

ANNALES MUSEI NATIONALIS SLOVACI
ZBORNÍK SLOVENSKÉHO NÁRODNÉHO MÚZEA

ARCHEOLÓGIA
SUPPLEMENTUM 8

**STĹP MARCA AURELIA
A STREDNÉ PODUNAJSKO
ŠTÚDIE**

**COLUMN OF MARCUS AURELIUS
AND THE MIDDLE DANUBE AREA
STUDIES**

ZBORNÍK SLOVENSKÉHO NÁRODNÉHO MÚZEA – 2014
SUPPLEMENTUM 8

Slovenské národné múzeum – Archeologické múzeum
Bratislava 2014

Annales Musei Nationalis Slovaci
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ŠTÚDIE

Vedecký redaktor
PhDr. Juraj Bartík, PhD.

Zostavovateľ
PhDr. Vladimír Turčan

Posudzovatelia:
Prof. PhDr. Klára Kuzmová, CsC.
Prof. PhDr. Eduard Krekovič, CsC.

Návrh obálky: Peter Šimčík
Neprešlo jazykovou úpravou

Grafická úprava: Renesans, s. r. o.
Tlač: Ultra Print, s. r. o., Bratislava

Za obsah príspevkov a kvalitu obrazových príloh zodpovedajú autori
Vydalo: Slovenské národné múzeum – Archeologické múzeum, Bratislava 2014

Náklad: 400 výtlačkov

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ISBN 978-80-8060-335-9

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SKRATKY ČASOPISOV A PERIODÍK

Acta Arch. Acad. Scien. Hungaricae = Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest
Alba Regia = Alba Regia. Annales musei Stephani Regis. Székesfehérvár
Anodos = Anodos. Studies of the ancient World. Trnava
Antiquitas = Antiquitas. Wrocław
Arch. Journal = The Archeological Journal. London
Arch. Korrb. = Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt. Urgeschichte, Römerzeit, Frühmittelalter. Mainz am Rhein
Arch. Rozhledy = Archeologické Rozhledy. Praha
AVANS = Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku. Nitra
Balácai közl. = Balácai közlemények. Veszprém
Bayer. Vorbeschbl. = Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter. München
Ber. Denkmalpfl. Niedersachsen = Berichte zur Denkmalpflege in Niedersachsen. Hannover
Ber. RGK = Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission. Frankfurt a. M.
Carnuntum-Jahrb. = Carnuntum Jahrbuch. Wien
ČSPSČ = Časopis společnosti přátel starožitností. Praha
EAZ = Ethnographisch – Archäologische Zeitschrift. Berlin
Fundber. Österreich = Fundberichte aus Österreich. Wien
Germania = Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Frankfurt am Main
Jižní Morava = Jižní Morava. Ročenka Okresního archivu pro okres Břeclav v Mikulově. Mikulov
Journal Glass Stud. = Journal of Glass Studies. Corning (N. Y.)
Journal of Roman Stud. = Journal of Roman Studies. London
Libyca = Libyca. Alger
Meander = Meander. Warszawa
MIAMoskva = Materialy i issledovanija po Archeologii SSSR. Moskva – Leningrad
Mitt. Prähist. Komm. Österr. Akad. = Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft. Wien
Pam. Arch. = Památky Archeologické. Praha
Pam. a Múz. = Pamiatky a múzeá. Bratislava
Prähist. Zeitschr. = Prähistorische Zeitschrift. Leipzig (Berlin)
Přehled Výzkumů = Přehled Výzkumů AÚ ČSAV. Brno
RCRF = Rei Cretariae Roman Favtores
Slov. Arch. = Slovenská archeológia. Časopis Archeologického ústavu Slovenskej akadémie vied v Nitre. Nitra
Slov. Num. = Slovenská numizmatika. Nitra.
Specimina Nova Diss. Hist. = Specimina Nova Dissertationum ex Instituto Historico Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis de Iano Pannonio nominatae. Pécs
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SHACKLES ON THE COLUMN OF MARCUS AURELIUS AND FINDS FROM MUŠOV

