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Proceedings of the first PeBA Conference Perspectives on Balkan Archaeology – The Early Iron Age: Methods and Approaches

Preface

The idea of **PeBA - Perspectives on Balkan Archaeology** was born in 2015 and choosing Sarajevo as the conference venue for the first PeBA conference seemed the perfect decision. The Conference was held on April 8-9, 2016 in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the 21 participants from Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Czech Republic, Croatia, Republic of Macedonia, Germany, Serbia and Slovenia. In the meantime, a second conference took place in Belgrade in 2017 and a third one is scheduled for 2020.

Daniela Heilmann and Marek Verčík, both of whom were members of the Munich Graduate School for Ancient Studies “Distant Worlds” at the Ludwig-Maximilians-University at that time, approached me with the idea to organize an international conference on the Early Iron Age in the Balkan lands. This conference about “The Early Age: Methods and Approaches” was designed to specifically give younger researchers a chance and a forum to introduce their work and discuss their ideas. Aleksandar Jašarević from the Regional Museum of Doboj, Bosnia and Herzegovina, enthusiastically supported the idea and with Mario Gavranović from the Institute for Oriental and European Archaeology (OREA), Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna, the team was complete.

I was very impressed by this initiative and very happy to see, what positive side effects a doctoral dissertation can produce. Daniela Heilmann’s travels to various now independent countries of former Yugoslavia in the course of her efforts to collect information for her doctoral dissertation resulted in contacts with many col-

leagues working on problems of the Early Iron Age in this region. This network of scholarly exchange between Balkan Scholars which transcends state and ideological borders is integral to the concept of PeBA. Of course, those contacts existed before, but sometimes outsiders have a better starting point in creating a new perspective on seemingly familiar matters.

The idea to intensify and to re-establish exchange among researchers of Balkan Archaeology from different countries made Sarajevo an ideal meeting place. As is commonly known, that the city had suffered during the Yugoslav Wars, in the course of which the once famous National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Zemaljski muzej Bosnia i Hercegovina had to close, the collections were stored away and were partly inaccessible for a long time. The enormous symbolic value to come together in Sarajevo, an iconic place evoking the conflicts during the Yugoslav Wars, but also the place of renewal and recovery was obvious to us. All the more so as the city was once a famous centre of Balkan Archaeology - with a long tradition of research starting in the late 19th century and flourishing under the Habsburg Monarchy right into Yugoslav times. I think it was the impression and the feeling of all participants that we were witnessing that something new and promising was about to start. Sarajevo and the vast collections of the National Museum were once a cradle of Balkan Archaeology; thus, the reopening of a small part of the Iron Age collection during the PeBA conference held on the 8th-9th April 2016 was of great importance and a crucial signal to the scientific community. I am writing this from

the outside perspective of a German archaeologist and university professor who sees it as one part of her obligations to teach students that archaeological studies should not be confined by modern national borders and that it is important to reach out and bring together people and ideas from various places and backgrounds.

I will avoid a discussion of what “Balkan Archaeology” actually means at this point, but would rather like to emphasize that many colleagues followed the conference call of the four organizers. Researchers participated with talks or chaired the various sessions. The wide array of topics included research perspectives on the western Balkans with talks about communication networks, settlement structures in a regional perspective or studies concerning aspects of material culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina and beyond. Another session focused on chronological questions of the Early Iron Age in the southern Carpathian Basin, the Slovenian Dolenjsko or the continuity of Iron Age cultural groups in northeastern Serbia. The third session was titled ‘Approaching Identities’ in the Iron Age with contributions on female costumes, theoretical concepts or socioeconomic aspects in areas such as the southeastern Adriatic. A fifth session dealt with ‘Supra-regional Approaches: Communications and Cultural Dynamics’ such as the distribution of weapons in the central Balkan region and surroundings or contacts between southern Pannonia and the northern Balkans. The final session took a regional focus again, examining the burial rights in the Republic of Macedonia, including the contacts to Greece during the Archaic Period, or a case study about burial customs in the contact zone of the Vardar and Breгалnica river valleys.

The large variety of topics offered plenty of opportunities for fruitful discussions. Most im-

pressive was the conference excursion to many famous sites of the Iron Age Glasinac Culture which showed once more that the autopsy of a geographical setting is vital for understanding cultural, in this case archaeological, phenomena.

This first PeBA conference was a big success, from a scholarly as well as - and perhaps even more importantly - from a personal perspective. We owe this experience to many people whom I would like to thank again on behalf of the participants and for myself. Our thanks go to the organizers Daniela Heilmann, Mario Gavranović, Aleksandar Jašarević and Marek Verčík; but also to the colleagues in the NMBiH in Sarajevo, especially Andrijana Pravidur. Our gratitude also goes to the Munich Graduate School for Ancient Studies “Distant Worlds” and the Südosteuropa Gesellschaft Munich which generously granted financial support and thus made the conference possible.

Not all participants found the time to hand in their contributions, mainly because for some time the form in which the conference contributions would be published, was unclear. Thanks to the initiative and financial as well as editorial support offered by my colleague Blagoje Govedarica (Eurasienabteilung, German Archaeological Institute, Berlin and the Centre for Balkan Studies, Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo) the proceedings of the first PeBA/Perspectives on Balkan Archaeology conference in Sarajevo held in April 2016 are now presented in this volume of *Godišnjak/Jahrbuch*.

Carola Metzner-Nebelsick
Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich

Munich, September 2018

Socioeconomic relations and identities in the Southeastern Adriatic Iron Age

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Abstract: The focus of this paper is on the connections between socioeconomic relations and collective identities in the Late Iron Age communities from the Southeastern Adriatic and its hinterland. The aim is to draw attention to different perceptions of collective identity in the distant past, in contrast to the traditional view that typically focuses on ethnicity as the main expression of identity in the Late Iron Age Southeastern Adriatic. This interpretation is based on a constructivist approach to culture and on a re-evaluation of archaeological records that are significantly marked with imported artefacts, which remarkably highlight socioeconomic interactions from the past. By correlating archaeological data and previously proposed theoretical concepts, it will be concluded that the conceptions of collective identities in this particular social context in the past were considerably embedded in socioeconomic relations. Such conceptions, partly understood through various social practices including the consumption of material culture, were significantly articulated through socioeconomic interactions (e.g., warfare, habitation, goods exchange) rather than through notions of ethnic distinctions between individuals and groups in the past.

Key words: identity, Iron Age, socioeconomic relations, eastern Adriatic, Illyrians

1. Introduction

Following the constructivist reasoning that social structure and “reality” are not predetermined or fixed but continuously socially constructed, together with the notion of a “strong reflexive tie” between social dispositions and produced knowledge of these arrangements,² it can be concluded that our understanding of society in the distant past is inevitably conditioned by contemporary social values. Therefore, as such, this understanding is a fluid and ambiguous conception.

This phenomenon has been prominently articulated through the understanding of identity in archaeology and modern historiography.³ And it is strikingly clear apropos the traditional in-

terpretation of collective identities in the central and western Balkan Iron Age,⁴ which typically was focused on ethnicity and identified a significant part of the prehistoric population in the region as the “ancient Illyrians.”⁵

However, the focus of this paper is on the connections between socioeconomic relations and identities of people in the Southeastern Adriatic and its close hinterland in the Late Iron Age.⁶ This topic principally relates to collective iden-

⁴ Dzino 2008; Kuzmanović / Vranić 2013.

⁵ Velimirović-Žižić 1967; Papazoglu 1969; Anamali / Korkuti 1970; Korkuti 1972a; 1976; Benac 1972; Bojanovski 1985; Čović 1987; 1991; Benac 1987; Garašanin 1988; Vasić 1991; Mirdita 1991; Mikić 1991; Ceka 2005.

⁶ With regard to the periodization of late prehistory, it has been suggested that the beginning of the Late Iron Age in the Eastern Adriatic should be dated earlier than in the Central Balkans, probably to the 4th century BC. This argument has been based on the cultural interaction with the rest of the Mediterranean, intense cultural exchange reflected through imported archaeological material, and the influence of “Hellenization”, argued to have been a crucial cultural change in this historical and social context. For Iron

¹ B.A. (University of Belgrade), Ph.D. (University of Belgrade), Project Researcher, Pannonia Project, The University of Sydney. The author wishes to thank John Whitehouse of The University of Sydney for advice in composing this paper.

² Berger / Luckmann 1991 [1966]; Bourdieu 1995 [1972]; Giddens 1984; Ashmore 1989; Bourdieu 1989.

³ Jones 1997; Babić 2010.

tities in the past, and it is concerned with social and cultural aspects of this phenomenon, bearing in mind the consumption of material culture within the specific socioeconomic setting;⁷ it is not concerned with ontological or psychological analyses.

Reflecting on the notion indicated in the first paragraph of this text, I would express prudence that some of the arguments conveyed here could imply doxastic ways of thinking. However, the purpose of this paper is to draw the reader's attention to the different perception of collective identities in the region during the late prehistory, in contrast to the traditional view.

Considering the types and contextual information of archaeological finds referred to in the text, it is noteworthy to point out that collective identifications in the Late Iron Age of the South-eastern Adriatic and its hinterland were materially embedded in socioeconomic interactions and relationships set in the distant past. These interactions from the past are indicated through the archaeological record from sites dispersed throughout the region. They are overwhelmingly dominated by imports, which were more intensely exchanged from the 4th century BC onward. Some illustrative examples are the sites of Ošanići, Risan, Budva, Lezhë, Zgërdhesh, Mar-gëlliç, Hekal, Klos, Ploç, and Krotina.⁸

Hence, to test whether socioeconomic interactions were one of the determining forces for a creation of collective identities in a given social context in the past, it is necessary to explain how material culture and identity of people were interrelated, while keeping in mind the given archaeological record.

2. Identity – meaning – material culture and vice versa

The constructivist understanding of culture has had a major influence on archaeological inter-

pretations, including our understanding of identities in the distant past.⁹ This comes hand in hand with the understanding of material culture as a culturally specific sign and a medium within culture.¹⁰

In archaeology, this idea has originated from the theory of semiotics;¹¹ especially important are those concepts of Charles Peirce.¹² One of Peirce's crucial notions in his theory of continuous creations of signs and meanings is that a sign is not isolated but is consistently related with other signs, which enable their creation in the first place.¹³ Therefore, in the context of social relations and culture, signs can represent not just social "reality", but can also create social "reality" through meanings, which can always be ambiguously reinterpreted.¹⁴ Peirce's notion of cultural construction of identity suggests that it emerges simultaneously from relations between signs, people's interactions, and individual comprehension. Hence, identity coexists in the understandings of both a group and a person and is therefore constantly fluid and reinterpreted, not fixed.¹⁵

Accordingly, Fredrik Barth's understanding of collective identity has underlined the importance of social interaction in the construction of always fluid identities as well as the significance of social processes of inclusion and exclusion within a particular social group.¹⁶ In other words, identity is not fixed and primordial, but continuously negotiated through comparisons of self with the other.

Furthermore, following Pierre Bourdieu's *Theory of Practice*, identity can be understood as being constantly and recursively (re)constructed through various social practices and their meanings. Identity is simultaneously one of the causes and outcomes of interactions between groups and individuals, as well as their perceptions of these relations in social space, in which notions of various social practices and positions recur-

Age periodization see Garašanin 1988, 120–121; cf. Čović 1987, 633–634.

⁷ On material culture consumption in the past see Gosden 2002, 152–178; 2005; Morely 2007, 36–54.

⁸ Basler 1969; Anamali 1972; Dautaj 1972; 1975; 1976; Marić 1973a; 1977; 1973b; Papajani 1973; 1975; Prendi 1975a; Karaiskaj 1977–1978; Ceka 1990; 2005; Vrekaj 1997; Ujes 1999; Dyczek et al. 2004; 2007; Dyczek 2010; Marković 2012.

⁹ Hodder 1985; Tilley 1994; Olsen 2002 [1997]; Dornan 2002; Hodder / Hutson 2003; Gosden 2005; Meskell 2012. Compare with Bourdieu 1995 [1972]; Giddens 1984.

¹⁰ Olsen 2002, 165–182.

¹¹ Ibid. 165; Preucel 2006. Compare with: Eco 1976.

¹² Eco 1976, 15; Preucel 2006, 45.

¹³ Preucel 2006, 49–50. 52–55. 57. 66.

¹⁴ Ibid. 89.

¹⁵ Ibid. 79–84.

¹⁶ Barth 1969, 9–10.

sively produce social identity comprehensions and vice versa.¹⁷

Keeping in mind all these insights, one can conclude that collective identities are fluid categories under constant (re)construction. They are the results of repeatedly constructed perceptions, which when looked at from a chronological distance constitute a “tradition” (evocation) that recursively supports various expressions of these identities (verbal, behavioural, material, etc.) in a particular moment or interval of time during which they are manifested within society. Hence, social and cultural identity can be understood as an awareness of “otherness” of individuals and groups in comparison to other individuals or other groups. This awareness is constructed and repeatedly reconstructed through the ongoing interactions with the surroundings.

One’s sense of social and cultural identity is conditioned by many different notions or distinct understandings related to the perceptions and comparisons of self or selves with the others. Cultural elaboration and the awareness of one’s age, gender, sex, name, social background and position, place of origin, mother tongue, political stance, occupation, economic power, religion, material possessions, and similar are also associated with the understanding of the different interactions between people.¹⁸ In human interaction, these complex associations are constantly, both consciously and unconsciously, communicated and compared, which then reflectively and recursively enables the understanding of distinctions between individuals and groups of people within social space.

One of many ways of communicating these ideas is through the usage of material culture. It has been argued that objects that people use do not just have their practical function, but also have culturally specific and varied meanings in human interaction and perception.¹⁹ Hence, different objects and ways of their usage may reflect one’s perception of self in comparison to the other. The various ways of using material culture in prehistory and the permanent psychological and social reproductions of mixed identifications can be related to the different contexts of con-

sumption of objects as well as the miscellaneous meanings associated with their usage.²⁰

Hence, material culture can be a culturally specific representation of a hybrid, individual, and collective identifications, as well as a sign of a mixed and layered notion of social and cultural identities.

3. Socioeconomic practices and identities (re)constructed

Following the conceptions outlined above, one can argue that the key to understanding the interrelatedness between socioeconomic practices and collective identities in the past is the recognition of specific socioeconomic groups created through practices as well as paradigms of class distinctions materialised as a result of actions within a particular social context.

These notions indicate the focal points for social recognition and identification in the past, including the phenomenon by which the social actors compare themselves with others. This can be related to their inclusion in, or exclusion from a particular group, while being related to concerns with one’s status, reputation and wealth, which are constantly weighted against other individuals and groups. Such comparisons are partially embedded in socioeconomic interactions.

Being partly (re)constructed in various ways of consumption of material culture in the past, identities can be traced in the archaeological record by reconstructing paths of various artefacts in the archaeological context. In order to understand this interrelatedness, it is crucial to relate archaeological contexts with the specific past social contexts, by identifying social practices which form the basis for the construction of collective identities.

Following on from this, the study will finalize with conclusions based on relating archaeological data to theoretical conceptions and vice versa.²¹ Hence, the first step is to provide an overview of the material culture from the Southeastern Adriatic and its immediate hinterland dating to the 4th–1st centuries BC. Specifically, imports will be taken into consideration, as they are over-

¹⁷ Bourdieu 1995 [1972]; Ibid 1985, 725.

¹⁸ Meskell 2012.

¹⁹ Olsen 2002, 165–182. 199–200; Dornan 2002, 305–307.

²⁰ Gosden 2002, 152–178; Gosden 2005; Morely 2007, 36–54.

²¹ Jones 2002, 25. 36–37. 70–71.

whelmingly present and are typologically and chronologically more sensitive. Moreover, they are objects that were clearly part of past socio-economic exchange.

3.1. Material culture overview

Abundance of artefacts, predominantly various Mediterranean imports, rested within the remains of numerous Iron Age fortified settlements and necropoleis in the Southeastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland, highlight socioeconomic interactions from the region's late prehistory.

The consumption of imports in the region can be traced throughout the Early Iron Age.²² But an increase in the quantity of this archaeological material can be dated from the late 5th / early 4th century BC onward. The change and increase in their quantity is the consequence of intensification of their consumption and a sign of intensified socioeconomic interactions in the region in the last four centuries of the first millennium BC. Imported objects, in the traditional interpretation signified "Hellenised" material culture, predominantly originating from the workshops in the Southern Italy and Sicily but also from the Aegean Region.

Those artefacts include various metal fibulae, buttons, necklaces, earrings, bracelets, rings, pins and double pins; amphorae (Greco – Italic, Corinthian A and B types, Dressel types – 1A, 1B, 2–4, Brindisi, Knidian, Thasian, Laboglia 2, Apollonian, etc.); fine ceramic vessels (skyphoi, oenochoi, pelike, craters, unguentaria, etc. – predominantly Gnathia pottery, also Megarian bowls, etc.); metal vessels (oenochoi, cups, etc.); coins (of Philip II, Alexander the Great, Cassander, Philip V, Demetrius II; Acragas coins, Syracuse coins, Neapolis coins, Corinth coins, Korkyra coins, Apollonia coins, Dyrrachion coins, etc.).²³ Among these imported artefacts some originated from the inner Balkans territory and even from the southern rim of the Pannonian

plain; mostly coins (for an example, Damastion coins) and fibulae (identified as various La Tène types).²⁴ Besides, many local products have been labelled as imitations of imports.

This label was especially related to the coins attributed to various groups from distinct settlements (Amantia, Byllis, Olympe, Orikos, Daorson, Scodra, Lissos, Rhizon, etc.); and signed by individuals – rulers (coins of Monunius, Genthios, Ballaios, etc.).²⁵ In addition, these imitations have been recognized in the abundance of fine pottery fragments (cups, oenochoi, etc.) predominantly similar to Gnathia products, reflecting stylistic features of imported objects.²⁶ This emulative aspect has been also more or less pointed out regarding some of the remains of architecture in the region, especially some fortifications – identified as "Hellenistic" (Ošanići, Risan, Lezhë, Hekal, Krotina, Klos, Triport, Orikos, Ploç, Zgërdhesh, Margëlliç, etc.).²⁷

Locally produced artefacts also include various kitchen potteries for everyday use (so called "Illyrian" pottery), mostly cups with one or two handles, bowls, pots; pithoi and amphorae; predominantly made without using a wheel (cups, pots, etc.) or in some cases produced with the usage of a wheel (amphorae).²⁸ Among local products are various metal tools, mostly for agricultural works, and craftsmanship.²⁹

A great number of finds relate to weapons produced locally, but there are also imported ones. Offensive weapons are present in a large quantity (iron long leaf-like spears, curved iron knives, arrow heads and short swords); defensive weapons were found in small numbers (and comprise mostly Illyrian helmets).³⁰

²² Prendi 1975b; Čović 1987; Vasić 1987; Палавестра 1989; Palavestra 1993; Babić 2002; Бабић 2004; Ceka 2005.

²³ Basler 1969; Korkuti 1971, 138; 1972b; Anamali 1972; Dautaj 1972; 1975; 1976; Marić 1973a; 1973b; 1977; Papajani 1973; 1975; Mano 1975; Prendi 1975a; Karaiskaj 1977–1978; Паровић-Пешикан 1979; Popović 1987, 96–104; Batović 1988; Ceka 1990; 2005; Kirigin 1994; Vrekaj 1997; Ujes 1999; 2010; Katić 1999–2000; 2000–2001; 2002; Dyczek et al. 2004; Kirigin et al. 2005; Dyczek et al. 2007; Dyczek 2010; Marković 2012.

²⁴ Basler 1969; Popović 1987, 28–29; Batović 1988; Marković 2012.

²⁵ Islami 1966; Rendić-Miočević 1965; Basler 1971; Ceka 1972; Islami 1972b; Marić 1973b; Papajani 1976b; Popović 1987, 8. 87–96; Ujes 2004; Dyczek 2010.

²⁶ Basler 1969, 7; Korkuti 1971, 138; Marić 1977, 42–43; Vrekaj 1997, 169; Ujes 1999, 209; Marković 2012 61–62.

²⁷ Islami 1972a; 1972d; 1975b; 1975c; Prendi / Zheku 1972; Papajani 1976a; Suić 1976; Karaiskaj 1981; Dyczek et al. 2010; Ceka 1987; 1989; 1990; 1998; 2005; Димитријевић 2015.

²⁸ Korkuti 1971, 137; Anamali 1972, 101; Dautaj 1972, 153; Papajani 1973, 110; Prendi 1975a, 154; Marić 1977, 8; Паровић-Пешикан 1979, 47; Vrekaj 1997, 168–169.

²⁹ Prendi 1975a; Паровић-Пешикан 1979; Marić 1979.

³⁰ Basler 1969; Islami 1972a; Korkuti 1972b; Prendi 1975a; Паровић-Пешикан 1979; Batović 1988; Marković 2012.

Bearing in mind overviewed archaeological finds, crucial questions arise such as how are they correlated to particular social practices in the past, and how ideas of collective identities in that particular social context were affected through those practices?

3.2. Warfare and habitation

A large amount of weapons (for the most part offensive ones) found particularly in funerary context, but also within settlements, and in stratigraphic layers of destruction (for instance in Ošanići),³¹ indicate the vital importance of warfare in the Southeastern Adriatic and its hinterland during the Late Iron Age. Remains of a great number of fortified settlements that once dominated these landscapes, moreover suggest a situation of insecurity and the need for protection in the distant past.

This is clearly communicated in the ancient written sources (books of Polybius and Livy-);³² and in the works of modern historiography, warfare, including piracy, is denoted as a real economic activity in this historical context, a so called war economy.³³ In relation to this one should also consider the increase of mercenary activities in conflicts in Greece and Hellenistic east from the 4th century BC onward.³⁴ Ancient authors such as Polybius and Diodorus Siculus have mentioned Illyrians and groups from the eastern Adriatic in this context.³⁵

If comprehended within substantivist argumentation,³⁶ warfare without doubt was a socioeconomic practice in this social context in the past; which principally included plunder of the defeated parties. Furthermore, judging from the archaeological remains of fortified settlements in the Southeastern Adriatic and its hinterland dated in the last centuries BC, one may conclude that habitation in that particular social context was inextricably interrelated to warfare and plun-

der, in addition to the other aspects of habitation and occupancy within prehistoric settlements.³⁷

Analysing the positions of these fortified settlements in the Southeastern Adriatic and its close hinterland, one may conclude that they do not represent points in landscapes that were connected; neither with roads, nor through their spatial positioning that would suggest their arranged orientation opposing some mutual threat. The micro regional topography of the eastern Adriatic and its closest hinterland along with the positions of those settlements in the landscapes indicate that the biggest threat for an Iron Age community in this region was from their neighbours.³⁸

Bearing all this in mind, it can be concluded that socioeconomic practices of warfare and plunder, along with a habitation aspect that was strikingly marked with practices of erecting fortifications and living within a community in a particular defensible place, resulted in the creation of distinct socioeconomic groups and were among focal points for social recognition and identification in the past. These circumstances in that particular social context in the past, recursively influenced the comprehension of group identities which in turn reinforced these practices. Some of those local identities were even explicitly communicated on marked coins produced in some of the settlements.³⁹

As previously mentioned, the finds of mostly offensive weapons are in general known from funerary contexts. This suggests their importance in the given social context as objects for conducting important socioeconomic practices – warfare and plunder, as well as defence of a distinct group or a (fortified) settlement. And even if these activities would not have been obligatory or would not be obvious for some individuals within those communities in the past (examples of finds of weapons in graves of women), those practices were certainly strongly suggested within that social context, and those individuals undoubtedly

³¹ Marić 1969, 78; 1977, 48.

³² Pol. II 6; II 8; V 4; Liv. XLIV 30.

³³ Papazoglu 1988, 180.

³⁴ Miller 1984.

³⁵ Pol. II 2; II 10; V 2; V 3; V 4; Diod. XVII 17.

³⁶ Polanyi 2001 [1944]; 1977; see also: Adams 1974; Compare with particular stances regarding ancient economy in the primitivist historiography: Finley 1973.

³⁷ These other aspects concern relations between habitation of a community and its practices of common goods production within householding and reciprocal exchange of these goods within particular settlements. On this matter see: Polanyi 2001 [1944]; 1977.

³⁸ Димитријевић 2015.

³⁹ Islami 1966; 1972b; Rendić-Miočević 1965; Basler 1971; Ceka 1972; Marić 1973b; Papajani 1976b; Popović 1987, 8. 87–96; Ujes 2004; Dyczek 2010.

alluded to on warrior's appearances through the attributes of clothing.

Sepulchral practice suggests the importance of these objects for social recognition in this historical context, and indicates significance of weapons for differentiation of social status of deceased persons, considering their overwhelming presence within burial places but with differences in their quantity and quality. Status communicated in this way, that is through possessing and using weapons within particular socioeconomic practices, led to differentiations among social actors which were one of the presumptions for creating ideas of their distinct identities.

A customary epilogue of the socioeconomic practice of warfare and plunder apparently was the exchange of looted goods. As one of the practices in this social context, redistribution of some goods (although not all of them looted), and even redistribution of land, is suggested by ancient written sources.⁴⁰ In relation to this, archaeological records suggest socioeconomic networking between social actors who communicated different social status through consumption of exchanged material culture in the past.

3.3. Socioeconomic exchange and networking

Socioeconomic practice of exchange of goods and objects in the past can be displayed through distribution analysis of archaeological material. In this respect, some types of imports like amphorae, fine pottery and coins are of particular importance because of their well known origins and chronology. After being imported to the region, they had to be exchanged, that is redistributed.

A mathematical model which indicates redistribution of artefacts in the past was previously formulated by C. Renfrew.⁴¹ This model shows that if there is an increased quantity of particu-

lar type of artefacts on a particular location at a distance from its production centre, and decreased concentration of these objects on other sites further away, then this pattern of spread indicates their centralised redistribution from that particular place in the past. When the quantity of particular imports to the Southeastern Adriatic is evaluated and compared, the pattern explained above could be recognised at particular sites in the region, indicating some of the centres of redistribution of various imports, mostly of amphorae (containing wine and olive oil) and fine pottery (mostly for consumption of wine): Ošanići, Risan, Lezhë, Margëlliç, Krotina, Berat, Hekal, Klos, Ploç, Orikum, Triport.⁴² Amphorae are present in largest amounts when compared to the other objects, and are almost exclusively found in settlements (and rarely in the funerary context).

Bearing in mind that the imported artefacts had different origins, their geographical spread over the region in both settlements and necropoleis suggests that they were redistributed from particular places in the Southeastern Adriatic and its surroundings. In addition, the widespread presence of so called imitations of "Hellenistic" material, mostly locally produced ("Illyrian") coins, fine pottery and amphorae suggest their local manufacture at distribution places and subsequent redistribution in the past. Considering the origins of these products, many of the centres mentioned above can be identified as places from which these objects had been distributed.

Numerous finds of so called "Illyrian" coins in particular support this pattern of exchange⁴³ – if their role is understood in substantivist terms as "special purpose money" in regulating particular spheres of exchange.⁴⁴ Locally produced coins by centres or individuals / groups, were distributed to many different locations (and hence to other socioeconomic actors) along with imported

⁴⁰ In ancient Amantia (Ploç in southern Albania) the redistribution of olive oil is documented on the epigraphic monument dated in the 2. century BC: Anamali 1972, 90–93; Strabo in the fifth chapter of the seventh book of his *Geographica* noted periodical redistribution of land between ancient Delmatae (every eight years): p. VII 5, 5; compare with Šašel-Kos 2008, 623. Additionally, Aristotle in the second chapter of the second book of his *Politics* also noted that among "some barbarians" goods are redistributed: Arist. 1263a.

⁴¹ Renfrew / Bahn 1991, 322–325.

⁴² Korkuti 1971; 1972b; Anamali 1972; Dautaj 1972; 1975; 1976; Marić 1973a; 1973b; 1977; Papajani 1973; 1975; Mano 1975; Prendi 1975a; Karaiskaj 1977–1978; Паровић-Пешикан 1979; Ceka 1990; 2005; Kirigin 1994; Vrekaj 1997; Ujes 1999; Dyczek et al. 2004; Kirigin et al. 2005; Dyczek et al. 2007; Marković 2012.

⁴³ Islami 1966; 1972b; Rendić-Miočević 1965; Basler 1971; Ceka 1972; Marić 1973b; Papajani 1976b; Popović 1987, 8. 87–96; Ujes 2004; Dyczek 2010.

⁴⁴ Polanyi 1977, 97–121; compare with: Finley 1973, 141–142; Morely 2007, 61–64.

coins, and these often were deposited together in the same stratigraphic layers. This pattern actually shows that exchange and their usage (distribution and redistribution) was centralised by numerous producers, whose regulation of this particular practice overlapped with other producers each supplying the same socioeconomic actors in the past, as well as their socioeconomic influences in general.

Bearing in mind all these insights, it can be concluded that redistribution and distribution of goods and objects were widely accepted socioeconomic practices in the Southeastern Adriatic in the last centuries BC. Redistribution, as an institutionalised and centralized form of exchange,⁴⁵ apparently included competing socioeconomic networking in the past. This meant the creation of distinct parts of social structures that regulated the practice of redistributive exchange – a network of socioeconomic actors, replicating through this practice. The distinctions between social actors (individuals and smaller groups, for example families – *gentes*) within the exchange networks that were formed in this way must have been made in terms of their inclusion in, or exclusion out of, these clusters or groups created through practices.

These socioeconomic differentiations between social actors can be distinguished by their presence or absence within the practice of exchange. Consequently, this would lead to their mutual recognition and identification. Some of these collective “socioeconomic” identities were “locally” (re)produced through exchange practices within a particular settlement and/or within a group of close settlements. This is indicated with finds of mostly amphorae (redistribution and distribution of wine and olive oil) and imported fine pottery (mostly for consumption of wine), present in many of mentioned sites and dispersed in patterns that display centralised redistribution of these goods.⁴⁶ Consequently, such patterns can indicate the existence of so-

cioeconomic groups and can be correlated with their members’ participations within particular exchange networks and therefore also their socioeconomic identification.

Hence, these relations constructed through practices of exchange – distribution and redistribution of goods and objects – have been one of the ways of recognition of self and the other, that is, recognition of participant and non-participant in socioeconomic practices. Consequently, it must have been one of the features of identity regarding that particular group (an exchange network) within the given social context. Dominant social actors (individuals and/or groups) constructed their high status within these networks through practice of regulation of exchange, which apparently was in accordance with other social and identity notions like kin based relations, political dealings, etc. They apparently have constructed a distinct identity in comparison to others. In some cases this was vividly communicated with distinct images and names minted in coins.⁴⁷

Inclusion of many other social actors as participants within these networks of exchange is suggested by the presence of previously exchanged artefacts found in different settlements, and in great number of burials in the region – mostly coins, fine pottery vessels, fibulae and jewellery.⁴⁸ Those finds in a number of graves unearthed in the region indicates connections of buried individuals to the networks of particular spheres of exchange in the past. Related to that is the recognition of some of collective socioeconomic identities as having been (re)produced through exchange on a regional level, including interaction between individuals and groups settled in a larger area in different settlements but connected through the possession and usage of the same type of exchanged objects. In particular, this practice refers again to coins of distinct types, dispersed widely in the region and far away from the places of their origin, which were found in funerary context.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Polanyi 2001, 47–48; 1977, 38–39.

⁴⁶ Basler 1969; Korkuti 1971; 1972b; Anamali 1972; Dautaj 1972; 1975; 1976; Marić 1973a; 1973b; 1977; Papajani 1973; 1975; Mano 1975; Prendi 1975a; Karaiskaj 1977–1978; Паровић-Пешикан 1979; Batović 1988; Ceka 1990; 2005; Kirigin 1994; Vrekaj 1997; Ujes 1999; Dyczek et al. 2004; Kirigin / Katunić / Šešelj, 2005; Dyczek et al. 2007; Marković 2012.

⁴⁷ Islami 1966; 1972b; Rendić-Miočević 1965; Basler 1971; Ceka 1972; Marić 1973b; Papajani 1976b; Popović 1987, 8. 87–96; Ujes 2004; Dyczek 2010.

⁴⁸ Basler 1969; Anamali 1972; Marković 2012.

⁴⁹ Islami 1966; 1972b; Rendić-Miočević 1965; Basler 1971; Ceka 1972; Marić 1973b; Papajani 1976b; Popović 1987, 8. 87–96; Ujes 2004; Dyczek 2010.

This seems to indicate the importance of placing artefacts during sepulchral practices for the deceased and for conveying his/her socioeconomic connection to the producer within a particular network of exchange during his/her lifetime. The different socioeconomic status of social actors can be suggested on the basis of the quality and quantity of finds in the graves. All these notions and the constructed mental pictures within the minds of social actors in the past, and in-between their (socioeconomic) relations (group mind set), would influence ideas of identities – deflected through these connections and practices of their (re)construction.

4. Some critical remarks on the traditional interpretation of identity in the Central Balkans Iron Age

The traditional understanding and interpretation of group identities regarding central and western Balkan Iron Age is typically focused on ethnicity.⁵⁰ Some explanations touched upon the questions of vertical social diversification and implicitly suggested different social identifications in the past.⁵¹ Even some political and socioeconomic distinctions between particular communities in the past were put forward.⁵²

All of these notions have been based on different understandings of social and cultural evolution; as well as on different concepts and models of the economy in the distant past. In any case, the dominant approach to identity pivots around Iron Age populations being identified as “ancient Illyrians”.

4.1. Establishing “Illyrian” ethnicity

The traditional archaeological interpretation describes the ancient Illyrians as the dominant population in the Southeastern Adriatic and its hinterland during the last centuries BC. It is the widely accepted opinion that this region was inhabited with ethnically related Illyrian tribes, at least from the Late Bronze Age, the period from

which on their ethnogenesis has been traced with certainty according to archaeological finds classified as the Glasinac – Mati cultural complex.⁵³

The Illyrians have been predominantly seen as related, or at least allied tribes, united by their emphasis on shared ethnic background, which was a focal point of their identity. It is believed that this ethnic bonding culminated in the period from the end of the 4th BC onward, when the Southeastern Adriatic and its hinterland became parts of the so called “Illyrian Kingdom”; just before the gradual Roman conquest and expansion over the Balkans.⁵⁴

This socio-political phenomenon (a creation of a state) was understood as social evolution, a gradual social progress through the centuries that came to a crescendo with a creation of a kingdom, in which ethnic identity was one of the most important factors of political and social cohesion. This traditional viewpoint of ethnicity in the Balkans during the late prehistory is clearly founded on the normative model of culture, and namely on the concept of archaeological culture and diffusionism.⁵⁵

The archaeological verification of this view is undertaken in terms of identifying the supposed complex correlation of homogeneous artefacts (with well-defined characteristics) distributed through a distinct territory, the specific cultural norms of particular group of people (e.g., language, religion, customs, all described by these features of classified material culture), and collective identities (that were embodied through the use of a distinct material culture by a particular group of people, who shared the same specific cultural norms). That view is really an implicit projection of modern ideas of ethnicity, the nation, and the state is strongly supported by the contrasting culture-historical interpretations of the given subject. The different Balkan archaeologies that explored and modelled the past of the region: Austro-Hungarian, Albanian, Yugoslavian, and so on, gave different understandings of the expansion, cohesion and continuity of cul-

⁵⁰ Velimirović-Žižić 1967; Papazoglu 1969; Anamali / Korkuti 1970; Korkuti 1972a; 1976; Benac 1972; 1987; Bojanovski 1985; Čović 1987; 1991; Garašanin 1988; Vasić 1991; Mirdita 1991; Mikić 1991; Ceka 2005.

⁵¹ Vasić 1987; Čović 1987; Papazoglu 1988; Бабић 2004.

⁵² Anamali 1965; Ceka 1984; Dautaj 1986.

⁵³ Čović 1987.

⁵⁴ Islami 1972c; 1975a; 1976; Papazoglu 1988; Cabanes 1988; Wilkes 1992.

⁵⁵ On some critical remarks regarding this matter see: Jones 1997; Olsen 2002, 32–35; Compare to Babić 2010.

tural norms related to the Illyrian (ethnic) identity or identities.⁵⁶

Historical and modern political narratives often were intertwined in the explanation of the past in which Illyrian ethnic identity was understood differently depending on contemporary socio-political circumstances. Considering that these different explanations emerged from one and the same archaeological data and the very same research methodology;⁵⁷ these differences in the interpretation are obviously paradoxical. A comparison of archaeological and written records in addition coloured the view and highlighted ethnic distinctions and identities as being crucial in distant past. Arguments in favour of such reconstructions have references to the writings of ancient authors like Polybius and Livy.⁵⁸ Recently, information regarding the Illyrian (proto-)history has been reevaluated. It has been shown that not just modern but also ancient historiographers communicated ways of thinking that were significantly conditioned by their contemporary social and even political circumstances.

According to these new readings of the written sources, so-called Illyrian territory in the last centuries of the 1st millennium BC was inhabited by heterogeneous groups, who displayed various socio-political identities and who were not firmly socially and politically coherent before the final conquest by the Romans.⁵⁹ Within the strategy of the conqueror, future socio-political cohesion of the province to be (Illyricum) was implicitly projected in ancient historiography, using politically coloured descriptions of the eastern Adriatic.⁶⁰ The stance that Iron Age populations in the eastern Adriatic were not socially compact is indirectly supported even with explicit data in the written sources – books of Polybius and Titus Livius, who had mentioned numerous conflicts between neighbouring communities in the wake of the Roman conquest.⁶¹

The complex social relations in the Late Iron Age in the Southeastern Adriatic are also indicated by the existence of fortified settlements as

dominant points in the prehistoric landscapes. The traditional explanation is that these structures are actually traces of towns and marks of urbanisation.⁶² This argument accords with the theory of social evolution, as gradual progress towards “civilised” way of living and a creation of a civilised socio-political structure, a state or a kingdom, along with development of the economy especially trade in the ancient Adriatic. This point is questionable not just in theoretical terms, but also when compared to some specific examples from the ancient past regarding state and city formation.

The so called “Illyrian kingdom” could not be considered a territorial entity;⁶³ or a *rechtsstaat*, if it were compared to the much more developed political structures in antiquity (like ancient Athens as an example).⁶⁴ Nor can many of these settlements be considered as towns, but rather as fortified villages that were glorified in modern historiography and archaeology (for an example, the same conclusion was made regarding many small communities in the Aegean).⁶⁵

In addition, the traditional argument is not consistent with the above mentioned fact that fortified settlements do not represent points in landscapes that were connected but detached from one another.⁶⁶ Communities which supposedly formed compact socio-political groups according to the traditional interpretation, presumably would have been aware of their common ethnic identity, and presumably would belong to the one and the same political entity, in reality obviously perceived themselves as adversaries; being the neighbours separated by high walls and occupying positions difficult to access.

Furthermore, funerary finds in the Southeastern Adriatic from the 4th until the 1st century BC, actually depict quite a contrasting picture to the traditional view. Crucial necropoleis are not just full with various imports, those imports overwhelmingly dominate domestic products.⁶⁷ The traditional response to this fact is that this is a

⁵⁶ Dzino 2008; Kuzmanović / Vranić 2013.

⁵⁷ Kuzmanović / Vranić 2013, 251–252.

⁵⁸ Pol. II; Liv. XLIV.

⁵⁹ Šašel-Kos 2002; 2005; Dzino 2010.

⁶⁰ Dzino 2010.

⁶¹ Pol. II; Liv. XLIV.

⁶² Islami 1972a; 1972d; 1975b; 1975c; Prendi / Zheku 1972; Papajani 1976a; Suić 1976; Karaiskaj 1981; Dyczek et al. 2010; Ceka 1987; 1989; 1990; 1998; 2005.

⁶³ Papazoglu 1988, 187.

⁶⁴ Avramović 1998.

⁶⁵ Bintliff 2006.

⁶⁶ Димитријевић 2015.

⁶⁷ Basler 1969; Anamali 1972; Korkuti 1972b; Karaiskaj 1977–1978; Marković 2012.

matter of Hellenization; a conception of gradual cultural change. This kind of archaeological record would actually suggest that alleged “Illyrian” (domestic or local) cultural norms have not been emphasised through usage of material culture in the last four centuries BC, at least regarding those particular aspects of social life such as sepulchral practice, cult and socioeconomic exchange.

One cannot totally discard the argument that group identification and recognition of the other based on a spoken language or on some other apparent aspect of culture in direct contacts between people could have been occurring in prehistory. But conceptualisation of ethnicity as a crucial collective identity focal point in the Iron Age is a modern construct.⁶⁸ Bearing in mind its political aspect, along with the supposed social extent or geographical range of this or some similar ideas, the traditional model of group identification and recognition could have existed in the distant past, but in reality on much smaller social and spatial scales than it is usually thought to have been the case.

However, along with the intense focus of archaeologists and historians on ethnic identity regarding the “Illyrian” past, some of the researches of central and western Balkan Iron Age and protohistory, identified social hierarchy as well. These identifications implicitly suggested the existence of various class identities in prehistory.

4.2. Modelling socioeconomic identifications in the “Illyrian” society

As mentioned above, the modern perception of collective identities in western and central Balkan late prehistory was inevitably conditioned by evolutionism (ethnogenesis, urbanisation and state formation); or put more precisely, it was influenced by different modern conceptions of evolution of human society and culture coupled with the understanding of cultural changes and the economy in distant past.⁶⁹

The concept of Hellenization of Illyrians is given priority as the explanation of these crucial cultural change seen in the archaeological record. In this (pre)historical context Hellenization was understood as acculturation on the basis of

ancient Greek cultural norms that were diffused from the Aegean and Ionian colonists to the eastern Adriatic coast during the last centuries of the 1st millennium BC.⁷⁰ Cultural change as explained through the diffusionist model was related to the intensified profusion of imports, which supposedly illustrated the process of acculturation. The surplus of imported objects were understood in a formalistic manner;⁷¹ as trade operations between two ethnically compact groups, the Illyrians and the Greeks, intensified in the ancient Adriatic, so the process of Hellenization increased.⁷²

Many of these conclusions were founded on a comparison of data in written sources and archaeological finds in a funerary context. Hence, traditional diffusionist and modernist interpretation, based on particular anthropological and (neoclassical) economic models highlight foreign cultural and economic influence on populations whose collective identity was primarily based on their ethnicity, but was also manifested through economic relations and vertical social diversification. The following names have been used in labelling different class distinctions and identifications in the Balkans during the late prehistory and protohistory. Terms like *Principes* (mentioned in the written sources), “princes”, “tribal aristocracy” and “warrior aristocracy” (defined in archaeological and modern historiographical literature), denote ruling classes in the given social context.⁷³ Ancient authors also named lower classes of the Illyrian society, which have been equally communicated in modern historiography, namely “dependent peasants” (*proselatai*) and “slaves” (*servi*).⁷⁴

Additionally, distinct socio-political and economical formations were identified within the Illyrian society in later periods of their protohistory. In modern historiography these were denoted as the *koine* or smaller alliances within a particular community centred towards a particular big settlement (for an example, the *koine*

⁷⁰ Suić 1976; Čović 1987; Vasić 1987.

⁷¹ On the critical considerations of the formalistic view to economy in the past see: Polanyi 1977, 21–24; Morely 2007.

⁷² Ceka 1972; 1984; 2005; Dautaj 1975; Mano 1975; Prendi 1975a; Čović 1987; Vasić 1987; Papazoglu 1988; Cabanes 1988; Kirigin 1994; Ujes 1999; Katić 2002; Kirigin / Katuranić / Šešelj 2005.

⁷³ Vasić 1987, 650; Papazoglu 1988.

⁷⁴ Papazoglu 1988, 189–190.

⁶⁸ Hansen 2000, 12.

⁶⁹ Cf. Olsen 2002.

of Amantia, the *koine* of Byllis, the community of Dimal, etc.).⁷⁵ This conclusion was also based on comparison of written sources and archaeological records (finds of particular coins, locally produced); and were also founded in formalistic views on the ancient economy and analogies with the contemporary Hellenistic institutions.

Regarding critics of diffusionism and bearing in mind that archaeology developed as a discipline in the context of modern European socio-political conditions, the concept of Hellenization should be seen today as a modern construct that is projected onto the past.⁷⁶ Although the acculturation model originally was conceptualized as a two-way communication and elaboration of cultural influences, in the case of eastern Adriatic late prehistory it was almost exclusively seen as overwhelming one-way Greek influence on Illyrians, and not as both parties' specific cultural response to various socioeconomic contacts.

Conclusions founded on the archaeological evidence for the most part regard the extent of economic and military power along with the degree of Hellenization. These have been based on the measured quantity and quality of archaeological finds found in the funerary context. In other words, it is an evaluation of luxurious and imported objects found within burial places, comprehended through modern values of one's wealth, economic and political power.⁷⁷

However, economic relations in the distant past were of particular importance in archaeological interpretation founded on neo-evolutionary typologies and substantivist conceptions of socioeconomics.⁷⁸ In this respect, explanation of the emergence of great number of imports in the central and western Balkan Iron Age, especially in funerary contexts, was based on a systemic conception of culture and on an application of various socioeconomic models (ideal or artificial displays of society); moreover, archaeological data have been attached to supposed theoretical explanation, in attempt to form objective conclusions.⁷⁹

From substantivists' point of view, the economy in the distant past should not be understood

in terms of primitive market (capitalistic) economic relations, but as part of socioeconomic totality, in which production, exchange and trade of goods were socially conditioned and bonded. In that respect, an interpretation that explains the rich profusion of imports as a mark of developed trade in the given (pre)historical context (often implicitly understood and described in terms of market economy) is therefore too simplistic and consequently erroneous. This changed view has implications for the understanding of vertical social diversification in the given prehistorical context. It has impact on identification of social classes of late prehistory along with comprehension of identities that could have been related to them.

Socioeconomic relations in the central and western Balkan Iron Age were labelled as chiefdoms – institutionalised kin based relations characterised by centralised redistribution of goods by dominant social actors – chiefs.⁸⁰ Chiefs are considered members of the dominant class, and thus could be aligned with a distinct social identity manifested through high social status. This status was founded on their clan relations and position, along with their socioeconomic function. This aspect was principally demonstrated by differences of quality of funerary finds and their functional explication within modelled presumptions.

The inference regarding chiefdoms was derived from the substantivist view of socioeconomics in the distant past – conceptions of goods production, exchange, trade and warfare, chiefly conditioned by social structures in the past.⁸¹ Therefore, the change of theoretical frameworks related to the understanding of the economy in the past also slightly changed the focus of archaeologists with respect to social identifications, from horizontal social diversification to vertical diversification, and from ethno-cultural categorisation of groups to functional explanation that modelled arrangements of socioeconomic structures in prehistory.

Yet, this interpretation does not offer a complete answer. The apparent complexity, fluidity and constant chances for alteration of social

⁷⁵ Anamali 1965; Ceka 1984; Dautaj 1986.

⁷⁶ Бабић 2008.

⁷⁷ Vasić 1987.

⁷⁸ Polanyi 2001; Adams 1974; Service 1975; Polanyi 1977.

⁷⁹ Popović 1987; Palavestra 1993; Babić 2002; Бабић 2004. Compare with: Olsen 2002, 43–55. 81–95. 123–129.

⁸⁰ Babić 2002; Бабић 2004; Compare with: Service 1975, 15–16. 71–102; Polanyi 2001; Earle 1987; Gosden 2002, 91–92.

⁸¹ Polanyi 2001; Adams 1974; Polanyi 1977.

identities in prehistory just cannot be fully captured. Identities in the distant past cannot just be modelled, but rather need to be comprehended through social practices, indicated by the ways of consumption of material culture.

5. Case study: Socioeconomic practices and identities in the Late Iron Age Ošanići

One of the examples of the complex phenomena described above is the archaeological traces of Iron Age settlement located in Ošanići, in the southeastern part of Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁸² The Iron Age settlement was dated between the 8th and 1st century BC, but a drastic change in the archaeological record at the site in terms of architectural elaboration and increased quantities of various imported artefacts occurred from the end of the 4th century BC onward.⁸³ According to written sources and locally produced coins, the population of that area was identified as the Illyrian tribe of Daorsoi, and the complex at Ošanići was identified with the ancient “urban” settlement of Daorson.⁸⁴

This particular ethno-cultural identification has been critically analyzed in terms of research methodology which derived from culture-historical epistemology, and with regard to the specific, intertwined historical and political narratives (ancient and modern) through which it was constructed in historiography and archaeology.⁸⁵ This well founded criticism, derived from the post-structuralist point of view, puts into ques-

tion not just “Illyrian” identity of the Daorsoi, but their tribal identification.⁸⁶

5.1. Archaeological overview of the Late Iron Age settlement at Ošanići

Ošanići is situated in a rough and fragmented landscape, in a hilly and karstic area, called Humine. The fortified Iron Age settlement was the largest in this area by far; it was surrounded with contemporaneous, also fortified, but smaller settlements, like those in Borojevići, Brštanik, Dragovija, Prenj, Čapljina, Vid, and many others.⁸⁷ The settlement is situated on the Gradina Hilltop and on the Banje Plateau; it is elevated above the Vidovo Plain and the Bregava River, a tributary of the Neretva River, the river valley of which connects the Adriatic Coast and its hinterland.⁸⁸

A necropolis, in which two graves were excavated, was found to the east of the settlement.⁸⁹ The settlement covers at least 20 ha, and it was gradually enlarged during its existence.⁹⁰ The fortified part of the settlement occupies the hill top and southern / western slopes, and encloses remains of houses, a cistern, cult structures and streets, the directions of which were adjusted to the terrain morphology.⁹¹

The main fortification structure positioned between two parts of the settlement, the “Hellenistic” wall dated between ca. 300 to the 2nd century BC, was gradually constructed; the main gate, rectangular towers, second gate were added, and both gates were finally made smaller.⁹² The unfortified part extends over the plateau eastward; it comprises remains of cisterns, buildings and large enclosures, and is connected with streets, the main ones of which have irregular radial ori-

⁸² Basler 1956; 1971; Marić 1967; 1969; 1970; 1971; 1972; 1973a; 1973b; 1973c; 1973d; 1975; 1976a; 1976b; 1976c; 1976d; 1977; 1979; 1992–1997; 2000; 2004; 2006; Marijanović 1984; Marijan 1991; 2011; Marić / Forić 2005.

⁸³ Marić 1977, 38; Traces of an earlier prehistoric settlement in Ošanići are dated in the Bronze Age. The destruction of Late Iron Age settlement is dated around year 50 BC, and it was related to the local conflicts between Daorsoi and Delmatae. After the final Roman conquest of the region, from the end of the 1st century BC onward there was just a small military station within ruins of the settlement. On this matter see: Marić 1973b, 237–238; 1976a; 1976d, 247; 1977, 38; Marijanović 1984, 17–18. 21–22; Marijan 1991, 103–104; 2011.

⁸⁴ Basler 1971; Marić 1973c; 1975; 1976a; 1976d; 1977; 1979; 1992–1997; 2004; 2006; Marić / Forić 2005.

⁸⁵ Džino 2007.

⁸⁶ Ibid.; see also: Džino 2006; 2008.

⁸⁷ Marić 1975; 1985; 2000; Basler 1988; Marijan 1988; 1989; Kirigin 1994; Kirigin et al. 2005, 24; Šalov 2010, 359–360. Marić identified close to 60 Iron Age settlements in the territory of so called Daorsoi, dispersed over a large hilly area of Humine, around river of Neretva and its tributaries; see: Marić 1975, Map 1.

⁸⁸ Basler 1956.

⁸⁹ Marić 1973a; Marijan 2011, 183.

⁹⁰ Marijan 2011.

⁹¹ Basler 1956; Marić 1977; Marijanović 1984; Šašel-Kos 2005, Fig. 86; Marijan 2011, 179–182; Fig. 2. 3. 5. 6.

⁹² Marijan 1991, 103–104.

entation and meet on an open space called “Agora” in front of the main gate.⁹³

The most numerous finds from the settlement are imported amphorae. Several thousands of fragments were found, dating between the 6th and 1st century BC, but most come from the 4th to the 2nd century BC and include Greco-Italic, Corinthian B, Pharos 2, Lamboglia 2 types, as well as some East Mediterranean and other types.⁹⁴ Many fragments had scratched graffiti using writing from various alphabets (e.g., Latin, Greek, Etruscan, Umbrian, Phoenician), probably denoting the primary owners of transported products (wine and olive oil) or numerical signs.⁹⁵ One of them has the name *Daorsoi* inscribed.⁹⁶

Fine pottery finds include predominantly Gnathian vessels, mostly skyphoi and oenochorai, imported from Southern Italy and Vis;⁹⁷ many of these vessels’ fragments were found within the settlement, but excavated graves also contained imported skyphoi, unguentaria and fragments of other pots.⁹⁸

Around 60 bronze and silver coins of different origins were found at Ošanići, dating between the 5th and the 2nd century BC; except for a few coins which were excavated near the main gate in a destruction layer, almost all were found in the settlement close to its highest point and inside houses.⁹⁹ Locally minted coins can be dated to the 2nd century BC; they were made of bronze, on one side with an image of a man (possibly the ruler) wearing a hat (*petasos* or *kausia*), and on the other a ship (*lembos*) as well as the name Daorson (ΔΑΟΡΣΩΝ in Greek).¹⁰⁰ So far, 11 pieces from different minting series are known.¹⁰¹ Imported coins include 28 pieces of King Bal-

aios (the 2nd century BC), and pieces of Roman Republican coins, as well as coins of Anactorio, Corinth, Dyrrachium, Pharos, Phocis (mostly dating between the 4th and the 2nd century BC).¹⁰²

Finds of weapons are known from different archaeological contexts. Iron spears were found within the settlement in destruction layers, and one piece in a grave of a man; almost all of them dated to the last four centuries BC, but they are different in origin; the so-called Illyrian pieces have parallels with finds in Montenegro and Albania, one piece has analogies with finds from northern Bosnia, and one is of La Tène (“Celtic”) type.¹⁰³ Several arrowheads were found in the settlement; one was described as “Greek”.¹⁰⁴ Two iron knives were found, and both in the grave of a woman.¹⁰⁵ One iron sword was found in the settlement.¹⁰⁶

Uncovered fragments of bronze helmets belong to the so-called Illyrian type were found, dating to the 4th/3rd century BC; a fragment of one of them was found in the fortified part of the settlement,¹⁰⁷ while the second one was excavated in front of the main gate in the destruction layer.¹⁰⁸ It was damaged and signed with three letters PIN (ΠΙΝ, in Greek), which is an abbreviation for the personal name Pinnes.¹⁰⁹ Finds of jewelry at Ošanići are known both from the settlement and necropolis. They are mostly dated between the 5th and the 1st century BC, and include local products, like bronze buttons and double pins; but imported objects predominate: La Tène fibulae, imported double pins, one golden plate with woman’s image, three bronze belt plates, and some other Mediterranean imports.¹¹⁰ The previously mentioned grave of a woman also contained a golden ring with semi-transparent stone of Italic origin, a silver omega pin, three La

⁹³ Basler 1956; Marijan 2011, 182–183 Fig. 2. 7.

⁹⁴ Marić 1967; 1973a, 182; 1977, 40–41; Fig. 2. 3. 4; Pl. 32, 1. 4. 6. 11; Pl. 33, 2. 4. 5; 2000, 42; 2004, 194; 2006, 133; Marijan 1991; Kirigin 1994, 18; Katić 1999–2000, 49–51; 2001–2002, 52. 56.

⁹⁵ Marić 2004, 187–192; 2006, 127–133; Marić / Forić 2005, 185–188.

⁹⁶ Marić / Forić 2005, 182.

⁹⁷ Marić 1973a, 179–182; Pl. 13, 7; Pl. 16, 3; Pl. 21, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6; Pl. 22, 1. 3. 4. 7; 1976a; 1977, 43; 2000, 42; 2006, 126.

⁹⁸ Marić 1973a, 175–176. 184; Pl. 4; Pl. 13; Pl. 15.

⁹⁹ Marić 1967; 1969; 1970; 1971; 1972; 1973b; 1976c; 1977; 2000;

¹⁰⁰ Rendić-Miočević 1965; Marić 1973b, 237; 2000, 44; Kozličić 1981; Popović 1987, 124–125.

¹⁰¹ Džino 2007, 71; compare with: Kozličić 1981; Marić 2000.

¹⁰² Marić 1967, 40; 1969, 78; 1970, 40; 1971, 34–35; Pl. 20; Pl. 21; 1972, 41; 1973b, 237–250; Pl. 1; Pl. 2; Pl. 3; Pl. 4; 1977, 48; 2000, 44; Vasilj 1992; 2003.

¹⁰³ Marić 1973a, Pl. 15; 1977, 46–47; Pl. 27, 1. 2; Pl. 28, 8. 9. 10. 14.

¹⁰⁴ Marić 1973a, Pl. 15; 1977, 46–47; Pl. 27, 1. 2; Pl. 28, 8. 9. 10. 14.

¹⁰⁵ Marić 1970, 39; Marić 1973a, 182, Pl. 14, 12.

¹⁰⁶ Marić 1970, 39.

¹⁰⁷ Marić 1973a, 179; Pl. 15, 10.

¹⁰⁸ Marić 1969, 78.

¹⁰⁹ Marić 1977, 48; Pl. 26, 48.

¹¹⁰ Marić 1967, 39; 1971, 35; Pl. 19; 1973a, 175; Pl. 13; Pl. 4; 1973d, 257, Pl. 1; Pl. 2; 1972, 41; 1976a, 48, 54; Pl. 29, 13; 1977, 47; 48; Pl. 29, 4. 17. 18. 49.

Tène fibulae, a part of an earring (a small “negroid” head) of the South Italic origin.¹¹¹

A significant find from Ošanići is the tools’ depot found in one of the houses of the 2nd century BC; it contained 245 objects including agricultural, metalworking and woodworking tools, as well as casts and semi-finished products of jewelry.¹¹² Tool finds in the settlement also include bronze fishing hooks and sewing needles.¹¹³

5.2. “Daorson” and “Daorsoi”

The above reviewed archaeological material from Ošanići points to some of the crucial socio-economic practices and consequently to various socioeconomic and cultural identifications in the past. Practices of warfare and habitation within a fortified and self-sufficient settlement which possessed the ability to defend itself (mutual defence) and produce basic goods, are strongly suggested by the evidence.

The settlement at Ošanići was surrounded by other settlements in the landscape with numerous local settings.¹¹⁴ All the settlements here were fortified,¹¹⁵ but they were not connected and not oriented towards mutual line of defence. These facts demonstrate that their inhabitants primarily defended themselves locally (individually).¹¹⁶

Consequently, those communities must have been self-sufficient. This is indicated not just through topography analysis, which shows that each settlement controlled particular local resources, but also with finds of various tools. Even the biggest settlement could not rely on importing basic goods, but had to produce them. All these notions influenced ideas of various local identities within the area.

Tools found exclusively within the settlement had no particular significance for recognition of social positions and rank, and their usage was

widespread with exception of specialized metalwork production. Finds of weapons and their contexts additionally suggest that warfare was a widespread practice. Warrior attributes and looks emphasized in personal appearance, using objects of different origins was not exclusively related to some local (“Illyrian”) identification, but personalised and even marked with personal signatures (the helmet of *Pinnes*).

Personalized appearance was accessorised with jewellery and clothing parts of various origins, suggesting layered cultural apprehensions and the various status of people. This aspect is illustrated especially by the grave of a woman, which contained locally produced knives, but imported jewellery of various origins and vessels for wine consummation. Personal identifications were to a significant degree communicated through material and even written reinterpretation of predominantly imported values, consumed through socioeconomic interactions.

A part of these interactions was the redistribution of goods and objects. This is strongly suggested by the distribution patterns of amphorae and fine pottery at Ošanići and its neighboring settlements.¹¹⁷ These vessels were present in largest quantities at Ošanići, but in much smaller quantities at other places, despite some of them being much closer to the respective centers of production.¹¹⁸ This suggests that Late Iron Age settlement at Ošanići was one of the centers for redistribution of wine and olive oil, as well as for fine pottery used in wine consumption.¹¹⁹ This

¹¹¹ Marić 1972, 41; Marić 1973a, 175; Pl. 4. 13.

¹¹² Marić 1979.

¹¹³ Marić 1970, 39; Marić 1977, 46; Pl. 28, 14.

¹¹⁴ Borojevići, Brštanik, Dragovija, Prenj, Čapljina, Vid, etc. See: Marić 1975.

¹¹⁵ Marić 1975; 1985; Basler 1988; Marijan 1988; 1989.

¹¹⁶ This kind of locally conceptualised defence in the eastern Adriatic in the wake of the Roman conquest is actually suggested in written sources, in books of Polybius and Livy; not only that defence was not coordinated between different communities who have found themselves threaten by the Romans, they actually were often confronted by one another; see: Pol. II; Liv. XLIV.

¹¹⁷ Those other settlements were located in Borojevići, Brštanik, Dragovija, Prenj, Čapljina, Vid, etc. Amphorae and fine potteries overwhelmingly covered the settlement in Ošanići. Domestic pottery made by hand, the so called “Illyrian” pottery, was present up to only 10 to 20 percent; see: Marić 1976d, 247.

¹¹⁸ For Ošanići see: Marić 1967; 1973a, 179–182; Pl. 13, 7; Pl. 16, 3; Pl. 21, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6; Pl. 22, 1. 3. 4. 7; 1976a; 1977, 40–41. 43; Fig. 2. 3. 4; Pl. 32, 1. 4. 6. 11; Pl. 33, 2. 4. 5; 2000, 42; 2004, 194; 2006, 126. 133; Marijan 1991; Kirigin 1994, 18; Katić 1999–2000, 49–51; 2001–2002, 52. 56; for other settlements see: Marić 1985, 51; 2000, 39; Basler 1988, 183; Marijan 1989, 66, Pl. 2, 4. 5. 6. 7; 2001, 96; Fig. 16; Kirigin 1994, 18. 20.

¹¹⁹ One could infer that this kind of distribution pattern of amphorae and fine pottery actually indicates that smaller settlements needed less wine and olive oil. However, this does not explain why a particular settlement became a redistribution center with the location far away from the production centers; and some other settlements did not become the centers for redistribution and stayed small, even

network of socioeconomic exchange must have been one of focal points for social recognition in the past, which consequently influenced the idea of collective identity of a particular group of socioeconomic actors, centralised through redistribution practice at the settlement found in Ošanići.

The finds of various coins at Ošanići and in neighbouring settlements suggest their inhabitants' involvements in various and coexisting exchange networks. Locally produced coins indicate that one of these networks was centralized at Ošanići "Daorson", organised by the settlement's elite who signed the coins, and/or the ruler depicted in these objects, suggesting his high social status and strong personal, local and probably also regional identity reproduced through socioeconomic practice.

Redistribution in "Daorson" is even suggested with Ošanići settlement plan. Open space of the "Agora" where radially positioned streets meet, directed the movements of incomers coming from beyond the great wall, which protected the locals. This indicates a specifically structurized (centralized) space; the place of redistribution.

Hence, it is noteworthy to pose the question whether Daorson could be perceived as a socioeconomic network which was repeatedly reproduced through exchange practices, rather than an ethnic group; and whether this group was centralized through those practices directed at the particular place for exchange, Daorson, which is identified (stamped) through the medium (coins) used in the exchange practices?

6. Concluding Thoughts

By all appearances, individual and group, social and cultural identities in the past communities were constantly constructed and reconstructed in various ways through social practices, which involved communication of miscellaneous meanings associated with the routines of consumption of different objects and goods. These objects were predominantly various imports, exchanged through socioeconomic relations.

In the Late Iron Age communities in the Southeastern Adriatic and its hinterland, various

though they were closer to that production center and in position to be mediators between different communities.

social and cultural identities were significantly embedded in socioeconomic relations, considerably reproduced through practices of warfare, habitation and socioeconomic exchange, primarily redistribution and distribution of goods and objects. These practices conditioned awareness of particular groups and communities regarding their common identities embedded in these (socioeconomic) interactions, and overlapped in their comprehensions, recursively articulated through their actions (practices).

The view presented here cannot deny the existence of ethnic identifications of people in the late prehistory. Some form of ethnic distinctions must have existed in this social context, namely based on usage of spoken language in the past. But such identifications are not clearly documented in the archaeological records, nor did they significantly influence socioeconomic relations, which are strikingly evident in archaeological traces. Surely, those identifications could not have been perceived equally in the distant past as they are in the modern era.

However, kin based relations as well as cult practices must have been of great importance for collective identifications. This was confirmed with existence of group burials and consummation of wine in the documented funerary practices.¹²⁰

Archaeological materials taken into consideration and changed theoretical perspective to approaching identities in the past, imply contrasting view to the traditional one. I would like to point that the ideas of collective identities in the given social context in the past were considerably (re)produced through socioeconomic practices and relations.

Na engleski jezik preveo autor

¹²⁰ Basler 1969; Marković 2012.

Rezime

Socioekonomski odnosi i identiteti u gvozdenom dobu Jugoistočnog Jadrana

U fokusu rada je povezanost socioekonomskih odnosa i grupnih identiteta društvenih zajednica mlađeg gvozdenog doba sa prostora jugoistočnog Jadrana i bliskog primorskog zaleđa. Osnovni cilj rada je da se ukaže na različita razumevanja i percepcije kolektivnih identiteta u dalekoj prošlosti, suprotno uobičajenom razumevanju u čijem fokusu je etnicitet kao ključni izraz grupnih identiteta u mlađem gvozdenom dobu jugoistočnog Jadrana. Interpretacija počiva na konstruktivističkom razumevanju kulture i novoj evaluaciji date arheološke građe koja je presudno određena prisustvom importa, što bitno ističe socioekonomske odnose iz daleke prošlosti.

Utvrđivanjem povezanosti arheoloških podataka i predložene teorijske postavke, upućuje se na zaključak da je razumevanje grupnih identiteta u datom društvenom kontekstu u prošlosti bilo u presudnoj meri ukorenjeno u socioekonomskim odnosima. Takva shvatanja grupnih identiteta u dalekoj prošlosti su delimično reprodukovana kroz različite društvene prakse, uključujući i korišćenje materijalne kulture. Zaključuje se da su reprodukcija i razumevanje grupnih identiteta u mlađem gvozdenom dobu jugoistočnog Jadrana bitno određeni socioekonomskim interakcijama kroz ratovanje, stanovanje u utvrđenim naseljima i socioekonomsku razmenu.

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Early Iron Age in Central Bosnia – an overview and research perspectives

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Abstract: This paper discusses the state of the research and general interpretation models of the Early Iron Age period in Central Bosnia. The Mid-Bosnian Schist Mountains and the surrounding river valleys of Vrbas, Lašva, and Bosna together with their tributaries characterise the landscape of this region. In terms of evidence from the Early Iron Age period (800–500 BC), the majority comes from the long-term excavations in the hillfort site Pod near Bugojno. The preliminary reports point to well-organised, long lasting and densely built up hillfort settlement with rectangular houses of similar size. Based on the numerous iron slag finds from recently discovered settlements of Čolaci and Zenepići, it can be inferred that some of the sites in Central Bosnia were intensively involved in the metal processing activity. Mortuary practices of the Early Iron Age communities are largely unknown since thus far, not a single intact burial was properly documented.

Key words: Central Bosnia, Early Iron Age, settlement, graves, chronology

1. Introduction

The region of Central Bosnia is situated between two far more prominent cultural complexes located to the east (Glasinac) and the west (Japodes), and has rarely been the focus of the Early Iron Age research in South-eastern Europe. The lack of rich burials and long-used cemeteries has made this area rather an unattractive spot during the first flourishing period of archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1878 and 1914 (during the time of Austrian rule), when some of the outstanding Early Iron Age finds were first uncovered.³

First of all, however, issues of terminology, geography, and chronology need to be addressed briefly. It was not until the Dayton Agreement, which was signed in 1995, that Central Bosnia appeared as a political and official administration unit (Central Bosnia Canton). The new political canton, however, has not included some of the territories, which are traditionally regarded as “Central Bosnia” in archaeological terms, most notably the Basins of the Bosna River between Sarajevo and Zenica together with smaller side valleys of the tributaries Fojnička Rijeka or Trstionica. In addition to this section of the Bosna River, the region of Central Bosnia also includes the entire Lašva valley, upper Vrbas valley as well as the area between them, dominated by Mid-Bosnian Schist Mountains with the Vranica mountain range,⁴ which is the most dominant one (Figure 1).

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³ Highlighted among the early discoveries should be the graves with warrior equipment and imported prestigious bronzes from Glasinac area (Benac / Čović 1957), a graveyard and pile dwelling settlement in Donja Dolina (Truhelka 1904), pile dwellings in Ripač (Radimský 1897) and the

temple structure Gorica in western Herzegovina (Truhelka 1902).

⁴ Jurković / Hrvatović 1957.

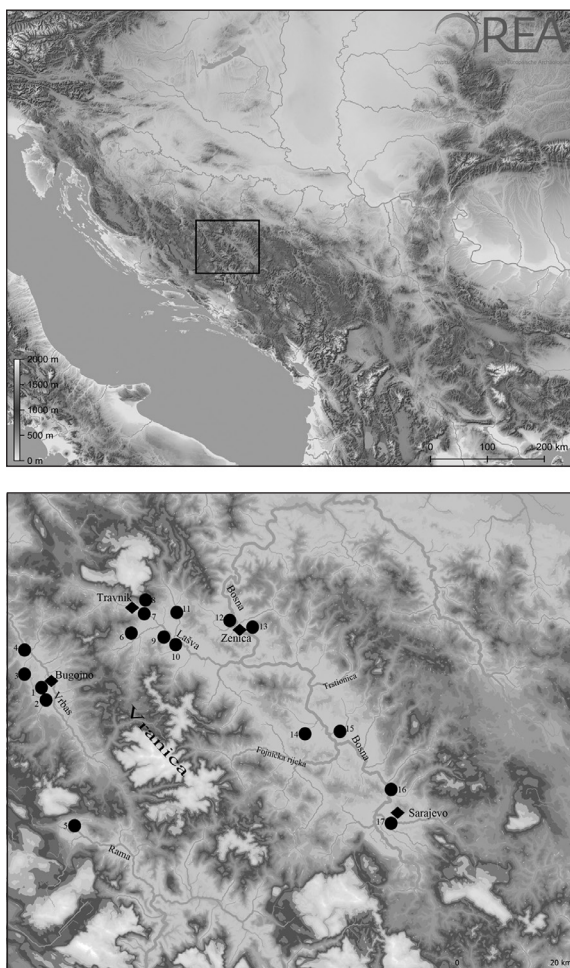


Figure 1: Central Bosnia and mentioned sites. 1. Pod; 2. Gorica; 3. Koščani; 4. Čolaci; 5. Varvara; 6. Zenepići; 7. Tarabovac; 8. Klaonica; 9. Nević Polje; 10. Grbavica; 11. Alihodže; 12. Vrh Negraje; 13. Kopilo; 14. Hadžići; 15. Gračanica; 16. Semizovac; 17. Debelo Brdo.

The basic knowledge about the Early Iron Age in Central Bosnia in terms of characteristic pottery repertoire was established first with the excavations of the hillfort sites Pod⁵ and Kopilo⁶ between 1960 and 1990, accompanied by smaller investigations in Alihodže⁷ and Hadžići near Visoko.⁸ Recent investigations in Čolaci near Donji Vakuf confirmed that this hillfort also existed throughout the Early Iron Age.⁹ The same applies to the site at Zenepići near Novi Travnik, briefly presented in this paper. Most of the metal finds

come from destroyed graves in Grbavica,¹⁰ Nević Polje,¹¹ Semizovac,¹² Gračanica,¹³ and Koščani.¹⁴

The reference point for the Late Bronze and the Early Iron Age chronology of Central Bosnia is the stratigraphic sequence of the hillfort Pod, with level Pod C representing a new settlement stage at the beginning of the Early Iron Age.¹⁵ The level Pod C corresponds to “Schicht III” from the trench excavated in 1963 at the site.¹⁶ Even though the connection with the previous stage (Pod B) is more than obvious, the level Pod C witnessed an introduction of a number of new pottery shapes and ornaments. Based on some specific jewellery and weapon types, Pod C can be correlated with Hallstatt C1 phase in terms of Central European chronology (ca. 800–650 BC).¹⁷ Destroyed graves from Semizovac and Gračanica with grave goods such as a two-loop fibula with triangular foot¹⁸ and bronze pins with small head and neck torsion are most probably from the same period.¹⁹

The anchor of the next chronological stage of Early Iron Age is the following stratum D1 in Pod (Pod D1²⁰ or “Schicht II”²¹). This layer includes a black, burnt settlement horizon and newly-erected objects.²² Based on metal finds (two bow fibulae with Boeotian shield plate), the Pod D1 stratum corresponds with stage Ha C2 – Ha D1 of Central European chronology (mid-7th to early 6th century BC).²³ The pottery spectrum shows a clear break, with very few forms and ornaments related to the older settlement horizons.²⁴ Fibulae with Boeotian shield plate, one of the most popular Early Iron Age jewellery forms in the entire Southeastern Europe,²⁵ also occur among the

¹⁰ Sielski 1931, Tab. 10.

¹¹ Čović 1987; Gavranović 2011, Tab. 21.

¹² Mandić 1933, 3–4; Korošec 1942, 56.

¹³ Čović 1984, 31–48.

¹⁴ Gavranović 2011, Tab. 74.

¹⁵ Čović 1965; 1987.

¹⁶ Gavranović 2010, Fig. 150.

¹⁷ Čović 1987, 483; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002; Trachsel 2004.

¹⁸ Gabrovec 1970, Fig. 1–5; Bader 1983, 71; Gergova 1987, 36; Vasić 1999, 48.

¹⁹ Vasić 2003, 97.

²⁰ Čović 1987.

²¹ Gavranović 2011, 268.

²² Čović 1987, 485.

²³ Gavranović 2011, Fig. 1.

²⁴ Čović 1987; Gavranović 2011, Tab. 55–62.

²⁵ Gabrovec 1970, 4; Vasić 1999, 65; Čović 1987a, 608; Heilmann 2016, 9.

⁵ Čović 1965; 1987.

⁶ Trajković 1971; Gavranović 2011.

⁷ Benac 1950.

⁸ Perić 1987.

⁹ Pravidur 2015.

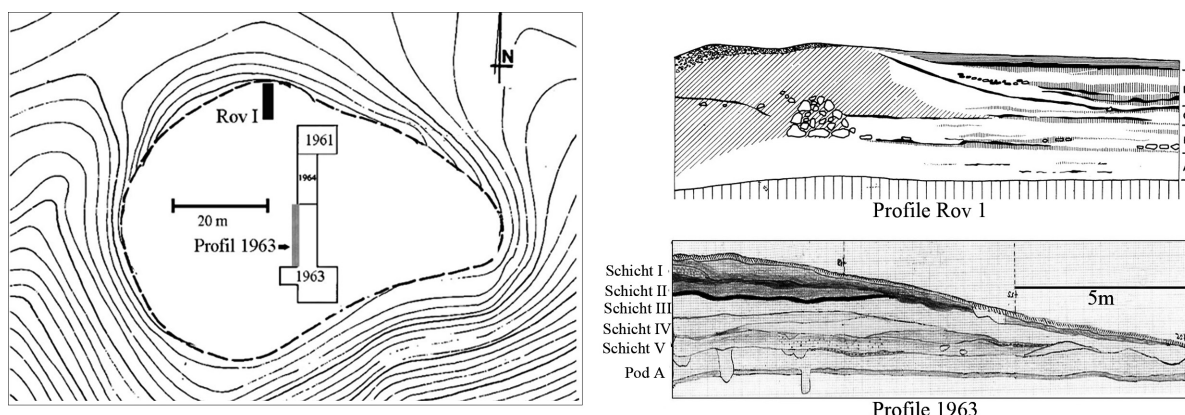


Figure 2: Plateau of the settlement Pod with trenches excavated between 1959 (Rov 1) and 1963. Profiles of Rov 1 and trench from year 1963.

finds from the disturbed graves from Nević Polje and Grbavica in the Lašva valley.

Characteristic for the time between the late 6th and the late 5th century BC (Ha D2/3) are settlement layers labelled as Pod D2–D3,²⁶ which are equivalent to “Schicht I” from the trench excavated in 1963.²⁷ The pottery reveals a clear resemblance with “Schicht II”, with a limited number of new types and decorations.²⁸ One of the new characteristic forms are jugs with spout and small spherical kantharoi, both found also at the site of Zenepići indicating contemporary occupation with Pod D2–D3 (Figure 8). Metal finds belonging to this period of Pod’s occupation suggest a wide communication network in which the settlement participated, including the central Balkans (e.g., double pins with Omega-shape head), Glasinac (e.g., fibulae with crested bowl), Northern Italy and the Southeastern Alps (e.g., two or three knobbed fibulae) and the Mediterranean (e.g., imported bronze vessels).²⁹ Dated to this period are also some of the burials from Gračanica with fibulae of type Arareva Gomila, a specific jewellery form of the late 6th and 5th centuries BC in the area of the central Balkans (Figure 9, 1–5).³⁰ A same dating can also be assumed for a bronze helmet of the so-called Illyrian type (Variant IIIa) from Putičevo near Travnik, found in an uncertain archaeological context.³¹

2. Settlements

Topography and structure

Major cultural change in Central Bosnia that induced the emergence of new settlements took place in the advanced stages of the Late Bronze Age (Ha A2 – Ha B1), spanning the late 12th and the 11th centuries BC.³² The most noticeable archaeological manifestations of the new development are the appearance of pottery with incised geometric ornaments on a massive scale and the foundation of new hillfort settlements.³³ Apart from foundation layers of new hillforts (such as at Pod), the distinct decorated pottery occurs also in the contemporary layers of the already existing settlements, like Varvara, located in the neighbouring valley of the river Rama (Figure 1).³⁴

It seems that the erection of the fortifications at Pod was a part of a new settlement concept from the very beginning of construction.³⁵ However, it was in the Early Iron Age (Pod C phase) that both the wall and the ditch were significantly extended.³⁶ Furthermore, it is interesting that the massive, semi-circular wall around the plateau in Varvara dates to the last phase of the Late Bronze Age settlement (Varvara C3 phase) corresponding to the time when new decorated pottery appeared.³⁷

²⁶ Čović 1987, 480.

²⁷ Gavranović 2011, 27.

²⁸ Ibid., Tab. 63–73.

²⁹ Čović 1987, 500.

³⁰ Teržan 1987, 19; Vasić 1999, 96.

³¹ Teržan 1995; Blečić Kavur / Pravidur 2012, Fig. 7.

³² Čović 1983, 437; Gavranović 2012, 103.

³³ Čović 1986, 57; Gavranović 2011, 249.

³⁴ Čović 1978; 1983a, 390.

³⁵ Čović 1991.

³⁶ Čović 1986, 60.

³⁷ Čović 1983a, 395.

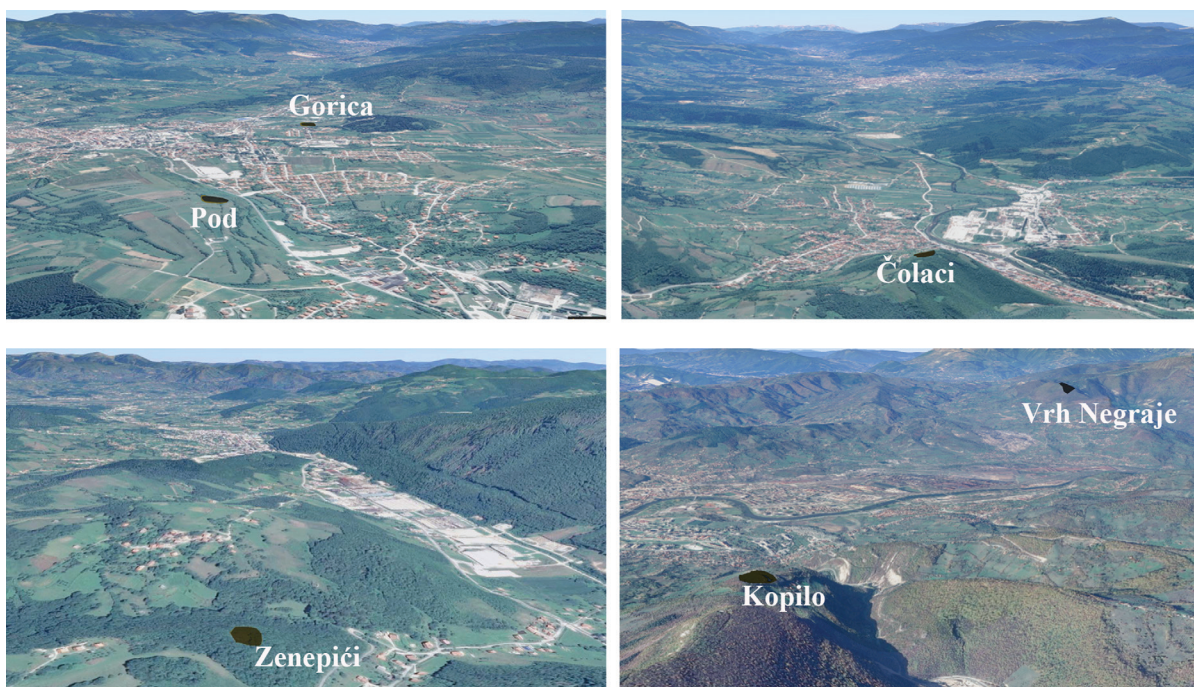


Figure 3: *Topographic position of sites (Google maps)*

With the current state of investigation, it is more than speculative to make any kind of statements regarding the settlement density or population dynamics during the Early Iron Age in central Bosnia. The last systematic survey revealed around 120 hillforts with finds suggesting an Early Iron Age or a Late Bronze / Early Iron Age occupation.³⁸ It is clear that some of the excavated sites like Kopilo near Zenica started to be occupied later than Pod, but for the majority of sites there is still no clear diachronic indication that would enable assessment in terms of settlement intensity at different stages of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age. Furthermore, recent investigations in Čolaci³⁹ and Tarabovac⁴⁰ as well as some smaller surveys⁴¹ have indicated that the number of known sites is certainly not definite. In addition, open flatland settlements were registered in several locations, but these have not been investigated.⁴²

In terms of their topographic positions, the hillforts are located on prominent, elevated spots over the river valley (Figure 3). Yet, the distance from the lowland and accessibility seems to differ significantly. While Pod, Gorica, and Zenepići are situated on low terraces just above the river valleys, Čolaci, Kopilo, and Vrhnjaka stand on high, difficult to access plateaus with steep slopes, which control a large part of the river valley (Figure 3). The chronology, function, and social organization of the different sites and the choice of their position is hard to estimate. Both Kopilo and Čolaci (on high plateaus) appear to have begun 150–200 years after the establishment of Pod (positioned on a low terrace), but there are also sites contemporary with the first horizons at Pod (e.g., Vrhnjaka near Zenica),⁴³ which are placed on extremely high ground in the local landscape (Figure 3). Conspicuous is also the fact that the size of the known hillforts tends to vary between 5000 m² and 7000 m² with no major size difference between the higher and the lower positioned sites.⁴⁴

The long-term excavations at Pod provided valuable information about the interior structure of the hillfort. Since no other contemporary sites

³⁸ Pravidur 2015, 9.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Small scale excavations were conducted by one of the authors, Ajla Sejfuli from the Museum in Travnik, which are unpublished.

⁴¹ In the area of Zenepići near Novi Travnik and Gradac near Travnik conducted in 2016 by the authors.

⁴² Čović 1987, 510.

⁴³ Gavranović 2011, 19; Bujak 2012.

⁴⁴ Čović 1987, 506.

have been investigated in more detail, it is uncertain if the configuration of Pod represents a special case or a regular settlement pattern. One should also keep in mind the well-preserved stratigraphy of Pod with cultural layers that are almost 3 m deep, starting in the Late Bronze Age and ending during the last phase of the late 3rd century BC.⁴⁵ Thus, the fortified plateau (5500 m²) was continuously occupied throughout the period of at least 700 years.

The published plans of the excavated areas demonstrate dense and regular arrangement of rectangular houses (5–7 x 8–12 m) with narrow lanes between. Because of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1991–1995) and the death of the principal investigator B. Čović (1995), the sequence and the duration of individual settlement horizons are still not definitely clear.⁴⁶ However, the general settlement organisation with two diagonal lanes dividing the area in four sectors can be determined.⁴⁷ Three successive horizons from the north-western part of the site, dating to 650–500 BC, have been published. The plans show several houses (ca. 7 x 12 m) of the same W-E orientation with a gradual enlargement of an open space at the crossing of the two main diagonal lanes. In 1987, the mid-horizon was published again, now including a more detailed drawing but without accompanying legend of the different features (e.g., floors, oven, fireplaces and stone pavements).⁴⁸ In 1995, B. Teržan published a section of a horizon from the Late Bronze Age with attached legend.⁴⁹ Rectangular clay house floors (ca. 6 x 10 m), elevated benches along longitudinal walls, U-shaped oven structures (with cupolae), smaller fireplaces, and stone pavement between the houses can be recognized. However, the orientation of objects is clearly not uniform

just as in the case of the previously published Early Iron Age horizons. Beside the specification that the plan published by B. Teržan represents a part of the settlement on the eastern half of the plateau dating to around 1000 BC, no further information is available so far. The rectangular houses have been described as blockhouses or log cabins that were placed on a stone base (without vertical posts) and had earthen floor.⁵⁰ Judging by the large amounts of burned daub with wooden imprints often decorated with geometrical ornaments on the frontal side, some kind of wattle and daub construction was applied inside the houses (e.g., on the separating walls or on the interior side of the wooden beams).

One of the crucial developments during the Early Iron Age at Pod is represented by the so-called “burnt horizon”, a black layer documented in most parts of the plateau, stratigraphically dividing phases Pod C and Pod D (Figure 2). The black burnt layer can be dated to the end of 7th century BC due to several diagnostic bronze finds (fibulae with Boeotian shield plate) and three radiocarbon dates.⁵¹ Even though the settlement continued to exist, this catastrophic event clearly left its mark on the material culture, as it was followed by a significant change in pottery shapes and decoration. A structure on the western part of the plateau, described as a settlement temple, was also destroyed by the fire.⁵² Although it had the same rectangular construction as the other houses, this structure (5 x 6 m) stands out due to the lack of regular inventory (such as ovens and pottery sets) and the occurrence of extraordinary clay columns (of 1–1,5 m preserved height) with stylized human faces (perhaps representing masks). Altogether, twelve columns, including one with a solar disc ending, were found inside the structure (Figure 4). All of them had incised hatched ornaments on the front, probably symbolizing garments, and wooden imprints on the back, indicating attachments on some wattle-like construction positioned most probably along the back wall (Figure 4). Another peculiarity of this structure is the elevated platform (ca. 40 cm above the regular floor) with a circular stone fireplace located in the back. Unfortunately, this

⁴⁵ The site was also occupied in the Chalcolithic period and the Early Bronze Age (see Čović 1991, 10). There is a hiatus of at least 500 years between the abandonment of the Early Bronze Age site and the onset of the Late Bronze Age occupation.

⁴⁶ Čović (1987; 1991), the principal investigator of the project, repeatedly used the term “settlement horizon” in his publication without providing a clear definition and, above all, not mentioning the criteria for separating one horizon from another (e.g., by house floors, debris change). According to Čović, the layer Pod C included two and layer Pod D ten successive horizons.

⁴⁷ Čović 1987.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 508.

⁴⁹ Teržan 1995a, 348.

⁵⁰ Čović 1987, 505.

⁵¹ Ibid. 494.

⁵² Ibid. 518.

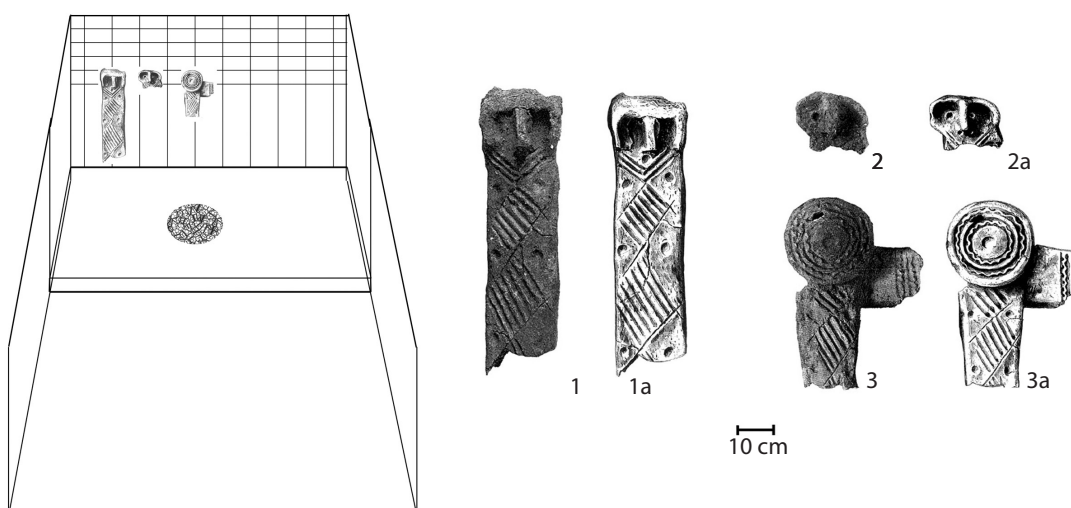


Figure 4: Simple reconstruction of the object with clay idols, Pod late 7th – early 6th century BC

exceptional building with a unique material manifestation of Early Iron Age religious beliefs of the western Balkans is still unpublished. All provided information comes from preliminary reports. Similarly, the objects associated with the “burnt horizon” as well as the structures built on the debris of burnt horizon remain unpublished.

Finds

Finds from Pod are crucial for the evaluation of characteristic Early Iron Age ceramic repertoire in Central Bosnia, as it is the only site with documented stratigraphic sequence. A relatively small selection of previously published finds from the layers Pod C and Pod D in the form of preliminary reports⁵³ was extended in 2010 by the processing of the material from the 1963 excavations.⁵⁴

The juxtaposition of the typical pottery shapes from late Pod B level (“Schicht IV” – Ha B3) and new layer Pod C (“Schicht III” – Ha C1) reveals clear continuity of forms and decoration (Figure 5). Typical of both phases are wide bowls with inverted, thickened and often decorated rims (Figure 5a, 1–3), vessels with wide

funnelled rims decorated on the inside (Figure 5a, 4–5), half-spherical cups with high handles and small vessels with S-profile (Figure 5a, 7, 10). New diagnostic forms of the Early Iron Age are bowls, cups, and kantharoi with biconical body (Figure 5b, 3), as well as shallow cups/ladle (Figure 5b, 13) and smaller jugs (Figure 5b, 12). The most frequent ornaments from the Late Bronze Age such as rows of incised crescents or rows of angle shaped stitches still exist in the following period, although mostly on the pottery forms that continue from the older settlement phases (e.g. bowls with faceted rims). Decoration motifs characteristic of the first Early Iron Age layer are a row of triangles with one vertical line in the middle, long, extended rhombuses and triangles, Maltese cross-shaped symbols, and rows of stamped or incised triangles. The metal finds from this settlement period include a pin with torsion on the neck and an iron spearhead, both forms well-known from Early Iron Age contexts in the surrounding regions.⁵⁵

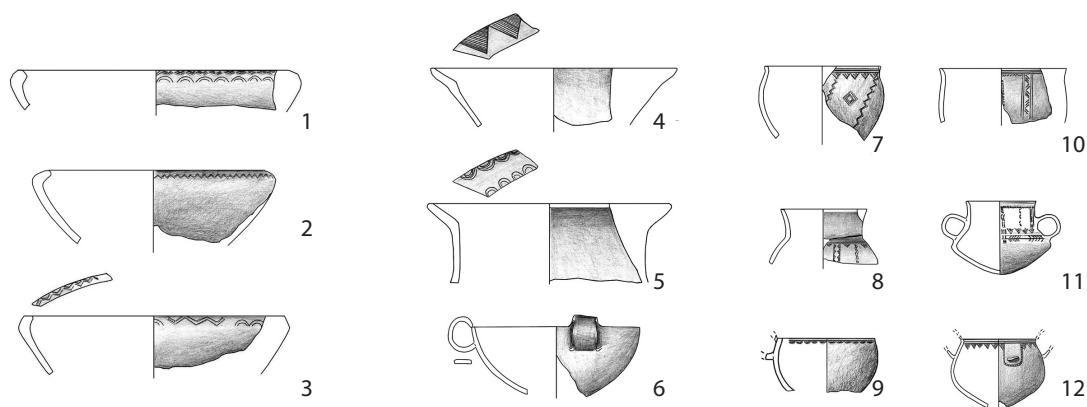
Based on parallels in pottery shapes and stylistic comparison of decoration, contemporary occupation with Pod C (“Schicht III”) can be assumed at the site Gorica, located on a low terrace just some 800 m southeast of Pod (Figure 3)⁵⁶ and at the hillfort of Čolaci near Donji Vakuf, approximately 12 km downstream on the Vrbas

⁵³ Čović 1965; 1987.

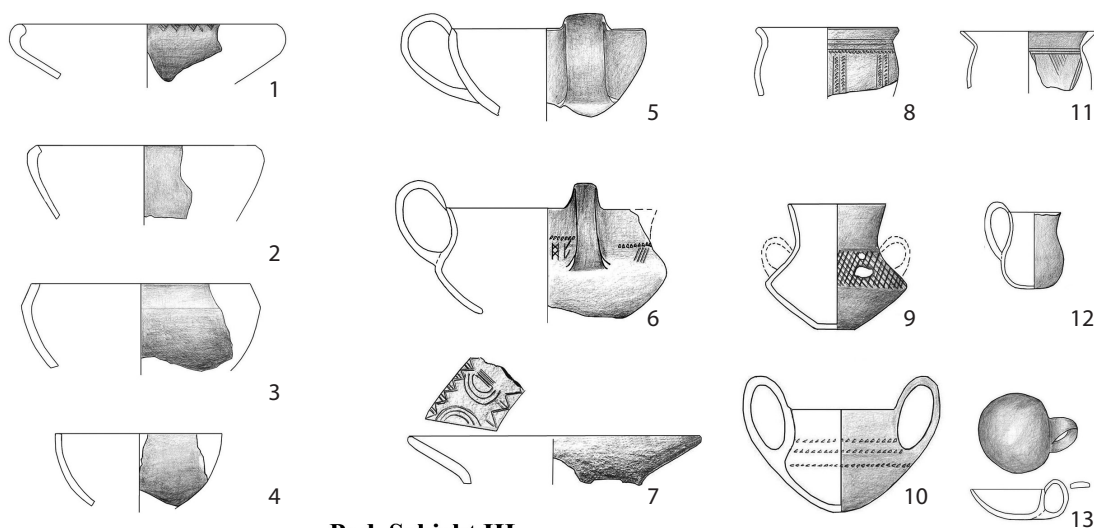
⁵⁴ Gavranović 2011, Tab. 49–73. The finds from the 1963 excavations were recorded in the National Museum in Sarajevo in 2006. The boxes in the depot, however, contained only diagnostic sherds (rims, bottoms, and decorated fragments of each stratigraphic feature). The preselection was undertaken by principal investigator B. Čović.

⁵⁵ Vasić 2003, 97.

⁵⁶ Čremošnik 1951.



