

SOFIJA PETKOVIĆ
Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade

UNILATERAL ANTLER COMBS FROM ROMULIANA

Abstract. – In the course of investigations at Romuliana nine antler three-partite combs with a single row of teeth were found in the Late Roman horizons dating from the late 4th – mid 5th century. They were found in Tower 19, in the Palace II sector and in the Thermae sector. The combs can be classified as two types: three-partite unilateral combs with semicircular handle (Petković comb type VII) and three-partite unilateral combs with triangular handle decorated with horse protomes (Petković comb type VI). Two groups of these finds were distinguished after more detailed analysis; the earlier one including specimens originating from the Chernyahov–Sîntana de Mureş culture and later one including specimens made under »barbarian« influence and produced in Romuliana. These finds confirm the continuity of settlement at Romuliana in the Late Roman period, from the final quarter of the 4th until the end of the 5th century and open up the question of the character of the settlement.

Key words. – Romuliana, Gamzigrad, Dacia Ripensis, Late Roman period, combs, antler, Chernyahov–Sîntana de Mureş, Goths.

The combs from Romuliana studied in this paper belong to the »barbarian« or »barbarized« types of three-partite combs made of antler and with a single row of teeth. They can be classified into two basic types. One type is represented by seven specimens of bell shape with semicircular handle that are earlier and characteristic of the Chernyahov–Sîntana de Mureş culture¹. The somewhat later type includes two combs with triangular handle decorated with horse protomes and associated with the Roman cavalry units, *auxillia*, which were made up of »barbarians«.²

The combs were found in three sectors at Gamzigrad – Romuliana: four were found in the south tower of the west gate of the later fortification, known as Tower 19, two in the Palace II sector south to the temple of Cybele in the north-eastern section of the fortification and three in the Thermae sector in the south-eastern section of the fortification (Fig. 1). All the combs were discovered in a reliable archaeological context, i.e. in clearly distinguished layers dated on the basis of stratigraphy and other finds including pottery, coins, fibulae and the like. The finds merit publication because combs of this type are not very frequent at Serbian sites and may contribute to the better understanding of the Late Roman period in the area.

The unilateral antler combs from Romuliana mostly come from the more recent excavations conducted between 2002 to 2005. They are housed in the Gamzigrad Archaeological Collection in the National Museum in Zaječar.³

The earliest combs from the south tower of the west gate of Romuliana, Tower 19, date from the first horizon of habitation established above the level of the mortar floor substructure of Galerius' building dating from the final quarter of the 4th century.⁴

One small comb made of antler with a single row of teeth and bell-shaped platings with saddle-like endings and arched handle was discovered under the foundations of a dry masonry structure in Tower 19, i.e. the partition structure next to pillar 3, dating from the end of the 4th century, and in the layer overlying the

¹ Petković 1995, 27–28, tip VII, var. 1, T. IX, 1–3.

² Petković 1995, 26–27, tip VI, var. 2, T. VIII, 5–7; Petković 1999, 215 sq., Fig. 1, 1–2, 4–6.

³ I wish to express my thanks to my colleague Maja Živić MA, custodian of the Archeological Collection in the National Museum in Zaječar for making this material available to me.

⁴ Petković 2003, 37–38, Sl. 1–5; Petković 2006, 35, Pl. III. 3–4.

- the finds of unilateral antler combs

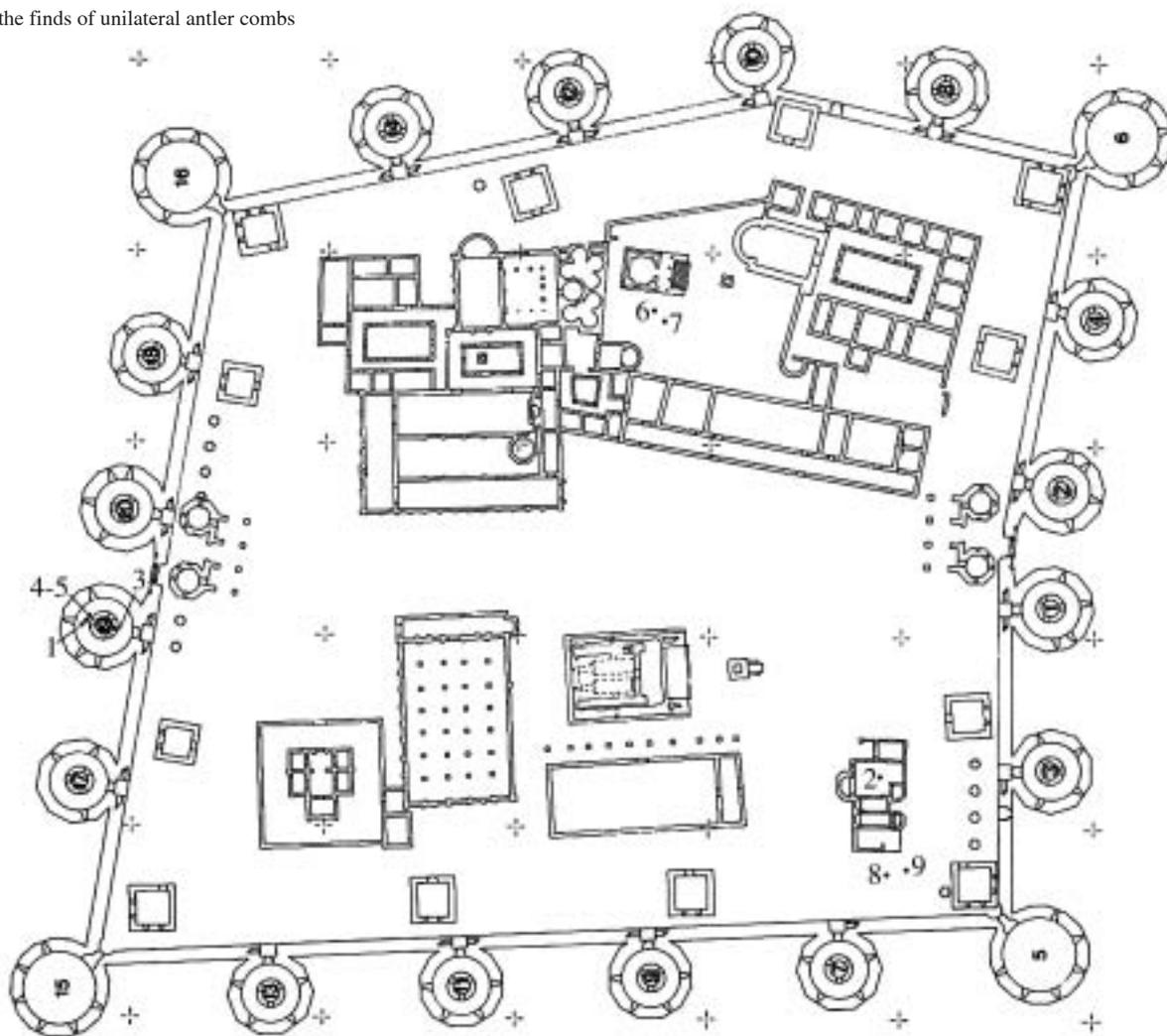


Fig. 1. Distribution of unilateral antler combs on Romuliana

Сл. 1. Дистрибуција једноредних чењљева од јелењег рога на Ромулијани

mortar substructure of the tower floor (Fig. 3). The platings are fastened with nine bronze rivets around which circles were engraved, making a motif of »eye-lets«, and at the junction with the arched handle there are two horizontal grooves. In the middle of the arched handle is a small circular perforation probably for attaching the comb to a ring or cord (Fig. 2. 3; Fig. 5).