EDUARD DROBERJAR

Keywords: Shackles, Column of Marcus Aurelius, Marcomannic Wars, South Moravia, Mušov

Abstract: *Shackles on the column of Marcus Aurelius and finds from Mušov.* On a several scenes of the column of Marcus Aurelius are seen shackled barbarians (XXV, LXI, LXVI, LXXVII, LXXXVIII), but only at one of them we can discern metal handcuffs (CIX:3). In this context, the author deals with several interesting finds of Roman provenance from Mušov area (chain from handcuffs, sculpture of Germanic person tied to a stake and sestertius with the motif of GERMANIA SVBACTA) that are associated with Marcomannic Wars. Concentration of those artifacts, particularly in Mušov, syndicates a great importance of this locality as a main Roman support point in military campaign against the Marcomans during 70's of 2nd century. If the scenes from the column of Marcus Aurelius rather represent prisoners of war and people going to the execution than slaves, then also the finds of shackles in Romans environment of Mušov can have a similar meaning. Displaying barbarians (Germans) with metal shackles or chains, although such archeological finds exists, during the Early Roman period, is relatively rare and occurs only on special occasions (relief sculptures). This includes as well the rare miniature bronze sculptures representing barbarians tied to a stake. Most often were portrayed handcuffed barbarians with hands behind their back on the reliefs, where it is not possible to identify the type of bonds.

The Column of Marcus Aurelius¹ provides many interesting information which, in combination with historical and archaeological insights, can clarify some phenomena of Marcomannic wars². Even if we have to take in notice a certain degree of schematization, which reflects in the scenes of the column of Marcus Aurelius (the art piece is mainly celebratory monument), the basis are a scenes from a real events of the war. In a several scenes are seen shackled barbarians, resp. Germans, which may lead to a various interpretations (slaves, prisoners of war, people to be executed). In my contribution, I will focus on the iconography of tying of the hands³ and related archaeological and numismatic sources.

The Column of Marcus Aurelius and shackled barbarians

Shackled barbarians can be seen in six scenes. Most often, we can find them in the scenes more or less in the middle and in the upper half of column of Marcus Aurelius (No. LXI, LXVI, LXXVII, LXXXVIII). One scene of such a motif can be seen in the beginning (No. XXVI) and one in the end part (No. CIX) of the column (*Petersen/von Domaszewski/Calderini 1896*).

Scene No. XXV (*Ibid.*, Taf. 33): Two chained barbarians (Sarmatians) with pointy hats on their heads are taken in front of the emperor, who holds a spear in his hand. Here tying of the hands behind their back is not visible.

Scene No. LXI (*Ibid.*, Taf. 70): Represents the execution of rebellious barbarians (Quadi?). Two executioners of barbaric origin are swiping with swords, when in front of one of them stands one barbarian and by second executioner stands another three barbarians with their hands tied behind their backs. In two cases, it is possible to see tied hands while in two cases there are not.

Scene No. LXVI (*Ibid.*, Taf. 75): In front of sitting Marcus Aurelius are standing two barbarians and by one of them is seen tying of the hands behind his back.

Scene No. LXXVII (*Ibid.*, Taf. 86): Three barbarians with tied hands are poked by Roman soldiers towards left. The barbarians wore a short-sleeved tunic and over it draped cloak closed with a buckle. Tying of the hands in behind their back is not in this case visible.

Scene No. LXXXVIII (*Ibid.*, Taf. 98): From the rock with a cave are Romans leading four captured barbarians probably of higher social status, who have their hands tied behind their back (tying or shackles are not visible). Some are bearded, others are beardless. All wearing a tunic tight at the waist, cloak tight at the shoulder and a long, narrow trousers.

Scene No. CIX (*Ibid.*, Taf. 117): Only at this scene are likely to be seen metal handcuffs. On the rock is unconsciously laying a body of a young man (not bearded) under the hooves of a horse. The man has tied his hands behind his head.

