 8) i kao ugaoni dijelovi (*Eckblock*) grobne građevine (UEL 4219, 4220).

6 Alternativa su pravokutno omeđena polja. Usp. Djurić 2001a: 55, Fig. 2; Djurić 2001b: 127, Fig. 2. Poznat nam je smo jedan primjer jednostavnih lukova na takvim spomenicima (Celje: UEL 4077).

7 Usp. bilj. 8. Navedeni omjer debljine ne odnosi se na izrazito velike primjerke, poput poznate Orfejeve stele u Ptuju (UEL 3106). Njene su bočne plohe, ukrašene nizom mitoloških likova, debele 0,39 m; s obzirom na visinu spomenika (4,94 m), ta debljina odgovara razmjerno uskim bočnim stranama stela prosječne veličine.

century, including the very beginning of the century but not the end.

### 3. Type of funerary monument

The unmistakable links that exist between different types of funerary monuments (aediculae, arae, cippi, stelae, urns, sarcophagi), as well as the content and the layout of their decorations, tell us that this is not a coincidence but a pattern followed in the creation and development of their formal and decorative concept, even though, as a rule, the chronological order remains unclear (Gabelmann 1977: 225–227; Pflug 1989: 42–43, *passim*; Noelke 1996: 78–80; Verzár-Bass 1996: 247–255; Kremer 2001: 134–147, *passim*; Cambi 2010: 65, *passim*; Migotti 2010: 98–102). With this in mind, it is sometimes not possible to determine which category a monument belongs to, in particular when incomplete or badly damaged. The stone fragment discussed in this text is one such example, its defining rendered even more difficult by the unclear outlines of the figure on its narrow side. In funerary monuments, portraits of the deceased in a sagum commonly appear on stelae, urns and sarcophagi (Migotti, in press). However, the preserved dimensions and the overall iconography, i.e. the scenes on both preserved surfaces of the Ivanec stone prevent us from assigning it to any of these groups. In spite of its incompleteness, it is clearly not a fragment of a stone urn or a sarcophagus because they are receptacles and the thickness of their walls does not exceed some 20 cm.<sup>5</sup> Also, the portrait on the Ivanec stone is not placed in a niche vaulted by a Norico-Pannonian volute, highly characteristic of the lateral niches at the front of Norico-Pannonian sarcophagi and urns.<sup>6</sup> A stele is commonly defined as a funerary monument intended exclusively for frontal viewing, much higher than wide and wider than thick. Much thicker pieces are closer to the category of grave altars (arae) and grave pillars (*cippus*, *Pfeilermonument*) (Pflug 1989: 1; Starac 2002: 62; Kremer 2001: 134–174). True, the sides of funerary monuments defined beyond doubt as stelae were also sometimes decorated, but, as a rule, not by scenes equal in size or content to the portraits at the front. Side surfaces of stelae are usually decorated with vegetal motifs, sometimes intertwined with small mythological or allegorical animal or human figures (Hoffiller, Saria 1938: no. 455, *passim*; Gregl, Migotti 2000: 128, Fig. 6, 155; Pflug 1989: cat. 18, *passim*). In stelae that are approximately 2 metres tall, the sides that are thus decorated are on average 20–30 cm thick; larger thickness indicates monuments that cannot

5 There have, however, been occasional doubts about the definition of fragmented funerary monuments in terms of distinguishing between fragments of receptacles and stone blocks. Thus, for instance, two stone relief fragments from Ptuj are listed as parts of a sarcophagus (Djurić 2001a: 48, 58, Figs. 7, 8) and corner blocks (*Eckblock*) of a tomb (UEL 4219, 4220).

6 The alternative are fields with rectangular borders. Cf. Djurić 2001a: 55, Fig. 2; Djurić 2001b: 127, Fig. 2. We know of only one example of simple arches on such monuments (Celje: UEL 4077).



Sl. 7 Grobni spomenik iz Donjih Petrovaca, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu (UEL 4366)

Fig. 7 Tombstone from Donji Petrovci, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (UEL 4366)

stvenih bočnim stranama stela, te portreta (polu-likova ili čitavih likova pokojnika) karakterističnih za prednje strane stela. Istina je da se i na trodimenzionalnim spomenicima pojavljuju i mitološki i stvarni likovi, ali ni jedni ni drugi nisu podložni ikonografskoj perspektivi, odnosno vizualnom dočaravanju društvene ili religijske hijerarhije, kao što je to slučaj na stelama. Jedan spomenik iz Donjih Petrovaca (*Bassiana*) u Srijemu, danas u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu (UEL 4366 – *Grabaltar*), ivanečkom kamenu srodan je trodimenzionalnošću i osnovnom ikonografskom koncepcijom; on na osobit način održava granični položaj između stela i trodimenzionalnih spomenika i njihovo prepletanje na formalnoj i ikonografskoj razini. To je kameni blok nepoznate ukupne visine (sačuvana vis. 70 x 95 x 63 cm), na kojemu su sprijeda, u pravokutnoj niši poviše natpisa, prikazana poprsja bračnog para pokojnika. Usto, pokojnici su i pojedinačno prikazani na bočnim plohamo kao manji likovi, ali radi loma kamena nije poznato da li poprsjima ili čitavom visinom (Brunšmid 1909: br. 467; UEL 4366) (sl. 7).<sup>8</sup> Taj je blok u objavi nazvan *nadgrobni spomenikom*, bez bližeg određenja formalne kategorije.

Vratimo se skupini grobnih spomenika koji su, za razliku od plošnih stela, obilježeni naglašenom trodimenzionalnošću: oltarima (*Grabaltar*) i stupovima, odnosno cipusima (*Pfeiler*, *Schaftblock*) te ugaonim (*Eckblock*) i bočnim (*Seitenwand*, *Seitenwange*) kamenima grobnih građevina. U kontekstu sjevernoitalskog i noričko-panonskog prostora stupovi – cipusi imaju razdvojenu genezu u odnosu na bočne i ugaone dijelove grobnih građevina. Cipusi su izvorno kvadri umetnuti u ograde grobnih parcela, poznati u Akvileji i drugdje u sjevernoj Italiji (Pflug 1989: 37, Taf. 15, Taf. 39; Maselli Scotti 1997: 140–143, Fig. 5; Ortalli 1997: 346–347, Fig. 16; Tirelli 1997: 198–200, Fig. 24), dok su bočni i ugaoni kameni grobnih građevina svojstveni noričko-panonskom prostoru. Njihov izvorni obrazac, odnosno monumentalni

<sup>8</sup> Slični spomenici u Noriku objavljeni su kao dijelovi grobnih građevina (*Schaftblöcke*) (Kremer 2001: 253–254, Kat. II, 294–296). Teoretski, ovamo bi mogla pripadati i prije spomenuta stela iz Odre kod Siska.