A comb of the same type was found in the mentioned layer above the mortar substructure of the Tower 19 floor, between pillar 2 and western part of the interior tower wall. However, it was unskillfully remodelled by its owner which, to my knowledge⁵ makes it unique among antler-made combs (Fig. 2. 4; Fig. 6). The complete comb was reduced in size by shortening the platings and the arch of a handle was cut around so the de-

corative groove was next to the upper margin. The new panel with teeth was inserted probably because the old ones were damaged. It was awkwardly fitted to the existing plate with teeth because they were of different thickness and the density of teeth was not symmetrical. The comb was fixed with five bronze rivets, one on the arched handle, one on the platings above the old teeth and three rivets one on top of the other on the side of

⁵ I have not encountered the comb, which was remodeled, i.e. reconstructed in the period when it was in use neither among the published antler comb nor among the unpublished specimen I examined. Nevertheless, the repaired and reconstructed objects including even pottery vessels are not rare among the Roman finds.

the plate where new teeth were inserted. The plate broke at this spot during remodelling because of the thickness of the panel with teeth so the »master« used more rivets to fix it. Two holes for old rivets are visible on the arched handle that after comb repair were used for attaching to a ring or cord. The other ornaments on the platings are also interesting. There are one dot-in-circle and two concentric circles with a dot in the center which are in completely excentric positions in relation to the reduced plating.

However, another comb of the same type (Fig. 4) was found next to the north-eastern corner of pillar 2 of Tower 19 at a level dating from the beginning of the 5th century and destroyed in a great conflagration discernible in the layer of burned soil and soot, i.e. in the later horizon of the first half of the 5th century. This comb is of somewhat larger size, the platings at the junction with the handle has distinct saddle-like endings and its decoration is more elaborate in comparison with the previous specimens (Fig. 2. 5; Fig. 7). The platings with the handle are shorter than the panel with teeth and it is decorated along the edges with a double dotted line, which rather carelessly follows the form of the plating. The ornamentation, consisting of sixteen engraved »eyelets« and ten bronze rivets alternately arranged in a row, also follows the outline of the plating.

An exceptionally well-preserved small comb was also found in Tower 19, in a layer dating from the end of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century. It is made of antler and has a triangular handle and a single row of teeth, and it is decorated with an engraved pair of horse protomes near the top of the comb. It also has a case which, on the shorter sides, also has horse protomes. The comb was found in its case, complete and undamaged (Fig. 2. 1; Fig. 14). The comb platings are attached with four iron rivets, two of which, in the central segment, are elements of central ornament consisting of three engraved concentric circles with dots in the centre surrounded symmetrically to the left and right with two »eyelets« and above and below with one rivet respectively. The remaining two rivets are symmetrically placed in the bottom corners of the platings. The case is decorated with identical motif of concentric circles repeated three times and joined by the tangent lines. The iron rivets which fix two parts of the case are in the place of the eyes on the horse protomes. On the horse protomes on the comb and case there are small circular perforations for the suspension loops.

Two fragmented unilateral bell-shaped combs with semicircular handle with saddle-like endings were found during test-trenching in the Palace II sector to

the south of the temple of Cybele, i.e. in the northern zone between the temple and the building with corridor and many rooms (building D4), in the layer dating from the end of 4th – to the beginning of the 5th century. The platings of these combs are fixed with bronze rivets and decorated with engraved series of »eyelets« and horizontal grooves (Fig. 2. 6–7; Fig. 8). These combs are similar to the specimens found in the horizon dating from the final quarter of the 4th century in Tower 19.

The unilateral antler-made combs found in the Thermae sector come from the Late Roman horizons dating from the final quarter of the 4th and from the 5th century accumulated in the area of Galerius' baths.

One very well preserved comb of bell-shape with semicircular handle and platings attached by bronze rivets (Fig. 9) comes from the layer with traces of fire – ash, soot and burned soil that covered the mortar floor, originating from the final quarter of the 4th century and detected to the south and east of Galerius' baths. The rivets on this polished comb have both a utilitarian and a decorative function. So the rivets are arranged on the semicircular handle in a cross-like motif while on the rectangular segment of the plating they are arranged in pairs along the lateral sides (Fig. 2. 8; Fig. 10). It is interesting to mention that the comb was found under a large stone block, which fell from some structure, and because of this it was protected from the flames of this destructive conflagration. Judging by the layer of ashes and soot this fire completely destroyed the mentioned horizon.

A fragmented antler comb with triangular handle decorated with horse protomes was discovered in a layer dated in the mid to late 5th century in a dry masonry structure, which was constructed in the apodyterium of Galerius' baths in the 5th century. One of the protomes is missing and the teeth are greatly damaged. The triangular platings of the handle are attached with three bronze rivets and decorated with the dot-in-circle motif. The same motif was used to denote the eye of a horse on the preserved protome and the mane is depicted with incisions (Fig. 2. 2; Fig. 13).

One bell-shaped comb with semicircular handle and platings fixed with five iron rivets was discovered to the south of the baths in the wall of a slag pit (pit 3/04) dug from the level dating from the end of 5th – beginning of 6th century and which was in fact the floor of large metallurgical structure.⁶ The platings are

⁶ Petković, Živić 2006, 140–146, Sl. 4.