From the individual scenes is particularly noticeable restraining of hands. From most of the scenes, it is not possible to determine, whether this was done only by shackling of hands by ropes or metal handcuffs. This is particularly true in case of hands hidden behind the back. A shackling of the hands can only be seen in the three scenes (Fig.1), on which are tied Germans going to be beheaded (LXI:13+23) and a tied barbarian (barbarians?) standing before the emperor (LXVI:15). There is probability that they will also go for the execution, because one severed head of one German is shown, by a Roman soldier, to Marcus Aurelius. By two standing Germans (LXI:23 and LXVI:15) the hands are in identical position behind their back. Both right hands grip left hand, from which it is apparent that the hands were not bound with metal handcuffs, but only tied with a rope or leather strap.

The only metal handcuffs on a whole column of Marcus Aurelius can be found on the figure of a young German (Fig. 2) at the beginning of the scene CIX (figure 3), which takes place in front of the fortification. When it is not inconceivable if this could have been a Mušov-Burgstall in South Moravia or romans period objects in Slovakia (*Wolf 1994, 76*). A handcuffed hands are in

a position behind the head of an unconscious man. From this it can be assumed that they were originally tied in the front. If he would have his hands tied behind his back, the Romans would have to subsequently dislocate them, to get them into the overhead position. Unfortunately, even from a detail view it is not possible to determine the type of handcuffs, apparently it was a case of simple hand-cuffs.

Archaeological finds of metal shackles.

Among the archaeological finds we can find various kinds of metal handcuffs (*catena*), resp. with their own shackles with locks, keys to the locks and chains (Thompson 1993). Prevalent hand shackles, when there are known also a neck shackles (eg. Schumacher, 1935, Taf. 15:53). The evidences originate mainly from the Roman provinces (Künzl 1993, 371–373, 374, Abb. 8), very rarely even from barbaricum (Cosack/Kehne 1999). K. Czarnecka (2013, 403, Abb. 8) found in the area of barbaricum five localities with finds of Roman hand iron shackles: 1x Poland (the Balts), 1x Hungary (Sarmatias), 3x Germany (Germans). Most of the finds belong to the period after the Marcomannic wars: Reisberg near Burgellern (1st half of the 3rd cent.; Haberstroh 2000, 49, 158), Bavenstedt (2nd-3rd cent.; Cosack/Kehne 1999, 100), Brahlstorf (earlier Roman period; Czarnecka 2013, 403). Closest to the period of Marcomannic wars corresponds the find from the locality of Mojtyna, grave 17 (Ibid., 398).

Some time ago pointed J. Schuster (2009) on the fact that also some kinds of chains with eight-articles associate with the shackles. Their occurrence is concentrated in area of river Main from degrees B2/C1 and C1, rarely appears in other parts of barbaricum (Ibid., 416, 421). Chains, resp. chain particles appears either direct with handcuffs (Dolenz 1998, Taf. 27), with locks from the shackles (Voß 2007, 26, Abb. 14:1–3) or individually (Schuster 2009, 418, 419, Abb. 3:1–3; 4:1, 2).

During the research of Roman fortifications of Mušov-Burgstall (eg. Tejral 1999; Komoróczy 2008), which has a clear link to the Markomannic wars, succeeded in above-ground objects of handicraft district of the southeast slope of Burgstall to discover a fragments of iron chain with eight-articles (Komoróczy 1999, 80, 81, Abb. 6:1–3; Komoróczy et al. 2010, 25). In my opinion, it is likely the case of chain of the handcuffs (Fig. 3). On one end of the chain is a linker with a rivet ending, resp.

