

A IN HONOREM VALERIU SÎRBU

ARHEOLOGIE

IX<sub>1</sub>



INTERDISCIPLINARITATE  
ÎN ARHEOLOGIE ȘI ISTORIE

2021

ASOCIAȚIA ARHEO VEST  
TIMIȘOARA

# ARHEOVEST

**IX<sub>1</sub>**

-IN HONOREM VALERIU SÎRBU-

Interdisciplinaritate în Arheologie și Istorie

Timișoara, noiembrie 2021



Editura MEGA  
Cluj-Napoca  
2021

**Editor:** Sorin FORȚIU  
**Coordonator:** Dorel MICLE  
**DVD-ROM:** Adrian CÎNTAR  
**WEB:** Sorin FORȚIU și Claudiu TOMA  
**Coperta:** Aurelian SCOROBETE

**Această lucrare a apărut sub egida:**



**Asociația  
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Timișoara**



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TIMIȘ**

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Președinte Lorena SMADU

ISBN 978-606-020-407-7 (General)  
ISBN 978-606-020-408-4 (Vol. I)

**Descrierea CIP a Bibliotecii Naționale a României**  
**In onorem Valeriu Sirbu : interdisciplinaritate în**  
**arheologie și istorie.** - Cluj-Napoca : Mega, 2021  
2 vol.  
ISBN 978-606-020-407-7  
**Vol. 1.** - Conține bibliografie. - ISBN 978-606-020-408-4

902  
94

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# ECHO FROM THE PAST? A CONTRIBUTION TO COMPREHENSION OF ANTIQUE PAINTED POTTERY FROM MONTENEGRO

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**Rezumat.** Ceramica pictată din epoca romană a fost descoperită doar sporadic pe teritoriul Balcanilor Centrali. Este larg acceptat faptul că are analogiile sale în ceramica pictată cu motive geometrice din La Tène. Distribuția ceramicii pictate La Tène - departe spre nord în comparație cu descoperirile antice din Muntenegru și atribuirea cronologică a perioadei nu mai târziu de secolul I dHr, ne face prudenți cu concluziile cu privire la conexiunile directe ale populației și/sau influențele tehnologice.

**Cuvinte cheie:** perioada romană, La Tène, ceramică pictată, Komini, *Doclea*, Muntenegru, Dalmația, Balcanii Centrali.

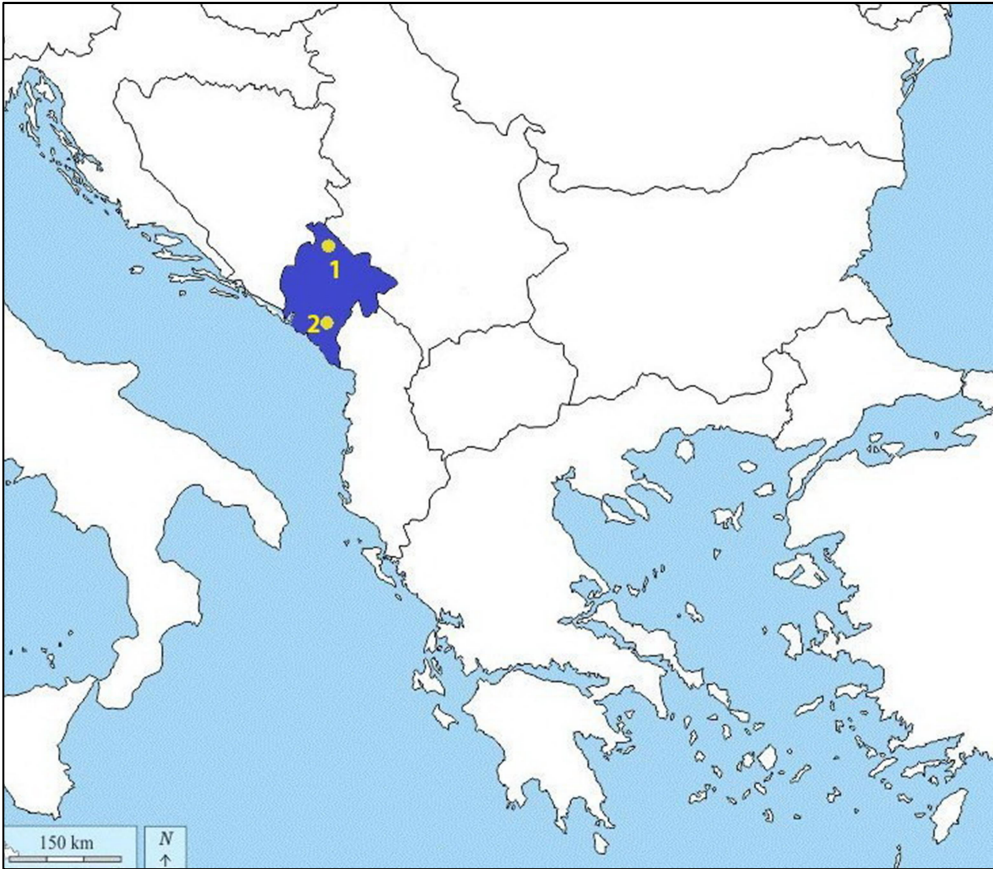
Inspiration for the present paper came from the sites of Komini, situated in the vicinity of present-day Pljevlja and *Doclea* by Podgorica in Montenegro (**Fig. 1**). Painted pottery from the Roman epoch has been discovered in the territory of the Central Balkans only sporadically. It is widely accepted that it has its analogies in the Late La Tène painted pottery with geometrical motifs. Despite the painted pottery reaches its apogee in its zone of origin in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, it appears later in other regions of its distribution. Its end in Pannonia can be placed in the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD and in central part of the province of Dalmatia even later, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. Lack of securely dated finds in most of the cases disabled its reliable dating in certain provinces<sup>1</sup>.

