

A DOCTOR IN THE TOWN – THE FAMILY PLOT NO V. WITH ROMAN MEDICAL INSTRUMENTS IN BUDVA

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DOKTOR U GRADU - PORODIČNA GROBNICA BR. V SA RIMSKIM MEDICINSKIM INSTRUMENTIMA U BUDVI

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Abstract:

When working on Roman graves with mould-blown glass from the Budva necropolis, a group of finds from the grave plot No. V connected with a medical practice attracted our attention. The grave plot is of an ossuary type, built in a regular square shape. On the front side, in the central part, a marble slab with an inscription (a *titulus*) was built in. In the chamber seven urns were deposited and between two of them a group of finds on the floor. Several medical instruments, a bronze box, a stone palette and a bronze probe case are the finds that prove the presence of a doctor or a *medicus* in the Roman Budva. Judging from the equipment consisting of basic and subsidiary instruments we may assume that the physician was a general practitioner. The grave plot is dated to the 2nd or beginning of the 3rd century.

Keywords: *medicus*, Budva, scalpels, probes, bronze box, stone palette, bronze probe case, knife.

Apstrakt:

Radeći na rimskim grobovima sa staklom duvanom u kalup sa budvanske nekropole, grupa nalaza povezanih sa medicinskom praksom iz grobne konstrukcije br. V privukla mi je pažnju. Grobna konstrukcija je tipa *ossuarium*, rađena u standardnom pravougaonom obliku. Sa prednje strane, u centralnom dijelu, ugrađena je mermerna ploča sa natpisom (*titulus*). U odaji je smješteno sedam urni, a između dvije od njih, na podu, nalazi se grupa nalaza. Nekoliko medicinskih instrumenata, bronzana kutija, kamena paleta i bronzana futrola za sondu su nalazi koji potvrđuju prisustvo doktora ili *medicus*-a u rimskoj Budvi. Sudeći prema opremi koja se sastoji od osnovnih i pomoćnih instrumenata, možemo pretpostaviti da je doktor bio ljekar opšte prakse. Grobna konstrukcija je datovana u 2. ili na početak 3. vijeka.

Ključne riječi: *medicus*, Budva, skalpeli, sonde, bronzana kutija, kamena paleta, bronzana futrola za sondu, nož.

In 1936 and 1938, several graves from the Hellenistic and Roman periods were discovered during the construction works for a hotel in Budva. Unfortunately, the material was split and sold, ending in various museums of former Yugoslavia (Belgrade, Cetinje, Split, Zagreb) as well as private collections. The research of the Budva necropolis (gr. Βουθόν, lat. Budua)¹ was resumed about twenty years later, between 1951 and 1957, and again between 1980–1981. The necropolis has two parts: the older one belongs to the Hellenistic period, while the Roman necropolis can be dated to the period from the 1st to the 4th centuries AD.² The excavated material was not completely studied until recently, when the excavations from the period 1981–1982 were published by Čedomir Marković in 2012.

The publication of the Hellenistic and Roman necropolis of Budva gave the scientific public and various specialists an opportunity for detailed study of the material in the wider context of the Mediterranean and the Roman Empire as well as a more detailed study of the grave assemblages and their grave goods.³ When working on Roman graves with mould-blown glass from the Budva necropolis⁴ a group of finds from the grave plot No. V connected with a medical practice attracted my attention.⁵

The grave plot No. V is of an ossuarium type; it is built in a regular square shape, measuring 2.00 x 2.00 x 1.00 m, made of cut stone and built with a mortar (Fig. 1).⁶ The ossuarium had a low substructure made of one line of regularly cut stones within which was room for ash urns. The remains of the plaster could be seen on the walls of the structure. On the front side, in the central part, a marble slab with an inscription (a titulus) was built in.⁷ In front of this side several stone slabs were put on the ground to form a semi-circular step of unknown purpose. It may be assumed it was made for the offerings or gifts for the deceased.

The upper part of the construction was closed with irregular stone slabs set in a mortar,

Prilikom izvođenja građevinskih radova na hotelu Budva 1936. i 1938. otkriveno je nekoliko grobova iz helenističkog i rimskog perioda. Nažalost, materijal je razdijeljen i prodat, završivši u raznim muzejima širom bivše Jugoslavije (Beograd, Cetinje, Split, Zagreb) kao i u privatnim kolekcijama. Istraživanja budvanske nekropole (gr. Βουθόν, lat. Budua)¹ nastavljena su oko dvadeset godina kasnije, između 1951. i 1957. i ponovo između 1980–1981. Nekropola ima dva dijela: stariji pripada helenističkom periodu, dok se rimska nekropola može datovati u period od 1. do 4. vijeka n.e.² Istraženi materijal nije u potpunosti obrađen sve do nedavno, kada je 2012. god. Čedomir Marković objavio istraživanja iz perioda 1980–1982. godine.

Publikovanje helenističke i rimske nekropole Budve naučnoj javnosti i raznim stručnjacima pružio je priliku za detaljnije proučavanje građe u širem kontekstu Sredozemlja i Rimskog Carstva, kao i za detaljnije proučavanje grobnih cijelina i grobnih priloga.³ Radeći na rimskim grobovima sa staklom duvanom u kalup sa budvanske nekropole,⁴ grupa nalaza iz grobne konstrukcije br. V povezanih sa medicinskom praksom, privukla je moju pažnju.⁵

Grobna konstrukcija br. V je *ossuarium* tipa; sagrađena je u standardnom pravougaonom obliku dim. 2,00 x 2,00 x 1,00 m, napravljena od pritesanog kamena i zidana malterom (sl. 1).⁶ *Ossuarium* je imao nisku konstrukciju napravljenu od jednog reda pritesanog kamena, a unutar toga se nalazila prostorija za urne sa pepelom. Ostaci malterisanja mogu se vidjeti na zidovima konstrukcije. Sa prednje strane, u centralnom dijelu ugrađena je mermerna ploča sa natpisom (*titulus*).⁷ Ispred ove strane nekoliko kamenih ploča postavljeno je na zemlju u vidu polukružnog stepeništa nepoznate namjene. Može se pretpostaviti da je napravljeno za prinošenje priloga ili darova preminulima.