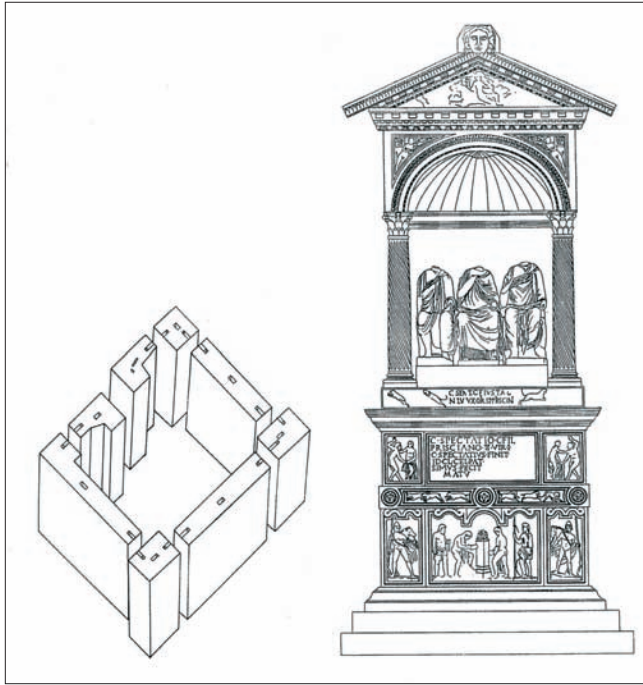
be reliably classified as stela.<sup>7</sup> Borderline cases cannot be avoided in this category either; one such case is the stele from Odra near Sisak (Hoffiller, Saria 1938: no. 579). Its total height is unknown, but its width (0.88 m) and typological analogies (Hoffiller, Saria 1938: no. 45, 47, 50, 53, 58) confirm that it was probably less than 2 metres high. We, thus, have two details that indicate its borderline position between flat and three-dimensional monuments: relatively wide sides (33 cm) and, on them, figures of a male and a female servant. Depictions of servants are seen as a transition between purely decorative vegetal motifs and small mythological figures, characteristic of the sides of stela, and portraits (half-figures or whole figures of the deceased) characteristic of the stela fronts. It is true that both mythological and real figures also appear on three-dimensional monuments, but they do not lend themselves well to iconographic perspective, i.e. they do not provide a visual depiction of a social or religious hierarchy, as do the stela. A tombstone from Donji Petrovci (*Bassiana*) in Srijem, currently at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (UEL 4366 – *Grabaltar*), is related to the Ivanec stone by virtue of its three-dimensionality and basic iconographic concept; in a specific manner, it reflects a borderline position between stela and three-dimensional funerary monuments and their intertwining at the formal and iconographic level. This is a stone of unknown total height (preserved height: 70 x 95 x 63 cm), at the front of which, in a rectangular niche above the inscription, are the busts of a deceased married couple. The deceased are also depicted individually, as smaller figures on the side surfaces, but due to the broken stone, we cannot tell whether as busts or in full height (Brunšmid 1909: no. 467; UEL 4366) (Fig. 7).<sup>8</sup> In the publication, this block was described as a *tombstone* without further definition of its formal category.

Let us go back to the group of funerary monuments which, unlike the flat stela, are characterised by pronounced three-dimensionality: altars (*Grabaltar*), pillars, that is, cippi (*Pfeiler*, *Schaftblock*) and corner- (*Eckblock*) and side- (*Seitenwand*, *Seitenwange*) stones of tombs. In the North Italian and Norico-Pannonian territories, the genesis of pillars – cippi, followed a course separate from that of the side- and corner parts of tombs. Originally, cippi were blocks inserted into the fences of grave plots, commonplace in Aquileia and elsewhere in northern Italy (Pflug 1989: 37, T. 15, T. 39; Maselli Scotti 1997: 140–143, Fig. 5; Ortalli 1997: 346–347, Fig. 16; Tirelli 1997: 198–200, Fig. 24), while the side- and corner stones of tombs were characteristic of the Norico-Pannonian area. Their original pattern, i.e. their “pure” form, is represented by the aediculae of the Šempeter necropolis, in particular on the grave of Spectatius Priscianus (Fig. 8). Today, the reconstructed Šempeter monuments still provi-

<sup>7</sup> Cf. note no. 8. This thickness ratio does not pertain to exceptionally large pieces, such as the well-known Orpheus stele in Ptuj (UEL 3106). Its side surfaces, decorated by a number of mythological figures, are 0.39 m thick; with respect to its height (4.94 m), the thickness corresponds to the proportionally narrow lateral sides of average-sized stela.

<sup>8</sup> Similar monuments in Noricum have been published as parts of tombs (*Schaftblöcke*) (Kremer 2001: 253–254, Cat. II, 294–296). In theory, the aforementioned stele from Odra near Sisak could belong here.





Sl. 8 Grafička rekonstrukcija grobnice Spektatija Priskijana, Šempeter (prema Djurić 2001b)

Fig. 8 Graphic reconstruction of the tomb of Spectatius Priscianus, Šempeter (after Djurić 2001b)

“čisti” oblik, zastupljen je u edikulama nekropole u Šempeteru, osobito na grobnici Spektatija Priskijana (Spectatius Priscianus) (sl. 8); rekonstrukcije šempeterskih spomenika i danas su osnova za proučavanje grobnih građevina Norika i Panonije (Klemenc et al. 1972: 14–18; Kastelic 1998: 203–209; Djurić 2001b: 128–129; Kremer 2001: 10, 13, 27–52). U provincijalnom kontekstu raspoloživa građa ne dopušta pouzdano razlikovanje opisanih dviju skupina spomenika, a često ni njihovo razlikovanje od naglašeno trodimenzionalnih dijelova grobnih građevina. Reljefi na svim tim spomenicima noričko-panonskog prostora pretežno sadrže mitološke prizore i likove, uključujući i personifikacije, te likove slugu i služavki, upravo kao na paradigmatskim primjerima iz Šempetera (Piccottini 1977; Ertel et al. 1999: 93–94, Kat. 139–141, 144; UEL 2767, 2885, 2888, 2984, 3944, 10627, 10661, itd.). Rjeđi primjeri na kojima se pojavljuju portreti pokojnika bit će navedeni u usporednoj građi dalje u tekstu. Preostaju još grobni oltari. U svome izvornom obliku, preuzetom od zavjetne are, oni su jasno određeni i lako prepoznatljivi po bazama, kruništima i natpisima na prednjoj strani. Međutim, u provincijalno-grobnom kontekstu gube osnovne elemente prvobitnog oblika; u jednostavnoj varijanti izgledaju poput grobnih kvadra, odnosno stupova – cipusa (Piccottini 1977: 17, Kat. 179, 180), a u raskošnom vidu razvijaju se u podvrstu grobnih građevina (Kremer 2001: 134–139). Njihova se ikonografija pritom isprepliće s ikonografijom stela i grobnih edikula, što između ostalog znači da se obogaćuju arhitektonskim elementima i portretima.<sup>9</sup> Norički su oltari naime

<sup>9</sup> Na poteškoće u formalno-tipološkom razvrstavanju upućuju, primjerice, izrazi *Aedikulastelen*, *Altarstelen* i *Pfeilerstelen* (Pflug 1989: 39, 47–49). O oltarima s elementima drugih spomenika, prije svega stela, usp. Gabelmann 1977: 234–244; Compostella 1997: 227–228, Fig. 13; Noelke 1996: 78–80; Kremer 2001: 24–25, 355; Migotti 2010: 98–102.

de the basis for studying the Norican and Pannonian tombs (Klemenc et al. 1972: 14–18; Kastelic 1998: 203–209; Djurić 2001b: 128–129; Kremer 2001: 10, 13, 27–52). The material available in the context of provincial customs does not allow us to distinguish with confidence either between the two groups, or, frequently, between them and the pronouncedly three-dimensional parts of tombs. The reliefs on all these Norico-Pannonian funerary monuments contain predominantly mythological scenes and figures, including personifications and figures of male and female servants, just like the paradigmatic pieces from Šempeter (Piccottini 1977; Ertel et al. 1999: 93–94, Cat. 139–141, 144; UEL 2767, 2885, 2888, 2984, 3944, 10627, 10661, etc.). Less frequent pieces displaying portraits of the deceased will be mentioned in the section on comparative materials further on in the text. What remains are grave altars. In their original form, taken from the votive aerae, they are clearly defined and easily recognizable by their bases, crowns and inscriptions at the front. In the context of provincial funerary customs, however, they lost the basic elements of their original form; their simple variants resemble grave blocks or pillars – cippi (Piccottini 1977: 17, Cat. 179, 180), while their more luxurious form developed into a sub-type of aedicula (Kremer 2001: 134–139). In the process, their iconography became intertwined with the iconography of the stelae and grave aediculae, which, among other things, means that they were enriched by architectural elements and portraits.<sup>9</sup> Norican altars took, and further developed, both the forms and the iconography of their northern Italic counterparts. Their iconography included the inscription at the front, along with various scenes on the opposing side surfaces: entire figures of the deceased, Dionysian thiasos, dolphins, mourning erotes, Orientals, Attis, shepherds, etc. (Gabelmann 1977: 205–206, 237–238; Cambi 2003: 513). The greatest change in the development of the Norican altar iconography occurred when the portraits of the deceased were replaced by the figures of male/female servants (Gabelmann 1977: 238; Piccottini 1977). Two specific features which appeared in the formal and iconographic development of Norican grave altars should also be emphasized: the depiction of entire figures or busts of the deceased in round niches, and reliefs on three or four surfaces and not just on opposing sides (Gabelmann 1977: 210–215, Fig. 12, 13, 16; Compostella 1997: 231, Fig. 13; Migotti 2010, 100–101, Fig. 6.)