Painted pottery has been a subject for archaeological studies on the La Tène for a long time. It was a highly-valued and much sought-for luxury commodity in Late Iron Age Europe. Production of painted pottery in La Tène Europe begins in the 5<sup>th</sup> century in the Marne, Loire and Rhône valleys, where ornaments are similar to Greek patterns but made to conform to Celtic beliefs and practices<sup>2</sup>. La Tène painted pottery is described by two ornamental styles used respectively in Western and Central

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<sup>1</sup> Цермановић-Кузмановић, 1975, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Сладић, 2009, p. 79-81, 100.

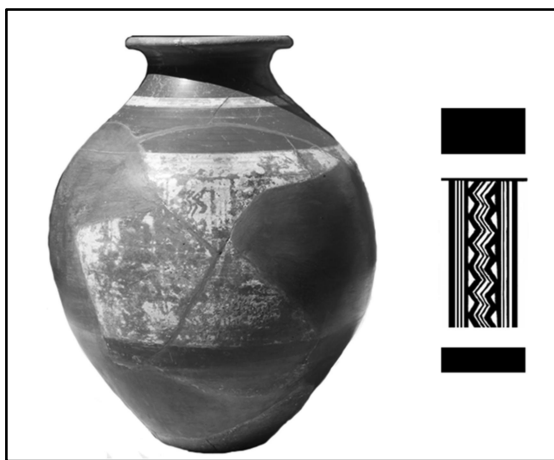


**Fig. 1. Position of the sites of Komini (1) and Doclea (2).**

Europe. Consequently, the two styles were termed Western and Eastern La Tène styles. The two styles share a number of similarities, but also display stylistic features different to a certain degree. The earliest finds have been traced to the LT C2 chronological phase, when painted pottery reappears in Western Europe, soon spreads eastwards in the areas defined by La Tène material culture and at the same time becomes one of its ‘trademarks’. Since the zone of its diffusion is vast, the decoration is not uniform, however some general elements can be observed, such as inclination towards painting elongated and globular shapes, and ornaments based on the combination of lighter and darker nuances of white and red colour. The simplest ornamentation uses alternate stripes of these contrasting tones, usually having the lighter shade as coating, sometimes in combination with unpainted areas. More rarely geometric, stylized vegetal or animal depictions are applied onto this background, mainly in a darker shade (grey/sepia on white, claret/brown on red). Unlike the frequent use of vegetal and animal stylized representations in Western Europe, the Eastern La Tène style is characterized by the almost exclusive use of geometric patterns. At the same time, a more

varied set of ware types was painted in the east<sup>3</sup>. Regional developments are detectable both in decoration and in the ware types. During the Roman period the geometric patterns are replaced with animal and human figures framed by schematic vegetal motifs. They were continuing the technological traditions of La Tène painted pottery, but breaking away from its geometric aspect<sup>4</sup> as confirmed e. g. at Gomolava<sup>5</sup>.