Gornji dio konstrukcije zatvoren je nepravilnim kamenim pločama postavljenim u malter, ispod koga se nalazio deblji sloj lomljenog kamena i maltera koji je služio da zatvori prostor nepravilnog trapezoidnog oblika (1.10 m x 0.50 m

1 Martinović, J. 2011, p. 36.

2 Marković, Č. 2012, pp. 11, 115.

3 Marković, Č. 2012.

4 Lazar, I. 2016, p. 21; 2019 forthcoming.

5 Marković, Č. 2012, pl. 95: 16-36; 118).

6 Marković, Č. 2012, pl. 118.

7 Martinović, J. 2011, p. 89, no. 71.

1 Martinović, J. 2011, st. 36.

2 Marković, Č. 2012, st. 11, 1115.

3 Marković, Č. 2012.

4 Lazar, I. 2016, st. 21, 2019 izlazi.

5 Marković, Č. 2012, T. 95: 16-36, 118.

6 Marković, Č. 2012, T. 118.

7 Martinović, J. 2011, St. 89, br. 71.

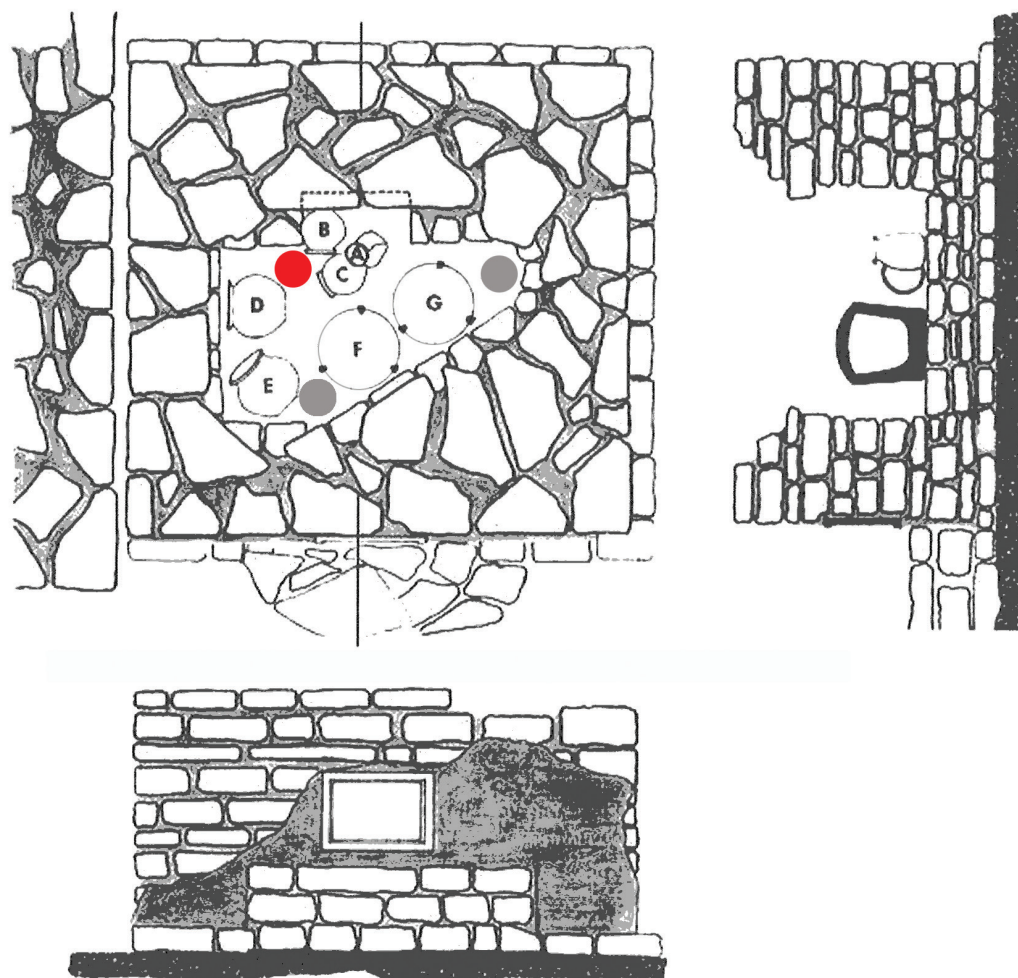


Fig. 1: The construction and ground plan of the plot no. V, red dot indicates the position of the finds (after Marković 2012, pl. 118; computer preparation Andrej Preložnik).

Sl. 1: Konstrukcija i tlocrt parcele br. V, crvena tačka ukazuje na položaj nalaza (po Marković 2012, pl. 118; tehnička priprema Andrej Preložnik).

below which a thicker layer, made of quarry stone and mortar was constructed to close the room of an irregular trapezoidal form (1.10 x 0.50m and 0.60m deep). The chamber had a rectangular niche on the western wall and was made of small stone slabs. On its floor seven ash urns were deposited, three of them were glass urns, two stone urns and two ceramic urns, recorded as burials Va–Vg.⁸ Apart from these urns there were three groups of finds on the chamber floor and one of them, lying between the urns, we would like to single out (see fig. 1, the position marked with a red dot).⁹ These finds were lying together in a small heap between the glass urn (burial Ve) and the stone urn (burial Vf).

i 0.60 m dubine). Prostorija je imala nišu na zapadnom zidu napravljenu od malih kamenih ploča. Na njenom podu položeno je sedam urni sa pepelom, od kojih su tri bile staklene, dvije kamene i dvije keramičke, evidentirane kao grobovi Va–Vg⁸. Pored ovih urni, na podu komore bile su tri grupe nalaza, od kojih bismo željeli izdvojiti jednu koja leži između urni (vidi sl. 1, položaj označen crvenom tačkom).⁹ Ovi su nalazi ležali zajedno u maloj gomili između staklene (grob Ve) i kamene urne (grob Vf).

⁸ Marković, Č. 2012, pl. 96-97.

⁹ Marković, Č. 2012, pl. 118.

⁸ Marković, Č. 2012, T. 96-97.

⁹ Marković, Č. 2012, T. 118.