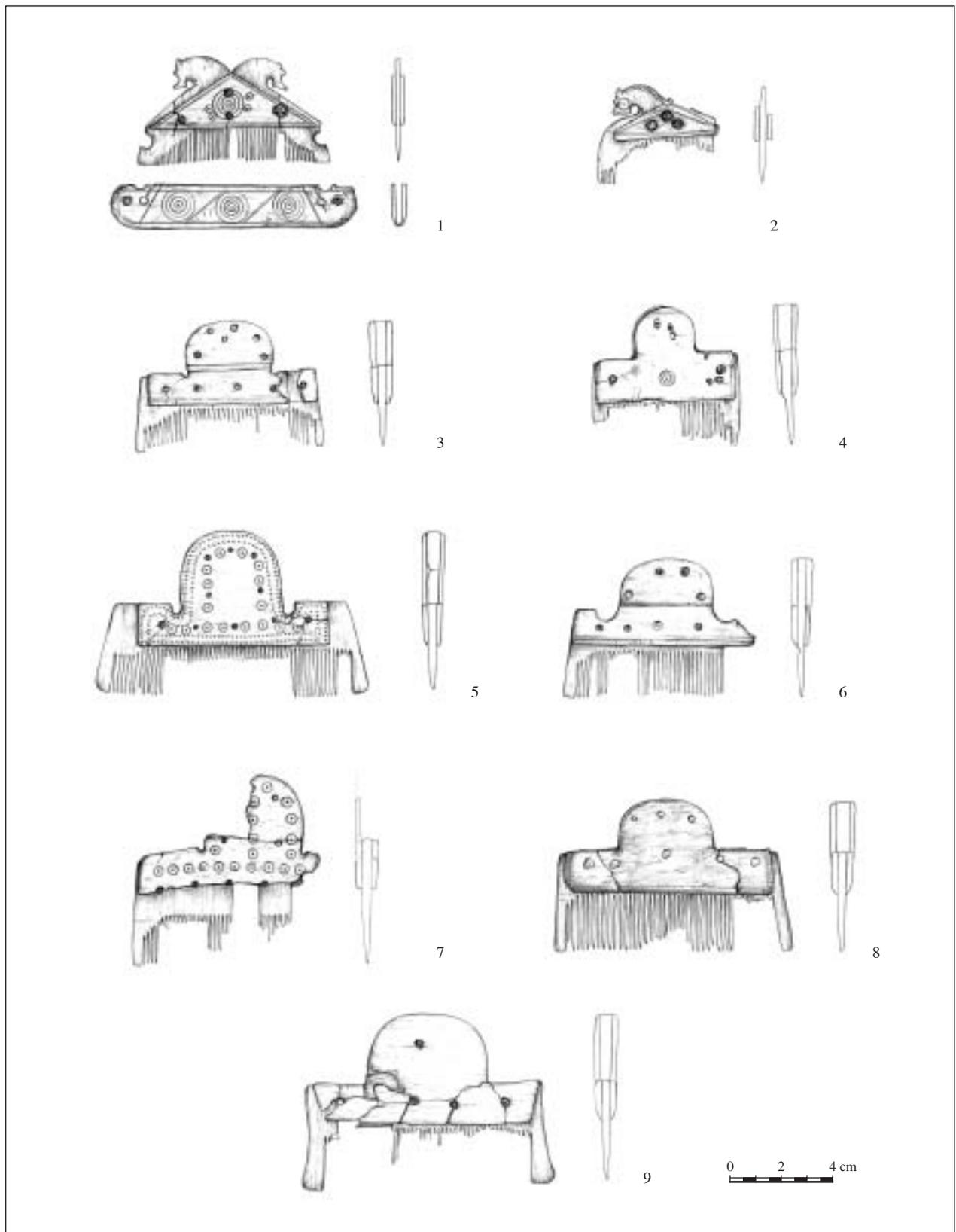


Fig. 2. The unilateral antler combs from Romuliana

Сл. 2. Трослојни једноредни чешљеви од јелењег рога из Ромулијане

not decorated and were just polished (Fig. 2. 9; Fig. 12). The pit 3/04 is dug into earlier layers dating from the end of 4th and the 5th century and extends to the level of the mortar floor originating from the final quarter of the 4th century (Fig. 11). Therefore, I think that this comb comes from the layer dated in the middle – second half of the 5th century and not from the slag pit of the large furnace 7/04.⁷

All the above-mentioned combs from Romuliana are included in the catalogue with information concerning museum inventory and circumstances of discovery and with detailed descriptions and relevant analogies.

CATALOGUE⁸

Type VI – *three-partite unilateral combs made of antler and with triangular handle decorated with the horse protomes*

1. National Museum in Zaječar, inv. G/1921, Tower 19, Segment II, layer D.

Three-partite antler comb with single row of teeth and triangular handle decorated with the horse protomes. The platings are fixed with four iron rivets and decorated on both sides. In the central zone is engraved a motif of concentric circles with dot-in-circle in the middle and in the central zone a pair of »eyelets« to the left and right was added. One rivet above and one rivet below the central ornament complete the decoration. The comb was found in a matching case of rectangular shape with horse protomes on the shorter sides. The case is decorated with concentric circles; three motifs consisting of three circles with dots in the centre are joined with tangent lines creating thus the running spiral motif. The sides of the case are joined together with two iron rivets in place of the eyes of the horses. Under the protomes on the comb and on the case are circular perforations, which could have been used for attaching metal suspension loops.

Dimensions of comb 7.9 x 6.8 x 6.8 cm; dimensions of case 9.4 x 1.8 cm.

Analogies *Diana*, Čezava – *Castrum Novae* (Petković: 1999, 216, 227–228, Fig. 1, 1–2, 4–5); Južac – Sopoćani (Popović M. 1987: 116–117, Fig. 4); Pernik (Ljubenova 1981: 162, Fig. 99, 1–2); *Iatrus* (Gomolka 1967: 339, Abb. 60); Lébeny (Pusztai 1966: 116, Abb. 7); Trier – *Treveris*, two specimens, *Civitas Argentoratensium* – Strassburg, *Mogontiacum* – Mainz, Champlien, Augst, cases decorated with horses' protomes (Petković 1999: 216, Map 1); Furfooz – four combs with cases

decorated with horses' protomes (Nenquin 1953: 69–72, E 3, T. IX, 3, E 4, T. IX, 4, E 5, T. IX, 5, E 6, T. IX, 6, E 7, T. X, 1).

Date: end of 4th – beginning of 5th century (phase I)

Literature: Petković 2003, 39–40, Sl. 13.

Fig. 2. 1; Fig. 14

2. National Museum in Zaječar, inv. G/1487, *Thermae* sector, apodyterium, layer D.

Three-partite comb made of antler with single row of teeth and triangular handle decorated with the horse protomes. One protome is missing and the teeth are much damaged. The handle platings are fixed with three bronze rivets. On one side of the comb the plating is decorated with three engraved »eyelets«. The horse's eye on the preserved protome is depicted by dot-in-circle and the mane by transversal incisions.

Dimensions 4.7 x 4.2 cm

Analogies are the same as for the preceding specimen

Date: middle – second half of the 5th century (phase III)

Literature: Petković 1999, 216–218, Map 1, I List, Table 1; Živić 2003, 110, Cat. 139.

Fig. 2. 2; Fig. 13.

Type VII, variant 1 – *three-partite unilateral antler comb with semicircular handle*

3. National Museum in Zaječar, inv. G/1919, Tower 19, Segment IV, layer E under dry masonry, in the soot.

Three-partite antler comb with single row of teeth and semicircular handle with saddle-like endings. The teeth are partially damaged. The handle platings are attached with five bronze rivets on the semicircular part and with four rivets on the rectangular part next to the teeth. They are decorated on both sides of the comb with engraved circles around the rivets, with two horizontal engraved lines on the semicircular part and one line on the rectangular part of the handle. There is also a small circular perforation for attaching the metal suspension loop near the top of the semicircular part. The middle part of the comb with teeth is of trapezoid shape.