In the Scordisci's area the most important archaeological sites with painted pottery are Gomolava, Židovar, Stari Slankamen, Čarnok, Karaburma, Rospi Čuprija and Ajmana. Already mentioned Gomolava is a well-known and well-investigated site. Bowls and amphorae form the earliest phase (VIa) of this La Tène settlement reveal red and white horizontal bands on a light red background, while large storage jars bear more intricate patterns. Interestingly, in the phase VIb the quantity of painted pottery increases. The bowls are decorated with white bands on a red background, while the amphorae are more elaborately decorated. In the last phase in the La Tène stratigraphic sequence, a decline both in diversity of patterns and in quantity of pottery can be observed<sup>6</sup>. At Židovar, where three La Tène layers – Celtic, Daco-Celtic and Daco-Roman – have been identified<sup>7</sup>, painted pottery is most numerous in the oldest layer, attributed exclusively to the Scordisci. The diapason of ornament is modest and consists mostly of horizontal bands in red and white. Rare exceptions are one amphora (**Fig. 2**)<sup>8</sup> and a fragmented larger-sized pot with bundles of oblique and zigzag lines painted in white<sup>9</sup>. A distinction of La Tène at Židovar is the find of painted fruit stands<sup>10</sup>. Painted pottery of Dacian provenance belongs to the Daco-Celtic stratum (the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC)<sup>11</sup>. In western Syrmia and eastern Slavonia, at the sites of Dirov Brijeg in Vinkovci and Damića Gradina in Stari Mikanovci, very few samples of painted pottery have been found. The fragments were simply decorated with wider horizontal bands and groups of straight vertical lines painted in



**Fig. 2. Painted vessel from Židovar<sup>12</sup>.**

<sup>3</sup> Drăgan, 2014, p. 301-302.

<sup>4</sup> Drăgan, 2014, p. 302.

<sup>5</sup> Jovanović–Jovanović, 1988, T. XXII/5a–b.

<sup>6</sup> Сладић, 2009, p. 90-91, 101.

<sup>7</sup> Jevtić, Ljuština, 2008.

<sup>8</sup> Сладић, 2009, fig. 12.

<sup>9</sup> Сладић, 2009, fig. 13.

<sup>10</sup> Сладић, 2009, fig. 14a–c.

<sup>11</sup> Сладић, 2009, p. 91-92, 101.

<sup>12</sup> Сладић, 2009, fig. 12.

red<sup>13</sup>. Apart from the settlement contexts, painted pottery was present in the inventory of the necropolises of the Scordisci: Karaburma, Rospi Ćuprija, Osijek, Sotin and Ajmana. The necropolis at Rospi Ćuprija has yielded two painted vessels, one of them lavishly decorated<sup>14</sup>. Five Late La Tène graves<sup>15</sup> at Karaburma comprised fragments of amphorae, modestly decorated with red horizontal bands<sup>16</sup>.

For the region north of the Lower Danube – neighbouring to the Central Balkans, the first comprehensive studies on the subject have been published quite recently<sup>17</sup> and have proven to be instructive for the present topic. The first and easily recognisable reason is the fact that the painted pottery from the Scordiscan zone on the right bank of the Iron Gates area (e.g. the necropolis of Mala Vrbica–Ajmana), and that from the fortified settlement of Židovar should be connected to the sites from western and south-western Romania. However, the nature of the interaction between these locations and the sites from Romania in the Late Iron Age, largely proven by the archaeological material, is still to be fully comprehended from the perspective of social and political identities<sup>18</sup>.

The first pottery painted north of the lower Danube<sup>19</sup> can be traced to the second century BC. Still, its largest production begins only in the next century. The finds come mainly from southern Moldavia and, in lesser frequency, from Wallachia and Transylvania. The painted decoration was applied on consumption ware such as beakers and bowls, but especially on the local kantharoi produced to the east of the Carpathian Mountains<sup>20</sup>, further indicating the origin and bulk of the production in this area. They were usually decorated with straight or undulating lines and zigzags, but triangles were also frequent. It is very important to emphasize that Orăștie Mountains painted pottery is not only stylistically distinct but also had a later chronological development having its beginnings in the first century AD. In this case, unlike pottery with geometric decoration, tall vessels were preferred, whereas consumption ware was less commonly painted. Furthermore, ornamentation had a very specific aspect, focusing around animal and vegetal motifs. Both the ‘Dacian painted pottery’ and that produced in the Orăștie Mountains used a similar painting technique, at the same time resembling La Tène style. Decoration was in red shades applied on a white slip or in some cases directly on the unpainted surface. Black colour was rarely used and

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<sup>13</sup> Сладић, 2009, p. 94.