It follows from all this that, when looking for the formal group that the Ivanec stone belongs to, we must search among the pronouncedly three-dimensional funerary monuments: altars, pillars and corner and side stones (blocks) of tombs. In addition to the described borderline specimens that defy clear categorisation, the identification of individual forms and the establishment of clear patterns for the classification and differentiation of these funerary monuments

<sup>9</sup> For instance, the terms *Aedikulastelen*, *Altarstelen* and *Pfeilerstelen* are indicative of the difficulties encountered in the formal and typological classification (Pflug 1989: 39, 47–49). For altars containing elements of other monuments, primarily stelae, cf. Gabelmann 1977: 234–244; Compostella 1997: 227–228, Fig. 13; Noelke 1996: 78–80; Kremer 2001: 24–25, 355; Migotti 2010: 98–102.



Sl. 9 Bočna strana grobnog kamena iz Leibnitz (UEL 1245)  
Fig. 9 Side of the tombstone from Leibnitz (UEL 1245)

od onih sjevernoitalskih preuzeli, ali i dalje razvijali, i oblike i ikonografiju. Potonja podrazumijeva natpis na prednjoj strani združen s različitim prizorima na nasuprotnim bočnim ploham: čitavim likovima pokojnika, dionizijskom pratnjom, dupinima, žalobnim erotima, orijentalcima, odnosno Atisom, pastirima i slično (Gabelmann 1977: 205–206, 237–238; Cambi 2003: 513). Najveća promjena u razvitku ikonografije noričkog oltara ogleda se u zamjeni portreta pokojnika likovima slugu/služavki (Gabelmann 1977: 238; Piccottini 1977). Važno je naglasiti i to da su se u formalno-ikonografskom razvitku noričkog grobnog oltara pojavile dvije osobitosti: prikazivanje čitavih likova ili poprsja pokojnika u oblim nišama, te reljefi na tri i četiri strane, a ne samo na nasuprotnima (Gabelmann 1977: 210–215, Fig. 12, 13, 16; Compostella 1997: 231, Fig. 13; Migotti 2010, 100–101, sl. 6).

Iz svega proizlazi da formalnu skupinu kojoj pripada reljefni kamen iz Ivanca treba tražiti među naglašeno trodimenzionalnim grobnim spomenicima: oltarima i stupovima te kutnim i bočnim kamenima (kvadrima) grobnih građevina. Osim već spomenutih graničnih primjera koji izmiču jasnoj kategorizaciji, prepoznavanje pojedinačnih oblika i uspostavljanje jasnih obrazaca razvrstavanja i razlikovanja navedenih grobnih spomenika otežano je njihovom necjelovitošću i činjenicom da nigdje nisu pronađeni u jasnom

are rendered even more difficult by their incompleteness and the fact that they have never been found in a clearly defined funerary context.<sup>10</sup> Consequently, the definition of individual monuments is sometimes questioned in literature (Piccottini 1977: no. 173, *passim*; Kremer 2001: 175–282); sometimes, however, fragments of identical formal and iconographic characteristics are referred to as altars and sometimes as grave blocks. This primarily pertains to the specimens decorated by the so-called Norico-Pannonian volute, which is highly characteristic of the iconography of tombs, urns and sarcophagi, and only sporadically found on altars (Eckhart 1976: br. 90; Piccottini 1977: br. 1, br. 203; Kremer 2001: 138, Abb. 91).

When defining the category of the Ivanec stone, we are faced with several difficulties. The first is its incompleteness. The second is that, formally speaking, it falls under three-dimensional monuments, even though iconographic comparisons place it closer to the images on the stelae, sarcophagi and urns. Finally, comparative samples serving as the basis for its definition are questionable themselves due to their own incompleteness and/or the fact that they are built-in. We therefore searched for comparisons primarily among human figures in arch-vaulted niches on the neighbouring surfaces of a block of stone, where at least one of the figures is a portrait, and not a mythological creature, personification or a servant. Military portraits were also taken into consideration because the sagum is indicative (without confirming) of military iconography, of which there will be mention later. In addition to that, it has transpired that, as a rule, potential comparative specimens bear images of soldiers. In case of niches, comparisons with a simple arch are ideal, although those with a Norico-Pannonian vault have also been taken into consideration, as well as the rectangular ones, as both appear on all types of Norico-Pannonian tombstones. However, even with such “concessions”, comparative material is fairly rare, at least in the literature available to us. In the area surrounding Amstetten (the territory of Lauriacum), there is a stone (35 x 100 x 37 cm) that has two preserved relief surfaces. Its front surface bears the image of an entire man, wearing a tunic (presumably the deceased<sup>11</sup>), holding an axe in his left hand, situated in a gable niche; in the side rectangular niche is the figure of a mourning eros (Eckhart 1976: no. 90a, b [*Grabaltar*]; UEL 527 [*Eckblock*]). On a fairly damaged block of stone from the area of Leibnitz (Flavia Solva), decorated on three sides (male servant, female portrait?, maenad), the niche bearing the image of a male servant is vaulted by a simple arch (UEL 1245 [*Grabpfeiler*] (Fig. 9)).<sup>12</sup> Shaped in the same way is a niche on an unfinished corner stone of an aedicula from Poetovio, 65 x 82 x 30

10 Unlike Šempeter, not even the approximate context is known for the majority of individual finds from the necropolises of other Norican towns or minor settlements. In some places, we know the distribution of the monuments and their plans, but not the original position of relief stone blocks (Ubl 1979: 56; Kremer 2001: 283–313).

11 In a similar example from Duell, G. Kremer (2001: 163, 386, Kat. I, 198) doubts, with good reason, the portrait nature of such a scene.

12 A niche of identical shape is discernible on one of the two surfaces on the side of the inscription field of an unfinished stone urn from Celje (Celeia) (UEL 4077).





Sl. 10 Ugaoni kamen grobne edikule iz Petovione (UEL 4214)  
Fig. 10 Corner stone of a grave aedicula from Poetovio (UEL 4214)

grobnom kontekstu.<sup>10</sup> Stoga se određenje pojedinačnih spomenika u literaturi ponekad stavlja pod znak pitanja (Piccottini 1977: br. 173 i d.; Kremer 2001: 175–282), ili se pak ulomci jednakih formalno-ikonografskih osobina nazivaju negdje oltarima, a negdje grobnim kvadrirama. To se prije svega odnosi na primjerke ukrašene takozvanom noričko-panonskom volutom, koja je izrazito svojstvena ikonografiji grobnih građevina, urni i sarkofaga, a tek mjestimice primjenjuje se i na oltarima (Eckhart 1976: br. 90; Piccottini 1977: br. 1, br. 203; Kremer 2001: 138, Abb. 91).

Pri određivanju kategorije kamena iz Ivanca suočeni smo s nekoliko poteškoća. Prva je njegova necjelovitost. Drugo je to što formalno spada među trodimenzionalne spomenike, premda su mu ikonografske usporedbe bliže prizorima na stelama, sarkofazima i urnama. Konačno, usporedni primjerci na kojima temeljimo njegovo određenje i sami su upitni radi vlastite necjelovitosti i/ili činjenice da su uzidani. Usporedbe smo prije svega tražili među ljudskim likovima u lučno zasvođenim nišama na susjednim plohamma kamenog bloka, gdje je barem jedan od likova portret, a ne mitološko biće, personifikacija ili sluga. U obzir su uzeti i vojnički portreti stoga što sagum nagovješćuje (ali ne potvrđuje) vojničku ikonografiju, o čemu će još biti riječi. Osim toga, pokazalo se da su na mogućim usporednim primjercima

<sup>10</sup>Za razliku od Šempetera, većini pojedinačnih nalaza na nekropolama drugih noričkih gradova ili manjih mjesta nije poznat ni približan kontekst. Mjestimice je poznat raspored spomenika i njihovi tlocrti, ali ne i izvorni položaj reljefnih kamenih blokova (Ubl 1979: 56; Kremer 2001: 283–313).