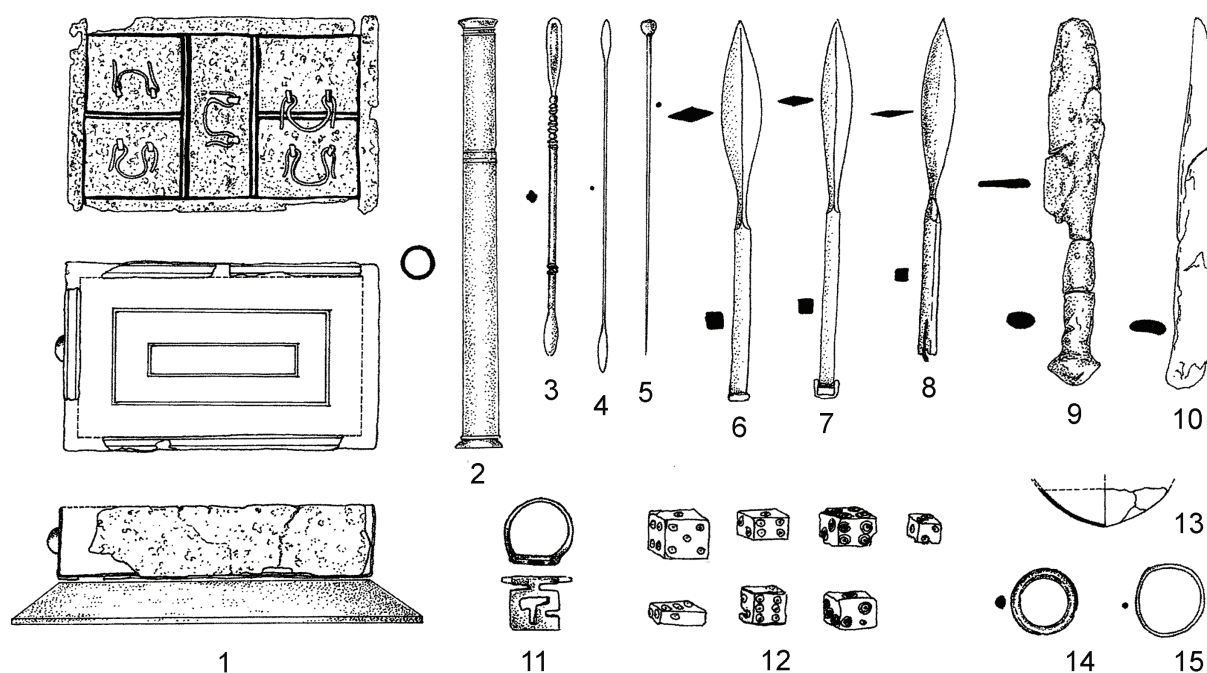


Fig.2: The group of finds with medical instruments from the plot no. V (after Marković, 2012, pl. 95, computer preparation Andrej Preložnik).

Sl. 2: Grupa nalaza sa medicinskim instrumentima sa parcele br. V (po Marković, 2012, T. 95, tehnička priprema Andrej Preložnik).

Catalogue of the finds (Fig. 2):

1. A bronze-plate box with a closing mechanism on the side (dim. 11.6 x 6.6 x 2.4 cm). The lid is decorated with two rectangular grooves. The inside of the box is divided in five smaller compartments (one in the centre and two on each side) with separate lids (Fig. 3). They have small handles in the form of a letter M. Together with the box was also a mixing palette made of green stone (Fig. 4).

2. Cylindrical instrument case with profilations at the ends, bronze, length 20.5 cm, it contained two spatulae probes.

3. Spatula probe, bronze, found in a box, length 16.8 cm. A double-ring moulding separates the olivary tip and its long, slender stem from the grip. At the other end a multiple-ring-and-squat-baluster moulding precedes the spatula. In profile it has a clear concave-convex curve. The grip has a square cross section.

4. Spatula probe, bronze, found in a box, length 16.4 cm. Simple probe with two olivary tips.

5. Long pin with a globular head, bronze, length 15.5 cm.

6. Handle of a scalpel, bronze, length 12.2 cm,

Katalog nalaza (Sl. 2):

1. Kutija napravljena od bronzanog lima sa mehanizmom za zatvaranje sa strane (dim. 11,6 x 6,6 x 2,4 cm). Poklopac je ukrašen sa dva pravougaona žljeba. Unutrašnjost kutije je podjeljena na pet manjih pregrada (jedna u sredini i dvije na svakoj strani) sa zasebnim poklopcima (sl. 3). Oni imaju male drške u obliku slova M. Zajedno sa kutijom bila je i paleta za miješanje napravljena od zelenog kamena (sl. 4).

2. Cilindrična kutija-futrola za instrumente sa profilisanim krajevima, bronzana, dužine 20,5 cm, sadržala je dvije spatula sonde.

3. Spatula sonda, bronzana, nađena u kutiji, dužine 16,8 cm. Narebrena profilacija odvaja vrh u obliku lista masline od njenog dugog, vitkog tijela drške. Na drugom kraju spatule nalazi se prstenasto i zdepasto zadebljanje. U profilu ima jasnu konkavno-konveksnu liniju. Drška ima kvadratni presjek.

4. Spatula sonda, bronzana, nađena u kutiji, dužine 16,4 cm. Jednostavna sonda sa dva vrha u obliku lista masline.

5. Dugačka igla sa loptastom glavom, bronza,



Fig. 3: Part of the medical instruments exhibited in the Museum of Budva with a bronze box in the centre (photo: I. Lazar).

Sl. 3: Dio medicinskih instrumenata izloženih u muzeju Budve sa bronзанom kutijom u centru (foto: I. Lazar).



Figure 4: Part of the medical instruments exhibited in the Museum of Budva with a bronze instrument case, probes and a mixing palette (photo: I. Lazar).

Slika 4: Dio medicinskih instrumenata izloženih u muzeju Budve sa bronзанom futrolom za instrumente, sonde i paletom za mješanje (foto: I. Lazar).

width 1.2 cm, handle 0.6 cm. The long leaf-shaped dissector, which has a distinct median ridge on each face. The plain rectangular grip, long and slender.

7. Handle of a scalpel, bronze, length 12 cm, width 1 cm, handle 0.5 cm. The long leaf-shaped dissector, which has a distinct median ridge on each face. The plain rectangular grip, long and slender. The handle ends with square tip made of bronze lime.

8. Handle of a scalpel, bronze, length 10.8 cm, width 1 cm, handle 0.4 cm. The leaf shaped dissector has a nearly visible median ridge, the grip is plain and rectangular.