<sup>14</sup> Сладић, 2009, fig. 15.

<sup>15</sup> No. 1, 96, 110, 203 and 228.

<sup>16</sup> Сладић, 2009, p. 93; Drăgan, 2014.

<sup>17</sup> Florea, 1998; Drăgan, 2014.

<sup>18</sup> cf. Popović, 2000, p. 95, 97; Jevtić, Ljuština, 2008, p. 29–30; Drăgan 2012; Drăgan 2013; Drăgan, 2014, p. 306.

<sup>19</sup> When this zone is in question, painted pottery can be termed ‘La Tène’ and ‘Dacian painted pottery’ in the literature. These are generic terms describing finds from large geographical areas associated with each of the two cultural groups. Importantly, one must bear in mind that despite the existence of shared technological and decorative features which define each group, many regional developments are masked by the ‘La Tène’ or ‘Dacian’ labels (Drăgan, 2014, p. 301).

<sup>20</sup> Glodariu, 1974, p. 41–42, 46, 143–144.

it should not be considered a widespread feature of the 'Dacian painted pottery'. Unlike La Tène painted pottery the firing was oxidizing or reducing, conferring together with the diversity of clays a varied trait to the 'Dacian painted pottery' even as represented on the same site<sup>21</sup>. Although La Tène and 'Dacian painting techniques' to a certain degree resemble each other, the individual nature of the products is normally recognizable<sup>22</sup>.

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The findings of painted ceramic vessels discovered in today's Montenegro, that is, in a territory which during the Roman domination used to lie within the boundaries of the province of Dalmatia, forming its south-eastern part,<sup>23</sup> come from the archaeological excavations of *Municipium S...* and ancient *Doclea*. These are the most important urban centres in this part of the province, the first of which is located in the mountainous areas in the north of today's Montenegro, in Komini near Pljevlja, while the second one is situated at the confluence of the Zeta into the Morača river by today's Podgorica (**Fig. 1**).

The first extensive archaeological excavations at these sites undertaken during the 1960s and 1970s were mostly aimed at researching ancient necropolises. A large number of excavated graves within the south-eastern necropolis of *Doclea* (351), as well as those originating from two necropolises of Komini (about 700)<sup>24</sup>, provided plenty of opportunities to study the funeral customs of the inhabitants of these cities formed in the 1<sup>st</sup> that is 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. Burials in the south-eastern necropolis of *Doclea* were performed in the period from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, while in Komini the excavations confirmed the existence of two necropolises, an older one (necropolis I) where burials took place during the 1<sup>st</sup> and the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and a younger one (necropolis II), in use from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the middle or second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Among various archaeological finds, the most numerous group is the pottery<sup>25</sup>. In the abundance of ceramic vessels, those with painted motifs stand out for the quality of their manufacture and manner of decoration.

The vessels with painted decoration in Komini originate from the central part of the necropolis II, where burials took place during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, i.e. during its second half. Painted vessels are present in various types of graves. They can be found in pits with stone ash boxes, in grave pits with ceramic urns covered with a stone slab or surrounded with a "wreath" of stone slabs, or in graves without ash containers (**Fig. 3, 3a**). There is only one grave with inhumed remains of the deceased, which is dated

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<sup>21</sup> Florea, 1998.

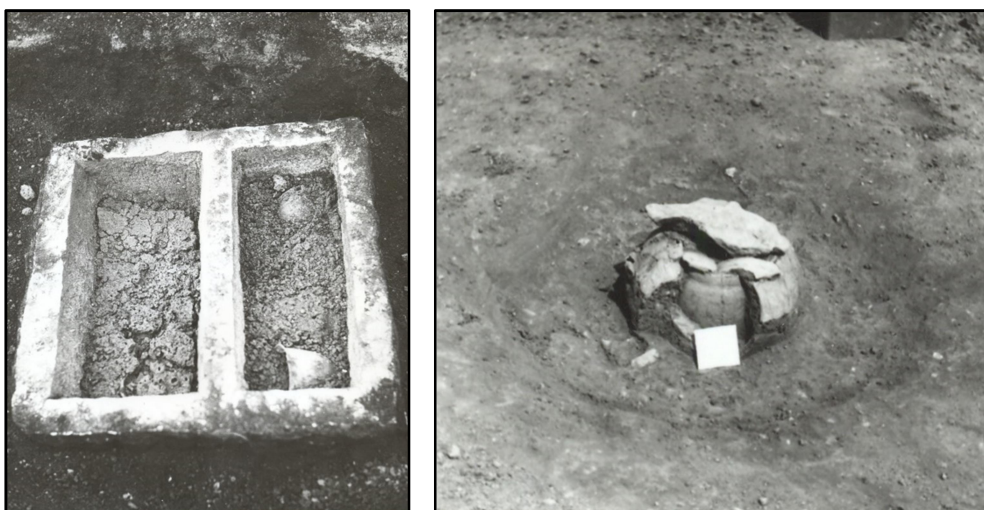
<sup>22</sup> Drăgan, 2014, p. 302-303.