Sl. 11 Grobni kamen iz Köttmannsdorfa (UEL 2488)  
Fig. 11 Tombstone from Köttmannsdorf (UEL 2488)

cm in size (UEL 4214) (Fig. 10) and a niche on a corner block displaying the figure of a mourning eros from Kematen an der Krems (Kremer 2001: 220–221, Cat. II, 154a). A corner stone (58 x 118 x 48 cm) from Poetovio has both rectangular niches, one bearing the portrait of an armoured soldier and the neighbouring one the personification of a season in the shape of a woman carrying a basket on her shoulder (UEL 5942). A rectangular niche on the corner stone (45 x 45 x 63 cm) of a grave fence from Veszprém bears the image of a soldier in a sagum holding a spear in his right hand (Ertel et al. 1999: 95, Cat. 144). The niches on a stone from Köttmannsdorf, in the territory of Roman Virunum (64 x 96 x 41 cm), are rectangular, but their potential indirect iconographic kinship with the Ivanec tombstone is reflected in the fact that the front bears the image of an armed soldier, and its neighbouring side, an image of a male servant with a weapon in his hand (Kremer 2001: 152–153, Cat. I, 139 [Pfeilertypus – Schaft]; UEL 2488 [Eckblock]) (Fig. 11). A stone from Linz should most probably be added to the same type of tombstones: a semi-circular niche on the front bears the half-figure of a *togatus*, possibly holding a roll in his hand, while a mourning eros is displayed in a rectangular side niche (Kremer 2001: 272, Cat. II, 384 [Schaftblock?]; UEL 543 [Grabpfeiler]) (Fig. 12). A stone (53 x 32 x 93 cm) with an arched front niche and a rectangular side niche was found in Danielsberg (territory of Roman Teurnia); the former niche contains the standing figure of a soldier wearing a belted tunic and a sagum, holding a sword in his left hand and a centurion's staff in his right, while the latter contains the standing figure of a soldier in a tunic with a helmet on his head and a spear in his right hand (Kremer 2001: 81, Kat. 1,23





Sl. 12 Grobni kamen iz Linza (UEL 543)

Fig. 12 Tombstone from Linz (UEL 543)

rima u pravilu prikazani portreti vojnika. Kad je u pitanju niša, idealne su usporedbe s jednostavnim lučnim presvođenjem, ali su ipak uzete u obzir i one nadsvođene noričko-panonskom volutom, kao i one pravokutne, s obzirom na to da se i jedne i druge pojavljuju na svim vrstama noričko-panonskih grobnih spomenika. Ipak, i s takvim "ustupcima", usporedna građa prilično je oskudna, barem u nama dostupnoj literaturi. Iz okolice Amstetena (područje Laurijaka / *Lauriacum*) potječe kamen (35 x 100 x 37 cm) od kojega su sačuvane dvije reljefne plohe. Na prednjoj je prikazan cijeli lik čovjeka u tunici (pretpostavljenog pokojnika<sup>11</sup>), sa sjekirrom u lijevoj ruci, smještenog u zabatnoj niši; u bočnoj pravokutnoj niši lik je tugujućeg erota (Eckhart 1976: br. 90a, b [*Grabaltar*]; UEL 527 [*Eckblock*]). Na prilično oštećenom kamenom bloku s područja Leibniza (*Flavia Solva*), ukrašenom na tri strane (sluga, ženski portret?, menada), niša s prikazom sluge bila je presvođena jednostavnim lukom (UEL 1245 [*Grabpfeiler*]) (sl. 9).<sup>12</sup> Na isti način oblikovana je niša na nedovršenom ugaonom kamenu edikule iz Petovione (*Poetovio*), vel. 65 x 82 x 30 cm (UEL 4214) (sl. 10), kao i na ugaonom kamenu s likom žalobnog erota iz Kematena (Kematen an der Krems) (Kremer 2001: 220–221, Kat. II, 154a). Iz Petovione potječe ugaoni kamen (58 x 118 x 48 cm) na kojemu su obje niše pravokutne; na jednoj je strani portret vojnika u

11 U sličnom primjeru iz Duela, G. Kremer (2001: 163, 386, Kat. I, 198) s pravom sumnja u portretnu narav takvog prizora.

12 Potpuno jednak oblik niše naznačen je na jednoj od dviju ploha sa strane natpisnog polja nedovršene kamene urne iz Celja (*Celeia*) (UEL 4077).



Sl. 13 Grobni kamen iz Danielsberga (UEL 3632)

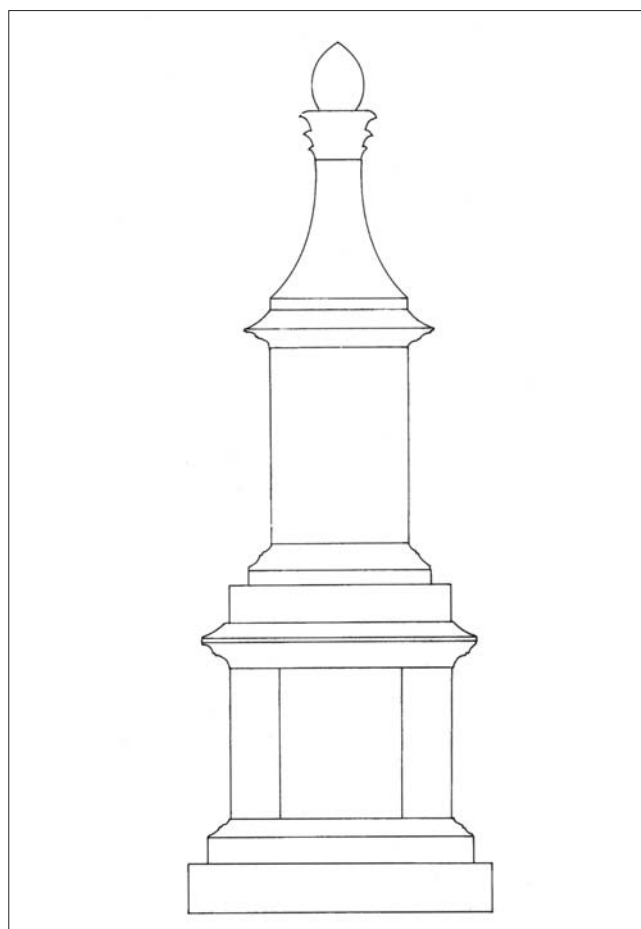
Fig. 13 Tombstone from Danielsberg (UEL 3632)

[*Seitenwand*]; UEL 3632 [*Eckblock*]) (Fig. 13). A stone from Roman Virunum (40 x 72 x ? cm) is built in so that only one of the sides is visible today: it has a rectangular niche displaying the entire figure of a male servant wearing a tunic, holding a helmet in his right arm and a shield in his left; it is described as a tomb relief (UEL 2023).