9. Iron knife, fragmented and corroded, the handle ends with a semi-circular tip, length 11.6 cm.

10. Fragmented spatula, bone, length 11.8 cm.

11. Ring in a form of a key, bronze, diam. 2 cm.

12. Six bone and one bronze dices, only two of them are regularly formed.

13. Fragment of a semi-circular base, bronze, part of a vessel? Diam. 3.2 cm.

14. Bronze ring, diam. 1.8 cm.

15. Bronze ring made of wire, diam. 2 cm.

The inscription¹⁰ plate on the titulus has a profilation and the text in six lines reads that mother Iulia Politta had made the tomb for her daughter Octavia Celerina who died at the age of 36 (fig. 5).¹¹ The inscription is dated to the 2nd or perhaps even 3rd century due to the DMS formula (Martinović

dužina 15,5 cm.

6. Drška skalpela, bronza, dužina 12, 2 cm, širina 1, 2 cm, drška 0,6 cm, dug listoliki kraj, koji ima izraženu brazdu po sredini na svakom licu. Ravnu pravougaonu dršku, dugačku i vitku.

7. Drška skalpela, bronza, dužina 12 cm, širina 1 cm, drška 0,5 cm. Dugo listoliko sječivo koje po sredini ima izraženo zadebljanje na obje strane. Ravna pravougaona drška, dugačka i vitka. Drška se završava kvadratnom kapićom od bronзанog lima.

8. Drška skalpela, bronza, dužina 10,8 cm, širina 1 cm, drška 0,4 cm. Listoliko sječivo ima jedva vidljivo središnje zadebljanje, drška je ravna i pravougaona.

9. Gvozdeni nož, fragmentovan i korodiran, drška se završava polukružnim vrhom, dužina 11,6 cm.

10. Fragmentovana spatula, kost, dužina 11,8 cm.

11. Prsten u obliku ključa, bronza, R- 2 cm.

12. Šest koštanih i jedna bronzana kockica, samo dvije od njih su pravilnog oblika.

13. Fragment polukružnog dna, bronza, deo posude?, R- 3,2 cm.

14. Bronzana alka, R-1,8 cm.

15. Bronzana alka napravljena od žice, R- 2 cm

Na nadgrobnoj ploči¹⁰ *titulus* je profilisan i sadrži šest reda teksta koji govori da je majka *Iulia Politta* napravila grobnicu za svoju ćerku *Octavia Celerina* koja je umrla u 36 godini (sl. 5).¹¹ Natpis je

¹⁰ The marble slab measures 41 x 31.5 cm and the inscription field 35 x 24.5 cm.

¹¹ Martinović, J. 2011, 89, no. 11.

¹⁰ Dimenzije mermerne ploče 41 x 31,5 cm i polja sa napisom 35 x 24,5 cm.

¹¹ Martinović, J. 2011, 89, br. 11.



Fig. 5: Inscription (*titulus*) from the plot no. V in Budva (Photo: Museum of the town of Budva).
Sl. 5: Natpis (*titulus*) sa parcele br. V u Budvi (Foto: Muzej grada Budve).

2011, 89).¹²

Several objects in this group of finds (scalpels, probes, bronze box, mixing palette, instrument case, knife, bronze vessel, etc.) occur in Roman graves of physicians, which is why it is assumed this could also be such a case or it is at least safe to suppose a connection with a person involved in some kind of medical practice or healing. Comparing the finds with published graves of Roman physicians¹³ as well as with the published collections of medical instruments in various museums¹⁴ we could find numerous analogies to confirm our hypothesis. But first we need to look at the ancient medicine and Roman medical practice. Several articles and books were written on the subject; therefore, we will only briefly present some facts and information already published elsewhere.¹⁵

¹² Martinović, J. 2011, 90.

¹³ Künzl, E. 1983; Spasić-Đurić, D. 2002; 2005.

¹⁴ Gregl, Z. 1982, 1983; Ivčević, S. 1998.

¹⁵ Jackson, R. 2005, with list of relevant older publications; Künzl, E. 1983; 1998; Nutton, V. 1993.

datovan u 2. ili možda čak 3. vijek na osnovu DMS formulle (Martinović, 2011, 89).¹²

Nekoliko predmeta iz ove grupe nalaza (skalpel, sonda, bronzane kutije, palete za mješanje, futrole za instrumente, nož, bronzane posude, itd.) mogu se pronaći u rimskim grobovima ljekara, zato i pretpostavljamo da bi se i ovaj mogao definisati kao takav, ako i nije tako, mogli bismo barem pretpostaviti bliskost sa osobom koja je bila povezana sa nekom vrstom medicinske prakse ili isceljivanjem. Poredeći nalaze sa publikovanim grobovima rimskih ljekara,¹³ kao i sa publikovanim kolekcijama medicinskih instrumenata, u različitim muzejima¹⁴ možemo pronaći brojne analogije koje potvrđuju našu hipotezu. Ali, prvo moramo sagledati antičku medicinu i rimsku medicinsku praksu. Na tu temu je napisano nekoliko članaka i knjiga, stoga bismo samo ukratko predstavili neke činjenice i podatke koji su već objavljeni na drugom

¹² Martinović, J. 2011, 90.

¹³ Künzl, E. 1983; Spasić-Đurić, D. 2002; 2005

¹⁴ Gregl, Z. 1982, 1983; Ivčević, S. 1998.

What do we know about ancient and Roman medical practice and physicians? Who were the healers? There are several literary sources and archaeological monuments and rather numerous archaeological finds of various medical (and pharmaceutical) instruments in Roman settlements, military camps, tombs, etc.¹⁶ The earliest classical writer on medical subjects is Hippocrates (born in 460 BC) who practised in Athens and Greece. The next writer we have is Aulus Cornelius Celsus. His system of medicine is contained in eight volumes the seventh of which offers an interesting review of the surgery of the Alexandrian School. Galen (130-200 AD), the most famous physician of the Roman imperial period, was born in Pergamon in Asia Minor. He was a most voluminous writer, much of whose work remains and important information about instruments is to be gained from even his purely anatomical writings.¹⁷

Roman scientific medicine has no native roots; it is the continuation of the Greek tradition that began with Hippocrates and continued to Hellenistic era. After the conquest of the Greek lands of southern Italy the 3rd century BC Rome had faced an increasing Hellenization. As with other cultural and scientific influences, it was Greeks who introduced rational medicine to Rome. So, it was often Greeks that practiced medicine in Rome and also in the provinces of the Roman Empire. In the tradition of the Greek cities the Roman senate in 219 BC invited the Greek Archagathus to Rome to become the first public physician and a surgeon.¹⁸ His methods proved not to the liking of the citizens of Rome, according to Pliny (NH 29, 13), and he soon returned home.¹⁹ But this did not stop the flow of Greek physicians to Rome and to the households of the wealthy Roman families, though they most probably varied widely in competence.