<sup>23</sup> Southwestern Serbia and the border region of today's Serbia and Montenegro were presumably south-westernmost zone of maximal spread of the Scordiscan territory in pre-Roman times (cf. Papazoglu, 1969, p. 282-288).

<sup>24</sup> Цермановић-Кузмановић, Срејовић, Велимировић-Жижић, 1975; Сermanović-Кузмановић, 1966; Цермановић-Кузмановић, 1981; Сermanović-Кузмановић, 1998; Цермановић-Кузмановић, 2009.

<sup>25</sup> Сermanović-Кузмановић, 1976; see also: Цермановић-Кузмановић, 1975; Vujović, Ružić, Cvijetić, *in press*.





**Fig. 3–3a. Cremation burials' constructions - necropolis II, Komini - *Municipium S...*<sup>26</sup>.**

to a slightly later period, i.e. to the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Out of a total of nine vessels with painted motifs discovered so far, eight originate from graves.

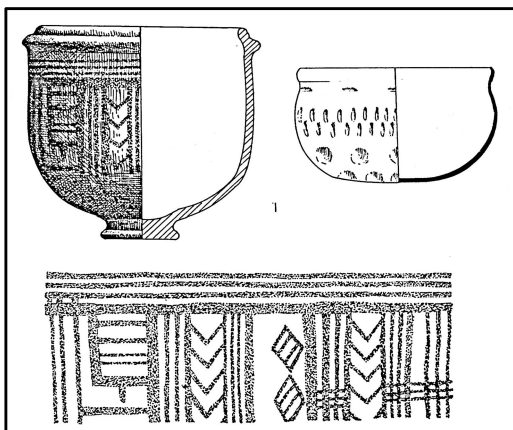


**Fig. 4. Painted vessel from grave with cremation, necropolis II, Komini, no. 143<sup>27</sup>.**

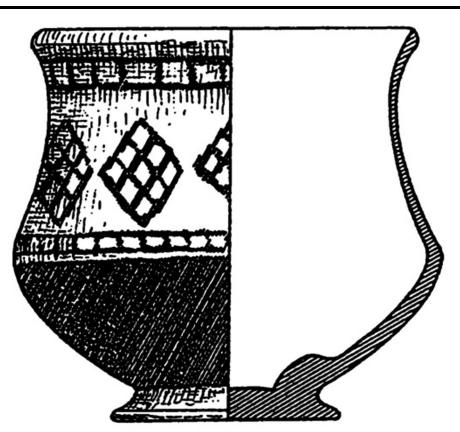
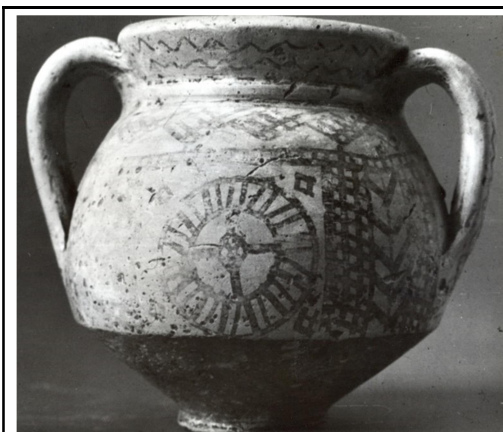
A vessel discovered during the renewed archaeological excavations in Komini in 2008 in the eastern part of the settlement, at the site of "Grad", represents a lonely example<sup>28</sup>.

All vessels with painted decoration from Komini were manufactured on a potter's wheel out of fine texture clay of either white or pale-yellow colour from firing. The decoration was made in dark brown colour on a light background, and in one case, the decoration was painted on a fine white slip (**Fig. 4**). The dominant motifs are geometrical shapes such as triangle, reticulate motif, rhombus or broken zig-zag line. There is also the motif of fish bone as well as symbols such as a wheel or the sun (**Fig. 5, 5a, 6**), i.e. motifs that are mostly well-known from the painted pottery of the Late Iron Age<sup>29</sup>. In comparison with later graves with inhumation, a

<sup>26</sup> Photo documentation of the Archaeological Collection of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade.