The presented selection of comparative material does not contain a single specimen that is either identical to the Ivanec tombstone or related to it in all details; their similarities only manifest themselves in particular iconographic or formal elements. Within this framework and on the assumption that the Ivanec stone bears the image of two deceased people or, even more probably, a deceased and his male or female servant, we find the comparisons with tombstones showing two human figures on neighbouring surfaces to be the most relevant (UEL 2488, 3632). The first one, with rectangular niches, has been interpreted as a possible grave pillar (*Grabpfeiler*?), and the other one, with one arched and one rectangular niche, as a corner stone of a tomb. When defining the category of the Ivanec stone, we must bear in mind that simple arched niches can be found on all types of funerary monuments: urns (UEL 4077), sarcophagi (UEL

oklopu, a na susjednoj plohi prikazana je personifikacija godišnjeg doba u liku žene s košarom na ramenu (UEL 5942). Na ugaonom kamenu (45 x 45 x 63 cm) grobne ograde iz Veszpréma, u pravokutnoj je niši prikazan vojnik u sagumu, s kopljem u desnici (Ertel et al. 1999: 95, Kat. 144). Na kamenu iz Köttmannsdorfa, s područja rimskog *Virunuma* (64 x 96 x 41 cm), niše su pravokutne, ali se moguća posredna ikonografska srodnost sa spomenikom iz Ivanca ogleđa u tome što je na prednjoj strani prikazan lik naoružanog vojnika, a na njemu susjednoj bočnoj, lik sluga s oružjem u ruci (Kremer 2001: 152–153, Kat. I, 139 [*Pfeilertypus – Schaft*]; UEL 2488 [*Eckblock*]) (sl. 11). Istom tipu spomenika najvjerojatnije treba pribrojiti jedan kamen iz Linza, gdje je u polukružnoj niši na prednjoj strani prikazan polu-lik *togatus*-a, moguće sa svitkom u ruci, a na bočnoj tugujući erot u pravokutnoj niši (Kremer 2001: 272, Kat. II, 384 [*Schaftblock?*]; UEL 543 [*Grabpfeiler*]) (sl. 12). U Danielsbergu (područje rimske *Teurnije / Teurnia*) nađen je kamen (53 x 32 x 93 cm) s lučnom prednjom i pravokutnom bočnom nišom. U prvoj je prikazan stojeći lik vojnika u opasanoj tunici i sagumu, s mačem u lijevoj ruci i centurionskim štapom u desnoj, a u drugoj isto stojeći lik vojnika u tunici, s kacigom na glavi i kopljem u desnoj ruci (Kremer 2001: 81, Kat. 1,23 [*Seitenwand*]; UEL 3632 [*Eckblock*]) (sl. 13). Kamen s područja rimskog *Virunuma* (40 x 72 x ? cm) uzidan je tako da mu se danas vidi samo bočna strana, na kojoj je u pravokutnoj niši prikazan čitavi lik sluga u tunici, s kacigom u desnoj ruci i štitom u lijevoj; opisan je kao reljef grobne građevine (UEL 2023).

Pređeni izbor usporedne građe ne sadrži ni jedan primjerak posve istovjetan ili u svim pojedinostima srodan spomeniku iz Ivanca; na svakome od njih sličnosti se očituju tek u pojedinim ikonografskim ili formalnim elementima. U predočenom okviru, i uz pretpostavku da su na ivanečkom kamenu prikazana dva pokojnika ili, što je još vjerojatnije, pokojnik i njegov sluga, odnosno služavka, najznakovitijima nam se čine usporedbe sa spomenicima na kojima su prikazana dva ljudska lika na susjednim ploham (UEL 2488, 3632). Prvi, s pravokutnim nišama, protumačen je kao moguće grobni stup (*Grabpfeiler?*), a drugi, s jednom lučnom i jednom pravokutnom nišom, kao kutni kamen grobne građevine. Pri određivanju kategorije kamena iz Ivanca treba imati na umu da se jednostavne lučne niše susreću na svim vrstama grobnih spomenika: urnama (UEL 4077), sarkofazima (UEL 3019), oltarima (Kremer 2001: 29, Abb. 6; Piccottini 1977: 27, Kat. 203) i dijelovima grobnih građevina (UEL 543, 3632, 4214; Kremer 2001: Taf. 25: II, 154a). Prema tome, određenje našeg spomenika ostaje dvojbeno radi njegove necjelovitosti: mogao je biti bilo što u rasponu od jednostavnog oltara ili stupa, do dijela grobne građevine nepoznatog tipa. Ipak, klesarske linije na jednoj od bočnih ploha, kao i izložene analogije, upućuju na pretpostavku o ugaonom ili bočnom kamenu grobne građevine, ili pak donjem dijelu složenog grobnog stupa. Na potonju mogućnost upozorava spomenik iz Linza (Kremer 2001: 272, Kat. II, 384; UEL 543), ne samo radi polukružne prednje niše, nego i radi pilastara koji ju omeđuju (sl. 12). U ovome kontekstu znakovit je podatak da grobni stupovi u provinciji Retiji



Sl. 14 Pretpostavljena rekonstrukcija noričkog grobnog stupa (prema Kremer 2001: Abb. 166)

Fig. 14 Presumed reconstruction of a Norican grave pillar (after Kremer 2001: Abb. 166)

3019), altars (Kremer 2001: 29, Abb. 6; Piccottini 1977: 27, Cat. 203) and parts of aediculae (UEL 543, 3632, 4214; Kremer 2001: T. 25: II, 154a). Consequently, due to its incompleteness, the definition of our tombstone remains ambiguous: it could have been anything from a simple altar or pillar to a part of an aedicula of unknown type. Still, the stone carving lines on one of the side surfaces and the aforementioned analogies lead us to assume that this is a corner or side stone of a tomb or, alternatively, the lower portion of a complex grave pillar. A tombstone from Linz (Kremer 2001: 272, Cat. II, 384; UEL 543) points to the latter, not only because of its semi-circular front niche, but also because of the bordering pilasters (Fig. 12). The fact that, in their development, grave pillars from the province of Raetia, characteristic for their portraits, show either a reduction in, or a complete absence of, side pilasters, is highly significant in this context (Kremer 2001: 354–355). In spite of the fact that, in our description, we established that the Ivanec stone showed no traces of architectural elements, it is possible that pilasters did exist but were so badly damaged that traces of only one remain, shaped as a corbel. Accordingly, in the imagined reconstruction mentioned under *Description and dating of the tombstone*, the Ivanec stone could be seen as a corner block of the lower part of a complex grave pillar which, together with another identical stone, outlined the central surface





Sl. 15 Ulomci rimskih keramičkih posuda (snimila S. Čule)  
 Fig. 15 Fragments of Roman ceramic vessels (photo: S. Čule)

(Raetia), kojima je inače svojstven portret, u svom razvoju pokazuju reduciranje ili izostanak bočnih pilastara (Kremer 2001: 354–355). Usprkos tome što smo pri opisu ustanovili da na kamenu iz Ivanca nema tragova arhitektonskih elemenata, moguće je da su pilastri ipak postojali i da su toliko oštećeni da je od jednog od njih ostao samo trag u obliku konzole. Prema tome, u zamišljenoj rekonstrukciji, spomenutoj u podnaslovu *Opis i datiranje spomenika*, kamen iz Ivanca mogao bi se predočiti kao ugaoni blok donjeg dijela složenog grobnog stupa, koji je, zajedno s još jednim identičnim kamenom omeđivao središnju plohu ukrašenu reljefom ili natpisom (sl. 14). Na taj bi način ujedno bilo moguće objasniti pripremu jedne od bočnih ploha za horizontalno priključivanje na susjedni blok. Jedno je sigurno: bez obzira na nedoumice oko određenja, ivanečki kamen odražava uobičajenu isprepletenost ikonografskih i formalnih oblika raznih kategorija grobnih spomenika, u ovome slučaju prije svega grobne građevine (oblik kamena) te stele, kamene urne i sarkofaga (ikonografija).

decorated with a relief or an inscription (Fig. 14). This would also explain why one of the surfaces had been prepared for horizontal joining with the neighbouring block. One thing is certain: regardless of the dilemmas surrounding its definition, the Ivanec stone reflects the usual intertwining of formal and iconographic forms of funerary monuments of different categories, in this case primarily those of aediculae (the shape of the stone) on the one hand and stela, stone urns and sarcophagi (iconography) on the other.

#### 4. Historical and social context of the find

With one archaeological campaign following another and the areas of detailed excavations ever expanding,<sup>13</sup> the Roman context of our tombstone is gradually becoming clearer. At first it was merely hinted at by sporadic Roman

<sup>13</sup> During the two initial campaigns, when our fragment of the tombstone was found, various phases of the *Stari Grad* plan were revealed through very extensive but shallow excavations. Subsequent excavations focused on individual buildings that were of interest (Gothic church, Romanesque church, central tower) and examined them all the way down to the sub-soil.