Dimensions 7 x 5.4 cm

⁷ Petković, Živić 2006, 142–143, T. III, 1–2.

⁸ Typology was established on the basis of finds from the territory of Upper Moesia (Petković 1995).



Fig. 3. The bell-shaped comb (Cat. 3) in situ, Tower 19, segment II, layer E

Fig. 4. The bell-shaped comb (Cat. 5) in situ, Tower 19, segment II, layer C near pilaster 2

Сл. 3. Чешаљ са полукружном дршком (капш. 3) in situ, Кула 19, сејменју II, слој Е.

Сл. 4. Чешаљ са полукружном дршком (капш. 5) in situ, Кула 19, сејменју II, слој С уз стубац 2, са ишћока.

Analogies: *Intercisa* (Alföldi 1957, 480, Abb. 110; Bíró 1994, 96, No. 428, Pl. XLVII, 428); Sapaja – *Translederata* – five specimens (Dimitrijević 1984, 50, T. 50; Petković 1995, 27–28, tip VII, var. 1 a, kat. 102–105, T. IX, 1, IV), *Heraclea Lyncestis* (Janakievski 1987, 94–95, T. XI); Tîrgşor (Diaconu 1965, 102–104, M. 79, 2, Pl. LXXXV, M. 105, 2, Pl. XCI, M. 181, 4, Pl. CXII, M. 264, 8, Pl. CXXVII, M. 277, 10, Pl. CXXXI); Spanţov (Mitreă–Preda 1966, M. 12, Fig. 11,2; M. 13, Fig. 11, 1, M. 22, Fig. 40); Mihălăşeni (Şovan 1999, 14, Type 3, d, Fig. 3, 1); Černjahov (Petrov 1964, 108–110, Sl. 13, 15; Nikitina 1969, 159, tip III, var. 2b, Sl. 10, G–264); Maslov (Petrov 1964 A, 138–139, G–69, Sl. 6, 14); Oselivka (Nikitina 1988, 17, G–9, T. 5, 6).

Date: final quarter of the 4th century (phase I)

Literature: Petković 2003, 37, Sl. 1–2.

Fig. 2. 3; Fig. 5.

4. National Museum in Zaječar, inv. G/1920, Segment II, Tower 19, layer E.

Three-partite antler comb with single row of teeth and semicircular handle. The teeth of uneven thickness are damaged. The platings on the semicircular section of the handle is attached with one bronze rivet and on the rectangular part there is one rivet at one end and three rivets (one on top of the other) on the other end. One horizontal groove and one eccentrically placed dot-in-circle are near the top of semicircular handle. On this part of the handle are also two small perforations,

which might have been used for attaching metal suspension loops. The middle segment of the comb with teeth consists of two panels of different thickness.

Dimensions 5.8 x 5.8 cm

Analogies are the same as for the cat. no. 3

Date: final quarter of the 4th century (phase I)

Note: this comb was remodeled from a bigger comb of the same type

Literature: Petković 2003, 37, Sl. 3.

Fig. 2. 4; Fig. 6

5. National Museum in Zaječar, inv. G/1918, Tower 19, Segment II, level c, in the soot.

Three-partite antler comb with single row of teeth and semicircular handle with saddle-like endings. The platings of the handle are fixed with five bronze rivets on the semicircular part and five rivets on the rectangular part next to the teeth. They are decorated on both sides with geometric motif consisting of double dotted line along the edge of platings, eight »eyelets« radially arranged on the semicircular handle and series of eight »eyelets« on the rectangular part next to the teeth. The middle part of the comb with the teeth is of trapezoid shape. The teeth are partially damaged.

Dimensions 10.2 x 7 cm

Analogies: Köln – *Colonia Iulia Agripiensis* (Thomas 1960, 106–107, Typ III, Donaulandische Var, No. 40); Komárom (Thomas 1960, 106–107, Typ III, Donaulandische Var, No. 41, Abb. 51); Tokod (Kelemen 1981,

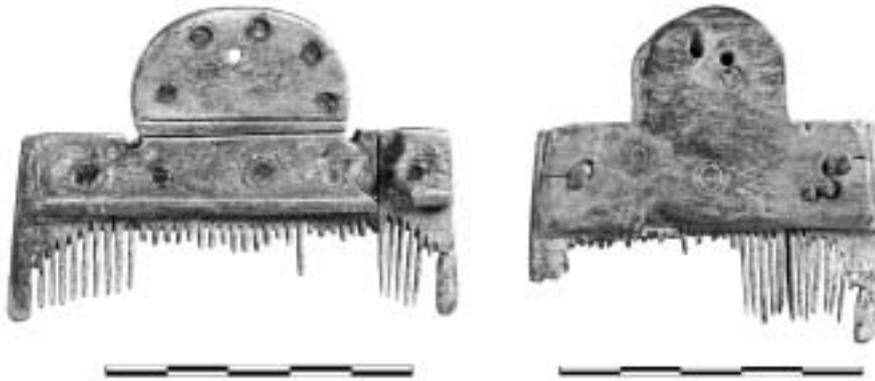


Fig. 5. The bell-shaped comb from Tower 19 (Cat. 3)

Fig. 6. The repaired bell-shaped comb from Tower 19 (Cat. 4)

Сл. 5. Чешаљ са полукружном гричком из Куле 19 (кат. 3).

Сл. 6. Прерађен чешаљ са полукружном гричком из Куле 19 (кат. 4)

Abb. 52); Slobozia – Chișcăreni (Levinschi 1999, 28–29, Abb. 6, 2–3, G–20, G–25).

Date: first half of the 5th century (phase II).

Literature: Petković 2003, 38, Sl. 4.

Fig. 2. 5; Fig. 7.

6. National Museum in Zaječar, inv. G/483, Palace II sector, to the south of the temple of Cybele, in the northern section.

Three-partite antler comb with single row of teeth and semicircular handle with saddle-like endings. One end of the handle and teeth are damaged. The platings of the handle are attached by four bronze rivets on the semicircular part and five rivets on the rectangular part next to the teeth. They are decorated on both sides of the comb with a horizontal engraved line on the semicircular handle and next to the teeth, with engraved small circles around the rivets and one dot-in-circle on the rectangular part of the plating.

Dimensions 4.6 x 4.3 cm

Date: end of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century (phase I)

Analogies are the same as for the specimen cat. no. 3

Literature: Živić 2003, 109, Cat. 134.

Fig. 2. 6; Fig. 8.

7. National Museum in Zaječar, inv. G/482, Palace II sector, to the south of the temple of Cybele, in the northern section.

Two fragments of three-partite antler comb with single row of teeth and semicircular handle with saddle-like endings. One end-piece of the comb is damaged and semicircular part of one of the platings is missing.

The strengtheners were fixed with five bronze rivets on the semicircular part (preserved two) and with six on the rectangular part next to the teeth (preserved four). The plating is decorated on the semicircular part with series of »eyelets« along the edge and in the middle with the vertical row of the same motif. The rectangular part of the plating is decorated with a horizontal row of »eyelets«. The rivets were also elements of the comb decoration together with the engraved motif.