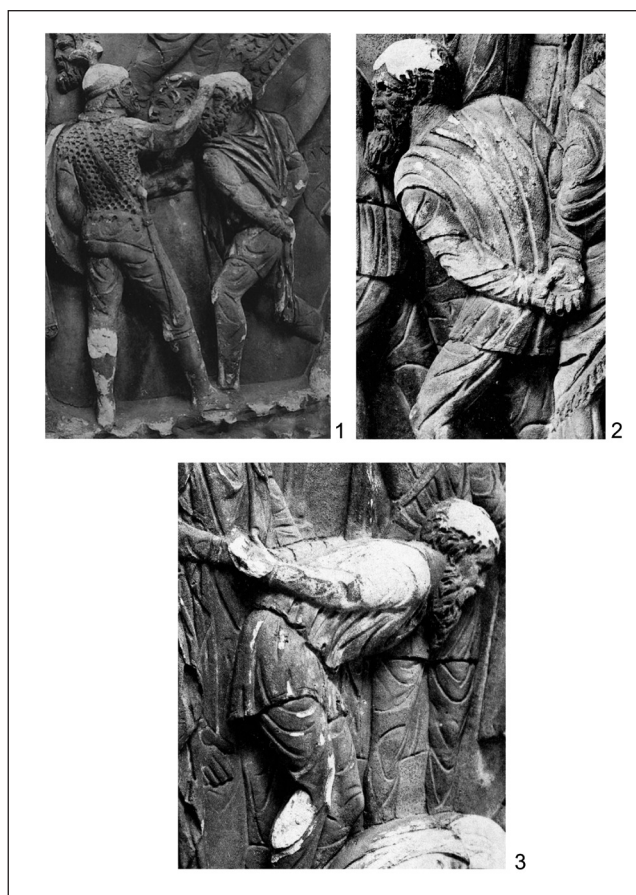


Fig. 1. Scenes of shackled barbarians from the column of Marcus Aurelius: 1 Nr. LXI:13, 2 Nr. LXI:23, 3 Nr. LXVI:15 (after Petersen/von Domaszewski/Calderini 1896).

linking article between the chain and lock (eg. Nothdurfter 1979, Taf. 78:1286; Cosack/Kehne 1999, 101, Abb. 3:2–3), which was connected directly to the lock.

We can name an analogous chain eight-articles for eg. From Magdalensberg (Dolenz 1998, Taf. 27) auxiliary fort of Künzing (Künzl 1993, 376, Abb. 10), in the reliefs from the first cent. from localities of Fiesole and Gardun Trilj (Schumacher 1935, 11, No. 46–47, Taf. 13) ad.

To complete the typology of handcuffs is necessary to mention one unique kind that is documented by archaeological finds. During the detector prospection of small Roman camp “Kring” by Oberode from the Augustan period, located about 2.5km southwest from the large camp in Hedemünden (Niedersachsen/Lower Saxony), was discovered a new type of iron shackles. It is the type of combined shackles (type “stork”), which has been at the neck and at the same time on both hands (Grote 2010, 5, Abb. 19).

Sculptures in the form of bound Germans

In the inventory of Celtic bronze sculptures of area of Moravia published M. Čižmář (2012, 148, fig 2:3) a small Roman sculpture of Germanic person chained to a stake



Fig. 2. Scene with the shackles (Nr. CIX:3) from the column of Marcus Aurelius (after Petersen/von Domaszewski/Calderini 1896).

(height: 3,8 cm). A detector finding (Fig. 4) comes from the position Mušov "Na Pískách", ie from the space of Roman field camps from period of Marcomannic wars. Until nowadays this is not the only evidence from the area of barbaricum, all similar objects are coming from the Roman Empire. In detail, these miniature sculptures were dealt by R. Jackson (2005), when according to his classification, the Mušov artifact belongs to type III (*Ibid.*, 144, 145, Fig 3). We are finding the closest analogy in surrounding of 2nd up to half of the 3rd cent. in the territory of Pannonia, ie in Carnuntum (Jackson 2005, 152, Fig 3: 4, 5) and particularly in Vindobona (*Ibid.*, 154, Fig 3: 1-4). To this type can be assigned the finding from Mannersdorf am Leithagebirge (Farka/Melchart 1981, Abb. 617). Very small sculptures of size around three centimeters are offering various possibilities of functional interpretations. According to holes, which are on the sides, bottom and back, can be considered as a part of some forging.

R. Jackson (2005, 148, Fig. 7) considers it as a part of a belt garniture. Shackling to a stake represented the most ignominious form of humiliation of barbarians. It cannot be find on the column of Marcus Aurelius. The presence of such a sculpture in Mušov has undoubtedly close link to the war events of Marcus Aurelius time in southern Moravia. At the same time, it probably represents a component of Roman military trappings, which reflects the concept of humiliation or a real fact of deflated Suebs (Marcomans and Quadi).