Sl. 16 Ulomci staklenih narukvica te koštana oplata češlja (snimio H. Jambrek)  
 Fig. 16 Fragments of glass bracelets and the bone plate of a comb (photo: H. Jambrek)

#### 4. Povijesni i društveni kontekst nalaza

Antički kontekst nalaza razmatranog spomenika postupno se, kako se nižu istraživačke kampanje i širi područje dubljeg istraživanja<sup>13</sup>, sve više i više razjašnjava. U početku je bio tek naznačen sporadičnim nalazima ulomaka rimske keramike – pronađenih uglavnom u izmiješanim grobnim zapunama – te ulomcima opeka i tegula, među kojima je i primjerak opeke s otiskom životinjske šape (Belaj 2009: 90). Već se kod pronalaska moglo pretpostaviti i da sam naš spomenik nije donesen iz veće udaljenosti već i stoga što bi u tom slučaju vjerojatno bio uzidan kao vidljiv spolij. Naravno, i tu moramo zadržati stanoviti oprez. Naime, budući da su u temeljima gotičke crkve pronađeni i ulomci romaničkih kapitela (Belaj 2009: 94), još uvijek postoji mogućnost da je naš spomenik bio uzidan već u romaničku crkvu (u svojoj sekundarnoj uporabi) – primjerice iznad portala – te da je u gotičku crkvu konačno bio uzidan baš kao i drugi dijelovi

<sup>13</sup> Tijekom prve dvije kampanje, kada je ovdje obrađeni ulomak spomenika bio pronađen, vrlo su široko, ali i plitko otkrivane razne faze tlocrta *Staroga grada*. Kasnija su istraživanja bila usredotočena na pojedine najzanimljivije objekte (gotička crkva, romanička crkva, središnja kula) te se pristupilo njihovim istraživanjima do zdravice.

ceramic fragments, found mostly in mixed grave fillings, and the fragments of bricks and tegulae, including a brick with an animal paw print (Belaj 2009: 90). As soon as it was found, it could be assumed that it had not been brought from a great distance, if for no other reason than because, in that case, it would have most probably been built in as a visible spolium. We must, of course, exercise a degree of caution: since fragments of Romanesque capitals were also found in the foundations of the Gothic church (Belaj 2009: 94), it is still possible that our tombstone was first built into the Romanesque church (its secondary use) – above the portal, for instance – and, finally, into the Gothic church, just like other parts of the destroyed Romanesque building (its tertiary use!).

When all graves in the Gothic church of St John were emptied and the examination finally began of the medieval black layer of exceptionally greasy earth in which small and large pieces of daub were found along with ceramic fragments, most of them decorated by a waveline, a similar layer was found underneath, equally compact and greasy but brown in colour. Although, as previously mentioned, the ceramic vessels collected from this layer contained spe-

iz porušene romaničke građevine (njegova tercijarna uporaba!).

Kada se konačno, nakon pražnjenja svih grobova u gotičkoj crkvi sv. Ivana, pristupilo istraživanju srednjovjekovnog crnoga sloja izrazito masne zemlje, u kojemu su nađeni manji i veći komadi kućnog lijepa te fragmenti keramike od kojih su mnogi ukrašeni valovnicom, uočeno je da se ispod njega nalazi sličan, jednako kompaktan i mastan, ali smeđi sloj. Među nalazima keramičkih posuda prikupljenih iz ovoga sloja nalazili su se, kako je već napomenuto, i primjerci prapovijesnih razdoblja, no prevladavao je antički keramički materijal. Primijećeno je da je ovaj sloj pri dnu nešto svjetliji i narančastiji te bez nalaza, a na nekim je mjestima dublje utonuo u zdravicu te je označen zasebnim oznakama. Čini se da svjetliji sloj bez nalaza koji se redovito javlja pri dnu smeđeg sloja te mjesta na kojima su ustanovljena utonuća u zdravicu treba kronološki odvojiti od smeđeg sloja (Belaj, Sirovica 2010), no za sada nam još nedostaje materijalna podloga za raniju (predrimsku) dataciju toga svjetlijega sloja.

Premda keramika još nije detaljno obrađena, već nam je njezin pregled pružio zanimljive podatke (sl. 15).<sup>14</sup> Keramika je jako usitnjena i samo je dio ulomaka moguće preciznije vremenski odrediti. No među njima se nalaze i vrlo indikativni oblici. Tako je pronađeno više ulomaka lonca latenske tradicije koji se može datirati u 1. stoljeće. Budući da su na lokalitetu pronađeni jednako oblikovani, ali kasnolatenški lonci, drukčije keramičke strukture, čini se da možemo govoriti o izravnom nastavku keramičke tradicije. Izdvojiti možemo još i ulomke lonca s vodoravno naglašenim rebrom, ulomke lonca čiji je široki obod trokutasto oblikovan, a vrat vodoravno narebren, više ulomaka sivo pečene keramike bez ukrasa i premaza te druge keramičke nalaze tipične za 1. i 2. stoljeće osobito u zapadnom dijelu Gornje Panonije i Noriku.

Da je riječ o sloju rimskoga naselja najrječitije govori relativno mnoštvo kućnoga lijepa pronađena u njemu. To što je u Ivanču do sada pronađena izuzetno mala količina opeka ne mora biti ništa neobično. Slično je, primjerice, i na lokalitetu Virovitica-Kiškorija jug – ruralnome rimskom naselju koje je nedavno istraživano na trasi zapadne obilaznice grada Virovitice, a koje je trajalo od 2. do početka 5. st. – pronađeno mnoštvo kućnoga lijepa i tek jedna opeka.<sup>15</sup> Naravno da jedan od razloga za takvo stanje može biti i naknadna uporaba opeka napuštenih objekata tijekom kasne antike i srednjega vijeka.

Osim ulomaka keramičkih posuda sve je više i drugih nalaza pronađenih u prekopenim slojevima<sup>16</sup> koji potječu iz rimskoga naselja u središtu Ivanca. Riječ je prije svega o ulomcima triju narukvica D presjeka, izrađenih od glatkog

ciemens from the prehistoric period, antique ceramic material prevailed. As it was observed that the bottom of the layer was somewhat lighter in colour, more orange and devoid of finds, and that, in places, some of its segments had sunk deeper into the sub-soil, it was separately marked. Although it seems that the lighter-coloured layer that contains no finds and regularly appears at the bottom of the brown layer, and the parts sunk into the sub-soil, should be chronologically separated from the brown layer (Belaj, Sirovica 2010), we still do not have material evidence to support the dating of the lighter-coloured layer back to an earlier (pre-Roman) period.

Even though the ceramics have not been processed in detail, a mere overview has already yielded interesting data (Fig. 15).<sup>14</sup> Although so fragmented that only some of the fragments can be precisely dated, they contain some very indicative forms: several La Tène pot fragments were found that can be dated back to the 1<sup>st</sup> century. As late La Tène pots of identical shape but different ceramic structure were also found at the site, it seems we can speak of a direct continuation of the ceramic tradition. We can also single out pot fragments with a horizontal rib, fragments of a pot with a wide triangular rim and a horizontally ribbed neck, several fragments of undecorated and unslipped greyware and other ceramic finds typical for the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries, particularly in the western part of Upper Pannonia and Noricum.

A relatively large quantity of daub is the most telling indication of this being a Roman settlement layer. The fact that only a small quantity of bricks has so far been found in Ivanec is not necessarily unusual. A similar situation was encountered at the Virovitica-Kiškorija jug site – a Roman rural settlement recently excavated along the western Virovitica circular road, spanning the period between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, where a lot of daub and only one brick were found.<sup>15</sup> Naturally, one of the reasons for this could be the subsequent use of bricks from abandoned structures in late antiquity and the Middle Ages.