Pod, Schicht IV



Pod, Schicht III

Figure 5: *Characteristic pottery from Schicht IV (late Pod B – Ha B2/3) and Schicht III (Pod C – Ha C1)*

River (Figure 3).⁵⁷ In the neighbouring Lašva valley, the corresponding material was thus far confirmed only at Alihodže.⁵⁸ In the section of Bosna River between Sarajevo and Zenica, indicative ceramic finds of the Early Iron Age are found at hillforts of Debelo Brdo,⁵⁹ Semizovac,⁶⁰ Hadžići near Visoko,⁶¹ and Kopilo near Zenica.⁶² Outside of Central Bosnia, some of the distinctive ornament types and shapes from Pod C (“Schicht III”) also appear at sites located in the middle course

of the rivers Vrbas⁶³ and Bosna⁶⁴ and at the site of Korita in Duvno field in the south-western Bosnia.⁶⁵ Although several authors repeatedly quoted that pottery from Central Bosnia – and from Pod especially – “influenced” the adjacent territories,⁶⁶ the nature of relationships between the sites in the region is still largely unexplained.

A clear shift in the pottery spectrum can be observed in the next chronological stage at Pod (Pod D1 – Ha C2 / Ha D1), represented through finds from the “burnt horizon” and the follow-

⁵⁷ Pravidur 2015.

⁵⁸ Gavranović 2011, Tab. 11.

⁵⁹ Fiala 1897.

⁶⁰ Korošec 1942.

⁶¹ Perić 1987.

⁶² Gavranović 2011, Tab. 7.

⁶³ Jamaković 2010, Tab. 28.

⁶⁴ Marić 1961, Tab. 3–4.

⁶⁵ Govedarica 1982, Tab 7, 7–10.

⁶⁶ Čović 1987, 505; Pravidur 2015, 24.

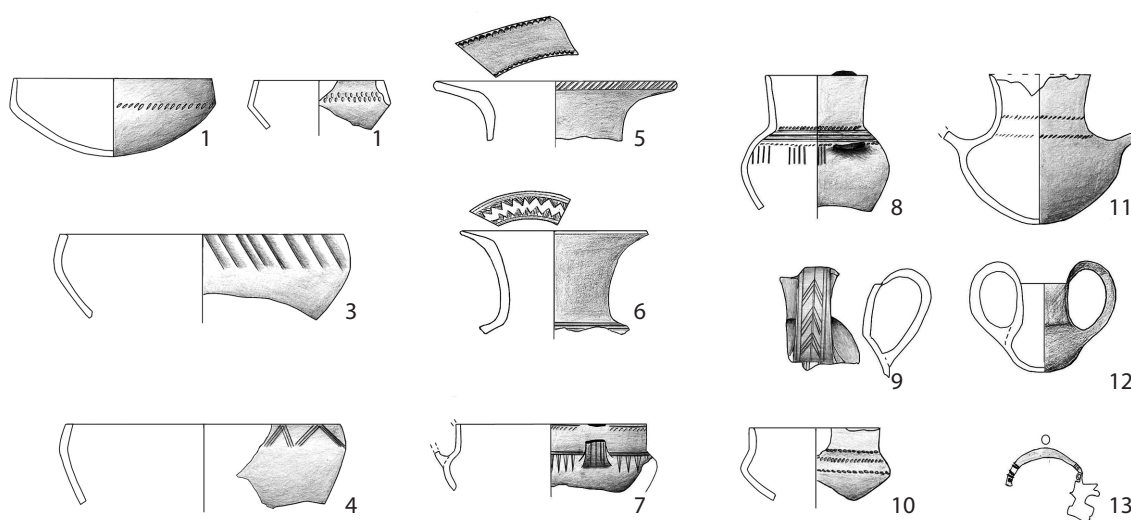


Figure 6: Characteristic pottery from Schicht II (Pod D1 – Ha C2 – Ha D1)

ing horizon upon the debris (Figure 6). A number of ceramic forms and decoration styles that existed in the Late Bronze Age horizons until beginning of the Early Iron Age disappeared at this time, with only a few elements pointing to connections with previous stages. In Pod D1 (“Schicht II”), bowls with faceted and thickened rims, cups with short rims, and S-profile as well as half-spherical cups vanished. Even more drastic is the transformation, or rather a reduction, of decorative elements. Rows of crescents, several variations of hatched triangles, angle stitch rows, vertical zigzag lines, and all types of incised arch motifs disappeared in this period, too. Dominant ornaments of the second Early Iron Age layer in Pod are rows of simple oval stitches, often between two lines, and loose bundles of vertical straight lines (Figure 6, 1–2, 10–11), whereas more complex incised motifs (e.g., opposing rows of hatched triangles) occur only sporadically.⁶⁷ Representative for this phase are flat flutes or wider rills, which are, judging by the material sample excavated in 1963, used mainly for the decoration of semi-spherical bowls (Figure 7, 3). Typical ceramic spectrum of this stage also includes biconical bowls, semi-spherical and calotte-shaped bowls, smaller vessels with cylindrical necks and biconical lower bodies, kantharoi and beakers with longer cylindrical or slightly funnel-shaped necks and spherical lower

bodies, bigger jugs with high handles, amphorae with wide rims and cylindrical necks (Figure 6). Chronological connection between level Pod D1 (“Schicht II”) and other regions of the Central and Western Balkans is based on the presence of fibulae with Boeotian shield plate (Figure 6, 13),⁶⁸ pointing to a date of the late 7th to early 6th century BC.⁶⁹

Analogous ceramic finds can be found mostly at hillforts that were occupied in the preceding periods like Debelo Brdo, Semizovac or Al-ihodže.⁷⁰ However, they all lack clear context. The youngest layer of the hillfort Kopilo⁷¹ is also parallel with the stage Pod D1 and probably the settlement in Varvara as well, which seem to have been occupied again during this period (ca. 650–550 BC).

The final stage of the Early Iron Age comprises phases Pod D2 and D3, while the youngest settlement traces (Pod D4) date to the La Tène period.⁷² In the profile section from 1963, this stratigraphic sequence was summarized as “Schicht I,” comprising several different eroded layers with no clear distinction between them (Figure 2). The pottery repertoire is similar to the previous layer, and includes semi-spherical and biconical bowls, often decorated with a two

⁶⁷ Gavranović 2011, Diagram 4.

⁶⁸ Čović 1987, Tab. 52, 15–16.

⁶⁹ Vasić 1999, 6; Heilmann 2016.

⁷⁰ Gavranović 2011, 268.

⁷¹ Ibid., Tab. 7.

⁷² Čović 1987, 496.

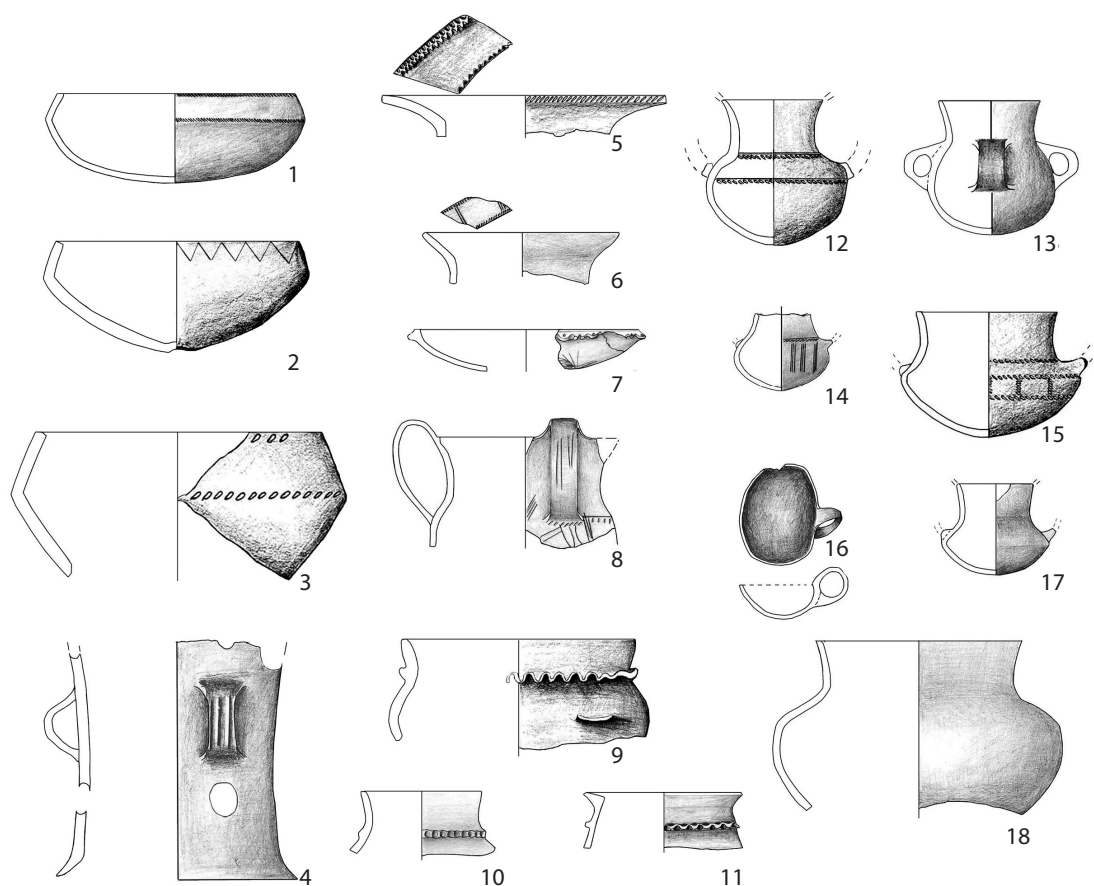


Figure 7: Characteristic pottery from Schicht I (Pod D2/3 – Ha D2/3)

rows of lentil shaped stitches below the rim and along the vessel kink shallow cups/ladles, vessels with curved S-profile and kantharoi with spherical or biconical lower bodies (Figure 7). One of the very few forms that continued from the older strata of occupation are small three-handle vessels (Figure 7, 13) that had first appeared already in the Late Bronze Age (early stage of Pod B – “Schicht V”).⁷³ Newly introduced in “Schicht I” are jugs with spout and shallow bowls with rims with plastic decoration and one-handled perforated cylindrical pedestals (Figure 7, 4, 7). Most of the decorations are made of incised lines and stitches with very few complex ornaments (hatched triangles or two inverted triangles sand glass). Plastic decoration, most notably different finger impressions, is more frequently used in comparison to older layers⁷⁴ (Figure 7. 10–11). Thanks to a number of diagnostic jewellery types

(as outlined above), this Pod D2/D3 can be correlated with the late 6th and the 5th century BC.⁷⁵ Imported finds of a Mediterranean provenance, such as painted wheel-made pottery and pieces of bronze vessels, corroborate this dating and indicate the integration of Pod into the extensive exchange network between the Adriatic Sea, Southern Europe and the western Balkans.⁷⁶ An outcome of these international relationships can be seen in the form of a semi-spherical, locally made bowl with incised inscription, identified as an imitation of Etruscan or Umbrian letters.⁷⁷

Based on stray finds, the hillforts Debelo Brdo⁷⁸ and Čolaci⁷⁹ still existed throughout the 6th and the 5th centuries BC. The published pottery from these two sites shows clear similarities with the finds from the corresponding layers at

⁷³ Gavranović 2011, 77.

⁷⁴ Ibid. 110.

⁷⁵ Čović 1987, 500, Tab. 53.

⁷⁶ Čović 1983a.

⁷⁷ Šalabalić 1965, 12.

⁷⁸ Fiala 1893; Fiala 1897; Čović 1965.

⁷⁹ Pravidur 2015, Fig. 9.

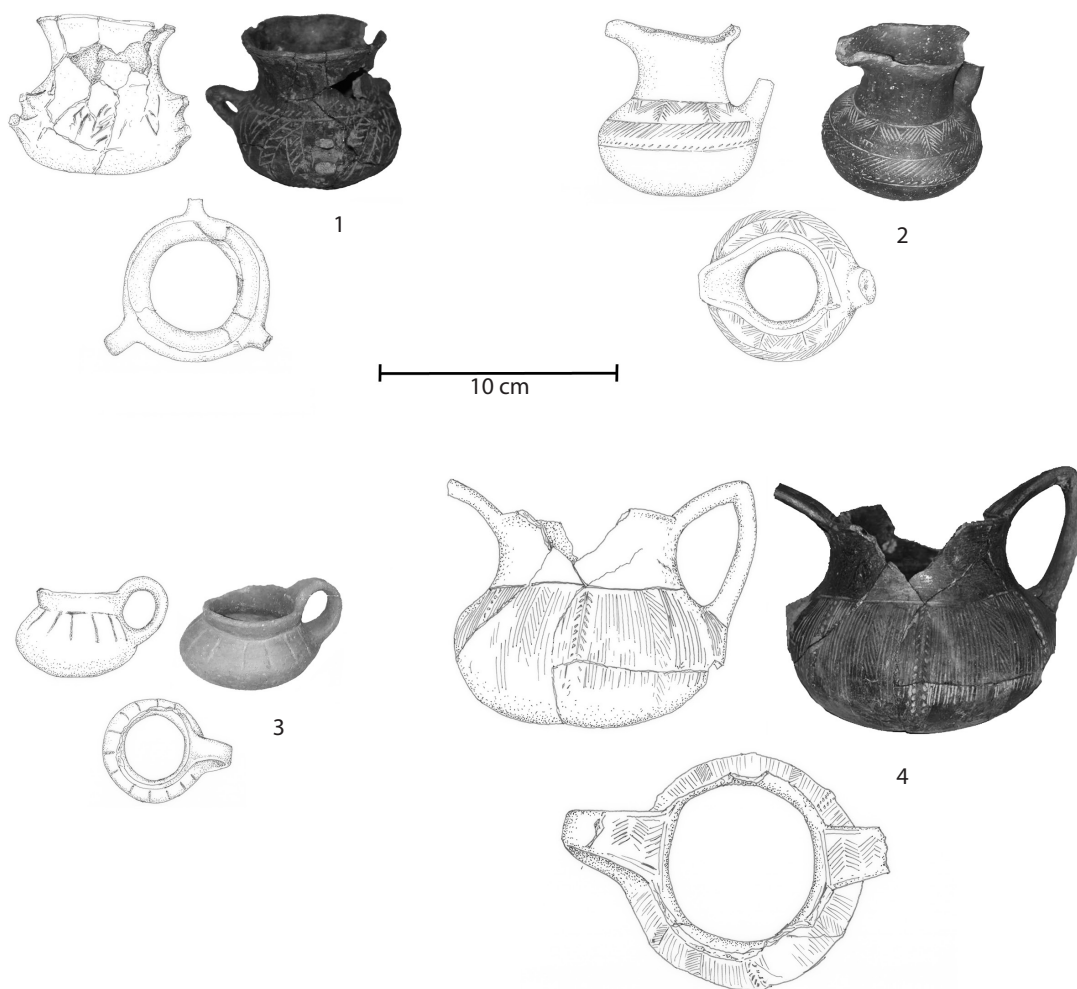


Figure 8: *Vessels from site Zenepići*

Pod (D2/D3). Hence, the intensive connectivity between the hillforts of Central Bosnia appears to continue unabated also in the developed Early Iron Age.

Analogous pottery of the late 6th and the 5th centuries BC has also been recently found in the site Zenepići, located in the small side valley of Lašva basin near Novi Travnik (Figure 3).⁸⁰ The area is densely forested, but the ramparts and two circular terraces around the small plateau (30 x 40 m) are still recognizable. The site yielded abundant iron slag, distributed all over the surface. Since no other than Iron Age pottery and diagnostic finds from earlier periods have been

found there, one can assume that the iron slag is also of the same age. Among collected finds from Zenepići are also well-known forms from the latest Early Iron Age layer in Pod (D2/D3):⁸¹

1. A small three-handled vessel with a spherical lower part and a slightly concave neck. The lower part is decorated with incised slanted ladder motifs and irregularly dispersed lines (Figure 8, 1).

2. A small jug with a spout, a cylindrical neck, and a spherical lower part. The incised decoration is located on the upper half of the spherical lower part and consists of three lines of different motifs (branch-like ornaments, slanting lines,

⁸⁰ The pottery was found in 2014 during the construction of a forest road that leads to the plateau. The finds were submitted to the Museum in Travnik. The authors have visited the site in August 2016.

⁸¹ Čović 1965, 55; 1987, Fig. 28: Tab. 52, 21; Gavranović 2011, Tab. 67, Tab. 72.

and a singular line accompanied by a row of lentil shaped stitches (Figure 8, 2).

3. A cup with a biconical body and a short cylindrical neck. The handle is placed between the body break and the rim and reaches over the rim in the middle part. The decoration (vertical incised lines with relatively big distances between them) spans between the neck and the body break (i.e., on the upper half of the biconical body) (Figure 8, 3).

4. A kantharos with a spherical lower part and a concave neck (Figure 8, 4). Two handles reaching above the rim spread between the rim and the body break. Both handles have a sharp break (kink). The handles are decorated with groups of diagonal incised lines. The decoration of the upper body of the kantharos includes dense vertical incised lines intermittent with columns of shorter slanted lines and rows of lentil stitches in the branch-like array (Figure 8, 4).

The hillfort Zenepići represents the fourth site in Central Bosnia – together with Pod, Čolaci and Debelo Brdo – with clear evidence for occupation in the final stages of Early Iron Age. Judging by certain characteristic metal finds (Early La Tène fibulae, fibulae of Certosa type, and double pins with Omega-shaped head), both Pod and Čolaci as well as Debelo Brdo existed continuously throughout most of the Late Iron Age, with the earliest finds dating to the 3rd century BC.⁸²

Subsistence and environment

While pottery and metal finds provide a basic understanding of material culture, any assessment of the socio-economic background of the Early Iron Age communities in Central Bosnia is, with the current research status, still difficult to make. The pollen record from the Prokoško Jezero in the Mid-Bosnian Schist Mountains is the first evidence of environmental changes in this region in last 18,000 years.⁸³ A strong decrease of fir and pine trees and an increase of hazel and grasses are significant for the Early Iron Age.⁸⁴ However, there is still no clear indication if any of these changes in forest composition (also including a continued decrease of elm and oriental

hornbeam) can be linked to human activities in the river valleys surrounding the Mid-Bosnian Mountains.

Thanks to the archaeozoological⁸⁵ and archaeobotanical⁸⁶ analyses of the remains from Pod, some basic information regarding subsistence, husbandry and hunting preferences can be mentioned here. The published archaeobotanical results point to storage of wild oat (*Avena serilis*) in several pits dating to the Early Iron Age, while common oat (*Avena sativa*) clearly prevails in the Late Iron Age layers.⁸⁷ Identified in the Early Iron Age layers are also lentil (*Lens culinaris*), broad bean (*Vicia Faba*) and pea (*Pisum Sativum*).⁸⁸

Among analysed animal bones from the Late Bronze Age layers (Pod B), domestic animals (46% sheep/goat, 36% pig, 11% cattle, 1.5% horse, and 2.5% dog) clearly dominate comprising in total 98% of the sample, while game (2%) is represented by wild pig and deer.⁸⁹

In the Early Iron Age (Pod C and Pod D1), the ratio of game increased to 10% (40% deer, 20% bear, 20% doe, and 10% wild pig). The husbandry structure changed too, with a significant increase of cattle (20%) and a slight decline of sheep/goat (43%) and pig (34%).

In the youngest settlement stage (Pod D2–D4) the portion of game is again reduced to 5% of the total assemblage (of which 41% deer, 23% doe, 17% wild pig, 17% bear, 1% rabbit, 1% beaver, as well as lynx, marten, fox and wolf). Characteristic for the domestic animals is a significant increase of sheep/goat (56%) and decrease of pig (24%) bones in the assemblage, while the percentage of cattle (17%) remained more or less stable.⁹⁰

The finds of iron slag from Čolaci, Kopilo, Pod, Varvara, and Zenepići demonstrate metallurgical activities in each of these sites, with earliest finds dating to the 9th century BC (at Kopilo).⁹¹ Often mentioned, but never fully published, is a vessel with limonite chunks from the late stage Pod B (9th century BC),⁹² pointing to a prospection of

⁸² Čović 1987, 504; Pravidur 2015, 22.

⁸³ Dörfler 2013, 311.

⁸⁴ Ibid. 327, profile section: LPAZ N.

⁸⁵ Palavestra 1984.

⁸⁶ Kučan 1984.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Palavestra 1984; Čović 1987, 515.

⁹⁰ Palavestra 1984.

⁹¹ Čović 1980; 1987, 505; Gavranović 2011, Tab. 82; Pravidur 2015, Fig. 12.

⁹² Čović 1980, 74.

the nearby iron ore sources in the Mid-Bosnian Schist Mountains.⁹³ However, while the signs of the iron working are numerous, solid evidence documenting the reconstruction of *chaîne opératoire* including mining, smelting and processing is rare. The first trace element analyses of the slag and iron objects from the sites of Čolaci and Pod point to magnetite as the initial exploited ore and technological differences in the ore smelting process between these two sites.⁹⁴ The sampled four slag pieces from Čolaci contained higher amount of iron oxide (FeO) when compared to the four slag samples from Pod, which could be an indication of a more advanced smelting technologies at Pod. Furthermore, the comparison between two iron objects from Čolaci (a knife and an undefined tool, probably a chisel) showed that both were likely produced at Pod.⁹⁵ It is thus obvious that hillforts of Central Bosnia had strong mutual relationships in terms of iron metallurgy, but it is still hard to evaluate whether the iron production was oriented toward local needs or, as previously assumed,⁹⁶ towards generating surplus for exchange. The geological and natural preconditions with abundant and well accessible ore deposits and dense forest (utilised for fuel) could point in favour production beyond average local needs, the tangible evidences are however still to deliver.

3. Burials

In contrast to the settlement activity, which was long-lasting, as settlements were occupied over several centuries, the cemeteries discovered to date are all short-termed and contain just a limited number of interred individuals. The discrepancy between the relatively small number of graves and the intensive settlement activity leaves the question of standard burial practices between the 8th and the 5th centuries BC more or less open. Furthermore, none of the discovered graves represents an actual closed context with preserved human remains. Hence, at the current stage of research, it is difficult to make any general statements regarding burial rites or grave con-

struction characteristic of the Early Iron Age in Central Bosnia.⁹⁷

The grave finds from the initial stage of the Early Iron Age (8th century BC) were unearthed in Klaonica near Travnik⁹⁸ and Nević Polje⁹⁹ on the banks of rivers Lašva, Gračanica (Figure 9),¹⁰⁰ and Semizovac¹⁰¹ in the Bosna Basin between Sarajevo and Visoko and near Koščani,¹⁰² in the upper Vrbas valley between Bugojno and Donji Vakuf. Bronze jewellery prevails among the finds, while weapons appear in Koščani (an iron spearhead) and Semizovac (a decorated bronze spearhead). Characteristic regional jewellery types of the 8th century BC are two loop bow fibulae with triangular foot (from Semizovac and Gračanica), bracelets with ends positioned one above the other (from Gračanica, Nević Polje, and Klaonica) and conical decorated belt buckles (from Gračanica and Klaonica).¹⁰³ The pins with a small head and a neck torsion from Gračanica and Nević Polje corroborate the chronological cross-connection of the destroyed graves with layer Pod C (“Schicht III”), in which the same pin type occurs. Less chronologically significant are bronzes from graves, such as anklets, arm spirals, and bronze sheet diadems, which all appear already during the Late Bronze Age as parts of traditional, presumably female, funerary attire sets in central Bosnia and in adjacent regions.¹⁰⁴

The continuous occupation into the next stage of the Early Iron Age (the late 7th – early 6th century BC) can be assumed only for the burial place in Nević Polje. Characteristic for this period is a two-loop fibula with Boeotian shield plate, found in one of the disturbed burials.¹⁰⁵ The same type of fibula is documented also in Grbavica near Vitez, some 3 km west from Nević Polje (Figure 9).¹⁰⁶ Thus, in terms of chronology both burials can be linked with settlement stage Pod D1 (burnt horizon in “Schicht II”). According to the initial reports, the finds from Grbavi-

⁹³ Ramović 1973, 12; Hrvatović 1999.

⁹⁴ Olovčić et al. 2014.

⁹⁵ Ibid. 868–869.

⁹⁶ Čović 1987, 516.

⁹⁷ Čović 1987, 511; Perić 2002, 179; Gavranović 2011, 265.

⁹⁸ Gavranović / Sejfuli 2015.

⁹⁹ Gavranović 2011, Tab. 21.

¹⁰⁰ Čović 1984.

¹⁰¹ Mandić 1933.

¹⁰² Gavranović 2011, Tab. 74, 6.

¹⁰³ Gabrovec 1970; Vasić 1999, 48; Čović 1987a, 586; Gavranović 2011, 219.

¹⁰⁴ Gavranović 2016, Fig. 2.

¹⁰⁵ Čović 1987, 483.

¹⁰⁶ Sielski 1931.

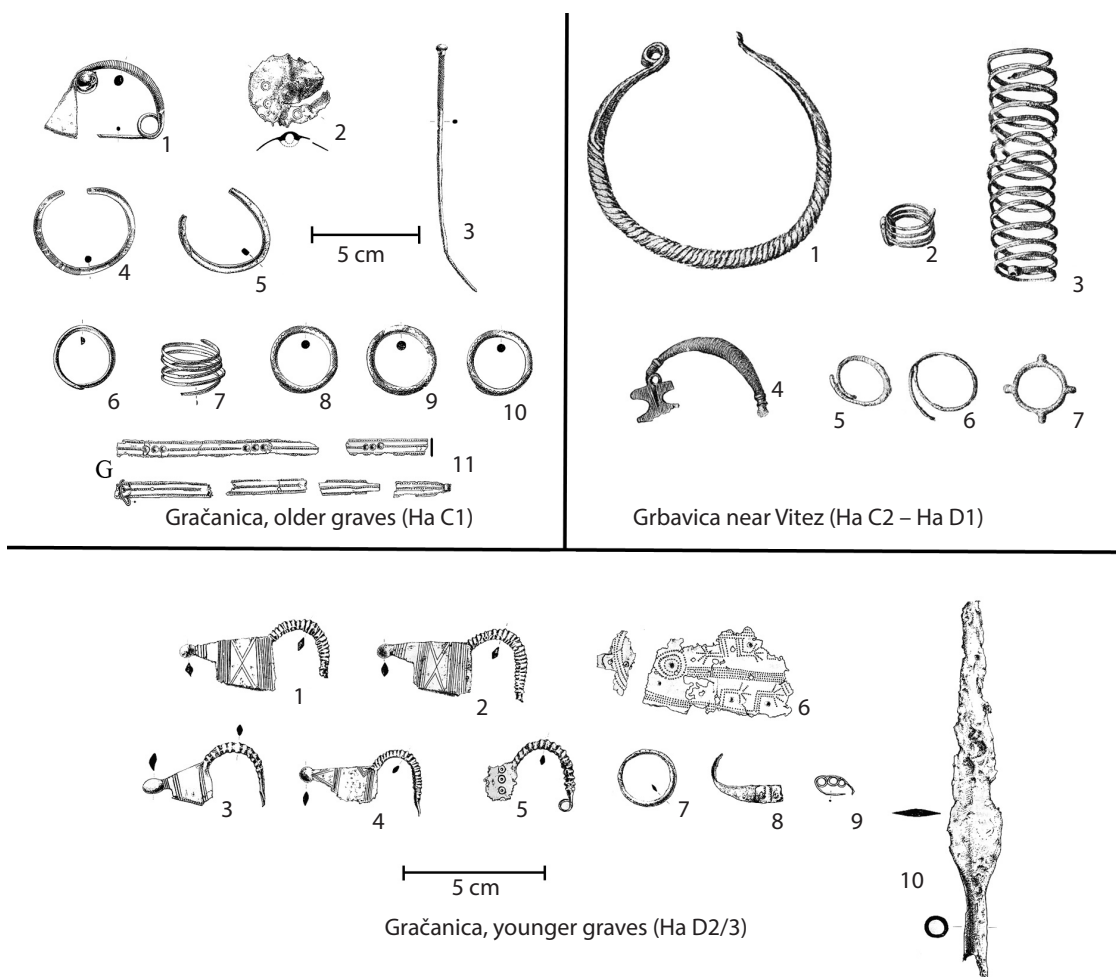


Figure 9: Grave finds from Central Bosnia

ca (a fibula, twisted torques, an arm spiral, two bracelets, and a small spiral) originated from a tumulus containing cremations. Later studies, however, labelled these finds as coming from a flat inhumation grave.¹⁰⁷ A further indication that ensemble from Grbavica (the fibula with a Boeotian shield plate, twisted torques, and two bracelets) could actually represent a funerary attire set is supported by an occurrence of the same combination in several graves of this period in necropolis of Donja Dolina on the Bosnian Bank of the Save River.¹⁰⁸ However, while the jewellery types from Grbavica and Nević Polje point to intra-regional connectivity the graves equipped with distinct warrior attributes (sets of iron weapons containing two spearheads, one

or two knives and a sword) and imported bronze vessels, typical for Donja Dolina but also for the Glasinac area during this period,¹⁰⁹ are entirely absent in central Bosnia. Various finds of Mediterranean provenance at Pod suggest, however, that the Iron Age communities in Central Bosnia were part of a contact network that imported objects to the western Balkans, but unlike at Glasinac or Donja Dolina these objects were not deposited in graves.

Stray finds from the site Gračanica, used as a burial place already in the initial stages of the Early Iron Age (Figure 9), are the only evidence from graves that chronologically correspond to the settlement stages Pod D2–D3 (“Schicht I”). Five fibulae of the Arareva Gomila type point

¹⁰⁷ Čović 1988, 199.

¹⁰⁸ Čović 1961.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.; Čović 1987a.

to the existence of earlier burials in Gračanica in particular, as they are one of the important chronological markers of the late 6th century BC in central and western Balkans.¹¹⁰ Assigned to same context are an iron spearhead and bronze sheet fragments (from a belt) with ornament in *repoussé* technique (Figure 9, 6).

In summary, it can be concluded that the Early Iron Age grave finds from Central Bosnia can be connected to no more than 10 or 15 individuals, who were interred during a period over 300 years, which is by far not a representative sample for any kind of general assessment. On the other hand, it is not probable that there still remain extensive undiscovered Early Iron Age cemeteries, especially considering the intensive archaeological surveys and increasing construction activities of the last 150 years. Thus, the difference between the population prosperity signalled through continuity of settlements like Pod, with stable development of several centuries, and the absence of corresponding burial sites cannot be explained merely by poor state of research. One should take into consideration that burial practices might not be traceable by archaeological means.¹¹¹

4. Conclusion and outlook

The Early Iron Age developments in Central Bosnia, are undoubtedly rooted in the transformations that took place in the advanced phase of the Late Bronze Age. The sudden appearance of new specific types of pottery with no analogies to the older periods and the emergence of well-organised hillforts during the 12th and 11th centuries BC have led to the assumption that certain new population groups could have important part in the formation of the specific cultural phenomenon, commonly known as “Central Bosnian group of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age”.¹¹² However, the concept established in the 1980s,¹¹³ and to a certain extent still applied today,¹¹⁴ that this archaeological manifestation was a “distinct, cultural-ethnic group with own specific materi-

al culture and territory”¹¹⁵ inevitably implies a biological and ethnic affinity between the Early Iron Age communities in central Bosnia, thus overriding “collective identity.” This statement, however, is not supported by any valid evidence. The insufficient data from burial practices and the general absence of Early Iron Age human remains make the theories about potential biological connectivity between individuals and communities appear highly speculative. A striking resemblance of material culture between different hillforts situated in the river valleys around the Mid-Bosnian Schist Mountains together with their topographical and structural similarities (e.g., location, fortification style, size) nevertheless indicate a high-level of mutual communication and exchange. In terms of classification, the abovementioned sites undoubtedly represent a specific archaeological group. Their common features, however, do not reveal much about the identity of Early Iron Age communities. The long-term use of same resources and adaption to similar natural and social environments could eventually lead several communities to merge into larger groups with a higher organisation level. Nevertheless, in case of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age in central Bosnia, there are still no arguments that would support any kind of aggregation beyond the settlement level.

In case of central Bosnia, further striking is that the introduction and expansion of working of new metal – iron – did not significantly affect cultural development or caused major breaks in the settlement patterns. When compared to the adjacent regions of western Balkans where the transition between the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages brought comprehensive changes in all archeologically traceable aspects,¹¹⁶ the modifications in central Bosnia seems to be marginal. The geographic isolation in terms of limited access to the valleys of Vrbas and Bosna from the north (Carpathian Basin) and the south (Adriatic coast) combined with favourable resources (especially fertile land, forest, and metal ores) are certainly conducive to uninterrupted development. However, the elaborated fortifications around settlements also confirm the existence or at least awareness of potential danger. At least

¹¹⁰ Čović 1984; Teržan 1987.

¹¹¹ Weiss-Krejci 2013.

¹¹² Čović 1987.

¹¹³ Čović 1983; 1987.

¹¹⁴ Pravidur 2015.

¹¹⁵ Čović 1983, 434.

¹¹⁶ Teržan 1987; Pare 1998; Potrebica 2013.

at Pod, it is obvious that there was no hostile or violent event for 700 to 800 years. There is no indication that the fire that destroyed most of the settlement at the end of the 7th century BC (the “burnt horizon” dividing phases Pod C and Pod D) was caused by outside influence. This event definitely triggered certain changes in the lives of the inhabitants as visible in a major change of pottery repertoire; yet, there is also a clear uninterrupted settlement continuity. Despite the lack of direct evidence for external danger, the fortifications were constantly enlarged and optimized, most notably at the beginning of the Early Iron Age.

In contrast to the argument of geographical isolation is the evidence of metal finds, which clearly indicate that the Early Iron Age communities in central Bosnia were fully incorporated into the regional and inter-regional exchange networks. From the late 7th century BC, the objects of Mediterranean origin also started to appear more frequently at Pod, pointing to indirect or possibly also direct contact with the Adriatic coast, Central Italy and Northern Greece.¹¹⁷ However, in contrast to neighbouring Glasinac,¹¹⁸ Kaptol,¹¹⁹ or Central Europe,¹²⁰ where the appearance of imports is regarded either as a consequence or cause of social differentiation and emergence of social and economic elite, signs of evident social stratification are thus far lacking in central Bosnia. Moreover, it is even more remarkable that there are no archaeological indications of socioeconomic elite either in settlements (indicated by functional separation of areas or the presence of exceptional objects) or by abundantly equipped graves, if one assumes intensive iron production and surplus. In order to elucidate the processes that led to this unique regional development, it is essential to increase first data (e.g., from archaeology, archaeometallurgy, archaeobiology, and geology) and then provide more exact results.

Na engleski jezik preveo Mario Gavranović

Sažetak

Rano željezno doba srednje Bosne – pregled i perspektive istraživanja

Regija centralne Bosne, situirana između dva značajna kompleksa na istoku (Glasinac) i zapadu (japodska regija), nije zauzimala značajno mjesto u istraživanju ranog željeznog doba jugoistočne Europe. Usljed nedostataka nalaza, prije svega bogatih grobnih cjelina i grobalja koja su se duže vremena koristila, ova je regija bila neprivlačna za istraživanja koja su se odvijala u periodu između 1878. i 1914. godine. Administrativne i političke granice centralne Bosne koje su definirane Dejtonskim sporazumom nisu obuhvatile određene geografske dijelove koji su tradicionalno ulazili u sastav centralne Bosne u arheološkim okvirima, posebno dolinu rijeke Bosne između Sarajeva i Zenice, uključujući i doline Fojničke rijeke i Trstionice. Centralna Bosna danas obuhvata dolinu rijeke Lašve, gornji tok rijeke Bosne, kao i područja između spomenutih rijeka. Najvažniji podaci o ranom željeznom dobu centralne Bosne prikupljeni su prilikom istraživanja gradinskog naselja Pod i Kopilo koja su se odvijala u periodu između 1960. i 1990. godine te u toku manjih istraživanja na lokalitetima Alihodže i Hadžići kod Visokog. Posljednja istraživanja na gradini Čolaci kod Donjeg Vakufa potvrdila su da je ovo naselje egzistiralo tokom ranog željeznog doba. U radu su prezentirani i nalazi s lokaliteta Zenepić kod Novog Travnika te metalni nalazi iz uništenih grobova u Grbavici, Nević Polju, Semizovcu, Gračanici i Koščanima. Za proučavanje ranog željeznog doba centralne Bosne posebno je značajno gradinsko naselje Pod, s horizontom Pod C i naseljem osnovanim početkom ranog željeznog doba.

Naselja

Najveće kulturološke promjene na prostoru centralne Bosne odigravaju se u periodu kasnog bronzanog doba (Ha A2 – Ha B1) kada dolazi do razvoja novih naselja i pojave keramike s urezanim geometrijskim motivima. Posljednja sistematska rekognosciranja otkrila su oko 120 utvrđenih naselja s nalazima koji ukazuju na njihovu egzistenciju tokom ranog željeznog doba, odnosno kasnog bronzanog doba. Položaj ovih gradinskih naselja nije uvijek isti – dok su Pod, Gorica i Zenepići smješteni na niskim terasama iznad dolina rijeka, Čolaci, Kopilo i Vrh Negraje nalaze se na visokim, teško dostupnim platoima s kojih se kontrolira dolina rijeke. Imajući u vidu nedovoljnu istraženost spomenutih naselja teško je govoriti o njihovoj kronologiji, društvenoj organizaciji i funkciji. Naselja Čolaci i Kopilo osnovana su 150–200 godina nakon

¹¹⁷ Čović 1988.

¹¹⁸ Čović 1987a; Babić 2002; Govedarica 2002.

¹¹⁹ Potrebrica 2013.

¹²⁰ Pare 1991.

osnivanja naselja Pod, dok je naselje Vrh Negraje, koje je smješteno na izrazito visokom terenu, paralelno s prvim horizontom naselja Pod. Najviše podataka pružila su sistematska iskopavanja naselja Pod s njegovom bogatom stratigrafijom i slojevima koji su na nekim mjestima dosegali dubinu od 3 m obuhvatajući period od kasnog brončanog doba do kraj 3. stoljeća pr. Kr. Utvrđeni dio naselja kontinuirano je bio naseljen najmanje 700 godina.

Pokretni arheološki nalazi

Zahvaljujući pokretnim nalazima pronađenim u toku istraživanja naselja Pod moguće je donekle rekonstruirati keramički repertoar ranog željeznog doba centralne Bosne s obzirom na to da je to jedini pouzdano dokumentovan materijal. Posude kasne faze Pod B sloja i novog Pod C sloja pokazuju kontinuitet forme i dekoracije. Za obje faze tipične su široke zdjele s izvrnutim i često ukrašenim obodima, posude sa široko izvrćenim ukrašenim obodima, poluloptaste zdjele s visokom ručkom i male posude S profila. U ranom željeznom dobu pojavljuju se također i zdjele, posude i kantarosi s bikoničnim tijelom, ali i male plitke čaše. Od ukrasa na keramici najčešći su motivi polumjeseca raspoređeni u redove koji su naslijeđeni iz starije faze, dok su motivi trougla raspoređeni u redu s jednom vertikalnom linijom i različiti simboli u obliku malteškog križa karakteristični za stariju fazu ranog željeznog doba. Materijal sličnih karakteristika zabilježen je na lokalitetima Gorica (udaljen oko 800 metara od naselja Pod), Čolaci, Alihodže, Semizovac, Hadžići kod Visokog, Debelo Brdo i Kopilo. Na osnovu nalaza može se dati okvirna kronološka granica egzistiranja spomenutih naselja te stoga slijedi da su naselja Pod, Debelo Brdo i Čolaci egzistirala sve do kasnog željeznog doba, odnosno sve do 3. stoljeća pr. Kr. Nedavno prikupljeni nalazi s gradine Zenepić kod Novog Travnika imaju svoje analogije s najmlađim slojem ranog željeznog doba na Podu. To su dobro poznate i učestale forme: male posude sa sferičnim donjim dijelom i tri ručke, mala zdjela s izljevkom i cilindričnim vratom, posuda s bikoničnim tijelom i kratkim cilindričnim vratom te kantaros sa sferičnim donjim dijelom i konkavnim vratom. Zajedno s naseljima Pod, Čolaci i Debelo Brdo, naselje u Zenepićima predstavlja lokalitete centralne Bosne na kojima je zabilježen život tokom posljednjih faza ranog željeznog doba. Metalurška djelatnost na ovim naseljima zabilježena je kroz nalaze željezne troske, a koja se najranije može datirati u 9. stoljeće pr. Kr., i to na naselju Kopilo. Bez obzira na nalaze koji upućuju na ovu vrstu djelatnosti u naseljima, i dalje nedostaju validni dokazi o rudarstvu i topljenju rude, kao i njenoj obradi.

Ukopi

Za razliku od do sada otkrivenih i istraženih naselja na prostoru centralne Bosne, a koja pripadaju periodu ranog željeznog doba, ukopi su relativno slabo zastupljeni, stoga pogrebna praksa stanovnika u periodu između 8. i 5. stoljeća pr. Kr. ostaje nepoznata. Grobni nalazi s lokaliteta Klaonica blizu Travnika i Nević Polja, Gračanice, Semizovca mogu se datirati u početnu fazu ranog željeznog doba (8. stoljeće pr. Kr.). Nakit preovladava među nalazima, dok se oružje pojavljuje u Koščanima i Semizovcu. Repertoar nakita karakterističan je za širu regiju: dvopetljaste fibule s triangularnom nogom (Semizovac i Gračanica), narukvice s preklopljenim krajevima (Gračanica, Nević Polje i Klaonica) i konične ukrašene pojasne kopče (Gračanica i Klaonica). Igle s malom glavom i uvrnutim vratom javljaju se u grobovima iz Gračanice i Nević Polja, kao i u naselju Pod C. Za sljedeći period ranog željeznog doba (kasno 7. i rano 6. stoljeće pr. Kr.) veže se grob iz Nević Polja u kojem je pronađena dvopetljasta fibula sa završetkom u obliku beotskog štita koja je karakteristična za ovaj period. Isti tip fibule pronađen je i na nedalekom lokalitetu Grbavica kod Viteza. Oba ukopa mogu se povezati s fazom Pod D1. Nalazi unutar grobova u Gračanici jedini odgovaraju fazi Pod D2–D3. Pet fibula tipa Arareva Gomila ukazuju na postojanje ukopa u Gračanici s obzirom na to da je ovaj tip fibula važan kronološki marker 6. stoljeća na prostoru centralnog i zapadnog Balkana. U konačnici, do sada otkriveni grobovi mogu se povezati s 10 do 15 individua koje su ukopane u periodu od preko 300 godina. Ovaj broj otkrivenih grobova nije dovoljan za donošenje nekih zaključaka o pogrebnim praksama ranog željeznog doba centralne Bosne.

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Visualizing Cultural Diversity The typology of one-looped bow fibulae with asymmetrical and rectangular plates

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Abstract: The category of one-looped fibula type with asymmetrical plate has been discussed since the late 1980s, especially with regard to their connection with Greek “geometric” models. The aim of the paper is first to supplement the previous studies about the fibula type by re-examining the typological details and to propose several variants. The integration of one-looped bow fibulae with square/rectangular plate into the discussion as well as the spatial distribution of the proposed variants shall complete the study. The heterogeneity of the type and even the variants lead to chronological problems regarding the exact dating within the first horizon of the Early Iron Age (8th/7th century BCE). Therefore, the chronological position of the fibulae variants is discussed based on existing relative chronological systems taking into account the local contexts in which the fibulae in question occur.

Key words: Iron Age, fibulae, female attire, central balkan chronology, contacts

Research History – Between South and East

In 1987 D. Mitrevski² and R. Vasić³ distinguished independently of each other a group of fibulae from the spectrum of Balkan one-looped bow fibulae with an asymmetrical plate due to their shape and time of origin. Since 1999 these are classified as fibula type “Radanje”, mainly distributed in the region of Valandovo/Gevgelija as well as the Bregalnica Valley.⁴ In general, the constructions of the fibulae are comparable, but at the same time, they differ from each other in the form of the plates, bows and decoration. The examples of the type show a great heterogeneity when compared to each other, which can be regarded as an expression of chronological depth.

Therefore, fibulae of the type “Radanje” are in general dated to an early phase of the Iron Age, between the 8th and 6th centuries BCE. Examples showing typological characteristics which are directly comparable to examples known from Central Greece have been generally dated earlier as later, local developments.⁵ Most of the examples are considered as products of local workshops situated in the Vardar and Bregalnica Valleys, where they occur in graves as part of the attire. However, the impulse for the design and style of the fibulae derives from Greek-geometric models known from Central Greece⁶, whereby attention has already been drawn to the chronological hiatus between the appearance in Greece and the Balkans.⁷ In their studies of this particular fibula

¹ Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie und Provinzialrömische Archäologie, PhD candidate.

² Mitrevski 1987.

³ Vasić 1987a.

⁴ Vasić 1999, 72–74; 1987a; R. Vasić nevertheless distinguished single examples and points to chronological differences within the fibula type.

⁵ Ibid. 73; Mitrevski 1987, 38; D. Mitrevski regards the early representatives as Greek imports and as evidence for the opening of the north to the south.

⁶ Vasić 1987a; Mitrevski 1987; in general fibulae known from Thessaly and Western Chalkidike are used as points of comparison, as are finds from Attic graves from the 9th century BCE.

⁷ Vasić 1987a, 41; see Pabst 2008 for the dating of especially the fibulae from Milci grave 31/35 to the 9th/8th century BCE and the implications for Balkan chronology.

type, R. Vasić and D. Mitrevski focused both on the Central Balkan Region and the Vardar Valley. As a result, the focus of the discussion was on fibulae distributed within this area. However, this fibula type is distributed also in the Rhodope Mountains, which led K. Kilian to discuss it in the context of his “Thracian fibulae”.⁸ When dealing with fibulae from Bulgaria, D. Gergova classified the fibulae with asymmetric plate into her types A II 1 and 2. Due to their formal characteristics, she associates them with fibulae known from the Greek islands (“Inseltypen”). However, due to the design of the plates she assumes a local development and compares them with examples from the Bregalnica Valley.⁹ While the distribution of the type “Radanje” within the region of the Rhodope Mountains was noted also by D. Mitrevski and R. Vasić,¹⁰ a further discussion about the mutual connection of these two regions was not initiated but rather marginalized in order to emphasize the relations with the South. It is certainly true that the fibula type “Radanje” is not comprehensible without Greek models. However, this fact should not lead one to disregard stylistic influences from the Rhodope Mountains. As such, the following discussion of typological details, the variants proposed and their spatial distribution aims to supplement the earlier studies in this account.

Detailed typology

It has already been stated that the fibulae grouped under the type “Radanje” are less homogenous and it is possible to further subdivide them based on some details. For an analysis, 31 published objects are available, distributed in two different regions. On the one hand, they can be found in Macedonia along the Vardar and the Bregalnica (20 pieces), on the other hand, they have been registered in the mountainous landscape of the Rhodopes (11 pieces). In general, the fibulae can be subdivided into several variants based on the shape and design of the plate, their measurements and the design of the bow. Variant 1 comprises fibulae corresponding most closely to type “Radanje” and D. Gergova's type A II 1, whereas

variant 2 corresponds to type A II 2. In addition, a third variant shall be introduced that encompasses all one-looped fibulae with a square/rectangular footplate, which are locally produced but show typological connections to Attic-Boeotian fibulae. (Figure 1)

Variant 1 / “Type Radanje”

Variant 1 incorporates examples which are characterized by a sloping, knee-shaped plate, which can be either slightly concave or straight on one side of the plate. Based on the length of the fibulae as well as the design of the bow, two sub-variants can be described.

Representatives of variant 1a have dimensions between 8.5 and 14.7 cm (median 10.5 cm). The bow is generally round-shaped in section, only the fibulae known from the eponymous location of Radanje are rhombus-shaped in section.¹¹ Occasionally, the bow is decorated with grooved lines.¹² The stem is rhombus-shaped in section, which is characteristic for finds known from the Bregalnica and Vardar Valleys. A further local characteristic is the decoration in *Tremolierstich*, which occurs exclusively in the region of the Bregalnica and Vardar Valleys.¹³

According to the observations of D. Gergova, these fibulae are generally comparable to Greek fibulae of the so-called “island types”. However, the characteristic feature of the sloping, knee-shaped plate is not found on the Greek fibulae, which led D. Gergova to consider this as a characteristic of “Thracian” fibulae.¹⁴ The fibula known from the burial mound of Čepelare could be classified as a relatively early representative of a fibula with sloping plate, which is associated with an iron bow fibula type B I 1 (Gergova) and seems to date the find to the Early Iron Age.¹⁵ The feature of the sloping plate that appears on fibulae found in the Bregalnica and Vardar Valley can therefore possibly be associated with Rhodian examples. In contrast, fibulae of this variant found at locations in the Rhodope Mountains rarely show a rhombus-shaped stem which is more typical for “geometric” fibulae known from

⁸ Kilian 1975, Tab. 81. 108.

⁹ Gergova 1987, 27.

¹⁰ Mitrevski 1987, 31, Fig. 2; Vasić 1987a, 42.

¹¹ Vasić 1999, nr. 544.

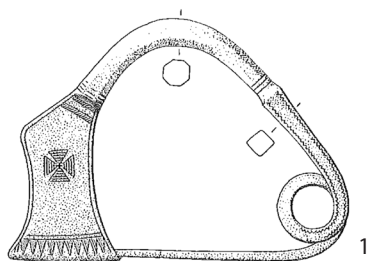
¹² Ibid. nr. 544. 545; Damyanov 2005, Fig. 4.

¹³ Vasić 1999, nr. 544. 545. 546. 562.

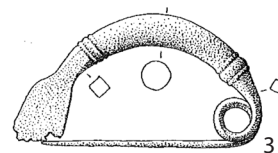
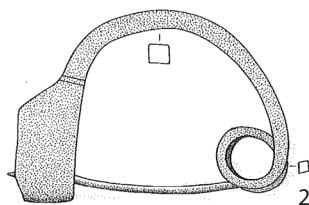
¹⁴ Gergova 1987, 27.

¹⁵ Ibid. 38.

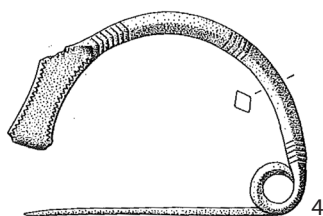
Variant 1a



Variant 1b



Variant 2



Variant 3

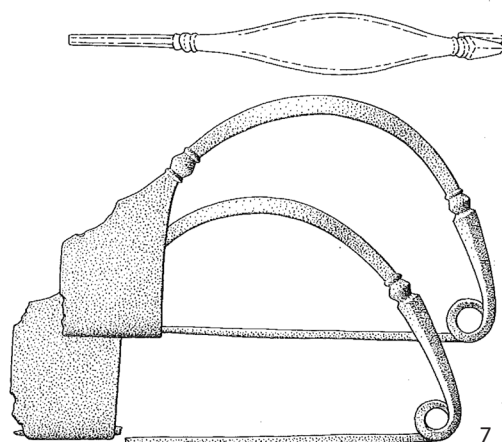
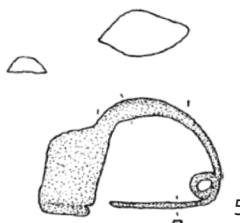


Figure 1: Variants of one-looped bow fibulae with asymmetrical plate

1. Radanje (Kilian 1975, pl. 46,5), 2. Progled (Gergova 1987, nr. 38), 3. Gevgelija (Vasić 1999, nr. 536), 4. Suva Reka, Gevgelija (Vasić 1999, nr. 550), 5. Agrosykie, Giannitsa (Chrysostomou 2007, pl. III.B.1), 6. Almopia (Chrysostomou 1995, fig. 4), 7. Milci 31/35 (Vasić 1999, nr. 539–540), 8. Early fibula type of Attic-Boeotian fibulae (DeVries 1972, Fig. 1)

the Central Greece.¹⁶ The different characteristics refer to the hybrid character of representatives assigned to variant 1a.

Fibulae designated as variant 1b show a smaller format in general with measurements between 3–13 cm (median: 7.9 cm). Because of the sloping, knee-shaped plate of the small-for-

mat fibulae they are considered close to variant 1a. Due to the smaller format of the fibulae, the sloping edge of the plate is only weakly defined. The height of the footplate encompasses about half of the total fibula height.

Only three representatives can be assigned to this variant. Those fibulae known from Geveglia show single bead mouldings on the bow, which

¹⁶ DeVries 1972.

distinguish the bow from the plate as well as the bow from the stem. The fibula from Bukri (Fig. 2, nr. 10) is decorated with grooved lines on the bow. All fibulae are round-shaped in section while the stem is rhombic in section.

Due to the design of the plate, which can be described as sloping and knee-shaped, the variant is ascribed to type “Radanje” in general, but with significant regional specifications.

Variant 2 / Type A II 2

Representatives of variant 2 show long, narrow plates with no or hardly any slope. The bows are round-shaped in section und not decorated.¹⁷ Because of the distribution within the Rhodope Mountains this could be interpreted as a regional type.

According to D. Gergova, this variant corresponds to the variant A II 2,¹⁸ which is directly compared to bow fibulae known from the Greek islands. Based on the design of the plate as well as the undecorated bow, which is round-shaped in section, this variant can also be compared to type II b (Sapouna-Sakellaris), distributed on Chios, Crete, Rhodes, Thera and Samos. There, these fibulae occur within Late Geometric/Archaic contexts.¹⁹

Variant 3 / “Attic-Boeotian variant”

Clearly distinguishable is variant 3 with its nearly square plate, which is not sloping, but straight. Variants characterized by larger measurements known from Suva Reka, Vinica and Agrosykia show bows which are round-shaped in section. The stem is mainly rhombic in section. The fibula of the smaller variants known from the cemeteries of Agrosykia and Almopia have a spread bow which seems to be thin and hollowed. The section of the stem is round-shaped.

In contrast to the narrow, long-rectangular plates of the “island types”,²⁰ (nearly) square plates tend to be more typical for the Greek mainland.²¹ The spread bow is also found in connection with Attic-Boeotian types of fibula (see below).

Besides the fibulae known from the cemetery of Radanje, the fibulae from the grave Milci 31/35 are to some extent regarded as the “prototype” of the type “Radanje”. However, it is hardly possible to clearly link it to any of the proposed variants. The size and design of plate brings them close to the variants 1. However, the plate is strictly speaking not sloping but arched, and the spring is relatively small by comparison with the representatives from variant 1. Also the bead mouldings with fillet above as well as below, as well as the widely spread bow are not characteristic for variant(s) 1 or type “Radanje”, but correspond to representatives of variants 3. In contrast, the fibulae known from Milci 31/35 are typologically close to fibulae from Central Greece.²² Even if models from Thessaly are consulted, the comparison with Attic-Boeotian types is most likely possible.²³ Decisive reasons are especially the wide spread of the bow, the bead mouldings as well as the rhombic-shaped stem. The rather rectangular plate might indicate a direct import²⁴ but a local imitation seems more likely. Therefore, these fibulae shall be assigned to variant 3.

Distribution of the variants

Variant 1a seems to connect the regions along the Vardar and the Bregalnica Valleys and the Rhodope Mountains as represented in both regions. (Figure 2)

The small-scale variant 1b can be regarded as a local derivate of the larger variant 1a. Due to the quantitative focus within the Rhodope Mountains variant 2 appears to be specific for this region. A genetic connection to variant 1 is not sufficiently clear. Variant 3 is also region-specific and restricted to the area west of the Vardar. (Figure 3)

¹⁷ Exceptions are Vasić 1999, nr. 550 (Suva Reka) as well as Damyanov 2005, Fig. 6 (Gela).

¹⁸ Gergova 1987, 27.

¹⁹ Sapouna-Sakellaris 1978, 45–47.

²⁰ DeVries 1972, 112.

²¹ Sapouna-Sakellaris 1978, 73.

²² Pabst 2008, 618–620; Mitrevski 1987, 30; Vasić 1999, 73.

²³ Blinkenberg 1926, 147–185.

²⁴ Gavranović 2016, 126, Fig. 2; with the exception of the fibula known from Rakitno (Ljubuški) direct imports of one-looped fibulae with asymmetrical or rectangular plate are hardly to locate within the Southern Balkan region.

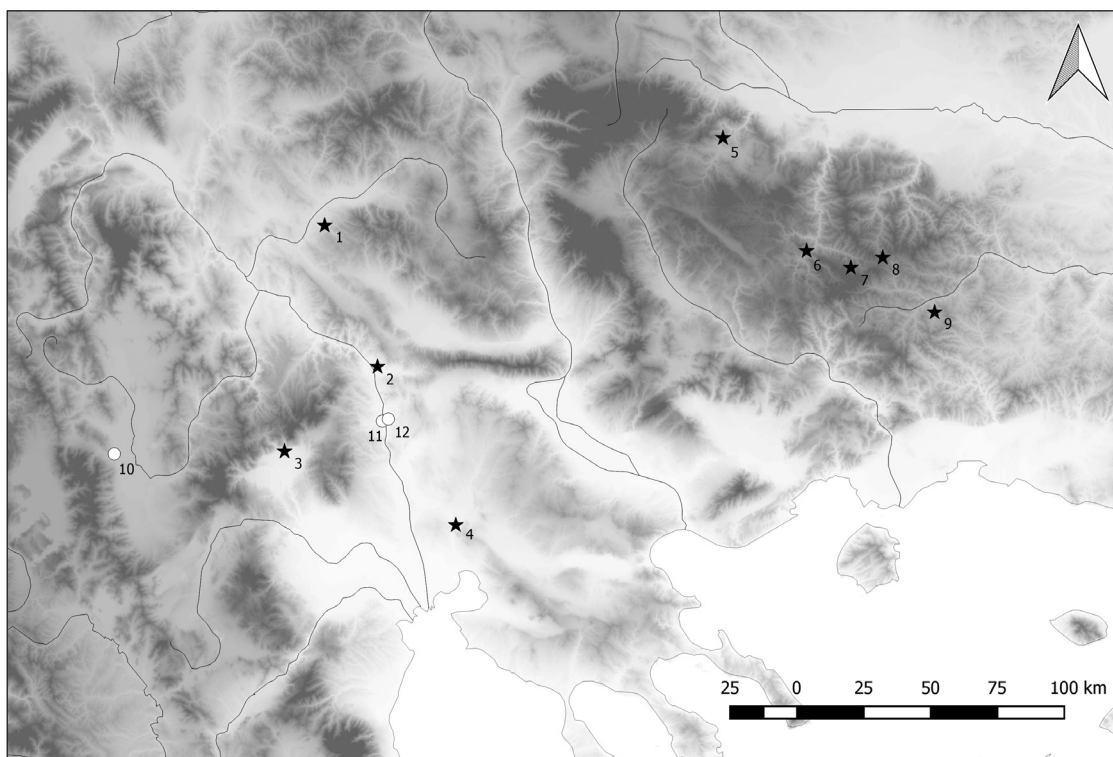


Figure 2: Variant 1 / “Type Radanje”

Star: 1. Radanje (Kilian 1975, pl. 46,5; Vasić 1999, nr. 544–547), 2. Valandovo (Vasić 1999, nr. 552), 3. Almopia (Chrysostomou 1998, Fig. 4), 4. Nea Philadelphia (Misailidou-Despotidou 1998, pl. 224.a), 5. Draginovo (Katincharova 2002, Fig. 1.2), 6. Grohotno, Devin (Damyanov 2005, Fig. 1), 7. Gela, Smoljan (Damyanov 2005, Fig. 4), 8. Prohled (Gergova 1987, nr. 38), 9. Madan (Damyanov 2005, Fig. 3)

Circle: 10. Bukri (Popov 1918, Fig. 4), 11. Milci (Vasić 1999, nr. 537), 12. Gevgelija (Vasić 1999, nr. 536)

The context of the fibula variants and their chronological position

Variants 1 / “Type Radanje”

Due to at least four examples of bow fibulae with asymmetrical footplate from the cemetery of Kunovo Čuki – Radanje, R. Vasić denominated them as type “Radanje”.²⁵ The entire cemetery is located near a small river in a plain setting. The original structure of the necropolis is difficult to reconstruct due to agricultural use of the area. The site itself was discovered by chance and no structures were visible on the surface.²⁶ However, due to several sections the stratigraphy of the location, grave constructions as well as burial

rites are comprehensible. Altogether, D. and M. Garašanin described five grave constructions / low tumuli, which have been paved with stone slabs.²⁷ Stone material of different sizes as well as stone slabs in the cultural layer suggests that the constructions were once covered with them. The remains from grave 1, 2 and 4 indicate single inhumations. A total of four individuals have been registered in grave construction 5. Individuals 1, 3, and 4 are oriented north-west while individual 2 was laid out in the opposite direction.²⁸ One of the fibulae was found in grave number 4 beneath the left shoulder of the deceased individual.²⁹ According to the interpretation of the excavation

²⁵ Ibid. 15.

²⁶ Ibid. 19–23.

²⁷ Ibid. 19–23; Kilian 1975, Tab. 46; Vasić 1999, 73 mentioned three more fibulae of this type from the necropolis Kunovo Čuki – Radanje, which are not included in the report of Venedikov. Venedikov also mentioned a grave containing several identical fibulae made of bronze (Venedikov 1948b, 91).

²⁵ Vasić 1999, 72–74.

²⁶ Venedikov 1948a, 90–91; Garašanin / Garašanin 1959, 10–12; D. and M. Garašanin assumed low, irregular mounds, but could not rule out the possibility that the mounds may have been higher and broader originally.

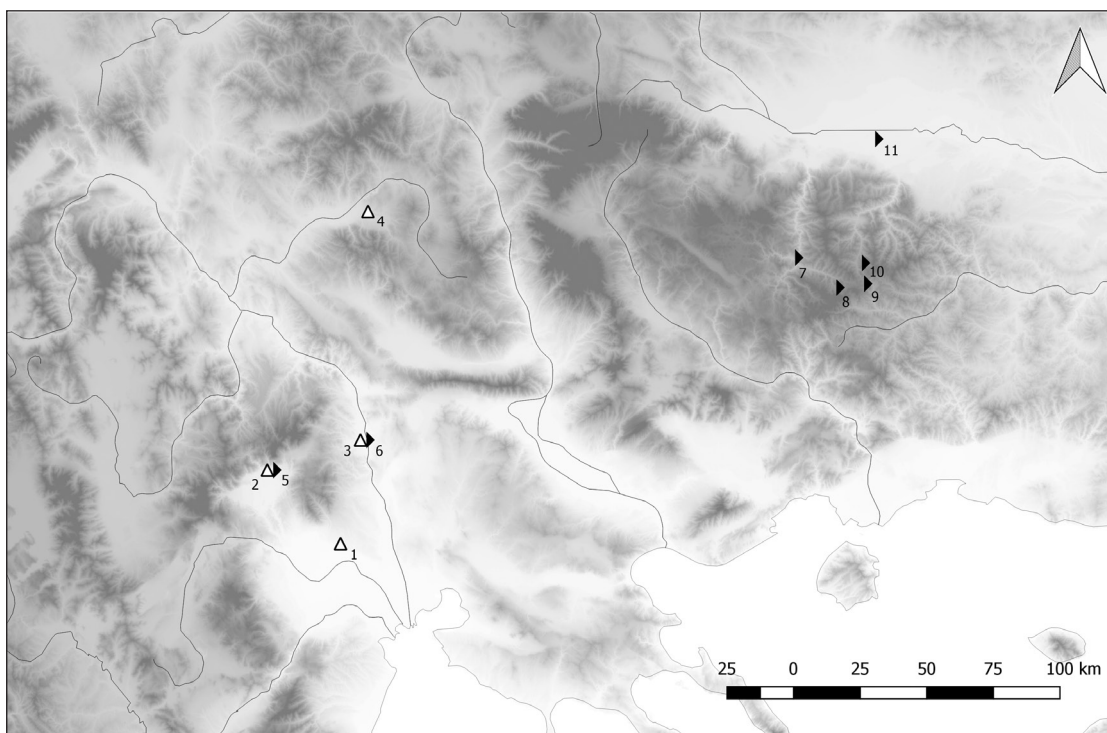


Figure 3: Variants 2 / 3

Triangle white: 1. Agrosykia, Giannitsa (Chrysostomou 2007, pl. III.B.1; III.Γ.4–5), 2. Almopia (Chrysostomou 1995, Fig. 4), 3. Suva Reka, Gevgelija (Vasić 1999, nr. 551), 4. Vinica (Museum Vinica, unpublished)
Triangle black: 5. Almopia (Chrysostomou 2000, Fig. 9), 6. Suva Reka, Gevgelija (Vasić 1999, nr. 550), 7. Devin (Damyanov 2005, Fig. 5), 8. Gela, Smoljan (Damyanov 2005, Fig. 6), 9. Pamporovo (Damyanov 2005, Fig. 7), 10. Čepelare (Damyanov 2005, Fig. 2)

report, grave 2 is stratigraphically above grave 4, which contained the fibulae type “Radanje” as well as a vessel decorated with D-shaped impressions (*Nagelzier*).³⁰ It is further worth noting that grave number 2, the later one, contains a pyxis pendant, whereas the fibula type “Radanje” is not combined with certain characteristic types of Macedonian bronzes, which are otherwise abundant at the site.³¹

During recent excavations of the tumulus necropolis “Kokolov Rid” near the modern town of Vinica, several graves from the Iron Age were discovered.³² In the southern part of tumulus 1, which is encircled by a stone ring (diam. 8 m),

three identically constructed graves occurred: An inhumation in supine and outstretched position was bedded in a burial pit, surrounded by amorphous stones and covered with stone slabs.³³ Besides bi-conical pendants and an armlet, grave 3 contained two fibulae type “Radanje”, found together as a pair under the left shoulder of the individual. The grave further contained a jug with D-shaped impressions around the neck.³⁴

Another fibula which can be ascribed to variant 1a due to its sloping plate has been recognized within the cemetery of Nea Philadelphia. Nea Philadelphia is known for its settlements dating to the Bronze and Iron Age as well as for its extended flat cemeteries dating to the 9th–7th century as well as to the 6th–3rd century BCE.³⁵ The cemetery with the earlier graves is dated to the “Iron Age” and differs from the “archa-

³⁰ Kilian 1975, 91.

³¹ Unfortunately, in almost all cases the context of the Macedonian Bronzes from Radanje is unclear. Only grave 2, which is overlapping grave 4, is recorded with a pyxis pendant (Kilian 1975, 91, Tab. 46–51).

³² I would like to thank Blagica Stojanova and Julijana Ivanova (Muzej “Terakota” Vinica) for their hospitality and for presenting the site as well as the objects displayed in the museum with such gusto and patience.

³³ Stojanovska / Ivanova 2015, 135.

³⁴ Displayed at the museum Vinica; Stojanovska / Ivanova 2015, Abb. 8,4.

³⁵ Misailidou-Despotidou 2008.

		Vasić 1977	Kilian/Bräunig 2013	Kilian 1975	Mitrevski 1991
Ha C1	750-700	Horizon 1	Vergina IIIC late	Macedonian Iron Age I B3	Phase I
	700-650		Early Archaic Vergina IVA	Macedonian Iron Age II A	Phase II
Ha C2/D1	650-600	Horizon 2	Late Archaic Vergina IVB		
	600-550			Macedonian Iron Age II B	Phase III
	550-500	Horizon 3		Macedonian Iron Age II C	Phase IV
Ha D2/3	500-450				

Figure 4: Chronological systems regarding the Macedonian Iron Age

ic” cemetery less by grave construction or burial rite³⁶ but rather by the material culture. The bow fibula was found in the “Iron Age” cemetery, which is mainly characterized by inhumations in pit-graves or stone cists as well as local types of pottery and attire. The context of the fibula is not published.

Also the example from Suva Reka (Gevgelija) comes from the context of a flat cemetery, mainly with stone cist graves. Together with handmade pottery it was found beneath grave 41.³⁷ In general within the cemeteries in the Gevgelija/Valandovo regions, ritual grave openings are well documented as well as the deposition of bones and furnishing of primary burials outside the graves.³⁸ The group of objects near grave 41 is to interpret also in this context. In contrast, D. Mitrevski argues for a destroyed grave, suggesting a

preceding horizon with tumuli.³⁹ However, within the area of the flat cemetery no traces of a tumulus have been recorded. Even if grave disturbances are usually documented, destructions of graves within the Iron Age are not typical for the burial communities of the Lower Vardar Valley. Therefore it is most likely that one-looped bow fibulae of this type occurred in the context of flat cemeteries, as they did at Nea Philadelphia.

The chronological position of the graves of Radanje is not sufficiently clear. The material from the cemetery of Radanje was initially assigned to the “Kumanovo phase”, which represents the first phase of M. Garašanin’s “Macedonian Hallstatt Period” and which was at that time parallelized with Reinecke’s phase Ha C.⁴⁰ Towards the end of the 1950s, M. and D. Garašanin conducted further excavations within the necropolis of Radanje. In discussing the chronological classification, they once more insisted upon the proposal to separate an earlier Hallstatt phase

³⁶ In both of the cemeteries inhumations in an outstretched position in pit-graves or stone cists prevail. Cremations in urns are indeed registered within the “Iron Age” cemetery, but to a much lesser extent (see Misailidou-Despotidou 2008).

³⁷ Pašić 1978, 26, Fig. 13.

³⁸ Georgiev 1980.

³⁹ Mitrevski 1987, 31.

⁴⁰ Garašanin 1956, 40.

from a younger one⁴¹ in Macedonia, analogous to the situation in Central Europe. By comparing mainly Macedonian Bronzes with examples from the Mediterranean, they confirmed the dating in the Ha C period.⁴² In the meantime several tumuli from the necropolis of Orlova Čuka have been investigated, which were also assigned to Garašanin's (Macedonian) Iron Age II.⁴³ On the one hand, a chronological differentiation of the graves from Radanje and Orlova Čuka is assumed, because typical Macedonian Bronzes are completely absent from the monumental tumuli of Orlova Čuka. On the other hand, it was not possible to argue for a further subdivision of the Iron Age II in the Bregalnica Valley because of the comparable pottery style known from both sites.⁴⁴ However, in the course of describing central and eastern Macedonia within the fifth volume of the "Prehistory of Yugoslav lands", R. Vasić undertook the chronological classification of the finds made until 1987. He mainly used the system established by M. Garašanin but he also observed some differences in the ornamentation of the pottery. Vessels from Orlova Čuka were mainly decorated with grooved lines and oval pricks, whereas vessels from Radanje are additionally characterized by rectangular impressions. He also pointed to an earlier beginning of the Orlova Čuka necropolis in comparison to the graves of Radanje. In his view, the first burials in Orlova Čuka were made at the end of the 8th ct. BCE, while the graves known from Radanje had been laid out at the earliest from the 7th ct. BCE on.⁴⁵ Within the spectrum of the pottery of the mentioned cemeteries, K. Kilian distinguished two phases, separating jugs with sloping rim (ME II A) from channeled jugs with horizontal rims (ME II B). This is according to him supported by the stratigraphy of overlapping graves.⁴⁶ However, by comparing pottery and analyzing attire, he assigns graves from Orlova Čuka and Radanje to his ME II A as well as ME II B and does not

clearly separate the cemeteries chronologically.⁴⁷ As such, at this point it hardly seems possible to date the necropolis and the fibulae from Radanje exactly and confine them to a certain phase.

The tumuli known from Kokolov Rid near Vinica have been erected in the Early Bronze Age and re-used in the Iron Age. The grave with the fibulae is dated to the 8th/7th century,⁴⁸ which coincides with the general dating of the Iron Age cemetery of Nea Philadelphia.⁴⁹

"Attic-Boeotian" variants

Two pairs of fibulae with asymmetrical plate have been registered in grave 31/35 within the cemetery Milci-Gevgelija. Because of the tumular architecture, the grave has been identified as one of the earliest within the cemetery.⁵⁰ The small, oval mound of measures 2.50–2.80 m (diameter) and is filled up with river stones. In the western part of the low mound an inhumation in stretched position was registered.⁵¹ The attire is found in functional position, whereas the affiliation of the pottery to the buried individual remains unclear. As per the drawing of the grave, the large bow fibulae with asymmetrical plates were positioned below the right and left shoulder.⁵²

Fibulae of this type were also found in the region of Almopia, Northern Greece. At Xirika (Pella prefecture) a cemetery consisting of at least 40 tumuli, with diameters between 8–14 m, has been registered. Tumulus 5 contained a grave chamber with a dromos leading towards the grave. According to the position of the skeletons in chamber of tumulus 2 several individuals were probably successively buried inside. The bronze fibula with the large asymmetrical foot plate originates from mound 5, and was found outside the stone chamber between the stones forming the tumulus, and is dated to the 8th/7th century by A. Chrysostomou.⁵³

Several fibulae designated as variant 3 are known from Agrosyria. The cemetery has been largely destroyed by agricultural activities. In the years 1990/1 it was possible to document remains

⁴¹ Ibid.; Garašanin / Garašanin 1959, 59; the younger "Trebenište phase", parallelized with Ha D, differs in terms of numerous Greek imports from the phase before, which the authors argue shows a social and economic development within the Iron Age.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Garašanin 1975, 16–17.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 16.

⁴⁵ Vasić 1987b, 694.

⁴⁶ Kilian 1975, 57.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 91. 93.

⁴⁸ Stojanovska / Ivanova 2015, 135.

⁴⁹ Misailidou-Despotidou 2008.

⁵⁰ Husenovski 1999, 92; Mitrevski 1991.

⁵¹ Georgiev 1982, 66.

⁵² Ibid. pl. 1.

⁵³ Chrysostomou 1998, Fig. 4, 165.

of at least 10 graves. It is not sufficiently clear if a – today completely leveled – tumulus covered the graves – a hypothesis made plausible due to the orientation of the graves – or if these graves were part of a flat cemetery.⁵⁴ Although the bones are badly preserved, it is assumed that the graves contained inhumations in an outstretched position and were once covered by long-rectangular stone material. The furnishings reveal a differentiation by gender, with the fibulae appearing exclusively in graves of adult women. Well documented is grave Δ. Besides the bow fibula, the grave contained a golden hair ring, a torque, a pair of ear-rings, an amber bead as well as jug and kantharos.⁵⁵ As for the date of the context, A. Chrysostomou followed the proposal of R. Vasić and D. Mitrevski, dating the grave in the 8th/7th century.⁵⁶

The dating of the fibula variants depends mainly on the fibulae known from the grave Milci 31/35, published initially by Z. Georgiev at the beginning of the 1980s. He dated the context to the 1st half of the 7th century due to the comparison of the metal finds with those from the tumular necropolis of Orlova Čuka as well as Chauchitsa.⁵⁷ However, the dating of the grave continues to be controversial.

Although R. Vasić 1987 referred to the proposed chronological dating, he noticed that it cannot be verified with absolute precision⁵⁸ due to the fact that the further attire within the grave is characteristic for the whole 7th century.⁵⁹

S. Pabst also noted the divergence of the fibulae from grave 31/35 from the other representatives of the type and compares them with Attic and Euboean examples.⁶⁰ By identifying certain typological characteristics that corresponds to fibulae dating to the middle of the 9th century, S. Pabst proposed the dating of the fibulae from Milci within the 9th century. This would solve the problem of the already earlier observed chronological hiatus between the Greek and Macedonian fibulae. It is possible, however, to minimize the chronological differences with the help of a

study of the Attic-Boeotian fibulae. In fact, the fibulae from Milci 31/35 mainly correlate with the Attic variant dating to the 9th century.⁶¹ The traditional craftsmanship specific for this type is however still visible when it comes to the Boeotian variants, described as “Early Stage”, which can be recognized at least up to the middle of the 8th century.⁶²

D. Mitrevski dated this context to his Iron Age Phase I (750–700 BCE), which is interpreted as “tumulus horizon” preceding the horizons characterized by flat cemeteries with stone cist graves.⁶³ The main reason for differentiating phases I and II are the grave constructions themselves. As such, the tumulus-shaped grave of Milci 31/35 is pointed out as an example for this phase.

The following phase II (700–650 BCE) includes fibulae of the type “Radanje” with sloping plate which indicates that they are supposed to be younger. The same phase contains the classical canon of “Macedonian Bronzes”.⁶⁴

According to this, phase II in Milci can be connected with the Macedonian Iron Age IIA or Chauchitsa II (Kilian). Phase I can be synchronized with Macedonian Iron Age I B 3, which K. Kilian regarded as a Transitional Phase between the Early Iron Age and the developed Iron Age.⁶⁵ Following K. Kilian, D. Mitrevski further included a certain type of falera as indicative of his Phase I.⁶⁶ However, the published grave context of Marvinci 15 – better known as the “priestess grave” – shows the combination of this type of falera with a pyxis pendant, which is typical for ME IIA / Phase II.⁶⁷

For Phase I after Mitrevski also (iron) flange hilted swords are described as a diagnostic form. Within the region of Gevgelija/Valandovo two iron swords are known, both found in the cem-

⁵⁴ Chrysostomou 2007, 213.

⁵⁵ Ibid. 220–221.

⁵⁶ Chrysostomou 1998, 158–159.

⁵⁷ Georgiev 1982, 67.

⁵⁸ Vasić 1987a, 60.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 23.

⁶⁰ Pabst 2008, 617–619.

⁶¹ see DeVries 1972, 114, in contrast to fibulae of DeVries’ Boeotian groups, where bow and stem are clearly set apart from each other, the bow and stem of Attic fibulae form a continuous curve.

⁶² Ibid. 114–115.

⁶³ Mitrevski 1991, 153.

⁶⁴ Ibid. Tab. 1; Vasić 1999, 73, also Vasić implied a chronological priority of the fibulae from Milci 31/35 before those from Radanje.

⁶⁵ Kilian 1975, 82–83.

⁶⁶ Mitrevski 1991, Tab. 1; Kilian 1975, 75; Kilian assigned open-worked falera to Chauchitsa.

⁶⁷ Videski 1999.

etery of Milci. One example was discovered outside a stone cist, more specifically on the north-western edge of grave 7, together with a jug and a kantharos.⁶⁸ The second example originates from a single grave, covered with amorphous stone material. Besides the sword, the grave contained only a *Schälchenkopfnadel* (bowl-head needle), which is not typical for this region and therefore cannot be used as a marker for the local relative chronology.⁶⁹

At least one other iron flange hilted sword is known from the necropolis of Agrosykia (Ginannitsa). The cemetery is generally dated to the Early Iron Age.⁷⁰ The richly furnished female grave Θ, can be linked to local contexts. It contained among others an anchor-shaped attachment as well as protome-shaped attachments.

These types are known from Chauchitsa where they are combined with pyxis pendants.⁷¹ The early archaic grave LXV AA from Vergina also contained an anchor-shaped attachment.⁷² Consequently, the grave from Agrosykia can be dated to Kilian's phases Chauchitsa IIA / Vergina IV / ME II A.⁷³ In Agrosykia male graves typically contained spear heads as well as swords, though only the example from grave Γ can be identified as an iron flange hilted sword.⁷⁴ Given the differences in furnishing, a systematic chronological correlation of the female and male graves from Agrosykia is not possible. However, due to the spatial proximity of the graves as well as the comparable grave construction,⁷⁵ a certain chronological proximity of the graves is to be assumed. Therefore, it is probable that the iron swords from Agrosykia also date to ME II A. However, these contexts do not permit us to determine with certainty if iron flange hilted swords can be restricted to Phase I.

Nevertheless, the relative chronological position of Milci 31/35 and its contextualization within local environment are still difficult to determine. On the one hand, due to the limited

number of objects which can be exclusively assigned to Phase I, it is difficult to argue for a separate phase.⁷⁶ On the other hand, clearly established diagnostic forms are absent from the grave context of Milci 31/35, which prohibits us from clearly assigning the assemblage to ME IIA. In order to tackle this problem, further parts of the assemblage shall be discussed in the following.

The double-looped bow fibula with round plate is a diagnostic form of horizon 1 according to the chronological system of R. Vasić, but this fibula type is distributed mainly in Northern Macedonia / Kosovo.⁷⁷ In order to gain a better understanding of the relation between the grave assemblage and its local context, the bronze hair-ring as well as the threefold buckle ("proto-astragal") shall be discussed. The hair-ring consists of a spiral wire, with one end turned back to form eight-shaped loops.⁷⁸ Hair-rings of this type are known from Chauchitsa as well as Vergina. In Vergina, mound I, grave B, the hair-ring is found together with a skyphos, dated not before the middle of the 8th century.⁷⁹ In Chauchitsa grave 12 (1922) a hair-ring of this type is found together with a cup which is in grave 9 (1922) combined with a pyxis pendant and therefore dated to ME IIA.

Threefold buckles ("proto-astragal") are known particularly from graves assigned to Horizon 2 (Vasić)⁸⁰ or stone cists graves which are dated to the 7th/6th century in general.⁸¹ Only the grave Marvinci 15, with several buckles of this kind, can be ascribed to ME IIA.

As already stated, the grave context Milci 31/35 doesn't provide explicit diagnostic forms for a dating to ME IIA. However, several objects with direct local comparisons as well as typological details finally leave the option to connect

⁶⁸ Pašić et al. 1987, 78.

⁶⁹ Mitrevski 1991, pl. 1; the *Schälchenkopfnadel* from Milci is hardly comparable to Central European examples (see Vasić 2003, 94–95).

⁷⁰ Chrysostomou 1994.

⁷¹ Casson 1925, 9–11, grave 13; Kilian 1975, pl. 34, grave C

⁷² Bräuning / Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, Fig. 153.

⁷³ Kilian 1975, 75–76. 84.

⁷⁴ Chrysostomou et al. 2007, 218, pl. III A 2.

⁷⁵ Chrysostomou 1994, Fig. 1.

⁷⁶ Pare 1999, 336–339; in discussing the beginning of the Iron Age in Macedonia, Chr. Pare also noticed that both of Kilian's phases, I B3 and II A [which correspond to D. Mitrevskis Phases I and II], include material which is comparable to material representing his phase Glasinac I B. This makes it possible to suggest a combination of the two initially separated phases.

⁷⁷ Vasić 1999, 54–55

⁷⁸ Bräuning / Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013.

⁷⁹ Ibid. 64; however, the authors did not assign the grave to any of the Vergina phases.

⁸⁰ Filipović / Mladenović 2017, 155.

⁸¹ Dedeli Graves 1, 14, 25, 29; Marvinci Grave 13; Suva Reka (Gevgelija) Grave 33.

grave Milci 31/35 with contexts which can be dated to ME IIA. Therefore, at the current state of research, it seems plausible to integrate Phase I and II to one chronological horizon – though this may have to be revisited once further material is published.

Nevertheless, the unique character of the grave construction, the assemblage as well as the unique design of the fibula set has usually led to a differentiation regarding the chronological position of the context. However, until now it is not at issue if the social position of the individual – and not the chronological position – led to the unique character of the grave.

The furnishing of the individual with 2 pairs of armrings and in total six bow fibulae as well as a spectacle fibula is remarkable in a comparison with other graves within the region in this period. Indeed, given the smaller quantitative occurrence of fibulae in graves of the Gevgelija/Valandovo region they can be considered as an attire component which does not regularly occur in graves of adult individuals.⁸² Male individuals usually receive a single bow fibula. Graves denoted as women's graves are usually furnished with either a pair of spectacle fibulae or a set of bow fibulae, usually of the same type. By comparison with other compositions, the set of fibulae from grave Milci 31/35 is thus remarkably diverse and comprises various different types, making it standing out within the region.

Worth noting is also the furnishing with a single hair-ring. In the graves of the tumulus necropolis of Vergina, the golden hair-rings are part of female graves with opulent headdresses. An argument has been made for their representative character.⁸³ Golden hair-rings are also part of the richly furnished graves of Agrosykia (Gimnitsa). Even if the hair-ring known from the grave of Milci is not made of precious metal, a symbolic character of the object should not be excluded.

In considering the attire composition set of grave Milci 31/35, the diversity of types should be noted. The fibula set of type “Radanje” is clearly linked to Central Greece by its design. The local

forms however oscillate between northern and central Macedonia. Such diversity in the composition of assemblages has been recently used as an argument for the outstanding position of certain female individuals within the society.⁸⁴ The phenomenon of richly furnished women bearing a certain social role is in fact also discussed for the regions of the Vardar Valley. The main focus is however put on the so-called “priestess graves” – which are so far best illustrated by the well-known grave Marvinci 15. Of particular interest are in this case the “Macedonian Bronzes”, which are thought to have had a cultic function. Because of this and the exceptional attire set, this female individual is regarded to have had a religious/cultic function within the society. Due to the fact that the individual known from grave Milci 31/35 was not furnished with “Macedonian Bronzes” it is not regarded as “priestess” and therefore so far not included in the discussion of richly furnished women and their social position.

Summary

The survey of the single-looped bow fibulae with asymmetrical plate clearly reveals their heterogeneous character as well as the difficulties regarding their chronological position and cultural affiliation. So far, this type of fibula occurs mainly along the Vardar as well as in the Rhodope Mountains, though the regions of the Bregalnica and Vardar Valleys have been the main concern of this paper. It is hardly possible to date the fibulae exactly. For that reason they are only classified to the first horizon of the Early Iron Age, which can be described with the help of Horizon 1 (Vasić) as well as ME II A (Kilian). This first horizon of the Early Iron Age of the Vardar and Bregalnica Valleys has certain difficulties of both a chronological and a cultural nature, which impede a clear understanding of the cultural development of the region. The understanding of the region is mainly based on grave findings, with different kinds of tumuli architecture as well as flat graves showing a diverse picture of burial rituals and material culture. This diversity leaves us with a cultural picture which appears almost

⁸² On the basis of 136 graves known from the Valandovo / Gevgelija region, which can be denoted as graves of adult individuals, only 18% are furnished with one fibula or a set of fibulae.

⁸³ Bräuning / Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 54–55.

⁸⁴ Gavranović 2016, 131. 139–140.

fragmentary, making it difficult to understand the connections between the burial communities and to integrate them into a larger entity like an (archaeological) group. In contrast to younger phases of the Early Iron Age, where types of bow fibulae are distributed on a supra-regional level, the types of the first horizon of the Early Iron Age seem to be much more restricted to local surroundings, with local tastes dominating over supra-regional trends.

The discussion of the contexts of the fibulae indicates that single-looped bow fibulae with asymmetrical plate are linked to individuals archaeologically determined as women. Based on the small number of published grave contexts it is difficult to discover if those artifacts were reserved for women bearing a certain role within the communities. While this is indicated by grave Milci 31/35, only further systematic research can provide an answer to this question.

The author

Sažetak

Vizualiziranje kulturne razlike tipologija jednopetljastih lučnih fibula s asimetričnim i pravougaonim pločama

Istraživanje jednopetljastih lučnih fibula s asimetričnim pločama jasno pokazuje njihov heterogeni karakter, kao i poteškoće u pogledu njihove hronološke pozicije i kulturne afilijacije. Ovaj tip fibule se do sada pojavljivao većinom oko Vardara, kao i na Rodopima, iako su tematika ovog rada područja oko Bregalnice i Vardarske doline. Teško je sasvim precizno datirati fibule. Iz tog razloga klasificirane su u prvi horizont ranog željeznog doba, što se može odrediti pomoću Horizonta 1 (Vasić), kao i ME II A (Kilian). Prvi horizont ranog željeznog doba Vardara i doline Bregalnice ima nejasnoće i kod hronologije i kulture, što sprečava jasno razumijevanje razvitka kulture na ovom području. Razumijevanje kulture ove regije bazirano je na predmetima iz grobova s različitim tipovima tumulске arhitekture, kao i ravnim grobovima koji daju različitu sliku ukopnih rituala i materijalne kulture. Različitost nam daje kulturnu sliku koja se pojavljuje

većinom u fragmentima, otežavajući tako shvaćanje povezanosti između ukopa zajednica i njihovih integracija u veći entitet kao (arheološke) grupe. U kontrastu s mlađim fazama ranog željeznog doba, gdje se tipovi lučnih fibula distribuiraju na nadregionalnoj razini, tipovi prvog horizonta ranog željeznog doba su više ograničeni na lokalno okruženje, s lokalnim primjesama koje dominiraju nad nadregionalnim trendovima.

Rasprava oko konteksta fibula pokazuje da su jednopetljaste lučne fibule s asimetričnom pločom povezane s pojedincima, arheološki definirane kao žene. Na temelju malog broja publiciranih sadržaja grobova teško je otkriti da li su ti artefakti namijenjeni ženama koje su imale određenu ulogu u zajednicama. Iako na ovo ukazuje grob Milci 31/35, samo dalja sistematska istraživanja mogu dati odgovor na ovo pitanje.

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The importance of small archaeological finds from Glasinac

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Abstract: This paper presents unpublished finds from the Glasinac area, which became part of the museum's collections in the last couple of years. Most of them are chance finds of pottery and ornaments or finds from small-scale excavations undertaken recently. The large quantity of stratified pottery from the hillfort of Gradac in Sokolac provides a chronological frame for the activities at the site and exhibits a good correlation with the finds from the previously excavated nearby tumulus. Systematic research of the medieval site of Crkvina at Glasinac plain also revealed the existence of an older hillfort settlement dating to the Late Bronze Age. This recent discovery increases the number of the known hillforts in the Glasinac area from 54 to 55. In the vicinity of this site, we discovered a tumulus necropolis, probably connected to the Crkvina hillfort. One of these tumuli was excavated during 2014 campaign and is described in this contribution.

Key words: Glasinac, Late Bronze Age, Early Iron Age, hillforts, tumulus

Introduction

More than one century after the initial discovery, Glasinac is still one of the most important archaeological areas in the Balkans. In some ways, it became a paradigm of Bosnian prehistoric archaeology. Large quantity of material, mainly from burial mounds, challenged archaeological interpretations for many generations. The main focus of research was, and still is, the interpretation of already existing material that come from more than a thousand tumuli. In addition, the archaeological research has been unable to challenge many of the traditional approaches due to a lack of new research and new data.³ During the

1950s, A. Benac and B. Čović re-examined the Glasinac material from early excavations and created the basic chronological division of the archaeological material into five phases,⁴ Glasinac I–V, which, with some additional changes in certain types of objects,⁵ is still applied today. In the 1980s, B. Govedarica created a new approach to the study of the material culture of Glasinac with an emphasis placed on the research of the hillforts.⁶ With a new methodological approach and in collaboration with other disciplines,⁷ the results – at least those that have been published – were extraordinary.⁸ This promising research was interrupted with the outbreak of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the early 1990s. After that, research has never continued to the same degree. In spite of the wealth of studies con-

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³ Still, the material from old excavations gives an inexhaustible amount of data, which can be used in new studies of the material culture (e.g., Teržan 1995; Babić 2002, 79–80; Blečić Kavur 2012, 59–60; Blečić Kavur / Pravidur 2012; Jašarević 2015, 39–42; Heilmann 2016, 20–21).

⁴ Benac / Čović 1956, 25–38; 1957, 26–54.

⁵ Čović 1987b, 582.

⁶ Govedarica 1985, 15–24.

⁷ Говедарица / Бабић 1992, 56–62.

⁸ Kučan 1995; Greenfeld 2005.

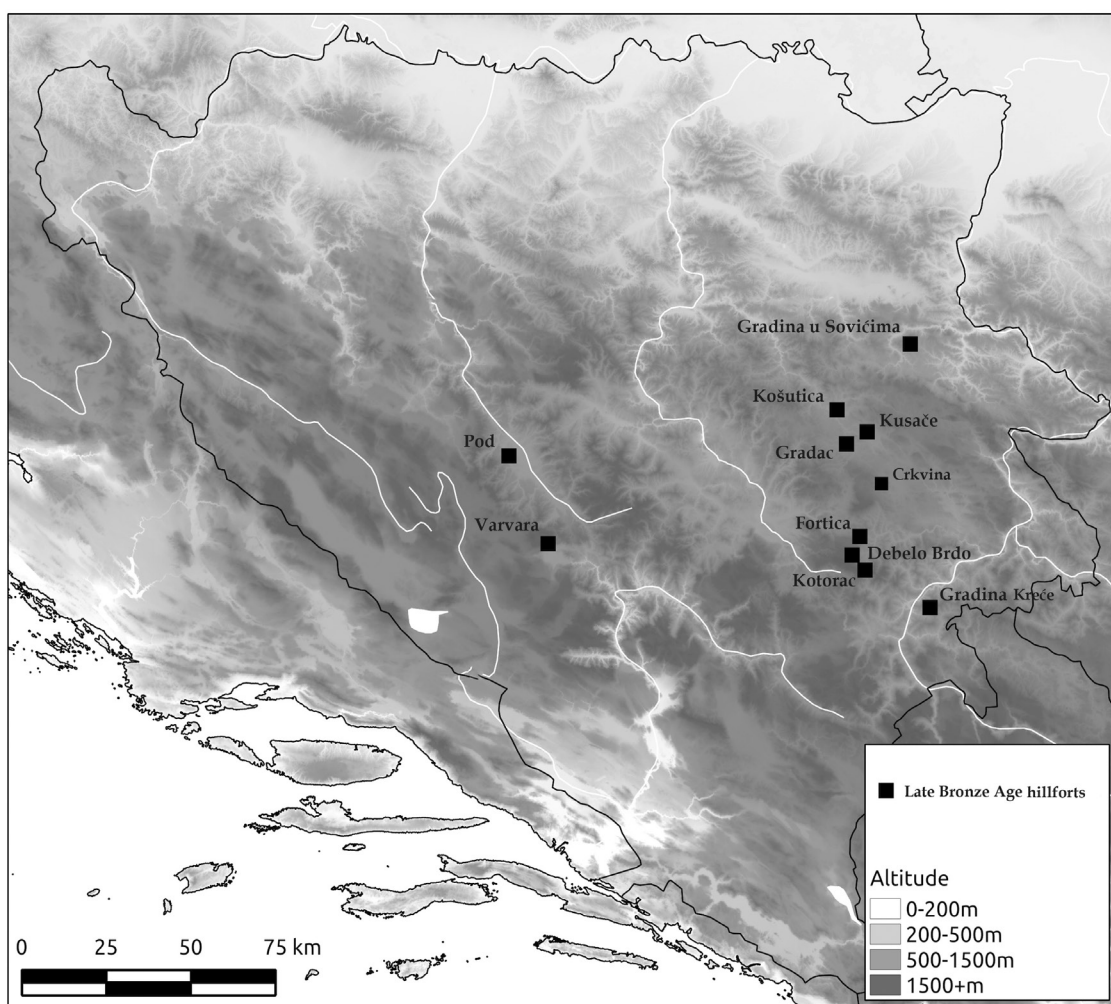


Figure 1: Map showing the Late Bronze Age hillforts mentioned in the text

cerned with the material culture from Glasinac, a great deal is still unknown. This applies in particular to the study of the archaeology of the living. Nevertheless, despite numerous gaps in the earlier research, we have a large database, which can help us with current interpretation.

Crkvina

During the rescue excavations of the medieval necropolis at the site of Crkvina on the Glasinac plateau in 2013–2014 we were able to detect the existence of older cultural layers dating to the Late Bronze Age (Br D – Ha B).⁹ In published reports, this site is known as a large medieval necropolis

with a possible church structure from the same period.¹⁰ The settlement was built on an elongated hilly plateau, loosely connected in its western part to the neighbouring mountain. The plateau is oriented east-west with a clear view of Glasinac plateau and other hillforts in its surroundings. The hillfort can be classified as a so-called lingulate hillfort, according to classification of B. Govedarica.¹¹ On the eastern and northern sides, there were no traces of fortifications due to the very steep terrain. The fortification wall is likely to have stood on the western and southern sides, where the approach was the easiest. During the Middle Ages, the whole plateau was used as a necropolis and churchyard. Therefore, any trac-

⁹ Jašarević / Antić 2017, 225.