Dimensions 4.4 x 5 cm

Date: end of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century (phase I)

Analogies are the same as for the specimen cat. no. 5.

Note: Dimensions of the preserved part of the object (Inv. G/482) are 4.4 x 3.6 cm but it was subsequently discovered that object inventoried as pendant (Inv. G/470) is in fact part of this comb.

Literature: Živić 2003, 108, 123, Cat. 133, Cat. 193.

Fig. 2. 7; Fig. 9

8. National Museum in Zaječar, C–477/05, Thermae sector, sq. K XXIV, layer E

Three-partite antler comb with single row of teeth and semicircular handle. The teeth are partially damaged. The platings on the semicircular part is attached with four bronze rivets arranged in the cruciform pattern and on the rectangular part along the teeth there are two bronze rivets at each end respectively. The patina from the rivets colored the surface of platings green. The middle part of the comb with teeth is of trapezoid shape.

Dimensions 9 x 6.2 cm

Analogies: Čezava – *Castrum Novae*, Ravna – *Campsia* (Petković 1995, 27–28, tip VII, var. 1 b–c,



Fig. 7. The bell-shaped comb from Tower 19 (Cat. 5)

Fig. 8. The bell-shaped comb from the Sektor of Palace II (Cat. 6)

Fig. 9. The fragmented bell-shaped comb from the Sektor of Palace II (Cat. 7)

Сл. 7. Чешаљ са полукружном гришком из куле 19 (кат. 5)

Сл. 8. Чешаљ са полукружном гришком са Сектора палатје II (кат. 6)

Сл. 9. Фрагментован чешаљ са полукружном гришком са Сектора палатје II (кат. 7)

kat. 106, 108, T. IX, 2–3; Csákvár (Sálamon–Barkóci 1971, Abb. 7, 3, G–11); Tokod (Kelemen 1981, Abb. 53); Tirgşor (Diaconu 1965, Pl. CIV, 10); Fintinele – »Rit« (Marinescu–Gaiu 1989, Abb. 5, G–8); *Callatis* (Preda 1980, 61, Pl. LII, 11, M. 17); Mihălăşeni (Şovan 1999, 21–22, Fig. 3, 11, second half of the 4th–5th century (phases II–III); Slobozia – Chişcăreni (Levinschi 1999: 28–29, Abb. 6, 4, G–39); Černjahov (Petrov 1964, 108–110, Sl. 13, 20); Furmanovka (Symonovič 1988, Sl. 4, 3, G–2, Sl. 5, 5, G–3, Sl. 11, 4, G–20).

Date: final quarter of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century (phase I).

Unpublished

Fig. 2. 8; Fig. 11.

9. National Museum in Zaječar, C–679/04, Thermae sector, sq. K XXIV, pit 3 (layer D?)

Three-partite antler comb with single row of teeth and semicircular handle. The platingss are damaged and the teeth are missing. On the semicircular part the plating is attached with one rivet and on the rectangular part next to the teeth with five iron rivets. Lateral sides of the rectangular part are slanting and lateral sides of the middle segment of the comb with teeth are concave.

Dimensions 10.2 x 7.7 cm

Analogies are the same as for the specimen cat. no. 8
Date: middle – third quarter of the 5th century (phase III)

Unpublished

Fig. 2. 9; Fig. 12.

The antler combs with bell-shaped platings that have saddle-like endings and arched handle are characteristic of the Chernyahov–Sîntana de Mureş culture, the bearers of which were the Goths along with other ethnic groups. They are typical finds in the graves of this culture distributed from the north Black Sea coast via Ukraine to the south Russia in the north and over the territory of present-day Romania to the Danube and the Tamiş River in the west. These combs were produced within the central territory of the Chernyahov culture throughout the entire 4th century. However, this type did not appear on the right Danube bank, i.e. in the territory of the Roman empire, before the second half of the 4th century when the contacts with »barbarians« on the left bank had become more intensive.⁹ Our specimens arrived at Romuliana after the battle of Adrianople, i.e. only from AD 380–382 when larger groups of Goths were permitted to settle in the territory of the Empire. This does not mean that they had not been made earlier within the territory of the Chernyahov culture from whence the new settlers brought them to Romuliana. It concerns first of all the remodelled comb (Fig. 2. 4, Fig. 6), which had been in use for a rather long time.

These small-sized combs could not have been used for combing hair but they could have been used to hold the coiffure in place. It is interesting that Roman soldiers also used to wear long hair in Late Roman times under the influence of »barbarian« fashion. As the Eastern Germans believed that the strength of a man, especially a warrior, was in his hair the comb was an important cult object. Because it was in contact with the hair, the comb had many magical functions, first of all a protective one. Thus, small combs with a single row of teeth were for that reason most probably always worn in the hair, attached to the belt or on a string around the neck as is suggested by the small holes for pulling through metal suspension loops encountered also on the specimens from Romuliana (Fig. 2. 1, 3–4; Fig. 5–6; Fig. 14). Ultimately, the owner of the comb did not part from his amulet even after death and was often buried with it.¹⁰

Therefore, combs as personal objects were probably kept at least during one's lifespan and it is possible that some specimens believed to have exceptional powers were inherited. Thus the comb could have been in use during one or two human life spans, i.e. 50 to 100 years on condition that it was not damaged. Therefore, it is quite possible that combs made in the territory of Chernyahov–Sîntana de Mureş culture in the beginning of



Fig. 10. The bell-shaped comb (Cat. 8) in situ, the Sektor of Barhs, kv. K XXIV, leyer E

Сл. 10. Чешаљ са пољукружном дршком (кат. 8) in situ, Сектор шерми, кв. К XXIV, слој Е

the 4th century arrived at Romuliana in the end of that century and finally were found in the horizon dating from the end of the 4th – first half of the 5th century. However, some of the combs with a single row of teeth and semicircular handle were produced in the local workshop at Romuliana that is identified on the basis of large amount of semi finished objects, raw material and leavings of antler in the Late Roman layers dating from the end of 4th and the 5th century.¹¹ I have in mind first of all the specimens found in the Thermae sector (Fig. 2. 8–9; Fig. 11–12) that differ typologically and in size from the earlier combs but also the comb decorated with dotted ornaments and engraved »eyelets« from Tower 19 (Fig. 2. 5; Fig. 7). These combs found in the 5th century layers represent the regression of the three-partite unilateral combs and they were produced under the influence of the Chernyahov traditions.

The unilateral combs with triangular handle and the case decorated with horse protomes are functionally similar to the previous type. This kind of Roman antler comb made under »barbarian« influence is connected with the cavalry units of the provincial army,

⁹ Petković 1995, 120–121.

¹⁰ See the catalogue for many analogies originating from the necropolises of the Chernyahov–Sîntana de Mureş culture.