In addition to the ceramic vessel fragments, the number of other items found in dug-up layers<sup>16</sup> of the Roman settlement in the centre of Ivanec is also increasing. We are primarily talking about the fragments of three D-section bracelets made of smooth, transparent blue glass and the bone plate of a comb decorated with small engraved circles with indicated centres (Fig. 16). By their typology, these small finds could be dated between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Due to the damage suffered by the Roman settlement layer – which, as a result of numerous graves and medieval and modern-age foundations, is only partially preserved

14 Potpuna stručna obrada ukupnog antičkog materijala s lokaliteta planira se provesti u skoroj budućnosti, a na preliminarnoj se analizi keramike kao i staklenih narukvica zahvaljujemo kolegici Kristini Jelinčić iz Instituta za arheologiju.

15 Na usmenom podatku zahvaljujemo se K. Jelinčić.

16 Još jednom naglašavamo izuzetnu fragmentiranost kulturnih slojeva u istraživanom dijelu lokaliteta. Smijemo se nadati da će se na prostoru podalje od istraživanih crkava te izvan gabarita *Staroga grada* moći istražiti i veći bolje očuvani, odnosno manje prekopeni segmenti naselja, kako srednjovjekovnoga, tako i rimskoga.

14 A comprehensive expert analysis of all antique material found at the site is planned for the near future. We would like to thank our colleague, Kristina Jelinčić from the Institute of Archaeology, for her preliminary analysis of the ceramics and glass bracelets.

15 We would like to thank K. Jelinčić for verbal information.

16 Once again, we would like to emphasize the exceptional fragmentation of the cultural layers in the excavated area of the site. We dare hope that, in the areas removed from the excavated churches and outside of the limits of *Stari Grad*, it will be possible to examine larger and better preserved, or rather, less dug-up, segments of both Roman and medieval settlements.



prozirnoga plavog stakla te o koštanoj oplati češlja s urezanim kružićima naznačenih središta (sl. 16). Sudeći prema tipologiji navedeni bi se sitni nalazi mogli datirati od 2. do 4. stoljeća.

Zbog navedene oštećenosti sloja rimskoga naselja, koji je ostao sačuvan samo mjestimično – između brojnih ukopa za grobove i temelje srednjovjekovnih i novovjekovnih objekata te je još dodatno presječen kanalima, oštećen raznim ukopima za stupove i slično – nemoguće je na ovom stupnju istraženosti lokaliteta govoriti o značajkama naselja ili pak imanja s pripadajućim grobnim ukopima koje je u Ivancu egzistiralo u rimsko doba.

Sjećanje o postojanju naselja u Ivancu u još rimsko vrijeme potpuno je nestalo iz svijesti stanovništva te mu se ne nalazi niti traga u lokalnoj tradiciji, niti je poznato da je ikada postojalo.<sup>17</sup> Na jedini eventualni trag za ubicaciju groblja iz rimskoga doba nalazimo uz današnju cestu za Varaždin. Tamo su radnici prije oko 25 godina, prigodom kopanja temelja za policijsku stanicu, naišli na "stare ljudske kosti". Stariji mještani Ivanca govorili su da je tu nekada bilo "židovsko groblje".<sup>18</sup> Toponim "židovsko groblje", koji je još ostao sačuvan kod lokalnog stanovništva, nesumnjivo upućuje na veću starost tamo otkrivenih grobova, pa možda doista svjedoči o kakvoj manjoj židovskoj koloniji u srednjovjekovnome Ivancu, a možda seže i unazad sve do rimskih ili pretkršćanskih vremena, što se za sada čini vjerojatnijim.

Budući da se područje Ivanca nije nalazilo na pravcu glavnih prometnica, imena mogućih tamošnjih rimskih naselja nisu sačuvana. Međutim, ne treba sumnjati u to da je komunikacija između Varaždinskih Toplica i Ivanca dolinom rječice Bednje postojala od prapovijesnog razdoblja, pa tako i u rimsko doba (Belaj 2010: 225). To što ranije nisu pronađeni nikakvi tragovi antičke naseljenosti na mjestu Ivanca i njegove okolice, gotovo je sigurno rezultat puke slučajnosti.<sup>19</sup> Na to upućuju mnoga rimska naselja na području šire varaždinske okolice, prije svega Petrijanec (*Aqua Viva?*), Varaždinske Toplice (*Aquae lasae*) i Lobor (Šimek 1997a: 73–74, 123–124, 137; Filipec 2008: 58–60). Premda nagađanja o granicama antičkih gradskih agera vrve dvojbama, pretpostavka o tome da je granica između Petovione i Andautonije (*Andautonia*, Šćitarjevo) tekla otprilike hrptom Ivanščice ili malo južnije, čini se uvjerljivom (Klemenc, Saria 1936: 92–93; Horvat et al. 2003: 154, Fig. 1). Prema tome, antičko naselje na mjestu Ivanca vjerojatno se nalazilo na području Petovione.

*Aquae lasae* imale su izrazito vojnički obilježen kulturni i socijalni profil (Rendić-Miočević 1992). U arheološkom

17 Za razliku od Rimljana, viteški redovi odnosno nekadašnji njihov eventualni objekt spominje se čak i u kraljevskim ispravama: tako darovnica kralja Ferdinanda iz 1564. i povelja Ferdinanda II. iz 1632. govore o gradnji *Staroga grada* iz gradiva njihove samostanske (sic!) crkve (Szabo 1919: 57; Kukuljević Sakcinski 1886: 60, 62).

18 Ovaj je podatak prepričao Boris Krznar iz Ivanca, a čuo ga je od jednoga od sudionika spomenutih građevinskih radova.

19 U literaturi spominje se jedino novac cara Vetrantionia (Vetranio) (350.), s nalazišta u Ivanečkoj Željeznici, 6 km istočno od Ivanca (Klemenc, Saria 1939: 85; Šimek 1997a: 109; 1997b: 20). S obzirom na taj nalaz novca, i toponim *Željezna vrata* u Ivanečkoj Željeznici, može nas asociirati na rimsko doba, poput drugih sličnih toponima (Belaj 2005: 83–86).

and, additionally, intersected by canals, damaged by various pillar holes, etc. – it is impossible, at this stage of the excavations, to talk about the characteristics of the settlement, or property, and its corresponding graves, that existed in Ivanec in Roman times.

The memory of a settlement in Ivanec dating back to Roman times has completely faded from the consciousness of the local population; there is no trace of it in the local tradition or any awareness of it ever having existed.<sup>17</sup> The sole trail we can potentially follow in locating the Roman-era graveyard is along the present road to Varaždin, where, approximately 25 years ago, the workers digging the foundations of a police station came across "old human bones". Elderly inhabitants of Ivanec used to talk about the "Jewish cemetery" that used to be there once.<sup>18</sup> The "Jewish cemetery" toponym, still in use by the local population, indicates beyond doubt that the graves discovered there are quite old; it may, indeed, testify to a minor Jewish colony in medieval Ivanec or, perhaps, go all the way back to Roman or pre-Christian times, which at the moment seems more likely.

Since the area of Ivanec was not on any of the main thoroughfares, the names of Roman settlements that may have existed there at the time have not been preserved. However, there is no doubt that Varaždinske Toplice and Ivanec have been connected since prehistoric times by a route running along the Bednja River valley and that this must have been the case in Roman times as well (Belaj 2010: 225). The fact that no traces of Roman settlements had been previously found in Ivanec or its surroundings is almost certainly pure coincidence.<sup>19</sup> Proof of this lies in many Roman settlements located in the wider Varaždin surroundings, primarily Petrijanec (*Aqua Viva?*), Varaždinske Toplice (*Aquae lasae*) and Lobor (Šimek 1997a: 73–74, 123–124, 137; Filipec 2008: 58–60). Even though speculations about the territorial borders of Roman towns are highly uncertain, the theory of the border between Poetovio and Andautonia (Šćitarjevo) running roughly along the ridge of Mt Ivanščica, or slightly further to the south, seems convincing (Klemenc, Saria 1936: 92–93; Horvat et al. 2003: 154, Fig. 1). The Roman settlement in the place of Ivanec was therefore probably located in the area of Petoviona.