¹⁰ Стратимировић 1891, 331–332.

¹¹ Govedarica 1985, 17.

es of the prehistoric architecture were destroyed. The layers with cultural materials are very thin and disrupted by very deep burial pits that were cut into the bedrock. The central part of the plateau was destroyed during the construction of the medieval church. Despite these unfavourable circumstances, we were able to collect some finds that helped to define the chronology of the site and its cultural stratigraphy. Most of the material comprised the remains of animal bones, mainly small mammals, sheeps and goats. Game was present in small numbers.¹²

Ceramic finds, which are rather fragmentary, are most important for constructing chronology and stratigraphy of the site. A group of diagnostic vessels with a single high round handle attest occupation of the site during the Bronze Age. A major problem that we encountered, however, was the absence of reliable absolute dates and a lack of stratigraphic context for pottery finds from Glasinac. The basic chronological framework for most prehistoric periods in different regions of Bosnia is in most cases based only on the development of pottery styles.¹³ Particularly in areas where metal finds are absent or where metals finds are not well preserved, the pottery, as the most common category of finds, serves as a primary source of information.¹⁴ All ceramic material from Glasinac and the surrounding area, however, comes primarily from early excavations without clear descriptions of the stratigraphic context and the relationships to the metal finds. B. Čović discussed this problem in his doctoral dissertation and suggested how to define diagnostic ceramic forms of certain periods.¹⁵ According to his chronology, vessels with a single high round handle (Fig. 2, 3) or a crest handle, sometimes with perforation, date to the Middle or Late Bronze Age.¹⁶ This is one of the common ceramic types at the Glasinac hillfort and at hillforts around the Glasinac area.¹⁷ The same pottery can be found at sites of Kusače,¹⁸

Debelo Brdo,¹⁹ Soukbunar,²⁰ and Fortica.²¹ According to the B. Čović's revised chronology, this type of pottery dates Phase Glasinac IIIa-b, although the shapes occurred throughout all phases of Late Bronze Age.²² In Gradina in Sovići this type of handles is typical for the second phase of this settlement,²³ which can be dated broadly from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age.²⁴ Pottery from Gradina in Kreće has been dated to the same period based on the comparison with the abovementioned sites.²⁵ More precise dating has been provided by M. Gavranović. According to him, the dating between the 14th and the 12th century BC (corresponding to the Debelo Brdo Phase B-C) can be proposed.²⁶ Same pottery type from sites like Prispu near Livno in Western Bosnia has also been dated to the end of the Middle Bronze Age and the Late Bronze Age.²⁷

One of the pottery shapes from Crkvina that were partially reconstructed are bowls with flat-cut wide rims. This type occurs over a wide territory and had a long tradition of use.²⁸ At Varvara, they were found associated with Phases B and C1,²⁹ while at Pod near Bugojno they were characteristic of Phase B and often had decorated rims.³⁰ Finds from Debelo Brdo have been dated to the same period.³¹ In the Glasinac area, bowls of this type belong to Phases Glasinac IIIa-b.³²

During fieldwork in 2014 we were able to locate a necropolis with tumuli in Crkvina, which is probably directly related to settlement on the plateau, located some 500 m to the east. About 10 tumuli of different diameter and height are located at the site. This broad meadow on a hill slope does not have a specific name and the site is usually called Brdo above Crkvina. Most of the tumuli are relatively small, around 5 m in diameter and around 1 m in height. The largest tumulus

¹² We wish to express our gratitude to dr. sc. Jelena Bula-tović from the Laboratory for Bioarchaeology at Belgrade University for conducting preliminary osteoarchaeological analysis.

¹³ Čović 1965b, 35–39; Gavranović 2011, 40–111.

¹⁴ Horejs 2010, 15.

¹⁵ Čović 1965b, 78–79.

¹⁶ Ibid. 79.

¹⁷ Ibid. 79; 1983c, 431.

¹⁸ Ibid., Tab. XXII, 2–4.

¹⁹ Fiala 1894, 109, Tab. I, 4. 6; Čović 1965, Tab XX, 4.

²⁰ Čović 1965, Tab. XX, 6.

²¹ Ibid., Tab. XIX, 6.

²² Čović 1983c, 422.

²³ Kosorić 1983, 78, Tab VII, 6.

²⁴ Ibid. 81.

²⁵ Косорић 1994, 11–12 Tab. II, 26. III, 34.

²⁶ Gavranović 2011, 27. Teil 2.

²⁷ Marijan 1995, 39. 42.

²⁸ Čović 1965b, 79.

²⁹ Ibid. 79; Gavranović 2011, 188, Teil 2.

³⁰ Čović 1965b, 79; Gavranović 2011, 99, Abb. 127, Teil 2.

³¹ Čović 1965b, 79, Tab. XX, 14–15.

³² Čović 1983c, 423.

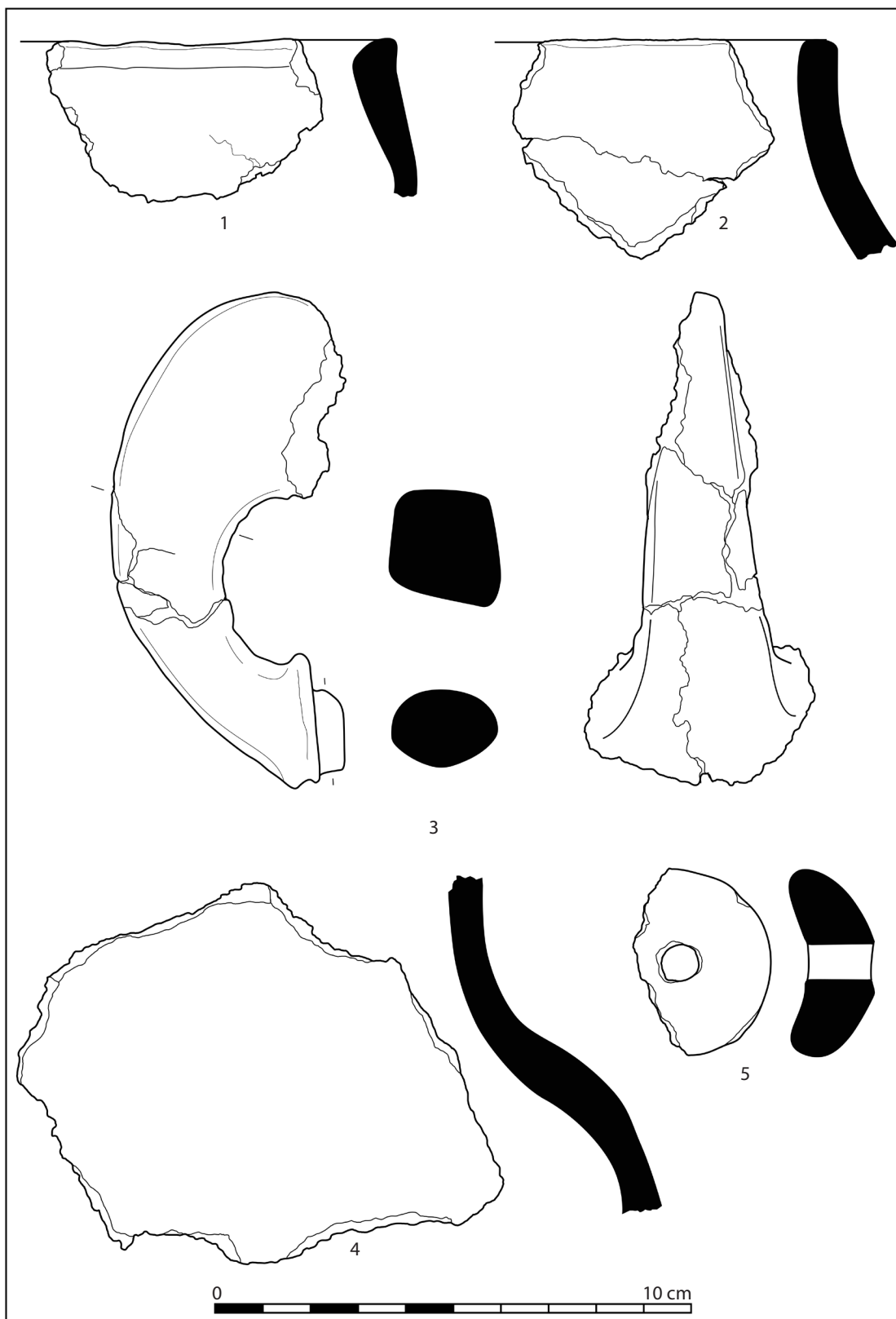


Figure 2: Pottery fragments from the Crkvina hillfort

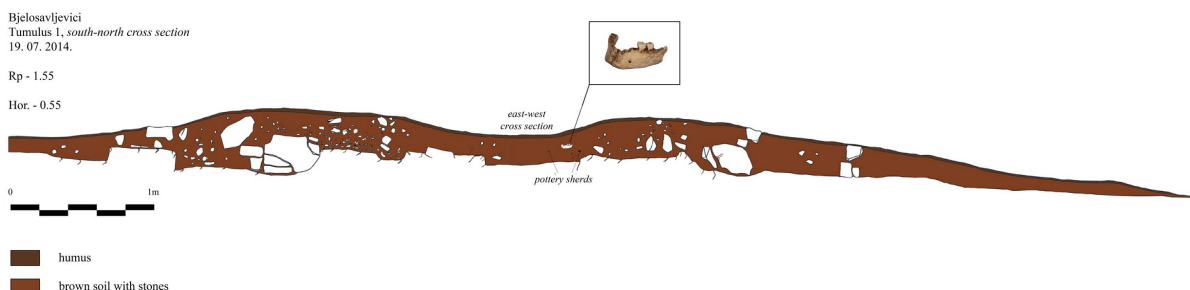


Figure 3: *Cross-section of Tumulus I, Crkvina*

was located on the west side of the necropolis. It had a diameter of 12–13 m and preserved height up to 1 m. This is the only tumulus at the necropolis that has been excavated during the 2014 campaign.

The tumulus was formed from earth and stone, with no traces of any funerary construction. It is interesting that the naturally elevated terrain was selected for the erection of the tumulus, as it added an appearance of a bigger and higher construction. Under the upper layer of the tumulus, almost at its centre, a part of a human mandible and small fragments of human bones were found (Figure 3). The remains were piled up together with fragments of pottery and animal bones. The concentration of the finds shows that it is not a regular, or normative, burial similar to that found in the other excavated tumuli in Glasinac.³³ There was no trace of cremation on the bones, but we cannot confirm an inhumation burial either, as the bones were not in an anatomical position. We further do not know whether the deceased was placed in some sort of a burial pit.

Fragments of pottery and animal bones were also found scattered in this central area. Because of fragmentation, it is impossible to reconstruct precisely the form of the vessels. Based on the composition and small details of design, we can confirm that they are prehistoric, most likely a beaker with two handles and several bowls with slightly cut rims (Figure 4), which we encountered also in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age phases at Glasinac.³⁴ Therefore, to sum up, the finds of dislocated human bones mixed with ceramics and animal bones suggest that it is a secondary burial, or perhaps the remnants of some kind of a ritual activity, which took place in the Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age. Alternatively,

the form of these remains may simply be due to a damage caused by looting of the tumuli in the ancient times.

The necropolis near Crkvina has been known since F. Fiala excavated four tumuli at this location in 1895.³⁵ Three excavated tumuli were empty, while the fourth, which was the largest, contained burnt bones and dislocated remains of the deceased. In this Tumulus IV, Fiala found fragments of iron knives, bronze tweezers, a fragment of probably some kind of boat-shaped fibula, an amber bead, and pottery sherds.³⁶ It is thus interesting that in both cases, the larger Crkvina tumuli yielded dislocated remains of the deceased.

Gradac, Sokolac

Over the last few years, the Museum in Doboj received a collection of pottery from the site of Gradac in Sokolac.³⁷ These finds are important not because of their quantity, but because of the variety of individual pottery shapes. Gradac has been known for a long time as the place where Ć. Truhelka began his archaeological excavations on the Glasinac plateau.³⁸ His interest focused on the excavation of tumuli around the hillfort of Gradac. Much of the central part of the prehistoric settlement had been destroyed by the construction of the Church of St. Elijah in the late 19th century and by the levelling of the surrounding terrain for outbuildings and an access road to the churchyard.³⁹ The site is located on a small

³⁵ Fiala 1895, 552–553.

³⁶ Ibid. 553.

³⁷ They were donated by a local priest, who had gathered them from the area of modern cemetery around the church in Sokolac.

³⁸ Truhelka 1889, 25–26.

³⁹ Truhelka 1891, 309; Čović 1965a, 57; Govedarica 1985, 18.

³³ Čović 1959, 78–79; Govedarica 1978, 28–30.

³⁴ Čović 1983c, 422–423; Čović 1987b, 590.

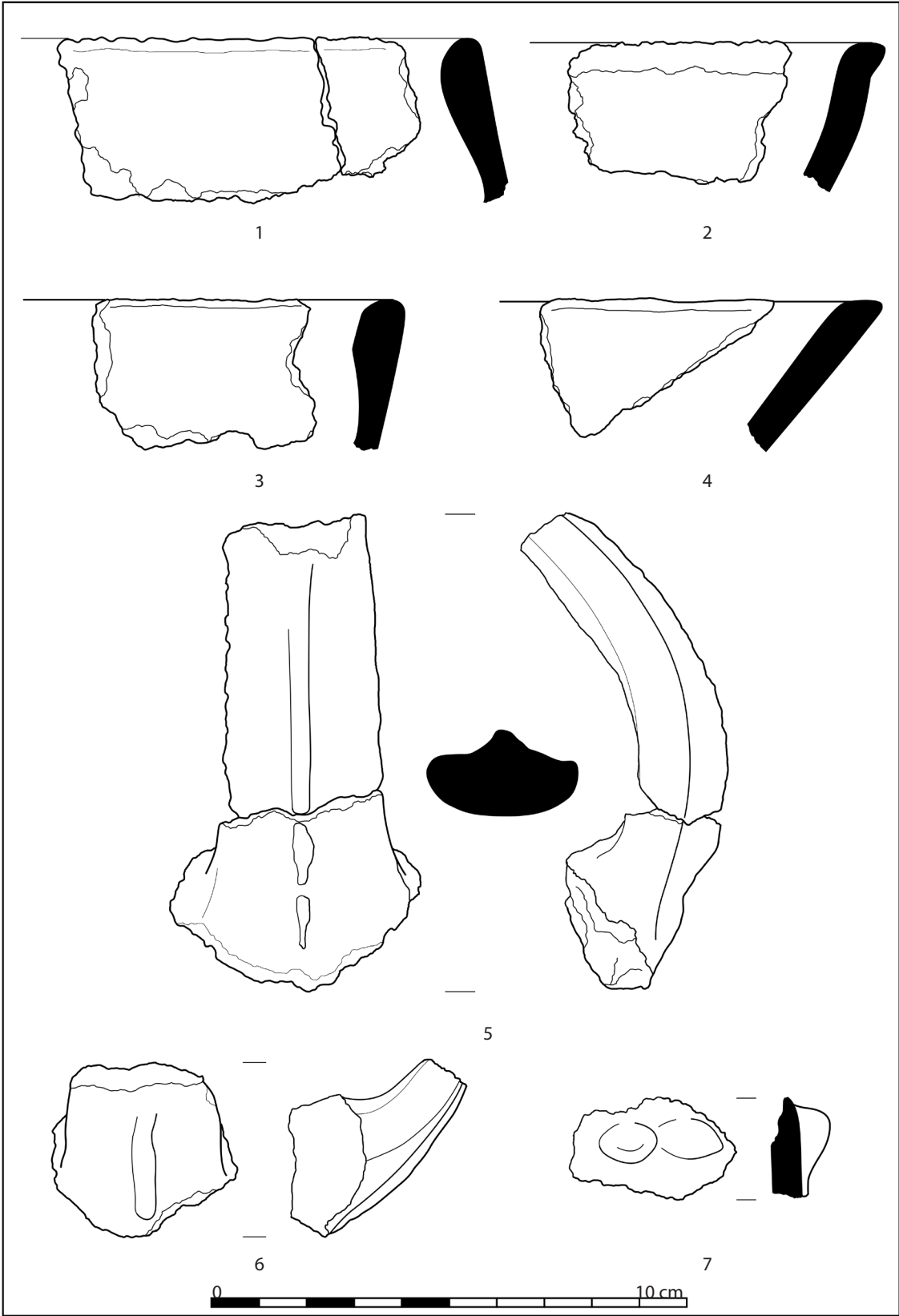


Figure 4: Pottery fragments from Tumulus I, Crkvina

natural rise and strategically dominates over the valley of River Rešetnica and the western part of the Glasinac plateau. The north and east side of the hillfort is rocky with a steep descent towards the river.⁴⁰ The other two sides of the settlement were probably fortified by a stone wall. The collection of pottery finds at the museum comes either from the area of the modern cemetery or from the east side of Gradac hillfort.⁴¹

Most pottery collected from Gradac in Sokolac contains fragments of handles and rims belonging to different type of bowls and cups. Among the chronologically diagnostic objects are finds of high rounded handles with perforation (Tab. 1, 1). Handles of the same type were found at hillfort of Kusače as well.⁴² Due to a lack of metal finds from Kusače comparable with those from the Glasinac area, the pottery was dated very widely from the end of the Middle Bronze Age throughout the Late Bronze Age.⁴³ In his revised chronology, B. Čović dated the material from Kusače to phases Glasinac II-Ia-b, although it could span all phases of the Late Bronze Age.⁴⁴

Two handles from Gradac are the so-called small crested handles (Tab. 1, 2, 5). In addition to the Glasinac area, they were found in the ceramic assemblages from sites of Gradina in Sovići⁴⁵ and Gradina in Kreće.⁴⁶ Usually, they are characteristic of hillfort settlements around Sarajevo. Similar finds from Debelo Brdo,⁴⁷ Fortica,⁴⁸ and Kotorac⁴⁹ are all dated to Debelo Brdo Phase C (12th to 9th century BC).⁵⁰ According to A. Benac, pottery with small crested handles from Kotorac can be dated between the 9th and the 8th century BC,⁵¹ as it was found together with handles of the *ansa bifora* type.⁵² This type of handles occurs also in Varvara Phase C-2 (Ha A1), but finds

from Glasinac and Sarajevo area date apparently somewhat later.⁵³

More precise dating can be offered by drawing on the stratigraphy of the settlement of Pod near Bugojno. Bowls with small vertical extension on the handles, seen in the ceramic repertoire from Gradac in Sokolac (Tab. 1, 4), are characteristic of Phase Pod B or Hallstatt B1-B2 of the Central European periodisation.⁵⁴ More specifically, two ceramic types found in Gradac also appear in Phase Pod B. First is a fragment of a bowl with a faceted rim (Tab. 2, 1). Although it is quite typical of the ceramic material of this period from Central Bosnia,⁵⁵ it is the first such find from Glasinac. The bowls emerged under the influence of the Urnfield culture from the southern edge of the Pannonian Plain, and became one of the favourite ceramic types in a wide area of Northern and Central Bosnia.⁵⁶ In the late stages of the Late Bronze Age, they occur in far wider territory. According to B. Čović, it is likely that such a wide distribution was influenced by the exchange with the settlements from Central Bosnia.⁵⁷ Therefore, it is not a surprise that the same type of bowl with a faceted rim was found at the hillfort of Korita in Southwestern Bosnia.⁵⁸ Furthermore, there is no doubt that the influence from Central Bosnia, and particularly from the region around the Sarajevo plain, was strongly felt at Glasinac in terms of the selection of ceramic forms and their local production.⁵⁹ This is supported by a discovery of a bowl from Gradac with one horizontal plastic strip modelled around its body and a vertical strip modelled from its rim to its body, in addition to decoration of zigzag lines (Tab. 2, 2). The same bowl was found at Debelo Brdo and was dated to Debelo Brdo Phase C.⁶⁰

In conclusion it can be stated that the chronologically diagnostic pottery pieces from Gradac point to the occupation of this site during the advanced stages of Late Bronze Age.

⁴⁰ Truhelka 1889, 25; Čović 1965a, 57.

⁴¹ All findings come from a modern burial pit.

⁴² Čović 1965b, Tab. XXII, 3; 1983c, 422.

⁴³ Čović 1965b, 79-80.

⁴⁴ Čović 1983c, 422.

⁴⁵ Kosorić 1983, 78.

⁴⁶ Kocoprhić 1994, 11.

⁴⁷ Fiala 1894, 109; Gavranović 2011, 27, Teil 2.

⁴⁸ Čurčić 1908, 377.

⁴⁹ Korošec 1940, 77-82.

⁵⁰ Gavranović 2011, 27, Teil 2.

⁵¹ Benac 1963, 29-30.

⁵² Gavranović 2011, 27, Teil 2.

⁵³ Čović 1983c, 422.

⁵⁴ Čović 1965b, 51; Gavranović 2011, 98, Teil 2.

⁵⁵ Gavranović 2011.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 47.

⁵⁷ Čović 1965b, 87; Govedarica 1982, 176.

⁵⁸ Govedarica 1982, 177, Tab. XI, 11.

⁵⁹ Čović 1983b, 404, 406.

⁶⁰ Fiala 1894, 110, Tab. III, 3; Gavranović 2011, 27-28, Teil 2.

Čajniče

The archaeological collection of the Tolisa Franciscan Monastery Museum holds an interesting find from the area of Eastern Bosnia.⁶¹ According to the museum inventory, a bronze fibula from the vicinity of the town of Čajniče is a chance find gifted to the monastery from an unknown donor. The fibula belongs to the widespread type of boat-shaped Rusanovići type fibula, as identified by B. Teržan.⁶² The fibula has a boat-shaped full cast bow with a small horizontal crest at the top with two lines of perforated dots and with a trapezoidal foot with vertical shallow grooves at each end. Part of the foot is damaged and only a section of the ring is preserved. The ring is decorated with hanging pendants characteristic for this type of fibula (Figure 6, 1).

According to B. Teržan, the boat-shaped Rusanovići type fibulae originated from the South-eastern Alpine boat-shape fibulae of the so-called Šmarjeta type.⁶³ On the Glasinac plateau, however, they received various innovative designs and forms,⁶⁴ and became part of a recognizable local fashion.⁶⁵ Comparative examples to this type of fibulae are numerous, especially in the Glasinac area, but they also appear widely in the adjacent region of Western Serbia (Figure 5).⁶⁶ Bronze fibulae of this type can be found in female graves, often as part of rich attire, as for example in Grave 1 at Karagač,⁶⁷ but some examples are also known from male graves, such as Grave LXXXX-IV/1 at Rusanovići.⁶⁸ Fibulae of Rusanovići type occur both in pairs and individually as well as in association with other types of fibulae. The most common combination is with the so-called spectacle fibulae, double-looped bow fibulae with Boeotian shield plate and with a characteristic “V” ornament, double-looped bow fibulae with rectangular foot and two symmetrical holes, and

different forms of single-looped bow fibulae with a trapezoidal foot.⁶⁹

The beginning of the use of this fibula at Glasinac is well documented from Rusanovići Grave LXXXXIV/1, which gave the object its name.⁷⁰ According to B. Čović, these fibulae are one of the main characteristics of Glasinac Phase IVc-2.⁷¹ Their use was not just limited to the 6th century BC, but they also occurred during the first decades of the 5th century BC.⁷² At Donja Dolina, they were used during Phase 2b (6th century BC),⁷³ along with other forms of boat-shaped fibulae. A fibula from Tolisa can be classified as a specific variant of fibulae with trapezoidal foot, according to the typology of N. Lucentini.⁷⁴ The main characteristic of this variant is a prominent crest on the bow. Comparative examples are known from graves at Gosinja (Grave XXIII/6),⁷⁵ Plješevica (Grave III),⁷⁶ and Okruglo (Grave III/1),⁷⁷ all belonging to Glasinac Phase IVc-2. Fibulae of this type are often decorated with pendants and almost exclusively with three rings. Comparative examples can be found in assemblages from Plješevica (Tumulus III),⁷⁸ Okruglo (Grave III/1),⁷⁹ Brankovići (Grave II/3),⁸⁰ Osovo (Grave XXIII),⁸¹ all in the area of Glasinac, and furthermore from Karagač (Kosovo),⁸² Godljevo,⁸³ Kriva Reka,⁸⁴ and Kosjerić⁸⁵ in Western Serbia. Individual finds of Rusanovići type fibulae from Donja Dolina in Posavina and Banoštor in Srem provide the limit of their distribution in the north, while finds from Ljubuški and Ljubomir in Herzegovina and Shtoj in Northern Albania

⁶¹ The authors would like to thank Pero Matkić from the Tolisa Franciscan Monastery Museum for the access to and information about the material.

⁶² Teržan 1987, 19.

⁶³ Ibid.; Gavranović 2011, 195.

⁶⁴ Vasić 1999, 91.

⁶⁵ Васић 2004, 42-43.

⁶⁶ Vasić 1999, 90.

⁶⁷ Srejšević 1973, 55, Pl. IV-V.

⁶⁸ Benac / Čović 1957, Tab. XXV, Fig. 1-7.

⁶⁹ Vasić 1999, 91; Heilmann 2016, 16.

⁷⁰ Benac, Čović 1957, Tab. XXV, Fig. 1-7; Teržan 1987, 19.

⁷¹ Čović 1987b, 619; Vasić 1999, 91; Gavranović 2011, 195.

⁷² Vasić 1999, 91.

⁷³ Marić 1964, 39; Čović 1987a, 246.

⁷⁴ “Fibula con staffa ad anello terminale ed arco crestato” (Lucentini 1981, 75).

⁷⁵ Lucentini 1981, Tab. V, 15. 17.

⁷⁶ Fiala 1895, 541.

⁷⁷ Lucentini 1981, Tab. X, 5.

⁷⁸ Fiala 1895, 541.

⁷⁹ Lucentini 1981, Tab. X, 5.

⁸⁰ Ibid., Tab. I, 20.

⁸¹ Fiala 1895, 558.

⁸² Srejšević 1973, 55, Pl. IV-V; Vasić 1999, 90, Tab. 44, 672-673.

⁸³ Zotović 1985, 76; Vasić 1999, 90, Tab. 44, 667.

⁸⁴ Гарашанин 1967, 47, Fig. 11.

⁸⁵ Булић 2016, 195.

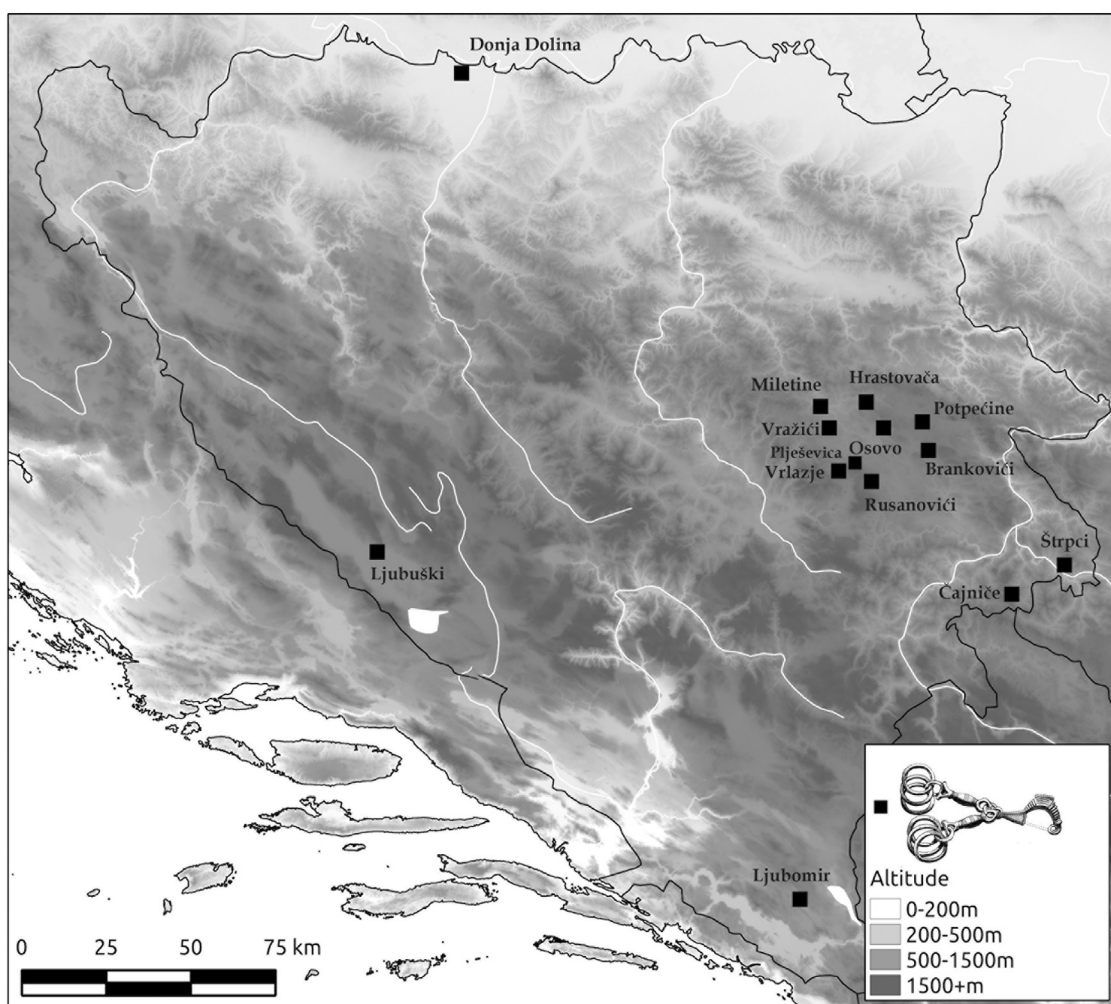


Figure 5: *Distribution map of Rusanovići type fibulae* (modified after Teržan 1987; Vasić 1999)

represent their southern boundary of distribution in the Balkans.⁸⁶

Pećina pod lipom

One of the few objects that came from Glasinac in the last few decades is a fibula from the rock shelter site of Pećina pod lipom, near the site of Kadića brdo. Pećina pod lipom is primarily known as a complex Paleolithic site, with a thick cultural layer dating to the later Prehistoric and historical periods.⁸⁷ The bronze fibula was found during archaeological excavation in 2015 in the

part of the site named Abri II.⁸⁸ The fibula belongs to the group of bronze crossbow Certosa type fibulae, variant XIII, according to B. Teržan.⁸⁹ Construction of the preserved piece consists of a leaf-shaped bow, but it lacks a foot, one spiral coil and a part of a separate rectangular construction that is attached with its lateral ends to the ends of the spiral coil (Figure 6, 2). The closest analogy of the type XIII fibula has been documented at Čavarine (tumuli II and IV) at Glasinac, dated to Glasinac Phase Va.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Results of the archaeological research have not been published. Material is stored in the Regional Museum in Doboj.

⁸⁹ Teržan 1976, 380; Vasić 1999, 101.

⁹⁰ Fiala 1892, 412; Teržan 1976, 378; Čović 1987b, 631, Pl LXIV, 13.

⁸⁶ Vasić 1989, 104; 1999, 92; Gavranović 2011, 195.

⁸⁷ Kujundžić-Vejzagić 2001, 39.

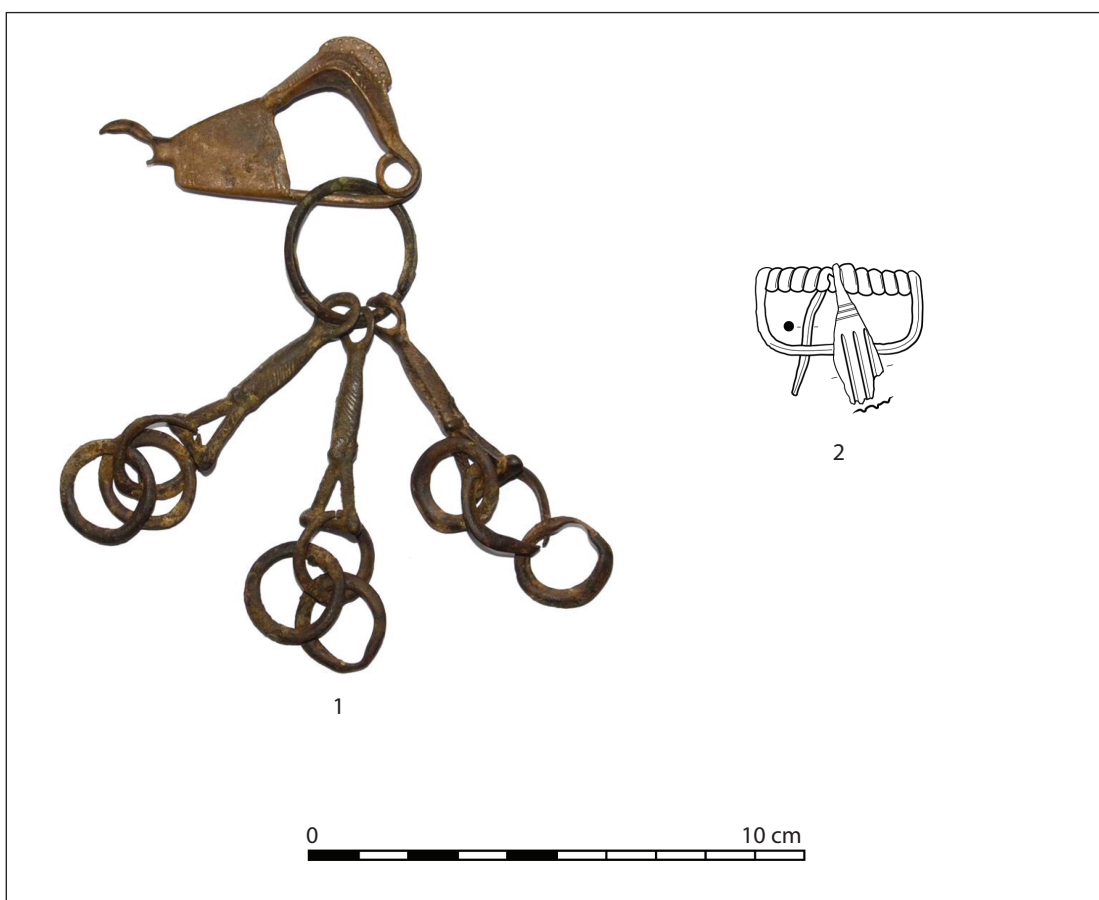


Figure 6: *Fibulae from 1. Čajniče; 2. Pećina pod lipom*

This type of fibulae demonstrates cultural links between the territories of Glasinac, Northern Bosnia, and Slavonia with the Eastern Alpine, Transdanubian, and Danubian cultural circles,⁹¹ undoubtedly along the so-called Posavina Corridor. These fibulae are more specific for the territory of Donja Dolina and Sanski Most cultural complex, where they were often discovered as part of grave goods of Phase 3b (the second half of the 5th century BC).⁹² At graveyards in Donja Dolina and Sanski Most, several varieties of Certosa type XIII have been found as products of local workshops, most probably inspired by foreign models.⁹³ They became a recognizable element of fashion in the 5th and 4th century BC

and were found mostly in female, but were also known from male, graves.⁹⁴

This is also confirmed by the discovery of numerous fibulae of the same type from the Szentlőrinc cemetery in Hungary, where various types of Certosa type XIII fibulae appeared in many female graves.⁹⁵ Bronze fibulae of this type have also been recorded in the region of Syrmia, at sites such as Zemun, Adeševci, Sotin, Sremska Mitrovica, as well as in female graves from Indija and probably Noćaj.⁹⁶ Two fibulae of the same type have also been found in the well-documented female grave G-2 at Beljnjača near Šid.⁹⁷

The distribution of Certosa type XIII fibulae south of the Posavina region can be traced in the

⁹¹ Teržan 1976, 380.

⁹² Čović 1987a, 262; Jašarević 2017, 11–12.

⁹³ The best example is the emergence of Certosa XIIIh type (Fiala 1896, 236. 261; Truhelka 1902, 263–264. 520; Teržan 1976, 380; Čović 1987a, 262; Dizdar 2015, 47).

⁹⁴ At Čarakovo cemetery, a fibula type XIII was found in a male warrior Grave 3 (Čović 1956, 188).

⁹⁵ Jerem 1968, 184–189.

⁹⁶ Vasić 1999, 101–102; Dizdar 2015, 46–47.

⁹⁷ Коледин 2012, 109.

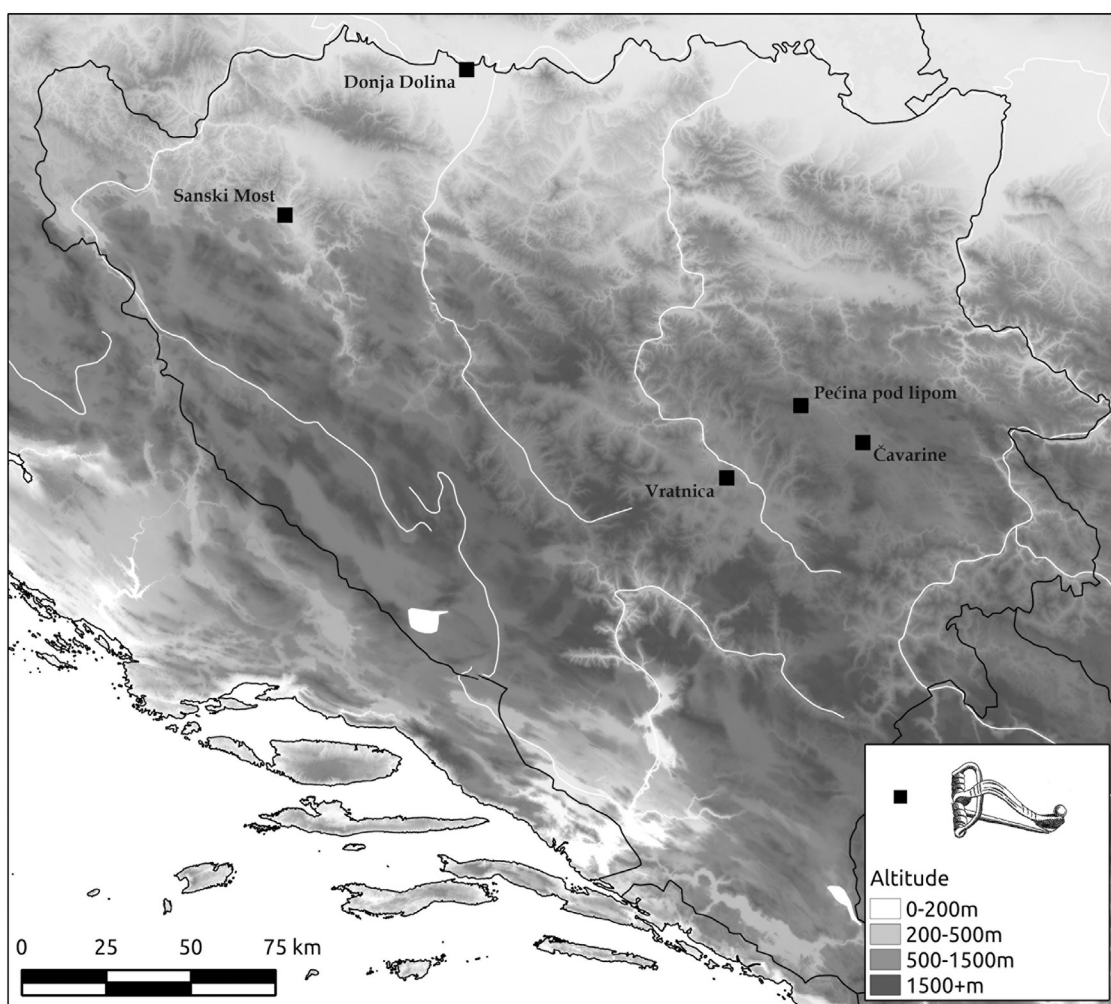


Figure 7: *Distribution map of the Certosa type fibulae variant XIII*
(extended, after Teržan 1976; Vasić 1999; Dizdar 2015)

valley of the River Bosna, a well-known prehistoric communication corridor (Figure 7). This is testified by the finds from the Vratnica tumulus near Visoko in Bosna Basin between Visoko and Sarajevo.⁹⁸

Certosa fibulae with a crossbow construction begin to appear during the second half of the 5th century and continue in the 4th century BC.⁹⁹ Certosa fibula from Pečina pod lipom can most likely be associated with a nearby hilltop settlement of Kadića brdo with a documented Late Iron Age occupation.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Čović 1984, 43; 1987c, 504–505.

⁹⁹ Vasić 1999, 101–102; Dizdar 2015, 47.

¹⁰⁰ Govedarica 1990, 86–88.

Conclusion

After more than a century since the discovery of Glasinac and the initial suggestion that it is some kind of a *sacrum Illyricum*, many generations of archaeologists have worked on the deconstruction of the myth of Glasinac as an exclusive place of death. The number of known tumuli is actually not as great as initially thought, and all the necropolises can be linked to nearby hillforts.¹⁰¹ Still, the number of investigated tumuli, 1234 in total, is impressive. It has provided a large database of materials from different prehistoric periods, which ultimately resulted in the

¹⁰¹ Govedarica 1978, 32; 1985, 16–17; Čović 1987b, 578; Vasić 2003, 7–8; Jašarević 2015, 42.

definition of the Glasinac cultural complex.¹⁰² The study of the material culture from the tumuli has always been the focus of research at Glasinac ever since the first basic systematisation of materials by A. Benac and B. Čović in 1956–1957.¹⁰³ In the end, this has created a problem how to link the places of the living with the places of the burials. Chronological and cultural sequence of settlements in the Glasinac area is poorly documented,¹⁰⁴ and we have not been able to compare periodisation based on grave finds with the material remains from the hillforts. Primarily, this issue refers to pottery, which is usually the most common find, and which gives us the most information about the way of life, traditions, influences, and innovation.

Finds of fibulae from Čajniče and Pećina pod lipom are both chance finds lacking stratigraphic context, but they nonetheless provide some information about the influences that reached Glasinac especially during the final stages of the Early Iron Age. Archaeologically most visible innovations in Glasinac come from the Early Iron Age, when foreign elements were adopted and either integrated into the prevailing local cultural code or transformed and adjusted to fit local needs.¹⁰⁵

The ceramic finds from Gradac in Sokolac provide a little insight into the ceramic spectrum in Glasinac. Typologically most sensitive finds link this spectrum to assemblages from hillforts around the Sarajevo plain, such as Debelo Brdo, Fortica, and Kotorac. In fact, this is not too surprising. If we look at the metal finds, especially ornaments (for example, belts of the Mramorac type) from the tumuli in Glasinac and the finds from the abovementioned hillforts,¹⁰⁶ we can see a connection that was active throughout the Early Iron Age. The similarities in the ceramic repertoire are also evident in assemblages from the hillforts at Gradina in Sovići and Gradina in Kreće, which show a rather uniform tradition that was not only characteristic of the inner circle of Glasinac hillforts, but of a broader cultural area.

Na engleski jezik preveo Aleksandar Jašarević

¹⁰² Čović 1987b, 579–580.

¹⁰³ Benac / Čović 1956; 1957; Heilmann 2016, 20–21.

¹⁰⁴ Govedarica 1985.

¹⁰⁵ Heilmann 2016, 21.

¹⁰⁶ Fiala 1894, 120.

Rezime / Sažetak

Važnost malih arheoloških nalaza sa Glasinca

U ovom se radu predstavljaju neobjavljeni nalazi sa područja Glasinca, koji su posljednjih nekoliko godina postali dio različitih muzejskih zbirki. Većina od njih su slučajni nalazi keramike i sitnih ornamenata, ili je pak riječ o nalazima koji dolaze sa arheoloških iskopavanja u posljednjih nekoliko godina. Velika količina keramike sa lokaliteta Gradac u Sokocu daje hronološki okvir za naseobinske aktivnosti i pokazuje dobru korelaciju s nalazima sa prethodno iskopanih okolnih tumula. Sistematska istraživanje srednjovjekovnog lokaliteta Crkvina na Glasinačkom polju otkrilo je i postojanje starije faze naseljavanja iz perioda kasnog bronzanog doba. Ovo nedavno otkriće povećava broj poznatih gradina na području Glasinca. U blizini ovoga lokaliteta otkrivena je i nekropola pod tumulima, vjerovatno povezanu s gradinskim naseljem na Crkvini. Jedan od tih tumula iskopan je tokom kampanje 2014. godine i opisan je u ovom radu.

Lokalitet Crkvina lociran je na istoimenom brdu uz magistralni put Sokolac–Rogatica u selu Bjelosavljevići u zapadnom dijelu Glasinačkog polja na koti 865. m n. v. Lokalitet ima dominantnu poziciju i vidljivu komunikaciju nad čitavim prostorom Glasinačkog polja. Prilaz je moguć sa istočne i južne strane, dok strm i oštar usjek u brdu sa sjevera i zapada nije dopuštao lak prilaz lokalitetu. Nivelacija terena djelimično je urađena tokom kasnog bronzanog doba kada je na platou formirano gradinsko naselje. Ostaci keramike i životinjskih kostiju iz ovoga perioda pronalazeni su u slojevima nasipa oko srednjovjekovne crkve i pri iskopavanju grobova ispod stećaka. Najveći dio praeistorijskog naselja uništen je intenzivnim sahranjivanjem i gradnjom srednjovjekovne crkve. Keramički nalazi, koji su prilično fragmentarni, najvažnija su kategorija za hronološko opredjeljenje i stratigrafiju lokaliteta.

Skupina dijagnostičkih posuda sa visokom okruglom, krestastom, ručkom potvrđuje naseljavanje tokom kasnog bronzanog doba. Osnovni hronološki okvir za većinu praeistorijskih razdoblja u različitim dijelovima Bosne najviše se temelji samo na razvoju keramičkih stilova. Posebno u područjima gdje nema metalnih nalaza ili gdje metalni nalazi nisu dobro očuvani. Keramika, kao najčešća kategorija nalaza, služi kao primarni izvor informacija. Cjelokupan keramički materijali sa Glasinca i okolice, međutim, dolaze prvenstveno sa ranih iskopavanja bez preciznih stratigrafskih detalja i odnosa sa metalnim nalazima. B. Čović raspravljao je o ovom problemu u svojoj doktorskoj disertaciji i predložio kako definirati dijagno-

stičke keramičke oblike određenih razdoblja. Prema njegovoj hronologiji, posude sa visokom okruglom, krestastom, ručkom, ponekad sa perforacijom, datuje se u srednje ili kasno bronzano doba. To je jedan od uobičajenih keramičkih tipova na gradinama sa Glasinca i na gradinama oko Glasinca. Ista keramika može se naći na lokalitetima Kusače, Debelo Brdo, Soukbunar i Fortica. Prema revidiranoj hronologiji B. Čović, ova vrsta keramike datira iz faze Glasinac IIIa-b. Preciznije datiranje pruža tipologija M. Gavranovića koji nalaze datuje između 14. i 12. vijeka BC (što odgovara fazi Debelo Brdo B-C). Ista vrsta keramike iz mjesta Prispu kod Livna u zapadnoj Bosni također je datirana od kraja srednjeg bronzanog doba i u kasnog bronzanog doba.

Na lokaciji Brdo nad Crkvinom tokom 2014. godine izvršeno je iskopavanje najvećeg tumula na nekropoli. Tumul je formiran od zemlje i kamena, bez tragova bilo kakve kamene konstrukcije. Zanimljivo da je prirodno uzvišeni teren odabran za formiranje tumula, jer je davao izgled monumentalnosti. Pod gornjim slojem tumula, gotovo u njegovom središtu, pronađen je dio ljudske mandibule i manji fragmenti ljudskih kostiju. Ostaci su bili koncentrisani zajedno s ulomcima keramike i životinjskih kostiju. Koncentracija nalaza pokazuje da nije riječ o standardnom ili normativnom pokopu, sličan onima koji su se nalazili u drugim iskopanim tumulima u Glasincu. Nije bilo tragova kremiranja na kostima, ali ne možemo potvrditi ni inhumiranje, jer kosti nisu bile u anatomskom položaju. Nadalje, ne znamo je li pokojnik bio smješten u neku vrstu grobne jame. Fragmenti keramike i životinjskih kostiju također su bili koncentrisani u ovom središnjem dijelu tumula. Zbog fragmentacije, nemoguće je tačno rekonstruirati oblik keramičkih posuda. Na temelju sastava i malih detalja u dizajnu, možemo potvrditi da se radi o praistorijskim nalazima, najvjerovatnije pehara s dvije ručke i nekoliko zdjela sa zasječenim rubovima.

Većina keramike sakupljena sa Gradca na Sokocu sadrži ulomke ručki i oboda koji pripadaju različitim vrstama zdjela i pehara. Među hronološkim dijagnostičkim objektima nalazimo velike zaobljene ručke s perforacijom. Ručke istog tipa pronađene su i na gradini Kusače. Keramika ovoga tipa bila je vrlo popularna od kraja srednjeg bronzanog doba i tokom kasnog bronzanog doba. U njegovoj revidiranoj hronologiji, B. Čović materijal sa Kusača datuje u Glasinac IIIa-b fazu, iako je mogao obuhvatiti i sve faze kasnog bronzanog doba.

Arheološka zbirka Muzeja franjevačkog samostana u Tolisi posjeduje zanimljiv nalaz s područja istočne Bosne. Bronzana fibula iz okoline Čajniča je slučajni nalaz poklonjen samostanu od nepoznatog donatora. Fibula pripada raširenoj vrsti fibula tip Rusanović, prema tipologiji B. Teržan. Fibule tipa Rusa-

novići najvjerovatnije nastaju prema modelima fibula sa prostora jugoistočnih alpi poput tzv. Šmarjeta tip fibula. Na Glasincu, međutim, dobile su razne inovativne forme, te su postali dio prepoznatljive lokalne nošnje. Komparativni primjerci za ove vrste fibula su brojne, osobito na glasinačkom području, ali one se također pojavljuju i u susjednim regijama zapadne Srbije i Kosova. Fibule tipa Rusanović dolaze u parovima ili pojedinačno, kao i u kombinaciji s drugim vrstama istovremenih fibula.

Jedan od rijetkih predmeta koji je dolazio sa Glasinca u zadnjih nekoliko desetljeća je fibula sa nalazišta Pećina pod lipom, u blizini mjesta Kadića brda. Pećina pod lipom prvenstveno je poznata kao kompleksno paleolitsko nalazište, ali i lokalitet sa kulturnim slojem iz kasnijih praistorijskih i istorijskih razdoblja. Bronzana fibula pronađena je tokom arheološkog iskopavanja 2015. godine u dijelu lokaliteta pod nazivom Abri II. Fibula spada u skupinu bronzanih samostrelnih Certosa tip fibula, varijanta XIII, prema tipologiji B. Teržan. Najbliža analogija tipa XIII fibule je dokumentirana na Čavarinama (tumuli II i IV) u Glasincu, datiranoj Glasinac Va faza. Ova vrsta fibula pokazuje kulturne veze između područja Glasinca, sjeverne Bosne i Slavonije s istočno alpskim, Transdunubijskim i Podunavskim kulturnim krugovima, nesumnjivo duž tzv. Posavinskog koridora. Ove fibule su specifičnije za područje kulturnog kompleksa Donja Dolina - Sanski Most, gdje su često otkriveni kao dio grobnih cjelina iz faze 3b (druga polovica 5-4. stoljeća prije n.e.).

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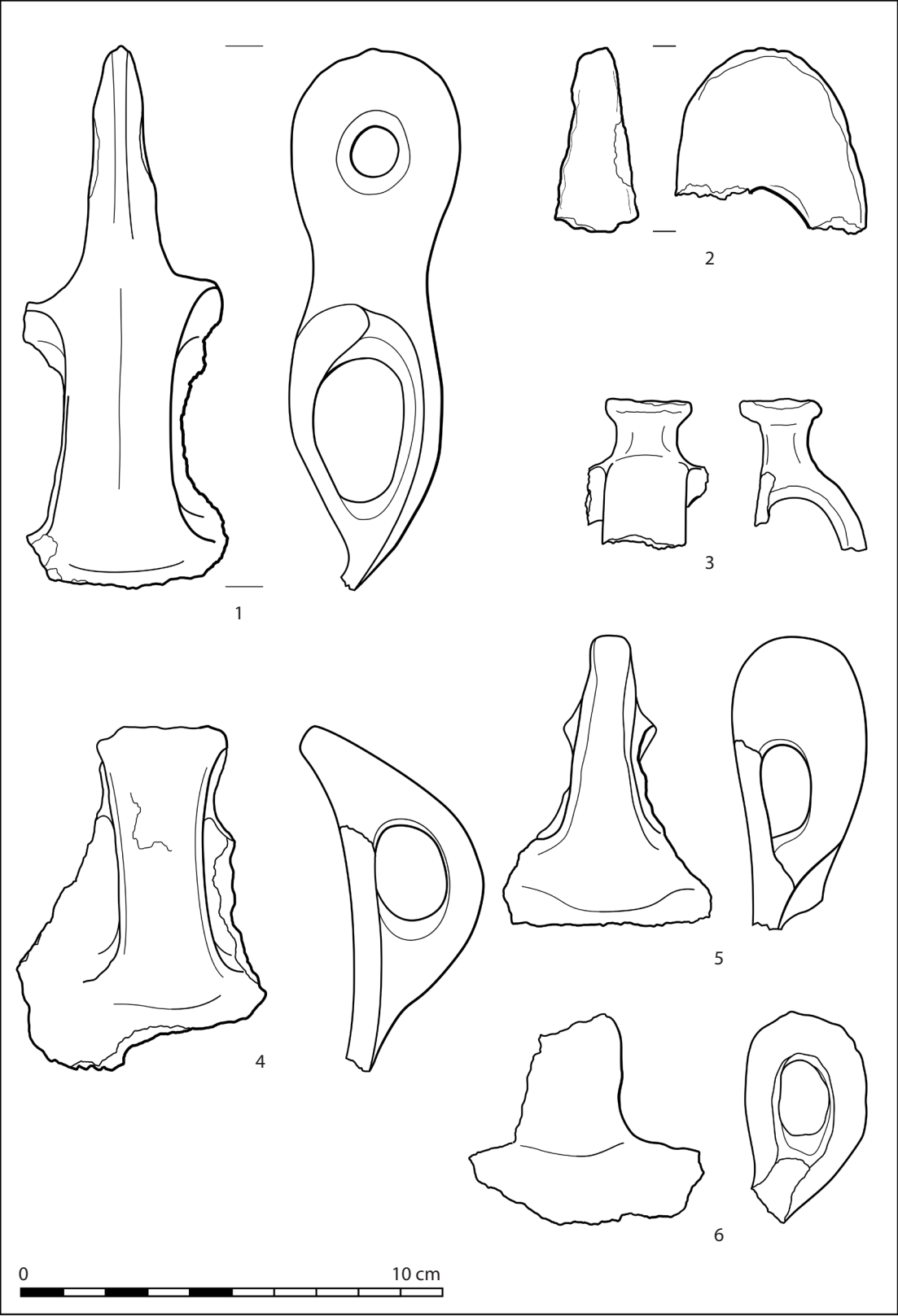


Table I: Pottery fragments from Gradac, Sokolac

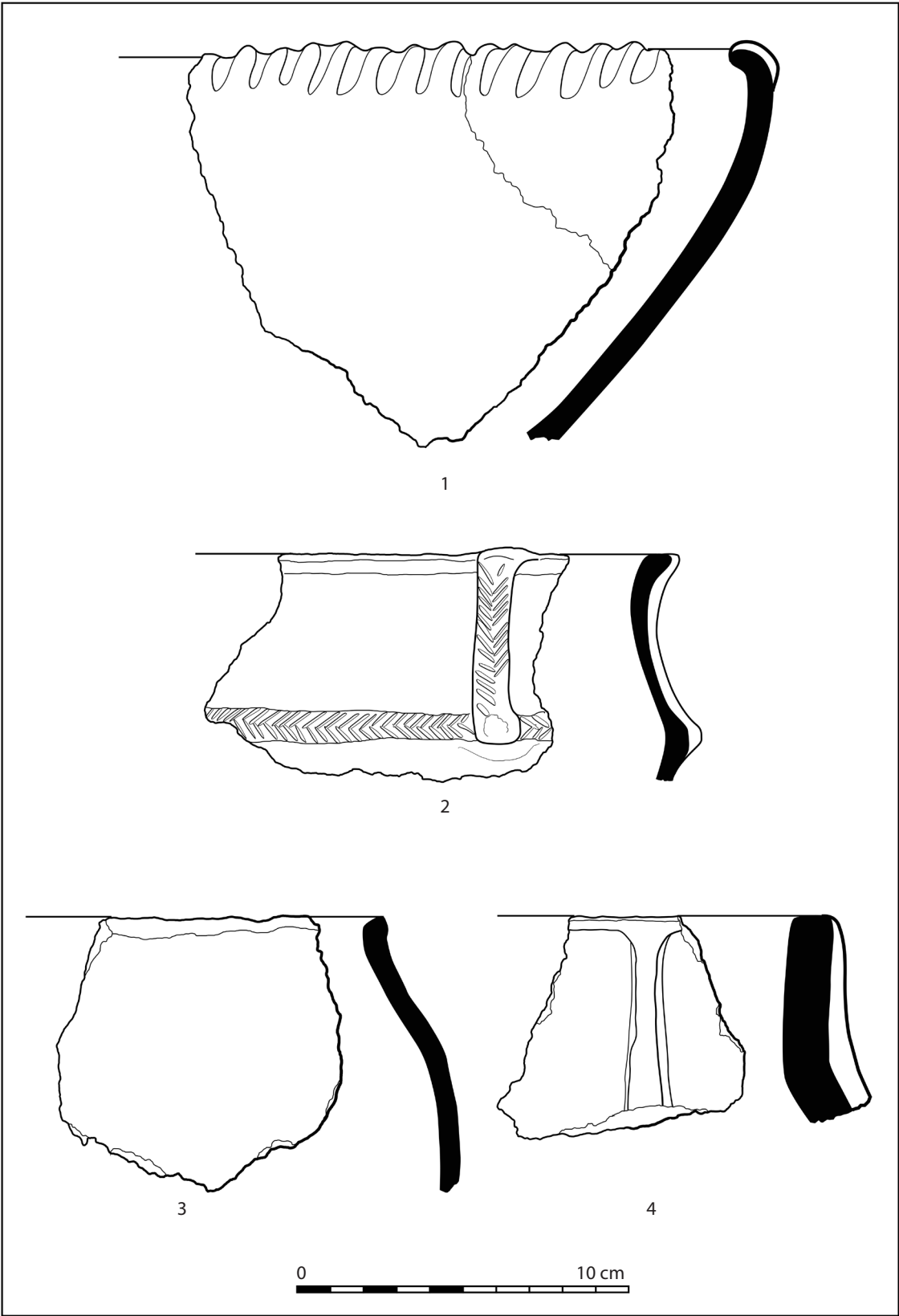


Table II: Pottery fragments from Gradac, Sokolac

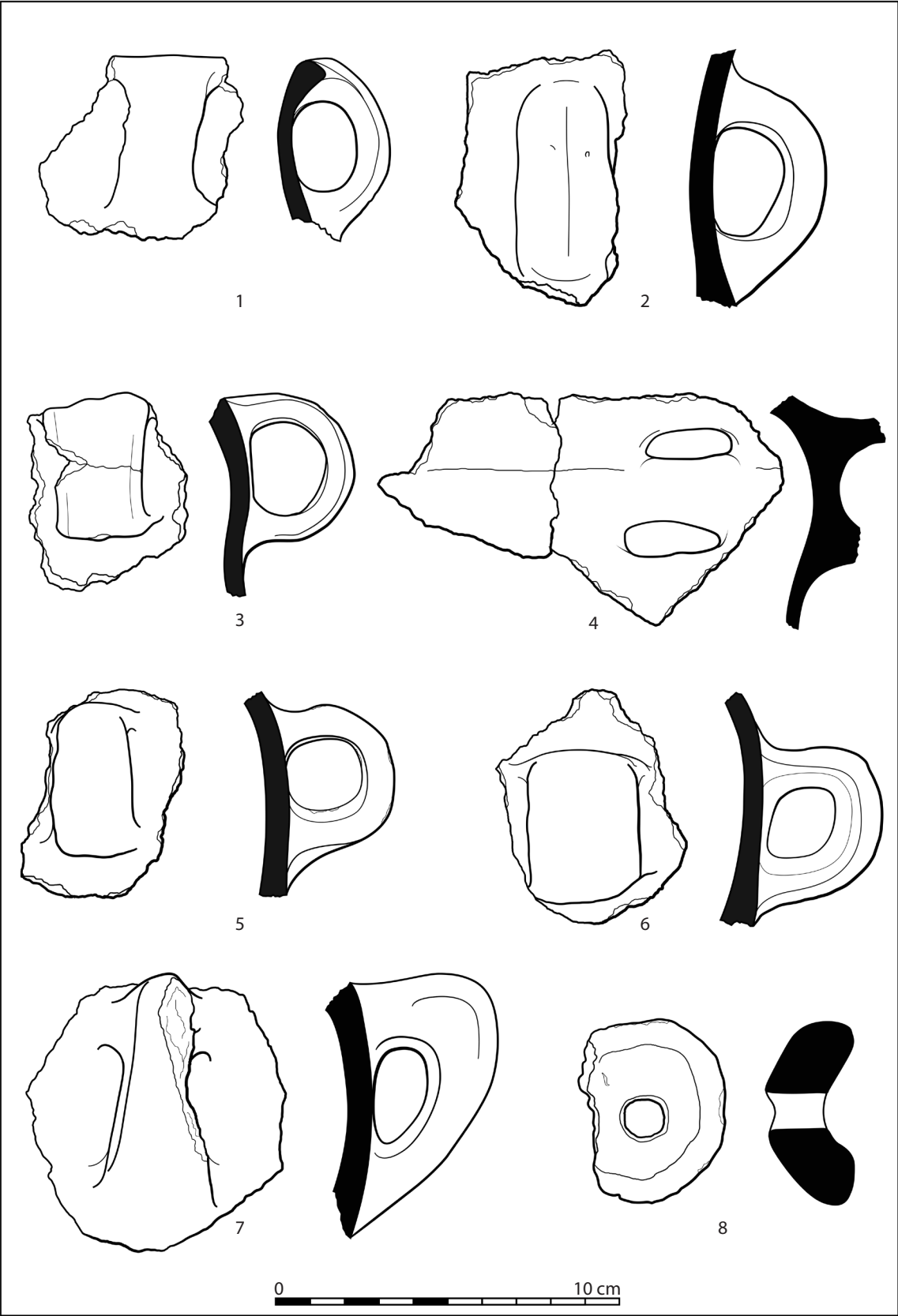


Table III: Pottery fragments from Gradac, Sokolac

Chronological problems in the continuity of Iron Age cultural groups in Northeastern Serbia

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Abstract: During the last three decades, only four Late Bronze and Iron Age necropolises have been discovered on the territory of Northeastern Serbia. As a result of increased knowledge, there is a certain divergence from the established chronologies. Based on the new findings, this paper aims to point out the existing problems related to the changes in the chronological framework of activities of specific cultural groups.

Key words: Late Bronze Age, Early and Late Iron Age, necropolis, burial rites

Introduction

Changes to chronological classifications are inevitable and reflect the development of archaeology as a science, on the one hand, and the number of new archaeological discoveries, on the other hand. Representative of such chronological adjustments is the situation in the Northeastern Serbia (Map 1). Although ancient historiographers provide direct and indirect testimonies for the end of the Early and the entire Late Iron Ages, in certain cases such accounts create many problems in interpreting the archaeological evidence.² This issue is further amplified by geography, specifically the link between Eastern Serbia and the Danube River valley, which was for millennia in the midst of numerous movements of prehistoric communities between Central to Southeastern Europe.

Every archaeologist studying the Early Iron Age in the territory of the Central Balkans (Serbia, Kosovo and Macedonia) at some point inevitably

faces the problem of differences between the established chronologies and the actual situation on the ground. This problem particularly surfaces when a new necropolis or settlement from the 1st millennium BC is discovered. In Serbian archaeology, several chronological systems of the Iron Age are currently in use. Rastko Vasić is deemed among the foremost experts for the study of this period. He divided the Iron Age in Serbia into following stages:³

- Early Iron Age (Ha B3 – Ha C1: 950/900–800/750 BC)
- Older Iron Age (Phases I – to IV: 800/750–300 BC)
- Younger Iron Age (La Tène: 300 – until the beginning of the 1st century AD).

However, a different division of the Iron Age chronology is used for the purposes of this paper, which deals with the territory of Northeastern Serbia. This chronology is based primarily on M. Garašanin's sequence, as described in his *Prehistory on the territory of Serbia*:⁴

- Iron Age I (Belegiš II – Gava and horizon of hoards: 1200–1000 BC)
- Iron Age II (Insula Banului – Kalakača and Basarabi: 1000–600 BC)

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² This is especially related to the testimonies of Herodotus and Thucydides and their use of geographic terms in the territory inhabited by the Triballi, which can be related to various regions in the Central Balkans. Similar can be said for the theories about the origin of Dardanians (see Papazoglu 2004, 47–48; Лазин 2008, 55–56).

³ Vasić 1997, 343; Капуран et al. 2014, 74.

⁴ Гарашанин 1973, 408; Капуран et al. 2014, 74.

- Iron Age III (Zlot and Ferigile groups: 600–350 BC)
- Iron Age IV (La Tène Culture: 350 BC – 100 AD).

Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age

Differences in the chronological systems used in classifying prehistoric cultures in Northeastern Serbia emerged in the investigation of necropolises dated to the end of the Late Bronze Age in the territory covering the confluence of the Mlava and Tumanska Rivers with the Danube, the entrance into the hinterland around the Iron Gates, and area of Ključ, located downstream from the Iron Gates before the Wallachian plain. As the number of systematic and rescue excavations increased, it became clear that graves and finds from the Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare and Gava cultures appeared side by side also in the sites the right bank of the Danube River.

Moreover, it has been assumed that the Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare culture emerged on the territory of Serbia during the later phases of the Middle Bronze Age, influenced by Transdanubian incrustrated pottery.⁵ It is interesting that the sites of the Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare culture in Serbia are identified only in Southern Banat, exclusively on the banks of the Danube, while no settlements or burial places have been found in the river's hinterland. According to the current chronologies, the Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare culture lasted until the beginning Late Bronze Age (14/13th century BC) although there are some isolated arguments in favour of its end in the late 12th century BC.⁶ Contrary to the situation with the Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare culture, the Gava culture complex, identified through the presence of the channelled and burnished pottery, is in the Serbian archaeology considered as the trigger of the transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age. It is, however, important to underline that in several rescue excavations of cremation necropolises discovered in the Serbian part of the Danube River valley and around the Iron Gates the stratigraphic division the two cultures has not been obvious.⁷ In addition to the completely different

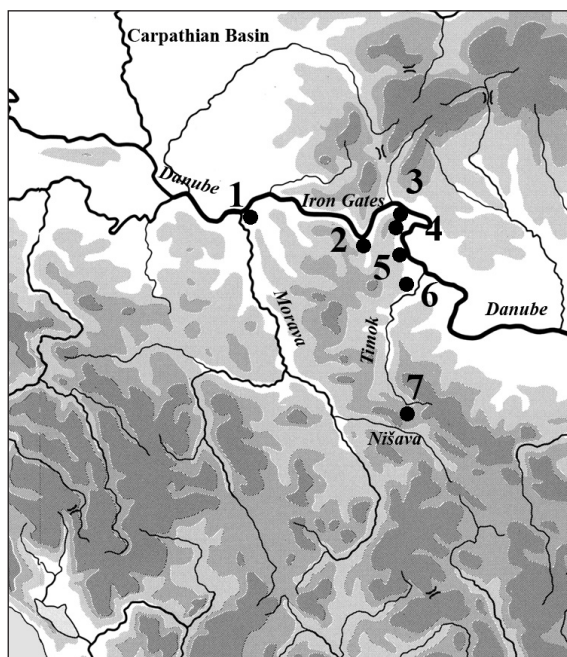


Figure 1: Map of sites mentioned in text. 1. Pećine, 2. Veliki Gradac, 3. Konopište, 4. Vajuga, 5. Ljubičevac, 6. Mokranjske Stene, 7. Signal

manner of pottery, the burials of the Gava culture contained a greater number of bronze objects. The relevant sites with finds of both Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare and Gava cultures discussed in this paper are Veliki Gradac, Konopište, Vajuga – Pesak, and Ljubičevac – Selo (Figure 1).

During the rescue excavations connected to the building of Đerdap I power station in the Roman castrum at Veliki Gradac, located in the area where the Paprenica Brook flows into the Danube (around 2 km downstream from Milanovac), three prehistoric graves were discovered (Figure 2). The finds from these graves were documented by a pure chance, during the review of the prehistoric collections in the depot of the Museum of Krajina in Negotin.⁸ Detailed information about the state of these graves could not be obtained from the existing archaeological documentation. However, it could be determined that the finds from Graves 2 (Figure 2, 3–4) and 3 (Figure 2, 5–8) are diagnostic, especially those in Grave 3, in which ceramics typical for the Gava complex and Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare culture appear in the same context. Grave 2 included two finds, both representing characteristic finds of the Gava culture, a miniature biconical vessel decorated with

⁵ Гарашанин 1973, 338; Тасић 1983, 84–85.

⁶ Jevtić / Vukomanović 1996, 287.

⁷ Тасић 1983, 104.

⁸ Булатовић et al. 2013, 82.



Figure 2: Necropolis at Veliki Gradac. 1–2. Grave 1, 3–4. Grave 2, 5–8 Grave 3 (after Bulatović et al. 2013)

horizontal flute on the upper body (Figure 2, 4) and a cup with a highly protruding handle (Figure 2, 3). Grave 3 contained a vessel on a foot decorated with characteristic Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare ornaments (Figure 2, 6), two bowls with inverted rim (Figure 2, 7–8) and a cup with a highly protruding handle (Figure 2, 5). The finds of pottery of different origins and production techniques in a burial point to exchange of objects and techniques between the two groups, which is not an isolated case in the Iron Gates region.

The co-occurrence of the ceramic finds from these two cultures was also noticed in the stratigraphy of the Livade – Mala Vrbica site as well as the necropolis in Konopište (located 9 km east of Kladovo) (Figure 1, 3). During the first phase of archaeological investigations at the prehistoric settlement of Livade in 1980, it was impossible to separate stratigraphically the finds of Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare and Gava cultures in the cultural layers (Figure 3).⁹ During the excavations, however, archaeologists managed to single out finds belonging to the Gava complex inside pit features, most probably belonging to mud huts.¹⁰ In the necropolis located at Konopište, some 200 m southeast of the Livade site, it was also not possible to separate the graves by the means of stratigraphy. It is nonetheless obvious that thirteen graves belonged to the Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare culture while seventeen graves had finds

typical of the Gava complex.¹¹ As the burial pits had originally been cut into a sand terrace and the upper layers of the site were levelled by construction in course of the Roman dominion, it is not possible to detect differences between the levels from which the burials were dug into the substrate. According to the information from the last excavations at the necropolis of Konopište during 2015, it is only clear that graves of Gava culture were dug somewhat deeper than the burials assigned to Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare culture.¹² As the later burials did not disturb the earlier ones, there are only two possibilities: either the supposedly older Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare graves were marked on the surface, or people from both groups were buried simultaneously at the same place.

A similar pattern demonstrating the coexistence of the Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare and Gava elements at the same site are documented at Vajuga – Pesak necropolis, located on the right bank of the Danube downstream from the Iron Gates (Figure 1, 4). This site is important because of its burial continuity, which extends from Bronze Age to the Late Iron Age and Medieval period. The horizon with the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age cremation burials represents the earlier

¹¹ Popović et al. 1988, 82–83.

¹² The information was provided by the custodian Aca Đorđević, the director of research at the site of Konopište, excavated by the National Museum in Belgrade. The report from these excavations is in press.

⁹ Вукмановић / Поповић 1984, 86–87.

¹⁰ Ibid. 12, Fig. 11.

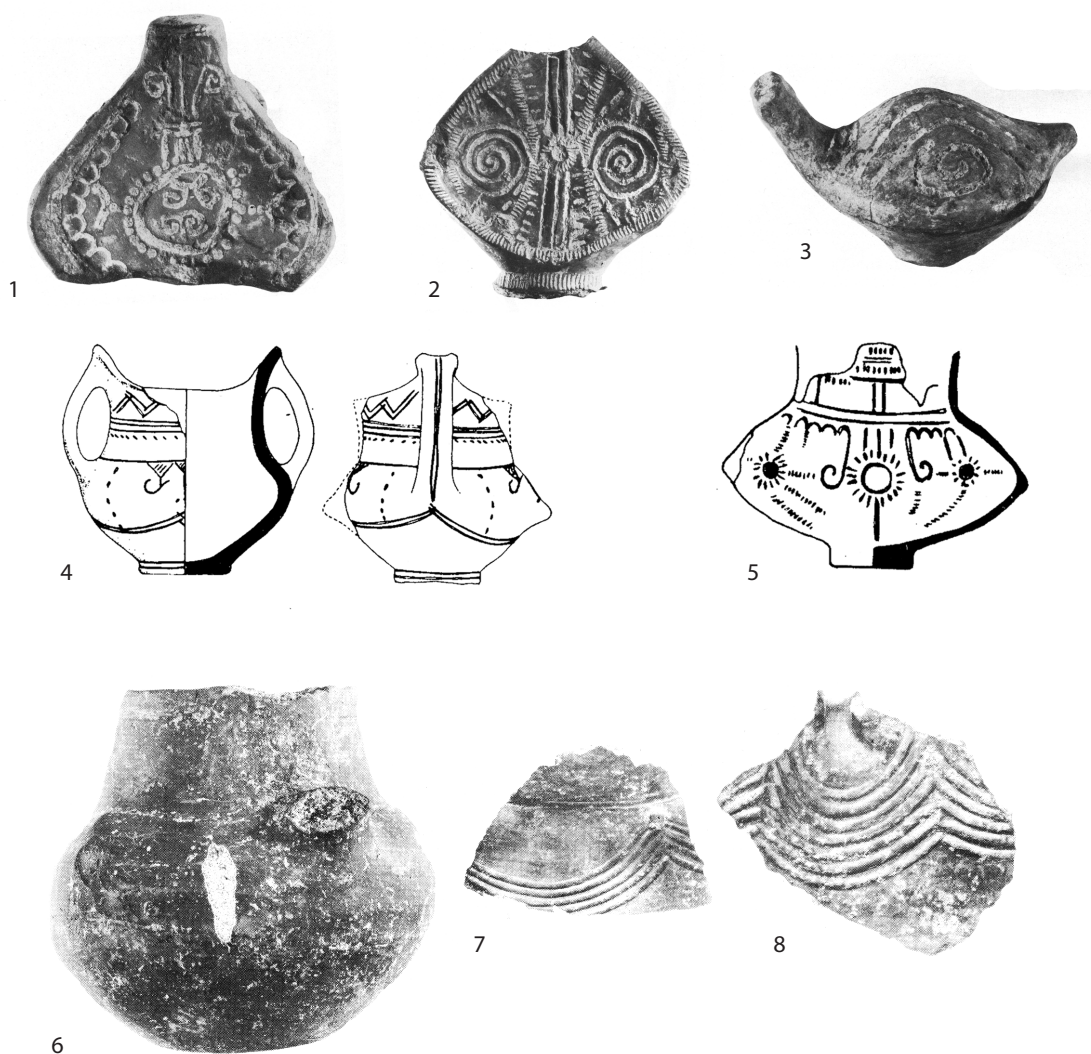


Figure 3: Finds from Livade. 1–5. Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare group, 6–8. Gava style pottery (after Vukmanović / Popović 1986)

phase of the necropolis. The chronological division is based not on the stratigraphy but rather on the stylistic and typological characteristics of grave finds.¹³ According to the excavators of the Vajuga – Pesak necropolis, two burials date to the period of Late Bronze Age or Br D (Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare culture) (Figure 5, 5–10. 11–16), while three remaining graves belong to the Gava culture complex or Ha A period (Figure 5, 1–4. 17–21). In terms of decorative technique of pottery, the typical Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare style (Figure 5, 5–7) started to change from the intensive application of white incrustation to

a polished surface without incrustation (Figure 5, 8–10).¹⁴ Chronologically most important finds are a bronze fibula with a violin bow and burnished pottery, typical for the Gava culture complex (Figure 5, 21).¹⁵

Relatively small-scale excavations near the Ljubičevac village, toward the Selo settlement (2 km downstream from Ljubičevac), were carried out in 1970 by Z. Žeravica, who was the curator of the Museum of Krajina in Negotin at the time (Figure 1, 5).¹⁶ The stratigraphy at the Selo site corresponded mostly to the stratigraphy at the

¹³ Премк et al. 1984, 112–113.

¹⁴ Ibid. 112–113; Jevtić / Vukmanović 1996, 287.

¹⁵ Премк et al. 1984, Fig. 98–100.

¹⁶ Žeravica 1970, 30–31.

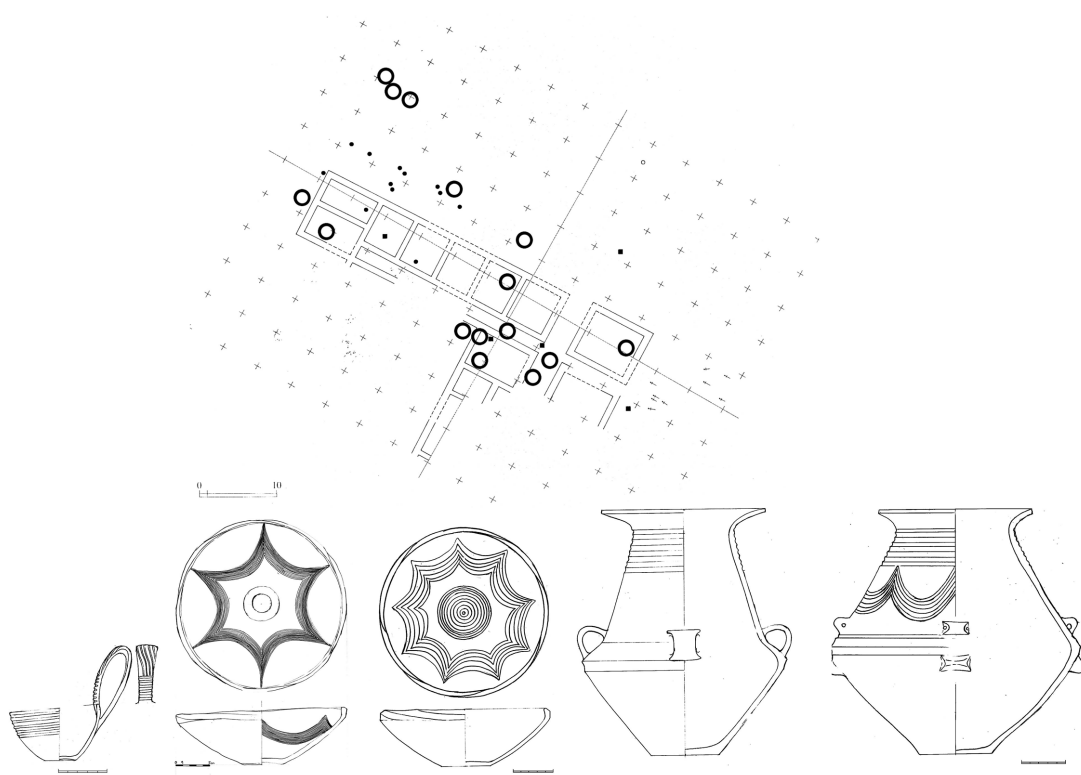


Figure 4: Necropolis Konopište – Livade. Gava pottery finds (after Popović 1998)Popović 1986)

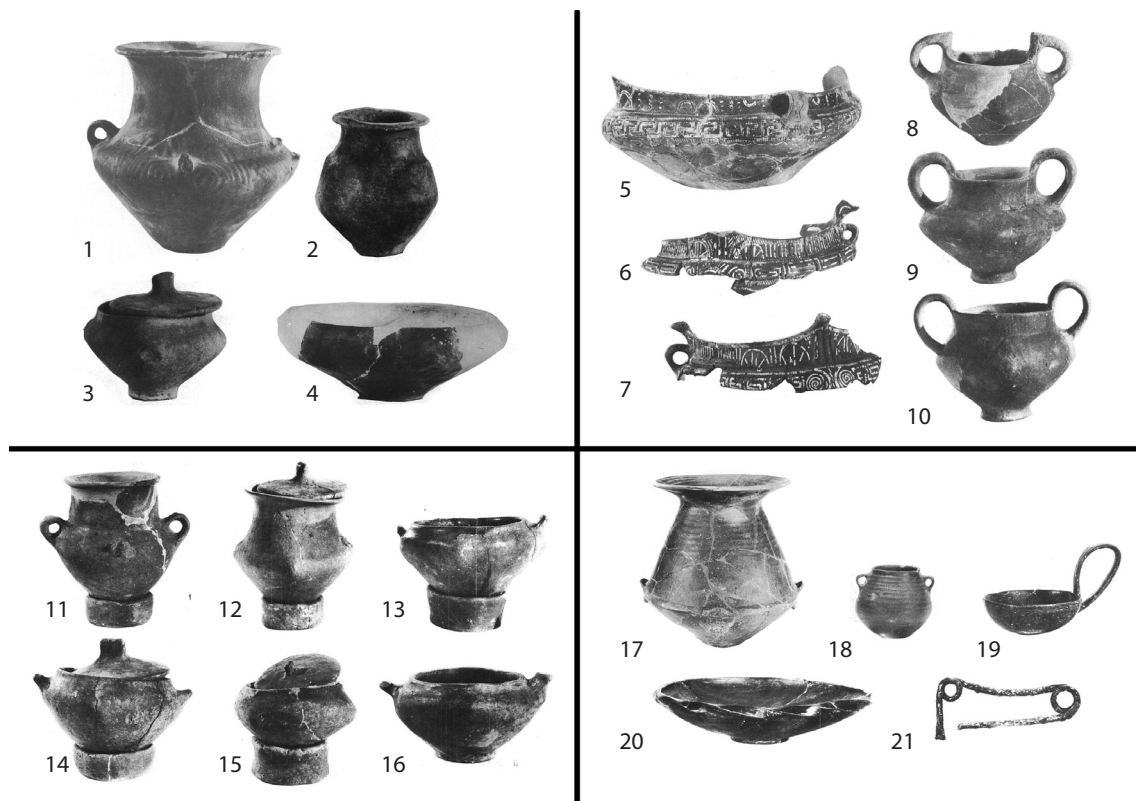


Figure 5: Finds from Vajuga – Pesak necropolis. 1–4. Grave 2, 5–10. Grave 3 and 4, 11–16. Grave 5, 17–21. Grave 1 (after Premk et al. 1984)

b

a

c

Figure 6: *Vajuga – Pesak necropolis. a) Distribution of the finds, b) Kalakača finds, c) Basarabi finds (after Popović / Vukmanović 1998)*

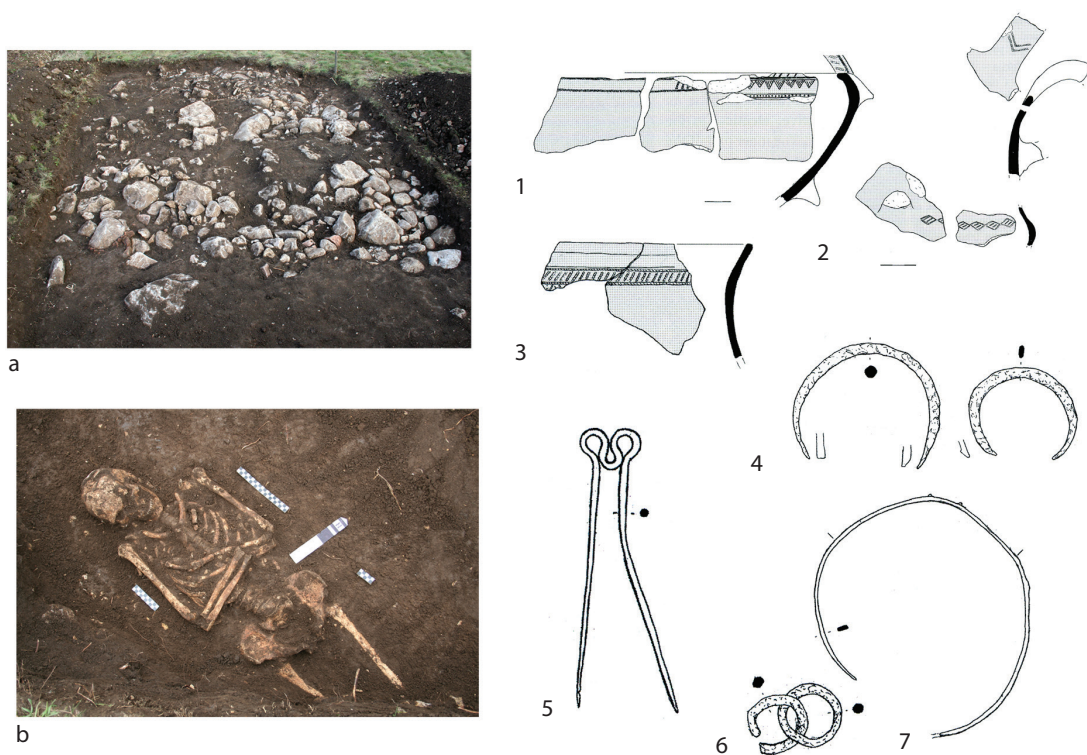


Figure 7: *Signal necropolis. a) Distribution of burials, b) skeletal remains, 1–3. Kalakača pottery, 4–7. bronze finds*

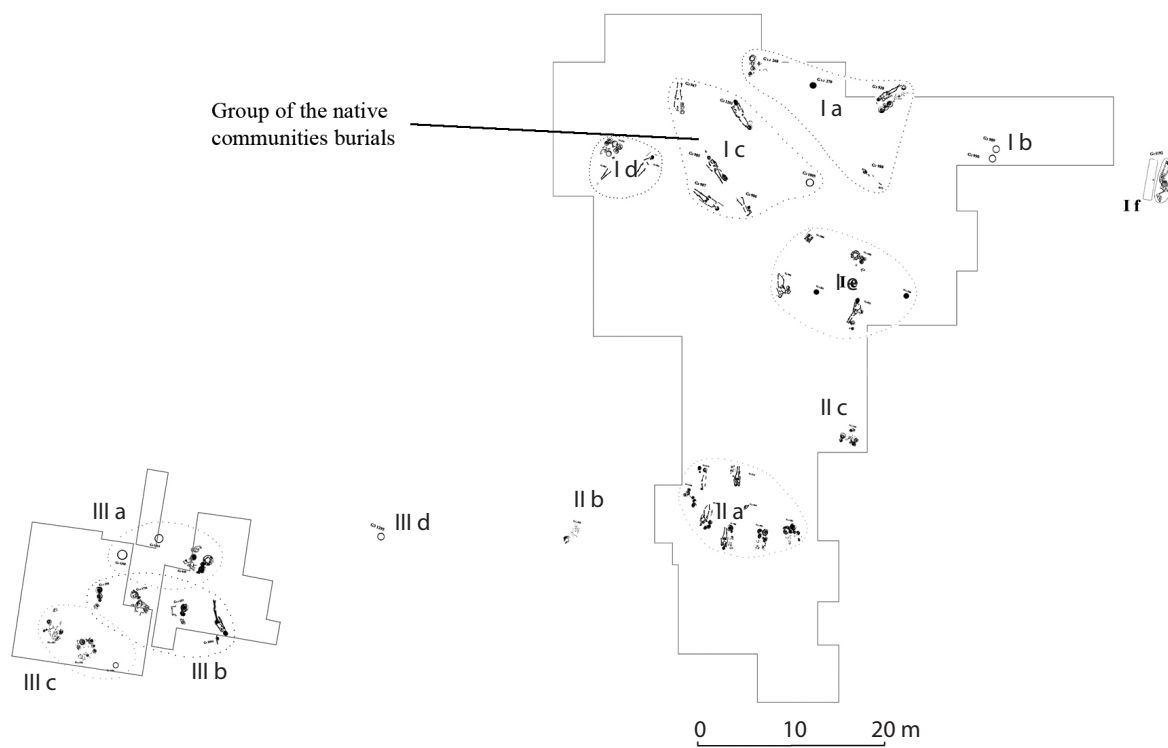


Figure 8: *Necropolis Pećine* (after Jovanović 1992)

site of Livade.¹⁷ Although the author of the study suggested that the cultural layer was homogeneous and exclusively associated with the Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare culture, after a recent review of the finds in the Museum of Krajina, we discovered that some ceramic vessels from this site are also typical of the Gava culture, spanning the initial phase of the Early Iron Age. Downstream from Ljubičevac, the site of Ušće Slatinske Reke was also excavated. M. Jevtić and M. Vukmanović reported that one pit yielded an unornamented anthropomorphic figurine of Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare type and a lot of incrustated pottery was found together with a larger amount of

channelled and burnished ceramics of the Gava culture.¹⁸

The last example of a close relationship between the Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare and Gava finds is demonstrated in the necropolis of Pećine in the vicinity of Kostolac (Figure 1, 1).¹⁹ The excavator D. Jacanović observed that in all undisturbed contexts (or stratigraphic units) the Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare, Hügelgräber and Gava typical ceramic forms were found together.²⁰ This particularly applies to the four cremated burials with incrustated and burnished pottery found together in same context. A similar mix was documented in 13 pits, most probably dedicated to ritual at this site. These instances caused some archaeologists to classify the last phase of the Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare culture in the territory of the Iron Gates as belonging to the period of Ha A1, which according to chronology of M. Garašanin covers

¹⁷ According to a report from 1970, this site yielded remains of Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare settlement, with remains of burnt houses and with objects still in situ. A later analysis of the archaeological data was done in 2013 by the Museum of Krajina in Negotin by A. Kapuran and A. Bulatović. A considerable amount of finds from the older levels of the Iron Age was found in addition to the finds Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare culture. This pottery was most probably omitted from analysis by the author of excavations (Bulatović et al. 2013, 137–139).

¹⁸ The authors informed me that this material is still unpublished (but see Jevtić / Vukmanović 1996, 286).

¹⁹ Pećine Necropolis consists of burials belonging to the Late Bronze Age, Early La Tène, and Late Antiquity.

²⁰ Јацановић 1991; 1997, 249–250, Pl. I.

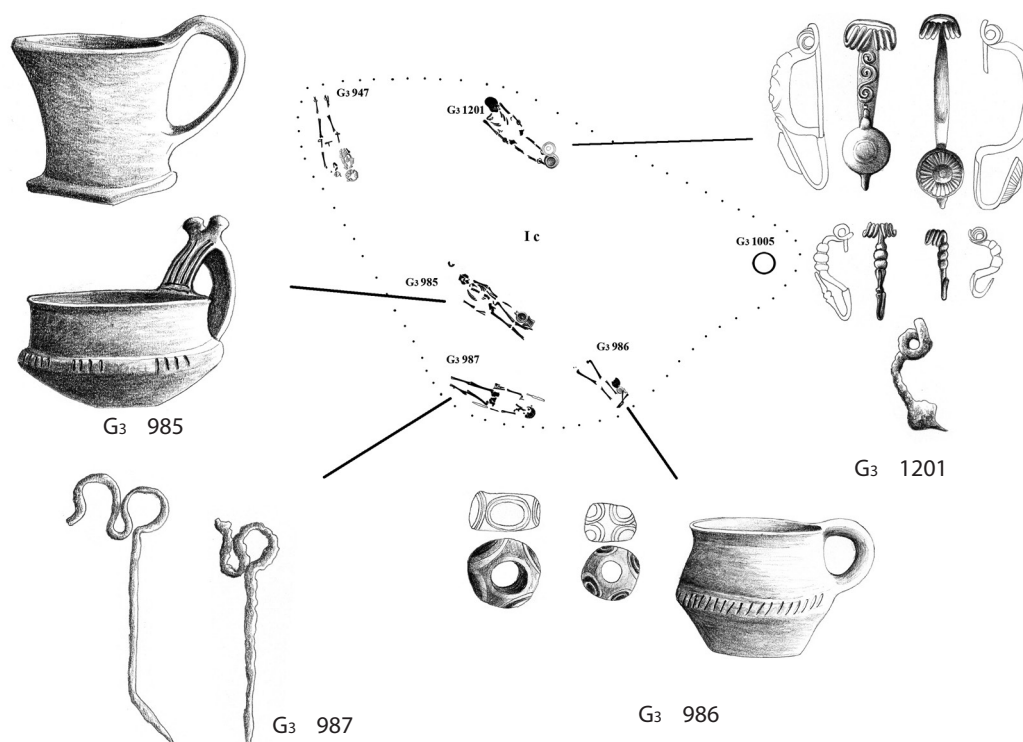


Figure 9: *Necropolis Pećine. G 985–987 Burials of domestic communities, G 1201 Celtic Burila* (after Jovanović 1992)

the transitional period between Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages.²¹

Early Iron Age II

In this paper, the Vajuga – Pesak necropolis on the bank of Danube in the Ključ region, located downstream of the Iron Gates (Figure 1, 4),²² is not considered as a case that requires a revision of its Early Iron Age chronology. It is, however, noted here as a specific example of cultural overlapping, which will be demonstrated by the specific case of the Signal necropolis.

The excavators dated the Vajuga – Pesak necropolis between Ha B3 stage, the very end of the Kalakača phase, and the beginning of the Basarabi phase.²³ In this necropolis, the deceased were buried on platforms made of river pebbles. The eastern part contained the oldest burial of the

necropolis (No 17). In its surroundings, several groups of pottery characteristic of the Kalakača phase (Figure 6, b) were discovered, while the rest of the pottery in and around the graves exclusively belonged to the Basarabi complex (Figure 6, c).²⁴ It should be stressed that the all metal finds from these graves have been dated to the Basarabi phase.²⁵ This closely related co-occurrence of two culturally and chronologically different pottery styles correlates with the change in burial rites as there is a shift from flexed inhumation, which prevailed during the Kalakača phase, to inhumation in extended position, characteristic of the Basarabi culture.

Another example of the complex chronological and cultural relations is to observe in the Signal necropolis near Svrlijig in Eastern Serbia (Figure 1, 7).²⁶ The site is situated near the village of Palilula, on a natural terrace by the right bank of the Trstenica River. The necropolis most

²¹ Crojhić / Jaćanović 2008, 55. 64.

²² Popović / Vukmanović 1998.

²³ Ibid. 103.

²⁴ Ibid. 81. 104.

²⁵ Ibid. 105.

²⁶ Filipović / Bulatović 2010.