**Fig. 5–5a. Painted vessel from grave with cremation, necropolis II, Komini, no. 140<sup>30</sup>.**



**Fig. 6. Painted vessel from grave with cremation, necropolis II, Komini, no. 141<sup>31</sup>.**

**Fig. 7. Painted vessel from grave with inhumation, necropolis II, Komini, no. 209<sup>32</sup>.**

special difference was discovered in the method of decoration used on vessels from older graves with cremation (**Fig. 7**)<sup>33</sup>.

It is important to mention that most pots, cups and bowls represent ceramics with painted decoration of simple shapes and that their role in the funerary ritual was

<sup>27</sup> Documetation of the Archaeological Collection of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade.

<sup>28</sup> Vujović, Ružić, Cvijetić, *in press*; Ružić, 2013; Vujović, Cvijetić, 2011.

<sup>29</sup> Сладић, 2009, p. 77-102; Тапавички-Илић, 2012, p. 158.

<sup>30</sup> Documetation of the Archaeological Collection of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade.

<sup>31</sup> Documetation of the Archaeological Collection of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade.

<sup>32</sup> Documetation of the Archaeological Collection of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade.

<sup>33</sup> Vujović, Ružić, Cvijetić, *in press*.

not always the same. Larger and deeper vessels were mostly used as urns, that is, as containers of ashes, while other forms appear as grave goods<sup>34</sup>.

The painted pottery in *Doclea*, although smaller in number, also originates from graves and belongs to a later period, the same as the painted pottery from Komini. All hitherto known finds from *Doclea* come from the south-eastern city necropolis, of which only one pitcher was found during archaeological excavations, while the others represent accidental finds.<sup>35</sup> The jugs are dominated by combined reticulate motifs made in dark brown colour on a light background, as in the case of the specimen from the grave of the inhumed deceased (**Fig. 8**), which is dated to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> or the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century according to the Tetrarchy coins<sup>36</sup>. Other, i.e. accidental finds of jugs, also belong to Late Antiquity (**Fig. 9**)<sup>37</sup>.

In the absence of epigraphic monuments it is difficult to say whether the appearance of painted pottery in graves in this area can be linked to the privileged individuals in local communities. However, this seems unlikely if we keep in mind that painted ceramic vessels appear in almost all types of graves found in the later necropolis of Komini, from grave pits without ash containers, through pits with ceramic urns, to graves with stone chests, and that the repertory of goods in these graves varies from modest to diverse and very rich grave goods. In the case of grave 140, next to the painted ceramic vessel that served as an urn, there was a glass cup, probably a product of Cologne workshops from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. In the grave pit 141, next to an urn covered with a slab and protected by a "wreath" of crushed stone, there was a painted two-eared pot. The grave pit with a stone ash box (grave 143) contained a pot covered with engobe and painted in red and brown colour. In the grave 150, in the soot next to the ash box there were a deep bowl with a painted reticulate motif on the belly and several pots. In the case of graves 191-192 (**Fig. 3**), with a double ash box, a rich inventory was found consisting of pieces of jewellery, ceramic and glass vessels. In the grave pit without ash recipient (grave 185) several grave goods in the form of ceramic vessels were recorded. The skeletal grave from Komini contained only a pot with painted decoration, while the grave in *Doclea*, in addition to the jug with painted decoration, also contained the remains of a glass cup and twenty pieces of coins, one of which was from Otacilia Severa and the remaining nineteen pieces from the Tetrarchy.

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<sup>34</sup> Vujović, Ružić, Cvijetić, *in press*.

<sup>35</sup> Two specimens of jugs were found during earthworks on the construction of the "Zagorič" substation. However, it is not known whether the graves were found on that occasion (Цермановић-Кузмановић, Срејовић, Велимировић-Жижих, 1975, p. 199; Цермановић-Кузмановић, 1975, p. 103).

<sup>36</sup> Grave number 89 from the south-eastern necropolis of *Doclea* contained skeletal remains of three deceased. The tomb construction is made of hewn stone, brick and mortar, with a plastered interior. The grave goods were found next to the skeleton of the last buried. In addition to the pitcher with painted motifs, two bronze bracelets, a fragmented glass cup and twenty coins were found in the grave, one of which was from the time of Philip the Arab and the remaining nineteen coins from the period of the Tetrarchy (Цермановић-Кузмановић, Срејовић, Велимировић-Жижих, 1975, p. 76, 77).