The physicians of the Roman Empire were slaves, freedmen and men who held Roman citizenship. The difference in their social status and standing was therefore great, but medicine was held in high esteem, despite some remarks we can find and read in Roman literature and other sources. In 45 BC Julius Caesar granted citizenship to

mjestu.¹⁵

Šta znamo o antičkoj i rimskoj medicinskoj praksi i ljekarima? Ko su bili iscelitelji? Postoji nekoliko pisanih izvora i arheoloških spomenika, i prilično mnogo arheoloških nalaza raznih medicinskih (i farmaceutskih) instrumenata u rimskim naseljima, vojnim logorima, grobnicama itd.¹⁶ Najstariji klasični pisac medicinskih sadržaja je *Hippocrates* (rođen 460 p.n.e.) koji je radio u Atini i Grčkoj. Sljedeći pisac je *Aulus Cornelius Celsus*. Njegov sistem medicine uređen je u osam knjiga, a sedma knjiga takođe daje zanimljiv pregled hirurgije alexandrijske škole. Galen (130-200 n. e.), najpoznatiji ljekar rimskog imperijalnog perioda, rođen je u Pergamonu u Maloj Aziji. Bio je najopsežniji pisac, u čijim djelima ostaju i važne informacije o instrumentima koje se mogu dobiti čak i iz njegovih čisto anatomskih spisa.¹⁷

Rimska naučna medicina nema urođene korijene; to je nastavak grčke tradicije koja je započela sa Hipokratom i nastavila se do helenističke ere. Nakon grčkih osvajanja zemalja južne Italije u 3. vijeku p. n. e. Rim se suočio sa sve većom helenizacijom. Kao što je slučaj sa drugim kulturnim i naučnim uticajima, Grci su bili ti koji su Rim upoznali sa racionalnom medicinom. Tako da su često Grci bavili medicinom u Rimu, pa i u provincijama Rimskog Carstva. U skladu sa tradicijom grčkih gradova, rimski senat je 219. god. p. n. e. pozvao grka Archagathus-a u Rim da postane prvi javni ljekar i hirurg.¹⁸ Prema Pliniju (NH 29, 13), ispostavilo se da se njegove metode nisu svidjele građanima Rima, i ubrzo se vratio kući.¹⁹ Ali, to nije zaustavilo priliv grčkih ljekara u Rim i u domaćinstvima bogatih rimskih porodica, iako su se oni vrlo vjerovatno dosta razlikovali u stručnosti.

Ljekari Rimskog Carstva bili su robovi, slobodni građani i ljudi koji su imali rimsko državljanstvo. Stoga, razlika u njihovom socijalnom statusu i stavu bila je velika, ali medicina je držana na visokom nivou, uprkos nekim napomenama koje možemo pronaći i pročitati u rimskoj literaturi i drugim izvorima. Julije Cezar je 45. god. p. n. e. odo-

16 Milne, J. S. 1907; Künzl, R. 1983; Jackson, R. 2003; Jackson, La Niece 1986.

17 Milne, J. S. 1907, 3.

18 Jackson, R. 2005, p. 203.

19 Jackson, R. 2005, p. 203.

15 Jackson, R. 2005, sa spiskom relevantnih starijih publikacija; Künzl, E. 1983; 1998; Nutton, V. 1993

16 Milne, J. S. 1907; Künzl, R. 1983; Jackson, R. 2003; Jackson, La Niece 1986.

17 Milne, J. S. 1907, 3.

18 Jackson, R. 2005, st. 203.

19 Jackson, R. 2005, st. 203.

all foreign doctors practicing in Rome and this was later confirmed by Augustus (Suetonius *Augustus* 59).²⁰ The social status of the physicians and also the esteem of some of them is reflected on their monuments and tombs where they could document their profession in word and in picture. The study of inscriptions referring to doctors in the first three centuries AD demonstrate that their civil status remained generally low and lacking full citizenship rights.²¹

Even in the smaller cities it was common that the public doctors were part of a broader group of medical personnel that included independent generalists, specialists and pharmacists.²² Usually the *medicus* commanded the whole spectrum of medicine, but specializations in the areas of surgery, gynaecology and ophthalmology can be distinguished. In terms of fame and fortune we know of course the names of *medici* who attended the emperor and his family. Antonius Musa cured the Emperor Augustus with the use of a cold-water therapy, Caius Stertinius Xenophon was court physician to Claudius, but the most celebrated imperial physician was Galen of Pergamum who attended Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus and remained in imperial service until his death in 216 AD.²³

Women were healers too, but they were of course less numerous than men. Many were midwives (*obstetrices*) but some were also specialists concentrating on women's diseases. The social position and status of female physicians (*medicae*), seems to have been as variable as that of the *medici*.²⁴ Several recent finds demonstrate that female healers were sometimes also buried with their instruments.²⁵

A special branch of medical care was Roman military medicine, since a large body of staff cared for the health of Roman soldiers and the military camps were provided with hospital building – *valetudinarium*.²⁶ On the other hand town physicians made home visits; few of them held practiced at home, meaning patients were left in the care of their families or relatives. We cannot

brio državljanstvo svim stranim ljekarima koji su se bavili medicinom u Rimu što je kasnije potvrdio i Avgust (Suetonius *Augustus* 59).²⁰ Društveni status ljekara, kao i poštovanje nekih od njih odražavaju se na njihovim spomenicima i grobnicama, gdje su mogli riječima i slikom dokumentovati svoju profesiju. Izučavanje natpisa koji se odnose na ljekare tokom prva tri vijeka nove ere pokazuju da je njihov građanski status i dalje generalno nizak i da im nedostaju puna prava rimskih građana.²¹

Čak su i u manjim gradovima često javni ljekari bili dio šire grupe medicinskog osoblja koja je obuhvatala nezavisne opšte radnike, specijaliste i farmaceute.²² Obično je *medicus* upravljao čitavim spektrom medicine, ali se mogu izdvojiti specijalizacije u oblastima hirurgije, ginekologije i oftamologije. U smislu slave i bogatstva, naravno poznata su nam imena medicinara (*medici*) koji su služili caru i njegovoj porodici. Antonius Musa izliječio je cara Avgusta koristeći terapiju hladne vode, Caius Stertinius Xenophon bio je Klaudijev carski ljekar, ali najpoznatiji imperijalni ljekar bio je Galen iz Pergama koji je služio Markus Aurelijus i Lucijusu Veru i ostao u carskoj službi sve do svoje smrti 216. god. n. e.²³