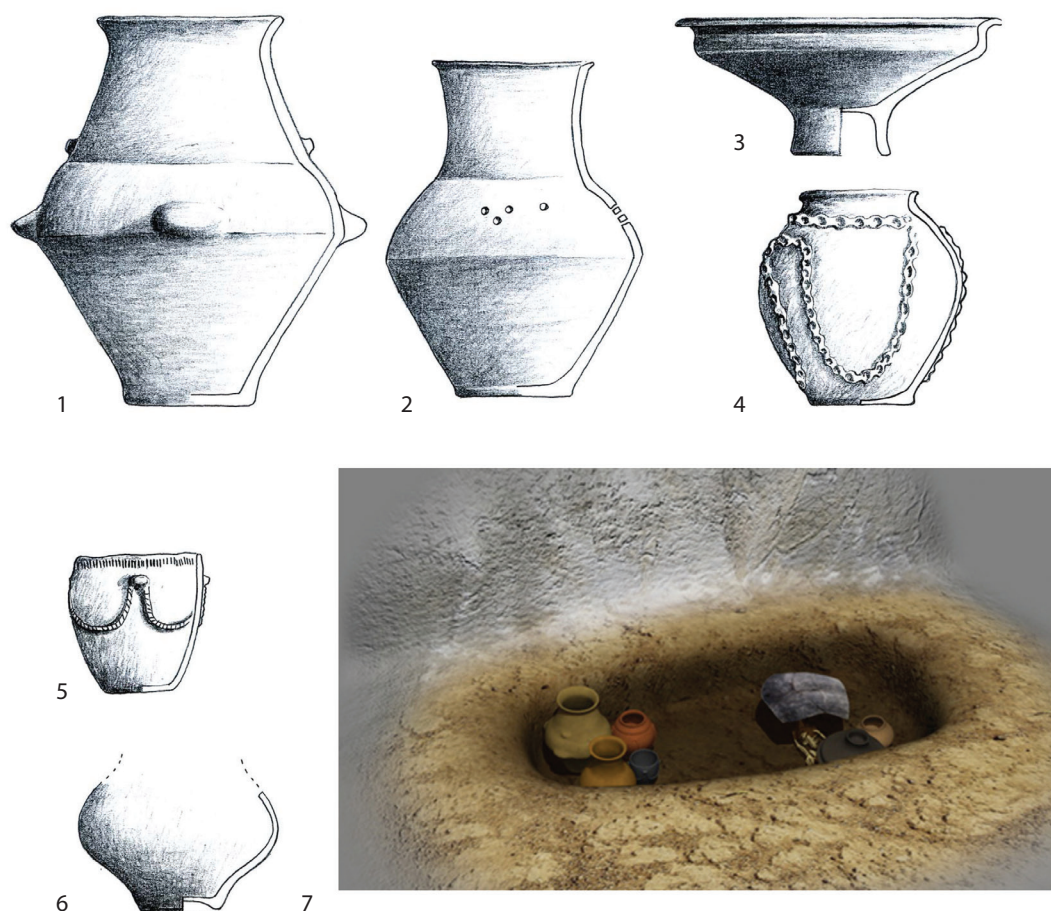


Figure 10: Mokranjske stene. 1–6. Pottery from the grave, 7. Ideal reconstruction of the burial (after Popović / Kapuran 2011)

probably belonged to the nearby hillfort of Oblik, located just above it. Excavations revealed four skeletal burials. The deceased were inhumed and eventually covered with a layer of stones (Figure 6, a–b). Stray finds of jewellery, which were probably grave goods, namely iron bracelets with banded cross-section, have parallels among finds from the necropolis of Vajuga – Pesak (Figure 7, 4. 6–7), belonging to Basarabi phase of 8th and 7th century BC.²⁷ Yet, the ceramic vessels from Signal are characteristic of the Insula Banului and Gornea – Kalakača cultural complexes of Ha B3 stage in the Danube River valley. The *terminus ante quem* in Signal is represented by a double pin with an “M”-shaped head (Figure 7, 5). According to R. Vasić, this type of double pin from

Western and Central Serbia can be dated to the 5th century BC.²⁸ In Signal, therefore, chronologically later metal finds appear together with the considerably earlier ceramics, which could indicate that some small conservative communities retained their burial rituals from the developed stages of the Early Iron Ages (Kalakača phase) until the very end of the Early Iron Age.

Iron Age III/IV

The final phase of the Early Iron Age in the regions south of the Sava and Danube Rivers is represented by the cultural phenomenon defined as Rača – Ljuljaci horizon. Finds from tumuli indicate that the deceased were buried

²⁷ Popović / Vukmanović 1998, 19, Fig. 10, Pl. 4, 8–18.

²⁸ Vasić 2003, 126.

with weapons and a special type of the ceramics goods – cylindrical beakers with a three-leafed foot, a slanted rim, and a single highly elevated banded handle – considered characteristic of the ancient Triballi, with whom the Rača – Ljuljaci culture in Central Serbia is generally associated during 6th/5th centuries BC.²⁹ However, the stratigraphic sequence of the early La Tène phase of the necropolis of Pećine near Kostolac (Figure 8) points to some incompatibilities with the already established chronological and cultural connections. The necropolis dates to the second half of the 4th century BC and has material culture that shows close relationship to the Iron Age communities both in the Central Balkans and in the Pannonian plain.³⁰ In addition, the widespread cremation burials, which are generally connected to the new Celtic populations, a group of burials from Pećine reveals local traits related to the Rača – Ljuljaci culture (Figure 9, 985–987). To mention a few, the pottery shapes include the already-mentioned beakers with a single high handle, a slanted rim and a three-leafed foot, which are believed to have been used in Triballi communities during the 5th century BC.³¹ This also holds true for pins with the double “M” heads (Figure 9, 987). However, as an example from Pećine reveals, the Celtic population was buried together with the local one. The finds from Pećine indicate that the Rača – Ljuljaci horizon certainly lasted up to the end of the 4th century BC, as suggested by finds from the graves attributed to the Celtic population.

The last example of the presence of what have been considered chronologically diverse finds found in the same context in Eastern Serbia also belongs to the La Tène period. A solitary infant burial from the Mokranjske Stene site discovered in the hinterland of the Iron Gates in a vicinity of Negotin must be mentioned. The multi-layered site is located on an elevation surrounded by cliffs on three sides, above the deep canyon of the Sikolska River, just before the section where it flows into Timok River. From here, it is possible to control communication routes that lead through the Timok River valley to its confluence

with the Danube as well as those through the Wallachian plain to the east.

This burial was found unexpectedly in 2011 inside of a test trench (Figure 10, 7).³² Inside the grave, an unusual burial custom of the Late La Tène communities in this region was noted. In the northern part of the burial pit, skeletal remains of a 1.5 year old infant were covered with a single large amphora fragment and one misshaped turned fructiera, typical of the late La Tène pottery (Figure 10, 3, 7). In the southern part of the grave fragments of one complete and one ritually broken vessel were found together (Figure 10, 1–2, 4–5). It was somewhat surprising to see that this ceramic ensemble was composed of pottery bearing characteristics of the latest phases of the La Tène period in Pannonia and the Danube basin (Figure 10, 3–5) and of pottery typical of local communities a few centuries earlier, at the end of Early Iron Age (Iron Age III), (Figure 10, 1–2). It is important to underline that the amphora fragment (Figure 10, 2) shows obvious similarities with the finds from the necropolis Ferigile in Oltenia where such vessels have been found whole as a part of pottery spectrum until 2nd century BC.³³

Conclusion

At the end, we can conclude that outlined examples demonstrate how the established chronologies of the Early Iron Age in Northeastern Serbia, which are based on stylistic-typological identification of finds, require certain corrections in light of the latest discoveries. These adjustments should also be considered from an extended geographical point of view, especially considering that this region situated between from Central Europe to the Mediterranean had experienced different cultural shifts. Certain discrepancies in stylistic and typological characteristics of finds from burial contexts are the most vivid example how some older traditions obviously remain to exist as a part of the ritual practice of following Iron Age customs. With respect to Northeastern Serbia and the specific cultural manifestation in this part of the Balkan Peninsula, following conclusions can be made.

²⁹ Срејовић 1991, 149; Jevtić 1983.

³⁰ Jovanović 1987; 1992, 87; 2010, 164; Sladić 1998.

³¹ Jevtić 1983, 38. 42–43.

³² Popović / Kapuran 2011, 297.

³³ Ibid. 301.

First, the span of the Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare culture which, according to the established chronologies, disappears during the Late Bronze Age (Br D),³⁴ should be broadened to include the Ha A stage or the time of the 12th century BC, as proposed by M. Jevtić and M. Vukmanović,³⁵ and as previously indicated by M. Garašanin.³⁶ The publication of the mentioned unornamented figurines from the site of Ušće Slatinske reke, which remain unavailable to the scientific public despite having been excavated five decades ago, would doubtlessly help in presenting a clearer argument in favour of the certain chronological overlap of incusted and burnished pottery. Moreover, the publication of the finds would also clarify the mutual relationships between groups with richly ornamented incusted pottery (Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare) and groups with burnished, channelled pottery (Gava cultural complex). One can assume that the mentioned examples from the sites of Livade, Konopište, Vajuga – Pesak, Selo, and Pećine also present evidence in support of this hypothesis.

Second, in course of the developed Iron Age or Iron Age II in the territory of Serbia, only a small number of inhumation burials has been discovered. The burials suggest the transition from cremation of the deceased, characteristic for the Late Bronze Age (Belegiš I, Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare cultures) and the following Gava cultural complex. In the subsequent Kalakača phase (9th/8th century BC),³⁷ inhumation burials prevail, most often with the deceased resting on the side, with grave goods comprising whole or ritually broken vessels (for example, at Pećine near Vrdnik, Jaša Tomić and Asfaltna baza in Zemun),³⁸ while at some other necropolises grave goods of iron artefacts occur (for example, at Mojsinje near Čačak, Mound V, Grave 4).³⁹ Two collective (mass) burials at the site of Gomolava I and II are not common custom and can be described as an exception caused by extraordinary circumstances.⁴⁰ However, a newly discovered graves of the the Kalakača phase from Mound V from the

necropolis of Mojsinje, point to certain changes of burial tradition. The deceased now begin to be placed in extended position lying on their back, with arms parallel to the body.⁴¹ The most significant find from this necropolis is a double-looped iron fibula from Grave 4, the oldest fibula of this type in Serbia, which R. Vasić dated to 9th/8th centuries BC.⁴² The Early Iron Age necropolis at Mojsinje also represents the hallmark of changing burial rites, which took place during the temporal span of the Vajuga – Pesak necropolis, at the very transition to the Basarabi horizon (ca. 800 BC). Skeletal burials at Vajuga – Pesak site are all also in extended position on back and dated between 775–725 BC.⁴³ Judging by the pottery and some jewellery (e.g., fibulae with a foot in shape of hourglass),⁴⁴ this necropolis can be assigned to the early stage of Basarabi culture. Another important change are the iron objects that appear in much greater numbers. If we take into account the similar phenomenon at Mojsinje, we can assume that the appearance of the precious new metal – iron – and new burial rite are closely connected. It is thus obvious that the introduction of the iron is related to the contacts with Basarabi culture. The close relationship of previous Kalakača phase and following Basarabi horizon is attested also in the eastern part of Vajuga – Pesak site where pottery characteristic of both groups was clearly intermixed. P. Popović and M. Vukmanović were right to suggest that these finds do not change the precise chronological dating of the Vajuga – Pesak necropolis,⁴⁵ but, as previously suggested, rather expose the strong influence of the preceding, older local traditions.

Third, in case of the Signal necropolis, located deep inside the mountainous region of Eastern Serbia near the town of Svrlijig, there is a pronounced paucity of grave goods (although the same graves are tied to the stray finds of iron bracelets), but the tradition of older cultural traditions persisting can also be observed. Specifically, the deceased were positioned in an extended position on their back, but their arms were crossed on their chest, as it is also the case of Graves 1, 5 and 6 at the site of Sutbarlija assigned

³⁴ Garašanin 1973, 349; Тасић 1983, 85; Крстић 2003, 118.

³⁵ Jevtić / Vukmanović 1996, 290.

³⁶ Garašanin 1983, 522.

³⁷ Медовић / Медовић 2011, 272.

³⁸ Медовић 1984–1985, 5, 8; 1999; Поповић 2010, 223–231.

³⁹ Никитовић et al. 2002, Tab, 3, 1.

⁴⁰ Tasić 1972.

⁴¹ Никитовић et al. 2002, 51–52, Fig. 21.

⁴² Vasić 2014, 207.

⁴³ Popović / Vukmanović 1998, 106.

⁴⁴ Vasić 1999, 55–56; Popović / Vukmanović 1998.

⁴⁵ Popović / Vukmanović 1998, 106.

to the Srem group of the Early Iron Age,⁴⁶ which P. Medović has dated to Phase IIIa of the Bosut culture (500–250 BC).⁴⁷ One further example of the grave from the final stage of Iron Age II (7th–6th century BC) comes from Moštanica near the town of Vranje in southern Serbia.⁴⁸ According to the author of the study, M. Jovanović, the interred deceased was put on his/her back and held an iron spear point in one hand on his/her chest. The grave contained also an iron fibula.⁴⁹ The pottery finds in Grave 4 from the Signal necropolis were modest goods of vessels, most probably ritually broken, with characteristics of the Pšeničevo – Babadag and the Insula Banului groups, and the Kalakača horizon.⁵⁰ There was also an iron pin with a, “M”-shaped head, which has been dated to the 6th century BC. Because of this combination of finds, the Signal necropolis should gain importance, as great caution is needed when defining absolute and relative chronologies of the Early Iron Age sites in the Central Balkans. The following dilemma remains. Should the span of the Kalakača phase in these remote regions be extended to the end of 7th and start of 6th centuries BC or are we simply dealing with more conservative societies in a mountainous area that retain certain cultural traditions even after these traditions disappear in areas along the main communication routes?

And finally, the case of the chronological discontinuity at the Early La Tène necropolis of Pećine points to a need to change the lower chronological boundary of the Rača – Ljuljaci group from the Early Iron Age (Iron Age III) to the end of 4th century BC. Burials with local indigenous characteristics at Pećine can be dated rather precisely by the finds from the contemporary Celtic graves. With regards to the burial rites, it would be an oversimplification to state that indigenous populations influenced their Celtic allies, as both communities practiced cremations and inhumations. Contrary to the situation at Pećine, a completely different arrangement can be observed in a child burial from the rock shelter of Mokranjske stene, dated to the

2nd century BC.⁵¹ This particular example shows that funeral traditions are at times difficult to change and that the desire to distinguish individual identity is sometimes stronger than the actual technological and socio-economic changes of the society (or way of life), brought along with the emergence of the ancient Scordisci. The importance of this find is also suggested by the observation that from this period onward there are almost no burials that can be clearly assigned to the indigenous societies (the Triballi, Dardanians or Autariates). Child graves, furthermore, are exceptionally rare. The grave from Mokranje shows that in addition to the prevailing custom of cremation, a part of the indigenous society still practiced inhumation in graves supplemented by goods of pottery that demonstrated the strong traditional elements characteristics of late phase of the Early Iron Age.

Na engleski jezik preveo Stefan Milošević

Rezime

Hronološki problemi u kontinuitetu kulturnih grupa gvozdenog doba u severoistočnoj Srbiji

Arheolog koji se bavi gvozdenim dobom na području centralnog Balkana morao se suočiti sa određenim odstupanjima na relaciji postojećih hronoloških sistema i situacije na terenu. Problem se naročito aktuelizuje u momentu kada dođe do otkrića neke nove nekropole ili naselja sa kraja II i u I milenijumu pre n. e. Mada se za kraj starijeg i celokupno mlađe gvozdeno doba mogu naći posredna i neposredna svedočenja antičkih istoriografa, čini se da nam ona u nekim slučajevima više odmažu nego pomažu da tumačimo arheološke zapise. Promene u hronološkim sistemima su neminovni proces i u skladu su sa razvojem arheologije kao nauke sa jedne i količine novih arheoloških otkrića sa druge strane. Ovo se vidi i na primeru kontinuiteta kultura gvozdenog doba severoistočne Srbije. Problem produbljuje i geografska povezanost istočne Srbije sa Podunavljem, koje se tokom milenijuma nalazilo na udaru pomeranja praistorijskih zajednica od centralne do jugoistočne Evrope.

⁵¹ Popović / Kapuran 2011, 301.

⁴⁶ Medović 2007, 10–11, 16–19.

⁴⁷ Medović / Medović 2011, 272.

⁴⁸ Jovanović 1969, 72–74; Булатовић 2007, 104–108.

⁴⁹ Jovanović 1969, 73.

⁵⁰ Filipović / Bulatović 2010, 77.

Prvi slučaj koji izaziva određene nedoumice predstavljaju istraživanja lokaliteta i nekropola sa prelaza iz bronzanog u gvozdeno doba na ušću Mlave u Dunav, Velikog Gradca, Konopišta, Male Vrbice, Pesak – Korbovo i Ljubičevac selo u Đerdapu i nizvodno od njega. U ovim slučajevima radi se o prisustvu nalaza kultura Žuto Brdo – Grla Mare zajedno sa nalazima Gava kulturnog kompleksa u istom kontekstu. Sledeću hronološku nedoslednost pokazuje zajedničko prisustvo hronološki starijih elemenata Kalakača i elemenata Basarabi, kao hronološki mlađe keramike, u kontekstu grobova na nekropoli Vajuga – Pesak kod Korbova. Slična je situacija zatečena na nekropoli Signal kod Svrlija, gde je u skeletno sahranjenim grobovima otkrivena keramika tipa Kalakača zajedno sa hronološki dosta mlađim bronzanim iglama sa “M” glavom. Tokom VI–V veka pre n. e. na tribalskoj nekropoli Ljuljaci otkriveni su gotovo identični pogrebni prilozi kao i u ranolatenskoj nekropoli Pečine, koja je precizno datovana u sredinu IV veka pre n. e. Poslednji primer hronoloških neslaganja predstavljao bi grob jednog deteta iz Moranja kod Negotina. Zajedno sa keramikom karakterističnom za mlađu fazu latenske kulture u Srpskom podunavlju, javljaju se keramički oblici koji imaju karakteristike starosedelačkih zajednica sa kraja starijeg gvozdenog doba ili Ha C.

Kao zaključak izlaganja treba napomenuti da navedeni primeri pokazuju kako postojeće stilsko-tipološke i hronološke determinacije kultura gvozdenog doba u severoistočnoj Srbiji zahtevaju izvesne korekcije i prilagođavanja na koja ukazuju nova otkrića. Ove korekcije treba sagledati ne samo hronološki već i u okviru geografskih celina koje pokazuju različitosti u kulturnim kretanjima od centralne Evrope do Mediterana.

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New perspectives of the tumuli burials during the Iron Age in the Republic of Macedonia

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Abstract: The Early Iron Age in R. Macedonia (10th to the beginning of the 8th century BC) was a period of unclear and undefined cultural values for these communities which were influenced by the new waves of the Transitional period. Yet, besides these influences, local communities also developed their own specific and characteristic appearances in the material culture. There is the obvious influence of the local Bronze Age culture, mixed with the northern elements of Hallstatt cultures from the western Balkan regions. Some of these elements existed for only a short time during the Transitional period and disappeared leaving no trace of their further development. The elements that were accepted were adapted to the local tastes (and needs) of the Iron Age communities, thus becoming incorporated into and recognizable parts of the local Iron Age culture. All of these elements present specific manifestations of the Early Iron Age culture in R. Macedonia, bringing it closer to the northern and north-western Iron Age cultures in the Balkan Peninsula. One of the most specific cultural phenomena of the Early Iron Age is the burial under tumuli. This was a new burial practice derived from the new way of life and new social relations in society. In this way, these burials, known as clan tumuli, played a major role in the appearance and the development of the Early Iron Age in Macedonia.

Key words: tumuli burials, Early Iron Age, tumular cemeteries, burial practice, burial rituals, “clan” tumuli, “family” tumuli, central grave, cist grave, matt painted pottery

Introduction

The Late Bronze Age development on the territory of the R. of Macedonia is a unique phenomenon, where the southern, i.e. Mycenaean, and the northern Balkan influences are clearly visible, as they were incorporated in many segments of the material culture, such as the pottery, jewellery, and weaponry (Figure 1). These influences were especially manifested in the regions' main communication route, such as the Vardar River Valley. While the southern influences assisted in the establishment of, for instance, the Ulan-ci (Povardarie) cultural group,² the influences coming from the north caused its destruction.³ The Ulan-ci group was characterised by deeply canonised burial rites and material culture as

well as openness towards the Aegean. Warrior burials have not been discovered, and the lack of weapons in the wider context of the Ulan-ci cultural group speaks for the absence of destructive processes until its end,⁴ which is associated with invasions from the north. This indicates that the local communities along the valley of River Vardar were not affected by the first wave of the so-called “Great Aegean migrations”, which happened at the end of the 13th through the early 12th century BC. After the fall of the Mycenaean civilisation in the south, many of Bronze Age cultur-

¹ Archaeological Museum of Macedonia – Skopje

² Videski 2004, 43–46; Митревски 2013.

³ Mitrevski 2007, 444–445.

⁴ Videski 2004, 90–97. In general, male burials at Dimov Grob, Ulan-ci were presented with a unified personal set consisting of a knife, a needle, and a sharpener, but there was no single grave with weapons. First weapons (four socketed axes and head of a spear) appeared at the very end of the 12th century BC at Manastir, Čaška near Veles.

al elements continued to exist in the mainland to the north of the Mycenaean core.⁵

The peaceful life of the communities in the Late Bronze Age was disturbed by turbulent events associated with migrations from the north to the south in the second half of 12th century BC, and the territory of the R. of Macedonia played an important role during these movements.⁶ The best evidence for these turbulent times comes from the settlements along the Vardar River valley, which suffered large and frequent conflagrations as well as total destruction, including at sites of Manastir near Veles⁷ and Vardarski Rid near Gevgelija.⁸ The strong foreign influence is detectable by the appearance of new finds in the burnt layers at the settlement of Stolot near Ulanci or Manastir – Čaška, unknown till then in the material culture. Excavated material at these sites fits chronologically and typologically to the latest burial phase at the necropolis of Dimov Grob near Ulanci or the older horizon of burials at Mali Dol in Tremnik.⁹ It can be confirmed that the same situation seems to be applicable at Vardarski Rid near Gevgelija, where the community moved to a safer location at the neighbouring hill Kofilak after the destruction of the original settlement.¹⁰ One further illustration of the devastation can be found at Manastir, Čaška near Veles, where in the ruinous layer four bronze socketed axes (typical objects with northern origin dated to the 12th century BC) were found.¹¹ The destruction of the Late Bronze age settlements was best documented by the burnt layers at low-lying Vardar settlements, such as Kastanas (layers

11 and 12), Vardino, and Vardarophtsa, with the stratigraphy that included up to four layers damaged by fire followed by signs of recovery of the settlement.¹² At the same time as the destruction of the settlements, the necropolises of Ulanci group fell out of use. New necropolises and new way of burials utilising cremation appeared at that time in the area from Hipodrom near Skopje and Mali Dol – Tremnik up to Gynaikokastro near Kilkis.¹³ The new cultural elements from the north (e.g., pottery, terracottas, and the use of cremation as burial ritual that will have survived in the Protogeometric period), can be easily traced in the area of the Danube, through the Moravian and the Vardar regions down south to the Peloponnese.¹⁴

Late Bronze and Early Iron Age tumuli burials

1. General information about the tumuli in Macedonia

The appearance and the development of tumulus cemeteries on the territory of the R. of Macedonia is one of the most distinctive phenomena of the Early Iron Age. They appeared during the transitional period from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age, representing the societal and social complexities of the Early Iron Age communities. In general, the appearance of tumuli in Macedonia is a novelty, although this type of funerary practice has been known in the Balkans since the Early Bronze Age (BrA according to Reinecke's chronology), having originated in the Caucasus and the Eastern European steppes.¹⁵ Their development in different regions indicates different values, which depended on the particular level of the social and economic development of each community. According to some authors, their appearance was considered to coincide with the so-called third wave of the Aegean migrations.¹⁶ However, on the territory of Macedo-

⁵ Mitrevski 2007, 447.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Papazovska 2015, 63–65; Jovcevska 2008, 14–15. 23. The investigator in her published results determined the site to be a necropolis from the transitional period from the Bronze to the Iron Age. By coordinating the stratigraphy and the description of the layers in the monograph, we can conclude that the excavated layers belonged to a settlement. Some attributed of the published material suggests the type of the settlement and the manner of manufacture of the objects. All elements show that Manastir – Čaška was a single period settlement from the end of the Late Bronze Age, which was then burnt and destroyed completely.

⁸ Videski 2005, 19–22.

⁹ Mitrevski 1997, 44; Papazovska 2018, in print. More information about the necropolis of Mali Dol in Tremnik will be published in *Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica* 21.

¹⁰ Videski 2005, 91–113.

¹¹ Ibid.; Jovcevska 2008.

¹² Papazovska 2015, 72–73. See also Hochstetter 1984, 345–350; Hänsel 1989, 363–367.

¹³ Savvopoulou 1988, 306–312; Mitrevski 1994, 115–124; Papazovska 2018.

¹⁴ Diamond 1988, 153–159; Mitrevski 2007, 448.

¹⁵ Garašanin 1983, 264–266.

¹⁶ Mikulčić 1966, 21; Mitrevski 1997, 63–64.

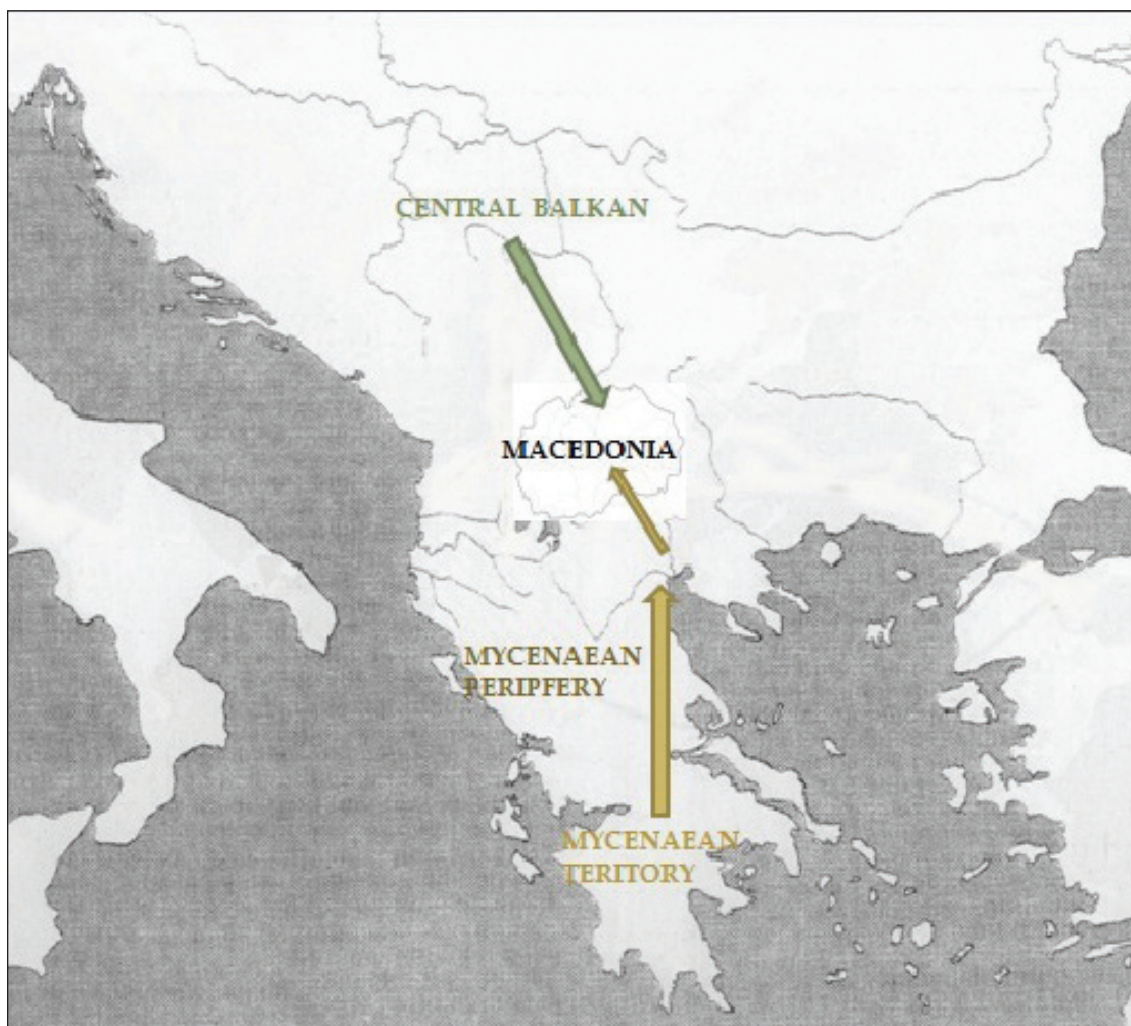


Figure 1: *Cultural influences from the north and the south (Aegean) in the Late Bronze Age in R. of Macedonia* (map by author)

nia and in South Epirus we encounter an earlier appearance of the tumuli during the transitional Late Bronze to Early Iron Age period.¹⁷ Finds typical for the transitional period are Liburnian fibulae¹⁸ and a Pesciera type fibula from Demir Kapija,¹⁹ phalerae or flange hilted swords²⁰, all pointing to 11th century BC. Besides these, there

is also a presence of local matt painted pottery of the Ulanci group from the Late Bronze Age or the spectacle fibulae, which have been found in the earliest burials.

Another problem related to tumulus cemeteries is the question of their character and development. Tumuli are a new burial practice, conditioned by the new lifestyle and societal and social relations. A very important feature of the tumuli is their position in relation to the environment. In particular, special attention was given to the selection of dominant locations in the area.²¹

¹⁷ The earlier appearance of tumuli was during the transitional Late Bronze to Iron Age period, namely the central grave in the tumulus at Visoi near Bitola, the central grave in the tumulus at Strnovac near Kumanovo, and the newly excavated tumulus in Kršla near Vinica.

¹⁸ Mitrevski 1997, 306. 316, Cat. No. 50–51. 67. We found several finds of this type of fibulae on the territory of Macedonia in Popadin Dol, Prilepec, Trojaci, Demir Kapija, Lakavica, Karanka – Rapeš, Vergina, and Pateli.

¹⁹ Korošec 1956, 104–105.

²⁰ Finds from tumulus in Beranci; Mikulčić 1966.

²¹ Their position was the main reason for re-using the tumuli as burial grounds in the later periods, especially during the Roman period and sometimes even in the Middle Ages, such as in the case of the tumuli at Stragata in Krushevit-sa – Prilep or the Tumulus I in Visoi, Beranci. This may

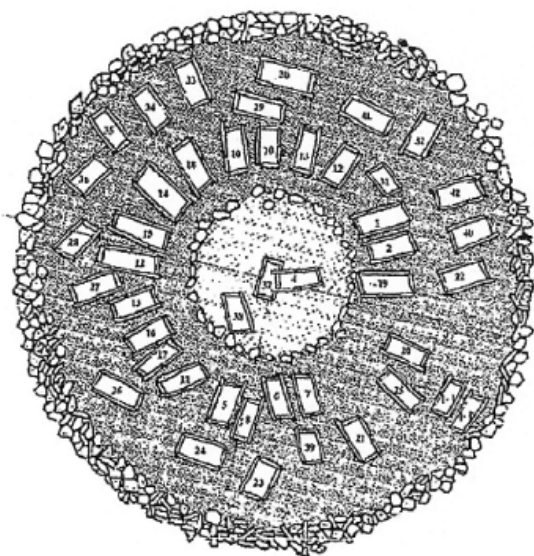


Figure 2: *Tumulus I, Visoi, Beranci*
(Mitrevski 1997, Fig. 26)

This paper is a result of the analysis of burial rituals at the end of the Bronze Age and during the Early Iron Age with an emphasis on the tumulus cemeteries. The data for the analysis came from ten tumuli excavated during the last fifty years on the territory of R. of Macedonia,²² and include information on their structure and archaeological finds.²³ To stress the underlying premise again, the development of the tumuli necropolises on the territory of the R. of Macedonia, as well as in South Epirus²⁴ and Northwest Greece²⁵ reflects societal and social relations at that time.

In terms of the character and the manner of construction, two types of tumulus cemeteries can be distinguished. The cemeteries of the earlier type are associated only with the Early Iron Age, and are typologically, chronological-

ly, and culturally distinguished as a group of the so-called “clan” or “tribal” tumuli, while tumuli cemeteries of the later type are associated with the Late Iron Age, and are typologically, chronologically, and culturally distinguished as a group of the so-called “family” tumuli.²⁶

The clan or tribal tumuli are characterised by multiple burials under a single mound, enclosed with single circular wall made of relatively large stones. The most characteristic feature of this type of tumuli is the division of the central space with an additional ring of stones covered with an earthen mound as a separate tumulus, which indicates the central grave. In most cases, the burial in the central grave was the oldest one, as was the case of the tumuli at Strnovac, Visoi – Beranci, Petkov Dol, and Mojno, for example. The burial rite in the central grave, a crouched inhumation, differs from the secondary burials within the mound. The central burial from the tumulus at Visoi dates to the Submycenaean period,²⁷ and the secondary burials in this tumulus were radially arranged around the central grave, with their heads turned towards it. It is believed that the deceased in the central grave was the founder or the father of the community. This type of tumulus with a mound formed first over the central grave followed by the rest of the graves covered with a larger mound is called “double tumulus”. To this type belong the mounds at Visoi – Beranci and the newly discovered tumuli at Čanishte and Kruševica in Mariovo as well as the tumuli in Strnovac near Kumanovo.²⁸

The tumulus at Visoi – Beranci (Figure 2) shows certain similarities with the mounds in the famous cemetery at Vergina, including architecture and grave customs. At the same time, Visoi – Beranci tumuli represent one of the oldest Early Iron Age tumuli in Macedonia of the so-called clan or tribal type. On the other hand, it is clear that the features and the manner of construction of the tumuli reveals multiple elements of the Mycenaean grave architecture, such as the use of grave circles and cist graves. These elements deeply influenced not only the character of the Iron Age tumuli, but also their social, societal,

be associated with the appearance of the cult of ancestors among the local populations, but this suggestion remains unclarified due to the low level of research.

²² Visoi – Beranci, Karanka – Rapeš and Petkov Dol – Mojno near Bitola, Orlova Čuka – Štip, Stragata – Caniste and Barata in Mariovo, Strnovac and Vojnik near Kumanovo, Ograda – Orešani, Przali – Varvara near Skopje.

²³ The analysis was made during the research for the author’s doctoral thesis entitled “The Early Iron Age in Macedonia” defended at the University of St. Cyril and Methodius in Skopje on December 25, 2015.

²⁴ Andrea 1976; 1985; Korkouti 1981; Bejko 2002, 171–198; Aliu 2004.

²⁵ Andronikos 1969; Vokotopoulou 1982; 1986.

²⁶ Митревски 2013, 220–224.

²⁷ Mikulčić 1966, 14–15; Andronikos 1969; Mitrevski, 1997, 103; Papazovska Sanev 2014, 15, Fig. 6.

²⁸ Mitrevski 1997, 88–110; Mitkoski 1999; Stankovski 2006, 93–114; Mitkoski 2010, 60–62.

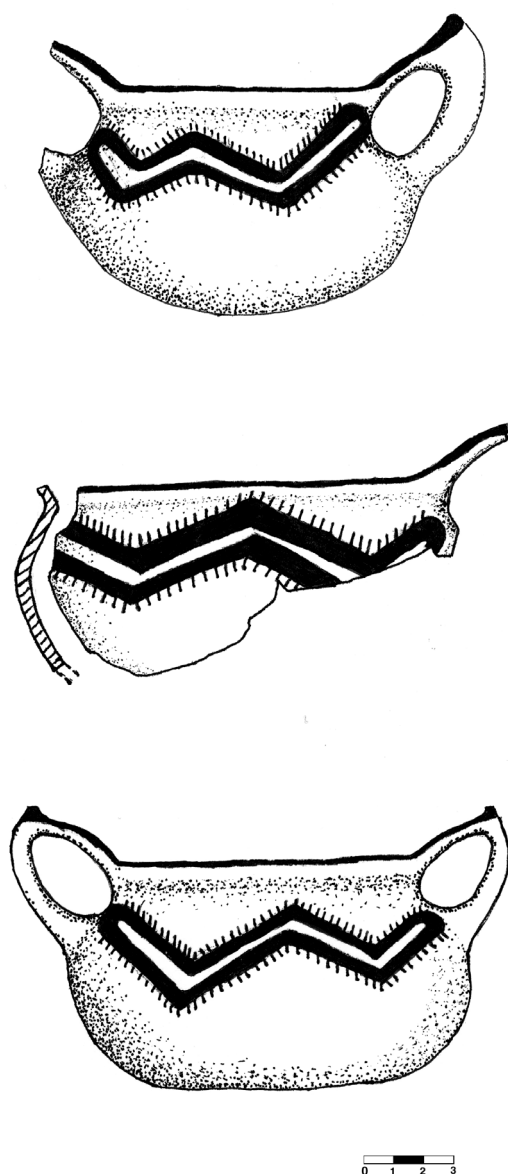


Figure 3: *Local matt painted pottery, Ulanci, Gradsko*
(drawing by Z. Videski)

and religious meaning. In the Late Bronze Age, the inhumation in a cist was established as a sole grave form in the tumuli and cremation vanished from the entire region of Macedonia down to Thessaly. The reappearance of cists with other forms of individual burials in the Early Iron Age (10th–9th centuries BC) indicates the strengthening of the local values of the Bronze Age.²⁹

The tumuli in the R. of Macedonia are a social category and a cultural phenomenon, in

which the so-called tribal or clan type played a significant role in the establishment and development during the Early Iron Age. This type of necropolis contained one to three tumuli, each with more than ten burials, mainly in cists and always with a central grave around which all other graves were organised. The whole tumulus was enclosed with stones and the mound was made by piling mixed earth and stones. Sometimes the central grave had a separate mound and a stone ring, and the burials in this central grave comprised the so-called “double tumulus type”,³⁰ which were the earliest burials. The appearance of double tumuli in Macedonia might be due to a cultural breakthrough or alternatively according to some authors due to population movements from Southeast Albania, where this type of burial practice was used during the Bronze Age.³¹ The later opinion, however, does not seem to hold, as previously outlined. These reasons primarily include the manifestations typical of the Late Bronze Age culture known as the Ulanci group. The matt painted pottery (Figure 3, 4) and the burials in crouched inhumation are common for the group and point to the continuity of the traditions of communities from the Bronze into the Iron Age, even though the communities adopted some new elements into their burial customs, such as the burying under low earthen or stone mounds. This consistency is evident in the material culture, especially in pottery, which shows continuity from the Late Bronze Age with some changes with gradual introduction of new shapes.

It is interesting to note that some grave goods provide significant data for the typological, chronological and cultural identification of the central graves. One of such examples is a fragment of a matt painted kantharos of the Ulanci type found in the central grave (Figure 4) of Tumulus I at Strnovac. This type of pottery dates in to the Bronze Age or 12th century BC. The other finds from this tumulus include monochrome pottery and fragments of channelled wares, both typical for 11th century BC.³²

²⁹ First use of cists as a grave construction on the territory of Macedonia can be traced to the Late Bronze Age necropolises of Ulanci Group.

³⁰ Hammond, 1976, 77–105; 1982, 625. 644.

³¹ Ibid. 77–105.

³² Stankovski 2006, Appendix 1. 97.

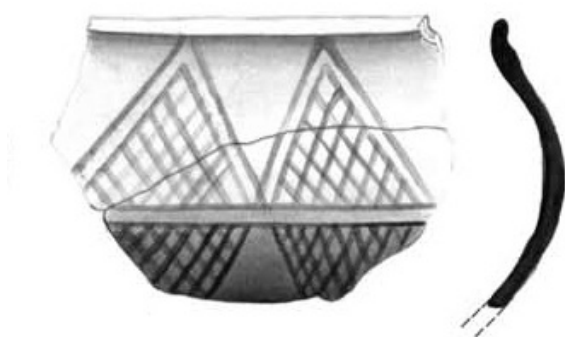


Figure 4: *Matt painted pottery – central grave, Tumulus I, Dolinac, Strnovac* (Stankoski 1999, Tab. I, 9)

2. A discussion of the best examples of the so-called clan tumuli and their significant burials

Visoi – Beranci, Bitola

The site of Visoi is located round 3 km south of the village Beranci on the shore of the Crna Reka, or the Black River, in the antiquity known as River Erigon. All together nine round tumuli were registered at a distance of around 300 to 500 m apart. First archaeological excavations here were held in the 1954 by the Museum of Bitola as the biggest tumuli with the diameter of 23 m was investigated, in which 24 burials were found organised in radially laid-out lines around the central grave. Of special importance is the central burial in form of a crouched inhumation in a cist, while the remaining burials were extended inhumations.³³

The central grave (Tomb III) in this large tumulus at Visoi – Beranci contained an iron sword, a bronze amulet in the shape of a labrys and a skyphos.³⁴ (Figure 5, 1. 3. 5) The iron sword has a flat double-sided blade and tongue-shaped handle resembling a fish tail. The swords of this type have been found in two earlier burials at the Vergina cemetery.³⁵ In terms of its length, this sword is similar to the bronze swords from of the

stage Ha A with the main distribution in central Europe while its ending in the form of a fish tail resembles the bronze swords of type Auheim.³⁶ Based on a comparison to the samples from the museum in Athens, they are dated to the LH IIIB–C, or the 13th–12th centuries BC.³⁷

The bronze pendant in the shape of a double axe (Figure 5, 3) has parallels with the samples from the Protogeometric graves at Vergina and Pateli.³⁸ A very important find for dating is a wheelmade skyphos (Figure 5, 1) with linear matt painted decoration. It belongs to the group of the Protogeometric pottery imported from the south at the end of the 10th century BC, with possible influences from Thessaly.³⁹ Based on finds from the central graves and on analogies from other sites we can conclude that the tumuli of the clan type in Visoi – Beranci appeared at the end of the 13th or in the 12th century BC and reached their final phase during the 10th century BC.

Dolinac, Strnovac – Staro Nagoričane near Kumanovo

The archaeological site of Dolinac was discovered as part of the international project at Pirajhme in 2000, when two tumuli (I and II) were registered.⁴⁰ The site is located in the village of Strnovac, around 400 m east of River Pčinja. Tumulus I was well preserved with a mound of 20 m in diameter and 1.71 m in height made by earth and small stones and an enclosed circle made of big stone blocks and smaller stones filling the space between the blocks (wall thickness ca. 0.20–0.30 m).⁴¹ In the central part of the tumulus, a central grave was discovered. The deceased was placed in a crouched position in a pit, surrounded by a stone ring with a smaller mound of stones (Figure 6).⁴² It is interesting to mention the presence of another burial in a crouched position in the central grave. The form of this additional grave, however, could not be precisely defined (it might

³⁶ Schauer 1971, 125; Mikulčić 1966, 16.

³⁷ Athens National Archaeological Museum 1017, 323, type Naue II.

³⁸ Rey 1932, Fig. 11; Andronikos, 1952, 211.

³⁹ Mikulčić, 1966, 16–17.

⁴⁰ National Museum of Kumanovo organized the archaeological excavations held in 2001.

⁴¹ Stankovski 2008, 135.

⁴² Stankovski 2006, Tab. 1. 97; Papazovska Saney 2014, 15–16.

³³ Mikulčić 1966, 14. Archaeological finds and documentation are located in the National Museum of Bitola.

³⁴ Ibid. 16, Tab. IV, 8a–c.

³⁵ Andronikos 1952, 263–264, Fig. 102.



Figure 5: *Finds from the central grave in the tumulus I, Visoi, Beranci I.* (Mikulčić 1966, Tab. IV)

have been a pit), but it was orientated NW–SE just as the first grave.⁴³ A matt painted kantharos (Figure 4) of the Ulanci type from the central grave of Tumulus I has been dated to the end of Bronze Age or to the transitional period (second half of the 12th century BC). The grave offerings in the other burials in Tumulus I date later, as they are typical for the more developed stages of the Iron Age (8th century BC).⁴⁴

⁴³ Stankovski 2008, 135–140.

⁴⁴ Ibid. Three more graves can be noticed in this tumulus and based on the grave goods they can be dated to the 8th

century BC. Similar situation with the tumulus used throughout a longer period of time can also be observed in at Stragata near the village of Kruševica (Figure 7). During the 2001 excavations, in the middle of a tumulus with a diameter of 15 m a central burial in a cist grave and several younger graves in cists graves located radially around it were excavated.⁴⁵

century BC.

⁴⁵ Mitkoski 1999, 27, Pl. 1–2.

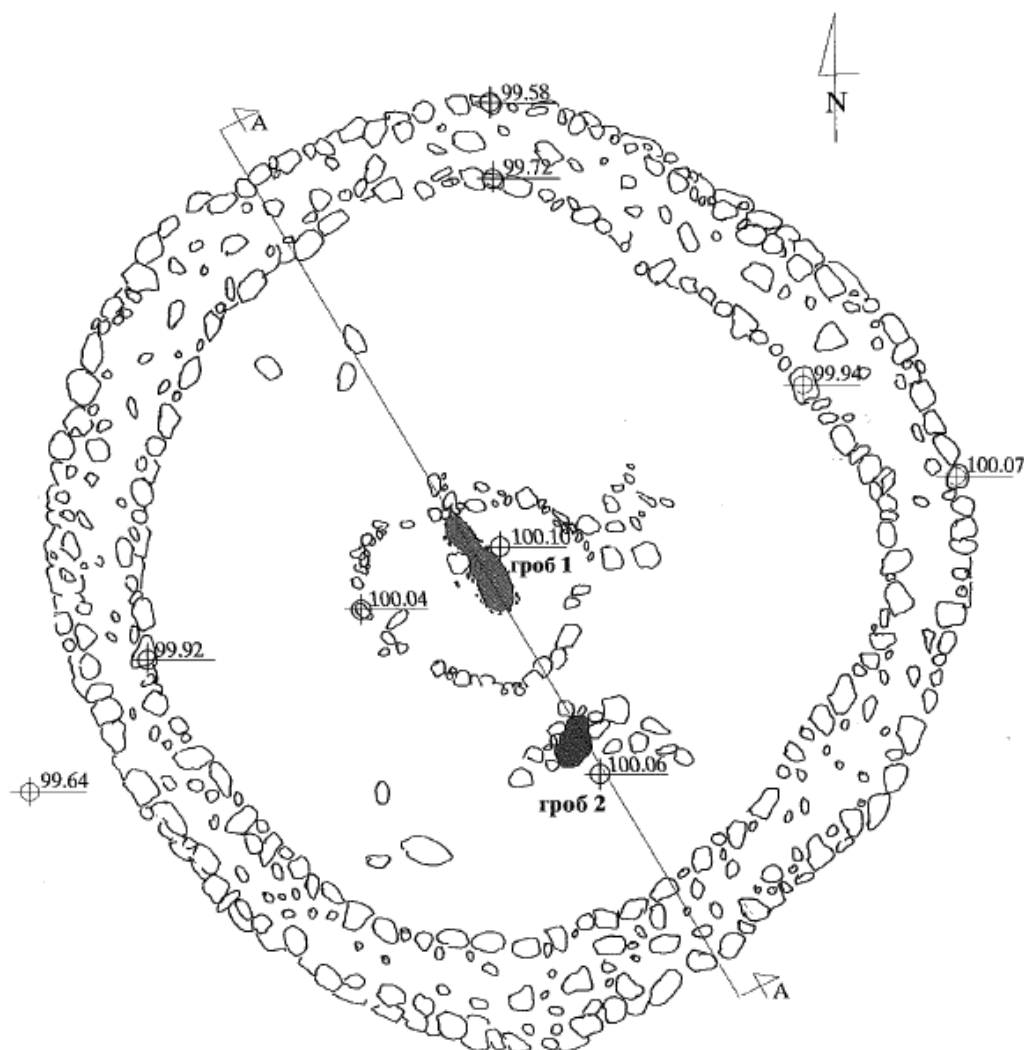


Figure 6: Tumulus I, Dolinac, Strnovac (Stankoski 1999, Fig. 1)

Barata, Čanište

The excavations in 1994 at the site of Barata located 2 km northwest of the village of Čanište revealed three tumuli. The largest one (with a mound of a diameter of 15 m and a height of 1.25 m) included nine cist graves placed radially around the central grave (Figure 8).⁴⁶ While in Strnovac and Kruševica the central grave was clearly distinguished, the burial in the central grave in Čanište represents a distinct construction with a separate mound of stones. These graves date between 11th and 10th century BC or at the beginning of the Early Iron Age. Based on the finds from other graves it can be assumed

that the tumulus in Čanište was in use until the developed Iron Age (8th century BC).⁴⁷

Przali – Varvara, Skopje

The archaeological site of Przali is located in the village of Varvara, 14 km south of Skopje on the left bank of the Markova River.⁴⁸ The necropolis was investigated in years 1995 and 2000 by the

⁴⁷ Ibid. 58–62, Pl. 3–4. In both tumuli, new burials were performed in the following periods.

⁴⁸ The archaeological excavations were conducted by the Museum of City of Skopje, but the results have not been published yet, except from an MA thesis of Kiro Ristov defended in 2004 at the Faculty of Philosophy in the Department of Archaeology in Skopje entitled “Prehistoric necropoleis in Varvara and Orešani – a picture of protohistory in the Skopje region”.

⁴⁶ Mitkoski 2010, 58–60, Pl. 3.

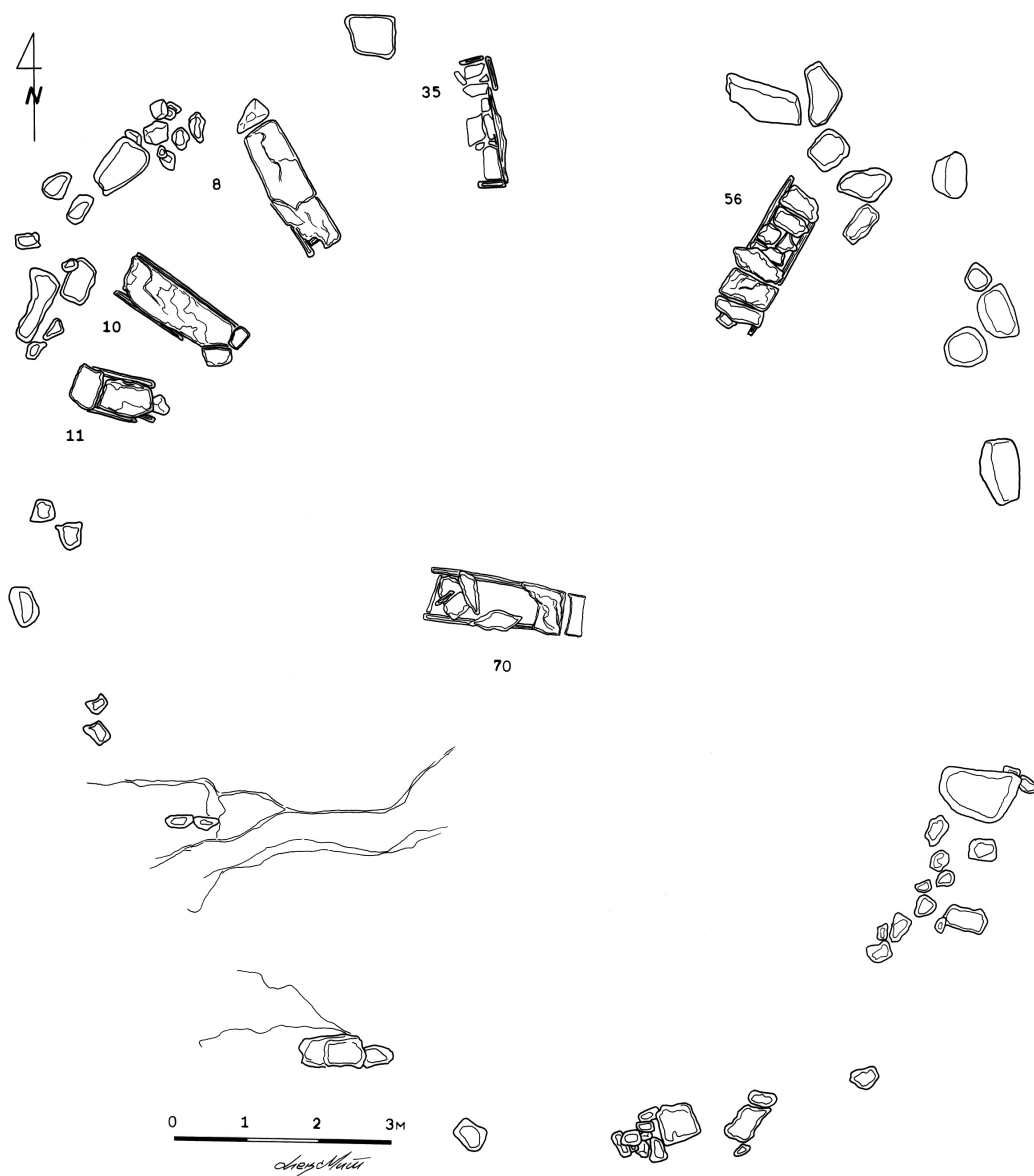


Figure 7: Tumulus, Stragata, Kruševica – Mariovo (Mitkoski, 2010, plan 3.)

Skopje city museum.⁴⁹ The limited excavations revealed a tumulus of clan type with 53 burials dating from Early Iron Age till the Roman time.⁵⁰ The tumulus was consisting of an earthen mound with a wreath of stones of a diameter of 13 m.⁵¹

3. Conclusion

It can be concluded that during the Iron Age tumuli became the favourite mode of burial practice. The development of cemetery organisation

followed the social and economic changes in the community, which was reflected in the structure of the tumuli.

The stabilisation of the Iron Age culture and the emerging social relations during the developed Iron Age contributed to the growth of communities, resulting in the population abandoning the old burial custom of the so-called clan or tribal tumuli. New organisation within the tumulus cemeteries saw new spacious necropolises with several hundred tumuli.⁵² These tumuli had the same characteristics as the earlier clan tumu-

⁴⁹ Ristov 1999, 7–12, Fig. 1–2; 2006, 16. I would like to thank Kiro Ristov for pointing it out to me.

⁵⁰ Ristov 2006, 20–21.

⁵¹ Ristov 2004, 54.

⁵² Митревски 2013, 220–224.

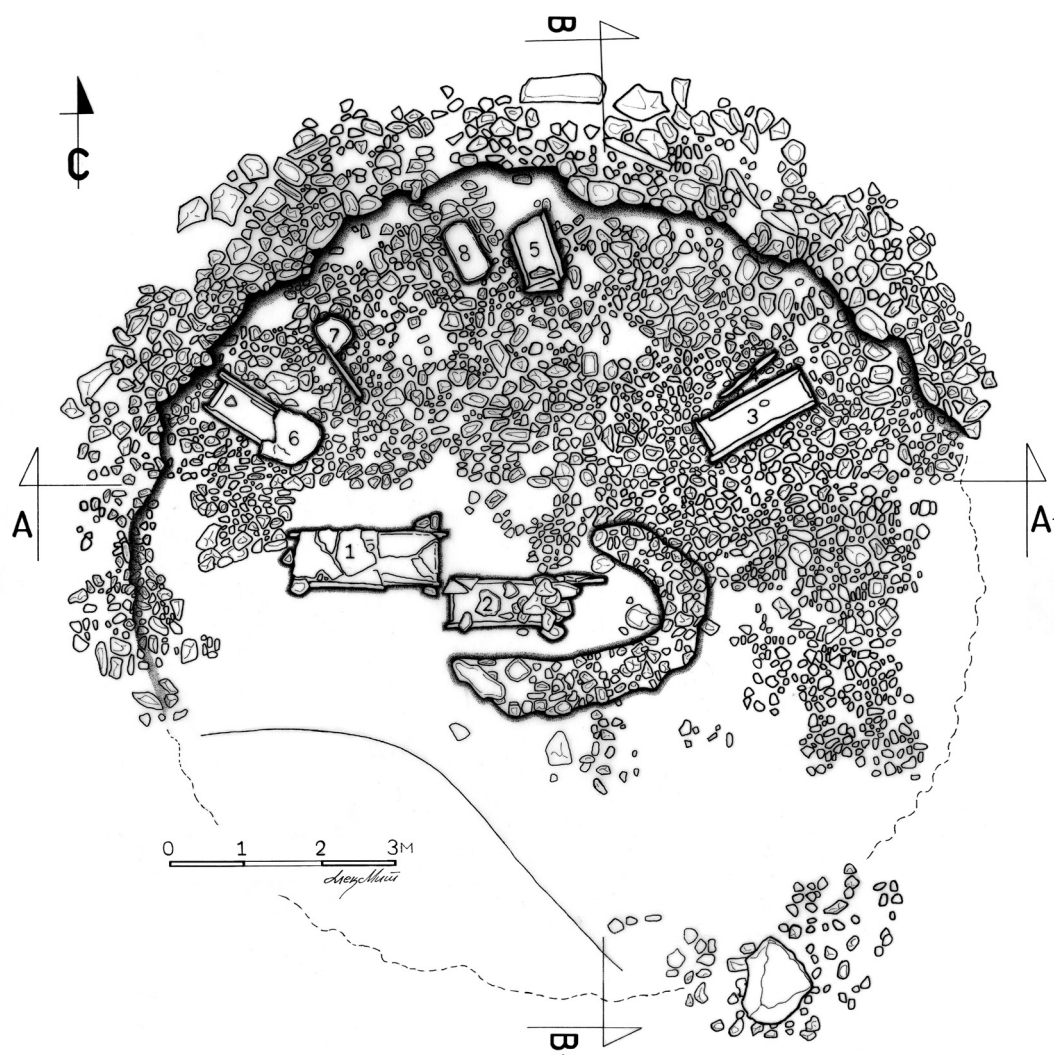


Figure 8: *Tumulus, Barata, Čanište – Mariovo* (Mitkoski, 2010, plan 4.)

li, but were of smaller dimensions and contained fewer burials. The fencing stone ring consisted of an ordinary circle of stones in a single row, and there was no central burial occupying the inner space of the tumulus. In short, the clan or tribal type of the tumulus was abandoned and the new tumuli of the so-called family character, such as at Dabici – Sopot near Veles (Figure 9), occur through the entire 7th and 6th centuries BC.⁵³

Some authors have linked this type of tumulus with the communities of conservative and livestock breeding regions, as this custom was practiced for a longer period of time there.⁵⁴ The graves of ancestors had great importance for

these communities, especially with respect to the identification of the individual with the community. With the collapse of the tribal system and the appearance of new social differentiation in the 6th century BC, tumulus cemeteries fell out of use.

In line with this conclusion, we can discard the earlier interpretations, which associated the tumulus burials and their appearance in Macedonia with foreign ethnic communities and the idea that tumulus burials appeared during the new and turbulent period of transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age. There are no special signs that the burials under tumuli belonged to people who were ethnically different from the others or who practiced this “Indo-Eu-

⁵³ Митревски 1997, 93-96.

⁵⁴ Bejko 2006, 203; Митревски 2013, 220-224.

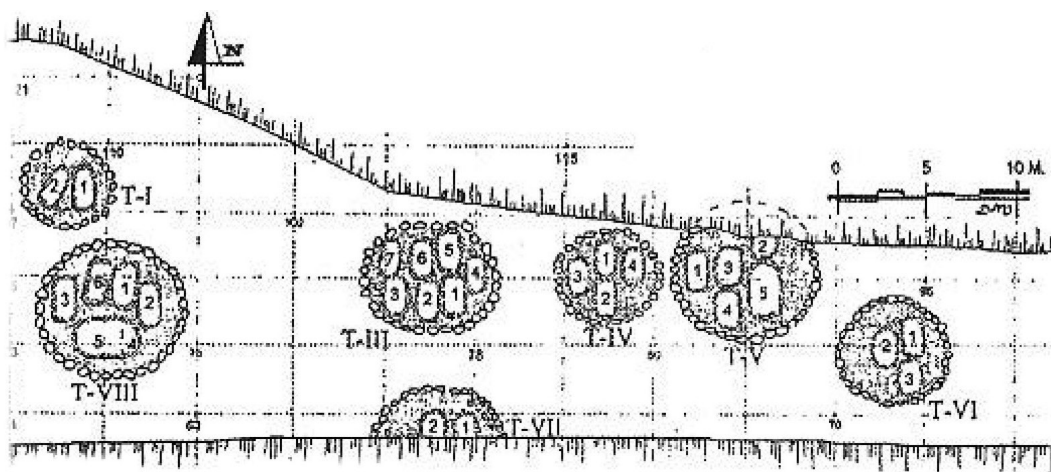


Figure 9: "Family" tumuli (Mitrevski 1997, Fig. 23)

ropean" way of burial. The developments in the period of the transition into the Early Iron Age as presented here, accompanied with the results from the research conducted in the last decades, can help us to draw out a number of key elements included in the formation of the Early Iron Age in the Republic of Macedonia. Specifically, it relies on two basic elements. First, the Early Iron Age was formed based on the preceding local Bronze Age traditions that are strongly recognisable in the local cultural group of the Vardar Valley. This cultural group (the Povardarie – Ulanci group) followed even earlier traditions, but also incorporated influences stemming from the strong relationships with the Mycenaean culture. Thus, some of the elements that are noticeable in the burial tradition are the use of cist graves and the multiple burials, which can be considered to bear Mycenaean influences.⁵⁵ The inhumation burials that had emerged in Macedonia in the Late Bronze Age continued to develop in the Early Iron Age as well.

The research on the phenomenon of tumulus cemeteries in the last decades has shown that they are a reflection of the social and economic character of the Iron Age communities. The earliest appearance of the clan tumuli can be found in the regions of Pelagonia and Skopje – Kumanovo (in the region of the Upper Vardar Valley), where they are most concentrated. If we

observe carefully the map of distribution of the so-called clan tumuli, we can see that the family tumuli are absent in this area and vice versa. The family type of tumuli is more common in the Middle Vardar Valley and in the region of Bregalnica. Moreover, they date to a much later period, the Developed Iron Age (the 7th to the first half of the 6th century BC) (Figure 10). At that time, new settlements were established as a result of the growing economic power of the communities and the development of metallurgy and the use of iron in particular. As communities had greater possibilities for the development of crafts and trade, there was a new development in spiritual culture and beliefs. The events of the Early Iron Age created conditions for a greater progress of the developed Iron Age, evident in the increased population, especially in the Lower Vardar Valley. It eventually led to the establishment of strong communities and first proto-urban centres. These centres opened a new page and paved way for new historical development.

Na engleski jezik prevele
Aleksandra Papazovska i Daniela Heilmann

⁵⁵ Snodgrass 1971, 180.



Figure 10: *Tumuli burials in R. of Macedonia* (map by autor)

Резиме

Нове перспективе сахрањивања под тумулима у гвозденом добу Македоније

Рано гвоздено доба у Македонији (од X до почетка VIII века пре нове ере) је период неоспорне културе са нејасно дефинисаним културним вредностима, на које утичу последице транзиционог периода. Гвоздено доба је специфичан феномен који се развија под различитим утицајима, али са својим специфичностима и карактеристикама које га разликују као развој локалне заједнице. У његовом формирању евидентни су утицаји из бронзаног доба, као и продор нових елемената халштатске културе са севера у транзиционом периоду. Неки од ових елемената су кратко задржани (током транзиционог периода), без проналаска основе за њихов даљи развој. Други су прихваћени и прилагођени локалном укусу и потребама

становништва, а касније су постали неодвојиви и препознатљиви дио локалне културе гвозденог доба. Сви ови елементи дају специфичне манифестације културе раног гвозденог доба у Македонији, приближавајући јужне и сјеверозападне културе на Балкану.

Сахрањивање испод тумула је посебан културни феномен који се појављује у Македонији у раном гвозденом добу, а који ће се развијати у току гвозденог доба. Дуго се сматрало да се ова појава поклапа са такозваним трећим таласом миграција Егеја, према Милојчићу и Мејеру, али на територији Македоније, чак и у јужном Епиру, проналазимо њихову ранију појаву, током транзиционог периода у XI век пре н. е.

Тумули представљају нови начин сахране, који је условљен новим начином живота, односно новим друштвеним односима. Али, оно што је константа или барем има континуитет јест сигурно материјална култура, где су неизбежне нове форме, нови утицаји, нови предмети, где керамика као централни елемент указује на континуитет из касног бронзаног доба. У сваком случају, тумули

у Македонији представљају друштвену категорију и културни феномен, где кључну улогу игра такозвани “клановски” тип тумула који је одиграо важну улогу у формирању и развоју старијег гвозденог доба.

Стабилизацијом нових друштвених односа у гвозденом добу, дошло је до пораста броја заједница чије је становништво оставило стари обичај сахрањивања у клановским тумулима. Одатле ће се формирати нова пространа и организована тумуларна некропола са стотинама тумула. У суштини, ти тумули су имали исте конструктивне карактеристике као и тумули старијих кланова, али са мањим димензијама и мањим бројем сахрањених. Прстенасти зид био је обичан круг камења у једном реду, без централног покопа, испуњавајући цео унутрашњи простор тумулуса. Тако је тумулус изгубио клановски карактер и добио нову конотацију породице (на пример некропола Дабици код Сопота у Велесу, која је била у употреби око VII и VI пре н. е.).

Овај тумуларни карактер некропола неки аутори везују углавном за конзервативне и сточарске регионе где је реално обичај сахрањивања испод тумула био у пракси дуго времена. Грбови њихових предака били су им веома значајни, посебно у идентификацији појединца са заједницом. Са распадом племенског система и са појавом изразито изражене друштвене диференцијације, у VI веку пре нове ере тумуларне некрополе су ван употребе.

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Some Observations on Communications and Contacts in the Central Balkan and Neighbouring Regions During the 7th to 5th Century BC Based on the Distribution of Weapons¹

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Abstract: This paper will discuss main Central Balkan communication routes as well as the distribution of weapons and defensive equipment of the 7th–5th centuries BC. It will also provide a general picture of the main cultural groups and Paleo-Balkan tribes, as based on the historical sources, and compare their geographical spread with specific archaeological material. Frequently used communications routes based on some additional observations will be pointed out, too. In the earlier periods, the main Balkan communication routes had certainly led through the Morava – Vardar axis and the Morava – Nišava – Isker – Marica road, but during the 7th–5th centuries BC, these routes gradually faded out use and Drim, Ibar, Western Morava and Drina River valleys become the main corridors of north-south communications.

Key words: natural communications, contacts, routes, Central Balkan, Iron Age, weapons, defensive equipment

Contacts, communications, and mutual relations of Paleo-Balkan populations have been the topic of studies of many prominent archaeologists from the former Yugoslavia.³ Yet, some questions remain unclear, and we still do not have enough archaeological data that could help us to understand better the communities of the Early Iron Age of the Central Balkan region and adjacent areas. In this context, communication routes undoubtedly represent one of the less well known and less frequently discussed topics; however, some interesting studies have been done in the past, especially those by M. Parović-Pešikan,⁴

R. Vasić,⁵ and A. Palavestra.⁶ While these works presented selected contacts and tried to establish their directionality, the authors usually considered only several types of artefacts distributed over smaller territories. Without doubt, however, these pioneering works are an exceptional basis for further investigations on the topic, this short contribution included.

From the Neolithic the central parts of the Balkan Peninsula were positioned on the main communication routes between Asia and Europe in east-west direction and also between Central and Northern Europe and Mediterranean region in north-south direction. Certain parts of this area such as Danube plain had a primary communication role, while, in contrast, some smaller regions within the Balkan mountain range stood out as isolated areas. Natural conditions and geographical circumstances allowed some of the communication routes to be more suitable, but the frequency of use also depended on other fac-

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³ Mikulčić 1966; Papazoglu 1969; Čović 1976; Benac 1987; Vasić 1987a–h; Garašanin 1988; Tasić 1998.

⁴ Parović-Pešikan 1960; 1986; 1994.

⁵ Vasić 1982.

⁶ Palavestra 1989; 1993, 281–283.

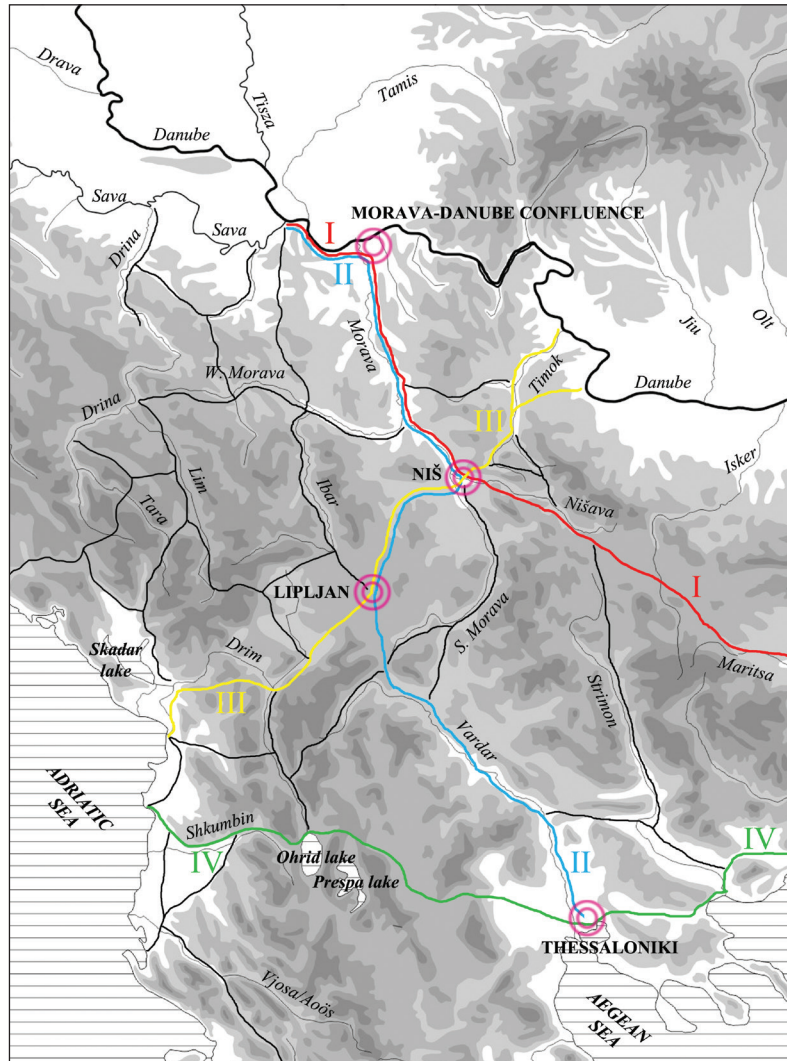


Fig. 1. Central Balkan road network with main rivers (*italics*) and crossroads (**bold**)

tors such as, for example, the relations among local populations, road safety, and natural causes such as floods, landslides, and so on. According to J. Cvijić,⁷ because the central part of the Balkan Peninsula is clearly separated from the coastal part by high mountain ranges, its character is more continental than Mediterranean, although it is geographically much closer to the coastal areas than, for example, to Central Europe. Cvijić called the present-day Greek part of the peninsula “secondary”, considering that it is separated from the north by high mountain ranges, which orient it toward the eastern coast and to the Aegean Sea. Furthermore, this part had quite poor connections with the trans-Balkan road network

historically.⁸ Certainly, the Central Balkans had best connections with the Pannonian Plain, as the northern extent is wide open to the Danube and Sava River valleys, originating in Central Europe, as well as rivers on the northern borders of the Balkans, such as the Drava or Tisza.⁹ However, although open to the north, the communication lines of the Central Balkans in the south direction became more dispersed, and concentrated only on a few primary roads. Two of them are the most important natural routes: *Morava – Vardar* (Fig. 1 / Road II) and *Morava – Nišava – Isker – Marica* (*Via Militaris*) (Fig. 1 / Road I). Cvijić has believed that the *Morava – Vardar*

⁷ Cvijić 2000b, 87-89.

⁸ Ibid. 92.

⁹ Cvijić 2000a, 26.

route was more traversable,¹⁰ although he also mentioned that *Via Militaris* was of a greater importance.¹¹ K. Jireček, the famous Czech historian and Balkanologist, on the other hand, considered *Via Militaris* to be the main Balkan communication route.¹²

In addition to these two roads, one should mention a route that connects the Central Balkans with the Adriatic coast. This road was of almost equal importance to the two above-mentioned roads and it was also the shortest and fastest route from the Lower Danube and Oltenia regions to the Mediterranean. This is the *Lješ – Niš – Archar / Radujevac* road (Fig. 1 / Road III).¹³ Starting at the present-day Lezhë in Albania, the road follows the Drim River valley and at one point, before entering the Mountain Prokletije, it diverges from the river gorge and ascends toward the mountainous region of Albanides, from where it then descends to the confluence of the Ljuma, Black, and White Drim Rivers. From that point on, the road enters the White Drim Canyon and continues toward modern-day Peć and further on to the Sitnica River valley and Lip-ljan, where it reaches the *Morava – Vardar* communication route.¹⁴ Both routes then continue along the Lab River valley towards present-day Kuršumljia. By the Toplica River valley, they reach the confluence of the Nišava and South Morava Rivers. The fourth major Balkan communication route was the so-called *Via Egnatia* (Fig. 1 / Road IV), which is the only road that cuts across the Balkans in east-west direction and connects its western and eastern shores. This route begins at the present-day Durrës and continues towards the southeast, where it reaches the Shkumbin River valley and continues to Ohrid and Prespa Lakes. Continuing through the present-day Bitola and Voden, it reaches Thessaloniki and eventually merges with the *Morava – Vardar* route.¹⁵ From that point on, the road continues towards the Strymon River delta and along the Aegean coast to Constantinople and Asia Minor.

All of these four primary trans-Balkan routes had their own crossroads. Today's Niš area is

certainly the most important and fundamentally strategic crossroad of the Central Balkans. Crossroads in the areas of Thessaloniki, the confluence of the Morava-Danube Rivers and Lip-ljan are also of particular importance.¹⁶ Parallel to the main roads, there was a contemporary network of secondary roads – often shortcuts – but their existence and significance can be only reconstructed based on the historical, military, and ethnographic sources: additional pathways of note are located between the Ohrid Lake and Kuks River valley by the Black Drim valley, which connected *Via Egnatia* and the *Lješ – Niš – Archar / Radujevac* route. Another shortcut led from the Ohrid Lake toward Skopje by the Vardar River valley to connect to the *Morava – Vardar* route. The road from Skopje toward the Vranje valley by the Preševo Watershed connected with the valley of the South Morava River. There was also a route from the Vardar River valley that led toward the Strimon and the Dorjan lake, from which the road continued further east, following the route of *Via Egnatia*.¹⁷ Likewise, another road led north along the Strimon River valley toward the Sofia plain, where it reached *Via Militaris*. There was a road from Skadar Lake towards Podgorica, which then separated into two different roads.¹⁸ One road led north toward the Lim River and the area of present-day Višegrad. From that point, one route perhaps continued west, but there was also another one that went eastward along the Đetinja River valley and further to the West Morava River valley.

Significant additional communication routes went through the Ibar River valley and connected this route with the Drim and Vardar routes at a crossroad near modern-day Lip-ljan.¹⁹ From the west Morava River valley, one could go north to the Valjevo plain, where the route continued either further to the Sava River, along the Kolubara River valley, or toward the Drina River valley by the Jadar River valley. The road that led to the point where the Sava flows into Danube Rivers followed the foothills of Mountain Rudnik in the Šumadija region. The most important route in

¹⁰ Ibid. 27.

¹¹ Cvijić 2000b, 100.

¹² Jireček 1959, 73.

¹³ Petrović 2007, 87; 2008, 31-40.

¹⁴ Cvijić 2000b, 96-97.

¹⁵ Ibid. 29.

¹⁶ For area of Thessaloniki cf. Hammond 1972. For the region around Danube and Morava confluence see Cvijić 2000b, 29.

¹⁷ Cvijić 2000a, 28-29.

¹⁸ Cvijić 2000b, 96.

¹⁹ Cvijić 2000a, 28.

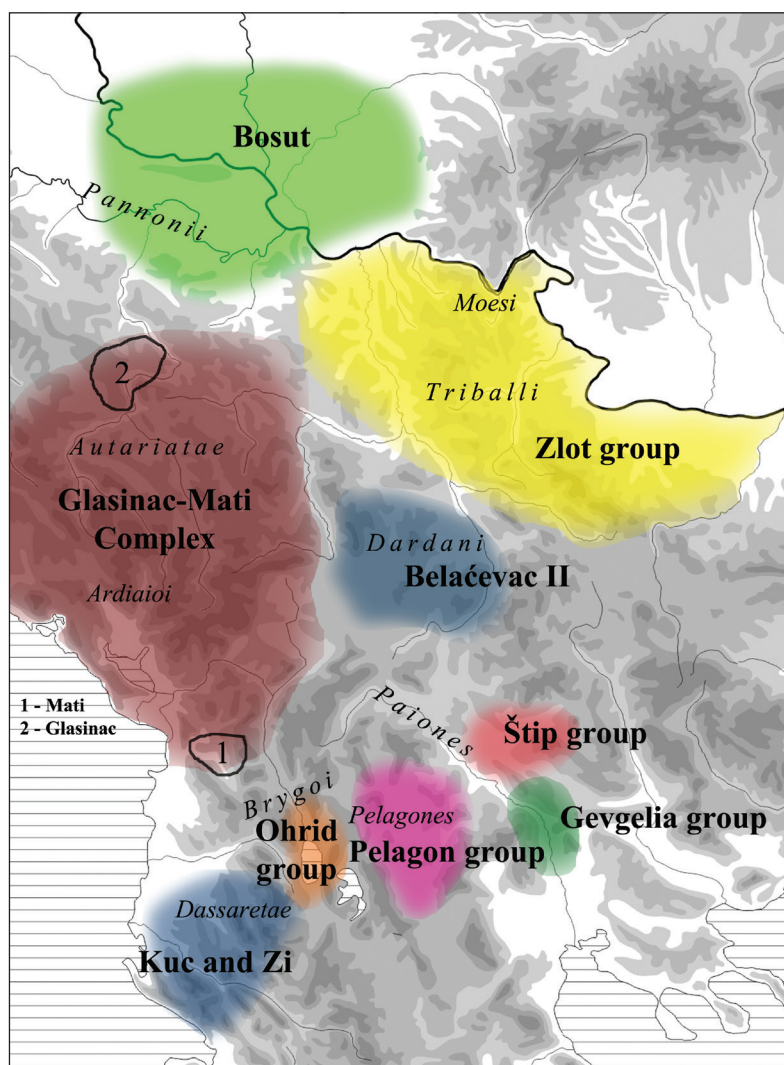


Fig. 2. Distribution of the cultural groups and tribes of the Central Balkan region

the eastern part of the Central Balkans connected the Velika Morava River valley with the Timok Basin, passing through the Stolice Saddle.²⁰ We should also mention the route through the valley of the Trgoviški Timok River to Nišava River that connected *Via Militaris* with *Lješ – Niš – Archar*. The northern part of eastern Serbia did not show potential of a communication hub, not at least until the construction of the road through the Djerdap Gorge during the 1st century AD. The possibility of using river as a route of communication should not be excluded, but there are no clear data at this moment.

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On the basis of the previous research by the leading archaeologists and classical historians from the former Yugoslavia, such as A. Benac, B. Čović, M. Garašanin, D. Srejšović, R. Vasić, M. Parović-Pešikan, I. Mikulčić, F. Papazoglu, M. Suić, S. Gabrovec and many others,²¹ we can pinpoint the regional distribution of the Paleo-Balkan tribes and their cultural groups during the period between the 7th and 5th century BC. In the broadest and simplified terms, the most commonly suggested distribution of the cultural groups and tribes of the Central Balkan region can be seen on Figure 2 and will be discussed further below.

²⁰ Ibid. 60-61.

²¹ See notes 2 and 3 as well as: Srejšović 1960, 1973 and 1991; Suić 1976; Gabrovec 1987. For complete older literature see bibliography in *Praistorija Jugoslavenskih zemalja V*, ed. A. Benac (Sarajevo 1987).

The area of the present-day Srem, the Mačva region, southern Bačka and southwestern Banat was controlled by the so-called Bosut culture, as defined by N. Tasić and P. Medović almost half a century ago.²² This cultural phenomenon spread over the strategic point of the Sava and Danube confluence, which was easily connected with the surrounding territories. The Velika Morava River valley, Eastern Serbia and Western Bulgaria, up to the Isker River to the east and Nišava River to the south was distinguished by the Zlot group, which have some similarity to the Ferigile group from Oltenia in Romania, as well as the Late Bosut culture and some Scythian elements. The Zlot group originated from the Basarabi complex of the Iron Age period.²³ Geographically speaking, the Zlot group spread over parts of the four big natural communication routes: through the Danube Gorge, Velika and Južna Morava River valleys, Nišava River valley, and Timok River valley. Later historical sources from the Classical and Hellenistic period define this territory as belonging to the Triballi tribe. Hence, one can assume that this Paleo-Balkan tribe was the core population of the Zlot group.²⁴ Indeed, on the basis of the written sources of ancient historians, such as Herodotus (Hdt. 4.49) and Thucydides (Thuc. 2.96), it can be suggested that the Triballi occupied the territory enclosed by the Velika Morava River in the west, the Danube River in the north, the Isker River in the east, and probably the Nišava River in the south.²⁵

During Hallstatt C period, on the territories of Kosovo, Southern Serbia and Northern Macedonia, stamped pottery decorated by using a specific tool²⁶ or a wheel appears,²⁷ and is usually named Belačevac I horizon.²⁸ The development of this material group during the period from the 7th to the 5th century BC is similar to the horizon of the stamped pottery from the previous phase, and it is called Belačevac II horizon, i.e. the younger horizon of this cultural manifestation.²⁹ In addition to indigenous pottery, pottery made

on potters' wheel appears in this phase, coming from the southern regions. Influence of the Greek culture can be noticed at the strongholds Hisar, Cernica, and Belačevac starting from the 6th century BC.³⁰ In contrast with the previous phase, the territory previously occupied by the Belačevac II group seems to shrink, including only Kosovo without the Metohija region. This group spreads eastward toward the Južna Morava River valley. Its material culture was usually recognized as belonging to the Paleo-Balkan Dardani tribe (Plin. Nat. 3.29), which, in this case, controlled the two main Central Balkan routes through the Kosovo and Metohija territories.

During the period from the 7th to the 5th century BC, the extensive so-called Glasinac-Mati cultural complex extended from the Adriatic Sea in the west to the Morava and Ibar River valleys to the east, from the Sava River in the north to the Mati River in the Northern Albania in the south.³¹ It originated from the Bronze Age Glasinac culture of the Glasinac plateau in eastern Bosnia. Pottery from the region between Glasinac the plateau and Mati River valley shows exceptional level of similarity in the period from the 7th to the 5th century BC.³² B. Čović has considered the Autariatae (Ps.-Scyl. 24) to be the tribe linked with the archaeological material of the Glasinac-Mati complex and has noticed that this cultural material was used by several Illyrian tribes with a common origin and similar religious, cultural, and language patterns, such as the Ardiaei (Strab. 7.5.), Docleatae (App. Ill. 47), Illyrii proprie dicti (Plin. Nat. 3.144), Labeatae (Liv. 44.23.3) and others.³³

Based on the archaeological material from the necropoleis and settlements in the lower Vardar / Axios River valley, R. Vasić defined Gevgelia group extending from Demir-Kapija in Macedonia to Bohemitsa and Chausitsa in present day Greece.³⁴ Recently, D. Mitrevski suggested a different name for this material culture, the Donjovardarsko-Peonian group.³⁵ Chronologically, this group can be anchored to the Hallstatt C1-

²² Brukner et al. 1974, 258-260; Medović 1978, 48-50.

²³ Vasić 1973, 101-103; 1987b, 660-662; 1997, 92-94; Jevtić 1992; 2004, 159; Kapuran 2014, 85-87.

²⁴ Vasić 1992, 395.

²⁵ Papazoglu 1969, 48-49; Filipović 2014, 47-52.

²⁶ Bulatović 2007, 48; Lazić 2009, 62.

²⁷ Vasić 1987c, 676; Garašanin 1988, 68.

²⁸ Tasić 1998, 170.

²⁹ Ibid. 1998.

³⁰ Bulatović 2007, 49.

³¹ Čović 1987, 642-643.

³² Jevtić 1983, 39-41.

³³ Cf. Teržan 2015.

³⁴ Vasić 1987e, 701-703.

³⁵ Mitrevski 2008, 175-177.

D3 period (750–475 BC).³⁶ The people connected with this material culture controlled the Morava – Vardar route. Furthermore, the Gevgelia group inhabited the crossroads of this communication and the transversal road from the Vardar / Axios River valley towards Struma / Strymon River. Ethnos that could perhaps be connected with this group is the tribe of the Paiones (Hom. Il. 848-850; Diod. Sic. 16.15, 2.6, 3.4, 4.2).³⁷

The so-called Štip group was also defined by R. Vasić,³⁸ but later he gave up on this term and defined the archaeological material as part of the Early Iron Age culture of the Central and Eastern Macedonia.³⁹ Chronologically, this culture can be identified to Hallstatt B3-D3 (8th – second half of the 5th century BC).⁴⁰ This material culture spread through the Bregalnica River valley, Štip and Kočani regions in the present day Republic of Northern Macedonia and the middle Vardar River valley. One of the Paiones tribe was identified as ethnos connected with this material group.⁴¹

Based on the extensive study on Pelagonia by I. Mikulčić,⁴² R. Vasić defined the Pelagon group.⁴³ Chronologically, this culture spans the 8th to the second half of the 5th century BC, when influences from the Late Archaic Greece were noted.⁴⁴ The Pelagones (Strab. 7.7.8, 7a.1.20, 9.5.11) could be identified as a tribe of this cultural group. They monitored *Via Egnatia* and were probably similar to the Paiones.⁴⁵

The Ohrid group was identified by R. Vasić on the basis of excavations of necropoleis around the Ohrid Lake that commenced in 1918.⁴⁶ Chronologically, this group spanned the beginning of Hallstatt D1 up to D3 in its older phase (6th century – second half of the 4th century BC).⁴⁷ This group also controlled *Via Egnatia*. Many tribes were suggested as the ethnic group that constituted the Ohrid material group; R. Vasić and M. Ga-

rašanin have attributed it to the Dassaretae tribe (Liv. 42.36.9),⁴⁸ E. Petrova to the Paionean aristocracy,⁴⁹ and I. Mikulčić to the Eneheleans (Apollod. 3.5.4; Hdt. 9.43; Paus. 9.5.3) and even just the foreign aristocracy, which dominated the tribe.⁵⁰

The so-called Kuç and Zi cultural phenomenon connected with the tumulus necropoleis in the south of present day Albania, has been defined by Zh. Andrea on the basis of the graves and burial customs. She, however, has identified this group as phase Barç IV,⁵¹ and connected the graves to the Illyrians.⁵² M. Garašanin, on the other hand, has underlined that during the earlier phase of the Iron Age in this part of Albania there are noticeable influences from the east, south, and also the north.⁵³ The dispersion of the Kuç and Zi cultural phenomenon can roughly be limited to the area between the Ohrid and Prespa Lakes in proximity to the northern shores of the Ionian Sea and the southern coast of the Adriatic Sea, with the northern border somewhere around the Shkumbin River valley. Even now, its southern border cannot be defined.⁵⁴ This cultural phenomenon encompassed a part of *Via Egnatia*. In the later phase, the eastern border was moved further west, probably due to the pressure from the Ohrid group. Perhaps the Kuç and Zi group can be connected with the Taulantes and Bilon tribes (FGrH 1 F 99), but proving this connection is quite an ungrateful task at this moment.

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If we place certain types of weapons and defensive equipment on our map of cultures and road networks, we can notice following patterns of distribution in the Central Balkan region. First of all, in terms of a defensive equipment, the appearance of iron ribbed umbos on shields can be traced to around the 7th century BC, all of which were located in the interior of the Balkans.⁵⁵ More specifically, all shields were discovered in the territory or border area of the Glasinac-Mati com-

³⁶ Vasić 1987e, 702.

³⁷ Ibid. 710-711; Mitrevski 1997, 198-200.

³⁸ Vasić 1973, 108 ff.

³⁹ Vasić 1987d, 690-692.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 691-695.

⁴¹ Ibid. 698-700.

⁴² Mikulčić 1966.

⁴³ Vasić 1973, 107; 1987f, 712-714.

⁴⁴ Vasić 1987 f, 715.

⁴⁵ Vasić 1987e, 710-711; Mitrevski 1997, 198ff.

⁴⁶ Vasić 1987h, 724 ff.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 725-728.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 731; Garašanin 1988, 71.

⁴⁹ Petrova 1996, 123 ff.

⁵⁰ Mitrevski 1997, 217.

⁵¹ Andrea 1985, 221-222.

⁵² Ibid. 222.

⁵³ Garašanin 1988, 53-54.

⁵⁴ Papadopoulos 2014.

⁵⁵ Filipović 2015a, 357-359.

plex. During Hallstatt D2/3, typical Greek shield, *aspis*, has been found only in the far south at the Trebenište cemetery.⁵⁶ A similar pattern can be observed in terms of the distribution of bronze greaves. The earlier examples occurred in the area of northern Albania and the Glasinac plateau and chronologically belong to period of the 8th and beginning of the 7th century BC.⁵⁷ These are bronze pieces with rings for attachment of hide straps. The early pieces occurred only in the Glasinac-Mati complex. In this region, chronologically later types of bronze greaves, which follow the anatomy of the leg, belong to the 5th century BC. They are considered as typical Greek infantry equipment, along with the already mentioned *aspis* shields, *xiphoi* swords, and bronze helmets.⁵⁸ Their distribution shows that have been used by many cultures in this territory.

If we consider only the bronze helmets of this period, the majority of the discovered pieces are of the Illyrian type and only several are of the Corinthian and Chalcidian types. Observed in a broader context, a higher number of the Illyrian type helmets have been found on the Adriatic coast and its hinterland as well as in the wider area of the Thessaloniki bay.⁵⁹ Chronologically earlier variants have most often been found along the route of *Via Egnatia* between Durres and Thessaloniki, while several pieces of that type were found even on the Peloponnese or Sicily.⁶⁰ The highest number of all variants comes from the territories of the Glasinac-Mati complex and the Ohrid group, but there is also a number of pieces from the Kuç and Zi and Pelagonska groups. Finally, the first find of bronze armour in the Central Balkan region should be mentioned.⁶¹ The piece was excavated illegally in the area around the confluence of the South and Western Morava Rivers and as far as we can tell, this piece represents the so-called bell cuirass of the middle phase, which can be dated to the 7th – first half of the 6th century BC.⁶²

In terms of weapons, there are a few notable pieces of offensive weapons. Spears of the so-

called *sigynna* type appeared for the first time in the 7th century BC and continued to be used until the 4th century BC.⁶³ In fact, this type of a spear resembles a Roman *pilum*, but chronologically belongs to the Early Iron Age of the Central Balkan region. Examples here have been found in the Vardar and Drim River valleys. Further similar examples have come from the Sanski Most and two pieces from the Grave 1 in Mound II in Osovo. Additional piece have come from the warrior grave XI in Mound A at the Halos necropolis in Greek Macedonia.⁶⁴ If we take a closer look at the swords, examples of curved single blade iron swords occur in almost all areas of the Central Balkans.⁶⁵ Glasinac type swords chronologically fit to the period of the first half of the 6th century BC, connected with the Glasinac – Mati complex.⁶⁶ Apart from Glasinac, Western Serbia, Northern and Southern Albania, only one handle of Glasinac type swords has been found at Delphi.⁶⁷ The *Xiphoi* swords, Greek two-edged swords with cross-guards and flame-shaped lower part of the blades, chronologically belong to the 6th century BC, and the majority of examples have been found in the border regions with the Greek world.⁶⁸ Only few pieces have come from the Drim River valley.⁶⁹

Furthermore, iron axes with parallel blades belong to the Hallstatt D period, and most of them occur in the territory of the Glasinac-Mati complex.⁷⁰ The so-called Scythian arrows, made of bronze, belong to the period from the end of the 7th to the 5th century BC.⁷¹ They appear in the territories of the Zlotska and Bosut III groups as well as the Glasinac – Mati complex.⁷² It is interesting that all examples from the territory of Glasinac – Mati come from graves. The contexts

⁶³ The term *sigynna* is taken from R. Vasić in press: Filipović in press.

⁶⁴ Filipović 2015a, 365-372.

⁶⁵ Parović-Pešikan 1982, 25-51.

⁶⁶ Дмитровић, К. / Васић, Р. 2012. Гвоздени мач гласиначког типа из збирке Народног музеја у Чачку, Зборник радова Народног музеја (Чачак) XLII, Чачак 2012, 13-20.

⁶⁷ Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 129-130, Nr. 449, Taf. 58.

⁶⁸ Numerous swords were found in the necropolises such as Sindos (Despiné 2016) or Achontiko (Chrysostomou / Chrysostomou 2012) in Greece, and in Trebenishte (Filov 1927) or Ohrid, Gorna Porta (Кузман 2013).

⁶⁹ Filipović 2015a, 372-378.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 388-390.

⁷¹ Melyukova 1964; Baitinger 2001, 28-30; Hellmuth 2006.

⁷² Filipović 2015b, 90-92.

⁵⁶ Filov 1927, 5-10.

⁵⁷ Kilian 1973, 528.

⁵⁸ Snodgrass 1967.

⁵⁹ Blečić Kavur / Pravidur 2012, 35 ff.

⁶⁰ Filipović 2015a, 359-362.

⁶¹ Filipović / Vasić 2017, 337-338, Fig. 1.

⁶² Snodgrass 1964, 71 ff, Fig. 30.