A similar small sculpture in form of a sitting German with a suebic knot has been found in Brigetio (Krieger 2002, 374, Taf. 30). The figure of Sueb has only his hands tied behind his back. Also, this subject was part of a forging. The motif of tying of the hands behind the back, as we know from the column of Marcus Aurelius, occurs far more often than tiding to a stake. As an example, we can give a bronze

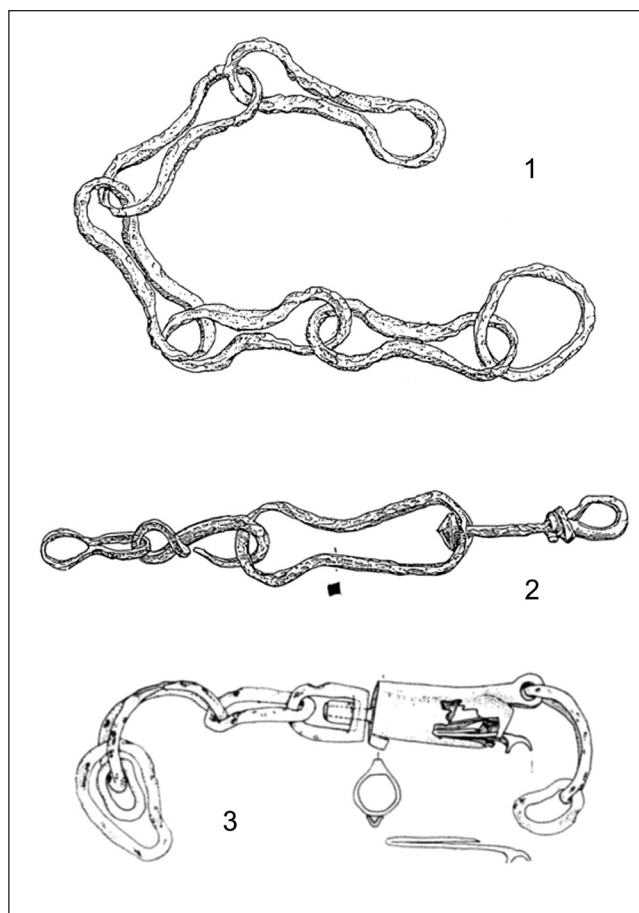


Fig. 3. Chains from shackles (Mušov-Burgstall). 1-2. Mušov-Burgstall (after Komoróczy 1999), 3. Sanzeno (after Nothdurfter 1979).

sculpture of standing Germans dressed only in trousers with a Suebic knots and hands tied behind their backs (Krieger 2002, Taf. 23:2-3), when one (Fig. 5) was found in Vindobona (*Ibid.*, Taf. 23:3). From mentioned sculptures and other finds (Schumacher 1935, 26, 27, Taf. 30:100,107, 108; 31:103, 104) is obvious tiding of the hands of barbarians by ropes or leather straps, because the hands are often crossed and it is not possible to recognize a metal handcuffs.

Motif of bound/shackled barbarians on coins

From the locality of Mušov-Burgstall comes another evidence with the motif of handcuffed barbarian (Fig. 6: 6). On the sestercius of Marcus Aurelius type RIC in 1021 with the inscription GERMANIA SVBACTA (Friesinger/Tejral/Stuppner edd. 1994, back cover; Tejral 1999, 99) is on the reverse under the tropaion, a shackled German sitting with his hands in front. A similar coins with the inscription GERMANIA SVBACTA of a different variants (RIC III No. 1021-1027, p. 294-295) were minted between years 172 to summer 174 (Dobiáš, 1964, 207, 246, note. 101) and there are a testimony to the Roman victory over the Danubian Germans (Suebs). With this inscription, there were also minted a medallions (Fig. 6: 5) of Marcus Aurelius (Gnecchi 1912, 27-28). Other motifs of shackled barbarians (Germans) on coins of Marcus Aurelius (Fig. 6: 3, 4) can be seen on the denars (RIC 289) or on dupondias (RIC 1188) or on coinages of Lucius Verus (Fig. 6: 1, 2) denarius (RIC 540)