Među ljekarima takođe su bile i žene, ali naravno bile su malobrojnije od muškaraca. Mnoge su bile babice (*obstetrices*), ali neke takođe i specijalisti, usredsređeni na ženske bolesti. Čini se da je društveni položaj i status ženskih ljekara (*medicae*) podjednako promjenljiv kao i položaj *medici*.²⁴ Nekoliko novijih nalaza ukazuje na to da su i žene ljekari takođe ponekad sahranjivane sa njihovim instrumentima.²⁵

Posebna grana medicinske njege bila je rimska vojna medicina, pošto je brojno osoblje brinulo o zdravlju rimskih vojnika, a vojni kampovi su bili obezbijeđeni zgradom bolnice – *valetudinarium*.²⁶ S druge strane, gradski ljekari su vršili kućne posjete radi pregleda, nekolicina je praksu vršila u svojim domovima, i pacijenti su u tom slučaju ostavljani na brigu njihovim porodicama i rodbini. Ne možemo govoriti o postojanju bolnica tokom Principata

20 Nutton, V. 1993, p. 59.

21 Jackson, R. 2005, p. 203.

22 Jackson, R. 2005, p. 204.

23 Nutton, V. 1993, p. 49-59.

24 Jackson, R. 2005, p. 208.

25 Jackson, R. 2005, p. 209.

26 Allason-Jones, L. 1999, p. 133.

20 Nutton, V. 1993, st. 59.

21 Jackson, R. 2005, st. 203.

22 Jackson, R. 2005, st. 204

23 Nutton, V. 1993, st. 49-59.

24 Jackson, R. 2005, st. 208.

25 Jackson, R. 2005, st. 209.

26 Allason-Jones, L. 1999, st. 133.

speak of the existence of hospitals during the Principate or even the Roman Empire; judging from a 5th century epitaph mentioning a resident doctor, first such institutions were set up rather late.²⁷

In the tombs of the Roman physicians we find direct evidence and information about the level of ancient medicine. Medical and surgical instruments and objects were placed in their tombs and such finds are known from Italy, western provinces, Spain, Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia, etc. The most well known and important set of finds is known from Bingen,²⁸ but also *domus del chirurgo* in Rimini and last but not least the finds from Pompei are important in this respect.²⁹ In Pompei numerous houses of physicians could be identified and this shows the town was very well provided with medical care.³⁰

The main types of medical instruments are known from descriptions in ancient literary sources and from the originals in archaeological context that were put in graves, etc. Therefore, the instruments can be discussed in three separate groups:³¹

A: Basic instruments: surgical knives, lancets, forceps, tweezers (*vulsella*), surgical needles and cups.

B: Specialized instruments: they have been used in specialized medical operations in the field of surgery, gynaecology and ophthalmological surgery.

C: Subsidiary instruments: this group is represented by probes, spoons and pallets. The primary usage of these instruments is pharmaceutical.

In Budva we can define the instruments as being basic (scalpels, knives, fragment of a bronze cup) and subsidiary (probes, spoons, palette), there are no instruments we could define and understand as instruments used for specialized medical operations. But there are also other finds that were found in the graves of the Roman physicians that give additional support to our conclusion. Bronze box for medicines, cylindrical instrument case, even strigili (Como, Balčik, Varna, CCAA) are the objects that were found in several graves with medical instruments.³² Bronze fibula³³ and a bronze ring are piec-

ili čak tokom Rimskog Carstva, prva takva institucija je nastala veoma kasno, sudeći prema epitafu iz 5. vijeka, gdje se pominje doktor koji je radio u bolnici.²⁷

U grobnicama rimskih ljekara mogli bismo da pronađemo konkretne dokaze i informacije o nivou antičke medicine. Medicinski i hirurški instrumenti i predmeti su smješteni u njihove grobnice, a takvi nalazi su poznati iz Italije, zapadnih provincija, Šanije, Bugarske, Grčke, Srbije itd. Najpoznatiji i najvažniji set nalaza potiče iz Bingena,²⁸ ali takođe i *domus del chirurgo* u Riminiju. Takođe je važno istaknuti i posljednje, ali ništa manje značajne nalaze iz Pompeje.²⁹ U Pompeji se mogu identifikovati brojne kuće ljekara što pokazuje da je grad imao dobro obezbijeđenu medicinsku njegu.³⁰

Osnovni tip medicinskih instrumenata je poznat iz opisa antičkih izvora i iz arheoloških konteksta originala koji su stavljeni u grobove itd. Stoga se može diskutovati o tri izdvojene grupe instrumenata:³¹

A: Osnovni instrumenti: hirurški noževi, lancete (*vulsella*), kliješta, pincete, hirurške igle i šolje.

B: Specijalizovani instrumenti: korišćeni su u specijalizovanim medicinskim operacijama iz oblasti hirurgije, ginekologije i oftamološke hirurgije.

C: Pomoćni instrumenti: ovu grupu čine sonde, kašike i palete. Primarna upotreba ovih instrumenata je farmaceutska.

U Budvi možemo opredijeliti instrumente kao osnovna (skalpel, nož, fragment bronzane čaše) i pomoćna sredstva (sonde, kašike, paleta), ne postoje instrumenti koje bismo mogli definisati i razumjeti kao instrumente koji se koriste za specijalizovane medicinske operacije. Ali, takođe postoje i drugi nalazi pronađeni u grobovima rimskih ljekara koji dodatno ide u prilog našem zaključku. Bronzana kutija za lijekove, cilindrična futrola za instrumente, čak i strigil (Como, Balčik, Varna, CCAA) su predmeti koji su pronađeni u nekoliko grobova sa medicinskim instrumentima.³² Bronzana fibula³³ i bronžani prsten su djelovi za lično ukrašavanje,

27 Miller, T. S. 1984, pp. 54-56; Aparaschievi, D. 2010, p. 143.

28 Künzl, E. 1983.

29 Jackson, R. 2003; Eschebach, H. 1984; Künzl, E. 1998.

30 Künzl, E. 1998, p. 89.

31 Kirova, N. 2002, p. 73.

32 Künzl, E. 1983, pp. 8-9, Tab. 2a, b.

33 Riha, E. 1979, pp. 199-200, Type 7.25, pl. 67: 1743; 68: 1744.

27 Miller, T. S. 1984, st. 54-56; Aparaschievi, D. 2010, st. 143

28 Künzl, E. 1983.

29 Jackson, R. 2003; Eschebach, H. 1984; Künzl, E. 1998.

30 Künzl, E. 1998, st. 89.

31 Kirova, N. 2002, st. 73.

32 Künzl, E. 1983, st. 8-9, T. 2a, b.

33 Riha, E. 1979, st. 199-200, Tip 7.25, T. 67: 1743; 68: 1744

es for personal adornment but not excluded from the published graves of the physicians, like the one from Viminacium.³⁴

As written by Jackson³⁵ the scalpel is the surgeon's instrument *par excellence*. This symbol of the medical profession was also commonly depicted on the tombstones of Roman surgeons. The characteristic form of scalpel, iron blade and bronze handle terminating in a blunt dissector, was formed by the Roman imperial period and remained the same for centuries.³⁶ Both parts were variable in size and shape and few types with variants can be defined.