<sup>37</sup> Цермановић-Кузмановић, Срејовић, Велимировић-Жижих, 1975, p. 199, 215.



**Fig. 8. Painted jug from grave with inhumation, Doclea, no. 89<sup>38</sup>.**

**Fig. 9. Painted jug from southeastern necropolis, Doclea<sup>39</sup>.**

The daily use of ceramic pottery with painted decorations in the *Municipium S...* could be witnessed by a jug (**Fig. 10**) from the ancient settlement in Komini, but the finds of altars<sup>40</sup> within a kind of sacral space in the immediate vicinity suggest that the use of this vessel for cult purposes cannot be completely rejected<sup>41</sup>.

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Although the question of the origin of painted ceramics in Roman times has occupied the scientific public for more than half a century, the finds from the province of Dalmatia, primarily from the territory of Montenegro, have not been given enough attention<sup>42</sup>.

The first paper on this subject, a review of painted pottery from the Roman period from Montenegro was published in 1965, during the research of ancient necrop-

<sup>38</sup> Цермановић-Кузмановић, Срејовић, Велимировић-Жижић, 1975, fig. 80.

<sup>39</sup> Цермановић-Кузмановић, Срејовић, Велимировић-Жижић, 1975, fig. 81.

<sup>40</sup> Ружић, 2009, p.113–114, fig. 12.

<sup>41</sup> Vujović, Ružić, Cvijetić, *in press*.

<sup>42</sup> Poor research as well as insufficient publication of the material have partly contributed to that.



**Fig. 10. Painted vessel from the Roman settlement in Komini (*Municipium S...*)<sup>43</sup>.**

of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and in the central area of the province of Dalmatia it appears even later, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>49</sup> Regarding the findings from the area of Montenegro, it is indicated that each specimen represents a specific type, i.e. that the vessels have few common features, with the only exception of the vessel (**Fig. 4**) for which there

olises in Komini and after the excavations of the south-eastern necropolis of *Doclea*<sup>44</sup>. This paper, which also presents and analyses previously known examples of painted ceramic vessels from the mentioned area<sup>45</sup>, raises the question of their origin and place of production<sup>46</sup>. It has been noticed that they occur in several places, but sporadically. According to the usual opinion, it has its analogies in the painted pottery of late La Tène period with geometrical motifs that appear in an area outside Gaul in the territories that were under the influence of Celtic culture namely in a short period of time, until the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century<sup>47</sup>. The period of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC or 1<sup>st</sup> century AD is considered as a time of flourishing of this type of pottery in its home area<sup>48</sup> while in other areas it appears later, in Pannonia its termination dates to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> or beginning

<sup>43</sup> Vujović, Ružić, Cvijetić, in press, fig. 10.

<sup>44</sup> Цермановић-Кузмановић, 1975. A few years earlier was published Irma ČREMOŠNIK's paper on painted pottery from the Roman period in the area of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Čremošnik, 1960-1961).

<sup>45</sup> Comparing the specimens from Komini and *Doclea* it was concluded that each specimen represented a specific type, i.e. that the vessels had few common features. The use of a circle, fish bone and a stepped motif are noticeable on the painted pottery from Komini, while the pottery from *Doclea* usually has a reticulate motif. As far as the shape of the painted ceramics is concerned, in *Doclea* there are mostly pitchers with one or two handles, while in Komini there are cups or pots (Цермановић-Кузмановић, 1975, p. 104).

<sup>46</sup> There is also a short overview in the publication *Antique Doclea – necropolises* ten years later, so until recently this paper was also the only one that specifically dealt with the findings from the area of Montenegro.

<sup>47</sup> Čremošnik, 1961, p. 194 i d.

<sup>48</sup> Čremošnik, 1961.

<sup>49</sup> Čremošnik, 1961, p. 197.

are analogies both in terms of decoration and shape<sup>50</sup>. The existence of a specialized workshop for this type of cups with the same decoration is mentioned as possible<sup>51</sup>. Aleksandrina CERMANOVIĆ-KUZMANOVIĆ was of the opinion that the theory of the Celtic origin of this pottery could neither be accepted in its entirety nor completely rejected, especially for areas that were inhabited by the Celtic population or were in close contact with them. She also points out that there are certain indicators when it comes to Komini, but notes that these are not reliable enough. The author of another important paper on this subject, Irma ČREMOŠNIK, points to the same fact<sup>52</sup>. Without rejecting the possibility of local production in workshops in the areas with a strong Celtic tradition<sup>53</sup>, papers that are more recent suggest the possibility that painted pottery is probably a local product of a workshop in the nearer or farther surroundings of Komini<sup>54</sup>.