As the cultural and social profile of *Aquae lasae* was pronouncedly military (Rendić-Miočević 1992), a nameless settlement, or property, in the area of Lobor is also perceived as military because of a long-known legionary-

17 Unlike the Romans, military orders, or rather, buildings which probably belonged to them, are mentioned even in royal documents. Thus, a deed of donation from King Ferdinand from 1564 and a charter of Ferdinand II from 1632 speak of the material from their monastic (sic!) church being used for the construction of *Stari grad* (Szabo 1919: 57; Kukuljević Sakcinski 1886: 60, 62).

18 This information was related by Boris Krznar from Ivanec, who heard it from one of the persons involved in the construction work.

19 The literature only mentions the money of Emperor Vetrantion (350) found at the Ivanečka Željeznica site, 6 km east of Ivanec (Klemenc, Saria 1939: 85; Šimek 1997a: 109; 1997b: 20). Bearing in mind the coins, the *Željezna vrata* /Iron Gate/ toponym in Ivanečka Željeznica, like other similar toponyms, may also remind us of Roman times (Belaj 2005: 83–86).

smislu takvim se doživljava i naselje ili imanje nepoznatog imena u okolici Lobora, radi odavno poznate legionarsko-pretorijanske vojničke stele, premda su najnovija istraživanja na samome Loboru iznijela na vidjelo i druge grobne spomenike, zatečene pretežno kao spolije u romaničkom sloju crkve Majke Božje Gorske (Filipec 2008: 60; Migotti 2011). Moguće je da je vojničkom sloju pripadao i vlasnik spomenika iz Ivanca, ali to nipošto nije sigurno. Naime, tzv. vojnička ikonografija 3. stoljeća, koja se prije svega očituje na grobnim spomenicima, podrazumijeva ogrtač (*sagum*), prikopčan na ramenu okruglom ili lukovičastom fibulom te opasač s velikom okruglom ili pravokutnom kopčom, dok oružje (koplje, mač, kaciga i oklop), kao jedini pouzdan pokazatelj vojničkog identiteta, nije obvezatno. Upravo stoga, a s obzirom na to da vojničku "odjevnu ikonografiju" dijele i civilni dužnosnici s prethodnom vojničkom karijerom ili bez nje, muškarac u *sagumu* ne može se samo na osnovi odjeće prepoznati kao vojnik (Migotti 2005a: 372–373; Migotti, u tisku). Vojnici na području Norika pretežno se na grobnim spomenicima prikazuju bez svojstvenog opasača s velikom kopčom, najčešće okruglom, dok je u Panoniji ikonografska praksa u tom pogledu složenija (Migotti, u tisku). Podatak da je muškarac na ivanečkom kamenu prikazan bez oružja i bez prepoznatljivog vojničkog opasača, donekle govori u prilog mogućnosti da je vlasnik tog spomenika bio civilni dužnosnik. Svitak koji je najvjerojatnije držao u ruci mogao je imati različita značenja u okviru građanske i vojničke te zakonske i kulturne sfere (Migotti 2001: 46–47). Stoga on nesumnjivo svjedoči o stanovitom društvenom položaju vlasnika spomenika, na što upućuje i vjerojatan prikaz služe na bočnoj strani (usp. Kastelic 1998: 433; Kremer 2001: 383). Ipak, bez epigrafske potvrde pitanje društvenog identiteta pokojnika ostaje nerazriješeno. S druge strane, vrsta spomenika koju je izabrao on ili njegovi nasljednici, govori o izvjesnom stupnju materijalnog bogatstva i/ili želje za dostojnim samopredstavljanjem.<sup>20</sup> Naime, s obzirom na grobni obred spaljivanja, na raspolaganju su mu bile različite vrste grobnog obilježja: stela, kamena urna, oltar, stup, grobna građevina. Ne uzimajući u obzir iznimke, poput tzv. Orfejeve stele iz Petovione (vis. 494 cm, UEL 3106), grobne građevine i složeni stupovi istaknutije su dominante u grobnom okružju negoli druge vrste spomenika (Kremer 2001: 9). Pritom neodgovoreno ostaje pitanje je li se naručitelj spomenika zadovoljio običnim kamenom zato što mu materijalne mogućnosti nisu dopuštale nabavku mramora, razmjerno dostupnog radi blizine kamenoloma na Pohorju, ili je to bio njegov izbor u kontekstu odnosa prema samopredstavljaju. Slična dvojba nužno ostaje nerazriješena i u odnosu na kamenu stelu nesumnjivo ugledne legionarsko-pretorijanske obitelji iz obližnjeg Lobora, bez obzira na sačuvani epitaf (Migotti 2011). S obzirom na to, bilo bi preuzetno na temelju jednog fragmentiranog grobnog kamena, lišenog natpisa, donositi dalekosežnije zaključke o društvenim okolnostima njegova nastanka. Međutim, važnost tog spomenika nesumnjiva je zato što on upozorava na nedovoljno poznavanje antičke prošlosti Ivanca, dajući

praetorian military stele, even though recent excavations conducted in the area have revealed other tombstones, predominantly found as spolia, in the Romanesque layer of the church of Our Lady of the Mountain (Filipec 2008: 60; Migotti 2011). The owner of the Ivanec tombstone may have been a member of the military class, although that is in no way certain because the so-called military iconography of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, found primarily on tombstones, included a cloak (*sagum*), fastened on the shoulder by a circular or crossbow fibula, and a belt with a large circular or rectangular buckle, whereas weapons (spear, sword, helmet and armour), as the only reliable indicator of military identity, were not compulsory. For this very reason, taking into account the fact that military "clothing iconography" was also shared by civilian officials who did not necessarily have a previous military career, the man in the *sagum* cannot be defined as a soldier on the basis of his clothes alone (Migotti 2005a: 372–373; Migotti, in press). On Norican tombstones, soldiers are usually presented without the characteristic belt with a large, most often circular, buckle, while the iconographic practice in Pannonia is more complex in this respect (Migotti, in press). The fact that the man on the Ivanec stone is depicted without either weapons or the recognizable military belt, supports, to a degree, the theory that the owner of the tombstone was a civilian official. The roll he most probably held in his hand may have had different meanings within the civic and military, or legal and cultural spheres (Migotti 2001: 46–47). It unmistakably testifies to the tombstone owner's social position, also indicated by the probable depiction of a male servant on the side (cf. Kastelic 1998: 433; Kremer 2001: 383). However, without an epigraphic confirmation, the issue of the deceased's social identity remains unresolved. On the other hand, the type of tombstone chosen by either him or his heirs, speaks of considerable material wealth and/or a wish for proper self-presentation.<sup>20</sup> He had several types of grave markers at his disposal for the funerary cremation ritual: stelae, stone urns, altars, pillars, aediculae. If we disregard exceptions, such as the so-called Orpheus' stele from Poetovio (height: 494 cm, UEL 3106), aediculae and complex pillars dominate over other types of tombstones (Kremer 2001: 9). What remains unanswered is whether the person who ordered the tombstone contented himself with a simple stone because his financial situation did not allow him to purchase marble that was fairly readily available at the nearby Pohorje stone quarries, or whether this was his choice and reflected his ideas on self-presentation. A similar dilemma must also remain unresolved in the case of a stone stele of an undoubtedly distinguished legionary-praetorian family from nearby Lobor, regardless of the preserved epitaph (Migotti 2011). With this in mind, it would be presumptuous to make any far-reaching conclusions on the social circumstances of its origin based on a fragmented gravestone devoid of any inscription. However, the importance of this tombstone is unquestionable because it highlights our lack of knowledge of the Roman history of Ivanec, signalling at the same

20 Materijalni status ne odražava se uvijek izravno na grobnom spomeniku (Kremer 2001: 383; Migotti 2005b: 282, bilj. 41).

20 Tombstones do not always directly reflect a person's material status (Kremer 2001: 383; Migotti 2005b: 282, note 41).



istovremeno naslutiti da je dosadašnji izostanak rimskodobnih nalaza s tog prostora radije slučajnost, negoli povijesna stvarnost.

time that the present lack of Roman finds in this area is a coincidence rather than a historical fact.

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Janja Ružić

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