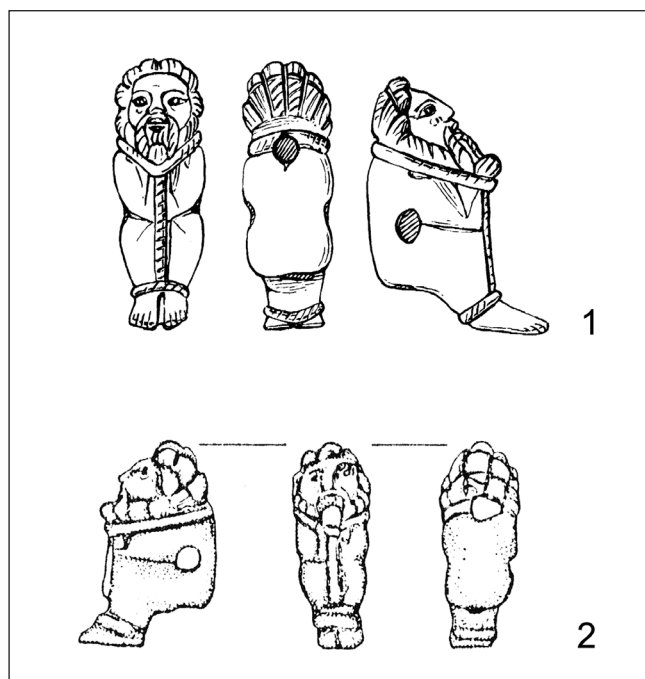


Fig. 4. Sculpture of German tied to a stake. 1. Mušov „Na Pískách“ (after Čížmář 2012), 2. Mannersdorf am Leithagebirge (after Farka/Melchart 1981).

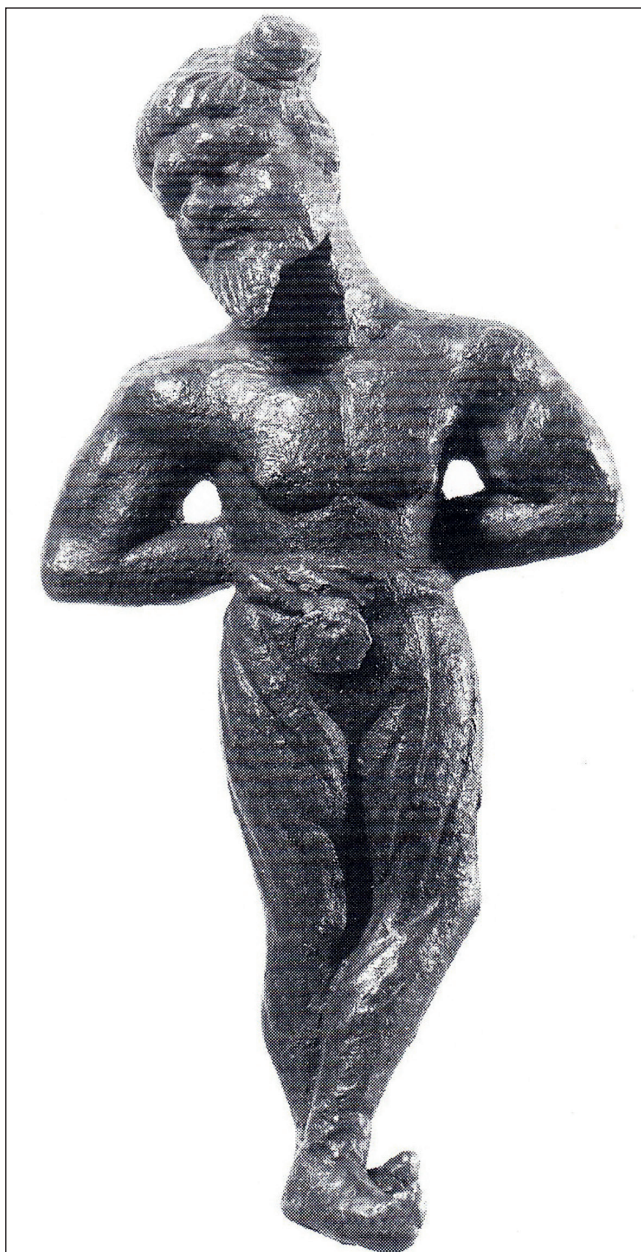


Fig. 5. Sculptor of tied German/Sueb from Vindobona (after Jackson 2005).