In another paper that looks at the painted pottery from the Roman period, it has been assumed that it took over “*some motifs from the painted cult pottery of late La Tène period which lasted until the end of the 1st century AD*”<sup>55</sup>. Although this opinion is generally acceptable, it is still not possible to reconstruct mechanisms of transfer of knowledge during the first centuries of the new era. According to I. Čremošnik, although Roman pottery “*composed motifs to its taste*”, the division into horizontal and vertical fields was retained, which was characteristic of late La Tène pottery of Scordisci<sup>56</sup>. While it is possible to find analogies for motifs in late La Tène pottery, it is suggested that the forms of painted pottery are “*according to Roman taste*”. *Sirmium* is mentioned as a possible centre of trade in painted ceramics, “*examples found in Sirmium appear in the entire area where the painted pottery is located*”, and there are indications that local workshops were founded in other territories under the influence of *Sirmium* workshops<sup>57</sup>.

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Generally speaking, and in our particular case, a number of questions arose about painted pottery. Andreea DRĂGAN<sup>58</sup> nicely emphasized some of them connected with the Late Iron Age cultural milieu. Should painted pottery be interpreted as a means of prestige representation and if so, how? Is it its particular display that was mainly considered at its acquisition? Is it possible that some specific beliefs stood behind the selection? Of course, aesthetics, functionality and spirituality do not exclude each other. To start with, the importance of functionality and spiritual background should be ob-

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<sup>50</sup> Cermanović-Kuzmanović, 1975, p. 105, refers to the example from Putičevo (Čremošnik 1961, p. 195) and a similar find from Sremska Mitrovica (Brukner, T V/6, 31).

<sup>51</sup> Цермановић-Кузмановић, 1975, p. 105.

<sup>52</sup> Čremošnik, 1984, 271; More about onomastics in *Municipium S...*, see: Mirković, 2013, p. 44, 45.

<sup>53</sup> Цермановић-Кузмановић, 1975, p. 105.

<sup>54</sup> Цермановић-Кузмановић, 2009, p. 62, 63.

<sup>55</sup> Čremošnik, 1984, p. 262.

<sup>56</sup> Čremošnik, 1984, p. 266.

<sup>57</sup> Čremošnik, 1984, p. 270.

<sup>58</sup> Drăgan, 2014.

served in the distribution between graves and settlements. The only relevant example in the region is that of the Scordiscan territory. In the case of the Scordisci, although painted pottery is found both in settlements and in graves, it can be noted that it is not frequent in the grave inventories. Furthermore, in the case of the pottery from the graves, the paint was applied more or less in a similar manner on the same type of ware and the decoration was simple, using alternate coloured zones, while the geometric or stylized motifs found in the settlements are absent<sup>59</sup>.

The combined archaeological and petrographic analyses are a useful instrument for understanding of mechanisms of distribution of La Tène painted pottery. They contribute to our view of circulation of technology and motifs, encouraging the consideration that people and, together with them, ideas had a larger degree mobility over large distances rather than that ceramic products were actually transported over large distances in a regular manner, although limited distributions should not be dismissed<sup>60</sup>.

The questions that have been open concerning La Tène painted pottery, along with potential ways of their solutions, could be of use for the studies of painted pottery from the Roman period, too. However, one must be aware of the changed historical circumstances and social relations. The distribution of La Tène painted pottery – far to the north in comparison with the antique finds from Montenegro, and chronological attribution to the period not later than the 1st century, makes us cautious with conclusions about direct population connections and/or technological influences.

We do not have sufficient data to claim that in the case of painted pottery from Montenegro we are dealing with the graves of local elites, who must have played an important role in economic exploitation of the province<sup>61</sup>.

Despite the fact that the origin and place of production of painted pottery from the Roman period were the subject of papers by several authors, these problems have remained largely unresolved. The results of future research in this area should show us whether these are products imported from workshop centres with a tradition in the production of painted pottery or whether they are local products.

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<sup>59</sup> Drăgan, 2014, p. 307-308.

<sup>60</sup> Drăgan, 2014, p. 307.

<sup>61</sup> *sensu* Egri, 2007.

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