¹¹ I think that workshops were located in the eastern section of Romuliana fortification considering the concentration of objects, raw material and semi finished objects of antler within Palace II sector, East Gate sector and the Thermae sector.



Fig. 11. The bell-shaped comb from the Sektor of Baths (Cat. 8)

Fig. 12. The bell-shaped comb from the pit 3/04, the Sektor of Baths (Cat. 9)

Сл. 11. Чешаљ са полукружном гричком са Сектора шерми (кат. 8).

Сл. 12. Чешаљ са полукружном гричком из јаме 3/04, Сектор шерми (кат. 9)

equites pseudocomitatenses, recruited among the German foederati. The combs of this type were insignia and designations of rank of the commanders of these units as well as the fibulae of the swastika shape decorated with the horse protomes.¹² In the area of eastern Illyricum, where Romuliana was located, the *equites pseudocomitatenses* were guarding the roads and fortified towns in the Timok valley from the year 380 to the transition from the 4th into the 5th century, i.e. until the year 408 at the latest.¹³

As has been mentioned, all three-partite antler combs were found in the layers of the Late Roman horizon in Romuliana dating from the final quarter of the 4th and from the 5th century and identified on the basis of archaeological excavations conducted at this site.¹⁴ This horizon consists of three phases with corresponding levels and layers, so phase 1 dates from the final quarter of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century; phase 2 from the first half of the 5th century and phase 3 from the middle – second half of the 5th century.

Phase 1 developed during the final quarter of the 4th century, after the battle of Adrianople in 378 when the Romans suffered a defeat at the hands of the united barbarians, Goths, Huns and Alanes and emperor Valens was killed in the battle. His heir Theodosius I, the emperor of the Eastern Empire, after continuing battles against the barbarian groups from 380 to 382 established peace and allowed the Goths to settle in the Danubean provinces as foederati. Also, some of the barbarians were accepted in the auxiliary units of the Roman

army and settled within the Empire on the war-devastated lands. After the year 382 Romuliana known at that time as *Romulianum*, which was an imperial property was inhabited by the newly arrived barbarians but also by the local population from the neighbouring villages (*vici, pagi*). The earlier investigations of Romuliana in the Palace I sector and Palace II sector revealed the horizon from the end of 4th – first half of the 5th century with many reconstructions of the structures of the Galerius' palace, a number of economic structures built of dry masonry and the newly built basilica¹⁵ while the more recent investigations *extra muros* brought to light a large cemetery from the final quarter of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century that spread to the south of the fortification.¹⁶

The second phase dates most probably from the beginning of the 5th century after the Uldis' Huns invaded the territory of Dacia Ripensis in 408–409 and when the near-by fortification *Castra Martis* was destroyed.¹⁷ This attack of »barbarians« also endangered *Romulia-*

¹² Petković 1999, 223–226.

¹³ Petrović 1995, 56; Petković 1998, 226–228.

¹⁴ Janković 1983, 107–109; Petković 2004, 129–138; Petković 2006, 40.

¹⁵ Janković 1983, 98–106; Petković 2004, 127–153; Živić, Petković 2004, 19–28; Petković, Živić 2005, 32–37.

¹⁶ Segment of this necropolis investigated in the 2006 campaign indicate the »barbarized« military population on the basis of the grave assemblages.

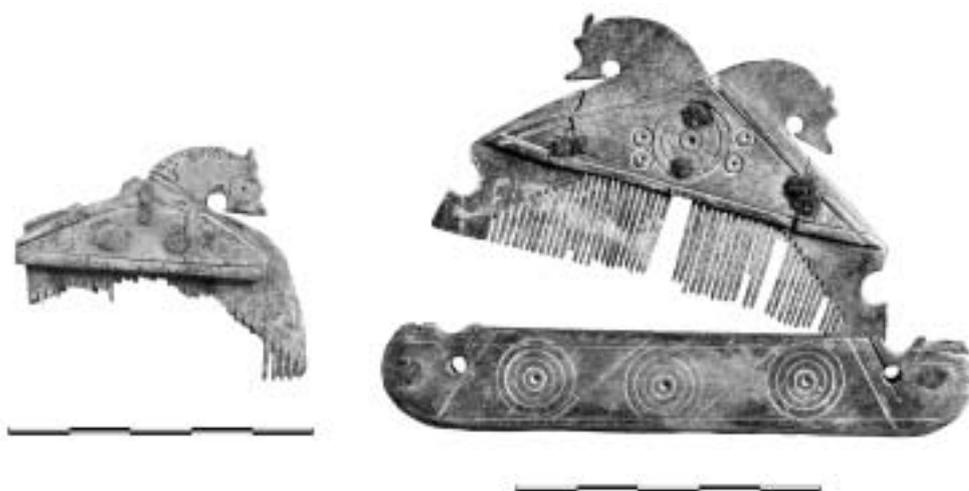


Fig. 13. The comb of triangular shape ornamented with horses' protomes, the Sektor of Baths, apodyterium, leyer D (Cat. 2)

Fig. 14. The comb of triangular shape with case, ornamented with horses' protomes, Tower 19, segment II, leyer D (Cat. 1)

Сл. 13. Чешаљ са широкотраном гричком украшеном коњским протомима из слоја D у айодитеријуму шерми, Сектор шерми (кат. 2)

Сл. 14. Чешаљ са широкотраном гричком и фуширолом украшеном коњским протомима из слоја D у сејменју 2, Кула 19 (кат. 1)

num as is confirmed by a layer of conflagration inside the fortification. However, life continued within the fortification until the catastrophe in 441–443 when the invasion of Attila's Huns destroyed the Danube frontier and devastated the entire Balkans. At that time *Romulianum*, a settlement of merchants and artisans with a small cavalry unit of *auxilia* was destroyed.

The third phase is dated to the mid to late 5th century after the invasion of Huns in 441–443. The intensive layer dating from the second half of the 5th century was established by the destruction and devastation of the Later Roman buildings within the fortification. Life at Romuliana continued during that period outside the ramparts while the fortification was from time to time used as *refugium* as it is confirmed by the graves dug in tower 19¹⁸ and the remains of structures, pits and hearths encountered in the Thermae sector.

The finds of three-partite antler combs with a single row of teeth prove the continuity of the population of the Late Roman Romuliana from the final quarter of the 4th to the mid to late 5th century considering their ethnic and also social characteristics. I think that this population resulted from a symbiosis of the arriving »barbarians« from the left bank of the Danube, first of all the Goths and the autochthonous population, which was also

to a degree settled here from Dacia at the end of the 3rd century. In any case, in such an established group with a strong military, i.e. warrior component the above described combs retained their importance until the end of the 5th century when radical changes denoting the beginning of the Early Byzantine period took place at Romuliana. This is not the case at other sites in our country, first of all in the fortifications on the Danube *limes* where such comb types appear in a limited time interval, from the final quarter of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century, and in any case not after the invasion of the Huns in 441.¹⁹ I believe, therefore, that the population of Romuliana lived in a local, rather isolated and self-sufficient community. This opens up the question of the character of the settlement established in the final quarter of the 4th century within the fortified imperial palace at Gamzigrad which without doubt also had a defensive character.