Many Roman medical instruments were double-ended and so is the scalpel. The handle is in the form of a leaf-shaped spatula with a variable length, width and thickness. In descriptions of surgery its use as a blunt dissector is recorded by *Celsus* and other writers.³⁷ The grip of the scalpel is defined as being of two main forms (Type I and Type II). According to the description of Jackson, the grips of the scalpels in Budva can be defined as a Type I, being more frequent than the Type II.³⁸

For a long period, it was explained that the detachable form of the scalpel would allow its removal for cleaning or/and for the use of one handle with several blades. Milne was already sceptical and disinclined to accept this explanation in 1907.³⁹ Jackson concludes that this explanation is extremely unlikely.⁴⁰ There are numerous graves, where several scalpels were put in a grave, like Bingen, Italy, but he is also sceptical that the suggested binding would hold the blade firmly in a place. The close examination of some scalpels even revealed that the handle was probably cast on the blade.⁴¹ Even the small set in Budva includes three scalpel handles in the grave and they are all slightly different in size and shape. Jackson believes and concludes that the fixing of the blade on the handle was most probably semi-permanent, to be removed if the blade was broken or whetted and unusable.⁴² On the tombstone of a smith in Ostia on

ali nijesu isključeni iz publikovanih grobova ljekara, poput onog iz Viminacijuma.³⁴

Kao što je napisao Džekson³⁵ skalpel je hiruški instrument *par excellence*. Ovaj simbol rimske profesije često je prikazivan i na nadgrobnim spomenicima rimskih hirurga. Karakterističan oblik skalpela, gvozdeno sječivo i bronzana drška koja se završava tupim krajem, formiran je u doba Rimskog Carstva i ostao je isti vjekovima.³⁶ Oba dijela su promjenljive veličine i oblika i mogu se definisati nekoliko tipova sa varijacijama.

Mnogi instrumenti rimske medicine imali su dvostruke završetke, baš kao i skalpel. Drška je u vidu spatule oblika lista, promjenljive dužine, širine i debljine. Kao što je zabilježio *Celsus* i drugi pisci, u opisima operacija korišćen je kao tupo sječivo.³⁷ Na osnovu drške skalpeli se dijele na dvije osnovne forme (tip I i tip II). Prema Džeksonovom opisu, drške skalpela iz Budve mogu se definisati kao tip I, koji je mnogo zastupljeniji nego tip II.³⁸

Dugo se smatralo da sklopiva forma skalpela omogućava njegovo uklanjanje radi čišćenja ili/i upotrebe jedne drške za nekoliko sječiva. Milne je već 1907. god. bio skeptičan i nije prihvatao ovo objašnjenje.³⁹ Džekson zaključuje da je ovakvo objašnjenje krajnje neprihvatljivo.⁴⁰ Postoje brojni grobovi, gdje se stavljalo po nekoliko skalpela, kao u Binguenu, Italiji, ali je takođe skeptičan da bi predloženo vezivanje moglo da drži oštricu čvrsto na mjestu. Pomnim ispitivanjem nekih skalpela čak je otkriveno da je drška vjerovatno izlivena na sječivo.⁴¹ Čak i mali set iz Budve uključuje tri drške skalpela u grobu i sve se one malo razlikuju u veličini i obliku. Džekson vjeruje i zaključuje da je pričvršćivanje sječiva za dršku najvjerovatnije privremeno, da bi se moglo ukloniti ako je sječivo polomljeno, razrezano i neupotrebljivo.⁴² Na nadgrobnom spomeniku kovača u Ostiji na Izola Sakri, prikazan je mali set skalpela u kutiji. Prema Džeksonu najvjerovatnije su kovači bili ti koji su mi-jenjali sječiva skalpela.⁴³

34 Spasić-Đurić, D. 2005, p. 285.

35 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, p. 132.

36 Ibidem.

37 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, p. 132 and a note 6.

38 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, pp. 122, 133, fig. 1: 5.

39 Milne, J. S. 1907, p. 24.

40 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, p. 133.

41 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, p. 133 and a note 16.

42 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, p. 134.

34 Spasić-Đurić, D. 2005, st. 285.

35 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, st. 132.

36 Na istom mjestu.

37 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, st. 132 i napomjena 6

38 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, st. 122, 133, sl. 1: 5

39 Milne, J. S. 1907, st. 24.

40 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, st. 133

41 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, st. 133 i napomjena 16.

42 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, st. 134.

43 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, st. 134; Meiggs, R. 1960,

the Isola Sacra, a small set of scalpels in a box is depicted; according to Jackson it is more likely that the smiths were the ones who replaced the blades of scalpels.⁴³

Probes, *spatulae*, spoons etc. were all instruments serving many different functions.⁴⁴ The spatula probe could serve as toilet implement and medical instrument. They vary in size and shape, depending on the function it was used for. In medicine they were used in pharmacy for the preparations of the medicaments and their application. The use of the probe with two olivary ends is described in ancient texts and descriptions of the medical practice.⁴⁵

The rectangular box divided in small compartments was found in a medical context several times although this is not exclusively medical type of a container. In some occasions these boxes also contained the remains of medical preparations – *materia medica*.⁴⁶ The box in Budva has five separate compartments; there is no information from the excavators about any remains discovered in the box that could be analysed. Similar bronze boxes are known from the doctor graves in Viminacium, to mention the nearest comparisons,⁴⁷ and one of them was divided in three compartments with lids.⁴⁸

Cylindrical boxes can also be found in various contexts, but only when they contain instruments or if they were used for medicaments⁴⁹ we can be sure they were used in medicine as a portable case. The cylindrical box in Budva contained two probes, therefore its use is confirmed and we could define it like a portable probe case.