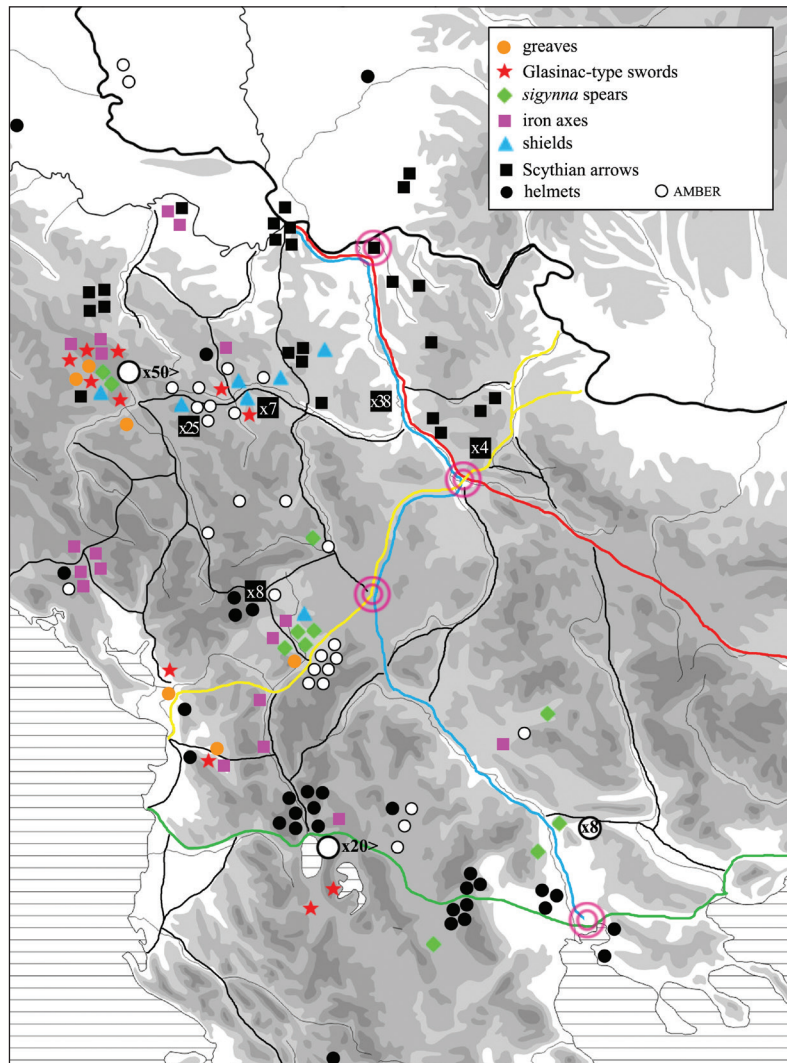


Fig. 3. *Distribution of archaeological material of the 7/6th centuries BC mentioned in the text*

in which the arrowheads were found are of particular importance. In fact, two finds seem to have belonged to a warrior – one comes from an incinerated grave from Mound I in Pilatovići and the second one is represented by a group find of 38 arrowheads from the site of Ostikovac. Arrowheads have been excavated in other graves, too, but in insufficient numbers to be able to confirm that they belonged to an archer. Presence of these arrows in the Triballi territory could suggest clashes between Autariatae and Triballi, as known from the historical sources.⁷³

We can notice some stabilisation and flourishing of trade relations between neighbouring popula-

tions in the Central Balkans during period from 7th to the 5th century BC. Based on the distribution of weapons and defensive equipment, it seems that the main Central Balkan communication routes, especially those leading from the point where Velika Morava River flows into Danube and along the Morava – Vardar route, gradually fade out. Yet, when compared with previous periods, *Via Egnatia* and the lower part of the Morava – Vardar axis shows much more intensity in terms of distribution of finds. The same can be said of the secondary communication routes on the territory of the Glasinac – Mati complex, such as the Ibar River valley, which enters the old road from Pristina to Ljes by the Drim River valley. It appears that the main transport route traversed the territory of Western Serbia and Eastern Bosnia. This route is indicated primarily

⁷³ Papazoglu 1969, 69 ff.

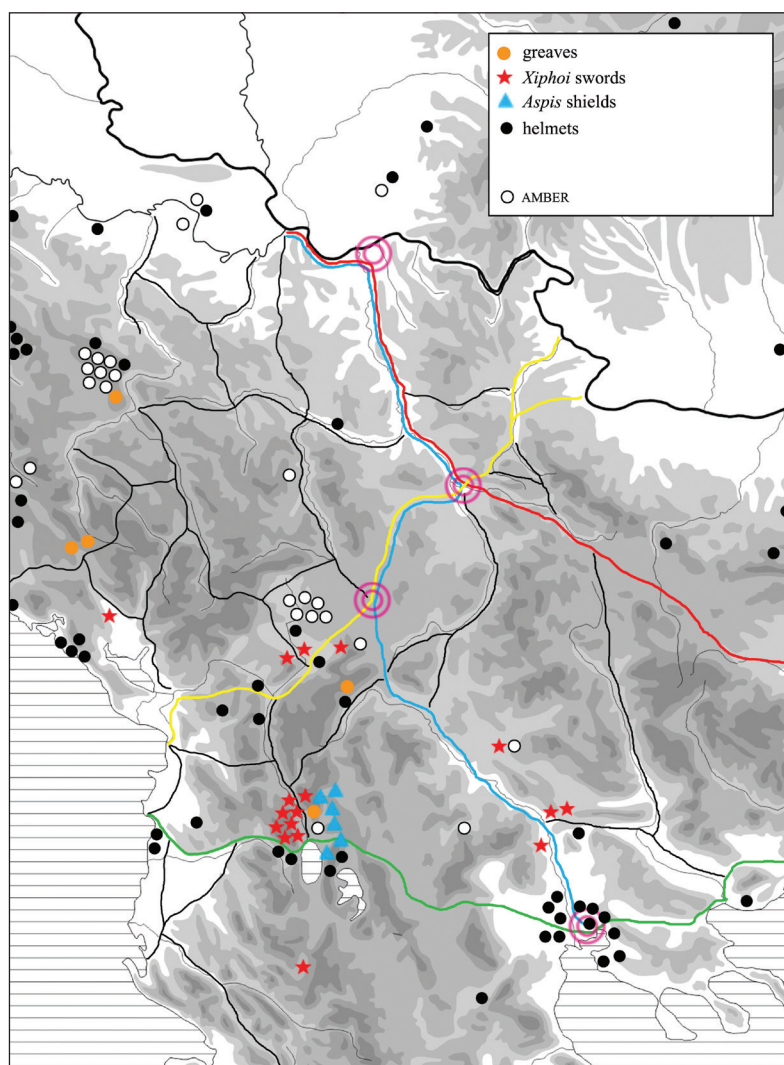


Fig. 4. Distribution of archaeological material of the 6/5th centuries BC mentioned in the text

by the distribution of amber finds and defensive equipment, such as Glasinac-type swords and arrows of possible Scythian origins (Fig. 3). If we look at the Glasinac swords and greaves with rings, we can notice that their usage is limited to the territories in the eastern part of the West Balkan and the western part of the Central Balkan regions, roughly corresponding to the territory of the Glasinac – Mati complex. A similar distribution persists also in the late 6th and 5th century BC, at least in terms of the bronze helmets, greaves, and *xiphoi* swords, which points to southern influence (Fig. 4). It is clear that the population of the Glasinac – Mati complex became a dominant society in this territory during the 7th and 6th centuries BC. B. Čović has pointed out the Autariatae were the tribe that used this material culture, which spread from the Glasinac

plateau via Southwestern Serbia, Northern Montenegro, and Metohija to the Mati River valley in the present-day Albania.⁷⁴ He has also suggested that other Illyrian tribes could have had the same origins and similar cultic, ethnographic and language characteristics as the cultural complex. Pottery vessels from Southwestern Serbia and Metohija can confirm this, as they indicate strong cultural influence from the Glasinac plateau.⁷⁵ Furthermore, the astragal belt segments of the Glasinac type (previously known as the Arareva gromila type) have a similar distribution during this period.⁷⁶ Weapons and defensive military equipment, however, are completely absent

⁷⁴ Čović 1987, 642-643.

⁷⁵ Jevtić 1983, 39, 44.

⁷⁶ Filipović / Mladenović 2017, 156-157.

in the area between the Velika Morava and Isker Rivers, equal to the territory of the Zlot cultural group.⁷⁷ As mentioned before, this is because Zlot cultural group was probably Triballi tribe, which controlled less frequented parts of the Morava and Timok River routes during 6th/5th century BC.

Perhaps starting as early as the Neolithic, main Balkan communication routes comprised the Morava – Vardar axis and *Via Militaris*. They were often used during the following Late Bronze Age and the transitional Bronze to Early Iron Age period, as can be concluded on the basis of the distribution of archaeological material of the Aegean and Central European origins and of amber. On the other hand, during the period of the 7th – 5th century BC, these routes gradually faded out, and the main north-south routes shifted to the Drim, Ibar, Western Morava and Drina Rivers valleys.

Na engleski jezik preveli
Ognjen Mladenović i Vojislav Filipović

Rezime

Neka zapažanja o komunikacijama i kontaktima na srednjem Balkanu i susednim oblastima na osnovu distribucije oružja tokom starijeg gvozdenog doba

U radu se govori o glavnim komunikacijama na centralnom Balkanu, zajedno sa analizom distribucije oružja i defanzivne ratničke opreme između VII i V veka pre n. e. Na osnovu analize prirodnih činilaca i starih komunikacija, koje je još pre jednog stoleća uradio Jovan Cvijić, izdvojena su četiri glavna putna pravca na ovom prostoru: *Moravsko-vardarska* komunikacija koja je obuhvatala osu sever-jug, tzv. put *Via Militaris* (*Morava – Nišava – Isker – Marica*) koji je spajao centralni i istočni Balkan, zatim transverzalna komunikacija od Jadrana do Dunava *Lješ – Niš – Arc-har/Radujevac* i komunikacija koja je sekla Balkan po osi zapad-istok, tzv. *Via Egnatia*. Pored ove četiri glav-

ne komunikacije, postojala je i mreža puteva manje važnosti, ali i nekoliko glavnih raskršća, poput oblasti današnjeg Niša, Soluna, Lipljana na Kosovu i Metohiji ili ušća Morave u Dunav.

Prikazana je i tradicionalna slika arheoloških kultura na ovim prostorima, kako bi se analiza distribucije oružja i opreme mogla, pored komunikacionih pravaca, kombinovati i sa ovim parametrom, pa se na osnovu ove kompleksne slike čini da glavne balkanske komunikacije, poglavito one koje vode iz oblasti ušća Morave u Dunav i dalje ka jugu, u ovom periodu polako zamiru. Isto tako, *Via Egnatia* i donji deo *Moravsko-vardarskog* puta pokazuju jači intenzitet zastupljenosti pomenutih tipova analiziranog materijala. To se može reći i za sekundarne komunikacije na teritoriji tzv. kompleksa *Glasić – Mati*, kao što su doline Ibra i Drima, pa se čini da su tokom ovog perioda najintenzivnije korišćene komunikacije u zapadnoj Srbiji i istočnoj Bosni, što se može pretpostaviti na osnovu distribucije defanzivne opreme, glasinačkog tipa mača, tzv. skitskih strela, ali i čilibarskih nalaza. Sa druge strane, defanzivne opreme i čilibarskih nalaza nema na području između dolina Morave, Nišave i Iskera.

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II Članci / Aufsätze

Metalwork from Roman doors – examples in Bosnia and Herzegovina

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Abstract: Almost every Roman site, particularly those where sizeable buildings have been found, also yield the remains of security systems – pieces of locks, hinges, keys and so forth that served to lock and secure the buildings as a whole or separate rooms, or chests and caskets. This is also true of sites in present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina, where such material has been found at various Roman archaeological sites. Most such objects are kept in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but some important artefacts are also located in the Franciscan Monastery in Visoko, the Museums in Doboj, Travnik, Tuzla, Zenica and Bijeljina, and other museum institutions and collections.

Key words: Roman keys, ring keys, large keys, anthropomorphic keys, classic keys, *Schiebschloss*, lock systems, latches, deadbolts, hinges, railings, Roman period, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Introduction

As early humans began to abandon natural shelters, they started to construct simple shelters, mainly as protection against the weather and wild beasts. With the passage of time and the rise of civilizations, these shelters became more sophisticated, especially with the rise of agriculture and a more settled lifestyle, when people began to build permanent shelters. Simple drystone walls evolved into substantial masonry structures, turned with the addition of doors into habitations. This was a significant lifestyle shift; people were no longer merely taking shelter, they were taking up residence. What we now call a door or doorway became a fundamental architectural feature and symbol.

Since the great majority of doors were and are made of wood, few survive in their original form, especially from ancient times. Wood deteriorated, or was destroyed by fire or rot, so that information on wooden doors from the Roman period is extremely sparse, consisting only of a few images and a paucity of written sources. Their existence, however, is attested by the remains of metal artefacts found during archaeological ex-

cavations: bolts, latches, door-handles, hinges, locks, keys and so forth. These enable us to reconstruct the probable uses of doors in Roman times. Details associated with such finds are supplemented by comparison with more recent examples of almost identical function, manufacture and materials as those from the Roman doors their survival points to.¹ As a result, in some instances, such as keys of atypical form (Plate 14), the only factor indicating that they date from the Roman period is that they were found at Roman sites. Some objects, such as latches (Plates 21 and 22), hinges (Plates 15, 16 and 17), along with railings (Plate 25) and ring-shaped door-handles (Plate 26), may have served a variety of purposes, not necessarily as a door feature: they could be used to join stone or wooden architectural components of walls or roofs, one specimen could in fact be a horse bit, and others could have formed part of ox or horse harness. The most logical explanation is that objects of identical or very similar outward appearance, size and construction could have been used for different purposes. Several such objects dating from the Roman period

¹ Pace 2014, 57.

have been found which have direct parallels in our time, when the same object can serve wholly different purposes.

Another unresolved matter is that of dating keys. Since they were in such widespread daily use, their dating is extremely speculative. The same shapes of key, depending on context, are said to date from the late 1st, 2nd and through to the 4th century.³ Different key shapes were in use at one and the same time throughout the Roman period. Some specimens are thus dated purely as part of a larger site itself dated on the basis of other types of archaeological material.⁴ Given the need to protect private and public property, Roman keys and locks were widely used, and have since often been found, at military, civilian, private, public, religious, agricultural and other Roman sites.⁵

Doors are a universal feature of buildings, in every civilization and every part of the world. The erection of walls necessarily entailed the introduction of an opening, usually rectangular in shape, which further required a means of closing off the opening when necessary, to protect the occupants from wild beasts, unknown or unwanted visitors, or robbery. The basic purpose of doors, from prehistory through antiquity⁶ and medieval times⁷ to this day, remains unchanged.⁸ The only changes that have occurred are of an aesthetic nature, and in the type of materials and technology used in their construction.

In Roman times, doors would be made of wood, though in some cases they could have been made of metal or a combination of the two. They were rectangular, and most were opened and closed by moving them in an arc from the left or the right. They usually had a single pane, but larger entrances, such as gateways, might have double doors.

Most doors were probably made of rough-cut timber, with boards ranging in thickness from 4 to about 10 cm. The earliest doors were probably wholly made of timber, with metal components introduced later. Boards would be nailed or sta-

pled together – both nails and U-shaped staples had sharp pointed ends so they could be knocked into the wood, always with part of the head protruding, as they were usually longer than the thickness of the board and the cross-beam that held the boards together, so the head could be bent over to hold the boards firmly.

Since timber was readily available as a building material, it was often used in Roman buildings:⁹ as roof timbers, for outbuildings, as fences, for furniture,¹⁰ and of course for doors. Where timber was scarce, many parts of a building, and even furnishings, would be made of stone or brick, but doors were always of wood. Where there was a choice, oak was the timber of preference. The Romans drew on their own experience and that of other peoples with whom they came into contact to perfect their techniques, having discovered that oak is resistant to mechanical damage and to insect and fungal attack. In addition to common oak,¹¹ fir,¹² beech,¹³ ash,¹⁴ Turkey oak,¹⁵ walnut,¹⁶ pine¹⁷ and indeed any kind of timber that grew naturally in a given area could be used. It is likely that wealthier property owners used a combination of different timbers for aesthetic reasons. In that case the basic structure would be of one kind of timber, while the decorative elements would be of softer wood, more easily worked than oak, which is very hard. Roman images survive which show elaborately decorated wooden doors.¹⁸ Wrought iron also began to be used when making doors, to join the different components, to hang the door on the jambs, and in the manufacture of hinges, latches, locks and keys. As the economy grew, and with it the need to protect buildings and their contents, metal locks came into use.

² Košćević 2000, 36-37.

³ Čargo 2002, 552.

⁴ Gregl 1989, 68-69.

⁵ Pinterović 1978, T. LXVII, 2.

⁶ Jacobi 1897, 464.

⁷ Милошевић 1997; Trifunović 2015, 231.

⁸ Jacobi 1897, 476-477.

⁹ Busuladžić 2014, 16.

¹⁰ Ulrich 2007.

¹¹ Ballian / Memišević Hodžić 2016.

¹² Ballian / Halilović 2016; Šilić 2005, 18.

¹³ Šilić 2005, 114.

¹⁴ Ibid. 420-424.

¹⁵ Ibid. 118.

¹⁶ Ibid. 92.

¹⁷ Ibid. 26-42.

¹⁸ Guhl / Koner 1994, 465.

The symbolism of keys

As well as their use in securing doors, keys had a certain symbolism. Their role was twofold – to open, and to close.¹⁹ A key could permit or refuse entry, and as such guarded the boundary between two worlds, the outer and the inner, the known and the unknown, good and evil, life and death... This is why a key often forms part of the iconography of a deity, such as Hecate,²⁰ goddess of the underworld, who holds in one hand the key to the nether regions and was responsible for admitting the souls of the dead. Other deities too feature a key as one of their attributes: among them Janus,²¹ Aphrodite,²² Cronos,²³ Helios,²⁴ Cybele and Eros.²⁵ Later, with the emergence of Christianity, a key had a symbolic function in written sources.²⁶ The keys to the Kingdom of Heaven attributed to St. Peter were those that had previously been emblems of Janus,²⁷ the two-faced, the god of transitions, passages, gates and house doors,²⁸ who held one key to secure the door and another in his capacity as conductor of souls.²⁹ As noted, among the ancient Greeks, the Titan Hecate held the keys to the gates of Hades, a symbolism that the Etruscans also upheld. Vanth, the Etruscan goddess of death, like the Erinyes or Furies, was portrayed in funerary scenes as a winged being holding keys.³⁰ Keys also had a specific symbolism among the ancient Egyptians.³¹ Sources refer to the amulet known as the *ankh*, known as the Egyptian cross but also as the key of life and the key of the Nile. Keys were placed in the hands of mummies to enable the deceased to attain the mysteries of the afterlife. The key

beside the Pharaoh bestowed breath and life.³² The symbolism of the key also manifested itself in religious processions, where the priests who possessed the keys to the temple carried a key as a status symbol.³³ Keys were an attribute of eastern deities. Opening and closing the gates to the next world³⁴ was one of their essential functions, for which reason doors are sometimes depicted on funerary stelae. Also in the religious context, keys were sometimes buried with the deceased, as grave goods,³⁵ and scenes with doors, which would undoubtedly have had a lock and key, thus also feature on some Greek and, later, Roman stelae.³⁶

The ritual context of the use of keys also relates to the household hearth, while in funerary rites they also served as a talisman. One suggestion is that when preparing food for the deceased, Romans would mark the hearth of their forebears with keys, both in the grave and on the altar above it.³⁷ Further support for this hypothesis lies in the fact that keys are often found on or near the hearth.³⁸ In Roman society, keys symbolised strength and authority, a significance in direct correlation with their functions of locking and unlocking, and corresponding association with crime and the protection of valuable objects, the status of individuals whose status depended on freedom, and so forth.³⁹ Surviving original material largely corroborates this.⁴⁰ The symbol of the key as an object that was the “solution” to opening or closing⁴¹ was still present in late antiquity, and generally in the Christian tradition,⁴² persisting into the Byzantine period.⁴³ As already noted, this was true above all of St. Peter, who held the keys to the gates of Heaven.⁴⁴

¹⁹ Colin 2004, 217.

²⁰ Srejšović / Cermanović 2000, 449-450; Pace 2014, 39.

²¹ Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, II, Leipzig, 1890–1897, 15-54.

²² Paulys Wissowa 1894, 2729-2787; Busuladžić 2016, 142-143.

²³ Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, II, Leipzig, 1890–1897, 1452-1572.

²⁴ Paulys Wissowa 1912, 58-92.

²⁵ LIMC/III; Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, I, Leipzig, 1884–1886, 1340-1371; Busuladžić 2017, 30-32.

²⁶ Čargo 2002, 551.

²⁷ Chevalier / Gheerbrant 1996, 564-565.

²⁸ Srejšović / Cermanović 2000, 176-177.

²⁹ Garden / Olorenšo / Garden / Klajn 2011, 249.

³⁰ Milovanović / Mrđić 2016, 243.

³¹ For types of keys among the Egyptians, see Jacobi 1897, 468.

³² Garden / Olorenšo / Garden / Klajn 2011, 248.

³³ Ivčević 2014, 155.

³⁴ Garden / Olorenšo / Garden / Klajn 2011, 248-249.

³⁵ Ivčević 2003, 144.

³⁶ Ivčević 2014, 155.

³⁷ Golubović 2008, 97-98.

³⁸ Milovanović / Mrđić 2016, 245.

³⁹ Pace 2014, 21-36.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 36-39.

⁴¹ Colin 2004, 217.

⁴² Pace 2014, 22-23.

⁴³ Ibid. 24.

⁴⁴ Garden / Olorenšo / Garden / Klajn 2011, 248.

Material and manufacture

The keys and other metal components of doors in the museum collections covered in this paper were made almost exclusively of bronze or iron,⁴⁵ with a few of precious metal. Most of the former were similar in their simple workmanship. It is clear at a glance that each component was primarily functional, not decorative, and that no great care was taken in their manufacture, at least in the majority of cases. Where greater care was taken, it would be to ensure that the keys were strong enough not to be damaged by cracking or breaking. Of two keys that stand out from this general pattern, one was found at the site of the Roman villa in Žabljak (Plate 6, fig. 10), and the other, a large, damaged key, at Mogorjelo (Plate 13, fig. 11). The keys were decorated in niello, using inlaid silver wire,⁴⁶ while the Mogorjelo key was also gilded. This is a clear instance of care taken over the manufacture of keys and other components only for chests, caskets and similar valuable or prized objects.

Along with the common finds of iron and bronze keys, the Antiquities Collection of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina has a number of objects consisting of lock parts, lock escutcheons, hinges and door-handles. Two lock facings (Plate 20, figs 1, 4 and 5) were of silver, and were from a small chest.

Examination of the differences between keys found in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the interior of what was the Roman province of Dalmatia, reveals that bronze keys were of finer quality than those of iron.⁴⁷ These small mainly bronze “classic” keys (Plate 1, fig. 12, Plate 2, fig. 1. 2. 4. 9. 10, Plate 3, fig. 10. 11, Plate 4, fig. 6. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12, Plate 5, fig. 4. 5. 7. 8. 11, Plate 6, fig. 1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8, Plate 7, fig. 5) or those in the shape of a ring (Plate 11, fig. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15) probably belonged to small chests in which various valuables were kept.⁴⁸ The cruder iron keys would mostly have belonged to doors, mainly interior doors, while very large keys would usually have belonged to gates and

massive entrance doors, where the lock would be correspondingly large.

In a few cases, two metals were used in combination,⁴⁹ the grip and shank of iron and the bit of bronze. Keys were made in specialist workshops. A few instances of keys made of bone or ivory have been found. A typical Roman key would be 6 to 8 cm long, though a few have been found up to 20 cm or so in length. A few extremely small keys have also been found, their very size suggesting that they belonged to a small box or lock.⁵⁰ Variations in size can be observed in the keys presented in this paper.

The metallurgical techniques used to make keys differed: bronze keys would normally be cast, while iron keys were usually wrought.⁵¹

The concept and use of the key

Keys and locks first appeared in the Orient,⁵² coming into widespread use in the last millennium BCE.⁵³ In those days, keys were so large that they were often carried or worn on the shoulder.⁵⁴ The first certain forms of key date from ancient Egypt⁵⁵ and Mesopotamia,⁵⁶ followed by the Greeks, Etruscans⁵⁷ and Romans.⁵⁸ The Egyptians were the first to develop the cylinder lock system, thereby largely perfecting the locking method.⁵⁹ Images of keys on later Greek vases and stone monuments also provide evidence of the use of keys.⁶⁰

One of the most primitive methods of securing a door against unwanted intrusion was a wooden wedge on the inside. Another was to place a wooden bar horizontally across the door, making it impossible to open. This meant that the door could be secured and opened only from

⁴⁵ These are also the most common materials used to make keys. Ožanić / Radman-Livaja / Rendić-Miočević 2003, 33.

⁴⁶ Čremošnik 1970, 106.

⁴⁷ Ivčević 2003, 144; Bogić 2017, 42.

⁴⁸ Čremošnik 1984, 44.

⁴⁹ In our case, this is a specimen from Žabljak referred to above (Plate 6, fig. 10), in niello technique using iron inlaid with silver wire.

⁵⁰ Ivčević 2003, 144.

⁵¹ Milovanović / Mrđić 2016, 256; Bogić 2017, 42.

⁵² Gaspar 1986, 40; Koch 2017, Taf. 10. 12.

⁵³ Paulys Wissowa 1923, 557-563, 565-569.

⁵⁴ Ciurletti 1996, 67.

⁵⁵ Jacobi 1897, 468.

⁵⁶ Pace 2014, 9-10.

⁵⁷ See Izzet 2011 on Etruscan material culture.

⁵⁸ Milovanović / Mrđić 2016, 243.

⁵⁹ Pace 2014, 18-21.

⁶⁰ Čargo 2002, 551.

the inside. There is mention in Homer⁶¹ of the simplest wooden latches,⁶² which were closed from the inside.

Two basic principles are found in Roman locks.⁶³ In the earlier system, when the key was introduced into the lock it lifted the dead bolt, which was drawn by hand,⁶⁴ freeing the lock, while the later system had a rotary mechanism,⁶⁵ activated directly by the key.

The slide key mechanism

Sliding locks first appeared in the protohistorical period, and were improved over time, until by the Roman period they were the preferred type of lock. They were operated by inserting the key into an L-shaped keyhole and then pushing it upwards. The tines or teeth of the key passed through an opening in the deadbolt, lifting the tumblers that held the deadbolt in place and were held down by a spring above the tumblers. While the key was engaged the deadbolt was freed and could be slid left and right to lock or unlock it.⁶⁶ When the key was inserted, the tines on the keys for this kind of lock⁶⁷ lifted the small tumblers (*pessuli*) that held the deadbolt in place. These tumblers fitted into corresponding holes in the metal reinforcement on the deadbolt, and could only be moved by a key that matched the tumblers. Once the deadbolt was clear of the tumblers, it would be moved in a straight line to free it from the closed groove into which it fitted when locked.⁶⁸ This type of lock, the origin of which was far back in prehistory,⁶⁹ was most commonly used in antiquity and throughout the duration of the Roman Empire.⁷⁰

The rotary key mechanism

The rotary mechanism involved a lock plate or *claustrum* and a key or *clavis*. This system consists of three groups, based on their distinct technical differences. The insertion of the key through the lock plate acted directly on the deadbolt. The key pressed against the deadbolt, and opened or closed the door by drawing the deadbolt to the side.⁷¹ Some authorities believe that this kind of key was known as a temple key.⁷² It was the simplest kind of key, being made of a metal bar that was bent twice, usually at a right-angle.⁷³

The keys known as Laconian were similar to these. They were also bent at a right-angle at the base of the shank, and had two or three tines.⁷⁴ Laconian keys remained in use over a long period, including during Roman times.⁷⁵

The other later system, the basic principles of which still apply to this day, involved a turning mechanism. Once the key was inserted into the lock, its tines would lift the pins holding the deadbolt in place. The deadbolt was locked when the pins slotted into the corresponding holes in the deadbolt, and the lock could only be operated by a key with matching tines.⁷⁶

The later system represented a technological advance. In this case the lock was not opened by horizontal movement, but by turning the key in the lock, thus moving the deadbolt to the left or right. This system is believed to have been a Roman invention, and came into widespread use in the 2nd century CE,⁷⁷ though already known before that date. As a technological innovation, it has remained in use to this day.⁷⁸ The keys for such locks come in two kinds, with a solid or a cylindrical shaft, depending on the type of lock they are designed to open.⁷⁹ They were used initially for chests and cosmetics caskets, but later became widespread and, with only minor changes, are still in use today.⁸⁰

⁶¹ Pace 2014, 14-18; Čargo 2002, 551.

⁶² Pace 2014, 43.

⁶³ Čargo 2002, 551.

⁶⁴ Ivčević 2003, 143.

⁶⁵ Ožanić / Radman-Livaja / Rendić-Miočević 2003, 33.

⁶⁶ Ivčević 2003, 144.

⁶⁷ Marić Baković 2017, 76.

⁶⁸ Galliazo 1979, 150-151.

⁶⁹ Čargo 2002, 551.

⁷⁰ Marić Baković 2017, 76.

⁷¹ Ivčević 2003, 143.

⁷² Gaspar 1986, 42.

⁷³ Paulys Wissowa 1923, 557-558.

⁷⁴ Guaitoli 1996, 19.

⁷⁵ Bassi 1996, 84.

⁷⁶ Ožanić / Radman-Livaja / Rendić-Miočević 2003, 33.

⁷⁷ Ivčević 2003, 144.

⁷⁸ Koščević 2000, 36-37.

⁷⁹ Čargo 2002, 551.

⁸⁰ Ivčević 2003, 144.

Classification of keys

Every key, regardless of the context in which it was found, its date range, size,⁸¹ material and other factors, may be said to possess basic features that allow it to be identified as a key. Every key has a handle with a grip and neck, and a shaft and bit which correspond to the structure of the lock, thus allowing for it to be locked and unlocked.⁸² The end of the handle would almost invariably have some circular perforations, by which the key could be hung: given the importance of a key and the possibility of losing it, owners would hang the key by these holes, directly or by threading a chain through them. One such has been found in Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the site of the great mining settlement of Japra-Majdanište (Plate 6, fig. 8).

Differences can be seen within the classification of Roman keys, mainly relating to their size and shape. These were not an aesthetic issue, but reflected the technical and structural differences in the lock mechanism, which was the principal factor in the production of various types of keys.

The great majority of keys were not decorated. Since they were in constant use, and were purely functional in nature, there was no need for decoration. However, very rarely a bronze key could have had some modest geometric decoration of incised straight, diagonal or X-shaped lines (Plate 2, fig. 1. 11, Plate 4, fig. 9. 12, Plate 5, fig. 8. 9. 10. 11, Plate 6, fig. 1. 2. 5. 6, Plate 8, fig. 5. 9, Plate 10, fig. 1. 4). This decoration would feature on the neck of the key, the part between the grip and the shank, or even more rarely on the shank, in the form of a row of lines.

Ring keys are a somewhat different case, since some were items of jewellery with modest decoration, but only as a function of their primary use (Plate 11). In our case, the most highly decorated example of a key is one with the figure of a human body on the ring (Plate 11, fig. 15).

Most Roman keys in the Antiquities Collection of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina would have been used with metal locks of various types.⁸³ Our museum collections have four different locks (Plate 18), together with lock

escutcheons, intact or fragmentary (Plate 19 and Plate 20).

The slide-key lock, one of several known types of Roman lock, first came into use in early Roman times and was later in widespread use,⁸⁴ particularly in High and Late Antiquity and even into the early mediaeval period.⁸⁵ Also known are wire locks, which first appeared in the 1st century and continued in use throughout the Roman period⁸⁶ and until mediaeval times,⁸⁷ and are even occurred in modern times.⁸⁸

The Antiquities Collection of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina has a significant number of simple keys for rotary locks, which also came into use in the 1st century⁸⁹ and remained in use for centuries.⁹⁰ The collections of Roman keys in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Zenica Museum both include keys for slide-key locks.⁹¹ These came with a variety of mechanisms,⁹² and are represented in the collection the subject of this paper by eight examples (Plate 23, fig. 1-8).

Along with these, the most numerous, a certain number were used with the simplest of wooden locks, the primitive Laconian key, which also long remained in use (Plate 8, fig. 2, Plate 10, fig. 2. 5).⁹³

Typology of keys in museums in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The following typology is proposed for the examples presented, based on analysis of the types of key in the Antiquities Department of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina and in other museum collections and institutions covered by this analysis.

⁸⁴ Walke 1965, T. 123, 1-12.

⁸⁵ Radišić 2015, 292-293.

⁸⁶ Walke 1965, 59.

⁸⁷ Štribar / Stare 1981, 29 and 51, fig. 32. Mediaeval locks, keys, latches and deadbolts have been recorded at several sites. Trifunović 2015, 231; Radičević / Milivojević / Crnčević 2015, 243.

⁸⁸ Jacobi 1897, 477.

⁸⁹ Ulbert 1959, 77.

⁹⁰ Koščević 2000, 37.

⁹¹ Walke 1965, T. 124, 7-10.

⁹² Koščević 2000, 37.

⁹³ Ibid. 36.

⁸¹ Keys of different sizes have been found at numerous sites. Guhl / Koner 1994, 465.

⁸² Pace 2014, 47.

⁸³ For types and varieties of keys and locks with reconstructions, see Gáspár 1986.

Anthropomorphic keys, *Stechschlüssel* (catalogue nos. 1-14, Plate 1)

Keys in the stylised form of the human body constitute one distinct type, within which there are certain differences. Some keys have a grip resembling legs, body, neck, head and arms (Plate 1, fig. 6. 8. 9. 12. 13). The keys forming another group have a grip resembling legs, body, neck and head without arms (Plate 1, fig. 1. 2. 3. 4. 10. 11. 14), while a third is represented by a single example which appears to have only one arm (Plate 1, fig. 5). Another, also represented by a single example, appears to have arms, a neck, body and head, but only one leg (Plate 1, fig. 7). In each case, the circular top part or handle of the key, suggesting a stylised head above the long neck, enabled the key to be hung. In every case but one, the head is in the same plane as the rest of the key (Plate 1, fig. 1. 2. 4-14), the exception being one in which the head is at a right-angle (Plate 1, fig. 3).

These keys are quite commonly found at ancient sites, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where they have been recorded at Graci, Vojkovići, Dračevica, Panik and Gorica,⁹⁴ and were used to open the moving parts of a lock, usually a padlock.⁹⁵ Such keys were also used in other provinces.⁹⁶

Classic keys, *Schiebschloss* locks (catalogue nos. 15-117, Plate 2-10)

These, the most numerous keys found at archaeological sites, constitute another type of Roman key. They were made of bronze or iron, the latter the most common (Plate 2, fig. 3. 5-8. 11, Plate 3, fig. 1-9. 12-15, Plate 4, fig. 1-5. 7, Plate 5, fig. 1-3. 6. 9. 10, Plate 6, fig. 4. 9-11, Plate 7, fig. 1-4. 6-10, Plate 8, fig. 1-10, Plate 9, fig. 1-10, Plate 10, fig. 2-13). Bronze keys (Plate 1, fig. 12, Plate 2, fig. 1. 2. 9. 10, Plate 3, fig. 10. 11, Plate 4, fig. 6. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12, Plate 5, fig. 4. 5. 7. 8. 11, Plate 6, fig. 1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8, Plate 7, fig. 5, Plate 10, fig. 1) were probably for locks on chests, caskets or other valuable objects. The main structural feature of these keys is their L-shape. This type belongs to the type known in scholarly works as *Schiebschloss*.⁹⁷

They were in widespread use,⁹⁸ and most are of the usual, familiar shape and similar size.⁹⁹ Such keys were used to operate sliding bolts, and first appeared in the early Roman period.¹⁰⁰ This system involved pressure from the key on a spring when it was inserted into the lock plate, the tines on bit of the key corresponding to the perforations of the deadbolt. Such locks are known as spring locks.¹⁰¹

In most cases keys of this type have a handle set at a right-angle to the shaft, though in one example it is set horizontally (Plate 3, fig. 10). There are differences in the shape of the bit, and in the number of tines, of which there may be two (Plate 3, fig. 9. 11. 15, Plate 6, fig. 4. 8, Plate 8, fig. 3. 5, Plate 9, fig. 6),¹⁰² three (Plate 2, fig. 1. 7. 9, Plate 3, fig. 1-4. 6-8, Plate 4, fig. 4. 9. 11, Plate 5, fig. 3. 8. 11, Plate 6, fig. 1. 5. 6. 9. 11, Plate 7, fig. 3. 7, Plate 8, fig. 1, Plate 9, fig. 9, Plate 10, fig. 2-5) or four (Plate 2, fig. 10. 11, Plate 4, fig. 5. 10, Plate 5, fig. 4-7, Plate 6, fig. 2. 3, Plate 7, fig. 5. 10, Plate 9, fig. 7. 8).¹⁰³ One example had five tines (Plate 10, fig. 1). There is usually a single row of tines, though two examples (Plate 3, fig. 12, Plate 4, fig. 12) have two rows of tines.¹⁰⁴

The handle and shank of the key also display differences. This part is flat, of varying thickness, and always ends in a ring. The ring may be wide (Plate 2, fig. 1. 2. 5-10, Plate 3, fig. 2-15, Plate 4, fig. 1-7. 9, Plate 5, fig. 1-8. 11, Plate 6, fig. 2-4. 6-11, Plate 7, fig. 1. 3. 5. 9. 10, Plate 8, fig. 1. 2. 5-8. 10, Plate 9, Plate 10, fig. 1-5. 7. 8. 12. 13). There are also differences of detail in the treatment of the ring. Most are circular, but a few are octagonal in shape (Plate 2, fig. 3. 5. 6, Plate 3, fig. 1, Plate 4, fig. 10. 11, Plate 6, fig. 5, Plate 7, fig. 4. 7. 8, Plate 8, fig. 3. 9, Plate 10, fig. 6. 9), or of an inverted V-shape, like the roof of a house (Plate 4, fig. 8, Plate 5, fig. 9, Plate 6, fig. 1, Plate 10, fig. 11).

The shank of the classic Roman key also varies somewhat, particularly in shape. In some, it

⁹⁴ Čremošnik 1976, 126.

⁹⁵ Bogić 2017, 35.

⁹⁶ Ibid. 41.

⁹⁷ Čremošnik 1958, 44-45.

⁹⁸ Borzić et al. 2014, 204, fig. 33. 34; Bogić 2017, T. I, fig. 5. 6, T. II, 7-14.

⁹⁹ Čremošnik 1970, 106.

¹⁰⁰ Košćević 2000, 36.

¹⁰¹ Bogić 2017, 37.

¹⁰² The last example, though differing in the number of tines, is very similar to one discovered in Burnum. Borzić et al. 2014, 193, fig. 7.

¹⁰³ Jacobi 1897, 474.

¹⁰⁴ Čremošnik 1976, 126.

consists of a simple elongated triangle, widening from the bit to the handle (Plate 2, fig. 1. 3. 7. 8, Plate 3, fig. 5. 7-9. 11. 13, Plate 4, fig. 9. 11. 12, Plate 5, fig. 1. 3-5. 6. 8. 10. 11, Plate 6, fig. 2. 6. 9. 11, Plate 7, fig. 1. 4. 5. 7. 9. 10, Plate 8, fig. 1. 3. 4, Plate 9, fig. 2. 5. 8. 9, Plate 10, fig. 1. 5. 6). Others are more decorative, with a narrow neck that widens abruptly (Plate 2, fig. 2. 4. 5. 10. 11, Plate 3, fig. 1. 4. 10. 12. 14. 15, Plate 4, fig. 3. 4. 5. 7. 8. 10, Plate 5, fig. 2. 7. 9, Plate 6, fig. 1. 3-5. 7. 8. 10, Plate 7, fig. 2. 3. 6. 8, Plate 8, fig. 2. 5-9, Plate 9, fig. 1. 3. 4. 7. 10, Plate 10, fig. 2-4. 7-12). In a few cases the keys are decorated with transverse lines, mouldings and X's on the shank (Plate 2, fig. 1. 11, Plate 4, fig. 9. 12, Plate 5, fig. 4. 8. 9-11, Plate 6, fig. 1-3. 5. 6, Plate 8, fig. 5. 9, Plate 10, fig. 1).

A general characteristic of keys of this type is that several determinant features may be found on the same key, making it impossible or very difficult to classify them into distinct variants.

Some keys of this type are known to have been found at sites and very close to buildings where a gateway or entrance to a building has been identified. Three keys of this among our examples were found respectively in a tower to the west of a gateway, in the gateway of the west rampart, and by a door by the ramparts at the site of Kastrum military camp near Dobož (Plate 2, fig. 7, Plate 3, fig. 2. 3).

Many examples of keys of this type have been found at Roman and Late Antiquity sites, evidence that they were in widespread use throughout the Roman Empire.¹⁰⁵

Ring keys

(catalogue nos. 118-132, Plate 11)

Another distinct category of Roman keys consists of ring keys.¹⁰⁶ These were a practical way of keeping keys, particularly important ones that unlocked chests and caskets in which important items were kept.¹⁰⁷ One of their principal features is that they were not purely utilitarian, but also served as jewellery. Analysis of these rings reveals various designs for the bit, among them a meander or Greek key motif, a heart, and a horseshoe, which may also have had a symbol-

ic element. Most were of bronze, though some have been found of iron or of silver. The many such keys found throughout the Roman Empire also include some made of two kinds of metal – bronze for the ring, and iron for the bit. Some ring keys have been found with seals applied to the ring, highlighting their utilitarian purpose.¹⁰⁸

Their very shape suggests a range of possibilities for the way they were worn. They could have been hung as pendants from a belt or around the wrist or neck, attached to clothing, or worn on a finger like jewellery – this latter particularly in the case of silver ring keys.¹⁰⁹ Also suitable to be worn on the finger were those with the bit set next to the ring, so that they would appear to be a decorative ring. Ring keys with the bit at a right-angle to the ring were neither practical nor aesthetically suitable to be worn on a finger.

Their shape is an important factor in identification. Their small size suggests that they belonged to the small locks of chests, caskets and other such objects in which personal effects were kept.¹¹⁰ Ring keys were mainly used with slide-key and spring locks.¹¹¹

Various factors, depending on the archaeological context in which they were found, relate to the social role of these objects. Ring keys have been found as grave goods,¹¹² but also on private property or in public edifices.¹¹³ Analysis of the examples found at Lauricum and Viminicum indicates that they were worn by women, men and even children.¹¹⁴

The collection forming the subject of analysis in this paper has fifteen examples of this type.¹¹⁵ Even a superficial analysis reveals certain differences or variants, based on their technical differences, mainly as regards the bit.

Variant 1: In this variant (Plate 11, fig. 2-4) the keys have a ring that may be circular or flat in section. The bit is set horizontally to the ring, and takes the form of a plate pierced to create various geometric designs: the letter E,¹¹⁶ a rectangle,

¹⁰⁸ Milovanović / Mrđić 2016, 243-244.

¹⁰⁹ Košćević 1991, 86-87.

¹¹⁰ Milovanović / Mrđić 2016, 244.

¹¹¹ Bogić 2017, 35.

¹¹² Zotović / Jordović 1990, 31.

¹¹³ Milovanović / Mrđić 2016, 244.

¹¹⁴ Bogić 2017, 42.

¹¹⁵ The gold ring resembling a ring key is shown by way of analogy only (Plate 11, fig. 1).

¹¹⁶ Ivčević 2014, T. 8, fig. 80.

¹⁰⁵ Jacobi 1897, T. XXXIV, fig. 7-14; Košćević 2000, 122-124; Giunio 2016, 96; Bogić 2017, 38.

¹⁰⁶ Guhl / Koner 1994, 465.

¹⁰⁷ Ivčević 2014, 155.

meander, swastika, heart, inverted letter U, broken circle and so forth. The bit is designed for a slide-key lock. Their shape is mainly suitable for wearing as a ring.¹¹⁷ The keys shown in this paper are of bronze, but despite this their primary function was no doubt practical rather than decorative.

Further indications that these shapes were also seen as items of jewellery or rings is that many keys of this kind in silver and gold have been found, as well as rings of similar design but could not have been used as keys, but rather bore images from mythology or religion. An illustrative example of this kind was found at the large mining settlement of Japra-Majdanište (Plate 11, fig. 1).¹¹⁸

Ring keys of this variant have been found in various contexts at archaeological sites.¹¹⁹ Some were found among grave goods in various types of burial, at sacrificial areas, but also among everyday items in public edifices or private property. They were quite popular, which explains their long use from the 2nd to the 4th century, particularly during the 3rd century.¹²⁰

Their popularity is also indicated by the number of finds at various sites in Germania,¹²¹ at Burnum¹²² and in Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Moesia and other provinces.¹²³

Variant 2: In this variant the ring is flat, round or half-round in section (Plate 11, fig. 5-12). The feature that distinguishes them as forming a separate group is that the bit is set vertically in relation to the ring. These ring keys were used with spring locks. The position of the bit reveals that they were above all keys, with no aesthetic aspirations to serve as jewellery. They were thus classic keys but miniature in size. The bit set vertically on the ring was shorter than in ordinary keys, with a more or less elongated neck. Though

diminutive in size, the bit is identical in form to the bit of larger keys.¹²⁴

They probably date from the 2nd to the 4th century, particularly the late 2nd and first half of the 3rd centuries, as in the case of variant 1.¹²⁵

Comparable examples have been found in the provinces of Dalmatia,¹²⁶ Pannonia,¹²⁷ Germania, Moesia, Dacia, Macedonia and elsewhere in the Roman Empire.¹²⁸

Variant 3: Two examples belong to the third variant (Plate 11, fig. 13, 14). The defining features of this group are the semi-circular section of the ring and a horizontal, cylindrical or solid-cast bit in the shape of a spike. These keys operated rotary locks. As in other variants, this kind has been found in a wide range of contexts from grave goods to finds within a residential building. It ranges in date from the 2nd to the 3rd century.¹²⁹ The rotary lock was invented by the Romans, and remains in use to this day.¹³⁰

Many comparable examples have been found in Germania,¹³¹ Noricum, Pannonia, Moesia, Macedonia and elsewhere in the Roman territories.¹³² An interesting, possibly analogous example, with the bit set horizontally and no fewer than eight times in two rows, was found at Burnum.¹³³

Variant 4: One key, classified as belonging to a distinct variant (Plate 11, fig. 15), has the bit set at a right-angle, like those of variant 2, and could not for functional reasons have served as an item of jewellery. The very interesting shape of the ring is what sets it apart as a distinct variant. The ring in the shape of an inverted human figure, with arms and legs extended to form a semicircle with the body. This ring key could not have been

¹¹⁷ Milovanović / Mrđić 2016, 247.

¹¹⁸ Popović 1992, 14, type VI, 24, cat. no. 18; Henkel 1913, 234, fig. 240.

¹¹⁹ Giunio 2016, 94.

¹²⁰ Milovanović / Mrđić 2016, 247-248.

¹²¹ Jacobi 1897, T. XXXIV, fig. 26.

¹²² Borzić et al. 2014, 205, fig. 35, 36, 263, fig. 29.

¹²³ Košćević 1988, T. XXXIV-XXXV, 565, 581, 583; Košćević 1995, Pl. 45-46, 472, 474-475; Dautova-Ruševljan 1995, 155, T. VI, 44; Brukner 1976, 40, T. XV, 7; Bojović 1981, 28, kat. 77-79; Mihovilić 1979, 228, T. II, 20-23; Milovanović / Mrđić 2016, 247-249 and many others.

¹²⁴ Milovanović / Mrđić 2016, 249.

¹²⁵ Ibid. 251, 252-255.

¹²⁶ Giunio 2016, 94.

¹²⁷ Košćević 2000, 61.

¹²⁸ Nikolić / Pop-Lazić 2005, 34-35; Petrović 1997, 124, cat. 126-127; Košćević 1988, T. XXXV, 569, 599; Vágó / Bóna 1976, T. 15, 1041, 7, 1050, 5; Marcea / Gudea / Moțu 1993, 107, Pl. XXVI, 6; Henkel 1913, 183, 248-249; Beckmann 1969, 40, 52; Milovanović / Mrđić 2016, 249-251 and many others.

¹²⁹ Milovanović / Mrđić 2016, 255.

¹³⁰ Bogić 2017, 41.

¹³¹ Jacobi 1897, T. XXXIV, fig. 21-25, 27.

¹³² Pop Lazić 2002, 69-70, fig. 22, 6; Košćević 1988, T. XXXV, 589-591; Petru 1972, 74, T. LVI, 12; Milovanović / Mrđić 2016, 255 and many others.

¹³³ Borzić et al. 2014, 274, fig. 40.

an item of jewellery, a finger-ring, but nonetheless was of aesthetic value.

The available literature reveals no comparable examples, while the most nearly similar ring, on which the figure of a standing orator is portrayed and which dates from the 1st and 2nd centuries, is kept in the Metropolitan Museum.¹³⁴

Large keys

(catalogue nos. 133-152, Plate 12. 13)

Large keys have been found at numerous sites.¹³⁵ Analysis of such examples reveals certain differences in the way they were used as well as structural differences, of both the keys and the locks which they operated. Such keys were probably latch lifters, designed to operate wooden latches.¹³⁶ Thus there were several variants which differed significantly one from another.

Variant 1: The largest group consists of anchor-shaped keys (Plate 12, fig. 1-7. 9), with two curved hooks, to left and right,¹³⁷ a long, flat shank, and with the top bent into a circle, probably so they could be hung, as is the case with other types of key. Their common feature is their size, ranging from 10.06 to 19.05 cm. The popularity of this type is revealed by the fact that such keys have been found at various sites throughout the Empire.¹³⁸

Variant 2: We have only one example of a large key with the bit on one side only, consisting of two large tines (Plate 12, fig. 8). This type of key, which was operated by rotating to the right or left, had from two to five tines. Analogies (Plate 12, fig. 8) have been found at Saalburg,¹³⁹ Svrljig,¹⁴⁰ and Čečan, and date from Late Antiquity.¹⁴¹

Variant 3: One of the many different groups consists of exceptionally large keys, ranging from 21 to 24 cm (Plate 13, fig. 1-4). These are flat in profile, with a thinner section on the lower part of the shank. The bit is bent to one side at an acute angle and ends in a circle or cylinder with three tines (Plate 13, fig. 3), or none (Plate 12, fig. 1. 2. 4). These keys are known in scholarly works

as *Vexirschlüssel*, and operated the large locks of massive doors or gates. The locks themselves are known as *Drehschloss* or *Vorhängeschloss* locks.¹⁴²

Variant 4: One example, of which the shank is circular in section and has an opening at the top so it can be hung, belongs to this variant. It is of simple workmanship and operated a rotary lock (Plate 13, fig. 5). It is probably of latish date, given its structural features and the shape of the bit and shank.

Variant 5: Another distinct variant is represented by a number of examples with flat shanks and a circular perforation at the end, so they could be hung. The bit is fairly primitive, with a bent tip which served to turn the mechanism, thus unlocking what were most likely wooden locks (Plate 13, fig. 6. 7).

Variant 6: This variant is represented by a single example which, though sharing certain features with the larger group, has two curved tines with which the lock was unlocked (Plate 13, fig. 8). Directly comparable examples have been found at other Roman sites.¹⁴³

Variant 7: Yet another key belongs to a variant with the bit bent to one side, and with three tines that turned the lock system (Plate 13, fig. 9). This too has analogies at known Roman sites, such as the Roman edifice in Saalburg.¹⁴⁴

Variant 8: The structure of a large iron key with a flat shank and flat bit bent to one side, a narrow neck, and a wider upper shank (Plate 13, fig. 10), also defines it as belonging to another variant, though there are similarities between this and examples from variant 3 and 8.

Variant 9: Based on its principal feature, its size, this variant is represented by one example (Plate 13, fig. 11). This key was gilded, and undoubtedly operated a luxury lock. Unfortunately it is too badly damaged to allow for closer analysis.

It should be noted that large keys, especially those of variants 3, 4 and 5, were used only to operate large locks on massive doors, such as the entrance gates to fortifications at Mogorjelo and elsewhere.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁴ Pace 2014, 104.

¹³⁵ Jacobi 1897, 469; Guhl / Koner 1994, 465.

¹³⁶ Bogić 2017, 35.

¹³⁷ Jacobi 1897, 469.

¹³⁸ Ibid. 469, T. XXXXIV, fig. 1.

¹³⁹ Ibid., T. XXXXIV, fig. 2.

¹⁴⁰ Bogić 2017, 36, fig. 4.

¹⁴¹ Ivanišević / Špehar 2006, 148.

¹⁴² Čremošnik 1976, 126.

¹⁴³ Jacobi 1897, 469, fig. 17.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., T. XXXXIV, fig. 3-5.

¹⁴⁵ For Mogorjelo see Dyggve / Vetters 1966.

Atypical Roman keys (catalogue nos. 153-159, Plate 14)

Since locks and keys were so widely used, there can be no doubt that they were manufactured in a variety of ways, reflecting basic, familiar technical principles. Interesting examples of keys have thus been found at typical Roman sites. That keys could be made from materials at hand, so as to secure portable and real property, is evidenced by examples from the preceding group, of which some (Plate 14, fig. 2. 3), were probably made on site.

This and similar examples were often in use later, in the mediaeval period, to secure large doors or gates.

The continued use of keys that were very similar to those of the Roman period, Late Antiquity and the early mediaeval period, may be observed at numerous sites, where determinant archaeological material and keys formed part of the finds.¹⁴⁶ Analogues to some of our examples, very similar in appearance, have been found at the site of a burg at Wittelsbach.¹⁴⁷ As well as the sites at which they were found, very similar or identical examples have been found at Saalburg,¹⁴⁸ Sisak (Siscia) and Aquileia,¹⁴⁹ supporting the claim that our examples are indeed Roman, or date from Late Antiquity.

In two instances our examples display almost identical features to those of classic keys (Plate 14, fig. 2. 3).

The other four examples (Plate 14, fig. 1. 4. 5. 7) have a cylindrical shank with tines at the end, set at a right-angle to form the bit. As with other examples, the handle ends in a ring, enabling it to be hung. These keys were used to turn a lock plate, and were in use from the 1st century, remaining in use for a long period.¹⁵⁰ Direct analogies to our examples have been found at Aquileia and Sisak.¹⁵¹

A very interesting key was found at Žabljak (Plate 14, fig. 6). According to the available literature and other examples found, this is a unique

find, no analogies to which have been found in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Hinges (catalogue nos. 160-189, Plate 15. 16. 17)

The Antiquities Collection of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina has examples of various kinds of hinge. Hinges were an essential component of doors and locking systems. They were the functional bearing component connecting the door and door frame, enabling the door to be opened and closed as easily as possible. Hinges differ in design, as can be seen in the examples in our collection, which are of varying shapes and manner of operation.

One method by which doors could be opened and close was known among the Etruscans, in which the door pane fitted into a spike top and bottom, or in some cases extended into a pivot at the top and bottom, forming the axis around which it could be turned. In such cases the threshold serving as the base had to be provided with a groove along which the lower pivot could move. This method was in widespread use in various areas, as confirmed by archaeological excavations.¹⁵² A new method of fitting doors was developed in the Roman period, using iron spike-shaped hinges. These were ideal for solid, heavy doors, and were usually of wrought iron. This system consisted of two identical spikes bent in the middle, when they fitted into each other; one was attached to the door pane, the other to the door frame. To ensure they remained securely attached, they were very long, penetrating deep into the timber. If they protruded on the other side of the door frame, the ends would be bent over. Each door would have at least two such hinges, but depending on the weight and size of the door could have three or more. Examples of this design can be seen on eight of our hinges (Plate 15, fig. 12-14, Plate 16, fig. 8-10, Plate 17, fig. 3. 5), and another two examples (Plate 15, fig. 11, Plate 17, fig. 6) were probably of similar design.

Another variant consisted of a hinge with both parts joined in the form of a closed or curved ring, which meant that the door could not be removed from the door frame. The hinges were fixed to the door frame and door by rivets or nails, and could be removed only by extract-

¹⁴⁶ Radišić 2015, 292-293.

¹⁴⁷ Koch 2017, Taf. 10.

¹⁴⁸ Jacobi 1897, T. XXXIV, fig. 16-18.

¹⁴⁹ Košević 2000, 125-126.

¹⁵⁰ Ulbert 1959, 77.

¹⁵¹ Košević 2000, 125.

¹⁵² Walton 1954, 43-46.

ing the rivets or nails (Plate 15, fig. 4-8, Plate 16, fig. 6. 7).

There was another, similar method of attaching a door to the door frame. The ends of a hinge curved into a narrow U- or O-shape, forming a ring, were driven into the inner side of the door and set on a second, L-shaped part, the longer arm of which was driven into the door frame. The iron part of the hinge that was set into the door was then fitted onto the shorter arm of the L. The L-shaped part was usually on the inside of the door. This design enabled the door to be lifted off its hinges when it needed to be removed, and most closely resembles the hinges used in our time.¹⁵³ Such hinges could also serve another purpose, that of consolidating architectural elements.¹⁵⁴

In some cases, certain designs could be multi-purpose in nature. It is possible, based on observation of their structural features, that the supports for the insulating layer of a ceiling¹⁵⁵ could also have been used as door hinges. These were T-shaped, and if the longer arm was hammered into the door one of the shorter arms could have served as the upper part of the hinge that rested on the lower part of the hinge in the door frame (Plate 17, fig. 1. 2). Much the same is true of other examples of hinge that could equally have been part of the harness of draft animals.¹⁵⁶

It may thus be concluded that the basic principle on which a hinge operates remains unchanged, in various forms, to this day. The hollow, ring-like or inverted cup-shaped lower part of the hinge fitted onto the upper spike, the latter being fixed to the door and the lower part to the wooden door frame. Both upper and lower parts could be fixed to the door frame and door in a variety of ways. A very striking example is that of a hinge found at Zecovi near Prijedor (Plate 17, fig. 4). Hinges found at Lepenica (Plate 16, fig. 2. 5) operated on a similar principle, except as regards the moving part fitted to the door frame, where the lower spike fitted into the upper part of the hinge.

One method consisted of fitting both parts of the hinge into the edge of the door frame and door. In this case the hinges had to have point-

ed ends to enable them to be hammered into the wood (Plate 15, fig. 1. 2. 9. 10). This meant that the lower part was L-shaped. The longer arm would be hammered into the door frame, leaving the shorter arm exposed so that the upper part of the hinge could be hung on it. These parts were identical in shape to the spikes with bent head that were used to affix wall facings or other structural elements,¹⁵⁷ so that they are identified at the hypothetical level, in other words, their discovery at archaeological sites may be interpreted in two ways – they may be identified as hinges or as bent plates used to affix structural elements. This hypothesis finds support in the fact that they may be found in large numbers, in which case it is likely that they were used to attach wall facings in a given room or building, or in roof structures and the like, whereas hinges would occur only in small numbers, reflecting the limited number of doors in a building.

Some of the hinges represented in this paper lack one of the determinant features that would enable them to be identified with certainty (Plate 15, fig. 3, Plate 16, fig. 3. 4).

The technical solutions applied to hang doors onto door frames in the Roman period were very similar, and almost identical or similar examples have been found at the known Roman site at Saalburg.¹⁵⁸

Locks

(catalogue nos. 190-193, Plate 18)

A door serving only the basic function of protection from animals or the cold did not need to be locked, but when people sought to protect their property from others of malign intent, it became necessary to develop various kinds of lock. These locks, reflecting the experience of different peoples and parts of the world, came in numerous forms and with different operating systems, as evidenced at Roman archaeological sites.

Roman locks can be roughly divided into two basic groups, according to the method and purpose of their use. The first consists of large locks intended for the large doors of houses and public edifices, courtyard gates and the like. The other consists of small locks intended for caskets, small

¹⁵³ Матић 2007, 27-28.

¹⁵⁴ Ivčević 2014, 183, no. 119.

¹⁵⁵ Basler 1977, Plate IV, fig. 3. 5.

¹⁵⁶ Šeper 1962, 335-428; Ratković 2008, 793-815.

¹⁵⁷ Basler 1977, T. I, 7. 8. 9.

¹⁵⁸ Jacobi 1897, T. XXXV, fig. 22-28. 30, T. XXXVI, fig. 13. 22.

doors, and other small articles, mainly caskets in which objects of value, jewellery, money, important documents, cosmetics and medicines, etc., were kept.

Both kinds of lock were in widespread use throughout the Empire both geographically and chronologically, sites at which they have been found revealing that they were used from western Europe¹⁵⁹ to the central¹⁶⁰ and eastern regions of the Empire.¹⁶¹

Structurally, too, Roman locks consist of two basic parts, one being fixed, the other a movable element attached by a hinge to the fixed part.¹⁶² For the lock to function, the movable part was lowered and inserted through the rectangular lock plate, where a pin passed through it on the inside. This part of the lock was visible, and was treated with particular care, with the addition of various decorative features: straight or intersecting lines, scored triangles and the like.

The National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina has examples of locks from Stolac, Mogorjelo, Japra-Majdanište and Lisičići near Konjic (Plate 18, fig. 1. 2. 3. 4). The first two locks were probably of the kind most commonly in use in the interior of the Roman province of Dalmatia. A lock that has survived intact was operated by inserting and turning a key.

The example from Japra-Majdanište (Plate 18, fig. 4) has a direct analogy found at Sisak.¹⁶³ It had a metal ward and was probably a padlock,¹⁶⁴ as suggested by its structure. This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that the two sites are quite close, and must have mutually influenced each other. The lock from Lisičići (Plate 18, fig. 5) is of almost identical structure, and is also more likely to have been a padlock than a classic lock.

The evolution of different lock systems in the Roman period is evidenced by finds at several sites that could be defined as padlocks. They worked in various ways, and though relatively few in number, are represented throughout the Roman Empire. As well as serving to lock lids

and caskets, they could also be used for wallets, bags and similar items.¹⁶⁵

Analysis of keys also allows for the general conclusion that rotary locks were used in Roman times in Bosnia and Herzegovina, operated by anthropomorphic keys (Plate 1), *Schibschloss* locks operated by classic keys (Plate 2 – Plate 10), and *Dreh Schloss* and *Verhängeschloss* locks operated by large keys (Plate 13, fig. 1-4). The distribution of locks is further revealed by keys that provide evidence of simple wooden locks (Plate 8, fig. 2, and Plate 10, fig. 2. 5).

Locks of different types continued in use into the late mediaeval period.¹⁶⁶

Lock escutcheons

(catalogue nos. 194-208, Plate 19. 20)

Lock covers or escutcheons also display marked differences. Thus far the surviving examples from Bosnia and Herzegovina reveal the presence of substantial locks for entrance doors or gateways (Plate 19, fig. 1. 6). Direct analogies to our escutcheons (Plate 19, fig. 4. 5), have been found at Magura, which are placed in the context of locks on cages and stakes.¹⁶⁷ Another analogy was found at Tilurium.¹⁶⁸ Escutcheons have also been found belonging to smaller locks, probably for wooden caskets, small door locks and the like. These last are represented in our collection by bronze¹⁶⁹ and silver examples from Konjević Polje, Aquae S.... Panik and Mogorjelo (Plate 19, fig. 2. 3, Plate 20, fig. 1. 4. 5). In a very few cases, such as the luxury silver finds from Konjević Polje near Srebrenica¹⁷⁰ and from Panik near Bileća, the escutcheon was of silver, which together with their small size indicates that they evidently belonged to a small lock on a casket or similar object, as does the discovery of the lamina with which the casket was clad (Plate 20, fig. 1).¹⁷¹ Both precious metal and luxury of design are to be seen in the decorated escutcheon from Panik near Bileća (Plate 20, fig. 4. 5). Comparative examples reveal that this is not unusual. The presence of decorated locks and escutcheons of

¹⁵⁹ Gáspár 1986, 123, cat. 265; Istenič 2000, T. 15. 23, gr. 75; Plesničar-Gec 1972, T. CL, 20 gr. 653, T. CLX, 10 gr. 700.

¹⁶⁰ Košćević 2000, 127.

¹⁶¹ Ivčević 2003, 143.

¹⁶² Oltre la porta 1986, 97, fig. 33. 35.

¹⁶³ Košćević 2000, 127.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. 37.

¹⁶⁵ Košćević 1990, 25-28.

¹⁶⁶ Koch 2017, Taf. 12, fig. 13

¹⁶⁷ Popović 2009, 318-319.

¹⁶⁸ Ivčević 2014, 177, no. 85.

¹⁶⁹ Pace 2014, 41-42.

¹⁷⁰ Bojanovski 2001, 179.

¹⁷¹ Ibid. 186-197.

zoomorphic or anthropomorphic form has been recorded at various archaeological sites.¹⁷²

Small keys, particularly ring keys of a size that indicates they belonged to small locks, are also evidence of such small-sized locks on caskets and chests of a personal nature.¹⁷³ Lock escutcheons were designed to protect the lock and its surroundings from damage that might arise while operating the lock.¹⁷⁴ These too could be of different materials, depending on the lock. In the case of large door locks, which were in frequent use, iron escutcheons were used of which examples are found in the archaeological evidence presented in this paper (Plate 19, fig. 1. 4-9).

The lock escutcheons in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Museum in Doboj point to two basic shapes – circular (Plate 19, fig. 1. 2. 3, Plate 20, fig. 1-5. 7) and rectangular (Plate 19, fig. 4. 5. 7. 8. 9, Plate 20, fig. 6).¹⁷⁵ In each case, they have a central L-shaped aperture to allow the key to be inserted into the lock. The perforations at the corners of the rectangular escutcheons allowed for the escutcheon to be affixed to the wooden door, surrounding the lock.

The popularity of such escutcheons is demonstrated by finds of rectangular¹⁷⁶ and circular¹⁷⁷ examples throughout the Roman Empire.

Latches

(catalogue nos. 209-237, Plate 21 and Plate 22)

A latch may also be an integral part of a door and its locking system. The simplest method of closing a door was with a latch. This consisted of two parts, one of which was attached to the door frame. It is often difficult to distinguish this from the double-ended cramps used to join two timber or stone architectural elements. The second, moving component of a latch took the form of a metal or wooden bar, usually flat, part of which was attached to the door while the other engaged with the fixed part on the door frame. Doors with

latches were locked from the inside. Locks using the latch principle were still in use later, in mediaeval times – parts of latches similar to those of the Roman period have been found, usually the parts fixed to the door frame. Very similar examples have been found at the mediaeval site of Wittelsbach.¹⁷⁸ Similar mechanisms were also used in ancient times, as evidenced by examples found. In some cases, depending on their size, these latches may have been used on very small locking systems.¹⁷⁹ One interesting example (Plate 22, fig. 16) consisted of an annular movable component attached to the door, of which the free end was lowered onto or raised from the fixed component on the door frame. This is the simplest form of latch. In this case the fixed component on the door frame must have had an opening on the upper side to enable the moving part to be raised or lowered. In another variant, the moving metal part of the latch fitted horizontally from the side into the fixed component on the door frame. Parts of latches found at Roman sites in Bosnia and Herzegovina reveal that this system is represented by quite a large number of examples (Plate 21, fig. 1. 2. 4-9, Plate 22, fig. 1-3. 7-15). All this suggests that there were two different latch systems, the horizontal and the vertical. It may be assumed that wood was used to make a significant number of latches identical to these systems, which, being of perishable material, have not survived.

Some parallels may be drawn with examples from the 18th and 19th centuries, when the same principles applied to a new latch system which had a handle, a concealed mechanism, and a concealed latch lifter.¹⁸⁰

In addition to the above methods, our examples also include some of which one component was affixed by driving a nail through a perforation. One end of the latch was bent, and served as the holder, while the other end was lifted to open and lowered to close the door from the inside (Plate 21, fig. 3. 12, Plate 22, fig. 4)

A significant proportion of surviving metal latch components are almost identical to the cramps used to join the various architectural components of a building (Plate 21, 1, 2, 5-8,

¹⁷² Mellink 1989, 103-133.

¹⁷³ See the section dealing with ring keys.

¹⁷⁴ Pace 2014, 40-41.

¹⁷⁵ Some of the examples presented in this paper are too badly damaged for their shape to be identified (Plate 19, fig. 6, Plate 20, 6).

¹⁷⁶ Jacobi 1897, T. XXXXV, fig. 10. 11; Bernabò-Brea / Cavalier 1965, T. CCXVIII, fig. 4. 17.

¹⁷⁷ Bernabò-Brea / Cavalier 1965, T. CCXVIII, fig. 10.

¹⁷⁸ Koch 2017, Taf. 12, fig. 1-6.

¹⁷⁹ Ivčević 2014, 184, no. 128.

¹⁸⁰ Matić 2007, 49-50.

Plate 22, fig. 8-13). As a result, the parts of a latch that were attached to the door frame could have served other purposes, making it impossible to identify them with certainty.

Bolts and parts of *Schiebschloss* locks (catalogue nos. 238-245, Plate 23)

Bolts are another item used in locking systems. Our specimens are of iron, rectangular in section and with a rectangular frame with openings¹⁸¹ or indentations. Examples with no openings have swastika-shaped indentations. The tines on the bit of the key engaged with these openings or indentations. The indentations could also be triangular,¹⁸² semi-circular, or rectangular.¹⁸³ The same principle applied to bolts of a different shape with a number of holes forming a circle: here too the tines of the bit engaged with the holes so the bolt could be drawn.¹⁸⁴ They were in very common use, as reflected by finds of such bolts at numerous sites. Several analogous specimens have been found at Saalburg,¹⁸⁵ Sisak and Aquileia,¹⁸⁶ and the British Museum,¹⁸⁷ the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split,¹⁸⁸ and many other institutions, possess a significant number.

Door handles (catalogue nos. 246-253, Plate 24)

The National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Franciscan Monastery in Visoko have some quite fine examples of door handles. Made of bronze, these are in the shape of heads. They are of high-quality workmanship, and undoubtedly belonged to the substantial entrance doors to a building. Those presented in this paper are from known sites (Plate 24, fig. 1. 3. 4): the urban administrative centre and spa known as Aqua S.... in Ilidža near Sarajevo,¹⁸⁹ and the important site of Mogorjelo, already referred to several times in this paper. This too suggests that door handles of this kind belonged to the (probably large) doors of handsome edifices. Some of our door handles

are in the shape of human heads (Plate 24, fig. 1-3. 6), and lions' heads (Plate 24, fig. 4. 5. 8).

The Franciscan Monastery in Visoko has one example in the shape of a clothed girl (Plate 24, fig. 7). Unfortunately, the site where it came from is unknown, but was probably local, though the handle itself was probably imported.

Similar door handles in the form of animal heads – horse, lion, leopard, ram, bull – or of human hands, heads or entire figures, have been recorded in many places.¹⁹⁰

Fragments of iron railings or gates (catalogue nos. 254-255, Plate 25)

The Antiquities Collection of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina has some very interesting and pieces from a decorative railing or gate found in Mogorjelo. In the form of floral tendrils, these have not previously been published in scholarly works, and it appears from the available literature that no similar examples have been recorded. Comparing with known examples of wrought iron components of furniture – tables, chairs and the like¹⁹¹ – it may confidently be assumed that these wrought iron objects formed part of a railing or gate.

Further support for the hypothesis that these surviving fragments date from the Roman period is provided by the large number of iron tools and implements found at the same site. These would have been used for a variety of agricultural, animal farming and artisanal activities in the Roman period.¹⁹² Furthermore, the gateways identified at Mogorjelo, and the large number of edifices and other premises within the architectural complex, make it likely that there were iron railings or gates. Though this remains a hypothesis, there is no reason not to attribute these fragments to the same cultural and chronological context. Their large size also suggests that they were from a gate or railing, rather than from items of furniture.

Based on broader comparisons, they could have been from Roman chariots.¹⁹³ In any event, we remain open to alternative suggestions concerning the exact identification of these objects.

¹⁸¹ Ivčević 2014, 177, fig. 84.

¹⁸² Busuladžić 2012, T. XVI.

¹⁸³ Šeparović / Uroda 2009, 78.

¹⁸⁴ Križ / Stipančić / Škedelj Petrić 2009, 348, fig. 50a.

¹⁸⁵ Jacobi 1897, 473 and T. XXXV, fig. 1-5.

¹⁸⁶ Košević 2000, 126.

¹⁸⁷ Pace 2014, 54.

¹⁸⁸ Šeparović / Uroda 2009, 78.

¹⁸⁹ Kellner 1895, 161-198.

¹⁹⁰ Pace 2014, 100-105.

¹⁹¹ Guhl / Koner 1994, 446-447.

¹⁹² Busuladžić 2014.

¹⁹³ Maise 2004, 9-12.

Ring door handles (catalogue nos. 256-261, Plate 26)

These are another everyday object belonging to doors, both large entrance doors and those within a building, and could also feature on smaller chests, caskets and the like, where they served the same purpose as door handles. On the other hand, they could also have other purposes, serving for example as parts of carts and the like.¹⁹⁴

Conclusion

Analysis of the many finds relating broadly to the subject under discussion in ancient times suggests a number of general conclusions.

The interior of the Roman province of Dalmatia and the outer regions of the province of Pannonia, to which the area of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina belonged, was in no way separate from general trends in the use of different locking systems for buildings, gateways, entrance doors, casket and chests in which valuable personal effects were kept.

These objects have been found at numerous sites known to date from Roman times, such as the Roman villas¹⁹⁵ in Višići,¹⁹⁶ Panik,¹⁹⁷ Lisičići,¹⁹⁸ Mala Ruiška,¹⁹⁹ Stolac,²⁰⁰ Stup,²⁰¹ Mušići,²⁰² Proboj,²⁰³ Mogorjelo,²⁰⁴ Vitina²⁰⁵ and Tišina,²⁰⁶ military facilities such as Makljenovac near Doboj,²⁰⁷ Gračina,²⁰⁸ urban settlements such as Aqua S.... near Sarajevo²⁰⁹ and Japra-Majdaništa,²¹⁰ refugia, hill forts and forts such as Zecovi near Prijedor²¹¹ and Debelo Brdo near Sa-

rajevo,²¹² Gradac near Neum,²¹³ the early Christian religious buildings in Mokro,²¹⁴ Grude,²¹⁵ and the wider region, where Roman remains of similar use have been recorded, such as Livno, Tomislavgrad, Lepenica, Klobuk, Gradac, Mosko kod Bileće, Mostar and elsewhere.

Analysis of these objects reveals that wherever people lived and worked in the Roman period in what is now Bosnia and Herzegovina, some locking system or another was in use. Roman keys, locks, bolts and other components of locking systems have been found not only at known Roman sites but also in places where no significant Roman site has been recorded: among them Vojkovići near Sarajevo, Velika Kladuša, Rakitno near Ljubuški, Amajlije near Bijeljina, Usora near Tešanj, Šipovljani near Bosanski Petrovac, Drvar, and Glogovac near Jajce.

The picture of locking systems and key forms is supplemented by a number of examples found at sites in Naron and Albania and kept in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

These objects reveal that the population of these parts in Roman times secured their property in exactly the same way as people living in other provinces. They kept up with technical innovations as every new patent reached the province, albeit with a slight time lag.

The archaeological material tells us that the owners and occupants of different buildings, whether private or public, civilian, military or religious, used locks and keys to secure their property, estates and personal affairs.

Finds from local sites reveal that a variety of different keys were in use: anthropomorphic keys, ring keys, large keys and classic keys, along with latches, bolts, hinges, elaborate door handles, locks and lock escutcheons. This wide range of objects used for or related to locking reveals further details. Most keys were used to lock typical entrance doors and represent the majority of finds. In addition, given their greater size, a certain number of keys probably belonged to large locks that could have been used only on gates and big, heavy doors. At the other end of the range are miniature keys that could have been used only to lock small objects such as caskets

¹⁹⁴ Ratković 2008, 793-815.

¹⁹⁵ Busuladžić 2011, 98.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid. 150-151.

¹⁹⁷ Čremošnik 1976, 41-164.

¹⁹⁸ Busuladžić 2011, 157-158.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid. 165.

²⁰⁰ Ibid. 152-153.

²⁰¹ Ibid. 159.

²⁰² Ibid. 159-160.

²⁰³ Ibid. 151-152.

²⁰⁴ Ibid. 149.

²⁰⁵ Ibid. 151.

²⁰⁶ Busuladžić 2012, 211.

²⁰⁷ Žigić 2017, 125-168.

²⁰⁸ Atanacković-Salčić 1978, 73-77.

²⁰⁹ Pašalić 1959, 113-136.

²¹⁰ Basler 1977, 121-216.

²¹¹ Čremošnik 1956, 136-146.

²¹² Fiala 1894, 107-140; 1896, 97-107.

²¹³ For this site see Marijan 1989, 35-59.

²¹⁴ Sergejevski 1961, 211-228.

²¹⁵ Arheološki leksikon Bosne i Hercegovine, vol. III, 1988, 324.

in which valuable personal effects, jewellery and the like were kept.

The number of these finds reveals that it was common practice to use locks in Roman Bosnia and Herzegovina. Securing ones property, house, household goods and furniture, livestock, valuables in the home, military equipment and arms in military facilities, and early Christian religious buildings, was part of daily routine. Homes in rural as well as urban areas were secured.

This called for sets of locks and ancillary components to be manufactured. It is difficult to imagine that a majority of locks would be imported from remote regions, and more likely that locks were produced in major local centres by specialist locksmiths, probably those who were also engaged in metallurgy and metal-working. Analysis of the types of material reveals that most were made of iron, with a few of bronze, and two were silver-plated. Iron locks were more robust and were suited to more substantial doors. The bronze and two silver examples belonged to smaller, luxury items – boxes or caskets of some kind.

It is safe to assume that the small locks, escutcheons and ring keys used on small caskets, perhaps brought here from distant places and large urban centres, were themselves imported. Examples that stand out are part of the silver escutcheon of the lock of a small box found with other grave goods in Konjević Polje near Srebrenica,²¹⁶ and a decorated silver escutcheon from Panik.

Na engleski jezik prevela Saba Risaluddin

Sažetak

Metalni dijelovi rimskih vrata – primjeri iz Bosne i Hercegovine

U Zemaljskom muzeju Bosne i Hercegovine, ali i drugim muzejskim ustanovama poput muzeja u Zenici, Doboju, Travniku, Tuzli, Franjevačkom samostanu u Visokom, pohranjeno je više predmeta koji se mogu determinirati kao metalni dijelovi rimskih vrata. Riječ je o ključevima, rezama, zasunima, bravama,

katancima, baglamama, ogradama, halkama za vrata, drškama vrata i oplatama od brava. Od samih početaka čovjek je stvarajući prva organizirana staništa pokušao napraviti i način zaštite. Ti oblici podrazumijevali su i prve forme vrata, koja su se protokom vremena razvijala. U rimsko doba vrata postaju univerzalni i neizostavni element objekata. Ključevi dobijaju i simboličku ulogu. Oni postaju simbol graničara, jasne razlike između vanjskog i unutarnjeg, dobrog i lošeg, poznatog i nepoznatog. Ključevi postaju dio ikonografije božice Hekate, Janusa, Afrodite, Kronosa, Heliosa, Cibale i Erosa. Materijal od kojeg su u rimsko doba metalni dijelovi vrata izrađeni najčešće je željezo, bronza, ali i srebro i pozlata. Ovi predmeti su primarno imali funkcionalnu, a tek sekundarno dekorativnu namjenu. Prvi tipovi ključeva zabilježeni su još kod starih Egipćana, stanovnika Mezopotamije, a potom Grka, Etruščana i Rimljana. Rimski sistem brava podrazumijevao je dva osnovna principa. Stariji sistem predstavljao je dvostruko guranje s bravom koja je imala zasun na ručno potezanje, dok je mlađi bio okretni sistem. Sistemom dvostrukog guranja brava se otvarala na način da se zupcima koji su bili na bradi ključa, pošto se ključ uvuče u bravu, podižu mali klinčići koji su fiksirali zasun. Ovaj tip se koristio u antici i tokom cijelog perioda Carstva. Okretni sistem je funkcionirao uz pomoć mehanizma s ključaonicom – *claustrum* i uz pomoć ključa – *clavis*. Guranjem ključa zasun se direktno pomicao. Ovaj je sistem predstavljao tehnički napredak i smatra se rimskim izumom. U masovniju upotrebu ulazi od II stoljeća. Ključevi se u odnosu na materijal od kojeg su izrađeni, konstrukcijske razlike, različite oblike, dijele na više tipova. Tako su u ovom radu obrađeni primjerci više tipova. Na prvom mjestu to su *antropomorfni ključevi Stehschlüssel* tip. Ovaj tip ključeva nalikuje na ljudske figure (T. 1). Drugu veliku skupinu predstavljaju *klasični ključevi* tzv. *Schiebschloss* tipa (T. 2-10). Ovi su ključevi služili za manipuliranje brava sa zasunom na potezanje. Razlike među njima očituju se u broju zubaca na glavi ključa koji mogu biti u jednom i u dva reda te ih može biti od dva do pet. Najveći broj ih je željeznih, dok ih je manji broj bio i od bronze. Razlike su uočene i u odnosu na držač, koji je gotovo po pravilu imao na vrhu prstenasti završetak koji je mogao biti uokviren kružno ili u obliku slova V ili oktogonalne forme. Ako su u pitanju ukrasni elementi, onda su to kose, prave i poprečne linije. Treći tip odnosi se na *prsten ključeve* (T. 11), koji su mogli imati željezne i bronzane primjerke, te glave koje su mogle biti četvrtaste, okrugle ili sa zupcima. Glave su mogle biti horizontalno postavljene i kod takvih primjera predmeti su mogli služiti i kao prstenovi, te okomito – vertikalno postavljene glave koje su imale isključivo funkciju ključa. Ovakva rješenja korištena su i kod zlatnih prstenova koji su imali isključivo

²¹⁶ Bojanovski 2001, 207, fig. 3.

dekorativnu ulogu (T. 11, sl. 1). Četvrti tip ključeva odnosio se na *velike primjerke* (T. 12. 13) koji su služili za otvaranje velikih brava, na kapijskim i velikim ulaznim vratima. Ti ključevi su bili naglašeno većih dimenzija. Neki primjerci su imali oblik sidra (T. 12, sl. 1-7. 9), dok su neki imali dva zupca sa strane (T. 12, sl. 8). Četiri primjerka služila su za otvaranje velikih brava *Dreh Schloss* ili *Vorhängeschloss* tipa. Ovi ključevi (T. 13, sl. 1-4) poznati su u literaturi pod nazivom *Vexirschlüssel*. Zanimljive primjere predstavljaju i ključevi jednostavne izrade sa savijenom glavom (T. 13, sl. 6. 7), s dva (T. 13, sl. 8), ili tri zuba (T. 13, sl. 9), te primjerak rađen u pozlati (T. 13, sl. 11). U manju skupinu mogu se uvrstiti *atipični ključevi* (T. 14). Ovi ključevi, iako oblika koji podsjeća na recentnije primjerke, pripadaju rimskodobnim. Osnovni razlog ovakve determinacije je činjenica da su pronađeni na lokalitetima potvrđene rimske provenijencije, kao i komparativni primjerci pronađeni također na rimskim lokalitetima. Posebna kategorija metalnih dijelova vrata predstavljaju *baglame* (T. 15-17). Osnovna funkcija baglama jest da drže vrata i povezuju štokove s vratima. Na ovaj način olakšavaju upotrebu vrata. U odnosu na konstrukcijske karakteristike baglama mogu biti sastavljene iz dva odvojena dijela od kojeg jedan dio ima trn, a drugi čašicu ili kružni otvor na koje je prvi dio stavljan (T. 15, sl. 1. 2. 9. 10. 11, T. 16, sl. 2. 5, T. 17, sl. 1. 2. 6). Druga vrsta baglama podrazumijeva primjerke koji su imali oba dijela povezana u formi zatvorenih halki, koje su se za štokove i vrata povezivali nitnama i ekserima (T. 15, sl. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8, T. 16, sl. 6. 7). Treća skupina baglama predstavlja primjerke koji su podsjećali na oblik slova U ili O te su ostrim špicastim krajevima bili pričvršćivani na štokove i ivice vrata (T. 15, sl. 12. 13. 14, T. 16, sl. 8. 9. 10, T. 17, sl. 3. 5). Znatno broj primjeraka definiranih kao baglame mogao je imati i dvojaku namjenu. Osim kao baglame, mogli su služiti i kao dio zaprežnih kola (T. 15, sl. 7. 8), konjske opreme (T. 16, sl. 1), nosača arhitektonskih dijelova (T. 15, sl. 1. 2. 9. 10), nosača izolacionih ploča (T. 17, sl. 1. 2) i slično. Na prostoru današnje Bosne i Hercegovine pronađeno je i nekoliko ostataka *rimskih brava* i *lokota* (T. 18). Primjeri koji su imali limena pera za blokiranje su predstavljali katance (T. 18, sl. 4. 5). U kontekstu brava na području naše zemlje pronađeno je i više *oplata od brava* (T. 19. 20), koji su se nalazili na vanjskoj strani brave pričvršćeni na drvenu podlogu. Uloga oplata bila je da zaštiti bravu prilikom svakodnevnog korištenja. U odnosu na oblik, materijal i dimenzije razlikujemo željezne, bronzane i srebrene, okrugle, četvrtaste, velike i male oplata. Srebrene primjerci manjih dimenzija (T. 20, sl. 1. 4. 5) korišteni su za male brave škrinja i malih kutija, dok su veće željezne oplata služile za velike brave ulaznih vrata. Sastavni dio vrata i sistema zaključavanja bile su i *reze* (Tab. 21. 22). Ovaj je me-

hanizam imao dva osnovna dijela. Jedan je bio fiksiran i pričvršćen za štok (T. 21, sl. 1. 2. 3-9, T. 22, sl. 1. 8-15), dok je drugi dio bio fleksibilan i u formi prečke se uvlačio u fiksni dio, čime su se vrata zatvarala. Fleksibilni dio mogao je biti stavljen sa strane ili je, ako je fiksni dio bio otvoren u gornjem dijelu, postavljen odozgo prema dolje (T. 21, sl. 3, T. 22, sl. 4. 16). Prisustvo brave tipa *Schiebschloss* potvrđuju i nalazi *zasuna* – elemenata koji su bili sastavni dio mehanizma ovog tipa brave (T. 23). Zupci glave ključa prihvatili su zasun prilikom otključavanja dodirujući udubljenja u obliku četvrtastih, srčolikih, trokutastih i okruglih profilacija ili ulegnuća u obliku svastike. Vrlo reprezentativne primjere *drški* s bogatijih ulaznih vrata oblika ljudskih ili glava lavova (T. 24) te čitavih ženskih figura zabilježeni su također u muzejskim institucijama u Bosni i Hercegovini. Analogni primjeri diljem Rimskog Carstva potvrđuju hronološku determinaciju naših predmeta. Dva do sada nepublicirana primjera željezne ograde, vjerovatno od kapije s lokaliteta Mogorjelo, također predstavljaju metalnu opremu (T. 25). Ovi fragmenti po svojim većim dimenzijama vjerovatno pripadaju dijelu ograde ili kapije, ali nije isključena ni mogućnost da je riječ o kovanim dijelovima namještaja ili dijelovima zaprežnih kola. U posljednju grupu metalnih dijelova vrata mogu se uvrstiti halke od vrata koje su zabilježene u nekoliko slučajeva (T. 26). Ovi primjerci mogli su podjednako služiti kako za velika ulazna vrata i kapije, tako i u slučajevima otvaranja škrinja, sanduka i dijelova namještaja.

Katalog

Antropomorfni ključevi

1. Inv. br. 3134 (T. 1, sl. 1). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: antropomorfni željezni ključ, pločast. Dimenzije: visina 9 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
2. Inv. br. 483 (T. 1, sl. 2). Lokalitet: Mosko, Bileća. Opis: antropomorfni željezni ključ, pločast. Dimenzije: visina 6,2 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
3. Inv. br. 761 (T. 1, sl. 3). Lokalitet: Šipovljani, Bosanski Petrovac. Opis: antropomorfni željezni ključ, pločast, drška postavljena okomito u odnosu na donji dio. Dimenzije: visina 6,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
4. Inv. br. 976 (T. 1, sl. 4). Lokalitet: Bosna i Hercegovina. Opis: antropomorfni željezni ključ, pločast. Dimenzije: visina 4,6 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
5. Inv. br. 764 (T. 1, sl. 5). Lokalitet: Vojkovići, Sarajevo. Opis: antropomorfni željezni ključ, pločast.

- Dimenzije: visina 6,6 cm. Literatura: Fiala 1893, 327, sl. 22.
6. Inv. br. 808 (T. 1, sl. 6). Lokalitet: Gorica, Ljubuški. Opis: antropomorfni željezni ključ, pločast. Dimenzije: visina 7,4 cm. Literatura: Patsch 1902, 78, sl. 10.
 7. Inv. br. 901 (T. 1, sl. 7). Lokalitet: Velika Kladuša. Opis: antropomorfni željezni ključ, pločast. Dimenzije: visina 7 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
 8. Inv. br. 3487 (T. 1, sl. 8). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: antropomorfni željezni ključ, pločast. Dimenzije: visina 9 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
 9. Inv. br. nepoznato (T. 1, sl. 9). Lokalitet: Panik, Bileća. Opis: željezni ključ antropomorfnog izgleda; vidljiva sva četiri ekstremiteta; na gornjem dijelu kružno-prstenasto rješenje. Dimenzije: visina 8,6 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1976, 126, T. XXV, 8.
 10. Inv. br. 997 (T. 1, sl. 10). Lokalitet: Bosna i Hercegovina. Opis: antropomorfni željezni ključ, pločast. Dimenzije: visina 6,6 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
 11. Inv. br. 1032 (T. 1, sl. 11). Lokalitet: Livanjsko polje. Opis: antropomorfni željezni ključ, pločast. Dimenzije: visina 6,5 cm. Literatura: Mandić 1935, 14, sl. 4.
 12. Inv. br. 1083 (T. 1, sl. 12). Lokalitet: Debelo brdo, Sarajevo. Opis: antropomorfni bronzani ključ, pločast. Dimenzije: visina 8,9 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
 13. Inv. br. 217 (T. 1 sl. 13). Lokalitet: Gradac, Posušje. Opis: antropomorfni željezni ključ, pločast. Dimenzije: visina 8,6 cm. Literatura: Fiala / Patsch 1895, 265, sl. 40.
 14. Inv. br. 5676 (T. 1, sl. 14). Lokalitet: Mušići, Višegrad. Opis: antropomorfni željezni ključ. Dimenzije: dužina 5,5 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1970, T. IV, sl. 8.
 15. Inv. br. 4686 (T. 2, sl. 1). Lokalitet: Kastrum, Doboj. Opis: bronzani ključ s vidljivim ukrasnim znakom "X". Dimenzije: visina 6,7 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1984, 74, T. III, 2.
 16. Inv. br. 5747 (T. 2, sl. 2). Lokalitet: Japra-Majdanište. Opis: bronzani ključ, oštećene površine. Dimenzije: visina 5 cm. Literatura: Basler 1977, T. V, sl. 2.
 17. Inv. br. 5772 (T. 2, sl. 3). Lokalitet: Japra-Majdanište. Opis: oštećeni željezni ključ. Dimenzije: visina 8,3 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
 18. Inv. br. 5746 (T. 2, sl. 4). Lokalitet: Japra-Majdanište. Opis: bronzani ključ bez ukrasa. Dimenzije: visina 6,3 cm. Literatura: Basler 1977, T. V, sl. 3.
 19. Inv. br. 6339 (T. 2, sl. 5). Lokalitet: Japra-Majdanište. Opis: željezni ključ, grublje izrade, oštećene površine. Dimenzije: visina 10,6 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
 20. Inv. br. 6354 (T. 2, sl. 6). Lokalitet: Japra-Majdanište. Opis: željezni ključ, oštećen. Dimenzije: visina 7,7 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
 21. Inv. br. 6730 (T. 2, sl. 7). Lokalitet: Kastrum, Doboj. Opis: željezni ključ, oštećen. Dimenzije: visina 6 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
 22. Inv. br. 2871 (T. 2, sl. 8). Lokalitet: Višići, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ s oštećenom kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 7,6 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1965, 198.
 23. Inv. br. 195 (T. 2, sl. 9). Lokalitet: Stolac. Opis: bronzani ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 3,7 cm. Literatura: Fiala / Patsch 1895, 278, sl. 99.
 24. Inv. br. 395 (T. 2, sl. 10). Lokalitet: Bosna i Hercegovina. Opis: bronzani ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 6,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
 25. Inv. br. 1021 (T. 2, sl. 11). Lokalitet: Glogovac, Jajce. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške; na ključu vidljivi ukrasni detalji u obliku poprečnih i kosih urezanih duplih linija. Dimenzije: visina 10 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
 26. Inv. br. 6725 (T. 3, sl. 1). Lokalitet: Kastrum, Doboj. Opis: željezni ključ oštećene gornje kružne perforacije na drški. Dimenzije: visina 8 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1984, 46.
 27. Inv. br. 6733 (T. 3, sl. 2). Lokalitet: Kastrum, Doboj. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 7,2 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1984, 46.
 28. Inv. br. 6735 (T. 3, sl. 3). Lokalitet: Kastrum, Doboj. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 7,6 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1984, 46.
 29. Inv. br. 6735/a (T. 3, sl. 4). Lokalitet: Kastrum, Doboj. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 7 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1984, 46.
 30. Inv. br. 6735/b (T. 3, sl. 5). Lokalitet: Kastrum, Doboj. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 6,9 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1984, 46.
 31. Inv. br. 6709, pogrešan inventarni broj (T. 3, sl. 6). Lokalitet: Kastrum, Doboj. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 6 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
 32. Inv. br. 6709/a (T. 3, sl. 7). Lokalitet: Kastrum, Doboj. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 7 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.