¹⁷ The ruins of this fortification around 30 kilometers far from Romuliana have been recorded in the present-day Kula in Bulgaria.

¹⁸ Petković 2004, 136.

¹⁹ Petković 1995, 124–125; Petković 1999, 218, 227–228, Table 1.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- Alföldi 1957** – M. Alföldi, Knochengegenstände, in: *Intercisa II. Geschichte der Stadt in der Römerzeit*, *Archeologia Hungarica* 36, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiado, 477–495.
- Bíró 1994** – M. T. Bíró, *The Bone Objects of the Roman Collection*, *Catalogi Musei Nationalis Hungarici*, Series Archaeologica II, Budapest: Hungarian National Museum.
- Diaconu 1965** – Gh. Diaconu, *Tîrgsor – necropola complexă din secolele III–IV e. n.*, *Biblioteca de arheologie* 8, Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române.
- Dimitrijević 1984** – Д. Димитријевић, Сапаја, римско и средњовековно утврђење на острву код Старе Паланке, *Старинар* 33–34/1982–1983, 29–62.
- Gomolka 1967** – G. Gomolka, Iatrus–Krivina, *Katalog der Kleinfunde, Klio/1966*, Berlin, 291–356.
- Kelemen 1981** – M. H. Kelemen, Funde und Grabungen in Tokod, in: *Die spätromische Festung und das Graberfeld von Tókod*, Hrsg: Mócsy, A., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiado, 13–71.
- Janakievski 1987** – Т. Јанакиевски, *Heraclea Lynkestis–Teatnar*, Посебни изданија, книга 2, Битола: Завод за заштита на спомениците на културата, природните реткости, музеј и галерија.
- Janković 1983** – Ђ. Јанковић, У сутону антике, in: *Гамзиград. Касноантички царски дворца*, Београд: Галерија САНУ, 98–119.
- Levinschi 1999** – A. Levinschi, Gräberfelder der späten Černjachov–Kultur, in: *Die Sîntana de Mureş–Černjachov–Kultur, Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums in Caputh vom 20. bis 24. Oktober 1995*, Hrsg: Gudrun Gomolka–Fuchs, *Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, Band 2, Bonn: Römisch–Germanische Kommission, Frankfurt a.M., Eurasien–Abteilung, Berlin des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, 23–32.
- Ljubenova 1981** – В. Любенова, Селището от римската и ранновизантийската епоха, in: *Перник I, Поселищен живої на хълма Кракра от V хил. пр. н. е. до VI в. на н. е.*, София: Българската Академия на науките, 107–200.
- Marinescu, Gaiu 1989** – G. Marinescu, C. Gaiu, Die Nekropole bei Fintinele »Rit« Gem. Matei, Jud. Bistriţa–Nasaud, *Dacia* 33/ 1–2, 15–143.
- Mitrea, Preda 1966** – В. Mitrea, V. Preda, *Necropole din secolul al IV –lea e. n. în Muntenia*, *Biblioteca de arheologie* 10, Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste Romuna.
- Nenquin 1953** – J. A. E. Nenquin, *La nécropole de Furfooz*, *Dissertationes Archaeologicae Gandenses I*, Brugge: L'Université de Gand et Société archéologique de Namur.
- Nikitina 1988** – Г. Ф. Никитина, Черняховский могильник у с. Оселивка Кельменцкого района Черновицкой обл. in: *Могилиники черняховской культуры*, ед: Кропоткин, В.В., Москва: Академия Наук СССР, 5–97.
- Petković 1995** – S. Petković, *Rimski predmeti od kosti i roga sa teritorije Gornje Mezije*, Posebna izdanja, knjiga 28, Beograd: Arheološki institut.
- Petković 1999** – Petković, S. Meaning and Provenance of Horses' Protomes Decoration on the Roman Antler Combs, *Starinar* 49 /1998, 215–228.
- Petković 2003** – С. Петковић, Чешљеви од јелењег рога из јужне куле западне капије млађег утврђења Ромулијане, *Развишак* 43, бр. 211–212, Зајечар, 35–40.
- Petković 2004** – С. Петковић, Археолошка ископавања у јужној кули западне капије млађег утврђења на локалитету *Romuliana* – Гамзиград у 2002. години, *Гласник Српској археолошкој друштва* 20/ 2004, Београд, 127–153.
- Petković 2006** – S. Petković, Study of Stratigraphy of Cultural Layers of Late Roman Romuliana; Case Study: South Tower of West Gate of Later Fortification, in: *Felix Romuliana. 50 Years of Archaeological Excavations, Papers from the International Conference, Zaječar, 27th–29th October 2003*, ed: Vasić, M., Beograd: Institute of Archaeology, Committee on Archaeology of Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, National Museum Zaječar, 29–45.
- Petković, Živić 2005** – С. Петковић, М. Живић, Археолошка истраживања Ромулијане – Гамзиграда током 2005. године, *Развишак* 45/бр. 221–222, Зајечар, 32–37.
- Petković, Živić 2006** – С. Петковић, М. Живић, Трагови металуршких активности у касноантичкој Ромулијани: Истраживања 2002–2005, *Гласник Српској археолошкој друштва* 22/2006, Београд, 135–148.
- Petrov 1964** – В. П. Петров, Черняховский могильник (по материалам раскопок В. В. Хвойки в 1900–1901 г.), in: *Древности эпохи сложения восточнославянского*, МИА СССР 116.
- Petrov 1964** – В. П. Петров, Масловский могильник на р. Товмач (по материалам раскопок П. И. Смолчева и С. С. Гамченко в 1926, 1928 и 1929 г. г.),

in: *Древности эпохи сложения восточнославянского*, МИА СССР 116, Москва: Академия наук СССР, 118–167.

Petrović 1995 – P. Petrović, Le fortresses de la basse antiquité dans la région du Haut Timok, *Starinar* 45–46 / 1994–1995, Beograd, 55–66.

Popović M. 1987 – M. Popović, Južac kod Sopotana, *Arheološki pregled* 1986, Ljubljana, 115–117.

Popović V. 1987 – V. Popović, Die Süddanubischen Provinzen in der in der Spätantike vom Ende des 4. bis zur Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts, in: *Die Völker Südosteuropas im 6. bis 8. Jahrhunderts*, Hrsg. Hänsel, B., München–Berlin, 95–139.

Preda 1980 – C. Preda, *Callatis. Necropola romano-bizantina*, Biblioteca de aheologie 38, Bucuresti: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste Romuna.

Pusztai 1966 – R. A. Pusztai, Lébény german fejedelmi sir, *Arrabona* 8/1966, Budapest–Gyor.

Sálamon, Barkóci 1971 – A. Sálamon, L. Barkóci, Bestattungen von Csákvar aus dem Ende des 4. und Anfang des 5 J.h., *Alba Regia* 11, Szekesfehervar.