Stone palette is one of the standard pieces of Roman pharmaceutical equipment. This small rectangular plate of stone (marble or some other fine-grained stone) was used for preparation of medicaments (mixing, grinding) but it appears some were also used to whet scalpel blades.⁵⁰ The spatula probe was most regularly used with the palette

Sonde, *spatulae*, kašike itd., sve su to instrumenti koji su korišćeni u različite svrhe. Spatula sonda može služiti za toaletu i kao medicinski instrument. One variraju u veličini i obliku, zavisno od funkcije za koju se koriste.⁴⁴ U medicini korišćeni su u farmaciji za pripremu lijekova i njihovu upotrebu. Upotreba sonde sa završecima u obliku lista masline opisana je u antičkim tekstovima i u opisima medicinske prakse.⁴⁵

Pravougaona kutija podijeljena na male pregrade je nekoliko puta pronalazena u medicinskom kontekstu, iako ovo nije tipičan tip medicinske posude. U nekim slučajevima ove kutije su takođe sadržale i ostatke medicinskih preparata – *materia medica*.⁴⁶ Kutija iz Budve ima pet zasebnih pregrada; od istraživača nemamo nikakvih informacija o bilo kakvim ostacima otkrivenim u kutiji koji bi se mogli analizirati. Da pomenem najbliže poređenje,⁴⁷ slične bronzane kutije poznate su iz grobova ljekara u Viminacijumu. Jedna od njih je bila podijeljena na tri odjeljka sa poklopcima.⁴⁸

Takođe, cilindrične kutije se mogu naći u različitim kontekstima, ali samo kada sadrže instrumente ili ako su korišćene za lijekove,⁴⁹ možemo biti sigurni da su u medicini služile kao prenosive futrole. Cilindrična kutija u Budvi sadržala je dvije sonde, tako da je njena upotreba potvrđena i može se definisati kao futrolu za prenošenje sondi.

Kamene palete su standardni dio rimske farmaceutске opreme. Ova mala pravougaona ploča od kamena (mermer ili neki drugi sitnozrni kamen) korišćena je za pripremu lijekova (miješanje, mljevenje), ali čini se da su takođe korišćene i za oštrenje sječiva skalpela.⁵⁰ Spatule sonde je najčešće korišćena sa paletom. Takođe, u Budvi spatula sonda je bila dio predstavljenog medicinskog seta. Dimenzije palate su iste kao i od bronzane kutije i najvjerojatnije su čuvane i korišćene kao set; otkrivene su zajedno, kutija je stajala na paleti.

Jednostavan gvozdeni nož, veoma korodiran, takođe je bio dio ovog groba. Moguće je, iako nije potpuno jasno u našem primjeru, da je nož takođe

43 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, p. 134; Meiggs, R. 1960, pl. 27, a.

44 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, p. 158.

45 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, pp. 156-57.

46 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, p. 159 and a note 175.

47 Spasić-Đurić, D. 2005, Fig. 3: 1; 2002, p. 157, fig. 126; pp. 150-162, fig. 128-131; Korać. M. 1986, p. 65.

48 Spasić-Đurić, D. 2002, p. 157, fig. 126.

49 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, p. 131, fig. 5: 36.

50 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, p. 160.

T. 27, a.

44 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, st. 158.

45 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, st. 156-57.

46 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, st. 159 i napomjena 175.

47 Spasić-Đurić, D. 2005, sl. 3: 1; 2002, st. 157, sl. 126; st. 150-162, sl. 128-131; Korać. M. 1986, st. 65.

48 Spasić-Đurić, D. 2002, st. 157, sl. 126.

49 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, st. 131, sl. 5: 36.

50 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, st. 160.

and also in Budva the spatula probe was part of the presented medical set. The palette dimensions are the same as of the bronze box and most probably they were stored and used as a set; they were discovered together, a box was put onto the palette.

A simple iron knife, very corroded, was also part of this burial. It is possible, although not completely clear in our example, that the knife was also used in a medical practice. In several graves of Roman physicians, like in Aquincum and Savaria in Pannonia and Belginum in Gallia Belgica, if we mention few examples, simple knives were part of the *medicus instrumentarium*.⁵¹

Regarding the presented equipment where basic surgical instruments and pharmaceutical pieces were part of a medical set,⁵² we may assume that the doctor or the medicus in Budva was a general practitioner; he was rather well equipped and could have operated and prescribed medicine for several of the more common diseases.

Perhaps there was a doctor related to the family of *Iulia Politta* and *Octavia Celerina*, the names of a mother and daughter we know from a titulus built in a construction of this plot⁵³ or he was only a respected family medicus. It would be too bold to think about the grave of a female healer or medica, since the finds in this group could be used by men or women healers.

korišćen u medicinskoj praksi. U nekoliko grobova rimskih ljekara, kao u Aquincum i Savaria u Panoniji i Belginum u belgijskoj Galiji, jednostavni noževi su bili dio *medicus instrumentarium*.⁵¹

U odnosu na prezentovanu opremu, gdje su osnovni hirurški instrumenti i farmaceutski primjerci bili dio medicinskog seta,⁵² možemo pretpostaviti da je doctor ili medicus u Budvi bio ljekar opšte prakse; prilično dobro opremljen i mogao je da operiše i prepisuje za nekoliko najčešćih bolesti.

Možda je postojao doktor koji je u vezi sa familijom *Iulia Politta* i *Octavia Celerina*, imena majke i ćerke koja su nam poznata sa titulus izrađenom na konstrukciji ovoegrobnice⁵³ ili je samo bio poštovani porodični *medicus*. Bilo bi i suviše smjelo razmišljati o grobu ljekarke ili medice, s obzirom na to da nalaze u ovoj grupi mogu koristiti i muški i ženski ljekari.

51 Künzl, E. 1983, pp. 8-9, Tab. 2a, b; p. 72, Taf. 46: 2; p. 116; 117, Taf. 92: 6.

52 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, p. 166.

53 Martinović, J. 2011, p. 89, no. 71.

51 Künzl, E. 1983, st. 8-9, T 2a, b; st. 72, T 46: 2; st. 116., 117, T 92: 6.

52 Jackson, R., La Niece, S. 1986, st. 166.

53 Martinović, J. 2011, st. 89, br. 71.

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