Klasični ključevi

33. Inv. br. 6709/b (T. 3, sl. 8). Lokalizet: Kastrum, Doboj. Opis: željezni ključ s oštećenom kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
34. Inv. br. 1961 (T. 3, sl. 9). Lokalizet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 4,6 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
35. Inv. br. 6743 (T. 3, sl. 10). Lokalizet: Kastrum, Doboj. Opis: bronzani ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 5,8 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1984, 75, T. IV, 1.
36. Inv. br. 753 (T. 3, sl. 11). Lokalizet: Naron, Vid. Opis: bronzani ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 4 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
37. Inv. br. 697, pogrešan broj (T. 3, sl. 12). Lokalizet: Proboj, Ljubuški. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 8,2 cm. Literatura: Fiala 1897, 164.
38. Inv. br. 3670 (T. 3, sl. 13). Lokalizet: Višići, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 6,6 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1965, 198.
39. Inv. br. 3670/a (T. 3, sl. 14). Lokalizet: Višići, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 8,6 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1965, 198.
40. Inv. br. 4794 (T. 3, sl. 15). Lokalizet: Zecovi, Prijedor. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 10,7 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
41. Inv. br. 4863 (T. 4, sl. 1). Lokalizet: Zecovi, Prijedor. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 10 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
42. Inv. br. 4859 (T. 4, sl. 2). Lokalizet: Zecovi, Prijedor. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 8,1 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
43. Inv. br. 4860 (T. 4, sl. 3). Lokalizet: Zecovi, Prijedor. Opis: željezni ključ s oštećenom kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 8,2 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
44. Inv. br. 4671 (T. 4, sl. 4). Lokalizet: Kastrum, Doboj. Opis: željezni ključ s oštećenom kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 7 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1984, 46.
45. Inv. br. 4877 (T. 4, sl. 5). Lokalizet: Zecovi, Prijedor. Opis: željezni ključ s oštećenom kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 8 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
46. Inv. br. 6710 (T. 4, sl. 6). Lokalizet: Kastrum, Doboj. Opis: bronzani ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 7 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1984, 46.
47. Inv. br. 3667 (T. 4, sl. 7). Lokalizet: Višići, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ s oštećenom kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 9,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
48. Inv. br. 4698 (T. 4, sl. 8. 8a). Lokalizet: Kastrum, Doboj. Opis: bronzani ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške; na vrhu završetak u obliku krova na dvije vode. Dimenzije: visina 6 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1984, 75, T. IV, 9.
49. Inv. br. 1019 (T. 4, sl. 9). Lokalizet: Grkovci, Livanjsko polje. Opis: bronzani ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške; na tijelu vidljivi ukrasni detalji u obliku poprečnih kanelura. Dimenzije: visina 4,2 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
50. Inv. br. 1038 (T. 4, sl. 10). Lokalizet: Amajlije, Bijeljina. Opis: bronzani ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 6 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
51. Inv. br. 396 (T. 4, sl. 11). Lokalizet: Bosna i Hercegovina. Opis: bronzani ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 3,6 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
52. Inv. br. 1690 (T. 4, sl. 12). Lokalizet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: bronzani ključ s oštećenim gornjim dijelom. Dimenzije: visina 7, 3 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
53. Inv. br. 4695 (T. 5, sl. 1). Lokalizet: Kastrum, Doboj. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 6,5 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1984, 46.
54. Inv. br. 4674 (T. 5, sl. 2). Lokalizet: Kastrum, Doboj. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 8 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
55. Inv. br. 4675 (T. 5, sl. 3). Lokalizet: Kastrum, Doboj. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 7,4 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1984, 46.
56. Inv. br. 451 (T. 5, sl. 4). Lokalizet: Mostar. Opis: bronzani ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 5,3 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
57. Inv. br. 352 (T. 5, sl. 5). Lokalizet: Grude, Ljubuški. Opis: bronzani ključ s gornjim dijelom koji nedostaje. Dimenzije: visina 3,7 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
58. Inv. br. 696 (T. 5, sl. 6). Lokalizet: Proboj, Ljubuški. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 7 cm. Literatura: Fiala 1897, 164.
59. Inv. br. 216 (T. 5, sl. 7). Lokalizet: Gradac, Posušje. Opis: bronzani ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 6,6 cm. Literatura: Fiala / Patsch 1895, 265, sl. 39.
60. Inv. br. 700 (T. 5, sl. 8). Lokalizet: Proboj, Ljubuški. Opis: bronzani ključ s kružnom perforacijom na

- kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 4,6 cm. Literatura: Fiala 1897, 165.
61. Inv. br. nepoznato (T. 5, sl. 9). Lokalitet: Tutnjevac, Bijeljina. Opis: bronzani ključ sa šest poprečnih linija u tri para na tijelu; na vrhu ključa završetak u formi krova na dvije vode; ispod se nalazi kružna perforacija. Dimenzije: dužina 9,3 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1958, 44.
 62. Inv. br. nepoznato (T. 5, sl. 10). Lokalitet: Tutnjevac, Bijeljina. Opis: željezni ključ s teže vidljivim ukrasnim detaljima u dnu, oblika linije, slova Z i oznake X; ključ se prema vrhu postepeno širi; na samom vrhu kružna perforacija. Dimenzije: nepoznate. Literatura: Čremošnik 1958, T. V, sl. 5.
 63. Inv. br. nepoznato (T. 5, sl. 11). Lokalitet: Makljenovac, Kastrum, Doboj. Opis: bronzani ključ s narebrenim stranama na kružnom otvoru; na vrhu kružnog otvora stepeničasto ispupčenje; drška se postepeno sužava; na glavi četiri zupca; u donjem dijelu ključa ukrasni detalji u vidu poprečnih linija. Dimenzije: visina 5,4 cm. Literatura: Žigić 2017, 135.
 64. Inv. br. 758 (T. 6, sl. 1). Lokalitet: Klobuk, Ljubuški. Opis: bronzani ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške; na dršci vidljivi ukrasni detalji u obliku urezanih znakova X. Dimenzije: visina 9 cm. Literatura: npublicirano.
 65. Inv. br. 196 (T. 6, sl. 2). Lokalitet: Stolac. Opis: bronzani ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 5,6 cm. Literatura: Fiala 1893, 516; Fiala / Patsch 1895, 278, sl. 100.
 66. Inv. br. 718 (T. 6, sl. 3). Lokalitet: Usora, Tešanj. Opis: bronzani ključ s oštećenim gornjim dijelom. Dimenzije: visina 3,7 cm. Literatura: npublicirano.
 67. Inv. br. 712 (T. 6, sl. 4). Lokalitet: Usora, Tešanj. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 9,6 cm. Literatura: Radimsky 1893, 268, sl. 16.
 68. Inv. br. 812 (T. 6, sl. 5). Lokalitet: Gradac, Neum. Opis: bronzani ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške; na vrhu trokutasti oblik. Dimenzije: visina 5,3 cm. Literatura: npublicirano.
 69. Inv. br. 876 (T. 6, sl. 6). Lokalitet: Proboj, Ljubuški. Opis: bronzani ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 6,5 cm. Literatura: Fiala 1897, 163.
 70. Inv. br. 877 (T. 6, sl. 7). Lokalitet: Proboj, Ljubuški. Opis: bronzani ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 5,3 cm. Literatura: Fiala 1897, 163.
 71. Inv. br. 5820 (T. 6, sl. 8). Lokalitet: Japra-Majdanište. Opis: bronzani ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške; na kružnom otvoru pričvršćen lanac. Dimenzije: visina ključa 4,7 cm, dužina lanca 11 cm. Literatura: Basler 1977, T. V, sl. 1.
 72. Inv. br. neinventarizirano (T. 6, sl. 9). Lokalitet: Žabljak, Višegrad. Opis: željezni ključ korodiran; od glave prema gornjem dijelu se širi; na vrhu kružna perforacija. Dimenzije: nepoznato. Literatura: Čremošnik 1970, 106, T. V, sl. 5.
 73. Inv. br. neinventarizirano (T. 6, sl. 10). Lokalitet: Žabljak, Višegrad. Opis: željezni ključ korodiran; iznad glave vrat, nakon čega se tijelo naglo širi u obliku pravougaonika; na vrhu kružna perforacija; ključ ukrašen nielo tehnikom. Dimenzije: nepoznato. Literatura: Čremošnik 1970, 106, T. V, sl. 7.
 74. Inv. br. neinventarizirano (T. 6, sl. 11). Lokalitet: Žabljak, Višegrad. Opis: željezni ključ korodiran; od glave prema gornjem dijelu se širi; na vrhu kružna perforacija. Dimenzije: nepoznato. Literatura: Čremošnik 1970, 106, T. V, sl. 6.
 75. Inv. br. 1687 (T. 7, sl. 1). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 7,3 cm. Literatura: npublicirano.
 76. Inv. br. 1533 (T. 7, sl. 2). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške; na vrhu drške trokutast oblik. Dimenzije: visina 12 cm. Literatura: npublicirano.
 77. Inv. br. 1526 (T. 7, sl. 3). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 9,9 cm. Literatura: npublicirano.
 78. Inv. br. 1525 (T. 7, sl. 4). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ s oštećenom kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 7,5 cm. Literatura: npublicirano.
 79. Inv. br. 2113 (T. 7, sl. 5). Lokalitet: Čučkovića kula. Opis: bronzani ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 7,4 cm. Literatura: npublicirano.
 80. Inv. br. 3630 (T. 7, sl. 6). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške; na vrhu drške trokutast oblik. Dimenzije: visina 9,4 cm. Literatura: npublicirano.
 81. Inv. br. 2385 (T. 7, sl. 7). Lokalitet: Lisičići, Konjic. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške; na vrhu drške trokutast oblik. Dimenzije: visina 7,5 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1957, 152.
 82. Inv. br. 2322 (T. 7, sl. 8). Lokalitet: Lisičići, Konjic. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške; na vrhu drške trokutast oblik. Dimenzije: visina 13 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1955, 115, sl. 7.
 83. Inv. br. 2393 (T. 7, sl. 9). Lokalitet: Klobuk. Opis: željezni ključ s oštećenom kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 7,2 cm. Literatura: Sergejevski 1954, T. XIV.

84. Inv. br. 2487 (T. 7, sl. 10). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 7,6 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
85. Inv. br. 2488 (T. 8, sl. 1). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 7,7 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
86. Inv. br. 2490 (T. 8, sl. 2). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 10,6 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
87. Inv. br. 2544 (T. 8, sl. 3). Lokalitet: Mala Ruiška. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 8,3 cm. Literatura: Skarić 1928, Taf. VIII, sl. 15.
88. Inv. br. 2765 (T. 8, sl. 4). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 9,3 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
89. Inv. br. 2646 (T. 8, sl. 5). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške; u donjem širem dijelu vidljivi ukrasni detalji u obliku poprečne dvije urezane linije. Dimenzije: visina 12 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
90. Inv. br. 2160 (T. 8, sl. 6). Lokalitet: Lepenica, Kiseljak. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 11,7 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
91. Inv. br. 1531 (T. 8, sl. 7). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ s oštećenom kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 9 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
92. Inv. br. 1532 (T. 8, sl. 8). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ s oštećenom kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 6 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
93. Inv. br. 1530 (T. 8, sl. 9). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške; na pločastom središnjem dijelu ključa vidljivi tragovi poprečnih linija. Dimenzije: visina 9,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
94. Inv. br. 1528 (T. 8, sl. 10). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ s oštećenom kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 5,2 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
95. Inv. br. 1689 (T. 9, sl. 1). Lokalitet: Zecovi, Prijedor. Opis: Oštećeni željezni ključ, nedostaje gornji dio; korozija oštetila veći dio ključa. Dimenzije: dužina 6,5 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1956, 142-143.
96. Inv. br. 1534 (T. 9, sl. 2). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ bez gornjeg dijela. Dimenzije: visina 4,2 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
97. Inv. br. 2035 (T. 9, sl. 3). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 8,9 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
98. Inv. br. 2015 (T. 9, sl. 4). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ s oštećenom kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 9 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
99. Inv. br. 1529 (T. 9, sl. 5). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 6 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
100. Inv. br. neinventarizirano (T. 9, sl. 6). Lokalitet: Zecovi, Prijedor. Opis: Veći željezni ključ s pločastom drškom i kružnom perforacijom na vrhu; na glavi dva zupca. Dimenzije: nepoznate. Literatura: Benac 1956, 149, sl. 11.
101. Inv. br. neinventarizirano (T. 9, sl. 7). Lokalitet: nepoznat. Opis: željezni klasični ključ s užim donjim dijelom i širim gornjim dijelom drške; na vrhu kružna perforacija; na glavi četiri zupca. Dimenzije: nepoznate. Literatura: nepublicirano.
102. Inv. br. neinventarizirano (T. 9, sl. 8). Lokalitet: Putičevo, Travnik. Opis: željezni ključ jednostavan; na glavi četiri zupca. Dimenzije: nepoznate. Literatura: Truhelka 1893, 694, sl. 10.
103. Inv. br. neinventarizirano (T. 9, sl. 9). Lokalitet: Putičevo, Travnik. Opis: željezni ključ jednostavan; na glavi tri zupca. Dimenzije: nepoznate. Literatura: Truhelka 1893, 694, sl. 11.
104. Inv. br. neinventarizirano (T. 9, sl. 10). Lokalitet: Varošluk, Travnik. Opis: željezni ključ pločaste drške s kružnim završetkom na vrhu; na dijelu koji ide prema glavi drška iz pločastog širokog oblika prelazi u užu dio. Dimenzije: nepoznate. Literatura: Truhelka 1893, 699.
105. Inv. br. nepoznato (T. 10, sl. 1). Lokalitet: Panik, Bileća. Opis: bronzani ključ koji se od glave prema vrhu širi; na vrhu prstenasti završetak; na tijelu ukrasni detalji u vidu poprečnih linija i znaka X; na glavi pet zubaca. Dimenzije: visina 5,3 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1976, 96, T. XII, sl. 3.
106. Inv. br. nepoznato (T. 10, sl. 2). Lokalitet: Panik, Bileća. Opis: željezni ključ s glavom koja ima rješenje u formi savijenog vrha; na užem vratu naglo se širi tijelo koje se opet postupno sužava prema prstenastom vrhu; na glavi postoje i dva zupca. Dimenzije: visina 10,5 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1976, T. XXV, sl. 3.
107. Inv. br. nepoznato (T. 10, sl. 3). Lokalitet: Panik, Bileća. Opis: željezni ključ s tri zupca; od glave se vrat naglo širi prema vrhu, da bi se opet postupno sužavao; na vrhu prstenasto rješenje. Dimenzije: visina 7,5 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1976, T. XXV, sl. 4.

108. Inv. br. nepoznato (T. 10, sl. 4). Lokalitet: Panik, Bileća. Opis: željezni ključ s tri zupca; uski vrat naglo se širi prema vrhu koji ima kružnu formu; na tijelu vidljivi ukrasni detalji u obliku dva para poprečnih linija. Dimenzije: visina 6,2 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1976, T. XXV, sl. 14.
109. Inv. br. nepoznato (T. 10, sl. 5). Lokalitet: Panik, Bileća. Opis: željezni ključ s tri zupca i savijenim krakom; od glave prema vrhu ključ se postepeno širi; na vrhu prstenasto rješenje. Dimenzije: visina 7,5 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1976, T. XXV, sl. 16.
110. Inv. br. nepoznato (T. 10, sl. 6). Lokalitet: Panik, Bileća. Opis: željezni ključ s četiri zupca; ključ se od glave prema vrhu postepeno širi; na glavi prstenasto rješenje koje ima oktogonalni oblik. Dimenzije: visina 7 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1976, T. XXV, sl. 11.
111. Inv. br. 4794 (T. 10, sl. 7). Lokalitet: Zecovi, Prijedor. Opis: željezni ključ s tri zupca; na vrhu prstenasto rješenje. Dimenzije: nepoznate. Literatura: nepublicirano.
112. Inv. br. 6431 (T. 10, sl. 8). Lokalitet: Breza. Opis: željezni ključ koji se nakon vrata naglo širi; na vrhu kružno prstenasto rješenje. Dimenzije: visina 11,2 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
113. Inv. br. 7212 (T. 10, sl. 9). Lokalitet: Biogradi. Opis: željezni dosta korodirani ključ; nakon vrata ključ se naglo širi; na vrhu prstenasto rješenje uokvireno u oktogonalni okvir. Dimenzije: visina 8,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
114. Inv. br. 2034 (T. 10, sl. 10). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ jako korodiran; nedostaje gornji dio; nakon užeg vrata ključ se naglo širi prema vrhu. Dimenzije: nepoznate. Literatura: nepublicirano.
115. Inv. br. 2050 (T. 10, sl. 11). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezni korodirani ključ; nakon užeg kratkog vrata ključ se naglo širi; na vrhu kružni otvor i rješenje na dvije vode. Dimenzije: dužina 8,7 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
116. Inv. br. 3905 (T. 10, sl. 12). Lokalitet: Višići, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ vrlo korodiran; nedostaje gornji dio. Dimenzije: visina 7 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
117. Inv. br. 3667 (T. 10, sl. 13). Lokalitet: Višići, Čapljina. Opis: željezni loše očuvan ključ s oštećenim vrhom. Dimenzije: visina 9,3 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
118. Inv. br. 3790 (T. 11, sl. 1). Lokalitet: Japra, Majdanište. Opis: zlatni prsten s pločicom na kojoj je prikazan Jupiter Imperator i Viktorija. Dimenzije: prečnik 2,5 cm, težina 13,4 gr. Literatura: Basler 1977, T. XI, 1.
119. Inv. br. 876 (T. 11, sl. 2). Lokalitet: Beirut. Opis: bronzani prsten s pločastom četvrtastom glavom ključa, horizontalno postavljen. Dimenzije: prečnik 1,9 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
120. Inv. br. 877 (T. 11, sl. 3). Lokalitet: Beirut. Opis: bronzani prsten s pločastom okruglom otvorenom glavom, horizontalno postavljenom. Dimenzije: prečnik 1,9 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
121. Inv. br. neinventarizirano (T. 11, sl. 4). Lokalitet: nepoznato. Opis: bronzani prsten s pločastom četvrtastom glavom, horizontalno postavljenom. Dimenzije: prečnik 2 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
122. Inv. br. 541 (T. 11, sl. 5). Lokalitet: Albanija. Opis: bronzani ključ oblika prstena, s tri zupca na glavi; glava postavljena okomito u odnosu na obruč. Dimenzije: prečnik 2 cm, visina 3,2 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
123. Inv. br. 3695 (T. 11, sl. 6). Lokalitet: Višići, Čapljina. Opis: bronzani ključ oblika prstena; glava postavljena okomito u odnosu na obruč. Dimenzije: prečnik 1,9 cm, visina 3,2 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1965, T. XI, sl. 14.
124. Inv. br. 2891, pogrešan broj (T. 11, sl. 7). Lokalitet: Višići, Čapljina. Opis: bronzani prsten ključ s vertikalno postavljenom glavom; na glavi tri zupca. Dimenzije: nepoznate. Literatura: Čremošnik 1965, T. XI, sl. 13.
125. Inv. br. 760 (T. 11, sl. 8). Lokalitet: Drvar. Opis: željezni ključ oblika prstena; glava postavljena okomito u odnosu na obruč. Dimenzije: visina 6 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
126. Inv. br. 3891 (T. 11, sl. 9). Lokalitet: Višići, Čapljina. Opis: mali bronzani ključ oblika prstena, bez ukrasnih elemenata; na glavi tri zupca. Dimenzije: visina 2,9 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
127. Inv. br. 4697 (T. 11, sl. 10). Lokalitet: Kastrum, Doboj. Opis: bronzani ključ oblika prstena; glava postavljena okomito u odnosu na obruč. Dimenzije: prečnik 1,9 cm, visina 2,7 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1984, 73, T. II, 5.
128. Inv. br. 3214 (T. 11, sl. 11). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: bronzani ključ oblika prstena; glava s tri zupca postavljena okomito u odnosu na obruč. Dimenzije: prečnik 2,4 cm, visina 3,6 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
129. Inv. br. 1320, pogrešan broj (T. 11, sl. 12). Lokalitet: nepoznat. Opis: bronzani ključ oblika prstena; glava s tri zupca postavljena okomito u odnosu na obruč. Dimenzije: prečnik 1,3 cm, visina 3,8 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
130. Inv. br. 579 (T. 11, sl. 13). Lokalitet: Ljubuški. Opis: bronzani ključ oblika prstena, s cilindričnom glavom horizontalno postavljenom. Dimenzije: prečnik 2,3 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.

Prsten ključevi

131. Inv. br. 1258 (T. 11, sl. 14). Lokalitet: Ilidža, Sarajevo. Opis: bronzani prsten s ključem u obliku trna horizontalno postavljen. Dimenzije: prečnik 2 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
132. Inv. br. 2138 (T. 11, sl. 15). Lokalitet: Usora, Tešanj. Opis: bronzani ključ oblika prstena; hal-ka prstena u obliku na leđima savijene ljudske figure. Dimenzije: visina 5,3 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.

Veliki ključevi

133. Inv. br. 5677 (T. 12, sl. 1). Lokalitet: Mušići, Višegrad. Opis: veliki pločasti željezni ključ s dva savijena kraka i kružnim završetkom na vrhu. Dimenzije: dužina 17 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
134. Inv. br. 6358 (T. 12, sl. 2). Lokalitet: Japra, Majdanište. Opis: veliki pločasti željezni ključ s dva savijena kraka, vrh oštećen. Dimenzije: dužina 13 cm. Literatura: Basler 1977, T. I, sl. 9.
135. Inv. br. 1524 (T. 12, sl. 3). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: veliki pločasti željezni ključ s dva savijena kraka i kružnim završetkom na vrhu. Dimenzije: dužina 10,6 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
136. Inv. br. neinventarizirano (T. 12, sl. 4). Lokalitet: nepoznat. Opis: željezni ključ većih dimenzija, pločastog oblika s dva savijena kraka i kružnim završetkom na vrhu. Dimenzije: nepoznate. Literatura: nepublicirano.
137. Inv. br. 2157 (T. 12, sl. 5). Lokalitet: Lepenica, Kiseljak. Opis: veliki pločasti željezni ključ s dva savijena kraka i kružnim završetkom na vrhu. Dimenzije: dužina 13,6 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
138. Inv. br. 2037 (T. 12, sl. 6). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: veliki pločasti željezni ključ s dva savijena kraka i oštećenim kružnim završetkom na vrhu. Dimenzije: dužina 19,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
139. Inv. br. neinventarizirano (T. 12, sl. 7). Lokalitet: Zecovi, Prijedor. Opis: veliki željezni ključ s drškom, oštećenog vrha; na glavi dva kriva kraka. Dimenzije: nepoznate. Literatura: Benac 1956, 149, sl. 18.
140. Inv. br. 3150 (T. 12, sl. 8). Lokalitet: Mokro. Opis: veliki pločasti željezni ključ s dva savijena kraka na jednoj strani; na vrhu kružni završetak. Dimenzije: dužina 13,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
141. Inv. br. 3408 (T. 12, sl. 9). Lokalitet: Gradina Veliki Badanj, Duvanjsko polje. Opis: željezni ključ s dva kraka, dosta oštećen. Dimenzije: visina 18,6 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
142. Inv. br. 1523 (T. 13, sl. 1). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: veliki željezni pločasti ključ u obliku nedovršenog pravougaonika; na vrhu kružni završetak; poprečna greda u donjem dijelu nešto uža; na samoj ivici donjeg dijela dva kružna otvora. Dimenzije: visina 24 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
143. Inv. br. 282 (T. 13, sl. 2). Lokalitet: Duvno. Opis: veliki željezni pločasti ključ u obliku nedovršenog pravougaonika; na vrhu kružni završetak; poprečna greda u središnjem dijelu nešto uža. Dimenzije: visina 21 cm. Literatura: Patsch 1904, 195, sl. 37.
144. Inv. br. 770 (T. 13, sl. 3). Lokalitet: Podklečani, Rakitno, Ljubuški. Opis: veliki željezni pločasti ključ; na vrhu kružni završetak; poprečna greda u donjem dijelu nešto sužena; na kraćem kraku kružni završetak s tri trna. Dimenzije: visina 23,5 cm. Literatura: Patsch 1904, 214, sl. 77.
145. Inv. br. nepoznato (T. 13, sl. 4). Lokalitet: Panik, Bileća. Opis: željezni ključ velikih dimenzija od velike brave; na pločastom ključu glava savijena u kružnu formu; na vratu postoji uži dio; na vrhu ključa kružno rješenje. Dimenzije: visina 18 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1976, 128, T. XXV, sl. 10.
146. Inv. br. 2159 (T. 13, sl. 5). Lokalitet: Lepenica, Kiseljak. Opis: veliki željezni ključ s kružnim otvorom na vrhu. Dimenzije: dužina 18,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
147. Inv. br. 698 (T. 13, sl. 6). Lokalitet: Proboj, Ljubuški. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na vrhu. Dimenzije: dužina 17,3 cm. Literatura: Fiala 1897, 164.
148. Inv. br. 6342 (T. 13, sl. 7). Lokalitet: Japra-Majdanište. Opis: željezni ključ oštećene površine. Dimenzije: visina 10,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
149. Inv. br. neinventarizirano (T. 13, sl. 8). Lokalitet: Lašva, Travnik. Opis: željezni ključ većih dimenzija s debljom pločastom drškom i kružnom perforacijom na vrhu, koja je prekinuta; u donjem dijelu drške neznatno proširena; na vrhu glave dva zupca koja su savijena prema naprijed. Dimenzije: nepoznate. Literatura: Truhelka 1893, 685-686.
150. Inv. br. neinventarizirano (T. 13, sl. 9). Lokalitet: Debelo Brdo, Sarajevo. Opis: veliki željezni ključ s drškom koja je u gornjem dijelu pločasta i na vrhu u obliku kružne perforacije; u donjem dijelu drška nepravilno okruglog presjeka; na glavi tri zupca. Dimenzije: nepoznate. Literatura: Fiala 1894, 121.
151. Inv. br. 2158 (T. 13, sl. 10). Lokalitet: Lepenica, Kiseljak. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške. Dimenzije: visina 16,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.

152. Inv. br. 1688 (T. 13, sl. 11). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ s oštećenom kružnom perforacijom na kraju pločaste drške; na željeznoj površini vidljivi tragovi pozlate. Dimenzije: visina 13,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.

Atipični rimski ključevi

153. Inv. br. 763 (T. 14, sl. 1). Lokalitet: Naron, Vid. Opis: željezni ključ s kružnim završetkom u gornjem dijelu; na vrhu vidljivo zadebljanje; ključ cjevast; u donjem dijelu vidljivo oštećenje. Dimenzije: visina 10,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
154. Inv. br. 5668 (T. 14, sl. 2). Lokalitet: Dabrovina, Vareš. Opis: željezni ključ s velikim kružnim otvorom na vrhu. Dimenzije: visina 5,8 cm. Literatura: Sergejevski 1956, 31.
155. Inv. br. 2156 (T. 14, sl. 3). Lokalitet: Lepenica, Kiseljak. Opis: željezni ključ s velikim kružnim otvorom na vrhu. Dimenzije: visina 5,6 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
156. Inv. br. 5731 (T. 14, sl. 4). Lokalitet: Japra, Majdanište. Opis: bronzani ključ s kružnim otvorom u gornjem dijelu; na vrhu vidljiv trn. Dimenzije: visina 8,6 cm. Literatura: Basler 1977, T. V, sl. 5.
157. Inv. br. nepoznato (T. 14, sl. 5). Lokalitet: Ilidža, Sarajevo. Opis: željezni ključ s cilindričnim otvorom na vrhu glave; na kraju ključa kružno rješenje iznad kojeg je ukrasni element oblika broja 8. Dimenzije: visina 7 cm. Literatura: Kellner 1895, 175, sl. 23.
158. Inv. br. nepoznato (T. 14, sl. 6). Lokalitet: Žabljak, Višegrad. Opis: željezni ključ korodiran, većih dimenzija. Ključ neobičnog oblika s kružnom perforacijom na vrhu, uskim tijelom oblika šipke koji ima proširenje ispod gornje perforacije; glava u obliku okomito postavljene forme, odnosno dva kraka koja su savijena tvoreći krug. Dimenzije: nepoznate. Literatura: Čremošnik 1970, 106, T. V, sl. 4.
159. Inv. br. 2686 (T. 14, sl. 7). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezni ključ s cilindričnom glavom i jednim okomito postavljenim zubom; na gornjem dijelu ukrasna profilacija; vrh izveden u obliku oble elipse. Dimenzije: visina 8,2 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.

Baglame

160. Inv. br. 377 (T. 15, sl. 1). Lokalitet: Lepenica, Kiseljak. Opis: željezna baglama nepravilno četvrtastog presjeka; jedan kraj špicast, predviđen za ukucavanje u štok; drugi kraj povijen prema gore, predviđen za stavljanje halke

– gornjeg dijela baglame od vrata. Dimenzije: dužina 11,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.

161. Inv. br. 377/a (T. 15, sl. 2). Lokalitet: Lepenica, Kiseljak. Opis: željezna baglama nepravilno četvrtastog presjeka; jedan kraj špicast, predviđen za ukucavanje u štok; drugi kraj povijen prema gore, predviđen za stavljanje halke – gornjeg dijela baglame od vrata. Dimenzije: dužina 10 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
162. Inv. br. 2861/b (T. 15, sl. 3). Lokalitet: Višići, Čapljina. Opis: željezni fragment pločastog dijela baglame s otvorom na jednom kraku. Dimenzije: visina 12,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
163. Inv. br. 369 a (T. 15, sl. 4). Lokalitet: Lepenica, Kiseljak. Opis: željezna baglama s dva pločasta kraka i po tri rupice, predviđene za pričvršćivanje na štok i vrata. Dimenzije: dužina 10,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
164. Inv. br. 369 b (T. 15, sl. 5). Lokalitet: Lepenica, Kiseljak. Opis: željezna baglama s dva pločasta kraka i po tri rupice, predviđene za pričvršćivanje na štok i vrata. Dimenzije: dužina 11 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
165. Inv. br. 368 (T. 15, sl. 6). Lokalitet: Lepenica, Kiseljak. Opis: željezna baglama s dva pločasta kraka i po dvije rupice, predviđene za pričvršćivanje na štok i vrata. Dimenzije: dužina 16,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
166. Inv. br. 241 (T. 15, sl. 7). Lokalitet: Gradac, Posušje. Opis: bronzana okrugla baglama sa sačuvanim fragmentom druge halke, koja se pričvršćavala na vrata. Dimenzije: prečnik 4 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
167. Inv. br. 242 (T. 15, sl. 8). Lokalitet: Gradac, Posušje. Opis: bronzana okrugla baglama s dvije sačuvane halke za pričvršćivanje na vrata. Dimenzije: prečnik 4 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
168. Inv. br. neinventarizirano (T. 15, sl. 9). Lokalitet: Zecovi, Prijedor. Opis: željezna baglama oblika klina, na kojoj je jedna strana u obliku špicastog vrha za zakivanje u drveni štok, a druga u obliku savijenog kraja, čineći slovo L; na drugi kraj se aplicirala baglama u obliku halke koja je bila pričvršćena na vrata. Dimenzije: dužina 10,5 cm. Literatura: Benac, 1956, 149, sl. 3.
169. Inv. br. neinventarizirano (T. 15, sl. 10). Lokalitet: Zecovi, Prijedor. Opis: željezna baglama na kojoj je na jednoj strani špicasti dio za zakivanje na drveni štok, a druga u obliku savijenog kraja čini slovo L; na drugi kraj se aplicirala baglama u obliku halke koja je bila pričvršćena na vrata. Dimenzije: nepoznate. Literatura: Čremošnik 1956, 142-143.
170. Inv. br. neinventarizirano (T. 15, sl. 11). Lokalitet: Debelo brdo, Sarajevo. Opis: željezni predmet, s jedne strane više špicast, s druge strane savi-

- jen u krug; prema konstrukciji najvjerojatnije dio baglame koji se učvršćivao na vrata i kroz okrugli dio pričvršćivao na fiksni dio u štok vrata. Dimenzije: nepoznate. Literatura: Fiala 1894, 122.
171. Inv. br. 5784 (T. 15, sl. 12). Lokalityet: Japra-Majdanište. Opis: željezna jednostavna baglama u obliku savijenog komada željezne deblje šipke s dva oštra kraka koja su se aplicirala u štok vrata. Dimenzije: nepoznate. Literatura: nepublicirano – slučajni nalaz.
 172. Inv. br. 5802 (T. 15, sl. 13). Lokalityet: Japra-Majdanište. Opis: željezna jednostavna baglama u obliku savijenog komada željezne deblje šipke s dva oštra kraka koja su se aplicirala u štok vrata. Dimenzije: dužina 11 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano – slučajni nalaz.
 173. Inv. br. nepoznato (T. 15, sl. 14). Lokalityet: Tutnjevac, Bijeljina. Opis: željezna jednostavna baglama u obliku savijenog komada željezne deblje šipke s dva oštra kraka koja su se aplicirala u štok vrata. Dimenzije: dužina 11 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1958, 43.
 174. Inv. br. 1679 (T. 16, sl. 1). Lokalityet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezna baglama s trnom za pričvršćavanje na štok vrata. Dimenzije: dužina 20 cm. Literatura: Busulađić 2014, 319.
 175. Inv. br. 371 (T. 16, sl. 2). Lokalityet: Lepenica, Kiseljak. Opis: željezna pločasta baglama od vrata, ukrašena u obliku ljiljana; na sredini četvrtasti otvori za pričvršćavanje na vrata; na drugom kraju savijeni trn za nasađivanje vrata. Dimenzije: dužina 13 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
 176. Inv. br. 2375 (T. 16, sl. 3). Lokalityet: Lisičići, Konjic. Opis: željezna baglama s trnom za pričvršćavanje na vrata i kružnom halkom za pričvršćavanje na fiksni dio baglame. Dimenzije: dužina 9,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
 177. Inv. br. 2375/a (T. 16, sl. 4). Lokalityet: Lisičići, Konjic. Opis: željezna baglama s trnom za pričvršćavanje na vrata i kružnom halkom za pričvršćavanje na fiksni dio baglame. Dimenzije: dužina 15,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
 178. Inv. br. 2176 (T. 16, sl. 5). Lokalityet: Lepenica, Kiseljak. Opis: željezna baglama iz jednog dijela, namijenjena za manji predmet; u jednom kraku pločasta, a u drugom u obliku trna za pričvršćavanje na štok vrata. Dimenzije: dužina 3,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
 179. Inv. br. 367 (T. 16, sl. 6). Lokalityet: Stolac. Opis: željezna baglama s tri perforacije na pločastom dijelu za pričvršćavanje na vrata i kružnom halkom za pričvršćavanje na fiksni dio; sačuvan i ekser za pričvršćavanje. Dimenzije: dužina 13 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
 180. Inv. br. 367/a (T. 16, sl. 7). Lokalityet: Stolac. Opis: željezna baglama s tri perforacije na pločastom dijelu za pričvršćavanje na vrata i kružnom halkom za pričvršćavanje na fiksni dio. Dimenzije: dužina 13 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
 181. Inv. br. 6731 (T. 16, sl. 8). Lokalityet: Kastrum, Doboj. Opis: željezna jednostavna gruba baglama, sastavljena iz dva kraka. Dimenzije: dužina 15 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1984, 46.
 182. Inv. br. 6726/1 i 2 (T. 16, sl. 9). Lokalityet: Kastrum, Doboj. Opis: jednostavna željezna gruba baglama, sastavljena iz dva kraka. Dimenzije: dužina 12 cm jedne i 10 cm druge baglame. Literatura: Čremošnik 1984, 46.
 183. Inv. br. nepoznato (T. 16, sl. 10). Lokalityet: Kastrum, Makljenovac, Doboj. Opis: jednostavna željezna baglama, sastavljena iz dva dijela; u jednom dijelu koji je oštro savijen postoji kružna perforacija na jednom kraku; na drugom kraju kraka također kružna perforacija u koju se provlači drugi krak, koji je nastao savijanjem. Dimenzije: dužina 23 cm. Literatura: Žigić 2017, 136.
 184. Inv. br. 5792 (T. 17, sl. 1). Lokalityet: Japra Majdanište. Opis: željezna baglama s dva kraka na kojima je mogao stajati gornji ili donji dio baglame; donji dio iskucan, predviđen za ekse-re. Dimenzije: dužina 17 cm. Literatura: Basler 1977, T. IV, sl. 3.
 185. Inv. br. 5800 (T. 17, sl. 2). Lokalityet: Japra Majdanište. Opis: željezna baglama s dva kraka na kojima je mogao stajati gornji ili donji dio baglame; donji dio iskucan, predviđen za ekse-re; vidljiva i četvrtasta perforacija. Dimenzije: dužina 16 cm. Literatura: Basler 1977, T. IV, sl. 5.
 186. Inv. br. 4869 (T. 17, sl. 3). Lokalityet: Zecovi, Prijedor. Opis: željezni element baglame, prstenasto savijena baglama s dva kraka. Dimenzije: nepoznato. Literatura: nepublicirano.
 187. Inv. br. 4850 (T. 17, sl. 4). Lokalityet: Zecovi, Prijedor. Opis: željezna baglama s dva elementa, od kojih je jedan ulazio u štok, a drugi u vrata. Dimenzije: nepoznate. Literatura: nepublicirano.
 188. Inv. br. 4122 (T. 17, sl. 5). Lokalityet: Grudine, Bugojno. Opis: željezni dio baglame. Dimenzije: dužina 8,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
 189. Inv. br. 3676 (T. 17, sl. 6). Lokalityet: Višići, Čapljina. Opis: željezni klinac koji ima u obliku prstena savijenu jednu stranu; ovaj prstenasti krak mogao je služiti kao držač za postavljanje gornjeg dijela baglame – na to ukazuju dimenzije klina. Dimenzije: dužina 29 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.

Brave

190. Inv. br. 895 (T. 18, sl. 1). Lokalizet: Stolac. Opis: četvrtasti uzdužni dio željezne brave s dijelom predviđenim za mehanizam. Dimenzije: dužina 7 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
191. Inv. br. 3478 (T. 18, sl. 2 i 3). Lokalizet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: okrugla željezna brava s hal- kom i djelomično sačuvanim mehanizmom za zaključavanje. Dimenzije: prečnik 4,8 cm. Lite- ratura: nepublicirano.
192. Inv. br. 6352 (T. 18, sl. 4). Lokalizet: Japra, Majdanište. Opis: željezni lokot fragmentiran. Dimenzije: dužina 22 cm. Literatura: Basler 1977, T. I, 11.
193. Inv. br. 2290 (T. 18, sl. 5). Lokalizet: Lisičići, Konjic. Opis: željezna reza koja se učvršćivala na štok vrata; jedan krak špicast, a drugi krak s okomitim vrhovima koji su služili da se spriječi izvlačenje reze iz štoka. Dimenzije: visina 5,7 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1955, 115.

Oplata od brave

194. Inv. br. 370 (T. 19, sl. 1). Lokalizet: Lepenica, Ki- seljak. Opis: okrugla željezna limena oplata od brave, dosta oštećena. Dimenzije: prečnik 15 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
195. Inv. br. 1984 (T. 19, sl. 2). Lokalizet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: okrugla bronzana limena oplata od bronz; u sredini vidljiv otvor namijenjen za bravu; po ivicama maleni otvori za pričvršćivanje na drvenu podlogu vrata. Dimenzije: prečnik 8,3 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
196. Inv. br. 1266 (T. 19, sl. 3). Lokalizet: Ilidža, Sa- rajevo. Opis: okrugla bronzana limena oplata od bronz; u sredini vidljiv otvor namijen- jen za bravu; po rubovima otvori od eksera za pričvršćivanje na drvenu podlogu vrata. Dimen- zije: prečnik 7,6 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
197. Inv. br. 2030 (T. 19, sl. 4). Lokalizet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: četvrtasta željezna oplata od bra- ve, sa slabo vidljivim otvorom u središnjem dije- lu namijenjenom za bravu i otvorima na uglovi- ma za pričvršćivanje; ivice savijene. Dimenzije: dužina i širina 8,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
198. Inv. br. 2386 (T. 19, sl. 5). Lokalizet: Lisičići, Konjic. Opis: četvrtasta željezna oplata od bra- ve, s vidljivim otvorom u središnjem dijelu na- mijenjenom za bravu i otvorima na uglovima za pričvršćivanje; ivice savijene. Dimenzije: dužina i širina 5,6 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1957, 152.
199. Inv. br. 2387 (T. 19, sl. 6). Lokalizet: Lisičići, Konjic. Opis: oštećena oplata od brave; nazire se središnji četvrtasti otvor za bravu i kružni otvori za pričvršćivanje. Dimenzije: dužina 12 cm. Lite- ratura: Čremošnik 1957, 153, sl. 7/5.

200. Inv. br. 1277 (T. 19, sl. 7). Lokalizet: Ilidža, Sa- rajevo. Opis: četvrtasta željezna oplata od brave; vidljivi ostaci unutarnjeg mehanizma; ivice uz- dignute. Dimenzije: dužina 10,2 cm. Literatura: Kellner 1895, 175 sl. 21.
201. Inv. br. 2154 (T. 19, sl. 8). Lokalizet: Lepenica, Kiseljak. Opis: željezna oplata od rimske brave, četvrtastog oblika; vidljiva četiri kružna otvora za pričvršćivanje na drvena vrata; u sredini vidl- jiv otvor oblika slova L kroz koji je uvlačen ključ. Dimenzije: dužina 9 cm, širina 8 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
202. Inv. br. nepoznato (T. 19, sl. 9). Lokalizet: Ka- strum, Makljenovac, Doboj. Opis: djelimično očuvana željezna oplata od brave, na kojoj se vidi dio otvora u sredini i kružna perforacija kojom je učvršćivana za drvenu podlogu od vrata; riječ je o četvrtastoj oplati. Dimenzije: visina 8,2 cm. Literatura: Žigić 2017, 136.
203. Inv. br. 7805 (T. 20, sl. 1). Lokalizet: Konjević Polje, Srebrenica. Opis: okrugla dobro očuvana manja oplata s vidljivim otvorima sa strane koji su služili za pričvršćivanje na podlogu te koncentričnim krugovima; u sredini otvor ob- lika slova L u koji je uvlačen ključ. Dimenzije: prečnik 6,01 cm. Literatura: Bojanovski 2001, 179 i 207, sl. 3.
204. Inv. br. nepoznato (T. 20, sl. 2). Lokalizet: Panik, Bileća. Opis: bronzani kružni okov; na oplati koncentrični reljefno izvedeni krug; u sredini ot- vor za ključ; s obzirom na dimenzije, oplata pri- pada bravi tipa *Drehschloss*. Dimenzije: prečnik 3 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1976, 124-125, T. XXII, 5.
205. Inv. br. nepoznato (T. 20, sl. 3). Lokalizet: Pa- nik, Bileća. Opis: željezna oplata kružnog okova manje brave; na oplati nema ukrasnih detalja; u sredini otvor za ključ. Dimenzije: prečnik 3,9 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1976, T. XXV, sl. 9.
206. Inv. br. nepoznato (T. 20, sl. 4. 5). Lokalizet: Pa- nik, Bileća. Opis: srebreni okov brave kružnog oblika; na oplati vidljivi otvori za klince kojima je bila pričvršćena za podlogu; ukrašen tehni- kom punciranja; vidljivi ukrasni detalji u formi prstenastih koncentričnih polja s nizom tačkica; u unutrašnjem dijelu niz znakova oblika slova S; u drugom polju niz ornamenata oblika slova V; okov je podijeljen u tri koncentrična prstenasta pojasa; treći pojas ima prikaz niza glava. Dimen- zije: prečnik 8,8 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1976, 96-97, T. XII, sl. 1 i T. XVIII, sl. 5.
207. Inv. br. 2489 (T. 20, sl. 6). Lokalizet: Mogor- jelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezna oplata od bra- ve vrlo oštećena s klincima uz pomoć kojih je pričvršćivana za pozadinu. Dimenzije: dužina 6,3 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.

208. Inv. br. 2118 (T. 20, sl. 7). Lokalizet: Čučkovića kula. Opis: bronzana oplata od brave, okruglog oblika; dio odlomljen; na oplati ukrasni detalji u vidu kružnih koncentričnih krugova; vidljive dvije rupice za pričvršćivanje na podlogu i otvor oblika slova L za ključ. Dimenzije: prečnik 8,7 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.

Reze za brave

209. Inv. br. 373 (T. 21, sl. 1). Lokalizet: Lepenica, Kiseljak. Opis: željezna reza tordirane prečke. Dimenzije: dužina 8,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
210. Inv. br. 373/a (T. 21, sl. 2). Lokalizet: Lepenica, Kiseljak. Opis: željezna reza tordirane prečke. Dimenzije: dužina 8,1 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
211. Inv. br. 2383 (T. 21, sl. 3). Lokalizet: Lisičići, Konjic. Opis: željezna reza sa sačuvanim jednim krakom; na poprečnoj pločastoj gredi vidljiv otvor. Dimenzije: dužina 14 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1957, 153, sl. 7/2.
212. Inv. br. 372 (T. 21, sl. 4). Lokalizet: Lepenica, Kiseljak. Opis: željezna reza s pločastom poprečnom gredom. Dimenzije: dužina 19,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
213. Inv. br. 375 (T. 21, sl. 5). Lokalizet: Lepenica, Kiseljak. Opis: željezna reza okomito pločasto postavljena; krakovi oblo savijeni. Dimenzije: dužina 9 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
214. Inv. br. 374 (T. 21, sl. 6). Lokalizet: Lepenica, Kiseljak. Opis: željezna reza pločaste poprečne grede. Dimenzije: dužina 9,3 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
215. Inv. br. 376 (T. 21, sl. 7). Lokalizet: Lepenica, Kiseljak. Opis: željezna reza sa sačuvanim krakovima. Dimenzije: dužina 8,3 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
216. Inv. br. 3483 (T. 21, sl. 8). Lokalizet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: željezna reza s pločastom poprečnom gredom. Dimenzije: dužina 9,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
217. Inv. br. 2442 (T. 21, sl. 9). Lokalizet: Stup, Sarajevo. Opis: željezna reza savijena. Dimenzije: prečnik 5 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1930, T. XV.
218. Inv. br. 2486 (T. 21, sl. 10). Lokalizet: Vitina, Ljubuški. Opis: željezna reza, pločastog presjeka; oštećeni krakovi. Dimenzije: dužina 9,6 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
219. Inv. br. 2873 (T. 21, sl. 11). Lokalizet: Višići, Čapljina. Opis: velika željezna oštećena pločasta reza. Dimenzije: dužina 18 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1965, 198.
220. Inv. br. 2880 (T. 21, sl. 12). Lokalizet: Višići, Čapljina. Opis: velika željezna pločasta oštećena

reza; na jednoj strani vidljiva kružna perforacija. Dimenzije: dužina 16 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.

221. Inv. br. 2548 (T. 21, sl. 13). Lokalizet: Mala Ruiška. Opis: željezna baglama, koja posjeduje kružnu perforaciju za fiksni dio baglame i trn za pričvršćivanje na vrata. Dimenzije: dužina 8 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
222. Inv. br. 1326 (T. 22, sl. 1). Lokalizet: Turbe, Travnik. Opis: željezna reza s dva kružna otvora na pločastoj poprečnoj gredi. Dimenzije: dužina 9,3 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
223. Inv. br. 2447 (T. 22, sl. 2). Lokalizet: Stup, Sarajevo. Opis: željezna reza oštećena. Dimenzije: dužina 9,2 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
224. Inv. br. 2449 (T. 22, sl. 3). Lokalizet: Stup, Sarajevo. Opis: željezna reza s naglo savijenim dijelom poprečne grede. Dimenzije: dužina 6 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
225. Inv. br. 6439 (T. 22, sl. 4). Lokalizet: Breza. Opis: željezna reza od vrata s lučno savijenom jednom stranom; na drugom kraku vidljiva oštećena kružna perforacija koja je vjerovatno služila za kačenje. Dimenzije: dužina 4,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
226. Inv. br. 2448 (T. 22, sl. 5). Lokalizet: Stup, Sarajevo. Opis: željezna reza s oštećenim jednim krakom; poprečna greda pločasta. Dimenzije: dužina 8 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
227. Inv. br. 2450 (T. 22, sl. 6). Lokalizet: Stup, Sarajevo. Opis: željezna reza oblika slova L. Dimenzije: visina dužeg kraka 6 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
228. Inv. br. 2382 (T. 22, sl. 7). Lokalizet: Lisičići, Konjic. Opis: željezna reza sa savijenim krakovima i visoko savijenom poprečnom pločastom gredom. Dimenzije: visina 8 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1957, 152.
229. Inv. br. nepoznato (T. 22, sl. 8). Lokalizet: Zecovi, Prijedor. Opis: željezna reza s presavijenim vrhovima; na sredini proširenje u vidu romba. Dimenzije: dužina 12 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1956, 142-143.
230. Inv. br. 2441/a (T. 22, sl. 9). Lokalizet: Stup, Sarajevo. Opis: željezna reza pločastog presjeka. Dimenzije: dužina 8,7 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
231. Inv. br. 2441/b (T. 22, sl. 10). Lokalizet: Stup, Sarajevo. Opis: željezna reza pločastog presjeka. Dimenzije: dužina 6,3 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
232. Inv. br. 2441/d (T. 22, sl. 11). Lokalizet: Stup, Sarajevo. Opis: željezna reza horizontalno postavljene pločaste poprečne grede. Dimenzije: dužina 9,3 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
233. Inv. br. 2441/c (T. 22, sl. 12). Lokalizet: Stup, Sarajevo. Opis: željezna reza pločastog presjeka.

Dimenzije: dužina 8,2 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.

234. Inv. br. 2441/e (T. 22, sl. 13). Lokalitet: Stup, Sarajevo. Opis: željezna reza horizontalno postavljene pločaste poprečne grede. Dimenzije: dužina 8,3 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
235. Inv. br. neinventarizirano (T. 22, sl. 14). Lokalitet: Debelo Brdo, Sarajevo. Opis: željezna reza napravljena od savijenog komada metalne šipke četvrtastog presjeke; vrhovi oštri radi aplikacije na drvenu osnovu. Dimenzije: nepoznate. Literatura: Fiala 1894, 140, sl. 2.
236. Inv. br. nepoznato (T. 22, sl. 15). Lokalitet: Tutnjevac, Bijeljina. Opis: željezna reza napravljena od savijenog komada metalne šipke; vrhovi oštri radi aplikacije na drvenu osnovu. Dimenzije: dužina 10 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1958, 43.
237. Inv. br. 2549 (T. 22, sl. 16). Lokalitet: Mala Ruiška. Opis: željezna reza, koja ima halku, trn koji je služio kao drška te šiljati kraj koji se navlačio na drugi fiksirani dio na štoku. Dimenzije: dužina 14,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.

Zasuni

238. Inv. br. 6740 (T. 23, sl. 1). Lokalitet: Kastrum, Doboj. Opis: željezni dio zasuna brave tipa *Schiebschloss* sa sačuvanim dijelom na kome su vidljive četvrtaste perforacije. Dimenzije: visina 5,5 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
239. Inv. br. 1278 (T. 23, sl. 2). Lokalitet: Ilidža, Sarajevo. Opis: željezni dio zasuna brave tipa *Schiebschloss* sa sačuvanim dijelom na kome su vidljive četvrtaste perforacije. Dimenzije: visina 6,2 cm. Literatura: Kellner 1895, 175, sl. 24.
240. Inv. br. 6724 (T. 23, sl. 3). Lokalitet: Kastrum, Doboj. Opis: dio zasuna željezne brave *Schiebschloss* sa sačuvanim dijelom na kome su vidljive četvrtaste perforacije. Dimenzije: nepoznate. Literatura: Čremošnik 1984, 46.
241. Inv. br. neinventarizirano (T. 23, sl. 4). Lokalitet: Kastrum, Doboj. Opis: dio zasuna željezne brave *Schiebschloss* sa sačuvanim dijelom na kome su vidljive četvrtaste perforacije. Dimenzije: nepoznate. Literatura: Čremošnik 1984, 44.
242. Inv. br. nepoznato (T. 23, sl. 5). Lokalitet: Ilidža, Sarajevo. Opis: dio zasuna željezne brave *Schiebschloss* sa sačuvanim dijelom na kome su vidljive četvrtaste perforacije, s vidljivim kosim linijama na dvije perforacije. Dimenzije: dužina 7 cm. Literatura: Kellner 1895, 175, sl. 22.
243. Inv. br. 1555, Muzej Zenice (T. 23, sl. 6). Lokalitet: Tišina, Zenica. Opis: dio bronzane brave *Schiebschloss* sa sačuvanim dijelom na kome su vidljive četvrtaste, trokutaste i okrugle perforacije. Dimenzije: dužina 4,7 cm. Literatura: Busuladžić 2012, 211.
244. Inv. br. 2025, Muzej Zenice (T. 23, sl. 7). Lokalitet: Tišina, Zenica. Opis: dio bronzane brave *Schiebschloss* sa sačuvanim dijelom na kome su vidljive četvrtaste, trokutaste i okrugle perforacije. Dimenzije: dužina 4,2 cm. Literatura: Busuladžić 2012, 211.
245. Inv. br. nepoznato (T. 23, sl. 8). Lokalitet: Panik, Bileća. Opis: željezni zasun od brave tipa *Schiebschloss* s vidljiva četiri četvrtasta otvora. Dimenzije: dužina 6,5 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1976, 128, T. XXVI, sl. 12.

Drška vrata

246. Inv. br. 1251 (T. 24, sl. 1). Lokalitet: Ilidža, Sarajevo. Opis: bronzana drška vrata s ljudskim prikazom; na glavi je vidljiva kapa u obliku niza kanelura. Dimenzije: visina 7,5 cm. Literatura: Kellner 1895, 184, sl. 73.
247. Inv. br. 68, Franjevački samostan u Visokom (T. 24, sl. 2). Lokalitet: nepoznat. Opis: bronzana drška vrata s ljudskim prikazom; na glavi je vidljiva kapa u obliku niza kanelura. Dimenzije: visina 7 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
248. Inv. br. 1866 (T. 24, sl. 3). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: bronzana drška od vrata s ljudskim prikazom, vjerovatno žene; glava s jasno izrađenom frizurou. Dimenzije: visina 6,7 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
249. Inv. br. 1250 (T. 24, sl. 4). Lokalitet: Ilidža, Sarajevo. Opis: bronzana drška od vrata s prikazom lavlje glave. Dimenzije: visina 8,2 cm. Literatura: Kellner 1895, 184, sl. 72.
250. Inv. br. 1250/a (T. 24, sl. 5). Lokalitet: Ilidža, Sarajevo. Opis: bronzana drška od vrata s prikazom lavlje glave. Dimenzije: visina 8,4 cm. Literatura: Kellner 1895, 184.
251. Inv. br. 70, Franjevački samostan u Visokom (T. 24, sl. 6). Lokalitet: nepoznat. Opis: bronzana drška vrata s ljudskim prikazom; na glavi je vidljiva kapa u obliku niza kanelura; nedostaje kuka s leđne strane. Dimenzije: visina 7,2 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
252. Inv. br. neinventarizirano, Franjevački samostan u Visokom (T. 24, sl. 7). Lokalitet: nepoznat. Opis: bronzana drška s prikazom djevojke s velom na glavi; s jedne strane kuka za pričvršćivanje na vrata. Dimenzije: visina 14 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
253. Inv. br. neinventarizirano, Franjevački samostan u Visokom (T. 24, sl. 8). Lokalitet: nepoznat. Opis: bronzana drška od vrata s prikazom lavlje glave. Dimenzije: visina 8 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.

Ograda – kapija

254. Inv. br. 1182 (T. 25, sl. 1). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: fragmenti veće ograde ili kapije od željeza, s floralnim i geometrijskim motivima; vidljiva dva kraka, krug unutar kojeg se nalaze ukrasni detalji u obliku spiralno završenih krakova i vitica. Dimenzije: dužina 56 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.
255. Inv. br. 1183 (T. 25, sl. 2). Lokalitet: Mogorjelo, Čapljina. Opis: fragmenti veće ograde ili kapije, sastavljene u obliku floralnih ukrasa oblika vitica. Dimenzije: dužina 80 cm. Literatura: nepublicirano.

Halka od vrata

256. Inv. br. 2392 (T. 26, sl. 1). Lokalitet: Klobuk. Opis: željezni pločasti okov od vrata, odnosno halka od vrata; sastoji se od oštećenog okruglog štita i tri karike. Dimenzije: prečnik 7,5 cm, dužina lanca 14,5 cm. Literatura: Sergejevski 1954, T. XIV.
257. Inv. br. 5791 (T. 26, sl. 2). Lokalitet: Japra, Majdanište. Opis: željezna halka za vrata sa sačuvanim trnom za pričvršćivanje na vrata. Dimenzije: prečnik 6 cm. Literatura: Basler 1977, T. IV, 4.
258. Inv. br. 5817 (T. 26, sl. 3). Lokalitet: Japra, Majdanište. Opis: željezna halka za vrata sa sačuvanim trnom za pričvršćivanje na vrata. Dimenzije: prečnik 8 cm. Literatura: Basler 1977, T. IV, 6.
259. Inv. br. neinventarizirano (T. 26, sl. 4). Lokalitet: Zecovi, Prijedor. Opis: željezna halka s oštećenim privjeskom na kojem je halka visila. Dimenzije: prečnik 8 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1956, 142-143.
260. Inv. br. nepoznato (T. 26, sl. 5). Lokalitet: Kastrium, Makljenovac, Doboj. Opis: željezna halka s trnom za pričvršćivanje; na jednoj strani je imala petlju kroz koju je provučena halka. Dimenzije: prečnik 6,3 cm. Literatura: Žigić 2017, 158, T. III, sl. 6.
261. Inv. br. nepoznato. Lokalitet: Panik, Bileća. Opis: bronzana halka bez ukrasa, namijenjena za velika vrata. Dimenzije: dužina 7,2 cm. Literatura: Čremošnik 1976, 124-125, T. XXII, sl. 7.

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Plate 1: *Anthropomorphic keys* / Tabla 1: *Antropomorfni ključevi*



1 (4686)



2 (5747)



3 (5772)



4 (5746)



5 (6339)



6 (6354)



7 (6730)



8 (2871)



9 (195)



10 (395)



11 (1021)

Plate 2: *Classic keys* / Tabla 2: *Klasični ključevi*



Plate 3: *Classic keys* / Tabla 3: *Klasični ključevi*



Plate 4: *Classic keys* / Tabla 4: *Klasični ključevi*



Plate 5: *Classic keys* / Tabla 5: *Klasični ključevi*



1 (758)



2 (196)



3 (718)



4 (712)



5 (812)



6 (876)



7 (877)



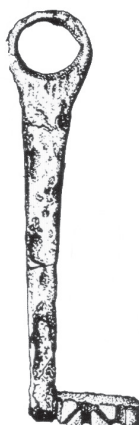
8 (5820)



9 (bb)



10 (bb)



11 (bb)

Plate 6: *Classic keys* / Tabla 6: *Klasični ključevi*



1 (1687)



2 (1533)



3 (1526)



4 (1525)



5 (2113)



6 (3630)



7 (2385)



8 (2322)



9 (2393)



10 (2487)

Plate 7: *Classic keys* / Tabla 7: *Klasični ključevi*



1 (2488)



2 (2490)



3 (2544)



4 (2765)



5 (2646)



6 (2160)



7 (1531)



8 (1532)



9 (1530)



10 (1528)

Plate 8: *Classic keys* / Tabla 8: *Klasični ključevi*



1 (1689)



2 (1534)



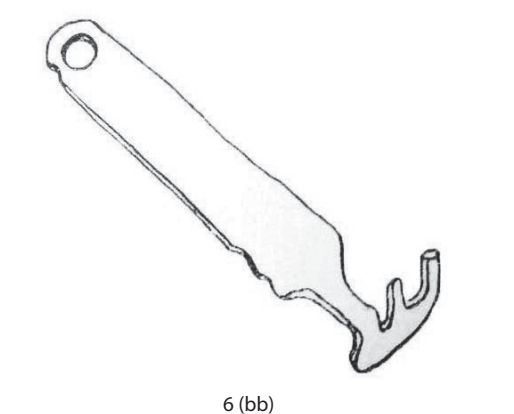
3 (2035)



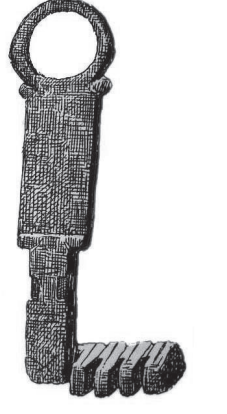
4 (2015)



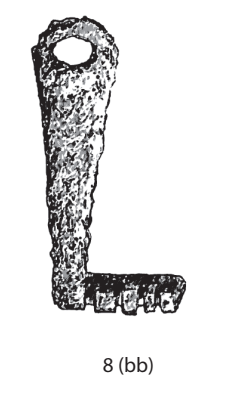
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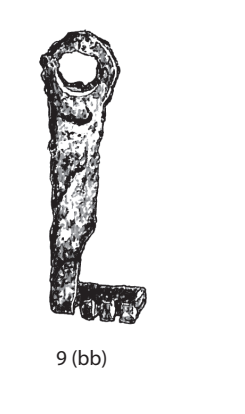
6 (bb)



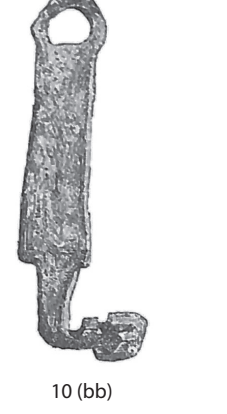
7 (bb)



8 (bb)

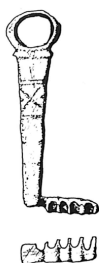


9 (bb)



10 (bb)

Plate 9: *Classic keys* / Tabla 9: *Klasični ključevi*



1. (Prema I.
Čremošnik, 1976.)



2. (Prema I.
Čremošnik, 1976.)



3. (Prema I.
Čremošnik, 1976.)



4. (Prema I.
Čremošnik, 1976.)



5. (Prema I.
Čremošnik, 1976.)



6. (Prema I.
Čremošnik, 1976.)



7. (4794)



8. (6431)



9. (7212)



10. (2034)



11. (2050)



12. (3905)



13. (3667)

Plate 10: *Classic keys* / Tabla 10: *Klasični ključevi*



1 (3790)



2 (876)



3 (877)



4 (???)



5 (541)



6 (3695)



7 (2891)



8 (760)



9. (3891)



10. (4697)



11. (3214)



12. (1320)



13. (579)



14. (1258)



15. (2138)

Plate 11: *Ring keys* / Tabla 11: *Prsten ključevi*



1 (5677)



2 (6358)



3 (1524)



4 (bb)



5 (2157)



6 (2037)



7 (bb)



8 (3150)



9. (3408)

Plate 12: *Large keys* / Tabla 12: *Veliki ključevi*



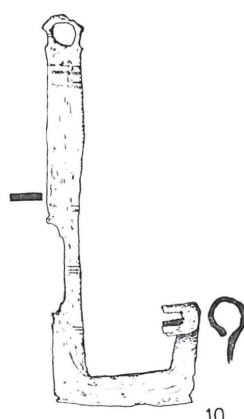
1 (1523)



2 (282)



3 (770)



4 (Prema I. Čremošnik, 1976.)



5 (2159)



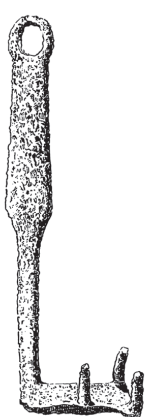
6 (698)



7 (6342)



8 (bb)



9 (bb)



10 (2158)



11 (1688)

Plate 13: *Large keys* / Tabla 13: *Veliki ključevi*



Plate 14: *Atypical Roman keys* / Tabla 14: *Atipični rimski ključevi*



Plate 15: *Hinges* / Tabla 15: *Baglame*



1 (1679)



2 (371)



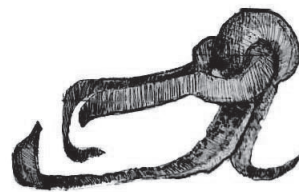
3 (2375)



5 (2176)



4 (2375a)

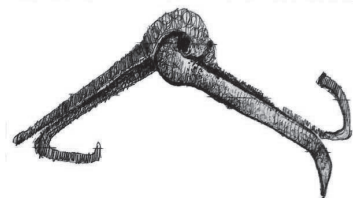


8 (6731)



6 (367)

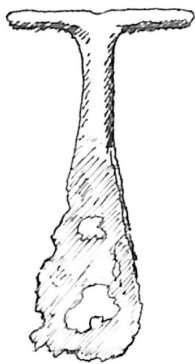
7 (367a)



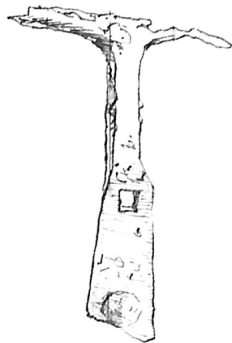
9 (6726)



10 (bb)



1 (5792)



2 (5800)



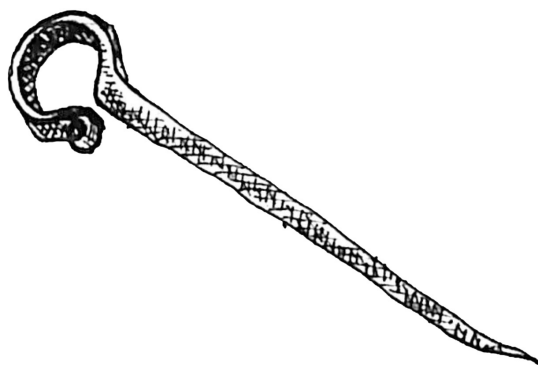
3 (4869)



4 (4850)



5 (4122)



6 (3676)



Plate 18: *Locks* / Tabla 18: *Brave*



1 (370)



2 (1984)



3 (1266)



4 (2030)



5 (2386)



6 (2387)



7 (1277)



8 (2154)

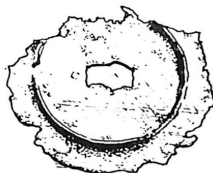


9 (bb)

Plate 19: Lock escutcheons / Tabla 19: Oplata od brave



1 (7805)



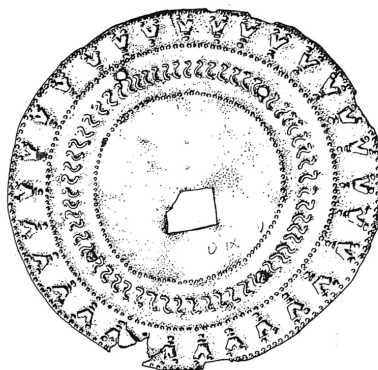
2. (Prema I. Čremošnik, 1976.)



3. (Prema I. Čremošnik, 1976.)



4. (Prema I. Čremošnik, 1976.)



5. (Prema I. Čremošnik, 1976.)



6. (2489)



7. (2118)



Plate 21: *Latches* / Tabla 21: *Reza*



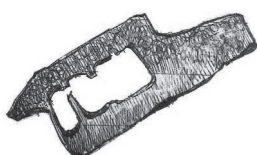
Plate 22: Latches / Tabla 22: Reza



1 (6740)



2 (1278)



3 (6724)



4 (bb)



5 (bb)



6 (1555)



7 (2025)



8 (Prema I. Čremošnik, 1976.)

Plate 23: Bolts and parts of Schiebschloss locks / Tabla 23: Zasuni – dio brave tipa Schiebschloss



1 (1251)



2 (68)



3 (1866)



4 (1250)



5 (1250a)



6 (70)



7 (bb)



8 (bb)

Plate 24: *Door handles* / Tabla 24: *Drška vrata*



1 (1182)



2 (1183)



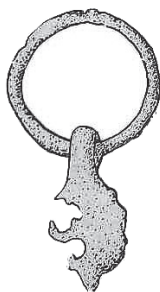
1 (2392)



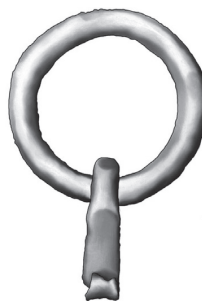
2 (5791)



3 (5817)



4 (bb)



5 (bb)

Pismo natpisa stećaka

Lejla Nakaš
Sarajevo

Abstract: The form of Cyrillic used in *stećak* inscriptions belongs to the same tradition as the *ustav* or uncial script used in the manuscripts, albeit somewhat altered by the influence of four-line (minuscule) diploma hand. Given the letter forms' dual origins, an attempt is presented in this paper at classifying some of the forms of transformation undergone by the uncial script used in *stećak* inscriptions.

Key words: Palaeography, Bosnian epigraphic Cyrillic, *ustav* or uncial book-hand, diplomatic minuscule

Naziv bosanska epigrafska ćirilica, koji je za ovu varijantu južnoslavenske ćirilice ponudio Bešlagić,¹ podrazumijeva postojanje elemenata za paleografsko izdvajanje pisma bosanskih i humskih stećaka. Međutim, u vezi s isticanim paleografskim obilježjima pisma natpisa postojale su i još postoje mnoge historiografske kontroverze. Detaljan kritički pregled stavova koji se tiču definiranja bosanske ćirilice predstavio je T. Raukar.² Ustanovio je da se uglavnom razlikuju dva mišljenja – prvo, koje bosansku ćirilicu izdvaja iz cjelovitog razvitka južnoslavenske ćirilice te je posebnim pismom kojem ili daju ime bosančica, ili ga poistovjećuje s pojmom zapadne ćirilice definirajući ga kao osamostaljenu varijantu zapadnog brzopisa; drugo, koje polazi od teze o isključivom postojanju srpske ćirilice te zapadnoj ćirilici i zapadnom brzopisu odriče posebnost.³

Raukarov pristup analizi uvažio je kao bitan element prosudbe tezu da morfološke razlike ne mogu biti jedini kriterij u određivanju pisma. Međutim, ako se ne polazi od čisto paleografskih kriterija, i ako posebnost slovne morfologije nije osnova za identifikaciju jedne varijante pisma, tada uvođenje ortografskih kriterija za identificiranje grafije izmiče paleografskom okviru definiranja pismovnog sistema.

Kritika dosadašnjih paleografskih dometa u okviru istraživanja ćirilice na njenom zapadnom graničnom području rasvijetlila je činjenicu da se, u nedostatku objektivnog metoda istraživanja grafijskog sistema po sebi, slavenska paleografija fokusirala na ortografiju, uz sva ograničenja koja su posljedica “etničkog” viđenja problema,⁴ iako s paleografskog aspekta ortografska rješenja ne igraju distinktivnu ulogu u identifikaciji slovnog sistema. Ističe se, osim toga, da je južnoslavenski problem ćirilice često obojen predrasudama,⁵ jer

¹ Bešlagić 2004, 143, također i u knjizi objavljenoj 2015, 27 za grafiju natpisa predlaže naziv bosanska epigrafska ćirilica pozivajući se na terminologiju koju je predložio Raukar, koji je istakao da je “za različite vrste ćirilskog pisma bolje upotrebljavati točne paleografske oznake (na primjer: ustav bosanskog tipa u rukopisima; diplomatska minuskula; kancelarijski ustav, za pismo isprava; bosanska lapidarna ćirilica, za natpise na stećcima), dok se za zapadnoćirilski brzopis XVI–XVIII st. može upotrebljavati naziv bosančica, jer je on u literaturi uobičajen u prvom redu za tu vrstu ćiriličnog pisma”; Raukar 1973, 137.

² Pregled tih stavova u ćiriličnoj paleografiji predstavio je Raukar 1973, 103–144.

³ Usp. rezime pregleda kod Raukara 1973, 116.

⁴ Lomagistro 2004, 131.

⁵ Sa stavom B. Lomagistro slaže se tri decenije ranije oblikovan stav T. Raukara o tome da historiografski rezultati u proučavanju ćirilske pismenosti na zapadnom području pokazuju osnovni nedostatak koji se sastoji “u tome što se tom problemu nije pristupalo paleografski, nego s unaprijed postavljenim tezama, u kojima su se suprotstavljala nastojanja za određivanjem etničke podloge bosančice s konfesionalnim kriterijem i čisto terminološkim pokušajima”; Raukar 1973, 115. Argumenti zastupnika jednog i drugog stava fokusirani su na pronalazak slova specifične morfologije zasvjedočenih na prostoru zapadnoga graničnog područja ćirilice, s jedne strane, i izoliranje pojedinačnih primjera

se težište stavlja na traganje za matricom inovacija i na dokazivanje prvenstva u upotrebi određenih slovnih varijanata.

Od vremena kada je Speranski opisao Manojlovo evanđelje, uspostavljeni su kriteriji za prepoznavanje bosanske škole, koji su zasnovani na specifičnom setu ortografskih uzusa. Speransko-ga u tome slijedi već Lavrov u svojoj paleografiji, iako bi paleografski kriteriji trebali biti diferencirani od filoloških. Kako se ortografska rješenja u natpisima u potpunosti slažu s bosanskim redakcijskim uzusima,⁶ način na koji se bilježe *ja*, *je*; *lj*, *nj*; *ć*, *đ* postao je osnova i za klasificiranje epigrafske ćirilice na širem zapadnojužnoslavenskom prostoru. Ipak, model deskripcije zasnovan na tipologiji koja proizlazi iz ortografskih kriterija ne može objasniti grafijsku heterogenost, pa su razne zasvjedočene morfologije razvrstane u preširokim definicijama koje se isuviše tiču porijekla. Već u samom izboru ortografskih rješenja karakterističnom za bosansku školu često je isticana veza s najstarijom glagoljskom tradicijom, pri čemu se u prvi plan postavljalo naglašavanje porijekla ćirilične pismenosti, naime njegova veza s makedonskom “jusovom” pismošću. Manir obilježavanja sekvence *ju* jusom *ж* ako tome *ju* prethodi ili slijedi još jedno *ju*, vezuje se

potvrda da se takva ista slova nalaze i izvan područja zapadne ćirilice, s druge strane (usp. Raukar 1973, 114).

⁶ Kuna 2008, 285. Isti stav izražava i Raukar: “Kao što su bezimeni pučki majstori klesali i urezivali svoje natpise čistim, jednostavnim narodnim jezikom, tako je i njihova grafija bila jednostavna, sasvim u skladu s grafijom zapadne ćirilice. Natpisi gotovo ne poznaju ligaturna slova *ю* i *ѣ*, dok je *ю* nešto češće. Posve razumljivo, slovo *ћ* poznaju gotovo svi natpisi u mnogim varijantama. Slovo *ѣ* pretežno se upotrebljava umjesto ligature *ѣ*, ali i za suglasnik *j*, te za označavanje glasa *ě* (jat). Objelodanjeni natpisi pokazuju da su se u XV i XVI st. na području srednjovjekovnog Huma i Hercegovine dodirivala područja ikavske i ijekavske štokavštine [...] Upravo ta izrazita ikavska jezična obilježja i jednostavna grafija povezuju dosad objelodanjene natpise iz srednjovjekovnog Huma sa suvremenim rukopisima i diplomatskim građom u jedinstven pojam izvorne bosansko-humske ćirilske pismenosti”; Raukar 1973, 121-122. Nadalje, Raukar tvrdi: “Ovaj kratki pregled paleografskih obilježja koja sadrže bosanski rukopisi, lapidarni natpisi i bosanske isprave (do sredine XIV st.) pokazuje da se cjelokupna bosansko-humska ćirilska pismenost u kasnom srednjem vijeku odlikovala zajedničkim morfološkim, grafijskim i jezičnim osobitostima, što je bio rezultat izvornosti u političkom i kulturnom razvitku srednjovjekovne Bosne. To, dakako, ne bismo smjeli objasniti bilo kakvom izoliranošću kulture srednjovjekovne Bosne, nego u prvom redu izrazom njezine snage”; Raukar 1973, 123.

za ćirilične staroslavenske spomenike iz Makedonije. Naime, upotreba slovne kombinacije *юж* za *-juju* može se naći u 13. stoljeću u Manojlovom evanđelju (Sl. 1.2) i Grigorovič-Giljferdin-govom fragmentu evanđelistara (Sl. 1.1), ali i u prvoj četvrti 14. stoljeća u Divoševom evanđelju i polovinom 14. stoljeća u Kopitarovom evanđelju, zato pojava *jusa* u ranoj epigrafici (Sl. 2 i 3) ne predstavlja iznenađenje.



Sl. 1. Upotreba slova *jus* *ж* u srednjovjekovnim bosanskim rukopisima: 1. kontakt slova *ю* i *ж* u tekstu

азъ полагаю *ж* о себѣ (Giljf.61 4a, r. 1);

2. kontakt slova *ю* i *ж* u tekstu о шочу*ж* его
(Manojlovo ev. 29b, r. 4)

Međutim, ova specifičnost ne predstavlja ni preduvjet niti bilo kakvo obrazloženje za varijacije koje su se tokom vremena ispoljile u grafiji natpisa. Okvir za identifikaciju slovnog sistema zasnovan na prepoznavanju određenog seta ortografskih uzusa vodi ka tome da kao “jedini modalitet paleografske analize ostaje, neograničena i svrhovita samo sebi, deskripcija pojedinačnih znakova, koja pomaže jedino čitanju rukopisa, ali ne i razumijevanju historijske, društvene i kulturne dinamike što u svakoj epohi nalazi svoj prirodni eho u grafijskoj evoluciji”.⁷ Deskripcija bezbrojnih varijanata koje se ispoljavaju u 15. stoljeću, epohi značajnih kulturnih, društveno-ekonomskih i političkih transformacija, uzima kao polazište evolutivni model: jedno pismo tipa ustava, ovlaš opisano kao svečano, preobražava se – bez objašnjenja zašto i kako – u novi tip, poluustav krajem 14. stoljeća.

Ovakvo stanje nastoji se prevladati uvođenjem funkcionalne kategorije knjiško / diplomatsko pismo koja sistematizira pisanje prema njegovoj namjeni, što otvara prostor da se promjene u sistemu pisanja tumače i istražuju u svjetlu mijenjanja kulturnih i društvenih uvjeta. Iako i pri ovoj klasifikaciji na ustavno pismo knjiga i minuskulno pismo dokumenata karakteristike nekih pisanih svjedočanstava (poluustav, ustav-

⁷ Lomagistro 2008, 114.

ЗНАДѢ

Sl. 2. Slovo ж na Humačkoj ploči

СНЖУРІВѢ

Sl. 3. Slovo ж na Kulinovoj ploči

ni brzopis) izlaze iz okvira tradicionalne podjele, čini se da bi analiza grafije natpisa u svjetlu dvaju modaliteta pisanja mogla ishoditi boljom sistematizacijom u deskripciji. U ovom se radu nastoji uspostaviti upravo takav model opisa grafije natpisa stećaka, s ciljem provjere opravdanosti izdvajanja lapidarne (Raukar) ili epigrafske (Bešlagić) varijante ćirilice u poseban tip pisma.

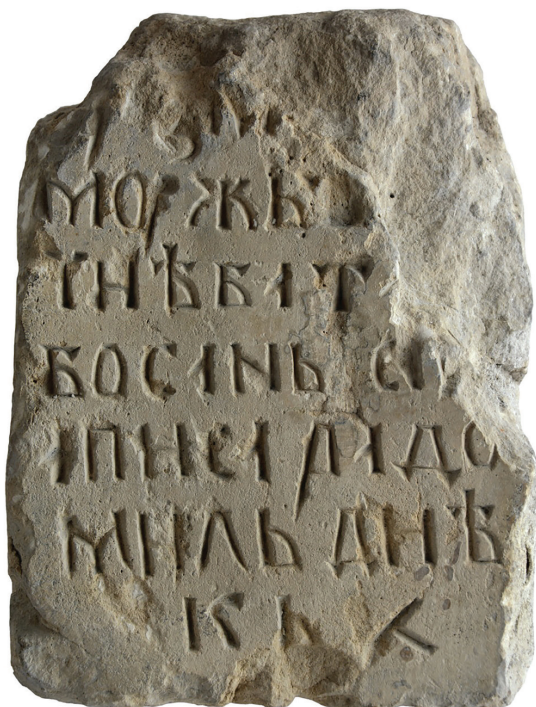
Već je ranije primijećeno da se mogu ustanoviti dva ponešto različita tipa bosanske ćirilice kojom su pisani natpisi, ali da to ne pomaže u datiranju. Tip dvolinijskog pisma (ustav) definiran je kao svečani i sakralni, a četverolinijsko pismo (minuskula) kao poslovno i općenito brže pismo koje je sve više zastupljeno od sredine 14. stoljeća, ali su oba tipa prisutna na natpisima sve do kraja umjetnosti stećaka. Zapravo, u izboru svečanog tipa pisma ne ogleda se njegovo hronološko prvenstvo, a koji će od dva tipa pisma biti

upotrijebljen, u izrazito hijerarhiziranom srednjovjekovnom društvu, ovisi radije o rangu osobe kojoj se podiže stela nego o umijeću klesara.

Natpis tepčije Batala (Sl. 4) karakterističan je predstavnik knjiškog tipa pisma. To pokazuju sva njegova slova i ukupni aspekt slovne koordinacije, a simbolični detalj koji otkriva duboku povezanost sa sakralnim tipom pismenosti zapaža se u načinu pisanja slova oy /u/ (Sl. 5.1).

To je horizontalna ligatura kao u Moskovskom bifoliju (Sl. 5.3) i Pripkovićevom evanđelju (Sl. 5.4), čiji je oblik drugog dijela slova, jednak obliku u Petrogradskom evanđelju № 679 (Sl. 5.5), prisutan i u poluustavu dijaka Kupusca 1331. godine (Sl. 5.2).

Natpis Radovana Pribilovića iz 15. stoljeća (Sl. 6) reflektira tip pisma sakralnih rukopisa, osobito svojom formom inicijalnog slova.

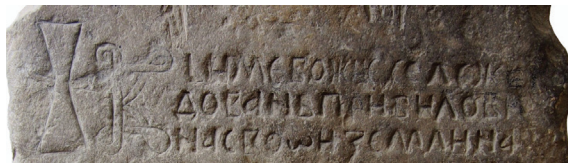


Sl. 4. Natpis tepčije Batala, Turbe kod Travnika, sada u Zemaljskom muzeju (Vego br. 257)



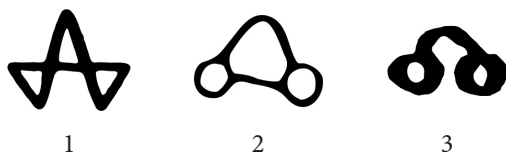
1 2 3 4 5

Sl. 5. Varijante slova oy: 1. u natpisu tepčije Batala; 2. u povelji iz 1331. godine, koju piše dijak Kupusac; 3. u Moskovskom bifoliju; 4. u Pripkovićevom evanđelju; 5. u Petrogradskom evanđelju № 679



Sl. 6. Natpis Radovana Pribilovića iz Ričice kod Kaknja, danas u samostanu Kraljeva Sutjeska (Vego br. 242)

Još je Josip Hamm ukazivao na utjecaj glagoljice kao ranijeg pisma na ćirilicu u Bosni, smatrajući da je taj utjecaj očit u nepostojanju ligatura ja ili je, u upotrebi glagoljičke numeracije ч =



Sl. 7. Varijante slova *Δ*: 1. *Milavići* (Vego br. 93); 2. *Podgradinje* (Vego br. 82); 3. *Zografsko evanđelje*, glagoljsko slovo za /d/

1000.⁸ U Bosni i Humu ćirilička je ustavna grafija u 13. st. potisnula raniju glagoljicu čiji su odjeci – *Grškovićev apostol* (sredina 12. st. odlomak) i *Splitski misal* (13. st. odlomak) – posljednji trag aktivnog života glagoljice u bosanskom srednjovjekovlju.⁹ Obično se varijanta slova *Δ* /d/ s ukrasnim trokutićima ili kružićima umjesto nožica povezuje s glagoljskim slovom,¹⁰ ali je zanimljivo da se ona u natpisima ne javlja prije druge polovine 14. stoljeća.

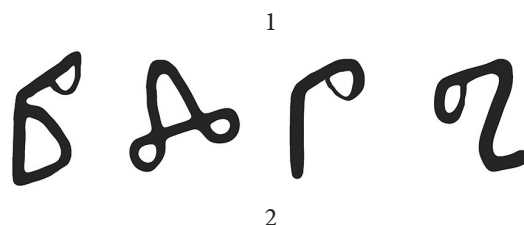
Ovakav oblik slova *Δ* imaju natpisi iz Vlađevine (Vego br. 222, 223), Blaževića (Vego br. 211), Pojske, (Vego br. 253), Banovića (Vego br. 248), Starog Slanog (Vego br. 110, 111), ali i natpis nepoznatog vojvode iz Rečana, datiran 23. decembra 1370. (Tomović sl. 61). Ako posljednje navedeno teritorijalno odstupanje nije dovoljan poticaj da se razmisli o drukčijem tumačenju pojave tog oblika slova, onda će njegovo razmatranje u sklopu većeg broja sličnih preobražaja drugih slova pomoći u rasvjetljenju slovne inovacije. Naime, zapažen je također uglati ukras slova *г* u natpisu Joakima Đuraša iz Crkve Sv. Trojice (Prevlaka, Boka Kotorska) datiranom poslije 1362. (Tomović sl. 57).¹¹ Zasigurno je vrijedno pažnje to što se na natpisima stećaka ovakvo slovo *г* pojavljuje u kombinaciji sa na isti način ukrašenim *Б* i *τ* (sl. 8), ali i s najčešćim predstavnikom grupe – *Δ* (Sl. 8.2). Riječ je o ukrašavanju

⁸ Hamm 1960, 50-53.

⁹ Hercigonja 1982.

¹⁰ Bešlagić ovu varijantu slova *Δ* s dekorativnim trokutićima i kružnicama umjesto nožica identificira u više primjeraka natpisa, ali ističe da je prisutna samo u epitafima iz druge polovine 14. i iz 15. stoljeća, u Podgradinju i Milavićima kod Stoca, Starom Selu kod Donjeg Vakufa, Zavajtu kod Foče, Vlađevini kod Rogatice i drugdje; Bešlagić 2015, 51.

¹¹ U slikovnim prilogima u knjizi G. Tomović, nalazi se i slovo *τ* ukrašeno trokutićima, u natpisu Vratka Čihorića, sl. 43, datiranom 5. jula 1349. godine, u Crkvi sv. Nikole u Kuršumliji (sada u Niškom muzeju). U natpisu iz Veličana Pilihranija, gospođa Radača, predstavlja se kao kućnica Nenca Čihorića, nevjesta župana Vratka.



Sl. 8.1. Slova *Б*, *г*, *τ*, *Jelaške* (Vego br. 239);
2. Slova *Б*, *Δ*, *г*, *З*, *Blaževići kod Rogatice* (poslije 1486) (Vego br. 211)



Sl. 9. Slovo *τ*: 1. *Vranjevo Selo kod Neuma* (poslije 1363) (Vego br. 24);
2. *Gornja Kukavica kod Rogatice* (Vego br. 210)



Sl. 10. Slovo *Π*: *Veličani u Popovu polju* (1377–1391) (Vego br. 102); *Biskup kod Konjica* (1398) (Vego br. 178)

vodoravne linije slova postupkom sličnim kao u rukopisnim evanđeljima, koja imaju poseban tip inicijala kojima je označena podjela teksta na Amonijeve glave, popraćena harmonijom Evanđelja. Podjela teksta na Amonijeve glave prepoznatljivo je obilježje bosanske škole, čiji su glavni spomenici tetraevanđelja, jer je u drugim redakcijama postepeno napuštena nakon što je u 13. stoljeću stvorena nova, na savremene glave i stihove. Iako pojava ovih slova na natpisima nije rezervirana za inicijalnu poziciju teksta, ona je svakako odraz težnje pisanja svećanim tipom pisma i ukrašavanja teksta. Tako naprimjer natpis Petka krstjanina u Šćepan Polju ima na isti način ukrašeno *Б*, *г*, *Б* i *Δ*, ukrašeno *Π* (Sl. 10) imaju natpisi Gojsave Sanković (Vego br. 178) i Radače Čihorić (Vego br. 102), a dijak Radoje Milosalić

ukrašava početna slova natpisa Ozrina Kopijevića (Vego br. 224).

Slova kojima se u tetraevanđeljima obilježavaju počeci Amonijevih glava najčešće su ukrašena trouglastim završecima (Sl. 11), a slovo n središnjim ukrasnim potezom na vodoravnoj liniji (Sl. 12).



Sl. 11. Inicijali Amonijevih glava – slova Γ, Δ, Τ, Θ, Ξ u Čajničkom, Pripkovićevom, Nikoljskom i Vrutočkom evanđelju



Sl. 12. Inicijal n u Čajničkom, Nikoljskom, Mletačkom i Vrutočkom evanđelju

Krug rukopisa s kojima je moguće usporediti ovaj manir ukrašavanja inicijala vrlo je ograničen, jer je podjela na Amonijeve glave napuštena u 13. stoljeću posvuda osim u Bosni.¹² Paralele iz rukopisa 13. stoljeća kao što su Dobrejšovo (Sl. 13), Baničko i Evanđelje W148 (Sl. 14), koji još uvijek zadržavaju staru podjelu teksta, pokazuju da način izvedbe u njima ne podrazumijeva dvostruku liniju i prazne prostore u vidu trokuta u ukrasnim završecima slova.



Sl. 13. Dobrejšovo evanđelje, inicijali Amonijevih glava n f.16^v, Γ f.18, Τ f.46^v, Θ f.46^v, Δ f.55^v



Sl. 14. Evanđelje W148, inicijali Amonijevih glava n f.78^v, Γ f.116^v, Τ f.25^v, Θ f.115, Δ f.166

¹² Od 13. stoljeća stvorena je nova podjela na današnje glave i stihove; Grickat 1961–1962, 233.



Sl. 15. Vrutočko evanđelje, inicijal B na početku opširne glave 64 (Mt. 8:5) f. 53a i 178 (Mt. 18:1) f. 101a

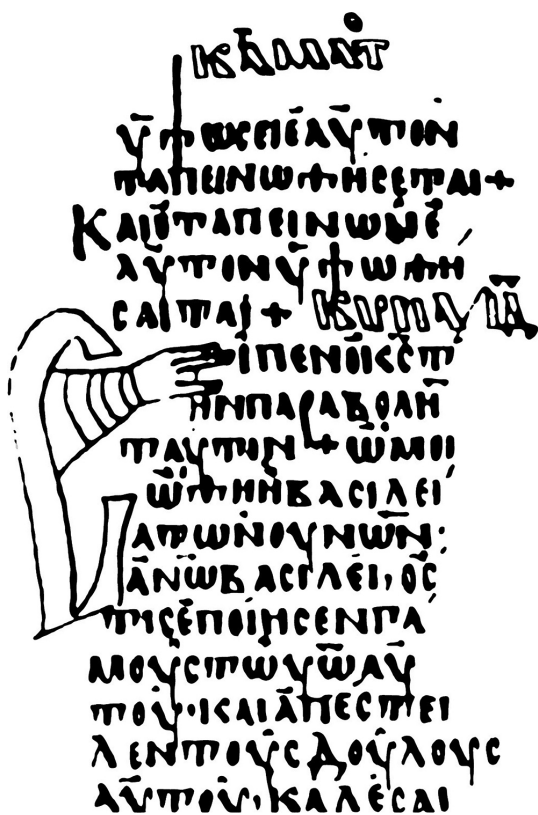


Sl. 16. Inicijal B u natpisu iz Ričice (Vego br. 242)

To je zapravo tip inicijala koji podrazumijeva samo osnovno, minimalno ukrašavanje i samo jednu, crvenu boju. S druge strane, počeci opširnih glava imaju bogatije ukrašene inicijale, koji su dvobojni, a i veći su, zauzimaju prostor visine četiriju linija, za razliku od skromnije veličine inicijala Amonijevih glava koji su visine triju linija. Ukrasne linije su im uvijene, a pojavljuju se na takvim slovima i dodatne forme kao prstenovi i vitice (Sl. 15). Na stećcima postoji samo jedan primjer upotrebe ovog raskošnijeg tipa knjiškog inicijala (Sl. 16) – početno slovo natpisa iz Ričice:

Illuminacijski motiv ruke koja blagosilja poznat u rukopisnim evanđeljima, kao u grčkom rukopisu s početka 9. stoljeća (Sl. 17) jednako kao u staroslavenskim kodeksima (Sl. 19), nalazi se na natpisu Radivoja Ilića iz Rame (Sl. 18), što također pokazuje vezu pisma natpisa s rukopisnim ustavom.

Nadredno slovo u rukopisnoj kratlici pē (reče) na ploči velikog sudije Gradiše (Sl. 20.1) na svoj način svjedoči o oponašanju grafičkog manira koji je zastupljen u sakralnim tekstovima (Sl. 20.2), odatle on prelazi i u druge žanrove srednjovjekovne pismenosti (Sl. 20.3,4) i ostaje u njima prisutan sve do kraja srednjovjekovnog razdoblja.

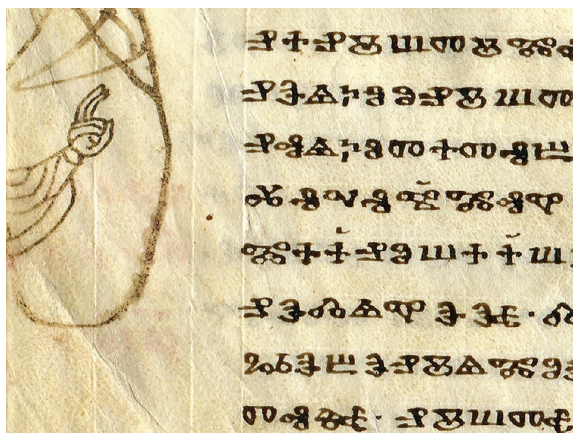


Sl. 17. Inicijal s rukom koja blagosilja u grčkom rukopisu, poč. 9. st. (Sl. 1 u: Đorđić 1971, 233)

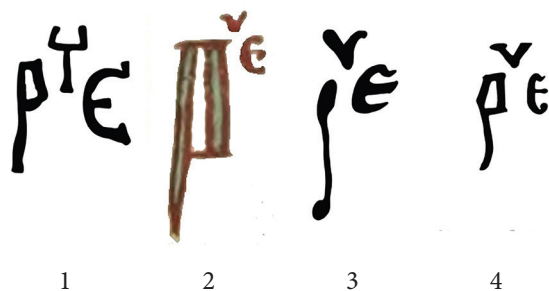


Sl. 18. Ruka u položaju blagoslova na Natpisu Radivoja Ilića iz Rame (Vego br. 260)

Tendenciju pisanja dvolinijskim tipom pisma jasno potvrđuje tehnika uboda krajnjih tačaka slova, koja datira još od natpisa Kulinovog velikog sudije. Gradišina ploča neosporno pokazuje da je riječ o vrlo staroj tehnici, tako da se ne može prihvatiti Truhelkin stav kako se ovaj manir javlja u “potonje vrijeme” razvitka ćiriličnog pisma u Bosni. U svakom slučaju, primjeri takvog klesanja slova, zabilježeni u središnjoj Bosni u širem



Sl. 19. Zografsko evanđelje, f. 264^v



Sl. 20. Skraćenica pře (reče): 1. na Natpisu velikog sudije Gradiše, 12. st. (Vego br. 252); 2. u Vrutočkom evanđelju, f.113a, kraj 14. st.; 3. u kancelariji kralja Dabiše, 18. 2. 1393, r.5; 4. u kancelariji Sankovića, 1399, r.16

vremenskom rasponu (Sl. 21 i 23), radije govore o maniru koji je razvila klesarska škola nego o procesu razvitka same grafije. Možda je postupak uvjetovan materijalom – pješčarom koji se osipa, pa su tačke uboda trebale spriječiti krunjenje glatke površine kamena pri urezivanju, ali to bi isto tako mogao biti postupak koji ishodi određenim estetskim efektom, kako se vidi u jednom grčkom natpisu na glatkom kamenu iz Arheološkog muzeja u Istanbulu (Sl. 22).

Kako je već rečeno, tendencija pravilnog urezivanja slova u okviru dvolinijskog sistema pisanja odgovara ondašnjim stilskim mjerilima za najsvetčaniji tip pisma, pa kod njenog ispoljavanja možemo računati s visokim rangom ili ugledom osobe kojoj se kleše takav natpis.

Bilo da je ovdje riječ o ravnanju redova ili o razmjeru za raspon slova, ovakvi postupci spadaju u pravilo zanata. Snažan estetski dojam proizvela je tehnika uboda trokutastim instrumen-



Sl. 21. Mihoio Grahovčić, kod Bile

tom, u natpisu stečka iz Paklarskog potoka kod Travnika (Sl. 24), u kojem su mnogi istraživači vidjeli utjecaj gotičkog pisma.¹³ Oblici slova ж (usp. posljednje slovo na Truhelkinom izvratku na slici ispod), к (s usjekom iznad sredine slova), ѣ /č/ (s vodoravnom crticom preko sredine stabla) pokazuju da je to ustav iz 14. st.

Jedna od tehnika ravnjanja redaka koja pokazuje da klesar slijedi estetski zahtjev pisanja u okviru dvolinijskog sistema kao u knjiškom pismu – povlačenje linija cijelom dužinom teksta – ispoljila se već u natpisu sudije Gradiše, ali je potvrđena i u kasnijem razdoblju, na natpisu iz Dištice (Sl. 25), na području Jelaška.

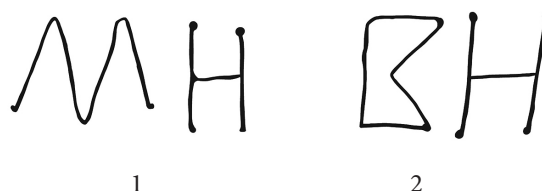
Savršeni primjer uspjelog postupka u klesanju ustavne ćirilice može se, za usporedbu, pogledati u Natpisu fra Vite, graditelja manastira Dečani, iz 1335. godine (Sl. 26).