Şovan 1999 – O. L. Şovan, La chronologie de la nécropole de Mihălşeni, Roumanie, in: *Die Sîntana de Mureş–Černjachov–Kultur, Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums in Caputh vom 20. bis 24. Oktober 1995*, Hrsg. Gudrun Gomolka–Fuchs, Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Band 2, Bonn: Römisch–Germanische Kommission, Frankfurt a.M., Eurasien–Abteilung, Berlin des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, 11–22.

Symonovič 1988 – Э. А. Сымонович, Придунайский могильник Фурмановка, in: *Могильники черняховской культуры*, Ед. Кропоткин, В.В., Москва: Академия Наук СССР, 148–163

Thomas 1960 – S. Thomas, Studien zu den germanischen Kämmen der römischen Kaiserzeit, *Arbeits- und Forschungsberichte zur Sächsischen Bodendenkmalpflege* 8, Leipzig, 54–121.

Živić 2003 – M. Živić, *Felix Romuliana. 50 Years of Solving*, Beograd: National Museum Zaječar.

Živić, Petković 2004 – М. Живић, С. Петковић, Археолошка истраживања Ромулијане 2004. године, *Развитак* 44 / бр. 217–218, Зајечар, 19–28.

Резиме:

СОФИЈА ПЕТКОВИЋ, Археолошки институт, Београд

ЈЕДНОРЕДНИ ЧЕШЉЕВИ ОД ЈЕЛЕЊЕГ РОГА СА РОМУЛИЈАНЕ

Истраживањима на Ромулијани, у слојевима касноантичког хоризонта с краја IV – средине/друге половине V века, нађено је девет трослојних чешљева са једним редом зубаца од јелењег рога (Сл. 2. 1–9). Они су нађени на три сектора на овом налазишту (Сл. 1): четири примерка у јужној кули западне капије млађег утврђења, Кули 19, два на Сектору палате II, јужно од Кибелиног храма и три на Сектору терми у југоисточном делу утврђења.

Поменути чешљевии могу се сврстати у два типа: тип трослојних, једноредних чешљева са полукружном дршком (Петковић чешаљ тип VII) и тип трослојних, једноредних чешљева са тространом дршком украшеном коњским протомима (Петковић чешаљ тип VI). Тип VII (Сл. 2. 3–9), у провинцијама на тлу Горње Мезије (*Moesia I, Dacia Ripensis, Dacia Mediterranea, Dardania*), генерално се датује у IV – прву половину V века. Чешљевии са коњским протомима, тип VI (Сл. 2. 1–2), датују се у поменути провинцијама у последњу четвртину IV – почетак V века, односно ближе 380–408. године.

Анализом једноредних чешљева од јелењег рога са Ромулијане издвојене су две групе: старија, са примерцима са полукружном дршком са седластим завршецима, насталим у оквиру културе Черњахов–Синтана де Муреш (Сл. 2. 3, 5–7; Сл. 5–8), и млађа, са примерцима са полукружном дршком (Сл. 2. 8–9; Сл. 10; Сл. 12) или тространом дршком украшеном коњским протомима (Сл. 2, 1–2; Сл. 13–14). Чешљевии друге групе, настали под »варварским« утицајем, највероватније су израђивани у радионицама Ромулијане, собзиром на велику концентрацију предмета, сировина и полупроизвода од јелењег рога у источном делу утврђења.

Треба поменути јединствен налаз прерађеног чешља са полукружном дршком са седластим завршецима у мали чешаљ са полукружном дршком (Сл. 2. 4; Сл. 6), што је по мом сазнању једини констатован случај. Цео чешаљ је смањен, тако што су оплате скраћене, лук дршке је опсечен, те се украсни жлеб нашао уз саму горњу ивицу. Уметнута је нова плочица са зупцима, вероватно јер су се стари оштетили. Она је невешто уклопљена уз постојећу плочицу са зупцима, пре свега јер су различите дебљине, а и густина зубаца није симетрична. Чешаљ је спојен је са пет бронзаних закивака, а то један на лучној дршци, један на делу оплате изнад старих зубаца и три, један преко другог, на страни оплате где су уметнути нови зупци. На овом месту оплата је пукла при реконструкцији због веће дебљине средишњег слоја, те је »мајстор« зато причврстио са више закивака. На лучној дршци су видљиве две рупице од старих закивака, које су после поправке чешља служиле за качење на алку или узицу.

Занимљив је и остатак украса на оплати – једно »окце« и кружић са »окцем« у средини, потпуно ексцентрично постављени у односу на смањену оплату.

Ови чешљевии, због малих димензија, нису могли да се користе за чешљање косе, али су могли причвршћивати фризуру. Занимљиво је да су дугу косу, под утицајем »варварског« укуса, у касној антици носили и припадници римске војске. Како је код источних Германа постојало веровање да је снага човека, пре свега ратника, похрањена у коси, чешаљ је био значајан култни предмет. Он је, због додира са косом, имао низ магијских функција, пре свега заштитну. Зато су мали чешљевии са једним редом зубаца, највероватније, стално ношени у коси, закачени за појас, или на узици око врата, о чеми сведоче рупице за провлачење металних алки за качење и на примерцима са Ромулијане (Сл. 5–6; Сл. 13–14). На крају, ни после смрти се власник чешља није одвајао од свог амулета и често је са њим сахрањиван.

Римски једноредни чешљевии са тространом дршком и футролом украшеном коњским протомима, настали под »варварским« утицајем, повезани су са коњичким одредима провинцијске војске, *equites pseudocomitatenses*. Они су били инсигније и ознаке чина заповедника поменутих јединица, као и фибуле у облику свастике украшене коњским протомима. У Источном Илирику, где се налазила Ромулијана, *equites pseudocomitatenses* су обезбеђивали путеве и утврђене градове од 380 до прелаза IV у V век, а најкасније до 408. године.

Налази трослојних једноредних чешљева од јелењег рога са Ромулијане сведоче о континуитету становништва касноантичког периода на овом локалитету од последње четвртине IV до краја V века. *Romulianum* V века био је насељен »варварима«, носиоцима културе Черњахов Синтана де Муреш, пре свега Готима, које је Теодосије I примио на територију Царства 380–382. године и аутохтоним становништвом из руралне околине Галеријеве палате. Симбиозом ове две популације, настало је становништво, које је између осталог, имало афинитет ка једноредним чешљевима од јелењег рога.

Утврђено насеље на Гамзиграду претрпело је током V века у два маха нападе Хуна: 408 под вођством Улдиса, после разарања утврђења *Castra Martis*, данашња Кула у Бугарској, и 441/443. Атилину инвазију на територију Царства после слома Дунавског лимеса. Ипак, живот се наставио на сличан начин у Ромулијани, све до краја V века, када су рановизантијски цареви Анастасије и/или Јустин I на Гамзиграду подигли насеље сасвим другачијег карактера. Питање о функцији касноантичке Ромулијане, настале на царском поседу у последњој четвртину IV века, за сада остаје без одговора.