Fig. 6. Coins with motifs of tied barbarians. 1 Medallion (Gnecchi 3), 2 denarius (RIC 540), 3 denarius (RIC 289), 4 dupondius (RIC 1188), 5 medallion (Gnecchi 8), 6 Mušov-Burgstall, sestercius (after Friesinger/Tejral/ Stuppner edd. 1994).

and medallion (Gnecchi, 1912, 45), where appear characters with sharp hats (Sarmatians). On the coins, from the figures of barbarians, unfortunately it is not possible to recognize a way of shackling or tying of the hands, even when they have arms in front of their body. It is rather the symbolism of shackling, outlined by picture of both hands together.

To interpretation of shackles and tying

Although a metal handcuffs are often associated with trading with slaves (Cosack/Kehne 1999, 104–107), on the column of Marcus Aurelius, this fact known from a different backgrounds and followings up after the war events, cannot be observed. This is understandable, since there is space only dedicated to the Roman campaign against the barbarians. The only metal handcuffs, shown on the column of Marcus Aurelius, are on the figure of young deceased Germanic man (scene Nr. CIX: 3). The Barbarians, who went to the execution, were not shackled with metal handcuffs, but they were only tied. Generally displaying the barbarians (Germans) with metal shackles or chains is in the early Roman period relatively rare and occurred only on special occasions such as relief sculptures (eg. Schumacher, 1935, Taf. 13: 46, 47; 15: 53). On the relief depictions of barbarians with their hands behind their backs, which are most common, including figures on coins or on terrae sigillatae (eg. Ricken/Fischer 1963, 99–102), it's no possible to figure out the way of handcuffing. Czarnecka (2013, 404, 405) interprets rare findings of the metal shackles, in the areas of barbaricum, as part of Roman import and as an evidence of the slave trade. Most of the findings of shackles and chains in barbaricum refers to the period of war events or to a significant movements of the Roman army to the north from the border, during the period between the beginning of the 1st up half of the 3rd century (Künzl 1993; Cosack/Kehne 1999; Schuster 2009; Czarnecka 2013). First, the barbarians became captives, and then could follow other forms (execution, transport into the Roman Empire and subsequently slavery). Findings from Mušov associated with shackles and tying of the Germans (chains to shackles, sculpture

of German, sestertius with the motif of GERMANIA SVBACTA), are an evidence of the important status of this Roman fortification in the area of barbaricum during the Marcomannic wars. It is difficult to determine whether some of the scenes from the column of Marcus Aurelius also took a part around Mušov. If the Romans had also penetrated into the area of southern Moravia in the years 172–175, then it's highly possible. An attempts in identifying of some of the scenes from the column of Marcus Aurelius have been already made (eg *Gnirs* 1976, 58–60; *Wolf* 1994, 76; *Kovács* 2009, 271). The aim of this contribution was not to interpret specific historical events with shackled barbarians, but to highlight the phenomenon of shackling on the column of Marcus Aurelius and his reflection in some material sources of period of the Marcomannic wars.

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NOTES

- ¹ Last collectively for eg. Kovács 2009, 155–180, 168 (there an overview of main literature on the topic), Beckmann 2011.
- ² As the template for an individual scenes were the events of the years 172–175, resp. 172: on the scenes I–XXIX, 173:XXX–LV, 174:LVI–LXXVII, 175:LXVIII–CXVI (Zwicker 1941, 257; Kovács 2009, 158).
- ³ To the interpretation of cervical shackles, in this volume, is specially dealt by R. Čambal (Torques or shackles?, p. 25–33).