Konačno, o dubokoj povezanosti umjetnosti natpisa i knjiške pismenosti govori, možda najrječitije, činjenica da je bez poznavanja srednjovjekovnih sakralnih tekstova ponekad nemoguće razumjeti sadržaj natpisa. Kao primjer takvog jednog izazova za čitanje navodim natpis Petka

¹³ Truhelka 1894, 780; Bešlagić 2004, 63.



Sl. 22. Arheološki muzej u Istanbulu, grčka stela



Sl. 23. Tehnika urezivanja rubnih tačaka:

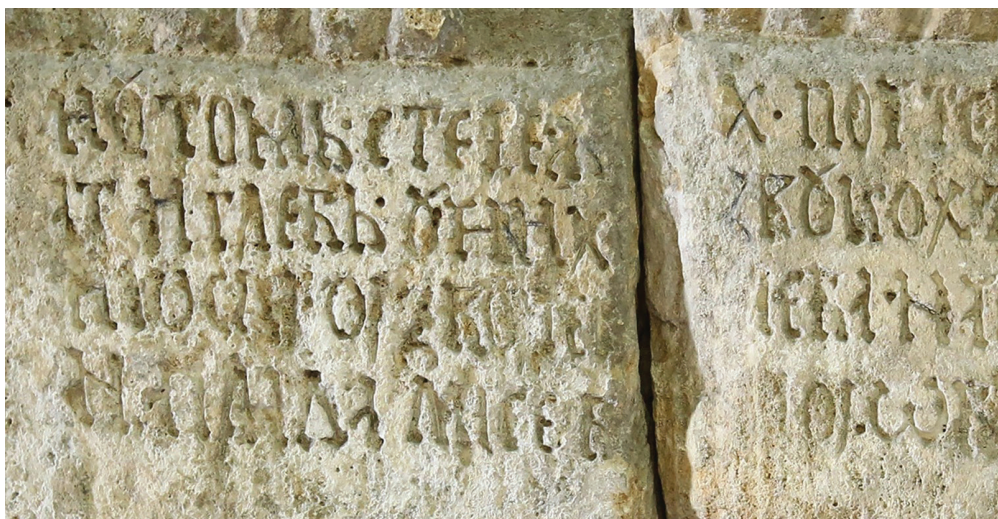
1. na natpisu iz Tičica (Nakaš 2013); 2. na natpisu iz Pojske (Vego br. 253)

krstjanina iz Šćepan polja. Odličan crtež koji je objavila G. Tomović¹⁴ nije raščitan u potpunosti, odnosno kraj natpisa izdijeljen je u transkripciji tako da daje nesmislene nizove slova, uglavnom zato što nije prepoznat pisarski uzus za ispisivanje imena grada Jerusalima pa tako ni simbolični kontekst koji upućuje na poruku iz Otkrovenja:

поставнхъ: бѣлнѣ: за жнвота • а ѹекаѣ: смрѣтн •
ѹ соколѣ • а ѹ многа • гѣ воеводе стѣпана кон ме
пoutено: хранаше: а бѣгъ неговѣ дшѣ съхнѣ ѹ вшемѣ
ерѣмн • ѣ петко крѣстѣннѣ •

Postavih bjelig za života, a čekah smrti u Sokolu, a u miloga gospodina vojevode Stjepana koji me pošteno hranjaše (=čuvaše). A Bog neka njegovu dušu shrani (=sačuva) u Višnjem Jeruslimu. Ja Petko krstijanin.

¹⁴ Tomović 2010, 101-122; Komar 2014, 29-30.



І Б В Г Д Е З Н К Л М Н О П Л С
Т Х У Х Ѡ Ъ Ы І І Ж

Sl. 24. 1. Natpis iz Paklarskog potoka kod Travnika (Vego br. 255);
2. Izolirana slova Natpisa iz Paklarskog potoka, Truhelkin crtež (GZM, 1894)



Sl. 25. Urezivanje linijske sheme na natpisu iz Dištice (Vego br. 239)

Gramatički oblici starocrkvenoslavenske provenijencije najčešći su uzrok krive ili nesmislene interpretacije teksta. A jedan od većih problema za one čitače koji ne poznaju utjecaj starocrkvenoslavenske jezičke strukture na ukupnu pisanu tradiciju srednjovjekovnog razdoblja jeste stari nastavak lokativa -ѣ (> -н /-и/), baš kao i u slučaju ovog natpisa – ерѣмн. Zbog toga je, u Bešlagićevom¹⁵ pokušaju, kraj ovog natpisa također krivo pročitao kao *Jeremija Petko krstijanin*.

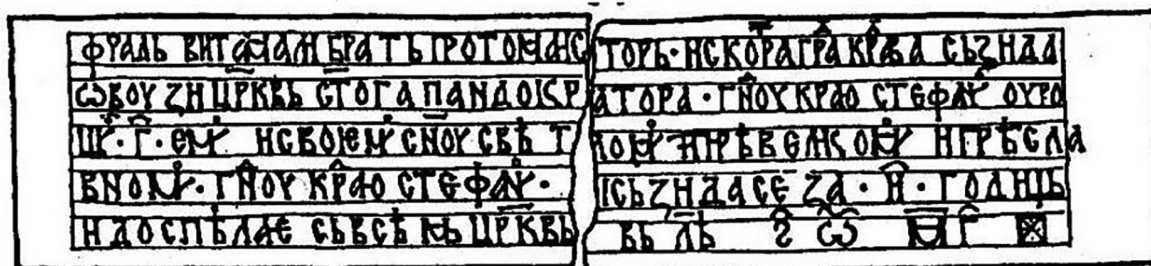
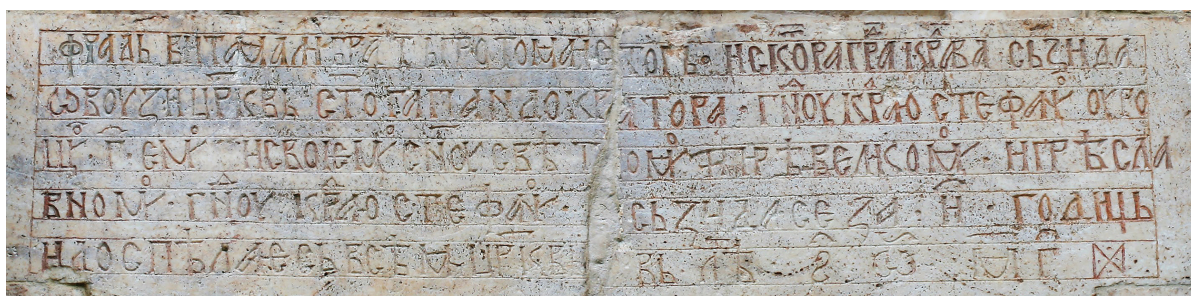
¹⁵ Bešlagić 1975, 102; 2004, 126.

Skraćenice iz sakralnih tekstova u ovom natpisu: дуѡ (dušu), гѡ (gospodina), бѣ (Bog), ерѣмн (Jerusalim) izvedene su u istome maniru kao u knjiškom žanru.¹⁶ Iako ovakve grafetičke podudarnosti mogu izgledati kao običan detalj, one traže da poklonimo više povjerenja činjenici da su tvorci epigrafskog teksta uronjeni u srednjovjekovnu duhovnost. Zapravo, ispitivanje sakralnog konteksta vodilo bi potpunijem tumačenju oštećenih tekstova natpisa. Izraz Višnji Jerusalem nalazi se u naslovu 65. poglavlja Apokalipse (u modernoj podjeli teksta odgovara početku 21. poglavlja) i u Hvalovom rukopisu izgleda ovako:

ѦѦ О НОВЫѦ НБСЫ Н ЗЕМЛЫ Н О ВНШНЕМЪ ЕРѦМЪ

Hval krstjanin, Blagovѣštenъ eže o' Iovana [21:2-4]

¹⁶ Ako se uzme u obzir da kratice “u doslovnom čitanju podrazumijevaju gotovo potpun nesklad s govorenim jezikom” (Žagar 2007, 430), razumljivo je zašto jedna od rjeđe korištenih nije korektno pročitana u radovima istraživača. Čirilična kratica za Jerusalem ерѣмн, imala je suviše raznih formi i pisari su bili nedosljedni u pogledu njenog unificiranja. Žagar smatra da je raznolikosti ove kratice doprinijela “dužina riječi te strah od preklapanja kratkih inačica s drugim slavenskim riječima (npr. sa zamjeničkim *имъ*), odnosno od nepreciznosti. Učestalost, naime, te riječi nije bila takva da bi se posve lako mogla prepoznati”; Žagar 2007, 455.



Sl. 26: 1. Dečani, crkva Svetog Spasa, južni portal priprate s natpisom fra Vite i godinama zidanja crkve od 1327. do 1335. godine – fotografija; 2. Dečani, crkva Svetog Spasa, južni portal priprate s natpisom fra Vite crtež iz knjige V. Đurića i G. Babić-Đorđević

O novè nebesi i zemli i o višnemь Erusolimè:
²I gradь svèti Erusolimь vidèhь nizьhodešть sь
 nebesè o' Boga prigotovany [...]
³I slišahь glasь sь
 nebesè glagolušть: Se i skiniè Božie sь človèki i ve-
 seli sè sь nimi i ti ludie ego budutъ i samъ Bogъ sь
 nimi budetъ Bogъ iһь. ⁴Otimetъ vsaku slъzu o' oči-
 ju iһь i smrti ne budetъ kь tomu ni plača ni vьpla
 ni bolèzni ne budetъ kь tomu i prьvaè mimoidutъ¹⁷

Pošto je u literaturi već istaknuto kako Apo-
 kalipsa “dugo nije pripadala liturgijskome ko-
 deksu Istočne crkve pa su malobrojni njeni srp-
 ski, makedonski i bugarski prepisi”,¹⁸ čini mi se
 da bi spominjanje nebeskoga Jerusalima u ovom
 natpisu moglo biti izuzetno značajno pri odgo-
 varanju na sve zahtjevnije pitanje o konfesiji vla-
 snika natpisa.

U paleografiji još ne postoji konkretan odgo-
 vor na pitanje koji su pokretači grafijske transfor-
 macije, ili oni koji izazivaju prijelaz iz dvolinijs-
 kog u četverolinijski sistem. Jasno je, pak, da na
 povećanje broja primjeraka natpisa u 15. stoljeću
 utječe promjena u društvu: natpisi pripadnika
 građanske klase u usponu nose znatniji udio u
 tom broju, a pismo kojim su oni pisani, kao i nji-
 hov jezički izraz, postaju sve prostiji. Uvažavanje
 historijskih i kulturoloških činilaca za preobra-

žavanje pisma moglo bi dati nove i korisne uvi-
 de, a jedan od tih je da sloboda u pismu podsti-
 će individualnost registra – slobodu u jezičkom
 izrazu – što se u slučaju natpisa očituje u slobodi
 bilježenja govornih, ijekavskih oblika. Pravilnost
 je nešto poremećena; neka slova se protežu izvan
 dvolinijskog sistema prema dolje ili prema gore,
 slova su općenito slobodnije izvedena, a nisu ni
 jednako široka, niti jednako razmaknuta. Javlja
 se i po nekoliko varijanti jednog te istog slova u
 kojima se pokazuje utjecaj poslovnog, četveroli-
 nijskog pisma.

Prva izmjena je izduženje i vertikalizacija sta-
 bla slova a. Za ovom mutacijom slijedi i izmjena
 в /v/ u pravcu kvadratnog oblika, zatim dezarti-
 kulacija slova к, koje se svodi na dvije paralelne
 linije, više-manje zakrivljene, zatim produženje
 bočnih stranica τ do dna linije м, a oblik slova ы
 /č/ se pojednostavljuje pa se ono piše bez stubića.
 Nekoliko decenija kasnije Δ i з jače zalaze u če-
 tverolinijski sistem, a zatim i г, i potom н /i/. B.
 Lomagistro¹⁹ iznosi zanimljiv stav da prvi stadij
 evolucije svakog pisma počiva na glosama, gra-
 fitima, ekstremno fragmentarnim dokumentima,
 što daje povoda da se razmisli o tome da li su neke
 od promjena koje su se očitovale u poslovnom
 pismu mogle biti izazvane pojavom slovnih vari-

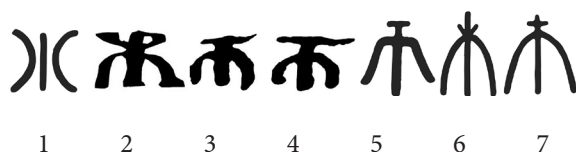
¹⁷ Hamm 1960, 98.

¹⁸ Kappel 2012, 89.

¹⁹ Lomagistro 2008, 127.

jacija proisteklih iz pisanja u drugom, zahtjevnijem materijalu – kamenu. Poticaj za preobražaj slovnog sistema mogao bi dolaziti od promjene podloge za pisanje, pa i samih instrumenata za pisanje, što bi uz osnovni motiv – ubrzavanje procesa pisanja – dovelo do pojave paralelnog slovnog sistema s posebnom namjenom.

Slovo **ж** /ž/ u dezartikuliranoj formi poznato je od 14. st. u Natpisu iz Prečana, na Treskavici (Sl. 27.1); na kraju 14. i na početku 15. st. nalazimo ga u natpisu Grubače, supruge vojvode Mitoša, na Mitoševom stečku, a na stečku Radovana Pribilovića sredinom 15. st. u Ričici kod Kaknja. Na osnovu forme ustavnog slova **ж** (Sl. 27.2) nastali su već u 14. stoljeću pojednostavljeni oblici sa smanjenim ili potpuno ravnim gornjim dijelom slovne figure,²⁰ koji se nalaze u rukopisima (Sl. 27.5), poveljama (Sl. 27.3,4) i na stećcima (Sl. 27.6,7).



Sl. 27. Varijante slova **ж**: 1. dezartikulirano slovo **ж** (Vego br. 205); 2. ustavno slovo **ж** u Čajničkom evanđelju; 3. **ж** iz banske kancelarije; 4. **ж** iz povelja kralja Ostoje; 5. ustavno **ж** iz Hvalovog, Mletačkog i Radosavljevog zbornika; 6, 7. starije, ustavno slovo **ж** na stećcima (Vego br. 178 i 102)

Slovo **ж** u obliku zvjezdice, dakle u formi tipičnoj za natpise stećaka (Sl. 28.1), poznato je već u 13. st. iz kancelarije dubrovačkog notara Paskala, ali je u kamenu ono zabilježeno još ranije, na Humačkoj ploči. S druge strane, specifični brzopisni oblik slova **ж** koji liči na dva spojena slova **е** od kojih je drugo okrenuto kao u ogledalu (Sl. 28.2), prisutan je na stećcima neočekivano rano – već u natpisu banovog netjaka Vladislava u Vranjevu Selu, tako da bi pretpostavke o glagoljskom porijeklu takve njegove forme s hronološkog aspekta mogle biti sasvim prihvatljive.²¹

²⁰ Bešlagić također zapaža da se ovaj oblik slova javlja u natpisima iz 14. stoljeća, npr. na Natpisu vojvode Masna u Drežnici 1355–1357. godine, ali ističe da se takvo slovo nalazi već na Natpisu Marije Divice iz 1231. godine; Bešlagić 2015, 53.

²¹ Đorđić 1971, 153.



Sl. 28: 1. Tipično slovo **ж** u natpisima; 2. Specifični oblik slova **ж**

Dezartikulacija slova **к** također ima rane potvrde u natpisima, a najranije na Kulinovoj ploči (Sl. 29).



Sl. 29. Varijante slova **к**: 1. ustavno slovo **к** (Gilj.61); 2. dezartikulirano **к** u Petrogradskom evanđelju; 3. tipični izgled slova **к** u natpisima; 4. dezartikulirani oblik slova **к** u Kulinovom imenu

Sredinom 15. stoljeća pojavljuju se natpisi napisani slovnim oblicima potpuno preuzetim iz brzopisa (Sl. 30). Može se reći da je ova pojava posebno vezana za natpise koji u to vrijeme cvjetaju na širem području Hercegovine – naročito u okolini Ljubinja i Stoca.

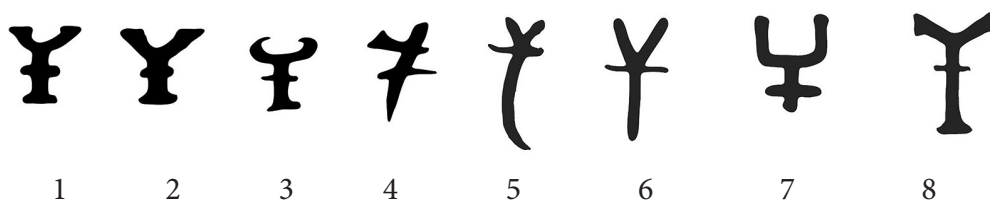


Sl. 30. Slova iz brzopisa u kamenu /a/ /v/ /k/ /n/ /t/ /č/ /ž/ /b/ (Vego br. 88, 89, 60, 79, 74, 80, 75, 45)

Da pri izboru ovog pisma nije bila presudna jednostavnost, može se razumjeti iz prisustva brzopisne forme slova **а**, (Sl. 31) koja je zapravo nepogodna za uklesavanje.



Sl. 31. 1. Brzopisno **а** u 15. st. na kamenu (Vego br. 88, 91, 96, 150); 2. Brzopisno **а** u kancelarijama Tvrtka II 1420. i Stjepana Tomaša 1446.



Sl. 32. Varijante slova ч: 1. Moskovski bifolij; 2. Petrogradsko evanđelje; 3. Kupusac, dijak bana Stjepana 1331. godine; 4. Dušan, logofet Tvrtka II 1420; 5. Milivoj, dijak velikog vojvode Hrvoja 1404; 6. Natpis iz Toplice u župi Lepenici kod Zabrđa 1420; 7. Natpis pod Kočerinom; 8. Natpis iz Paklarskog potoka

I na kraju ovih općih razmatranja o slovima specifičnostima u natpisima stećaka ukazat ću na zastupljenost specifičnog slova ч /č/ u svim tipovima ćirilčnoga pisma koji su u upotrebi u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni. Primjer iskršavanja tog slova važan je pokazatelj koji nam govori da su se svi žanrovi pismenosti doticali i prožimali i da nijedna verzija pisma nije imala neovisan razvoj.

U Petrogradskom, Moskovskom i Batalovom evanđelju specifično slovo za /č/ izgleda kao za 180 stepeni okrenuta forma slova za /c/ (Sl. 32.1,2), što je pojava koja ostavlja dojam estetske simetrije u grafijskom sistemu. Isto slovo ima i Kupusac (Sl. 32.3), dijak bana Stjepana Kotromanića, u svome poluustavu, a zatim u 15. stoljeću to slovo u minuskulnoj formi piše Milivoj u kancelariji velikog vojvode Hrvoja (Sl. 32.5) i logotet Dušan (Sl. 32.4) u kancelariji Tvrtka II. Slovo ч zabilježeno je i na stećcima, imaju ga Kotorac kod Ilidže (Vego br. 207), Paklarski potok kod Travnika (Sl. 32.8, Vego br. 255), Vladevina kod Rogatice (Vego br. 223), Toplica u župi Lepenici (Sl. 32.6, Vego br. 251), Kočerin kod Lištice (Sl. 32.7, Vego br. 1), Gradac kod Konjica (Vego br. 16).

U zaključku se može samo potvrditi kako se razaznaju dva paleografski ponešto različita tipa ćirilice kojom su pisani natpisi stećaka, ali da to ne pomaže u datiranju,²² jer se na dvolinijski tip natpisa nailazi za sve vrijeme prisutnosti ove umjetnosti. Zbog toga bi se radije moglo reći da se ovdje radi (1) o svečanom tipu pisma – ustavnom i (2) o tipu koji upliće elemente minuskule, tačnije brzopisne slovne forme, ali ne četverolinijski aspekt. Koji od dva tipa će biti upotrijebljen zavisi od ranga osobe kojoj se podiže stela nego od umijeća klesara.

Nastojanje da se pismo natpisa definira u evolucijskom smislu uvažava tezu da je proces

razvoja pisma išao od ustava najstarijih spomenika iz 12. i 13. stoljeća, preko poluustava, koji se javlja u 13. stoljeću, do brzopisa koji se oblikuje u 14. stoljeću. Međutim, ono je u suprotnosti s činjenicom da su sva tri tipa grafije naporedo prisutna i nakon 14. stoljeća sve do kraja umjetnosti stećaka. Autori koji zastupaju ovaj model prikaza grafije natpisa u tome vide odraz manjeg ili većeg kašnjenja u razvoju pisma.²³

Evolutivni model koji su zastupali istraživači natpisa bio je i osnovni kriterij za periodizaciju grafije natpisa. Upravo prema tom polazištu Bešlagić ocjenjuje da razdoblje cvjetanja ćirilčke epigrafike u Bosni i Hercegovini počinje u drugoj polovini 14. stoljeća i traje do propasti kraljevstva. Eksplicitno je pak da na brojnost primjeraka utječe promjena u društvu: natpisi pripadnika građanske klase u usponu nose znatniji udio u tom broju, a pismo kojim su oni pisani, kao i njihov jezički izraz, postaju sve prostiji. Iz tog aspekta cvjetanje je izjednačeno s kategorijom kvantiteta, ali sami tekstovi i način pisanja ispoljavaju se zapravo sve više kao opadanje. Oslanjajući se na drugačija mjerila, uvažavajući umijeće izvedbe (vještinu), Tomović cvjetajuće razdoblje natpisa ograničava na vrijeme do sredine 14. stoljeća. Uzima li se, dakle, u obzir kvantitet ili kvalitet, rezultati periodizacije pokazuju se kao dijametralno suprotni.

Evolutivni model u paleografiji više nije održiv, jer je uspostavljena funkcionalna kategorija kojom se nastoji sistematizirati pisanje prema njegovoj namjeni, pa se tip dvolinijskog pisma (ustav) definira kao svečani i sakralni, a četverolinijsko pismo (minuskula) kao poslovno i općenito brže pismo. Pri tom se samo po sebi razumije da dijalektički poticaj za razvoj minuskule, pa ni poluustava, nije mogao proisteći iz pisma tipa

²² Kuna 2008, 284.

²³ Usp. npr. Bešlagić 2015, 28.

ustava. Ostaje ipak otvoreno pitanje šta je pokrenulo grafijsku transformaciju pisma natpisa iz dvolinijskog prema četverolinijskom sistemu.

Summary

The Script of Stećak Inscriptions

An attempt is made in this paper to shed some light on the characteristics of the script used on stećci, taking as the starting point current views on epigraphic Cyrillic in the Southern Slavic area. The term Bosnian epigraphic Cyrillic, suggested by Bešlić for this form of Southern Slavic Cyrillic, assumes the existence of features that allow the script used on Bosnian and Humian stećci to be isolated paleographically. While most such inscriptions use the letter form known as *ustav* (uncial) without ascenders or descenders, links have been posited between this version of “two-line” script and “four-line” diploma hand (viz., the square letter for [v] and the letter form for [č] , as have traces of Glagolitic influence (Ѧ < ѧ [ž]). These factors suggest a timeframe for formation of the script that rules out an evolutionary relationship of priority to miniscule, such as is usually assumed in palaeography. The script of the inscriptions thus forms part of the same tradition as the uncial of the manuscripts, but has undergone a certain degree of transformation under the influence of four-line diploma hand. Given this dualism, a proposal is put forward in the paper for classifying certain types of transformation affecting the uncial script used on the Stećci.

Izvori primjera i ilustracija

Rukopisi

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Giljif.61 Grigorovič-Giljferdingovi fragmenti evanđelja, šest listova u Ruskoj nacionalnoj biblioteci u Sankt Peterburgu, sign. Giljif. 61, digitalne fotografije dostupne na: <http://www.nlr.ru/manuscripts/fondy/elektronnyj-katalog#192?a-b=FA68A4E7-5E48-47E6-9D8A-CD55D-3B2A79B>

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Pripkovićevo evanđelje, tetraevanđelje, crkvenoslavenski bosanskog porijekla, 14–15. stoljeće. Ruska nacionalna biblioteka u Sankt Peterburgu, sign. Giljf. 6. Dostupno na: <http://www.nlr.ru/manuscripts/fondy/elektronnyj-katalog#160?ab=77478FC9-0DD7-4F5A-BAA4-57A5331CE2A8>

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Natpisi

Bešlagić sl. 21 Natpis Mihoila Grahovčića, iz Brajkovića kod Bile, Leksikon stećaka 2004, 210.

Tomović br. 33 Natpis fra Vite, graditelja manastira Dečani, iz 1335. godine, crtež; Dečani, natpis fra Vite na južnom portalu crkve Svetog Spasa, datiran godinama zidanja crkve (1327–1335); Đurić / Babić-Đorđević 1997, crtež, str. 49; fotografija u Đorđić, *Istorija ćirilice*, sl. 87.

Tomović br. 43 Natpis Vratka Čihorića, datiran 5. jula 1349. godine, iz Crkve sv. Nikole u Kuršumlji, prenesen u Niški muzej.

Tomović br. 61 Natpis nepoznatog vojvode iz Rečana, datiran 23. decembra 1370.

Vego br. 1 Natpis Vignja Miloševića iz Kočerina kod Lištice, 1410–1411.

Vego br. 14 Humačka ploča, Humac kod Ljubuškog.

Vego br. 15 Natpis vojvode Masna (Mastan) iz Drežnice, 1355–1357. godine.

Vego br. 16 Natpis Stojšava Miloševića, početak 15. stoljeća, Gradac kod Konjica.

Vego br. 53 Natpis rabe Božije Marije Divice iz 1231. godine, Vidoštak kod Stoca.

Vego br. 60 Natpis Đurena Pekšića, Udora kod Stoca, 16. st.

Vego br. 45 Natpis Radoja, Radimlja kod Stoca, oko 1477.

Vego br. 74 Natpis Petra Vukčića, Boljuni kod Stoca, 15/16. st.

Vego br. 75 Natpis Radića Vladisalića, Boljuni kod Stoca, 15/16. st.

Vego br. 79 Natpis Stane Đurenovice, Boljuni kod Stoca, 15. st.

Vego br. 80 Natpis Ninoja Ljupovčića i sina mu Crjepa, Podgradinje u Gornjem Hrasnu, 15. st.

Vego br. 82 Natpis Radivoja Draščića, 14/15. stoljeće, Gornje Hrasno, Podgradinje kod Trebinja.

Vego br. 88 Natpis Pavla Radovića, Premilovo polje, 15. stoljeće.

Vego br. 89 Natpis Stipka Radosalića, Premilovo Polje kod Ljubinja, 14/15. stoljeće.

Vego br. 91 Natpis Radosava Vukčića, sina Vukca Pićevića, 15. stoljeće, Ljuti do u Dabru polju.

Vego br. 93 Natpis Bogdana Hateljevića, Milavići u Dabru polju, 1391–1404. god.

Vego br. 96 Natpis Vukosava, Vlahovići kod Ljubinja, 15. st.

Vego br. 102 Natpis gospođe Radače, rabe Božije Polihranije, kćeri župana Miltjena Draživojevića, kanzanica Sanka sestre, kućnice župana Nenca Čihorića, Veličani, Popovo polje, 1377–1391. god.

Vego br. 110 Natpis Dobrila Pribilovića, Staro Slano, 14/15. st.

Vego br. 111 Natpis Dobrila Božićkovića, Staro Slano, prva pol. 15. st.

Vego br. 150 Natpis Ivana Mrčića, Fatnica kod Bileće, 15. st.

Vego br. 178 gospođa Gojsava, kći Jurja Balšića, kućnica vojvode Radića, prista u kući kanzanica Sanka i župana Bilijaka, Biskup kod Konjica, 1398. A se leži gospođa Gojsava.

Vego br. 205 Natpis Ivana iz Prečana, Prečko polje, Treskavica, 14/15. st.

Vego br. 207 Natpis Bogčina, sina kneza Stipka Ugarčića, Kotorac kod Ilidže, 15. st.

Vego br. 211 Natpis Bogdana Ozrjenovića iz Blaževića, uzidan u vanjski zid pravoslavne crkve u Rogatici, poslije 1486. god.

- Vego br. 218 Natpis Grubače, supruge vojvode Miotoša, Seljani kod Rogatice, 15. st.
- Vego br. 222 Natpis vojevode Miotoša, iz Vladevine kod Rogatice prenesen u vrt Zemaljskog muzeja, GZM 1889, knj. I, str. 751.
- Vego br. 223 Natpis Vlatka Vladevića, iz Vladevine kod Rogatice prenesen u vrt Zemaljskog muzeja, 1399–1415. god.
- Vego br. 242 Natpis Radovana Pribilovića iz Ričice kod Kraljeve Sutjeske prenesen u samostan, 15. st.
- Vego br. 248 Natpis Božićka Banovića, Banovići, 14. st.
- Vego br. 251 Natpis velikoga kneza bosanskoga Radaja iz Toplice u župi Lepenici kod Zabrđa 1420. god.
- Vego br. 252 Natpis velikog sudije Gradiše, iz Podbrežja kod Zenice, poslije 1193. god., sada u Muzeju u Zenici.
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- Vego br. 255 Natpis iz Paklarskog potoka kod Gornjeg Turbeta blizu Travnika prenesen u Zavičajni muzej u Travniku, 1451. god.; slova kao gotička, Bešliagić sl. 68.
- Vego br. 257 Natpis tepčije Batala, Gornje Turbe kod Travnika, poslije 1400. god.
- Vego br. 260 Natpis Radivoja Ilića, Lipa kod Livna, 15. st.; također slika u Bešliagić, *Leksikon*, sl. 179.

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Novi listovi Vrutočkog bosanskog četveroevandjelja

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Abstract: The paper discusses new sheets of the Bosnian Gospels, stored in the Serbian Patriarchate Library in Belgrade under the signatures no. 313. A preserved fragment of the Gospel text consists of six parchments, which contents are parts of The Gospels of Matthew and Mark. Through an analysis, the sheets were identified as a part of the Vrutok Gospel, a Medieval Bosnian manuscript dating from the end of the 14th century, and on this occasion the most important palaeographic and linguistic features of the passages are presented.

Key words: Vrutok Gospels, new pages, Library of Serbian Patriarchate in Belgrade, language, handwriting

Godine 2016. u Beogradu je, povodom održavanja 23. međunarodnog kongresa vizantijskih studija, u organizaciji Srpske akademija nauka i umetnosti postavljena izložba “Svet srpske rukopisne knjige (XII–XVII vek)”. Izložbu je pratio katalog u kojem su objavljeni faksimili izloženih eksponata, dok su u popratnim tekstovima dani najvažniji kodikološki podaci o prezentiranim rukopisima te kratak opis kojem je dodana najrelevantnija literatura o svakom od njih. Prelistavajući katalog, posebnu pažnju privukla mi je stranica četveroevandjelja koja čini dio fragmenta od šest listova pohranjenih u Biblioteci Srpske patrijaršije pod signaturnom oznakom br. 313. Upečatljiva sličnost objavljene stranice sa rukopisom Vrutočkog bosanskog evandjelja¹ bila je očigledna, ali je pripadnost fragmenta ovom rukopisu trebalo dodatno ispitati, pri čemu je od presudne

važnosti bilo pitanje da li ovaj dio evanđeoskog teksta nedostaje Vrutočkom rukopisu.²

Prema opisu koji prati faksimil, čiji je autor M. Ubiparip,³ a na osnovu *Inventara rukopisa Biblioteke Srpske patrijaršije*⁴ koji su sačinili Z. Ranković, V. Vukašinović i R. Stanković, saznaje se da su listovi pisani na pergamentu, dimenzije su 178 x 117 mm. Za četveroevandjelje se tvrdi da je pisano u 13. stoljeću te da pripada “zapadnoj skupini crkvenoslavenskih rukopisa”, čiji su tekstovi prepoznatljivi po tome što u njima nema znakova interpunkcije, čak ni tačke, a od nadrednih znakova pojavljuje se samo titla.⁵ Ubiparip navodi i ove podatke o pismu i jeziku fragmenta: slovo *đerv*, koje je dugo ostalo sačuvano u knjigama iz bosanskih krajeva, zatim primjeri zamjene suglasnika *ѣ* sa *н*, čak i njihovo mijesanje; u fragmentu se javljaju primjeri vokalizacije poluglasa u jakoj poziciji, dok fonetska osobina

¹ Vrutočko bosansko četveroevandjelje pripada porodici Popović iz sela Vrutok kod Gostivara. Na osnovu bilješki koje su na marginama upisali raniji vlasnici, vjerovatno se rukopis nalazio u Vrutoku već prije 1865. godine (Nakaš 2015, 639). O tome kako je ovaj srednjovjekovni bosanski kodeks došao u posjed porodice Popović, nema sigurnih podataka. Osim toga, u rukopisu nije sačuvan kolofon, tako da nemamo podatke o prvobitnom vlasniku, mjestu i vremenu pisanja kodeksa.

² L. Nakaš nedavno je ustanovila da su Beličevi listići dio Vrutočkog rukopisa. Pored sličnosti slova koju je uočio još Grujić (1937: 267), najuvjerljiviji argument je kontinuitet teksta jer se na posljednje redove Mostarskog bifolija (1b) nadovezuju početni redovi Vrutočkog rukopisa (1a) (Nakaš 2013: 9).

³ Ubiparip 2016, 257–259.

⁴ Ranković et al. 2012, 300.

⁵ M. Ubiparip na osnovu ovih odlika utvrđuje njihovu “припадност групи српских јеванђеља са западног терена” (2016: 257).

koja ovaj odlomak naročito približava knjigama pisanim u skriptorijima jugoistočnih bosanskih prostora (kao što je Čajničko evanđelje) jesu rijetki ikavski refleksi jata (*tilesi, na kolinu*).⁶

Sadržaj stranice objavljene u spomenutom katalogu čini kraj Matejeva evanđelja i početak popisa glava Evanđelja po Marku (Mt. 28:14 – Mk. 0:8). Provjerom sadržaja teksta Vrutočkog četveroevanđelja, koje je nedavno izdao Međunarodni forum Bosna (ur. L. Nakaš 2015), pokazalo se da upravo ovaj dio danas nedostaje Vrutočkom evanđelju.⁷ Time je postalo jasno da fragment pripada ovom kodeksu, što je usporedbom rukopisâ pokazala i paleografska analiza. Iako kvadratični tip poluustava kojim su pisani fragmenti već na osnovu vizuelnog utiska govori da je autor odlomka pisar Vrutočkog evanđelja, detaljnija paleografska analiza samo je dodatno potvrdila takvu pretpostavku. Od posebnih slovnih formi izdvaja se karakteristično pisanje slova *uk* Ѣ, sa vodoravnom crticom na spoju jakog i slabog dijela slova, zatim slova *č* Ѳ u morfološkoj varijanti tipičnoj upravo za pisara Vrutočkog rukopisa. I jezičke osobine odlomaka podudaraju se s onima koje su u posljednjem istraživanju izolirane kao najvažnije odlike Vrutočkog evanđelja: fragment sadrži primjere ikavizma, baš kao što i Vrutočko evanđelje pripada skupini najjače ikaviziranih,⁸ zatim se bilježe primjeri vokalizacije poluglasa u jakom položaju, prelaska *въ > u* itd.

Ljubazni uposlenici Biblioteke Srpske patrijaršije dozvolili su mi uvid u sačuvane listove, a na osnovu pregleda stranicâ može se reći da je kompletan fragment u odličnom stanju, bez bilo kakvih oštećenja. Na horizontalnim marginama očuvani su Euzebijevi kanoni, kao što su uostalom očuvani u kompletnom kodeksu. Nažalost, ovi fragmenti ne sadrže glose, čijim je otkrivanjem Vrutočki rukopis već postao čuven. Naime, L. Nakaš nedavno je otkrila dvadeset novih glosa u ovom evanđelju, od kojih se čak devet tekstualno podudara sa glosama izgubljenog Srećkovićevog evanđelja.⁹

⁶ Ubiparip 2016, 259.

⁷ U izdanju Vrutočkog evanđelja (2015) posljednja stranica Matejeva evanđelja završava stihom 27:7 Svěť že stворише, kupише imъ selo skudilьni(...), a sačuvani dio Markova evanđelja počinje od 2:27 (...) S(y)нъ Čl(o)v(ě)č(ь)sky suboti...

⁸ Nakaš 2015, 674.

⁹ Usp. Nakaš 2012; 2015, 665–673.

Listovi Beogradske patrijaršije sadrže nekoliko iluminacija, a najzanimljiviji je inicijal *п*, izveden na sličan način kako su izvedeni i inicijali *н* u Vrutočkom rukopisu:



Na osnovu prepisanih prvih redova evanđeoskog teksta sada se može precizno utvrditi kompletan sadržaj ovih listova:

1. list: (a) Mt. 27:28–39; (b) Mt. 27:40–49
2. list: (a) Mt. 27:50–60; (b) Mt. 27:61–28:3
- 3 list: (a) Mt. 28:4–14; (b) Mt. 28:15–Mk. 0:8
4. list: (a) Mk. 1:14–24; (b) Mk. 1:25–35
5. list: (a) Mk. 1:36–2:1; (b) Mk. 2:2–11
6. list: (a) Mk. 2:12–19; (b) Mk. 2:20–26

Međutim, ni sadržaj ovog fragmenta ne ide u kontinuitetu. Stranica 3b završava 8. glavom (н ѡ нзъбранн апѣтоль), a nakon nje nedostaje list koji sadrži ostatak popisa glava te tekst početka Markova evanđelja (1:1–14). S obzirom na to da nedostaje upravo ovaj list, to upućuje na mogućnost da je on nekada ranije izdvojen iz kodeksa, možda baš zbog iluminacije koja dolazi prije teksta.

Inače, listovi koji su danas pohranjeni u Biblioteci Srpske patrijaršije u Beogradu bili su sastavnim dijelom Vrutočkog četveroevanđelja u vrijeme kada su prvi istraživači ovoga rukopisa pisali svoje prikaze. To saznajemo na osnovu primjera koje izdvaja M. Grujić u radu o Vrutočkom kodeksu.¹⁰ Naime, Grujić navodi primjere s kraja Matejeva i početka Markova evanđelja, dakle upravo one koji pripadaju beogradskim listovima. Na osnovu toga je L. Nakaš pretpostavila da dva ili tri bifolija možda još uvijek postoje, “s obzirom na to da je vrijednost ovih listova sadašnjem vlasniku poznata, jer su prije nestanka bili predmet filološke analize”.¹¹ Moguće je da je Grujić izdvojio ove fragmente u vrijeme kada je pisao prikaz, ali oni očito kasnije nisu pridruženi kodeksu, nego su nepoznatim putem došli u Bibli-

¹⁰ Grujić 1937.

¹¹ Nakaš 2015, 644.

oteku Srpske patrijaršije u Beogradu. Zanimljivo je da su se u Grujićevom prikazu našli neki primjeri iz rukopisa, poput ϣⲣⲉⲥⲧ u Mt. 27:60,¹² koji upućuje na zapadnoštokavsko područje, što naročito naglašava H. Kuna.¹³ Lik ϣⲣⲉⲥⲧ posebno je interesantan s obzirom na to da su primjeri pojave *re < ro* u bosanskim evanđeljima iznimno rijetka pojava.

Leksičke varijante iz ovih fragmenata navodi i I. Grickat u studiji o Divoševom evanđelju,¹⁴ ali se čini da je gotovo kompletan spisak primjera preuzet iz Grujićevog rada. Kao ni Grujić, ni Grickat ne navodi primjere sa stranice koja sadrži sami početak Markova evanđelja (1:1–14).

U svakom slučaju, otkrivanje ovih listova i njihovo identificiranje vrijedno je zbog toga što se njima upotpunjuje još jedan bosanski rukopis – u ovom slučaju Vrutočko četveroevanđelje. To je posebno značajno kada se ima u vidu činjenica da je većina bosanskih srednjovjekovnih knjiga do naših dana preživjela u nepotpunom obliku, pa je upotpunjavanje svake od njih izuzetno vrijedno istraživačima. Nadamo se da će Beogradska patrijaršija u skorijoj budućnosti dozvoliti digitaliziranje ovih listova kako bi se oni što prije podvrgnuli detaljnijoj filološkoj analizi.

Summary

New sheets from the Bosnian Vrutok Gospels

In Belgrade, in 2016, an exhibition “The World of Serbian Manuscripts (12th–17th centuries)” organized by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, was set up. The exhibition was followed by an exhibition catalogue in which the facsimiles were published. Browsing the Catalogue, my attention has been drawn to a page of the Gospels which forms a part of the fragment of six sheets stored in the Library of the Serbian Patriarchate under the signature no. 313. Significant

similarity of the published sheet with the handwriting of The Bosnian Vrutok Gospels was obvious, and its content makes the end of Matthew’s Gospel and the beginning of a list of the chapters of The Gospel According to Mark. By checking the content of the text of the Vrutok Gospels, which was recently published by the International Forum Bosnia (2015), it turned out that precisely this part today is missing. This made it clear that the fragment belongs to this codex, which was also demonstrated by the comparison of handwritings using paleographic analysis. The sheets that are stored today at the Serbian Patriarchate Library in Belgrade were an integral part of the Vrutok Gospels at the time when the first researchers of this manuscript¹⁵ wrote their impressions, but later, for unknown reasons, they were separated from the codex.

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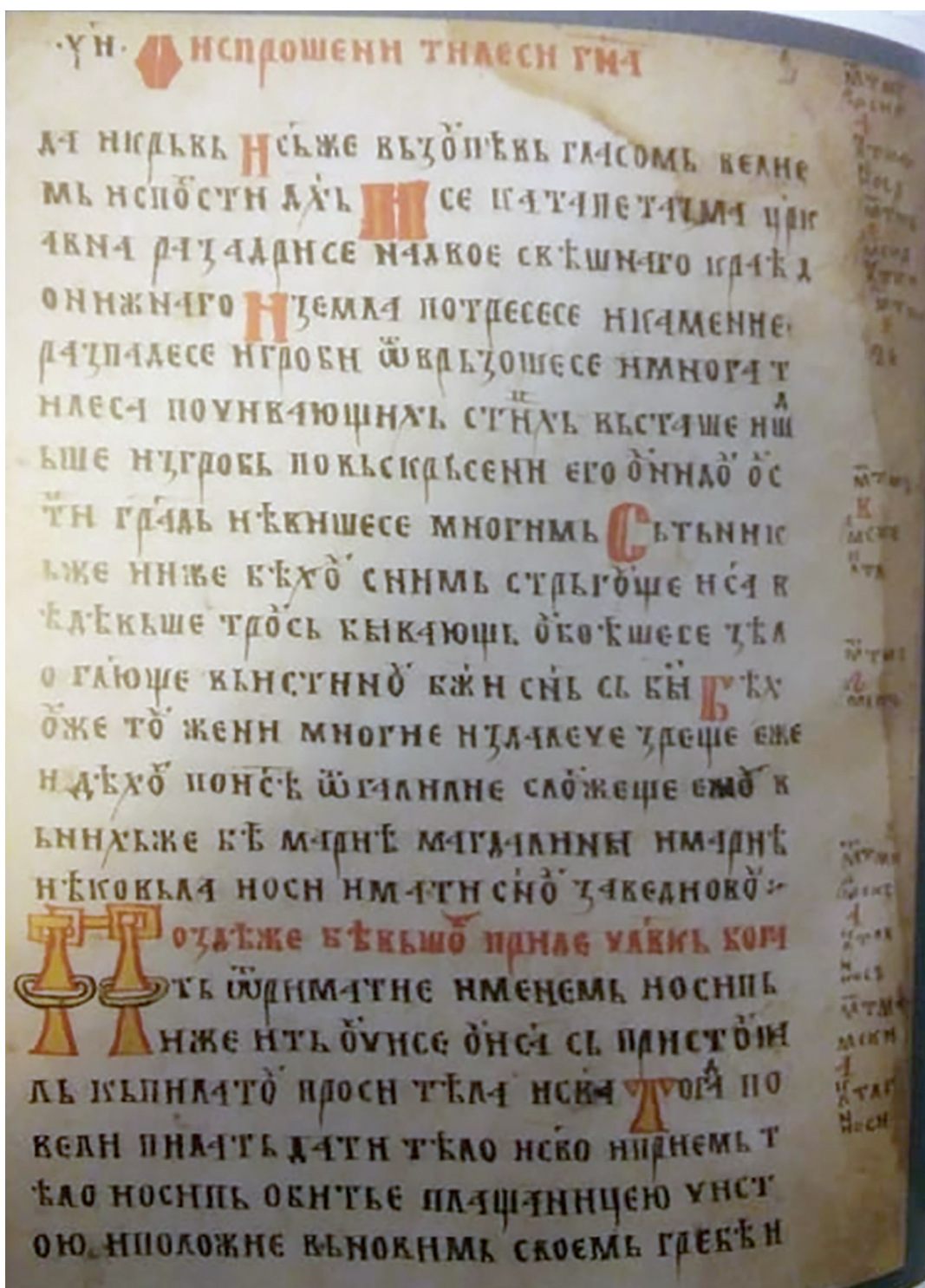
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¹² Grujić 1937, 257.

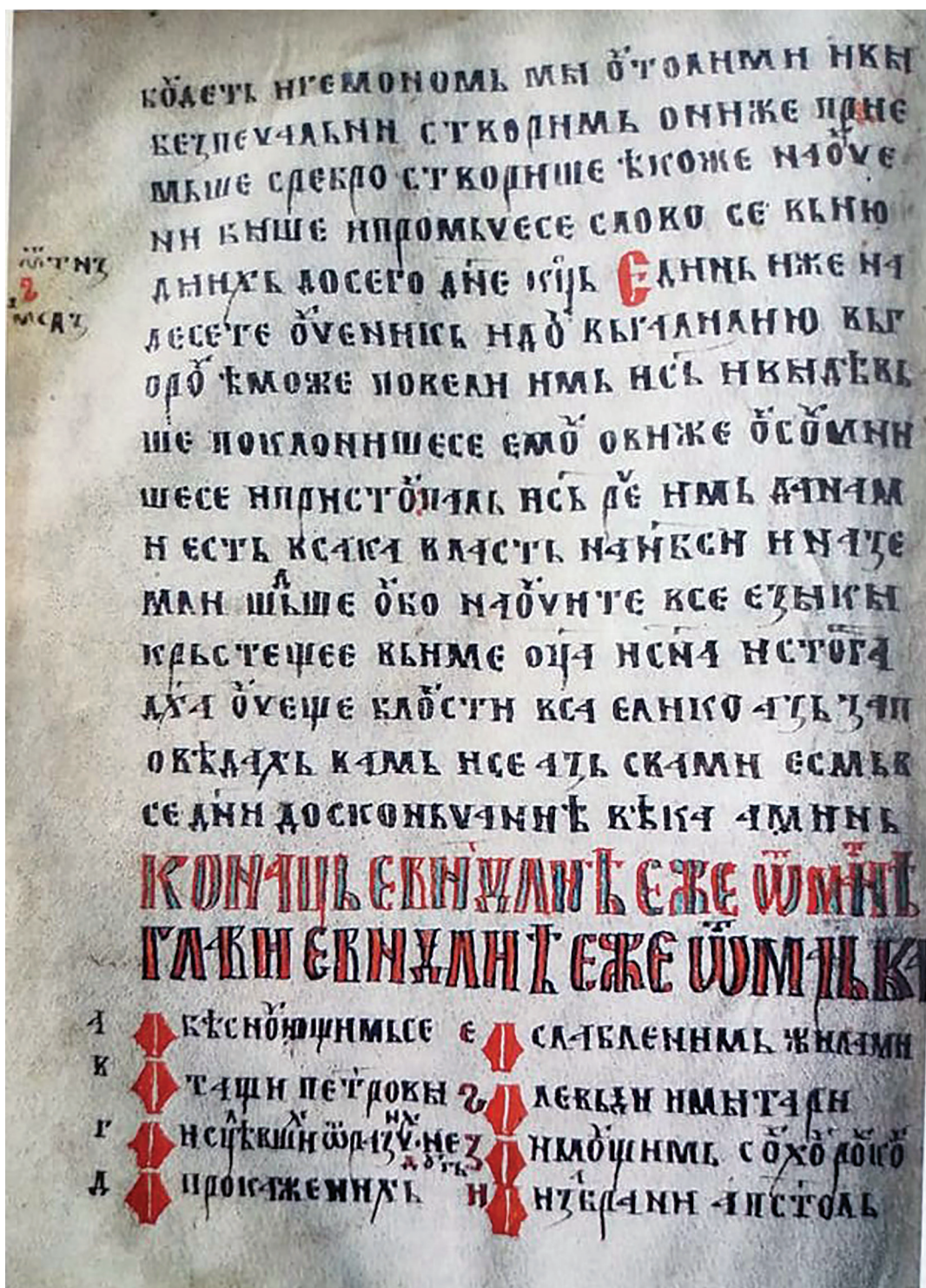
¹³ Kuna 2008, 110.

¹⁴ Grickat 1961–1962, 272.

¹⁵ Grujić 1937; Grickat 1961.



Slika 1. Vrutočko četveroevangelje, odlomak br. 313, str. 2a
 (Katalog "Inventar rukopisa Biblioteke Srpske patrijaršije", str. 74)



Slika 2. Vrućko četveroevangelje, odlomak br. 313, str. 3b
 (Katalog "Svet srpske rukopisne knjige (XII–XVII vek)", str. 258)

O organizaciji i načinu funkcioniranja sudske vlasti u kadiluku Tešanj u drugoj polovini 18. stoljeća

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Abstract: Rad predstavlja historijsku rekonstrukciju organizacije i načina funkcioniranja sudske vlasti u međuprostoru Tešnja, Maglaja i Žepča. Pitanje se promatra u povijesnoj vertikali od ulaska tog kraja pod osmansku vlast, osnivanja zasebne sudske jedinice za to područje, njegovog pozicioniranja u sistemu organizacije sudske vlasti u Bosni, do samog ustroja i organizacije službi u navedenom kadiluku, među kojima su: kadija, naib, katib, muhziri, pomoćne službe i "svjedoci čina". Na primjeru tog kadiluka istovremeno se ukazuje na način organizacije i funkcioniranja nekih sudskih okruga kod nas. Na temelju izvora donosi se lista nosilaca pojedinih službi pri ovom sudu, ukazuje na specifičnosti koje se uočavaju u hronološkom redoslijedu obavljanja funkcije kadije ili neke druge službe te donose primjeri njihove prakse kako su je dokumentirali izvori. Razmatraju se i neka pitanjima devijantnih pojava koje su pratile rad sudskih institucija ili nosilaca pojedinih funkcija u pravosudnim ustanovama kadiluka Tešanj.

Key words: *qazā* of Tešanj, *qādī*, *naib*, *katib*, *muhzir*, assisting services, judiciary jury (*şühûdü'l-hâl*)

Nastanak kadiluka Tešanj

Područje Tešnja pod osmansku vlast došlo je početkom 16. stoljeća, najvjerovatnije između 1512. i 1520. godine.¹ Prema nekim istraživanjima, sve su prilike da se to dogodilo oktobra 1512. godine.² Proces uspostave vlasti, adaptacije prostora u osmanski administrativni i društveno-ekonomski sistem potrajao je deceniju-dvije, jer je navedeni kraj dugo bio pograničje, što je ostavilo ne samo ekonomske nego i demografske posljedice na sam Tešanj i njegovo okruženje. Rezultati tog oporavka vidljivi su već do 1530. godine, kada izvori govore da je Tešanj mjesto s 36 domaćinstava, a samo deceniju kasnije nalazimo znatno više domova (65), što je višestruk pozitivan trend za sam grad, ali i cjelokupno područje.³ Tvrdava u Tešnju bila je u svojoj osnovnoj namjenskoj vojnoj funkciji i služila je za smještaj vojne posade, a vjerovatno i za dio organa civilne vlasti neophodne za funkcioniranje administracije, poseb-

no do potpune stabilizacije uprave i afirmacije otvorenog dijela grada, odnosno civilnog naselja. Za kratko vrijeme sistem uprave u potpunosti je stabiliziran i organiziran tako da je nahija Tešanj formirana i teritorijalno zaokružena do 1550. godine, kada se prema dostupnim izvorima spominje prvi put.⁴ Toj nahiji prvobitno su pripadali gradovi Tešanj i Doboj s još 45 naseljenih mjesta, bilo da je riječ o samostalnim selima ili njihovim pridruženim naseljima, dakle zasecima. U sudskom smislu, do formiranja zasebnog kadiluka, Tešanj i njegova okolina pripadali su kadiluku Brod,⁵ a potom, kada su se stekli uvjeti za izvjesnu reorganizaciju sudske podjele, osnovan je zaseban kadiluk sa sjedištem u Tešnju, što je logičan slijed u procesu uspostave i zaokruživanja sistema vlasti i uprave u jednom području koje je ulazilo u sastav Osmanskog Carstva. Nemamo izričitu potvrdu, ali se pretpostavlja da je kadiluk Tešanj osnovan između 1566. i 1584. godine.

¹ Handžić 1974, 161-162.

² Mrgić 2008, 158.

³ Husić 2012, 301-318.

⁴ Tahrir Defteri, No. 432, 499-500.

⁵ Kadiluk Brod obuhvatao je nahije: Bobovac, Brod i Lašvu, dakle, područje Kaknja, Zenice i Travnika.

Najkraće, obuhvatao je međuprostor Tešnja, Doboj, Maglaja i Žepča.⁶ Jedan od kriterija koji je nametao potrebu formiranja kadiluka u nekom području bio je broj stanovnika, posebno broj muslimana, kojem je u tom slučaju neophodan kadija. Kako je to bilo u neposrednoj vezi s nastankom i formiranjem kadiluka, ovdje ćemo se ukratko osvrnuti i na to pitanje.

U vrijeme formiranja kadiluka i na širem tešanjskom području bilo je organizirano pet nahija: Usora, Ozren, Maglaj, Trebetin i Tešanj. Na prostoru tih pet nahija dokumentirana su 3.394 domaćinstva. Odmah pada u oči velika razlika među nahijama, pri čemu se Tešanj i Maglaj svojom brojnošću domaćinstava izdvajaju u odnosu na ostale nahije. Ako se posmatra distribucija stanovništva, uočljivo je da je samo u te dvije nahije živjelo 80% žiteljstva kadiluka, dok je u tri male "patuljaste" nahije (Usora, Ozren i Trebetin) živjelo svega 20% stanovništva teritorija koji je zahvatao kadiluk Tešanj. U području koje je pripadalo kadiluku do početka 17. stoljeća evidentirano je 150 seoskih naselja, s mnogobrojnim selištima, čiflucima koji su postepeno naseljavani i prerastali u manja ili veća naseljena mjesta u kasnijim razdobljima. Želimo istaći da su također već formirana i razvijala se četiri gradska naselja, i to: Tešanj, Doboj, Maglaj i Žepče. Osim Žepča, sva tri ostala imala su vojne posade i predstavljala su i vojne centre. Za razliku od nahija Tešanj i Maglaj, gdje se duh islama osjećao snažnije i gdje su muslimani veoma rano činili većinu stanovništva (56,5%), nemuslimani su bili u nešto manjem broju (43,5%), bez obzira na to što je to područje kojim su prolazile vlaške mase u svom kretanju ka zapadu ili sjeverozapadu, dio kojih se zaustavio upravo oko Maglaja i Tešnja.⁷ To je bilo znatno vidljivije i uočljivije na teritoriju malih nahija Ozren, Usora i Trebetin, koje su zajedno brojale svega 27 naselja s 8 selišta (*mezri*). Svaka od ove tri nahije imala je domaćinstava kao neka manja ili osrednja gradska naselja u to vrijeme u Bosni, dok su sve tri zajedno imale domaćinstava kao razvijenije gradsko naselje, približno koliko sam Travnik u to doba (693). Sve tri malene nahije imale su ukupno 672 dokumentirana domaćinstva, dakle i manje od Travnika. U vrijeme formiranja kadiluka, broj

muslimana u njima nije bio dostigao ni 15%, jer su te tri nahije, podložne izrazitim migracionim procesima i naseljavanju Vlaha, pokazale veću zatvorenost spram utjecaja islamske duhovnosti.⁸ S druge strane, dvije temeljne nahije Tešanj i Maglaj imale su dokumentirana 2.722 domaćinstva. Takvo je stanje bilo na području u vrijeme formiranja kadiluka Tešanj. Kao područje s više gradskih naselja, pa i zavidnim brojem stanovništva i disperzijom naseljenih mjesta, očito da jedan kadija nije mogao podmirivati i stizati sve poslove na jednom tako širokom prostoru. Stoga je bilo neophodno u sudski sistem tog područja uvesti i pomoćnike, odnosno zamjenike (*naibe*) ili zastupnike kadije u nekim od tih mjesta. Tu je tvrdnju još davno istakao Hazim Šabanović⁹ te je uočio da su tešanjске kadije svoje *naibe* imale u Žepču i Maglaju. Opravdanost takve teze potvrđuju i izvori iz kasnijeg perioda, posebno ovi iz druge polovine 18. stoljeća. Međutim, na osnovu jednog izvora H. Šabanović je iznio konstataciju da je krajem 18. stoljeća Tešanj pripadao Maglajskom kadiluku.¹⁰ Osim što se to ne može potvrditi niti jednim izvorom iz 18. ne može ni izvorima iz 19. stoljeća.¹¹

Kadiluk Tešanj u rangiranju kadiluka

Evlija Čelebija nije prošao kroz Tešanj niti u njegovoj blizini te ga prema tome i ne spominje. Bilo bi vrlo dragocjeno njegovo zapažanje o Tešnju, kojega smo nažalost uskraćeni. No, negdje približno u isto vrijeme sačuvani su neki drugi izvori koji nam daju mogućnosti pozicioniranja kadiluka Tešanj, kako u užem tako i u širem teritorijalnom okviru. Vojni sudija rumelijskog dijela Osmanskog Carstva sačinio je (1667/68) popis 361 kadiluka u evropskom dijelu carstva, podijeljenih u 12 kategorija. Prema toj klasifikaciji kadiluk Tešanj nalazio se u tzv. "salise" kategoriji, što bi u pojednostavljenoj varijanti u redoslijedu hijerarhijski bio šesti "razred" od ukupno dvanaest razreda u rangiranju kadiluka. On se dakle nalazio u samoj sredini, gdje se prema navedenoj kategorizaciji nalazilo ukupno 36 kadi-

⁶ Šabanović 1982, 150, 184.

⁷ Handžić 1990, 57-66; 1994, 19-31.

⁸ Nametak 2000, 455-475; 2000a, 291-385; Handžić 1984, 129-146; 1994, 235-248.

⁹ Šabanović 1982, 150, 184.

¹⁰ Šabanović 1942, 343.

¹¹ Bojanić-Lukač / Katić 2005.

luka. Na prostoru Bosanskog ejaleta u tu grupu spadali su još kadiluci: Akhisar (Prusac), Pljevlja (Tašluca), Tuzla (Memlehatejn), Osijek, Valpovo, Bosna-Brod (Travnik-Zenica), Mostar, Požega i Mitrovica.¹² Prema tom izvoru kadiluk se definira na sljedeći način: “Tešanj, u Bosanskom sandžaku. (Nalazi se) dvadeset sedam konaka.¹³ Okružuju ga kadiluci Jajce, Bijeljina i Derventa.”

Iz jednog kasnijeg izvora, pozicija kadiluka definirana je na sljedeći način: “Kadiluk Tešanj je u Bosanskom sandžaku; dvadeset i sedam konaka. Unaokolo su kadiluci Derventa i Jajce.”¹⁴ Nije poznato iz kojeg vremena tačno potječe izvor, ali se zna da je njegov prijepis nastao sredinom 18. stoljeća (1745).¹⁵ U Bosanskom sandžaku bilo je formirano 15 kadiluka, među kojima i Tešanj. U to vrijeme on je predstavljao jedan od 48 kadiluka koliko je Bosanski ejalet imao na svome prostoru. U takvoj sudskoj podjeli i organizaciji kadiluk Tešanj se nalazio tokom 18. stoljeća.

O organizaciji sudske vlasti

U sistemu osmanske vlasti, administracije i uprave kadija je imao vrlo značajnu ulogu i posebno mjesto. Stoga su ga imenovali organi centralne, a ne pokrajinske vlasti, od kojih je u tom smislu bio potpuno nezavisan. Njihov osnovni zadatak bio je kontrola provedbe zakona i nadležnih akata u djelokrugu njihove nadležnosti, bez obzira na to odakle dolazili, iz pokrajinskih ili centralnih nivoa vlasti. Stoga svi akti i jesu dolazili najprije namjesniku, a on ih je obavezno prosljeđivao kadiji.¹⁶ Osim toga, i ono što se tiče nižih nivoa vlasti i uprave ili pojedinačni akti išli su preko kadije.

U svome radu kadija se oslanjao na šerijatsko pravo. Shodno tome, imao je potpunu nadležnost nad muslimanima, a nad nemuslimanima tek djelimično, i to u krivičnim pitanjima. U običajnim, nasljednim i sl. pitanjima nemuslimani su imali potpunu autonomiju. Na zahtjev stranke kadija je imao obavezu voditi postupak i za nemuslimane, s tim da je u tom slučaju pri-

mjenjivao šerijatsko pravo.¹⁷ U ekonomskoj sferi, imao je ulogu nadzornog organa kontrole tržišta, obavezu kontrole cijena prehrambenih artikala na tržištu, a posebno u sferi zakonitog razreza pojedinih poreza nadgledanje njihovog ubiranja te nadzora i praćenja blagovremenog i besprijekornog izvršavanja naredbi viših instanci.¹⁸ S obzirom na širinu prostora, broj stanovništva, brojnost predmeta, obaveza i poslova koje je trebalo izvršavati, kadija nije mogao sam raditi i nadzirati sve što je bilo u njegovoj nadležnosti i obavezi. On je imao pomoćnike koji su činili dio kadijinog ureda i bili mu podređeni. To su najčešće bili: zamjenik (*naib*), ostavinski djelatelj (*kassam*), tržišni inspektor (*muhtesib*), pisar (*katib*), građevinski inspektor (*mimar*), sudski policajac (*muhzir*) i “svjedoci čina” (*şühûdül-hâl*) kao poseban, iako vanjski, gotovo redovan segment rada pravosudnih institucija.¹⁹ Izvan samog sudskog sistema i kadijinog ureda postojale su i neke druge “vanjske pomoćne službe” koje su bile obavezne sarađivati i pomagati kadiji u vršenju njegove funkcije. To su bili: upravitelji vakufa (*mutevelije*), čehaje esnafa, subaša, spahija, zatim predstavnici pojedinih društvenih grupa ili naseljenih mjesta.²⁰

Ovdje trebamo spomenuti još jednu instituciju koja nije izravno bila dio pravosuđa, ali su itekako bili međusobno povezani u praksi. To je institucija muftije, koji je predstavljao najvažnije konsultativno i savjetodavno tijelo kadije u nekim pravnim pitanjima.²¹ Odluka kadije umnogome je zavisila od fetve, koju muftija o nekim pitanjima izdaje i na zahtjev kadije te po potrebi dostavlja sudu. Kadija se morao ravnati s odredbama fetvi, što u jednom izvoru imamo izravno zasvjedočeno. Naime, u jednom zemljišnom sporu, koji je trebao riješiti tešanjski kadija Omer (1757), njemu se nalaže da treba “stvar ispitati i uzeti uvida u odredbe fetve”.²² U pitanjima za koje ni sam kadija nije imao jasnu pravnu osnovu, on se obraćao muftiji kao konsultativnoj instanci i

¹⁷ Sućeska 1965, 48.

¹⁸ Šabanović 1973, 19-20; Sućeska 1965, 49-51; Aličić 1983, 47-54.

¹⁹ Ipširli 2004, 322-323; Aydin 2004, 543-546.

²⁰ Ipširli 2004, 323; Aydin 2003, 341-344; 2004, 543-546; Aličić 1983, 47-54.

²¹ Aydin 2003, 341-344; 2004, 543-546; Jennings 1978, 134-135.

²² NUBBiH Rs. 832, fo. 57. (prijevod: Abdulah Polimac, Salih Trako i Lamija Hadžiosmanović)

¹² Istanbul, Belediye Kitablığı, No. K13, 28-43; Özergin 1988, 253, 261.

¹³ Ovdje se podrazumijeva 27 konaka udaljenosti od Istanbula.

¹⁴ Šabanović 1942, 308, 314, 343; Bašagić 1930, 177-179.

¹⁵ Šabanović 1942, 308, 314.

¹⁶ Akdağ 1971, 75-81.

od njega tražio fetvu o nekom pitanju, na temelju čega je kasnije donosio sudsku odluku.

Svoje svakodnevne poslove kadija je obavljao u namjenskim prostorijama – sudnici (*mehkema*) ili pak namjenskom objektu. U razvijenijim mjestima sjedište kadije obično se nalazilo u centru grada uz neki reprezentativan objekat, ili pak u blizini glavne džamije.²³ U sva tri mjesta Tešanjskog kadiluka gdje se sudilo postojale su zgrade ili odaje suda (*mehkeme*). To se vidi i iz podneska stanovništva koje se žali da su kadije oduvijek sjedile u sudskim prostorijama (*mehkema*), a da se u praksu uvode neke stvari koje ne priliče sudskom kodeksu, to jest pretvaranje prakse suđenja u “mobilno suđenje”. Dakle, kadije ili naibi povremeno su “išli na teren” izvan službenih prostorija. No, žalba ne sadrži samo taj vid kršenja kodeksa i pravne prakse. Uz to su kadije nepravedno sudile i izlasci su im koristili više kao pokriće za druge stvari, kao što su besplatna ishrana i besplatno konačenje. Taj dodatni teret stanovništvo je teško podnosilo i zato se žalilo.²⁴

Broj sudskog personala nije bio strogo propisan i varirao je u odnosu na mnogobrojne faktore, prvenstveno rang kadiluka te druge prilike lokalnog karaktera, veličinu teritorija, gustinu naseljenosti, broj stanovništva i naravno obim poslova koji su dolazili kadiji na dnevni red. Ipak postojao je jedan minimum za funkcioniranje suda, a to su, osim kadije, pisar (*katib*) i sudski izvršitelj (*muhzir*), što je bilo neophodno za normalno funkcioniranje.²⁵ Ostalo je zavisilo od naprijed istaknutih okolnosti, kao što je broj službi pri sudu i broj ljudi u pojedinim službama. Sasvim sigurno službe pri sudu, kao i broj izvršilaca, bili su različiti i u tom pogledu praksa i stanje bili su drugačiji od suda do suda. Kada je u pitanju sjedište kadiluka u Tešnju, u pravnom segmentu sud su zajednički opsluživali kadija i njegov naib, dok su u ispostavama Maglaj i Žepče to radili samo naibi.

U principu, jedno od pravila u pravosudnom sistemu bilo je da mještalinin ne može obavljati službu kadije ili naiba. Otuda su, dakle, kadije i naibi i u kadiluku Tešanj morali potjecati izvan prostora kadiluka. I pored toga, malo je podataka iz kojih se može doznati odakle su pojedine

kadije. Tek kod nekih, po nadimcima *Travniki, Saraji* i sl., moguće je vidjeti mjesto porijekla. Za Muharemiju kadiju 1752. godine zna se da je iz Sarajeva. Ali očito je bilo pokušaja da se poneka od lokalnih osoba domogne barem pomoćničke službe naiba u kadiluku. Stanovnici su bili izričito protiv toga i uvijek su reagovali podnošenjem peticija nadležnim instancama za njihovu smjenu.

O nosiocima sudske vlasti na području kadiluka

I pored obilja dokumenata iz dugog vremenskog perioda izvori ne pružaju previše prostora za praćenje imena na pozicijama kadija u Tešnju, tako da ih je dokumentiran relativno mali broj u odnosu na vremenski okvir koji obuhvataju dokumenti iz druge polovine 18. stoljeća. Prema onome što nalazimo u sidžilu iz druge polovine 18. stoljeća,²⁶ na položaju kadija u Tešnju koji su rješavali neka od naprijed istaknutih pitanja te unosili dokumente u sidžil bili su: Husein ef. (1752–1753),²⁷ Mustafa ef. (1753–1754),²⁸ ponovo Mustafa (1755–1756),²⁹ Omer ef. (1757), hadži Alija (1757), Hasan ef. (1758), Mehmed Čurčić (1788),³⁰ Hasan ef. (1781), Hulusi ef. (1789). Iz navedenog se također vidi da je prvom spomenutom 1752. godine na položaju kadije u Tešnju prethodio Muharemi efendija smijenjen početkom augusta 1752.³¹ Zapostavivši neke druge okolnosti i bez temeljite analize za hadži

²⁶ NUBBiH, Rs 832.

²⁷ Prema dokumentiranom, kao kadija se posljednji puta javlja 28. X 1753. Rs. 832, fo. 33.

²⁸ Prvi put se javlja 22. XI 1753, što znači da se smjena dogodila negdje u posljednjem kvartalu 1753. i da je on izravno naslijedio Huseina ef. na položaju kadije u Tešnju.

²⁹ Vjerovatno je između ove dvije godine neko drugi obavljao službu kadije jer se teško jedno lice moglo zadržati toliko dugo. Kadije su imenovane najviše na period od dvije godine (Rs. 832, fo. 106). Ovdje je moguće i da su to dvije različite ličnosti s istim imenom.

³⁰ Vjerovatno je riječ o Mehmedu ef. Čurčiću iz sarajevske loze Čurčića koji se titulira kao efendija 1781, a kasnije i kao kadija u Tešnju. Vjerovatno iz iste loze potječe i kadija Radgib efendija Čurčić; Tanović 2016, 77.

³¹ U vremenu koje je prethodilo službovanju Muharemije, zbog kontinuiteta službe, ali i svojevrsne povezanosti dva sidžila, navest ćemo i kadije koje su na tom položaju prethodile navedenim licima. To su: Jusuf (1741), Derviš Ebu Bekir (1741), Ajni ef. (prije 1745), Arslan sin Mustafe, s. Mehmeda (1745), Mustafa (1746); Čar-Drnda 2005, 93, 97, 129, 113.

²³ Akdağ 1971, 76.

²⁴ AD, 757, II, 144–146.

²⁵ Inalcik 1991, 4.

Aliju se ponekad navodi da je: “Na dužnost tešanskog kadije postavljen 1171/1757. godine. Dakle, smijenio je Huseina kadiju.”³² Zanimljivo li čak i navedenu hronologiju i rotacije 1752–1758, nije moguće da jedna osoba ostane tako dugo na položaju kadije. U suštini, kako je vrijeme odmicalo, tako se smanjivao rok na koji su kadije mogle biti imenovane, tako da je u 18. stoljeću rok kadijske službe trajao godinu.³³ Iz tog su razloga česte smjene u navedenim slučajevima. Među tešanske kadije neopravdano je svrstan i Isa Arif, kadija Dervente 1789. godine, jer su to dva različita kadiluka.³⁴ Derventa u sudskom smislu nije bila vezana za Tešanj, kao što su to Žepče ili Maglaj.

Osim navedenih, u različitim kontekstima izravno spomenutih kadija ili naiba, želimo navesti i nekoliko osoba koje se ne spominju u sidžilu, ali se spominju u drugim izvorima u vremenskom okviru koji obuhvata sidžil (1752–1790), a obavljali su neku od sudskih službi u Tešnju. To su sljedeće kadije: Hafizade Mustafa, koji se kao kadija spominje 1754. godine,³⁵ zatim naib Mustafa 1760.³⁶ te naib hadži Sulejman 1764.³⁷ Šest godina kasnije (1766) na službi se spominje naib Mustafa.³⁸ Kako mandat naiba nije bio strogo ograničen kao kadije, moguće je da je on sve vrijeme obavljao funkciju naiba u kontinuitetu. Nakon ovoga, gotovo deceniju nemamo nekih vijesti o kadijama ovog kadiluka. Tek 1775. godine spominje se ime kadije hadži Sulejmana ef.,³⁹ a potom iste godine kadije Mehmeda⁴⁰ i nešto kasnije kadije Osmana Abdusamedovića (1777).⁴¹ Iza toga vrlo brzo slijedi službovanje Omera ef. (Rifdi Saraji) (1778),⁴² potom se javljaju imena naib Ibrahim (1779),⁴³ kadija Hasan ef. (1780)⁴⁴ i naib Ibrahim (1780),⁴⁵ kadija Mu-

stafa ef. (1782),⁴⁶ kadija Osman ef. (1782),⁴⁷ kadija Salih Ahmed Bosnevi Travnik (1784),⁴⁸ naib Mustafa (1785),⁴⁹ kadija hadži Mehmed Rušdi (1787),⁵⁰ kadija Musić Nedžib, kadija Sulejman (1792),⁵¹ kadija Ali Hulusi (1791),⁵² naib Mehmed Seid (1792).⁵³

Devijacije u sudskom sistemu

Bez obzira na to što su po prirodi svoje funkcije kadije čuvari poretka, sistema, u funkciji zaštite prava i dijeljenja pravde, kadije ne odgovore uvijek toj svojoj ulozi. Ranije smo spomenuli primjer Muharemije i pobune na čijem je čelu bio. Ima indicija da je i neki od kadija u Tešnju, čije ime nije navedeno, ali je službovao prije Omera ef. (1757), bio sklon koruptivnim radnjama i primanju mita. Takvu pritužbu višoj instanci u Travniku uputio je izvjesni Alija optužujući “tešanskog kadiju za protuzakonitu odluku”, za koju je kao nedozvoljeni dar primio “dvadeset dukata” pri presudi u zemljišnom sporu u selu Netače, danas zaseoku Omanjske kod Tešnja. Taj spor trebao je sredinom 1757. godine riješiti aktuelni kadija Omer efendija.⁵⁴ Da su kadije tih godina bile sklone određenim nezakonitostima i da stanovništvo nije bilo zadovoljno vidi se i iz sadržaja fermana upućenog 1758. (3. II).⁵⁵ Koliko god ovaj ferman imao općenit karakter, iz njega vidimo da je i sudski sistem bio poprilično oslabio i da je bilo ne samo opravdanog nego i vrlo ozbiljnog razloga za intervenciju Centra. Osim mnogobrojnih sudskih taksi, koje su se umnožavale i služile kao sredstvo za uzimanje novca, kadije su očito pronalazile i drugi način dolaska do “dodatnih izvora prihoda” uzimajući poklone i sudeći ne po pravu i pravdi nego prema drugim kriterijima. Nije to bila nepoznanica ni centralnoj vlasti i očito da su pritužbe s terena alarmirale da im se uputi upozorenje, zbog čega se u fermanu kadijama posvećuje posebna pažnja i

³² Fatić 2005, 66.

³³ Aydin 2004, 536.

³⁴ Fatić 2005, 68.

³⁵ OIS ANUBiH, Ahkam defteri, 85, I-II, 213.

³⁶ AD 85 I-II, 348.

³⁷ Isto 553.

³⁸ Isto III, 58.

³⁹ Isto 195.

⁴⁰ Isto 244.

⁴¹ Isto 397.

⁴² Isto 494; Fatić 2005, 66.

⁴³ AD 85, IV-V, 125.

⁴⁴ AD 85, IV, 230.

⁴⁵ AD 85, IV-V, 276.

⁴⁶ AD 85, V, 21.

⁴⁷ Isto 59.

⁴⁸ Fatić 2005, 67.

⁴⁹ AD 85, VI, 12.

⁵⁰ Isto 144-146.

⁵¹ Isto 212.

⁵² AD 75, II, 201.

⁵³ AD 85, VI, 237.

⁵⁴ Rs. 832, fo. 57.

⁵⁵ Isto fo. 82-82.

taksativno nabrajaju uočene nepravilnosti: favoriziranje neke od strana u postupku, povišene naplate za izdavanje *hudžeta*, povećani iznosi za *hardži kitabet* i za upis u *sidžile* i svakako najdrašćiji prekršaj – primanje mita.⁵⁶ U istom fermantu to se na još jednom mjestu izričito zabranjuje: “Službenici suda ne smiju uzimati mito.” Sve to očito znači da je ta praksa bila uzela šireg maha i da je centralna vlast o svemu bila dobro informisana.

Sankcija predviđena za nosioce sudskih funkcija u ovom slučaju bila je “brisanje sa spiska kadija”, što je značilo automatski i kraj njihove kadijske karijere. A za jednog službenika suda nema veće kazne nego doživotna diskvalifikacija iz službe i nemogućnost povratka. Činjenica da je jedna optužba evidentirana i u Tešnju govori da ni tešanjске kadije nisu bile izuzetak od općeg stanja koje je zavladao u pravosudnom sistemu Osmanskoga Carstva.

Sve ovo govori samo o tim pojavama u Bosni. Ali iz dokumenata kasnijih godina, pred sami kraj 18. stoljeća (1789), vidimo da su slična upozorenja bila upućena svim mulama, kadijama i naibima u “srednjem krilu Rumelije” i da su bile evidentne razne zloupotrebe ljudi iz sudskog sistema. A kako je to funkcioniralo, vidi se iz sljedećeg: “Nakon što se uzme u zakup po već određenoj cijeni, oni tu cijenu podvostruče, pa silom uzimaju od sirotinje. Taj dodatak na propisanu cijenu kadije dijele među se, kao i gradske čehaje i mubašir. Na ovaj način se upropaštava imovina sirotinje.”⁵⁷ Sudeći prema onome što je sačuvano, problem u sudstvu naročito je bio izražen u posljednjim decenijama 18. stoljeća. Sve su češće bile pritužbe na nosioce sudske vlasti. U nekoliko godina više puta susrećemo predmete koji na to ukazuju. Najprije nalazimo pritužbe stanovništva na kadiju i naiba u Tešnju 1778. godine. Osim što su mimo uobičajene prakse napuštali svoja službena mjesta (*mehkeme*), zloupotrebljavali su položaj na takav način da su bez zahtjeva stranaka tražili ostavinske diobe, pri čemu su za to naplaćivali i veće takse od propisanih. Njihov “terenski rad” podrazumijevao je niz drugih obaveza za stanovništvo koje su oni sami nametali – konačenje, ishrana i sl. Problem je bio tim veći što oni nisu išli sami, nego u pratnji konjanika,

vjerovatno sudskih policajaca, kojima je također trebalo osigurati istu logistiku.⁵⁸ Da su kadije bile potkupljive vidi se i iz zemljišnog spora koji je 1779. preuzeo kadija Travnika Feraizi Alija, jer su tamošnje sudije bile pristrasne i u tom predmetu. Pošto je slučaj bio došao i do šejhul-islama, on je ovaj predmet delegirao travničkom kadiji kako bi se izbjegla pristrasnost i osigurao najpravedniji ishod. Kadija Omer (Rifdi Saraji) i naib Ibrahim izdali su *hudžet* 1191, za šta nisu imali pravnog osnova, tako da su na nelegalan način u posjed zemljišta Mustafe i Mehmeda Agića bili došli braća Mustafa i Husejn Pobrić.⁵⁹

Nije poznato kako su pojedinci uspijevali da uđu u sudski sistem protivno općem pravilu koje je važilo da lokalno stanovništvo ne može vršiti sudsku vlast upravo iz predostrožnosti od korupcije, zbog osiguravanja nepristrasnosti i sprečavanja moguće podmitljivosti. No, kako se uveliko, između ostalog uz pomoć “trgovine položajima”, dolazilo i do kadijskih funkcija, nije čudo da se te pojave susreću i u Tešnju.⁶⁰ Već 1766. stanovništvo Tešnja je protestovalo protiv naiba Mustafe jer je bio mještanim i još uz to sklon uzimanju povišenih taksi, mimo propisanih tarifa.⁶¹ I stanovništvo Žepča iz istih razloga 1785. godine tražilo je smjenu naiba Saliha jer je mještanim, a osim toga “naplaćuje veće takse”. Kao što se vidi, obrazac optužbi u više je slučajeva istovjetan.⁶² Na nesavjestan rad i kršenje sudijskog kodeksa žalilo se stanovništvo Maglaja i Žepča 1787. godine. Njihovu žalbu višim instancama uputio je tešanjски kadija Mehmed Rušdi.⁶³ Bar prema optužbi, osim što su mimo propisa hodali po selima i živjeli na račun seljaštva, svoje su zadatke povjeravali drugim licima, izricali kazne i bez suđenja, dakle po slobodnom nahođenju.⁶⁴ Očigledno ih i stanovništvo, revoltirano ponašanjem pojedinih kadija ili naiba, nije štedilo, tako da su neke kadije bile na meti te su ih pojedinci izlagali neprijatnostima. Kadija Ali Hulusi efendija u Žepču bio je žrtva Omer-baše i društva koji su mu otuđili 1.950 groša.⁶⁵ Sve u svemu, od-

⁵⁸ AD, 85, III, 429, 433.

⁵⁹ Isto, IV-V, 62-63.

⁶⁰ Aličić 1984, 168-176.

⁶¹ AD, III, 58.

⁶² AD, 75 II, 51.

⁶³ Isto 144-146.

⁶⁴ Isto.

⁶⁵ Isto 201.

⁵⁶ Rs. fo. 83-82.

⁵⁷ Rs. fo. 73.

nosi između nosilaca sudske vlasti i stanovništva nisu bili besprijekorni. Razlozi su ponekad bili opravdani i razumljivi, a ponekad vrlo neočekivani. Stanovništvo je itekako moglo utjecati na smjenu, ali i dati doprinos u imenovanju pojedinih lica na položaje u sudskim uredima. Radili su to putem predstavki, žalbi, pritužbi na kadije. Ako bi se one pokazale opravdanim, kadija ili neki drugi službenik se smjenjivao, izuzev ako nije uživao neku posebnu zaštitu koju je zadobio uz korupciju ili na neki drugi način.

Naibi

Obim posla nije dopuštao da kadija može sve obavljati sam, posebno ako je bila riječ o širem prostoru koji on treba pokrivati, ili o većim mjestima gdje mu je bilo sjedište, brojnim seoskim naseljima i stanovništvu. Ponekad nije uspijevaio pokrivati sve obaveze ni samom u sjedištu kadiluka ili je naprosto bio spriječen obavljati pojedine obaveze, zbog čega bi za takve situacije imenovao svoga zamjenika i u sjedištu kadiluka. Stoga su kadije, posebno u udaljenijim mjestima gradskoga tipa, u području kadiluka morale imati svoje pomoćnike (*naibe*), koji su ih mijenjali u njihovim poslovima i obavezama. Naibi su bili prvi i najvažniji saradnici kadije u sudskim pitanjima i on ih je imenovao na određeno vrijeme ili na konkretan posao. Naibi nisu bili ograničeni kratkotrajnošću roka službe kao kadije. Ipak, iz prakse ovoga suda ne bi se moglo reći da su naibi tako dugo ostajali na tim pozicijama. Sve ukazuje na to da su se mijenjali često kao i kadije, bez obzira na to što se u literaturi navodi da su mogli ostati i dvije do tri decenije.⁶⁶ Služba naiba finansirala se iz raznolikih taksi koje je sud naplaćivao za svoje pravne usluge. Kadija je naibu uglavnom delegirao poslove koji nisu bili procesnog nego inspekcijско-istražnog karaktera, kao što su: istrage, inspekcije, verifikacije, osim ako određene okolnosti nisu nalagale i nešto drugačije. Uprkos dugom razdoblju, u velikom broju predmeta opet susrećemo relativno mali broj imena u ulozi naiba. Od prvih pomoćnika kadije nakon 1752. spominju se: naib Alija (1756, 1757, 1758), Musa, naib kadije, (1757) i naib Fojničanin Garibi-efendija (1757). Izvjesni Musa spominjao se

i kao pisar suda (1756), što bi moglo upućivati na to da je s položaja pisara bio unaprijeđen u naiba, dok su neki drugi iz statusa naiba bili unaprijeđeni u status kadije. Isto tako, evidentno je da se pojedine osobe nakon kadijskog mandata pojavljuju i kao naibi. Valija Mehmed-paša 1758. (21. III) dao je odobrenje da hadži Alija, temeljem kadijske murasele, može vršiti funkciju naiba. Njegovo postavljenje tražilo je stanovništvo, a Hasan efendija, aktuelni kadija, uputio je molbu valiji. I ovdje se susrećemo s vrlo neobičnom i zanimljivom situacijom. Nakon što je Hasan efendija imenovao hadži Aliju svojim zamjenikom – naibom, ovaj je istu dužnost prenio na Omera efendiju već od 1. redžepa 1171. (11. III 1758), dakle od svog imenovanja.⁶⁷

Možda se ovdje radi o nekoj vrsti rotacije, jer su kadije, zavisno od okolnosti, mogle na toj poziciji ostati 16, a najviše do 24 mjeseca u 17, a u 18. stoljeću samo godinu dana. To je zanimljivije tim prije što u sidžilu na dva mjesta nalazimo pečat kadije h. Alije. Pravo na posjedovanje i izradu pečata on je bio stekao 1160. (1747/48) godine, što znači da je najkasnije još od toga vremena bio u sudskoj službi. Na još dva mjesta nalaze se drugi nečitki pečati.⁶⁸ Hadži Alija se tako u različitim kontekstima titulirao kao naib 1756. (11. VII), 1757. (21. X) i 1758. (11. III), a kao kadija 1756. (15. IV) i 1757. (25. IX).⁶⁹ I iz ovoga se nazire svojevrсна relativnost tituliranja, kao i neke hronološke i nelogičnosti, jer se u manje od dva mjeseca vrlo jasno i bez dvojbe ista osoba titulira kao kadija 25. septembra 1757, a 21. oktobra iste godine, dakle ni mjesec dana kasnije, kao naib. Očekuje se da se ta hijerarhija kreće od naiba ka kadiji, a ne obrnuto kao što se iz ove hronologije nazire, prvo kadija pa onda naib. Očigledno je da su u tim rotacijama neki s viših dobijali i niže rangirane službe, što je opet bilo povoljnije u odnosu na "čekanje".

U nadležnosti tešanjskog kadije bile su i sudske ispostave nahija Žepče i Maglaj, što znači da je kadija imao svoje opunomoćene zastupnike u Žepču i Maglaju, preko kojih je obavljao određene poslove, odnosno dio svojih ovlasti prenosio je na svoje zamjenike (*naibe*). Njih su imenovale

⁶⁷ Rs. fo. 60.

⁶⁸ Rs. 832, fo. 84 i fo. 90. Nečitak pečat postoji i na fo. 34. i 110. Oblici pečata su različiti. Pečat hadži Alije je pravougaonog, dok je drugi pečat okruglog oblika.

⁶⁹ Rs. fo. 60, fo. 104, fo. 84, fo. 98.

⁶⁶ Ipširli 2006, 312-313.

kadije, vjerovatno uz saglasnost Bosanskog divana i samog valije. U mnogim dokumentima to se izričito i ističe, jer su upućeni između ostalog i tamošnjim kadijinim naibima, ali se oni uvijek oslovljavaju “naibu nahije Žepče” ili “naibu nahije Maglaj”, ili nekom sličnom sintagmom, samo, “naibu Žepča” ili “naibu Maglaja”. Iako se vrlo rijetko spominju imenom, povremeno nailazimo na imena pojedinih “naiba”. Međutim, samo je jednom naib Žepča potpisan imenom – Omer, sredinom 1756. godine. Nekoliko godina kasnije (1760) znamo da je u Žepču kao naib službovao Mustafa.⁷⁰ Manja grupa ljudi pokušala ga je diskreditovati, ali su u njegovu odbranu stali prvaci “svi učeni ljudi, age, kapetan”, kao i većina stanovništva. Njegovi simpatizeri su ga okvalifikovali i “kao učena i prijatna”, što, eto, nekima ipak nije bilo dovoljno te su tražili njegovu smjenu.

I kasniji podaci su samo fragmentarni i vrlo rijetki. Sljedeće saznanje o naibu imamo iz 1781. godine, iz čega vidimo da je naib “Osman ef.” već “bivši naib”,⁷¹ a nedugo potom (1785) iz drugih izvora kao naib u Žepču spominje se Salih ef.⁷² Tri godine kasnije doznajemo da je naib u Žepču bio i izvjesni Mustafa efendija, kojega je mureslom od 2. IX 1788. imenovao tešanski kadija Mehmed Čurčić.⁷³

Katibi

Obavezan sastavni dio jedne sudske institucije bili su pisari (katibi) kroz čije su ruke prolazili svi ulazni i izlazni akti. Oni su bili ti koji su pratili kadiju u poslovima, pratili procese koje su kadije vodile ili neke druge sudske postupke, vodili službene zabilješke, upisivali kadijine odluke ili predmete. Često je broj pisara (katiba) bio više od jednog. To je zavisilo od veličine cjelokupnog aparata, veličine kadiluka i frekvencije predmeta koji su dolazili na sud. I na čelu te službe nalazio se “glavni pisar” ili “generalni sekretar” (*baškati-b*),⁷⁴ posebno ako se radilo o većim kadilucima i većim sudovima s brojnijim personalom. Nažalost, nemamo puno informacija o tome koje su sve osobe obavljale pisarske poslove u Tešnju. Te

su službe trajale duže od kadijske, no i pored toga iznenađuje mali broj mjesta ili dokumenata u kojima se pisari spominju u bilo kom kontekstu. Katibi su dobijali berat o postavljenju s definisanim pravilima načina vršenja službe.

Tek od početka 1756. imamo izvjesnije vijesti o katibima, i to da je pisar Mehmed umro, a “učeni Musa-halifa sin Ahmedov je najdostojniji toga položaja”. Iz ovoga se nazire da je on u suštini već bio na pripravnicičkoj službi kod svoga prethodnika i možemo reći “pretpostavljenog” Mehmeda, od kojega je učio sudski “pisarski” zanat. Iz atributa “učeni” jasno se daje do znanja da je on iskusan u “pisarskom zanatu”. Zahtjev za njegovo postavljenje tražio je kadija Mustafa, a potvrda imenovanja stigla je sredinom februara 1756.⁷⁵ Do kraja 1756. (26. XII) on se spominje kao pisar (katib). To daje dovoljno argumenata da bi on mogao biti unaprijeđen u “naiba” jer se već od sljedeće 1757. godine (22. III) spominje “Musa, naib kadije”.⁷⁶ U raznim slučajevima za usluge suda, sastavljanje deftera ili nekog drugog akta, posebno kod razreza poreza, sud je za uslugu i troškove te vrste naplaćivao tzv. “katibiju”, dakle troškove popisa ili troškove sastavljanja “deftera”, iz čega se između ostalog finansirala i ova služba. Iz fermama se vidi da se u tome pretjerivalo i da to nije imalo osnova, iako je itekako prisutno u mnogim razrezima. Prema onome kako se susreću u praksi suda u Tešnju, ti troškovi su iznosili 10%.

Muhziri

Ovo je bila posebna služba pri sudu koju najčešće nije mogla obavljati jedna osoba nego više njih. To je zavisilo od veličine kadiluka i same organizacije suda shodno lokalnim potrebama. Sud je u izvanrednim okolnostima, posebno u manjim kadilucima i manjim sudovima, mogao funkcionirati bez nekih službi, u nužnim okolnostima bez pisara (*katiba*) jer je to mogao raditi sam kadija, ali nije mogao funkcionirati bez sudske policije (*muhzira*), koju nije mogla nadomjestiti niti jedna druga služba pri sudu.⁷⁷ Iz izvora vidimo da je pri sudu u Tešnju postojao “ured za privođenje na sud” ili, kako se vrlo često koristi, “sudski pozivar”. No nije to bio samo obični “do-

⁷⁰ AD, 85, I-II, 348.

⁷¹ Rs. fo. 116.

⁷² AD, 75, II, 51.

⁷³ Rs. fo. 64.

⁷⁴ Inalcık 1991, 4.

⁷⁵ Rs. fo. 105.

⁷⁶ Rs. fo. 51. Moguća je i podudarnost imena.

⁷⁷ Ahiskali 2006, 85-86.

stavljatelj poziva” ili pojednostavljeno kurir, kako sugerira sam naziv, nego služba sa znatno značajnijom ulogom i većim ovlastima, čija je zadaća bila osigurati prisustvo strana u postupku.⁷⁸ Za te svoje poslove od kadije, ili zavisno od sudske instance koja je tražila privođenje, dobijali su službeni nalog za privođenje (*muraselu*) kojom je osiguravan legalitet privođenja. U slučaju potrebe, “sudski izvršitelj” mogao je dobiti i pomoć nekog iz reda lokalnih vojnih struktura. O tome je odlučivao sam kadija i on je bio taj koji je tražio dodatnu intervenciju. Na prijedlog ili na “molbu” kadije koju je on dostavljao centralnim vlastima, muhziri su birani iz reda lokalnog stanovništva, najčešće iz vojničkih slojeva društva, o čemu je odabrani kandidat dobijao berat kao i svi drugi službenici u funkciji sistema. Na službi je ostajao sve dok ju je obavljao besprijekorno i dok je ne bi bio lišen zbog nesavjesnog obavljanja, pritužbi ili ličnih razloga.

Na čelu sudske policije u jednom sudskom okrugu stajao je obično muhzirbaša pod izravnom “komandom” suda, odnosno kadije kao najodgovornijeg lica jednog sudskog okruga.⁷⁹ Ne znamo niti je moguće ustanoviti tačan broj sudskih policajaca (izvršitelja) koji su bili angažirani, posebno s obzirom na prirodu posla, kao i činjenicu da su trebali često ići na teren, kako bi dostavljali sudske pozive, privodili stranke sudu, dostavljali sudske odluke i presude. Uvijek ih je moralo biti više i morali su imati konja kao osnovno transportno sredstvo. To je bio uvjet da bi se neko uopće mogao kandidirati za tu službu. Broj ovih službenika opet je zavisio od faktora koje smo navodili za druge službe. To je bilo posebno važno za ovu službu s obzirom na fizičku složenost posla. Za razliku od većine drugih sudskih službi, koje su svoje poslove najčešće obavljale u prostorijama suda, ova služba imala je dominantno terenski karakter. Stoga se u fizičkom smislu može smatrati najzahtjevnijom službom, jer je podrazumijevala stalni terenski rad, obilazak mjesta u kojima su stranke u postupku ili protiv kojih se vodi postupak.

Sudski policajci bili su posebno značajan faktor kada su u pitanju bili teži prekršaji ili krivična djela, naročito ona teža. U sudu u Tešnju najče-

šće se javlja izvjesni Hasan (1756–1758) i vrlo je često različito etiketiran od strane pisara: “aga u uredu za privođenje”, “čauš”. Bez obzira na različita tituliranja, vjerovatno je riječ o istoj osobi, jer se uglavnom radi o relativno kratkom vremenskom okviru, ili pak njegovom statusnom napredovanju. U jednom nedatiranom dokumentu (1757) kao muhziri se spominju i Mehmed⁸⁰ te Šaban čehaja (1757).⁸¹ Iz kasnijih godina susreće se samo još jedno ime – Halil (1781).⁸² Iz ovoga bi se dalo razumjeti da su i sudski policajci bili rangirani, bez obzira na to što ih izvor ne spominje uvijek dosljedno prema njihovim činovima ili statusima u redu sudske policije. No, ako je bio aga ili čauš, to znači da je i u toj službi, čak i na nižim nivoima, osim muhzirbaše, bila evidentna hijerarhija i da je pri sudu u Tešnju bilo više sudskih policajaca. Za ove usluge sud je naplaćivao posebne takse (*ihzariya*) koje je sud određivao i naplaćivao od stranaka za koje su oni morali biti angažirani.

Pomoćne službe u sudu

Postojale su i pomoćne službe i *pomoćni službenici* pri uredu kadije, koje se javljaju više puta. Te su službe obavljali: Alija (1756), Ali-baša (1756), Mustafa (1756), softa Mehmed (2. VIII 1757), Uzeir softa (10. X 1757), softa Osman (18. XII 1757), Mehmed (1757–1758), Osman (18. XII 1757), Mehmed-baša (8. I 1758) i mula Mehmed (17. II 1758).⁸³ Zanimljivo je da se u pomoćnim službama javljaju i dva mlada službenika, softe – učenici, novi svršeni neke od obrazovnih ustanova. Bez obzira na sve druge moguće opcije, ovdje se kao osnovna nameće da je najvjerovatnije riječ o svršenicima Ferhad-begove medrese u Tešnju. To znači da su softe Mehmed, Uzeir i Osman kao mladi došli da odrade početni staž kod kadije Tešnja i da su se već tu pripremali za neku od državnih službi, da li pri sudu ili nekoj drugoj ustanovi obrazovnog karaktera, shodno stepenu obrazovanja i rangu škole koju su završili. Ne potcjenjujući osnovno značenje riječi “softa”, ovdje nam se ova riječ nameće prvenstve-

⁷⁸ Jennings ga naziva “*ad hoc* commite of ‘Muslims’...” Jennings 1978, 150–153.

⁷⁹ İnalçık 1991, 4; Akdağ 1971, 79.

⁸⁰ Rs. fo. 81.

⁸¹ Rs. fo. 92.

⁸² Rs. fo. 101.

⁸³ Rs. fo. 80, fo. 81, fo. 85, fo. 92, fo. 93, fo. 95, fo. 96, fo. 97, fo. 115.

no u značenju osobe koja stažira ili je na nekom pripravnničkom mandatu. Nažalost, kasnije ih ne nalazimo ni u kakvoj funkciji ili im taj atribut nije dodavan uz ime. Vidimo također da se među pomoćnim službenicima nalaze i “veterani” jer kako drugačije tumačiti titulu mule među pomoćnim službenicima, kao i titulu “baše”. Vjerovatno ove titule odražavaju svojevrsnu hijerarhiju unutar odjela pomoćnih službi kadije, što bi značilo da je hijerarhijski to išlo sljedećim redoslijedom: baša Mehmed, mula Mehmed i softe Mehmed, Uzeir i Osman kao početnici i pripravnici u sudu.

Svjedoci čina (*şühûdü'l-hâl*)

Sudski postupci bili su otvorenog tipa i imali su javni karakter tako da im se moglo prisustvovati službeno i neslužbeno. Kako bi se osigurao karakter javnosti postupka, pri sudu je ustanovljena posebna institucija porote – *şühûdü'l-hâl*, čiji broj nije bio strogo propisan niti je službeno ograničavan. To je nešto što je prisutno i u drugim pravnim sistemima, na isti ili sličan način.⁸⁴ I u evropskoj pravnoj praksi postoji “stalno vijeće” i “povremeno vijeće” iz reda građana, što odgovara instituciji *şühûdü'l-hâl* u osmanskome sistemu.⁸⁵ To je bilo “ad hoc” tijelo koje se formiralo od slučaja do slučaja, ali ne znači da se pojedinci nisu mogli pojavljivati više puta kao članovi tog tijela. Svjedoci (*şühûdü'l-hâl*) su prisustvovali pravnom postupku radi ispravnosti procesa, a ne u svojstvu svjedoka stranaka u postupku. Birani su iz reda istaknutijih poznavalaca pravnih propisa ako je riječ o naibima ili istaknutih lica lokalne zajednice ako je riječ o svjedocima (*şühûdü'l-hâl*).

Ovo tijelo nije bilo stalno ni nužno obavezujuće u svim predmetima, što je poznato⁸⁶ i što se naravno potvrđuje i u sudskoj praksi u Tešnju u kojem imamo mnogo predmeta zavedenih bez upisanih porotnika. Na ulogu svjedoka *şühûdü'l-hâl* u literaturi se gleda i tumači na različite načine. U interpretacijama se uglavnom promatra iz perspektive korištenog izvornog korpusa te

otuda i proizilaze razlike u definicijama suštine uloge ovoga tijela pri sudu. Logično je očekivati da različiti izvori daju i različite pretpostavke za interpretaciju. Ako tome dodamo još i vremensku i teritorijalnu razliku te tradiciju, onda su stavovi još udaljeniji. Kako god, mora se imati na umu činjenica da će svaki izvor ponuditi nešto drugačije pretpostavke i da dosta toga zavisi od izvora i brojnih drugih okolnosti – vremenskih, geografskih, društvenih i sl. Stoga se čini nepotrebnim ograničavati se na uže faktore i na njima praviti generalizacije. Generalni zaključci se sasvim sigurno ne mogu donositi na temelju užeg izvornog korpusa, užeg vremenskog ili geografskog pravnog iskustva. Sužavanje u bilo kom od tih segmenata znači sužavanje suštine institucije *şühûdü'l-hâl* pri sudu. U instituciji *şühûdü'l-hâl* neki autori vide tri osnovne funkcije kroz koje se osigurava: 1. javnost postupka, 2. izvor potrebnih saznanja i 3. izvor ili garant za dosljednu primjenu običajnog prava.⁸⁷

Institucija svjedoka (*şühûdü'l-hâl*) bila je vrlo važan sastavni element pravosudnog sistema u Osmanskom Carstvu. Međutim, njihova uloga nije bila uloga svjedoka “očevidaca”, u nekoj krivičnoj radnji ili nekim drugim pravnim sporovima, kako to sam naziv na prvi pogled sugerira, bez obzira na to što se pojavljuju i u tim slučajevima. U sporovima privatno-pravne prirode sudija je pozivao svjedoke da potvrde ili demantuju “navod” ili argument stranke. Institucija svjedoka (*şühûdü'l-hâl*) u ovom kontekstu ima šire značenje, ona daje legalitet i legitimitet ispravnosti pravnog postupka. Važnija je tim prije što su je činila ugledna lica lokalne zajednice, odnosno prostora kadiluka, naravno, opet zavisno od predmeta o kojem je sud vodio postupak i trebao dati svoju riječ. Ti su se porotnici birali iz reda poznavalaca običajnog prava i običaja jednog kraja.⁸⁸ Još jedan vrlo važan momenat ističe se u ovakvim slučajevima. Obično se među ovim “svjedocima čina” nalazila neka iz kategorije osoba jedne od strana u postupku, bilo da je riječ o poslovnim osobama (zanatlije, trgovci), ulemi, stanovnicima pojedinih naselja-mahala, ili pak pripadnicima vojničkih redova.⁸⁹ Oni su kadiji pomagali da ne donese presudu koja bi

⁸⁴ Natuknica: porota, Hrvatska enciklopedija (<http://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=49554>, pristupljeno 19. 9. 2018).

⁸⁵ Aydın 2003, 341-344; Jennings 1978, 146.

⁸⁶ İnalçık 1991, 4.

⁸⁷ Taş 2008, 38.

⁸⁸ Akdağ 1971, 81; Jennings 1978, 142-146.

⁸⁹ Jennings 1978, 144; Taş 2008, 25-44.

mogla biti u suprotnosti s običajima i praksom. Ako je predmet imao širi značaj i po svojoj suštini, pravnoj težini i pravnom djelovanju nadilazio teritorijalni okvir kadiluka, onda su se u svojstvu "svjedoka" (*ṣühûdü'l-hâl*) pozivale osobe koje su pripadale tom društvenom rangu. U vrijeme nastanka i u predmetima koji su sadržani u ovom siđžilu, ta se institucija javljala u sljedećoj vrsti predmeta: vjenčanjima, tužbama, legalizacijama vakufa, poklonima, punomoći, zavjetima, oporukama, jamstvima, procesima i vakufnamama. Analiza pokazuje da je ova institucija dokumentirana u ukupno 95 slučajeva sadržanih u izvoru iz druge polovine 18. stoljeća.

Najviši i najznačajniji sudski postupak "sudska porota – vijeće" održan je u tvrđavi u Tešnju (25. X) 1753. pred valijom Mehmed-pašom Kukavicom, koji je tim povodom ciljano došao u Tešanj.⁹⁰ Pravnu formu tog akta sročio je bosanski vojni sudija Mehmed Gulšeni. To je u suštini bio svojevrsan zavjet o očuvanju mira u tešanjskom kraju, u povodu pojave pobunjenika, sljedbenika Muharemije. Ovdje je mnogo važnije ko se pojavljuje u ulozi svjedoka (*ṣühûdü'l-hâl*): Hasan – kapetan tvrđave Kamengrada, hadži Šaban – kapetan Prijedora, Ibšir-beg – kapetan tvrđave Bihać, Mustafa-aga – emin čauša, Abdullah-aga – čehaja čauša, Ibrahim efendija – timar tezkeredžija, Mustafa efendija – timar defterdar, Mehmed-beg – čehaja bosanske defterhane, Mustafa efendija – defterdar bosanske blagajne, visost Bektaš-paša – mutesarriif Klisa i drugi.⁹¹ Kao što se vidi, u ovom slučaju to je bila kombinacija 3 bosanska kapetana, 6 ljudi pokrajinske administracije (Bosanskog divana) i sandžakbeg Klisa.⁹² Istim povodom valija Mehmed-paša bio je i u Žepču, no nemamo ovako decidirane podatke o svemu onome što se tamo događalo u tom smislu. Sve što je iz jedne murasele vidljivo jeste da su valijine destinacije istim povodom bile Tešanj i Žepče.⁹³

Budući da su bračni ugovori najbrojniji dokumenti sadržani u korištenom izvoru, prirodno je očekivati da se ova institucija najčešće javlja upravo u tim predmetima. Nažalost, i u ovom slučaju nedostaje konzistentnosti, pri čemu je

kod većine (78) vjenčanja korištena i dokumentirana institucija *ṣühûdü'l-hâl*, dok u 43 slučaja nije korištena ili nije dokumentirana. Od toga ko se vjenčava, odnosno iz kojeg su kraja ugovorne strane, zavisio je i sastav svjedoka. Premda nije postojao neki poseban kriterij odabira niti uvjet koji bi neko trebao ispuniti da bi mogao biti počašćen takvom ulogom, primjetno je da se kao svjedoci rijetko pojavljuju lica koja nemaju neko društveno ili profesionalno obilježje. Vjerovatno je to zavisilo i od samih stranaka pri vjenčanju koje su utjecale na sastav *ṣühûdü'l-hâl*. Osim osoba iz samoga Tešnja i njegove uže ili dalje okoline, koliko se iz dokumentiranog može vidjeti, u pojedinim predmetima participirala su i lica iz udaljenijih mjesta i krajeva: Zenice (Broda), Žepča, Doboja, Maglaja, jer je jedan od bračnih drugova bio s tih područja. Vidimo da su se i pojedini službenici suda vrlo često nalazili u toj ulozi. To najvjerovatnije znači da je sud delegirao pojedine osobe u sastav tima svjedoka.⁹⁴ Ostaje dilema da li su tu bili po službenoj dužnosti ili je u nedostatku drugih osoba radi potpunosti porote i cjelokupnog pravnog postupka kadija delegirao ljude iz pravosuđa da nadomjeste odsustvo trećih osoba. U analizi dokumentiranih slučajeva sudski izvršioци su ponajčešće od svih drugih participirali u aktivnostima suda u instituciji *ṣühûdü'l-hâl*. Njihovo učešće doseže 22% prisustva u vjenčanjima. Moguće je da je to imalo i svoju pragmatičnu dimenziju jer su bili uvijek "prisutni" na sudu u odnosu na osobe koje je trebalo okupljati ne samo izvan suda u gradu nego i iz daljih mjesta. Treba svakako računati i na svakodnevne životne, poslovne ili profesionalne obaveze potencijalnih članova tog "vijeća", a izvan su suda. U jednom od vjenčanja u toj ulozi u Tešnju našao se i silah-aga bosanskog valije.⁹⁵ Uz njega svakako treba izdvojiti nekoliko lica koja su sasvim sigurno imala viši stepen autoriteta prirodom svoga položaja u društvu: ugledni kadija, hafiz efendija, muderis, kapetan, ugledni imam iz Tešnja. Što se tiče ostalih, ovdje ćemo istaći da su to bili: age, alemdari, aščije, baša iz kasabe Zenica,⁹⁶ baše, bašeskije, berberi, buljku-baše, čauši, čehaje, dizdar-age, efendije, handžije, hodže, imami, kalfe, katibi, mjesni imami, muha-

⁹⁰ Rs. fo. 27.

⁹¹ O organizaciji Bosanskog divana i navedenim pozicijama više u: Šabanović 1973, 19-45; Aličić 1983, 38-42.

⁹² Rs. fo. 27.

⁹³ Rs. fo. 102.

⁹⁴ Rs. fo. 20. sudski službenik Husein.

⁹⁵ Mladenci iz Žepča i Ozimica. Rs. fo. 35.

⁹⁶ Rs. fo. 79.

fizi tvrđave, muhziri, munle, odabaše ekmekčija, odabaše, pekari, pomoćni službenici, softe, službenici suda, spahije, sudski pisari, tabaci i terzije. Kada sumiramo sve navedeno, vidimo da su to, dakle, bili pripadnici vojničkog, ulemanskog ili zanatskog sloja ili drugi ugledniji članovi zajednice i društva.

Od vrste, značaja i težine sudskog postupka zavisio je i broj članova ovoga tijela. Vidjeli smo naprijed da je u poroti održanoj u Tešnju uz prisustvo valije u tom svojstvu bilo 11 visokopozicioniranih lica što pokrajinske administracije što predstavnika pojedinih kapetanija. Ovdje ćemo ipak kao polazište uzeti najfrekventnije predmete, a to su vjenčanja, koja su najbrojniji akti općenito, pa prema tome i po instituciji "svjedoka". Broj prisutnih "porotnika" varirao je između dva i pet. Jedan je izuzetak od tog pravila u kojem je samo jedno lice u svojstvu svjedoka. Šta je sve utjecalo na broj porotnika teško je sa sigurnošću tvrditi. No, ono što se može pouzdano ustvrditi jeste da taj broj nije bio u izravnoj vezi s visinom bračnog ugovora, odnosno mehra. Kriterij je teško dokučiti iz dokumentiranih slučajeva, ali bi to mogao biti socijalni i društveni status porodice "mladoženje".

Kod tužbi je stvar nešto drugačija i tu je, čini se, presuđivala težina slučaja. U tužbama se njihov broj kretao od dva do pet u jednostavnijim tužbenim zahtjevima, dok su složenije tužbe imale i veći broj porotnika, sedam, pa i devet. Za teško krivično djelo razbojništva i krađe u kući hadži Husejna porotu je činilo devet osoba. Za drugo razbojništvo (otmica i krađa) koje se, istina kasnije, dogodilo u Viništu kod Zavidovića 1781. godine, u sastavu porote nalazilo se sedam osoba.⁹⁷ U tužbenom zahtjevu Fatime iz Karšijake 1778. godine za privođenje jemca Fazlije Islama iz Zenice, porotu je činilo pet osoba, i to tri "mule" i dva "bega", dakle, s društvenog i socijalnog stanovišta vrlo respektabilna porota.⁹⁸

Jamstvo je očito također zahtijevalo širu porotu. Sve su prilike da je i tu težina samoga čina zavisila od povoda i težine "počinjenog djela". Krivična djela, posebno ona koja su nastala po osnovu političke odgovornosti i okvalificirana kao djela protiv države, smatrala su se težim krivičnim djelima za koje je nadležnost imala viša

instanca, sama pokrajinska vlast personificirana u Bosanskom divanu. Garancije za političke zatvorenike iz Sarajeva koji su učestvovali u jednoj pobuni krajem 1789. godine, koje su dali četvorica uglednih Sarajlija, porotnički je trebala propratiti grupa od šest članova vijeća.⁹⁹

Da je jamstvo imalo težinu i zahtijevalo vrlo ozbiljan pravni tretman potvrđuje i činjenica da je za čin jamstva jedne osobe za na prvi pogled bizaran problem međuljudskih odnosa bila neophodna porota od četiri člana. Ismail-baša je jamčio za bračni par Hasana i Umihanu iz Karšijake "da će se dobro slagati sa svojim susjedima, da ih neće psovati i krasti".¹⁰⁰ Dakle, gotovo beznačajan problem, u kojem je trebalo sudjelovati četveročlano porotno vijeće.

Minimalno četveročlano porotno vijeće susrećemo i kod darivanja, iako u tom slučaju i nije do kraja jasno da li samo četveročlano ili ih je bilo i više, jer se navodi i "ostali". Očito da je ono bilo sastavljeno od više porotnika, čija imena u ovom slučaju nisu unesena u ovaj spis, što ne znači da u nekom drugom nisu bila sadržana. Kada se pogleda sadržaj poklona, onda na neki način postaje jasnije zašto je naizgled beznačajan akt trebao tako brojnu porotu. Riječ je o nekretnini, mulkovnom posjedu, koji su činili "kuhinja pokrivena šindrom, soba, avlija i samanluk". Dvije su vrlo važne činjenice u ovom slučaju: taj je poklon bio kompenzacija za uslugu očito duže skrbi o darovatelju(ici), a spomenuti se mulk nalazio u samom središtu grada "čaršijskom džematu ispod tvrđave". Na širi sastav porote vjerovatno je utjecalo i to što je posjed sa sve četiri strane bio omeđen također mulkovnim posjedima te je trebalo pravno "ojačati" i "potvrditi" čin dara, radi eventualnih sporova tokom postupka ili kasnije, kako nasljednika tako i susjeda koji su imanjem okruživali spomenuto privatno vlasništvo.

Punomoć za prodaju nekretnine 1780. ubrajala se u one radnje kojima je prisustvovao brojniji porotnički tim. Ovaj je slučaj zanimljivi prije svega po tome što su u njemu učestvovali sudionici iz Žepča i Travnika. Kako god, porotu je činilo šest osoba: dva imama, dvojica mula i dvojica aga.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Rs. fo. 111.

⁹⁸ Rs. fo. 77.

⁹⁹ Isto.

¹⁰⁰ Rs. fo. 74.

¹⁰¹ Rs. fo. 113.

Neočekivano brojna porota od jedanaest porotnika javlja se u “zavjetnom činu” Adžema Ibrahima odricanja od “svakog opojnog pića” (1757) uz obećanje spremnosti na batinanje “na javnom trgu”. Ako je broj porotnika od jedanaest osoba neko iznenađenje, onda sasvim sigurno to nije sastav porote, u kojoj nalazimo pet osoba s titulom “efendija”, što znači članovi iz reda “uleme”, i to jedan profesor (*muderris*) i četvorica imama, tri učene osobe (*mula*) kapetan, dvojica aga. Riječ je, dakle, o formiranju najprimjerenijeg porotnog vijeća, koje po pravnoj prirodi pripada upravo porotnicima iz sfere islamske vjerske naobrazbe i sigurno boljim poznavateljima šerijatsko-pravnih propisa.¹⁰² Za svaki slučaj tu su i predstavnici iz reda vojničkog staleža, kapetan, aga i jedan predstavnik zanatskog esnafa.¹⁰³ U sudskoj realizaciji oporuke (*vasijet*) i pravnoj legalizaciji njenog izvršenja (1781), u svojstvu porotnika sudjelovalo je pet osoba, među kojima j predstavnik vojničkog reda (*aga*), trojica učenih (*mula*) i sudski policajac (*muhzir*) kao predstavnik suda.¹⁰⁴ Nakon svih navedenih slučajeva, ispod svih očekivanja je da se u dokumentiranju i obnovljenoj legalizaciji vakufa i vakufske imovine na području kadiluka nađu svega po dva porotnika. To je čudnije tim prije što je riječ o ponovnom zavođenju vakufske imovine čije su vakufname stradale u agresiji Eugena Savojskog na Tešanj. Doduše, u tom su procesu učestvovali i svi službenici vakufa i za tu priliku delegirani mubašir Ahmed-aga, ali u svojstvu porotnika. Osim što se spominje mali broj osoba, oni se spominju u dokumentiranju samo nekih vakufa, ne svih.¹⁰⁵

Iz izloženog se može vidjeti kako je u praksi funkcionirao jedan sudski okrug srednjeg ranga u drugoj polovini 18. stoljeća, koje je sve službe imao u svome sastavu. Osim toga, ukazano je i na probleme koji su se javljali u okviru sudskog sistema na relaciji kadije ili naibi u odnosu na stanovništvo. U mjeri u kojoj su izvori dopuštali detektirani su nosioci pravosudnih funkcija, ili nekih drugih službi koje su djelovale pri sudu u navedenom kadiluku.

On the Organization and the Functioning of Judiciary Authority in the Qadha of Tešanj in the Second Half of the 18th Century

Separate *qazā* of Tešanj was formed in second half of 16th century after complete stabilization of government which followed the conquest that happened, most probably, in October 1512. The *qazā* consisted of 4 *nahiya* districts: Tešanj, Maglaj, Usora, Ozren, and Trebetin. In the area belonging to the *qazā* 4 urban settlements had developed, while there existed 150 rural settlements in the *qazā*. In 17th century, together with other 36 *qazās*, Tešanj was ranked at the degree of “salise”, keeping this rank in 18th century as well.

Due to the vast areas *qazā* of Tešanj covered the structure was organized in manner that in centre there was residing judge / *qādī* with all complementary services, while in *nahiya* districts of Žepče and Maglaj there were branch offices. This organizational structure remained until the end of 18th century, while Maglaj was organized as a separate judiciary region during 19th century.

Qādī in the *qazā*'s centre in Tešanj had own assistant (*nāib*). In this paper there is an overview of documented names for judges who performed duty of *qādī* or *naib* be it in the centre of *qazā* or in branch offices in Maglaj and Žepče.

It is observable that in the second half of 18th century the *qādīs* did not perform their duty conscientiously and in accordance to the judiciary codex which used to be broken in many ways. In a couple of complains and even in the *fermān* that was issued and delivered to Bosnia deviating discrepancy methods of *qādīs* from rules of judiciary service are observable. Firstly, into ranks of *qādī* assistants started to creep in persons who according to the existing rules were not deserving this post. Therefore, in the second half of 18th many complains appear requesting change of *naibs* due to the fact that they were locals. This situation could open way to a possible unconscientious work and abuse of the position. However, *qādīs* also used to commit acts that were out of judiciary manner, those include taking bribe what consequently led to unfair verdict. Due to the quoted circumstances some cases were addressed to the *qādī* in Travnik. This started to take ground especially after some officials of judiciary government started to perform in practice “mobile judging” where they seemingly would do judging or do other activities. For them this was way to reach ad-

¹⁰² Rs. fo. 117.

¹⁰³ Isto.

¹⁰⁴ Isto.

¹⁰⁵ Rs. fo. 84-85.

ditional funds in easy and uncomplicated way which was against the law.

Based on available sources it has been established that in Tešanj existed following posts: *qādī* service, *naib* service, *katib* (secretary), *muhzir*, assisting services, and sometimes institution of judiciary jury. This paper based on available and documented sources presents activities of each single judiciary post that was counted above.

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Novinske osmrtnice i transnacionalna praksa u Bosni i Hercegovini

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Abstract: The recent war in Bosnia and Herzegovina has caused probably the greatest wave of migration of the Bosnian population into other countries, which also influenced traditional customs, including those relating to death rituals. When it comes to death, migration into other countries opens many questions, including those related to the decisions about the place of burial. Thus, for example, migrants chose to be buried either in their home or adopted countries. Also, there is a question related to the decisions about death announcements. In adopted countries, death is often announced through the existing webs of communication inside migrant communities, while in home countries death is announced through the media, especially through newspaper obituaries, which is specific to larger urban areas. This paper addresses the phenomenon of newspaper obituaries as a possible window into the way that Bosnian migrants elsewhere deal with the question of burial and death rituals. In addition to newspaper obituaries, this paper relies on ethnographic material that includes a number of informant interviews. The analysis demonstrated that such death obituaries could be observed as a form of transnational practice that includes the maintenance of relationships and communication of Bosnian immigrants with their home country.

Key words: migrants, obituaries, transnationalism, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Uvod

Migracije i pojave vezane uz problematiku migracija predmet su istraživanja mnogih disciplina, uključujući sociologiju, ekonomiju, geografiju i antropologiju. Antropološki interes za migracije posebno se intenzivira tokom šezdesetih godina 20. stoljeća, da bi osamdesetih i devedesetih godina istog stoljeća postale centralna tema antropoloških istraživanja.¹ S porastom zanimanja za kompleksan problem migracija javljaju se nastojanja koja idu u pravcu formuliranja teorijskih postavki čiji je cilj da migracije protumače iz različitih aspekata.² Zbog slojevitosti i široke vizure koju zahvata, upravo antropološko promatranje migracija naročito može biti zanimljivo i značajno, posebno s obzirom na činjenicu da se antropološki pristup fokusira na pitanja “ko, kako i zašto” u kontekstu migracija. Također, antropologija kroz tzv. *etnografiju iskustva* nastoji razotkriti značenje vezano za pitanje kako je “biti

migrant”, uključujući poimanja identiteta, značenje i doživljaj života u različitim migrantskim sredinama, kao i transnacionalne veze sa zemljama porijekla, rodna iskustva migracija i promjenu uspostavljenih i usvajanje novostečenih kulturnih i drugih vrijednosti.³ Drugim riječima, antropologija migracija uveliko se bavi procesima prilagođavanja i kulturnim promjenama u okviru migrantskih zajednica.⁴

Od početka devedesetih godina 20. stoljeća transnacionalizam predstavlja jedan od osnovnih teorijskih okvira kroz koji antropolozi promatraju migracije i migracijske procese.⁵ Pod transnacionalizmom se podrazumijevaju trajne veze koje migranti održavaju između zemalja porijekla i zemalja prijema. Ove veze uključuju ne samo “zajednice, nego sve druge vrste socijalnih formacija, kao što su transnacionalno aktivne mreže komunikacije, grupe i organizacije”.⁶

³ Isto 22.

⁴ Brettell 2000, 98.

⁵ Vertovec 2007, 963.

⁶ Faist 2010, 9.

¹ Antonijević 2013, 13-14, 22.

² Isto 13.

U odnosu na transnacionalizam, pojedini autori preferiraju termin *međudržavna translokalnost*, u kojem je naglasak upravo na “pojmu lokaliteta kao ključnom u prekograničnim aktivnostima” umjesto dvoznačnog termina *transnacionalizam*.⁷ Obavještenja o smrti u zemljama porijekla vezana za migrante preminule u zemljama prijema u tom se smislu mogu promatrati kao transnacionalna praksa održavanja veza i mreža komunikacija i kroz bitan momenat smrti.

Pitanje migracija i smrti već je fokus pojedinih studija u antropologiji, geografiji i sličnim disciplinama, mada predstavlja relativno novu temu u evropskom istraživanju migracija i etničkih manjina.⁸ Međutim, posmatrano u globalnom kontekstu, takva je literatura u porastu. Neki praksu vezanu za posmrtno običaje u zemljama prijema i porijekla nazivaju “posthumnim transnacionalizmom”.⁹ Naprimjer, govoreći o posmrtnim običajima među afričkim migrantima u Južnoj Africi, Nunez i Wheeler tvrde da se slučajevi smrti u zemlji prijema posmatraju kao smrt “na nemjestu” (*out of place*).¹⁰ U Južnoj Africi čak postoje organizacije koje se bave uslugama “odgovarajućeg” ukopa, uključujući povratak tijela u zemlju porijekla preminulog.¹¹ Kada su u pitanje meksički migranti u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, ovaj je proces institucionaliziran na državnom nivou.¹² S druge strane, veliki broj migranata ukopava se u zemljama prijema. S tim u vezi, Balkan tvrdi da sprovođenje posmrtnih običaja u zemlji prijema predstavlja bitan vid utvrđivanja pripadanja u migrantskim zajednicama te da su odluke vezane za pripadanje mrtvog tijela vezane za uspostavljanje socijalnih i komunalnih granica.¹³ Isto tako, Hunter tvrdi da je izbor mjesta ukopa u kontekstu migracija usko skopčan s vezom između mjesta i identiteta.¹⁴

Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina

Bosna i Hercegovina se općenito označava kao zemlja s dugom iseljeničkom tradicijom. Kada je

riječ o savremenim migracijama, onim koje su se zbivale naročito intenzivno od šezdesetih pa do kasnih osamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća, Bosna i Hercegovina se uklapala u bivši jugoslavenski okvir. Naime, sredinom 20. stoljeća iz Bosne i Hercegovine je mahom ruralno stanovništvo odlazilo na tzv. “privremeni rad” u inostranstvo, odnosno zemlje Zapadne Evrope. Najbrojniju skupinu ovih migranata činili su gastarbajteri (njem. gost-radnik), čiji su se odlasci podvodili pod radne migracije.¹⁵ Ove radne migracije ipak nisu bile novina jer je radnih migracija s balkanskih prostora bilo i u prethodnom, 19. stoljeću.¹⁶ U slučaju migracija koje su započele u šezdesetim godinama 20. stoljeća poseban naglasak je bio na njihovoj privremenosti, mada se ona u stvarnosti vrlo često pretvarala u trajnost.

Upravo po broju radnih migranata BiH je spadala u zemlje s izrazitim stopom migracija (u prvom migracionom valu iz ranih šezdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća BiH je u jugoslavenskom okviru bila na četvrtom mjestu¹⁷). Međutim, tako očigledna migraciona kretanja iz BiH sredinom 20. stoljeća nisu našla odgovarajuće mjesto u ondašnjim etnološkim radovima – migracije kao savremena pojava nisu se uklapale u višedecenijsko poimanje etnologije na bivšim jugoslavenskim prostorima kao nauke o seoskoj kulturi, pa su na taj način etnolozi propustili priliku da istraže kompleksniju sliku tradicionalne kulture, što bi višestruko koristilo i etnologima i etnologiji kao znanosti.¹⁸

Rat u BiH 1992–1995. godine prouzročio je ogromna migraciona kretanja koja su u isto vrijeme po svom karakteru bila različita. Bile su to i unutrašnje i vanjske migracije, i prinudne i dobrovoljne, i legalne i ilegalne, i privremene i trajne. Migracioni val nastavio se i nakon okončanja rata. Uzroci su različiti, među kojima svakako dominira ekonomska i socijalna nestabilnost u BiH i skoro četvrt stoljeća nakon okončanja rata. Kontekst nastanka migracija devedesetih godina prošlog stoljeća primarno je uslovio da su migranti i migrantske teme vezane za prostor Bosne i Hercegovine našle mjesto u obimnoj i značajnoj

⁷ Čapo Žmegač 2003, 119.

⁸ Jonker 1996; Reimers 1999; Gardner 2002.

⁹ Félix, 2011.

¹⁰ Nunez / Wheeler 2012, 215.

¹¹ V. isto Lee 2011.

¹² Félix 2011.

¹³ Balkan 2015, 120.

¹⁴ Hunter 2016, 179.

¹⁵ O jugoslavenskim gastarbajterima v. Mihajlović 1987; Daniel 2007.

¹⁶ Krstić 2011, 296.

¹⁷ Isto 310.

¹⁸ Čapo Žmegač 2010, 110.

literaturi o migracijama u evropskim i svjetskim razmjerama.¹⁹

I dok se u početku spomenutih migracionih kretanja iz sredine 20. stoljeća prepoznavao skoro ustaljeni obrazac u kojem su centralno mjesto zauzimali mladi, radno sposobni muškarci, kojima su se ne uvijek i ne nužno tek kasnije pridruživale i supruge, a djeca često bivala ostavljena u matičnoj zemlji i povjerena na čuvanje najbližim srodnicima,²⁰ u ratnim i poratnim migracijama izrazita je i uobičajena grupnost. Naime, uočljivo je da su se na odlazak iz matične zemlje odlučivale odmah cijele porodice, i to ne samo nuklearne već i proširene. U nekim slučajevima ove su se migracije protezale i na širu zajednicu, ne nužno i srodničku, što se uklapa u pojam lančanih migracija.²¹

Ove posljednje migracije daleko se više doživljavaju i kao trajne, za razliku od stvarne ili podrazumijevane, i obično početne, privremenosti onih iz sredine 20. stoljeća. Bitna se razlika ogleda i u činjenici da su ratne i poratne migracije iz Bosne i Hercegovine geografski znatno šire i obuhvataju ne samo cio prostor Evrope već i daleke preookeanske zemlje. Migracije iz sredine 20. stoljeća primarno su bile vezane za rad i skrbništvo za porodicu u matičnoj zemlji, dok su one koje su se dogodile u ratnom kontekstu često vezane za nemogućnost nastavka života u originalnim zajednicama, što je presudno uticalo na karakter i trajnost ovakvih migracija.

Novinske osmrtnice kao odraz savremenih migrantskih praksi

Smrt, kao jedan od najvažnijih i najdramatičnijih obreda prelaza, posebno se doima značajnim u kontekstu migracija, otvarajući brojna pitanja i stvarnog i simboličnog značenja. Gdje se ukopati, kako se ukopati, kako konačno i zauvijek premostiti jaz između “ovdje” i “tamo”, šta implicira priklanjanje “ovdje”, odnosno povratak “tamo” – neke su od dilema s kojima se migranti suočavaju u kontekstu govora o smrti. Kad je u pitanju briga o tome gdje ukopati tijelo nakon smrti, mogućnost rješenja samo se prividno čini jednostavnim

jer su i opcija “ovdje” i opcija “tamo” skopčane s nizom vrlo osjetljivih pitanja koja se protežu u rasponu od pitanja pripadanja, odnosno identiteta, pa do troškova koji nastaju pri ukopu “ovdje” i onih povezanih s transportom tijela umrle osobe u matičnu zemlju radi ukopa.²²

Kad je riječ o posmrtnoj običajnoj praksi, koja je također snažan indikator identiteta, otvara se niz dilema, pogotovo za najbliže srodnike preminule osobe. Dio odgovora na pitanje kako riješiti neka od pitanja koja pokreće smrt migranta u zemlji prijema mogu ponuditi i novinske osmrtnice koje, kako je to još krajem sedamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća u svom radu pokazala Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin,²³ mogu biti izvanredan etnološki (i antropološki) materijal, “teren bez terena”, odnosno “teren kod kuće”. Upravo iz novinskih osmrtnica iščitavaju se brojne i važne činjenice kako o pokojniku i smrti, tako i o živim srodnicima i životu, shvaćenom u širokom smislu riječi, životu u kojem se grade mnogostruke i po svom karakteru različite socijalne mreže. Posebno, i što je za temu ovog rada naročito važno, upravo osmrtnice “progovaraju” o odnosu prema tradicionalnim obrascima u koje se smješta smrt, ali i o osavremenjavanju običajne prakse, ili pak o njenom napuštanju.

Novinske osmrtnice i ranije su privlačile pažnju etnologa na južnoslavenskim prostorima,²⁴ pri čemu je težište bilo na novinskim osmrtnicama kao pojavi savremene kulture,²⁵ pokazujući da takvi sadržaji itekako mogu biti etnološki zanimljivi i poticajni.

Ovaj se rad isključivo fokusira na novinske osmrtnice koje se tiču smrti u zemlji prijema, a kao izvor su korištene osmrtnice koje su objavljene u *Oslobođenju*, najstarijim bosanskohercegovačkim novinama, te u *Avazu*, koji se smatra najtiražnijom dnevnim novinom na istom prostoru. Smrtnice u *Avazu* praćene su u njegovom digitalnom izdanju, dok u *Oslobođenju* to nije bio slučaj, već je kao izvor korištena njihova raspoloživa arhiva. Međutim, i u jednom i u drugom slučaju posmatrani period je bio nasumice odabran i vremenski ograničen – od 1. marta 2015. do 1. marta 2016. godine. U *Oslobođenju* su u navedenom periodu objavljena 194 obavje-

¹⁹ O migracijama i migrantima u vezi s BiH v. Black 2001; Colic-Peisker 2002; Kelly 2003; Halilovich 2005; Franz 2005.

²⁰ Kovačević / Krstić 2011, 970.

²¹ Halilović 2013, 63.

²² Felix 2011; Hunter 2016.

²³ Rihtman-Auguštin 1978.

²⁴ Rihtman-Auguštin 1978; Čolović 1984.

²⁵ Rihtman-Auguštin 1978, 117.

štenja koja se po raznim osnovama odnose na smrt izvan matične zemlje, dok je u istom periodu u digitalnom izdanju *Avaza* objavljeno 46 takvih osmrtnica. Raspoloživa građa iz spomenutih dnevnih novina pokazala je da ove osmrtnice objavljuju pripadnici svih konfesionalnih skupina u BiH. Stoga se može reći da analizirane osmrtnice odslikavaju posthumnu transnacionalnu praksu bosanskohercegovačkih migranata u cjelini.

Jasna distinkcija između nekadašnjih gastarbajtera – radnika na privremenom radu u inostranstvu – i ratnih, odnosno poratnih migranata na osnovu podataka koje nude novinske osmrtnice nije mogla biti uočena, pa tako ni precizno povučena. Međutim, u nekim slučajevima, na osnovu podataka dobijenih iz nestrukturiranih intervjua koji su vođeni sa srodnicima umrlih osoba, bilo je jasno da je riječ o ljudima koji su prije više od četiri decenije otišli u zemlje Zapadne Evrope. U nekim slučajevima potvrđivalo se pravilo o naknadnom priključivanju ostalih članova porodice (supruge i djece) muškom članu koji je već ranije bio napustio matičnu zemlju. Stoga se u radu obje navedene kategorije promatraju kao cjelina, odnosno kao migranti.

Osmrtnice koje su, na osnovu navedenog kriterija, bile predmet analize mogu se podijeliti u nekoliko skupina. Tako bi prvu činila isključivo *obavještenja o smrti izvan matične zemlje*. Njih daju:

1. članovi najuže porodice (supružnik i/ili djeca) iz zemlje prijema, čemu naruku svakako idu savremene tehnologije koje pružaju takve mogućnosti;
2. bliski srodnici pokojnika u matičnoj zemlji;
3. prijatelji pokojnika kako u zemlji porijekla tako i u zemlji prijema.

Ova su obavještenja skoro isključivo jednoobrazna i tipska i obično ne nude mnogo elemenata za širu analizu. Stoga se ona u biti uklapaju u ukupan korpus novinskih osmrtnica čija suština jeste sama *obavijest o smrti*.

U nekim slučajevima obavještenja o smrti izvan zemlje porijekla daju se naknadno, odnosno kad je već obavljena sahrana i ukop pokojnika. Takva su obavještenja zaista samo i isključivo obavještenja, iz kojih se ne iščitava skoro nikakva želja njihovih davalaca za bilo kakvim oblikom participacije zajednice zemlje porijekla u posthumnom ritualu. Za ovakva obavještenja može

se reći da se tiču primarno pokojnika i sredine (s naglaskom na lokalnosti) kojoj je po rođenju pripadao. Spomenuta obavještenja o smrti upućuju na činjenicu da se sa smrću izvan matične zemlje poseban značaj pridaje upravo lokalnom u odnosu na sve druge identitete. S druge pak strane, upravo kroz obavještenja u matičnoj zemlji o smrti izvan zemlje porijekla i umrli i oni koji daju takva obavještenja “objavljuju svoju vernost kulturi koju dele (ili su dijelili, op. A. S.) sa ostalim članovima grupe”,²⁶ a kojoj su pripadali po različitim osnovama (u geografskom, konfesionalnom, etničkom ili nekom drugom pogledu).

Kao supstitucija običajnog odlaska “na žalost”, što podrazumijeva iskazivanje sućuti najbližim srodnicima preminule osobe, mogu se označiti *posljednji pozdravi*, druga velika grupa novinskih osmrtnica. Među njima se također može izdiferencirati nekoliko podgrupa. Tako se prema lokaciji pošiljaoca izdvajaju:

1. posljednji pozdravi koji su upućeni iz matične zemlje²⁷ i
2. posljednji pozdravi koji se šalju iz zemlje prijema.²⁸

Zanimljivo je da se posljednji pozdravi iz zemlje prijema upućuju preko ovdašnjih novina bez obzira na to što je umrli, jednako kao i pošiljaoci, pripadao migrantskoj populaciji. Na ovaj način, preko printanih medija društva porijekla, posljednji pozdravi upućuju se i u slučajevima kada se ukop pokojnika također obavio u zemlji prijema.

Ako se kao kriterij promatra veza pošiljalaca posljednjih pozdrava s pokojnikom, onda se uočava da pozdrave šalju:

1. najbliži srodnici (članovi nuklearne porodice),
2. rodbina, i to obostrano, i iz matične zemlje i iz zemlje prijema, kao što je to slučaj i s

²⁶ Bart 1997, 222.

²⁷ Jedan takav primjer je i sljedeći (Oslobođenje, 1. mart 2015), a odnosi se na osobu koja je umrla i sahranjena u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama:

*Posljednji pozdrav
Našoj dragoj prijateljici
D. S.*

*Naše duboko saučešće izražavamo porodici.
L. i S. K.*

²⁸ Tako su 6. novembra 2015. godine u Oslobođenju “posljednji pozdravi” upućeni preminuloj S. M. od “raje iz Čikaga”, gdje je i sama pokojnica kao migrant živjela. A 13. novembra iste godine objavljen je “In respect to the memory of F. H.” od “friends from Canada”.

3. prijateljima i u matičnoj zemlji i u zemlji prijema.

Nameće se zaključak da se smrt, bez obzira na to što se dogodila daleko od matične zemlje, mnogo više tiče društva porijekla nego društva prijema. Iščitava se to već iz činjenice da se obavještenja o smrti migranta daju u matičnoj zemlji čak i onda kada se cio posmrtni ritual obavlja u zemlji prijema. Bez obzira na to što smrt potvrđuje da migranti podjednako pripadaju i “ovdje” i “tamo”, ili ni “ovdje” ni “tamo”,²⁹ čini se da je jedini stalni, nepromjenljivi identitet, koji se sa smrću naročito potvrđuje, upravo lokalni. Na takvom je tragu i sljedeća rečenica izrečena u jednom obavještenju o smrti u kojoj se ističe da je umrli “svoje umorno tijelo ostavio u dalekoj Australiji, a srce i dušu u svom rodnom Sarajevu”.³⁰ Ukop u zemlji porijekla stoga upućuje na posebno značenje koje *mjesto* (topos) ima u životu, odnosno u smrti migranta.

Kad su u pitanju *sjećanja*, koja su također svoj izričaj našla u novinskim osmrtnicama, njihov se kalendar u potpunosti poklapa s onim tradicijskim, pa se ona i za migrante u matičnoj zemlji daju sedam, četrdeset i godinu dana nakon smrti, a u nekim slučajevima i kasnije, što je u direktnoj vezi s karakterom smrti (nesretnim slučajem, ili ako je riječ o smrti vrlo mlade osobe).³¹

Upravo činjenica smrti u zemlji prijema, ali još više činjenica da najbliži srodnici umrle osobe također pripadaju populaciji migranata, uzrokovala je pojavu još jedne, u odnosu na druge vidove novinskih osmrtnica znatno malobrojnije grupe. To su *novinska saučešća*. Ona su svojevrsna supstitucija za neposredno izražavanje saučešća ožalošćenim srođnicima pokojnika.³²

²⁹ Aluzija na naslov knjige Dragane Antonijević Stranac ovde, stranac tamo.

³⁰ Na istom je tragu i obavještenje objavljeno nešto ranije u Oslobođenju (februar 2015) o smrti V. V., koji je živio, preminuo i sahranjen u Londonu, “a srcem uvijek bio u BiH, i uz nas – i kad je radost i kad je tuga”.

³¹ Npr. sjećanje u povodu četvrte godišnjice smrti tridesetjednogodišnjaka, koji je preminuo u SAD, objavljeno je krajem septembra 2015. godine u Oslobođenju.

³² U Oslobođenju od 29. decembra/prosinca 2015. godine objavljeno je sljedeće novinsko saučešće:

*Duboko ožalošćeni da je iznenada umrla naša draga
M. P.*

*Izražavamo najdublje saučešće Tvojim kćerkama E. i A. i
njihovim porodicama*

*Neka ti dragi Allah dželesanuhu podari lijepi Dženet.
Š., N., A. i V. K.*

Kada su u pitanju osmrtnice koje se odnose na migrante, posebno su s antropološkog aspekta zanimljivi podaci koji se tiču mjesta ukopa.

U promatranom periodu (1. mart 2015. – 1. mart 2016. godine), u obje spomenute dnevne novine, u *Oslobođenju* i *Avazu*, ukupno je objavljena 131 osmrtnica u kojoj su sadržani jasni podaci o vremenu i mjestu smrti te podaci o mjestu ukopa. Od tog broja, u 51 slučaju ukop se obavljao u zemlji prijema, što u ovom slučaju znači izvan Bosne i Hercegovine. Preostalih 80 osmrtnica, ili nešto malo više od 60%, odnosi se na smrt u zemlji prijema, ali se ukop umrle osobe obavio u zemlji porijekla.

Skoro opće mjesto u oba tipa navedenih osmrtnica, tj. u slučaju ukopa i izvan matične zemlje i u matičnoj zemlji, može se označiti precizno navođenje tri bitna lokaliteta koja, svaki na svoj način, određuju čovjeka: *mjesto rođenja*, *mjesto smrti* (koje u pravilu koincidira s mjestom u kojem je pokojnik živio) i *mjesto ukopa*.

Iako je podatak o mjestu rođenja bitan element identifikacije pokojnika, on ipak nije presudan u smislu odabira mjesta ukopa. To znači da su neki drugi elementi u tom pogledu značajni, pri čemu važnu ulogu ima mjesto prebivanja živih srodnika kao nosilaca sjećanja, ali i mjesto ukopa predaka koje se ne mora poklapati ni s mjestom rođenja migranta ni s mjestom predmigrantskog prebivanja.

Okvir za sahranu u zemlji porijekla

Pored etnografskog rada “kod kuće” – praćenja novinskih osmrtnica, u radu su u nešto manjem obimu korištene i druge metode, prvenstveno nestrukturirani intervjui s osobama čiji su srodnici, prijatelji, poznanici kao migranti živjeli i umrli izvan granica BiH, ali je ukop obavljen u matičnoj zemlji. U nekoliko navrata objavljene su osmrtnice i bile poticaj da se pokuša doći do

Umrlo osoba, kao i najbliži članovi njene porodice, živjela je i sahranjena u Kanadi.

Sa znatno više emocionalnog naboja je npr. saučešće objavljeno u istom listu 7. 11. 2015. godine:

D. K.

*Dragi S. i D., dijelimo bol sa Vama za dobrom i plemenitom
D.*

*Naviru sjećanja na dane kada smo bili nerazdvojni i kada
nam je bilo najteže.*

Vaši D. i M. B.

informatora, odnosno kazivača koji bi, eventualno, mogli upotpuniti sliku koju nude novinske osmrtnice. Upravo zabilježena kazivanja upućuju na neke od razloga koji su uticali na odluku o ukopu u matičnoj zemlji. U dva slučaja niko od najuže porodice ne živi više u BiH, odnosno u Sarajevu, ali je ukop pokojnika ipak obavljen u Sarajevu jer je i u jednom i u drugom slučaju to bila izričita želja pokojnika. U prvom slučaju, pokojnik je više puta još za života isticao da po smrti želi da bude sahranjen u Sarajevu, gradu u kojem je nekada živio.

U drugom slučaju umrla je ostavila izričitu usmenu oporuku bratu: "Ako ja umrem u Njemačkoj, nemoj da ja ostanem tamo, *u tuđoj zemlji*" (istakla A. S.), već da se ukop i dženaza obave u Sarajevu, a samo polaganje u mezar "na tabutu, nikako u sanduku" (kazivala H. V., Sarajevo) čime se, između ostalog, prema shvatanju kazivača, iskazuje i konfesionalna pripadnost umrle osobe.

Odluka o mjestu ukopa u navedenim primjerima proistekla je iz usmene oporuke pokojnika. Ali iz nestrukturiranih intervjuova koji su vođeni s kazivačima proističe da odluku o mjestu ukopa mogu donijeti i najbliži srodnici pokojnika, a da na takvu odluku ni na koji način nije uticao pokojnik za života. Zaključuje se da je u takvim slučajevima često druga generacija migranata prepoznavala značaj matične zemlje svojih roditelja kao važan faktor identiteta. Ukop u nekim slučajevima u rodovska groblja, ili u drugima uz bliske pokojnike (a ta se bliskost ne mora odnositi samo na krvno srodstvo), pokazuje da se i zajednica mrtvih shvata kao elemenat identiteta.³³ Višedecenijsko vezivanje za određene grobne cjeline utiče ne samo na odabir mjesta ukopa već i na buduće prekogranične veze potomaka migranata.

Kad je riječ o običajnim radnjama koje prate smrt, novinske osmrtnice pokazuju da se one u

najvećem broju prakticiraju onda kada se sahrana pokojnika obavlja u matičnoj zemlji. Pored toga, registrira se da se običajna praksa provodi i u zemlji prijema pri ukopu također u zemlji prijema.³⁴ U prvom slučaju može se govoriti o favoriziranju pripadanja matičnoj zemlji, dok se u drugom prihvata pripadanje zemlji prijema. Drugim riječima, prostoru kojem je pripadao migrant za života pripada i njegovo mrtvo tijelo.

Daleko veća zastupljenost provođenja običajnih radnji pri ukopu u zemlji porijekla direktno proističe iz činjenice da su takvi običaji svojstveni određenoj zajednici i određenom prostoru. Takvu običajnu praksu ne poznaje zemlja prijema, što nikako ne znači da se ona ne može provesti u zemlji prihvata. Jedan od razloga za odsustvo posmrtnih običajnih prakse ponesene iz matične zemlje leži najvjerojatnije u činjenici da je iz različitih razloga učešće zajednice u posmrtnim običajima u zemlji prijema najčešće vrlo reducirano (nepoznavanje takve prakse, slabo razvijena mreža kontakata s dominantnom domicilnom grupom, malobrojnost migranata s kojima se dijeli zemlja porijekla ili također slabo razvijene unutar-migrantske mreže).

Pored navedenih primjera, u kojima se rješenja koja se odnose na običajnu praksu nameću kao logična za srodnike pokojnika (ukop u matičnoj zemlji i običajne radnje također u matičnoj zemlji, odnosno, ukop u zemlji prijema i shodno tome i običajne radnje u zemlji prijema), registri-
raju se i primjeri ukopa u zemlji prijema, dok se običajne radnje provode u zemlji porijekla.³⁵

³⁴ U Oslobođenju je 27. 11. 2015. godine objavljena osmrtnica u kojoj se navodi da je osoba umrla u Kaliforniji, gdje će se obaviti i ukop i tevhid, u džamiji "na adresi 7561 Central Ave. 33, Huntington Beach", dok se u Avazu 15. 1. 2016. godine obavještava da će se u povodu godišnjice smrti "tevhid proučiti u džamiji u Geteborgu iza podne namaza". Samo nekoliko dana kasnije, također u povodu godišnjice smrti, porodica obavještava da će posjetiti grob G. G. "u Briselu – Belgija i položiti cvijeće" (Avaz, 1. 2. 2016).

³⁵ U Oslobođenju je 20. 1. 2016. godine objavljena sljedeća osmrtnica koja pokazuje primjer sahrane u zemlji prijema, a običajne prakse u matičnoj zemlji:

17. januara 2016. godine blago u Gospodinu preminula je naša voljena K. S.

Sprovod drage nam pokojnice obaviti će se 28. januara 2016. godine u Oslu.

Sveta misa zadušnica obaviti će se 28. januara 2016. godine u 18 sati u crkvi sv. Josipa. (u Sarajevu, prim. A. S.)

Isti slučaj je i s R. L., koja je umrla i sahranjena u San Francisku, ali je misa zadušnica održana u kapeli Franjevačke teologije u Sarajevu.

Posebno zanimljivi su, s aspekta pripadanja pokojnika, ali i njegovih najbližih srodnika, primjeri prakticiranja posmrtnih običajne prakse i u matičnoj zemlji i u zemlji prijema.³⁶ To jasno pokazuje osjećaj istovremenog pripadanja i “ovdje” i “tamo” koji migranti na različite načine razvijaju, potvrđujući da oni mogu razvijati identitete “unutar društvenih mreža koje (ih) istodobno povezuju sa dva društva”.³⁷

U slučajevima ukopa u matičnoj zemlji, običajne radnje u sklopu posmrtnog rituala obično su one koje spadaju u skupinu tradicionalnih. Intervjui provedeni u sklopu rada na ovoj temi pokazuju da u daljnjem komemoriranju pokojnika u običajnoj praksi u pojedinim slučajevima ne učestvuje niko od druge generacije migranata – najbližih srodnika preminule osobe. Lično prisustvo, odnosno participacija živih srodnika, u običajnoj se praksi kompenzira novcem koji se šalje kako bi se obavile običajne radnje, što se može promatrati u kontekstu transformacija običajne prakse. Na preoblikovanje običaja u velikoj mjeri utiču i razlozi objektivne prirode (prostor na udaljenost, nemogućnost odsustvovanja s radnog mjesta i sl.). Ali, bez obzira na to, možda se ipak donekle može govoriti i o “protjerivanju” ili ignoriranju smrti, što je jedna od odlika zapadne kulture.³⁸

Prakticiranje običaja vezanih za smrt u zemlji porijekla može također ukazivati na to da se migranti nisu u potpunosti uklopili u društvo zemlje prijema koje, između ostalog, ima i drugačiju posmrtnu praksu. Ukop (sahrana) u matičnoj zemlji pokazuje također trajne veze migranata s društvom porijekla koje nisu, kako bi se očekivalo, s protokom vremena slabile, već su čak i za potomke migranata one postale bitne u stvaranju vlastitog identiteta.³⁹

Međutim, kad je riječ o običajnim radnjama koje prate ukop pokojnika u zemlji prijema, tu je situacija nešto drugačija. Pored onih ponesenih iz matične zemlje, uočava se i prihvatanje posmrtnih prakse društva zemlje prijema,⁴⁰ što

posredno govori i o građenju identiteta u okviru tog društva.

U periodu nakon rata 1992–1995. godine, odnosno disolucijom SFRJ, i države nastale nakon raspada bivše Jugoslavije shvataju se kao “inostranstvo”, pa se u nizu slučajeva bilježe primjeri smrti u susjednim zemljama, dok se ukop pokojnika obavlja u BiH, čime se također pokazuje značaj *mjesta* u životu migranta, a naročito u slučaju smrti izvan matične zemlje.⁴¹

Smrt u zemlji prijema, ali ukop u matičnoj zemlji, ustvari je povratak primarnom, rođenjem definiranom identitetu. To ukazuje da se, bez obzira na to što je dom stvoren izvan matične zemlje, makar nakon smrti ipak nastoji trajno vratiti u svoj prapočetak. Time se, na simboličan način, krug zatvorio – čovjek se sa smrću konačno i zauvijek vratio u tačku odakle je rođenjem i pošao. Čak i u slučajevima kada se ukop pokojnika obavlja u zemlji prijema, ali se obavještenja o smrti daju u matičnoj zemlji, potvrđuje se trajna povezanost migranata sa zemljom porijekla.⁴²

Upravo novinske osmrtnice ilustriraju koliko su migracije složen i višeznačan proces. One pokazuju da povezanost sa zemljom porijekla ne posjeduje samo određena starosna grupa migranata (što bi se možda moglo očekivati) već da se to odnosi na sve generacije jer se bilježe sahrane u zemlji porijekla i u slučaju smrti vrlo mladih osoba, odnosno druge generacije migranata.⁴³

Ukopati se u matičnoj zemlji za pokojnika znači konačno i zauvijek vratiti se kući. Za potomke migranata to je još jedna, možda najjača spona sa zemljom porijekla, koja se ostvaruje upravo preko mrtvih. Jer i onda kad u matičnoj zemlji nemaju više nikoga od živih najbližih srodnika, oni imaju “svoje mrtve” kojima se vra-

pokazuje prihvatanje posmrtnih prakse zemlje prijema: “Funerall Services will begin at 10 AM et The DeJohn – Flynn – Mylott Funeral Home in Willoughby Hills, Ohio, followed by a gathering at All Souls Cemetery in Chardon, Ohio, USA. Poslije ukopa zajednički obiteljski ručak i evociranje uspomena na našu dragu N.”

⁴¹ U Zagrebu je 20. oktobra preminula B. K. Polaganje urne će se obaviti na gradskom groblju Bare u Sarajevu, stoji u osmrtnici koja je objavljena u Oslobođenju od 1. 12. 2015. godine.

⁴² U Avazu je početkom decembra 2015. objavljeno obavještenje o tragičnoj smrti devetnaestogodišnjaka u St. Louisu, gdje je obavljen i ukop pokojnika.

⁴³ Tako se u osmrtnici objavljenoj sredinom juna 2015. u Oslobođenju obavještava da je Š. J. umrla u 18. godini u Švajcarskoj, a da će se ukop obaviti u Bratuncu.

³⁶ Tako se u Oslobođenju od 5. 11. 2015. godine navodi da će se komemoracija S. F. obaviti u Torontu, gdje je umrla, dok će datum komemoracije u Sarajevu biti naknadno objavljen.

³⁷ Čapo Žmegač 2013, 125.

³⁸ Toma 1989, 9.

³⁹ Čapo Žmegač 2003, 118.

⁴⁰ U povodu smrti J. D. “Memorial service u Vancouveru biće u srijedu, 24. februara 2016.” (Oslobođenje, februar 2016). 2. marta 2015. objavljeno je slično obavještenje koje

ćaju, koje "obilaze". Upravo su oni u nizu slučajeva isključivi razlog njihovih posjeta matičnoj zemlji. Sve to govori o još uvijek vrlo prisutnom kultu mrtvih na našim prostorima te o čvrstoj sponi živih i mrtvih koju čak ni ogromna prostorna, ali ni vremenska udaljenost ne narušava.

Recentna, i ograničena, etnografska istraživanja vezana za temu smrti u zemlji prijema, a ukopu u matičnoj zemlji upućuju na zaključak da su odluku o mjestu ukopa donijeli ili pokojnici za života, ili pak njihovi živi srodnici. Je li to konačno ostvarenje sna o povratku, jedina mogućnost da se iluzija o povratku, koju brojni migranti godinama i decenijama gaje, pretvori u stvarni i trajni povratak? Ili je to povratak među "svoje mrtve", u rodovska groblja u koja su sahranjivane generacije predaka pokojnika koja se prepoznaju kao jedina moguća mjesta ukopa?

Primjeri smrti u zemlji prijema, a ukopa u matičnoj zemlji koje nude analizirane osmrtnice mogu se promatrati u različitim kontekstima i u vrlo širokom rasponu – od tradicionalnog vjerovanja da se pokojnik, u pogledu mjesta ukopa, vraća tamo odakle je i uzeta zemlja za njegovo stvaranje, preko običaja ukopa na svojoj zemlji, koji je u direktnoj vezi s tzv. patronatskim pravom koje se razvilo u srednjem vijeku,⁴⁴ do transnacionalnog pristupa migracijama, koji posebnu pažnju posvećuje upravo odnosu migranta i društva porijekla. Kad je riječ o novinskim osmrtnicama, taj se odnos može podjednako primijeniti i na umrle osobe i na njihove žive srodnike, prijatelje, poznanike, također migrante. Promatranje osmrtnica u sklopu problematike migracija na svojevrsan način pokazuje svu složenost odnosa migranta prema matičnoj zemlji, što posebno dolazi do izražaja u slučaju smrti. Upravo novinske osmrtnice, u kontekstu na kojem se temelji ovaj prilog – smrti u zemlji prijema, a ukopa u zemlji porijekla, jedan su od pokazatelja "paralelnih životnih iskustava 'tamo' i 'ovdje'".⁴⁵

Zaključak

U ovom radu promatrane su novinske osmrtnice na osnovu kojih se može, između ostalog, steći uvid i u transnacionalnu praksu povratka po-

smrtnih ostataka migranata radi ukopa u matičnoj zemlji. Kao dopuna analizi novinskih osmrtnica, kad je to bilo moguće, korištena je i metoda nestrukturiranih intervjua kako bi se kroz etnografiju iskustva odgonetnulo ko, kada i zašto odlučuje o mjestu i načinu ukopa, kao i ukupnom posthumnom ceremonijalu, uključujući posebno običajnu praksu. Upravo spomenuta etnografija upućuje na zaključak da je odluka o sahrani u matičnoj zemlji često potpuno lična odluka preminulog migranta, čime on u konačnici preuzima i aktivnu ulogu u upravljanju samom smrću.

Iz novinskih osmrtnica iščitava se ne samo težnja migranta k ukopu u zemlji porijekla, što se može promatrati kao potvrda njegove uklopljenosti ili, s druge strane, kao potvrda njegove neuklopljenosti i neprihvatanja u zemlji prijema, već u nizu slučajeva i težnja da se društvo porijekla samo i isključivo obavijesti o smrti daleko od matične zemlje. Takvi primjeri pokazuju specifičan vid transnacionalne prakse koja se ostvaruje posredno i ima posebno značenje za migrantsku zajednicu jer se ni o jednom drugom obredu prelaza ne obavještava društvo zemlje porijekla osim u slučaju smrti

Novinske osmrtnice također su pokazale da je lokalni identitet jedan od najvažnijih kad je riječ o smrti izvan matične zemlje, a sahrani u matičnoj zemlji te da transnacionalnu praksu ne predstavlja samo posljednje putovanje posmrtnih ostataka već i docnija posmrtna običajna praksa. Ukop u zemlji porijekla, kao i provođenje običajne prakse, zatim obavještenja o smrti ili kasnije komemoriranje pokojnika kroz novinske osmrtnice u matičnoj zemlji može biti dugoročan poticaj za transnacionalne aktivnosti naredne generacije migranata koji se upravo preko mrtvih vezuju za zemlju svojih predaka.

⁴⁴ Lovrenović 2010, 300.

⁴⁵ Čapo Žmegač 2010, 22.

Summary

Newspaper Obituaries and Transnational Practice in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Focusing on newspaper obituaries, this paper addressed the transnational practice of return of deceased's body into their home country. In addition to the analysis of newspaper obituaries, empirical evidence was also gathered from unstructured interviews to examine the "who, when, and why" of the decision-making related to the place and manner of burial and posthumous ritual. Presented ethnographic evidence suggests that the decision about burial in one's home country is most often a personal decision made by the deceased migrant, through which he plays an active role in his own death. Newspaper obituaries do not solely demonstrate the migrant's wish to be buried in their home country – which can be read as either a proof of their assimilation or the lack of it – but also the wish for an announcement of death that happened far from a home country. Such examples show a specific kind of transnational practice that is very important for migrant communities, especially because no other transitional event is announced in their home country.

Newspaper obituaries also show that local identity is most important when it comes to migrants' death in an adopted country, and their burial in their home country. Moreover, the abovementioned transnational practice is demonstrated not only through the transportation of deceased's body, but also through posthumous death rituals. Burial in a home country, along with the performance of death rituals, newspaper obituaries, and memorialization of the deceased through newspaper obituaries in the home country, can be a longterm incentive for transnational and transgenerational activities of migrants who maintain their relationships with their home country through their dead.

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III

Kritike i prikazi / Besprechungen

Adnan Busuladžić, *Tragovi antičkog teatra, muzike, gladijatorskih borbi i takmičenja iz arheoloških zbirki u Bosni i Hercegovini = Evidence of the theatre, music, gladiator combats and games from ancient Greece and Rome in archaeology collections in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, 2017, 314 str.

Monografija *Tragovi antičkog teatra, muzike, gladijatorskih borbi i takmičenja iz arheoloških zbirki u Bosni i Hercegovini* je nastala kao rezultat plodnog naučnog rada Adnana Busuladžića na polju klasične arheologije i njegovog djelovanja u pravcu modernizacije bosanskohercegovačkog arheološkog diskursa. U tom smislu je sama monografija podijeljena u dva dijela, od kojih je u prvom dijelu autor predstavio različite teoretske rasprave na tematiku teatra, muzike, gladijatorskih igara i atletizma u grčko-rimskom svijetu, dok je u drugom dijelu monografije predstavljen katalog sa arheološkim materijalom antičke provenijencije obrađenim u monografiji, a koji su dio različitih muzejskih zbirki sa područja Bosne i Hercegovine. Polazeći od navedene općeprisutne premise o teoretskom razumijevanju značaja i utjecaja navedenih kulturoloških fenomena unutar grčko-rimskog svijeta, a težeći što kvalitetnijem dostizanju spoznaje istih, autor monografije u svakom od poglavlja i potpoglavlja prvo pristupa predstavljanju korijena određene pojave u teatru, muzici, gladijatorskim borbama i takmičenjima u kontekstu klasične Grčke i Rima, a zatim se, postižući pretpostavljeni i očekivani nivo razumijevanja istih, referira na konkretne primjere sa područja Bosne i Hercegovine minuciozno ukazujući na činjenicu da je prostor današnje Bosne i Hercegovine u vremenima klasičnih civilizacija poput Grčke i Rima reprezentirao jedan segment veće cjeline nekadašnje historijske pozornice.

U prvome poglavlju pod nazivom *Uvod* Adnan Busuladžić započinje djelo sa razmatranjima o počecima antičkog teatra u antičkoj Grčkoj, dosljedno slijedeći ideju da je potpuno percipiranje uloge pozornice kulturnog, duhovnog i imaginarnog života u antičkom svijetu moguće isključivo kroz spoznaju razloga i načina nastanka ovih oblika zabave i izgradnje kulturnog identiteta antičkog čovjeka. U tom smislu Busuladžić svoju, moglo bi se reći predstavu o predstavi, započinje u periodu mitova i drevnih grčkih kultova polazeći od Dioniza, tačnije Dioniza Eleuterija i kolijevke grčke tragedije, teatra smještenog na mjestu gdje su obavljane kultne ceremonije. Nalazeći se u centru misli i ideje starih Grka, u podnožju Akropolja, na ovom mjestu je nastao najstariji poznati teatar još u dalekom VI stoljeću stare ere i upravo polazeći od ove tačke se autor Busuladžić osvrnuo na brojne kultove i mitološke pozadine božanstava poput Sabazija, Libera, Erosa-Amora, kao i Satira-Silena, na području Rimskoga carstva, kao i teritorija koji danas pripadaju Bosni i Hercegovini. Analizirajući ove kultove i božanstva Adnan Busuladžić ih uspješno povezuje sa teatarskim izvedbama i materijalnim ostacima u kojima su prepoznatljivi tragovi materijalnog fiksiranja duhovnosti i kulturnog života antičkog čovjeka i njegovog okruženja.

U idućem, drugom poglavlju se vrši analiza uloga tragedije, komedije, pantomime i mime u razvoju antičke teatarske umjetnosti. U tom smislu je na ovom mjestu prezentiran historijski razvoj različitih teatarskih žanrova koji se javljaju u antičkom periodu, polazeći od Eshila i Sofokla, nastanka tragedije i njene socijalno-političke dimenzije pa sve do razvoja istih žanrova u okvirima rimskog svijeta. Prateći postupni razvoj cjelokupnog kulturološkog fenomena „predstave“ Busuladžić u više navrata zapaža činjenicu da su „mnogobrojne religijske svečanosti bile nezamislive bez igara“ te se kroz prizmu ovoga zapaža nezamjenjiva uloga teatarske pozornice u životu, kao i smrti, antičkog čovjeka. Sam nastavak djela autora Busuladžića dodatno ukazuje na ovu činjenicu kroz detaljnu analizu pojave i razvoja teatra, amfiteatra i hipodroma kao namjenskih objekata, a na kraju i kroz analizu pokretnih materijalnih ostataka kao simbola teatra, posebice teatarskih maski. Govoreći upravo o pojavi teatarskih maski autor pravi, u odnosu na klasični bosanskohercegovački arheološki diskurs, značajnu digresiju ka modernim promatranjima uloge i značaja materijaliziranih elemenata žive kulture te upravo na ovom mjestu vodi čitaoca u neke segmente, poput religioznosti, uloge maske kao predmeta koji nije skrivao lice već naprotiv

pred gledateljima otkrivao nova lica, lica božanstava, lica različitih emocija i slično. Pored ovoga se u ovom dijelu navode brojni podaci o prikazu odjeće i obuće glumaca, kao i prikazu itifaličkih muškarca na arheološkim ostacima koji se čuvaju u zbirci Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu. Na kraju, ovo poglavlje autor završava raspravom o ulozi glumaca i ulozi publike u teatarskim izvođenjima, jasno ukazujući na činjenicu da je auditorij predstavljao i živog participanta predstave a ne promatrača kao što je to slučaj u vremenima modernog doba.

Slijedeća dva poglavlja, treće i četvrto, predstavljaju detaljne podatke o muzici i gladijatorskim borbama kao načinu epikurejskih zadovoljenja aponie i ataraxie, kao načinu života antičkog vremena. U tom smislu treće poglavlje donosi značajne podatke o muzici kroz razvoj muzičkih instrumenata u antičkoj Grčkoj i Rimu, pa sve do pojave kršćanstva kao dominantne religije. U nastavku autor prezentira podatke o prikazima predstava svirača, plesačica i plesača kao motiva koji se javljaju na obrađenim predmetima. Dakako da su, te su u tom kontekstu i navedene, različite mitološke figure utjecale na razvoj muzike bilo kao izumitelji koji su kreirali pojedinačne instrumente bilo kao neki od najvećih muzičara koje po tradiciji poznaje čovječanstvo. Uzimajući u obzir njihove prikaze na ostacima materijalne kulture prezentiranim kroz arheološke nalaze autor Busuladžić se osvrće direktno na mitološke figure ovih ličnosti te tako detaljno prikazuje Orfeja čija lira je stavljena u sazviježda, Kaliope, Hermesa – Merkura, Apolona, Atene i Silvana, kao i stranih kultova poput božanstva Izide sa kojom je povezana upotreba sistroma. Prateći dva prožeta svijeta u kojim je antički čovjek pronalazio svoju razonodu i zadovoljstvo, od kulturološke uzvišenosti muzike do surove okrutnosti autor opravdano naglašava značaj gladijatorskih borbi tog vremena te se osvrće na njihovo porijeklo još od Samnita i Etruraca odakle su iste stigle i u rimske živote. Na svojstven način, teatarska bina kao i ona iz pisane predstave, sa nerijetko tragičnim završetkom koji su akteri na pozornici mogli odigrati samo jednom, gladijatorska borba je posjedovala svoj kult, svoja božanstva najčešće zaštitnike gladijatora. Tu se posebice izdvajaju Dijana, Silvan, Mars i Nemeza kao takvi dok su Dioskuri štitili atletičare i sportiste a Heraklo sportiste, gladijatore, atletičare dok je i sam bio tema teatarskih komada. Ovo poglavlje se u cilju potpune spoznaje gladijatorskih borbi i sporta završava opisom upotrebe strigila, bronzanih aribalosa i prezentacijom primjeraka koji su evidentirani u različitim zbirkama sa područja Bosne i Hercegovine.

U posljednjem tekstualnom poglavlju, *Tragovi antičkog teatra i amfiteatra na tlu Bosne i Hercegovine*, autor donosi zaključna razmatranja o ovoj problematici, te na kraju samog poglavlja taksativno navodi sve predmete koji se mogu, bilo preko likovnih prikaza ili kao utilitarni predmet, povezati sa pojavama glume, muzike, gladijatorskih igara i atletizma, a nalaze se u arheološkim zbirkama muzeja sa područja Bosne i Hercegovine.

Nakon ovoga slijedi katalog predmeta koji su obrađeni u monografiji, u kome se za svaki predmet navodi mjesto čuvanja, lokalitet na kojem je pronađen, navodi kratki opis i dimenzije predmeta, te se prezentira literatura u kojoj je predmet obrađen, ukoliko je predmet publiciran. Također u katalogu su prvo opisani predmeti pronađeni izvan Bosne i Hercegovine, a nalaze se u zbirkama bosansko-hercegovačkih muzeja, dok su u drugom dijelu kataloga navedeni predmeti koji su pronađeni na tlu današnje Bosne i Hercegovine, te se nalaze u prethodno navedenim zbirkama.

Nakon predstavljene teme i kataloga, slijedi popis literature korištene tokom izrade monografije, prema kojem se na četrnaest stranica može uočiti široka upotreba djela štampanih u susjednim zemljama, ali i Njemačkoj, Italiji, Velikoj Britaniji, Francuskoj, SAD-u, Mađarskoj i drugim, što umnogom povećava naučnu vrijednost monografije.

U posljednjem dijelu monografije, autor u pedeset i osam tabela predstavlja 144 fotografije i ilustracije arheološkog materijala iz različitih zbirki bosansko-hercegovačkih muzeja, a koji je prethodno opisan u monografiji u katalogu predmeta.

Na kraju, nužno je naglasiti da se autor ovom monografijom otisnuo izvan poznatih okvira na prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine te se dotakao teme o području za koje u Bosni i Hercegovini do sada nije postojalo djelo u kojem bi se na sistematičan način i na jednom mjestu izvršila prezentacija ove problematike. Monografija daje kompletnu sliku razvoja teatra, muzike, gladijatorskih borbi i takmičenja u antičkoj Grčkoj i Rimu, te je u sklopu iste autor Busuladžić izvršio povezivanje ovih pojava sa arheološkim materijalom iz zbirki različitih bosansko-hercegovačkih muzeja, a koji je na kraju i prezentiran putem brojnih ilustracija i fotografija. Uz ovo je neophodno napomenuti da je ova monografija pisana dvojezično, tačnije bosanskim i engleskim jezikom, što umnogome uvećava potencijal njene diseminacije u svjetskim naučnim krugovima. U cjelini, ovdje je riječ o savremenoj monografiji koja prelazi granice tradicionalne bosansko-hercegovačke deskriptivne arheologije otvarajući pitanje moderne spoznaje teatarskog komada u kojem se na historijskoj pozornici odvijao život običnog antičkog čovjeka. Napuštajući pitanje političke interpretacije, historijskih ličnosti i pojedinačnih događaja od izuzetnog značaja te predstavljajući radosti i zadovoljstva običnog čovjeka ova monografija postaje novo polazište za buduće istraživače koji se u Bosni i Hercegovini, a i šire, budu bavili problematikom teatra, muzike, gladijatorskih borbi i takmičenja.

Adnan Kaljanac

Hronika / Chronik

Izvještaj o radu Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja ANUBiH u 2018. godini

Aktivnosti Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja ANUBiH tokom 2018. godine uglavnom su bile usmjerene na izdavačku djelatnost. U okviru raspoloživih mogućnosti radilo se i na obradi arheološkog materijala, kao i na završnoj pripremi digitalne prezentacije kartoteka iz okvira balkanologije koje su u prethodnom periodu oformljene u okviru naše institucije. Prvu polovinu godine obilježilo je štampanje i distribucija Godišnjaka/Jahrbucha br. 46 za 2017. godinu, a u drugom polugodištu su prikupljeni i obrađeni radovi za Godišnjak/Jahrbuch br. 47 za 2018. godinu. Uz redovne rubrike, ovaj broj sadrži i priloge koji su prezentirani na prvoj PeBA-konferenciji (*Perspectives of Balkan Archaeology – The Early Iron Age: Methods and Approaches*) koja je održana u Zemaljskom muzeju Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu 8–9. aprila 2016. godine. Pripremu i štampanje časopisa je i ovoga puta podržalo Evroazijsko odjeljenje Njemačkog arheološkog instituta. Značajnu finansijsku pomoć pružili su Fondacija za izdavaštvo Sarajevo, Federalno ministarstvo obrazovanja i nauke, kao i Zentrum für Antike Welten iz München-a.

Tokom 2018. godine nastavljeno je s radom na štampanju istorijskih izvora za srednjovjekovnu Bosnu, autora prof. dr. Esada Kurtovića. Riječ je o drugom tomu knjige "Izvori za historiju srednjovjekovne Bosne (Ispisi iz knjiga kancelarije Državnog arhiva u Dubrovniku 1341–1526)" koji sadrže arhivsku građu iz serije *Debita notariae* (Knjige zaduženja). U ovoj fazi pripreme publikacije za štampanje najviše se radilo na pronalaženju finansijskih sredstava. S obzirom da Akademija nema mogućnosti samostalno finansirati ovo izdanje, prihvaćena je ponuda Historijskog arhiva u Sarajevu i Instituta za historiju u Sarajevu za zajednički rad na štampanju ove vrijedne publikacije. U tom smislu su obavljani i prvi razgovori, te se nadamo da će štampanje drugog toma "Izvora" u dogledno vrijeme biti privedeno kraju.

Također, radilo se na pripremi drugog toma izdanja "Lične zabilješke generala Oskara Potioreka o unutrašnjopolitičkoj situaciji u Bosni i Hercegovini (period od jula do početka I. svjetskog rata 1914. godine)" koji pripremaju akademik Dževad Juzbašić i prof. dr. Zijad Šehić. U toku ove godine prikupljen je najveći dio Potiorekovih rukopisa u Bečkim arhivima, a prikupljanje i obrada ovog materijala biće završeni u sljedećoj godini.

U saradnji s Arheološkim institutom Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Sarajevu u ovoj godini se pristupilo sistematizaciji arheološke građe koje je sakupljena tokom istraživanja našeg Centra na Glasinačkom području u vremenu od 1975. do 1990. godine. Uglavnom se radi o materijalu iz gradinskih naselja koji je tokom ratnih godina nekoliko puta premještan, te je došlo do djelimičnog gubitka popratne dokumentacije. Na osnovu inventarskih knjiga i dnevnika iskopavanja uspješno su identificirani i razvrstani nalazi iz Gradine Ilijak, a u narednoj godini će se raditi na sistematskom pregledu i razvrstavanju nalaza iz naselja Kadića brdo na kome su obavljena sistematska istraživanja šireg obima, kao i na nalazima iz drugih glasinačkih naselja. Ovaj posao su uz konsultaciju s prof. dr. Balgojem Govedaricom u ovoj godini obavile saradnica Centra, Sabina Vejzagić i studentice s Arheologije s Filozofskog fakulteta u Sarajevu, Maida Turkmanović i Dženefa Merdanić.

Veoma značajan segmenat ovogodišnje aktivnosti odnosi se na finalnu pripremu web prezentacije dva korpusa kulturno-istorijske građe na kojima su angažovani saradnici našeg Centra. Radi se o kartoteci "Grobovi prastanovnika sjevero-zapadnog Balkana" koju je svojevremeno inicirao dr. Zdravko

Marić u saradnji s Blagojem Govedaricom i Seadom Čerkezom. Materijal je već odavno sakupljen i sistematizovan. Međutim, rad na elektronskoj finalizaciji tih podataka odvija se s dosta poteškoća, uglavnom zbog nedostatka finansijskih sredstava.

Novi član našeg Centra, prof. dr. Lejla Nakaš također se uključila u rad na elektronskoj prezentaciji kulturno-istorijske građe s našeg prostora, projektom digitalizacije crkveno-slavenskog rječnika. Građu za ovaj rječnik najvećim dijelom je sakupila prof. dr. Herta Kuna u periodu do 1990. godine. Elektronska građa je već kompletirana i sada je potrebno napraviti web stranicu za pretraživanje različitih varijanti glagoljičkih i ćirilčkih tekstova. Oba projekta digitalizacije na kojima se radi u našem Centru biće prezentirana na novoj web stranici Akademije nauka i umjetnosti BiH, čime će se u znatnoj mjeri olakšati pretraživanje podataka i šire istraživanje bitnih elemenata duhovne kulture, kako iz perioda srednjeg vijeka, tako i iz dalje prošlosti našeg prostora.

Sabina Vejzagić

In memoriam

Orhan Jamaković (1946–2018)



Boreći se sa teškom bolešću, dana 15. augusta 2018. zauvijek nas je napustio saradnik našeg Godišnjaka/Jahrbuch-a, arheolog Orhan Jamaković. Kolega Jamaković rođen je u Senti (FNR Jugoslavija, NR Srbija) 28. 2. 1946. godine, a najveći dio života proveo je u Banja Luci i u Adelaidi, u Australiji. Arheologiju je studirao na Univerzitetu u Beogradu u vremenu od 1968. do 1973. godine, nakon čega se zaposlio kao kustos u Muzeju Bosanske Krajine u Banja Luci. Bavio se muzeološkim radom i istraživanjem praistorijskog perioda na području sjeverozapadne Bosne. Osim muzeoloških aktivnosti obavio je niz arheoloških iskopavanja, između ostalog na eneolitskom naselju u Kastelu Banja Luka, na praistorijskom naselju Brdašće u Laktašima (zajedno sa Z. Žeravicom), na neolitskom naselju Kovačica kod Kotor Varoši, i na nizu bronzanodopskih i željeznodopskih gradinskih naselja u srednjem toku Vrbasa (područje Banja Luke). O tim istraživanjima objavio je više naučnih radova.

Tokom rata u Bosni i Hercegovini Orhan Jamaković je, kao i mnogi ovdašnji arheolozi i drugi mladi ljudi, bio primoran da napusti zemlju i zasnuje novi život u inostranstvu. On se preselio u Adelaidu u Australiji, i mada u novoj sredini nije mogao obezbijediti zaposlenje u struci, on je našao vremena i snage da nastavi s naučnom obradom svojih starih iskopavanja. Na osnovu kopija dijela dokumentacije koje je ponio iz Banja Luke, on je strpljivo rekonstruisao svoja prethodna istraživanja, a rezultate tog svog rada objavio je u Glasniku Zemaljskog Muzeja, kao i u našem Godišnjaku/Jahrbuch-u. Zahvaljujući tome, naučnoj javnosti su mogli biti prezentirani autentični izvještaji “iz prve ruke”, odnosno iz pera autora iskopavanja.

Pored svoje primarne muzeološke i arheološke djelatnosti Orhan Jamaković je bio i svestrano socijalno angažovan u svojoj sredini. U Banja Luci ga pamte ne samo kao neumornog istraživača, već i kao vrsnog sportistu. Odlaskom Orhana Jamakovića izgubili smo dobrog kolegu, velikog arheološkog entuzijastu i plemenitog čovjeka.

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Uputstva / Richtlinien / Guidelines

Uputstva za pripremu materijala za Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja ANUBiH

Forma priloga

Tekst (na njemačkom, engleskom, srpskom, hrvatskom, bosanskom jeziku...) uključuje apstrakt s ključnim riječima na engleskom jeziku, kao i obuhvatan rezime na stranim jezicima, ilustracije, napomene i potpunu bibliografiju.

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Veličina ca. 19 x 13cm ili "Din-B5" format. Prihvatamo slijedeće formate *.gif, *.jpg, *.psd, *.tif ili *.bmp.

Strane izraze navesti u kurzivu (*italic*).

Tekst ne hifenirati.

Napomene i citiranje

Napomene bi trebalo navoditi kao "fus note" u formi kratkog citata, prema važećim bibliografskim pravilima. Detaljno alfabetsko navođenje literature na kraju priloga treba da sadrži sve relevantne bibliografske podatke.

U tekstu, u fusnotama i u literaturi kod članaka na našem jeziku table se navode skraćenicom Tab. (a ne T.). Kod tekstova na njemačkom jeziku Taf.). Rimski brojevi se u principu ne upotrebljavaju, nego se u cjelini sve citirane numeracije pišu arapskim brojevima.

Redoslijed navođenja citata

Pri navođenju citata preporučuje se pridržavanje sljedećeg redoslijeda: 1) ime autora, 2) godina izdanja, 3) br. strane, 4) navedena ilustracija, 5) br. table sa brojem ilustracije.

Primjer:

Childe 1926, 120-122.

Milojčić 1949, 267 f.; Sl. 8, 2; 14, 3. 5. 7.

Renfrew 1974 Tab. 4, 2-6.

Naumann 1968, 12. 34; 50-72, Sl. 7, Tab. 19, 1. 7. 8; 20, 3. 4a-c.

Kod citiranja radova istog autora koji su objavljeni u jednoj godini, pored godine se unosi slovo.

Primjer:

Lüning 1996a, 12-56. Lüning 1996b, 45 f.

Molimo Vas da šaljete samo kompletirani materijal.

Znaci interpunkcije kod citiranja

Kod navedenih primjera obratiti posebnu pažnju na to gdje dolaze znaci interpunkcije, a gdje ne (između slovnih i brojčanih navoda nema interpunkcije- autor/godina; slika/broj i sl.

Primjer:

Naumann 1968, 12. 34; 50-72, Sl. 7 Tab. 19, 1. 7. 8; i sl.

Zarez dolazi iza godine kao i između broja pojedinačne slike i broja ilustracije na toj slici: Milošević 1949, 267 f.; Sl. 8, 2; itd.

Brojevi ilustracija se međutim razdvajaju tačkom: Sl. 14, 3. 5. 7.

Navođenje odvojenih stranica također se razdvaja tačkom: Naumann 1968, 12.34.

Ukoliko se radi o dva autora imena se razdvajaju kosom linijom “/”. Kod više od dva autora navodi se samo prvi autor, a na ostale se ukazuje sa “i dr.”.

Primjer:

Marinov / Yordanov 1978, 60-67; Agapov i dr. 1990, 48 f.

Pojedinačni citati u okviru jedne fus note mogu se razdvajati tačka-zarezom (semikolon) “;”.

Primjer:

Nehaev 1992, 76; Hančar 1937, 251, 333.

Literatura

Kod monografija navodi se kompletan naslov bez skraćivanja. Navodi se također i podnaslov.

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Primjer:

Martin-Kilcher, S. 1976, Das romische Graberfeld von Corraux im Berner Jura. Basler Beitrage zur Ur- und Fruhgeschichte 2, Derendingen 1976.

Naslov časopisa se u principu ne skraćuje. Godina izdavanja se navodi između broja časopisa i broja stranice, od kojih je odvojena zarezima.

Primjer:

Anthony, D. W. / Brown, D. R. 1991, The Origin of Horseback Riding, Antiquity 65, 1991, 22-38.

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Primjer:

Henrickson, E. F. 1994, The Outer Limits: Settlement and Economic strategies in the Central Zagros Highlands During the Uruk Era, In: Stein, G. / Rothman, M. S (ed.), Chiefdoms and Early States in the Near East, Monographs in world Archaeology, Madison 1994, 85-102.

Ukoliko se navode dva ili više autora imena se odvajaju sa “/”.

Primjer:

Anthony, D. W. / Brown, D. R. 1991, The Origin of Horseback Riding, Antiquity 65, 1991, 22-38.

Ako imate dodatnih pitanja molimo Vas da konsultujete redakciju.

Richtlinien zur Veröffentlichung im Jahrbuch des Zentrums für Balkanforschungen der AWBH

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Der Text (deutsch, englisch, serbisch, kroatisch, bosnisch...) sollte ein Abstrakt mit Schlüsselwörter in englisch, sowie eine Zusammenfassung in Fremdsprachen, Abbildungen, Anmerkungen und vollständiger Literaturliste umfassen.

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Auch die gewünschten Abbildungen möglichst in digitaler Form oder als scanfähige Druckvorlage einsenden. Folgende Dateiformate sollten ausschließlich Verwendung finden: *.GIF, *.JPG, *.TIF oder *.BMP (Größe ca. 19 x 13 cm oder Din A5).

Fremdsprachliche Begriffe durch Kursivdruck hervorzuheben (signifier).

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Anmerkungen sind grundsätzlich als Fußnoten in Form von Kurzzitaten in das Dokument einzufügen.

Ein ausführliches alphabetisches Literaturverzeichnis am Ende des Dokuments enthält alle wesentlichen bibliog-raphischen Angaben (s. u.).

Gliederung innerhalb der Fußnoten

Folgende Reihenfolge innerhalb der Kurzzitate ist generell einzuhalten: 1. Autorname, 2. Erscheinungsjahr, 3. Seitenzahlen, 4. Abbildungsverweis und 5. Tafelnummer mit Abbildungsziffer.

Bsp.:

Childe 1926, 120-122.

Milojčić 1949, 267 f.; Abb. 8, 2; 14, 3. 5. 7.

Renfrew 1974, Taf. 4, 2-6.

Naumann 1968, 12. 34; 50-72, Abb. 7, Taf. 19, 1. 7. 8; 20, 3. 4a-c.

Bei gleich lautenden Kurzzitaten wird an das Erscheinungsjahr ein Buchstab angehängt.

Bsp.:

Lüning 1996a, 12-56; Lüning 1996b, 45 f.

Interpunktion beim Zitieren

Keine Interpunktion zwischen Buchstaben und Nummern (Autorenname und Jahr: Nauman 1968; Abbildung und Nummer: Abb. 7 Taf. 19).

Das Komma erscheint nach dem Jahr und zwischen der Abbildungsnummer und Einzelbildnummer.

Bsp.

Milojčić 1949, 267 f.; Abb. 8, 2.

Numerierung der Einzelbildern innerhalb einer Abbildung wird mit einem Punkt getrennt: Abb. 14, 3. 5. 7.

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Sind zwei Verfasser beteiligt, werden die Namen im Kurzzitat der Fußnote durch Schrägstrich “/“ getrennt. Bei mehr als zwei Autoren wird lediglich der erstgenannte Autor aufgeführt und auf die übrigen mit “u. a.“ verwiesen.

Bsp.:

Marinov/Yordanov 1978, 60-67; Agapov u.a. 1990, 48 f.

Einzelne Zitate innerhalb einer Fußnote können durch das Semikolon “;” getrennt werden.

Bsp.:

Nechaev 1992, 76; Hancar 1937, 251.333.

Literaturverzeichnis

Bei Monographien Katalogen, Festschriften u. ä wird der Titel vollständig und ohne Abkürzungen aufgeführt. Der Untertitel, Herausgeber und Verlag ist ebenfalls mit aufzuführen. Ist das Buch innerhalb einer Publikationsserie erschienen, ist der Serientitel anzugeben sowie die Serien- und Bandzahlen. In Klammern steht das Erscheinungsjahr, dem zitierten Titel vorangestellt wird.

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Zeitschriftentitel sind generell nicht abzukürzen. Die Jahrgangszahl wird dabei in Kommata eingeschlossen.

Bsp.:

Anthony, D. W. / Brown, D. R. 1991, The Origin of Horseback Riding, *Antiquity* 65, 1991, 22-38.

In einem Sammelband (Festschrift, Kongressbericht, Katalog o.ä.) erschienene Arbeiten werden mit dessen ungekürztem Titel zitiert. Vor dem Titel des zitierten Aufsatzes steht “In:”. Der darauf folgende Name des Herausgebers wird durch “(Hrsg.)” oder “(ed.)” gekennzeichnet und steht vor dem Titel des Sammelwerkes.

Bsp.:

Henrickson, E. F. 1994, The Outer Limits: Settlement and Economic strategies in the Central Zagros Highlands During the Uruk Era, In: Stein, G. / Rothman, M. S (ed.), *Chiefdoms and Early States in the Near East*, Monographs in world Archaeology, Madison 1994, 85-102.

Wenn zwei oder mehrere Autoren zitiert sind wird mit “/“ getrennt.

Bsp.:

Anthony, D. W. / Brown, D. R. 1991, The Origin of Horseback Riding, *Antiquity* 65, 1991, 22-38.

Bitte wenden Sie sich bei offenen Fragen an die Redaktion.

Guidelines for the article preparation for Godišnjak CBI ANUBiH

Form of article

Text (in German, English, Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian ...) should contain an abstract with key words in english with a comprehensive summary in foreign language, illustrations, references and bibliography.

Text should be given in a digital form accompanied printed version format both "Din- A4" with margins 2,5 cm each. You are kindly asked to send text in a Microsoft Word Program or in Corel Word Perfect. Do not insert paging, headers or different kinds of text formatting. It is recommended that you use fonts: Times New Roman, Courier or Arial, size 12 pt, and the line spacing 1,5. Special characters and symbols (Č,ć,Ć,ć,Š,š,Ž,ž etc.) have to be marked in a print version.

Illustrations should be prepared also in a digital form or with a good scanning quality - size cca. 19 x 13 cm or "Din-B5" format. We accept following formats: *.gif, *.jpg, *.psd, *.tif or *.bmp. Foreign expressions should be cited in italic Text should not be hyphenated.

Notes and citations

Notes should be in form of footnotes as short quotes according the bibliographic rules.

Detail alphabetic list of bibliography in the end of the article should contain all relevant bibliographical data. In text, footnotes and bibliography in Bosnian and English, Tables are given with a short Tab. (not T.). In German text (Taf.). Roman numbers are basically not in use, all numbering is principally in Arabic numerals.

Citation order

Citation is recommended by the following order: 1) Name of author, 2) Year of publication 3) Page number, 4) Quoted illustration 5) Table number with a number of illustrations.

Example:

Childe 1926, 120-122.

Milojčić 1949, 267 f.; Fig. 8, 2; 14, 3. 5. 7.

Renfrew 1974, Tab. 4, 2-6.

Naumann 1968, 12. 34; 50-72 Fig. 7, Tab. 19, 1. 7. 8; 20, 3. 4a-c.

Citation of the same author's articles published in the one year has to have letter mark following the year of publication.

Example:

Lüning 1996a, 12-56; Lüning 1996b, 45 f.

We kindly ask you to send only the completed material.

Punctuation marks in quoting

In following examples see where the punctuation marks are (between letter and number characters in quote there are no punctuation marks, author/year; illustration / number and picture number).

Example:

Naumann 1968, 12.34; 50-72, Fig. 7, Tab. 19, 1. 7. 8;

Comma comes after year, as between the number of a single picture or the number of the illustration in that picture (table) :

Example:

Milojčić 1949, 267f.; Sl. 8, 2; itd.

Numbers of illustrations are separated by periods: Fig. 14, 3. 5. 7.

Different pages quoting should also be separated by period mark: Naumann 1968, 12.34.

If there are two authors their names are separated by slash line “/”. In case of more authors only the name of the first one is quoted and other are just mentioned as “et al.”

Example:

Marinov / Yordanov 1978, 60-67; Agapov et al. 1990, 48 f.

Individual quotations in one footnote can be separated by semicolon “;”

Example:

Nehaev 1992, 76; Hancar 1937, 251, 333.

Bibliography

Monographs, catalogues, proceedings and other special publications are given with whole title without abbreviation. Subtitles, editor and publisher should also be included. If the book is published in a serial publication, serial number and number of the volume should be introduced as well. A year of publication should be given between the name of the author and the title of the quoted article or the book, there. Number of the volume should be right after the title.

Example:

Martin-Kilcher, S. 1976, Das romische Graberfeld von Corraux im Berner Jura. Basler Beitrage zur Ur- und Fruhgeschichte 2, Derendingen 1976.

Principally title of the journal should not be reduced. Year of publication should be given, between the number of the journal's volume and page numbers, separated by comma.

Example:

Anthony, D. W. / Brown, D. R. 1991, The Origin of Horseback Riding, *Antiquity* 65, 1991, 22-38.

In case of a proceedings (commemorative volume, congress articles, catalogue), whole title should be given, without abbreviation. It should be introduced “in” before the title of quoted Proceedings. Name of the editor that follows should be also separated with “ed.”, and given before the title of the Proceedings.

Example:

Henrickson, E. F. 1994, The Outer Limits: Settlement and Economic strategies in the Central Zagros Highlands during the Uruk Era. In: Stein, G. / Rothman, M. S. (ed.), *Chiefdoms and Early States in the Near East, Monographs in world Archaeology*, Madison 1994, 85-102.

In a case of two or more authors, their names are separated with “/”.

Anthony, D. W. / Brown, D. R. 1991, The Origin of Horseback Riding, *Antiquity* 65, 1991, 22-38.

For any further questions please contact the editorial board.

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