POUTA NA SLOUPU MARKA AURELIA A NÁLEZY Z MUŠOVA

EDUARD DROBERJAR

Na několika scénách sloupu Marka Aurelia (*Petersen/von Domaszewski/Calderini 1896*) jsou vidět spoutaní barbaři – č. XXV, LXI (obr. 1:1–2), LXVI (obr. 1:3), LXXVII, LXXXVIII. Avšak pouze na jedné z nich lze postřehnout kovová pouta č. CIX:3 (obr. 2). Autor se v této souvislosti zabývá několika pozoruhodnými nálezy římské provenience z Mušova (řetěz z pout, plastika Germána svázaného do kozelce a sestercius s motivem GERMANIA SVBACTA), které mají souvislost s markomanskými válkami. Koncentrace uvedených artefaktů právě v Mušově naznačuje velký význam této lokality jako hlavního římského opěrného bodu v tažení proti Markomanům v 70. letech 2. století.

Při výzkumu římské fortifikace Mušova-Burgstallu (např. *Tejral 1999; Komoróczy 2008*) se podařilo v nadzemních objektech řemeslnického okrsku na JV svahu Burgstallu objevit fragmenty železného řetězu (obr. 3) s osmičkovitými články (*Komoróczy 1999*, 80, 81, Abb. 6:1–3; *Komoróczy at al. 2010*, 25). Podle mého názoru jde s velkou pravděpodobností o řetěz z pout (Schuster 2009). Nelze ovšem určit, z jakého typu pout články pocházejí, jelikož existovalo více druhů. Převažovaly pouta ruční, používaná byla i krční pouta (např. *Schumacher 1935*, Taf. 15:53). Doklady pocházejí hlavně z římských provincií (*Künzl 1993*, 371–373, 374, Abb. 8), velmi vzácně i z barbarika (*Cosack/Kehne 1999; Czarnicka 2013*, 403, Abb. 8).

V soupisu keltských bronzových plastik z území Moravy publikoval M. Čížmář (2012, 148, obr. 2:3) drobnou římskou plastiku Germána spoutaného do kozelce (výška: 3,8 cm). Detektorový nález (obr. 4) pochází z polohy Mušov „Na Pískách“, tedy z prostoru římských polních táborů z období markomanských válek. Jde dosud o jediný doklad z území barbarika (Jackson 2005), plastika mohla být součástí pásové garnitury (Jackson 2005, 148, Fig. 7). Spoutání do kozelce představovalo nejpotupnější formu pokoření barbarů. Na sloupu Marka Aurelia ji nenacházíme.

Z lokality Mušov-Burgstall pochází další doklad s motivem spoutaného barbara (obr. 6:6). Na sesterciu Marka Aurelia typu RIC 1021 s nápisem GERMANIA SVBACTA (*Friesinger/Tejral/Stuppner edd. 1994*, zadní strana obálky; *Tejral 1999*, 99) je na reversu pod trojprahem sedící spoutaný Germán s rukama vepředu. Obdobné mince s nápisem GERMANIA SVBACTA různých variant (RIC III č. 1021–1027, s. 294–295) byly raženy v letech 172 až 174 (*Dobiáš 1964*, 207, 246, pozn. 101) a jsou svědectvím římského vítězství nad podunajskými Germány (Svéby).

Pokud scény na sloupu Marka Aurelia představují spíše válečné zajatce a lidi jdoucí na popravu, než otroky, pak rovněž nálezy pout v římském prostředí Mušova mohou mít obdobný význam. Zobrazování barbarů (Germánů) s kovovými pouty nebo řetězy, přestože takové archeologické nálezy existují, je ve starší době římské poměrně vzácné a objevovalo se pouze při výjimečných příležitostech např. na reliéfních sochách (např. *Schumacher 1935*, Taf. 13:46–47; 15:53). To se týká i vzácných miniaturních bronzových plastik představujících barbary svázané do kozelce. Nejčastěji byli zobrazováni spoutaní barbaři s rukama za zády na reliéfech, na nichž není možné rozpoznat typ pout.

Translated by Autor

Eduard Droberjar
Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci
Křížkovského 8, 771 47 Olomouc
droberjar@seznam.cz