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Female costume from the Early Iron Age period at Glasinac in the heart of Western Balkans

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Abstract: The article discusses female costume from the Early Iron Age period at Glasinac. For this purpose, graves from tumuli in Podilijak, Ilijak and Pešter, which on the basis of characteristic jewellery can be defined as female, have been analysed. Anthropological analyses further revealed that among these female graves there are also infant or girl interments, which particularly stand out as regards their costumes, rich in jewellery. Our research demonstrated that the female costume was not uniform, but rather varied. Moreover, it appears that the costume had been specific and designative of social status of single female individuals within the framework of their family/clan communities and can accordingly be seen as reflecting the social role of these females.

Keywords: Bosnia region, Glasinac culture, Early Iron Age period, female costume

Since ancient times funeral customs developed according to unwritten rules, specific to separate social or ethnic communities, places, regions, cultures etc. As early as in the prehistoric period and especially in the Bronze and Iron Age, it is therefore possible to discern the appearance of the so-called “national costume” or “folk dress” in particular cultural areas on the basis of attested graves and grave-goods. Undoubtedly, attire as such is the most representative expression of cultural identity within particular area as well as of social affiliation to the specific cultural community, since the visual communication is clearly preceded by the verbal one. Thus, it can be concluded that the costume/attire bears both a designative as well as symbolic role. Every individual wears the attire which complies with his sociocultural system. Through examination of costumes/attires we therefore gain insight into the structure, practices and rituals of specific social communities as well as in their moral and aesthetic values.¹

¹ A vast corpus of scientific research exists on this issue, see e.g. Schubert 1993, 3-17, 37-69 etc.; Welters 1999; Lulić Što-

I.

In the present study we would like to look into the female costume from the Early Iron Age period on the territory of the Glasinac culture. Explaining the latter term would seem excessive, as the “Glasinac culture” is a well-known and generally accepted term, established already more than a century ago.² Nevertheless, we would like to mention the fundamental works by Alojz Benac and Borivoj Čović, who, in the middle of the past century, presented an extensive bilingual catalogue of finds from Bronze and Iron Age together with the chronological periodisation of the Glasinac culture.³ Although the

rić 2005, 150-151.

² See WMBH 1, 1893 (with contributions from several authors: Truhelka, Stratimirović Ritter v. Kulpin, Fiala) and all subsequent numbers of the same journal as well as the journal version in Serbo-Croatian language - Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja.

³ Benac / Čović 1956; Benac / Čović 1957; Čović 1959; Čović 1976a, 269-322; Čović 1987. See also Lucentini 1981. It should be stressed, that in the present study we will not treat specifically typological nor chronological questions, as the focus of research is oriented towards another subject.

Iron Age period graves from Glasinac attest to an impressively rich material culture, our investigation could take into consideration only a small number of graves, for the most part discovered in tumuli which were excavated in the last decades of the 20th century. Such are the barrows from Podilijak at Glasinac and from Pešter in western Serbia,⁴ which undoubtedly represent the characteristic examples of the Glasinac culture. More specifically, we will consider only the graves dating to the chronological phase Glasinac IV a-b according to the periodisation made by Benac and Čović,⁵ leaving aside later graves from those tumuli.

The analysis of graves within separate tumuli has been conducted with previously tested method⁶ applying uniform criteria, what is well discernible from the presented tables (Figs. 1-2). For the constitutive parts of attire and jewellery we tried to make out the manner in which they were worn (Fig. 3), their purpose and symbolic meaning. The first and most important category in this analysis represent fibulae, that is, spectacle fibulae (*Brillenfibel/ fibule ad occhiali*),⁷ disc fibulae (*Scheibenfibel, fibula a placca*)⁸ and bow fibulae, mostly of the two-looped type (*zweischleifige Bogenfibel, fibule ad arco semplice a doppia molla*).⁹ Second category constitute head or hair jewellery (*diadems*¹⁰ and hairpins), the third category is represented by the ring-shaped jewellery (bracelets, armlets and various circlets),¹¹ fourth consists of belt parts (clasps of the

type Glasinac-Mati,¹² calotte-shaped buttons and buckles,¹³ pendants and decorative appliques), fifth comprises glass, amber and bronze beads, which were mostly worn as necklaces, while the sixth category represents grave goods such as vessels. In cases when the anthropological analysis has been carried out,¹⁴ description of separate graves within tables contains also the information about the sex and age of the deceased. Even at first glance, it is clear from the tables (Figs. 1-2) that the female costume was not completely uniform, but rather varied and, as it appears, specific and designative of social status of separate females as a reflection of their social role in the Early Iron Age Glasinac culture.

II.

Let us now turn to the ways for definition of single costume types and their characteristics.

Necropolis at Podilijak comprises approximately 10 tumuli of various sizes. Our research takes into consideration female graves from three tumuli, the two of which - tumulus A and B - were excavated by Borivoj Čović,¹⁵ while the excavation of the third tumulus C was carried out by Blagoje Govedarica.¹⁶ All three tumuli feature the same structure, that is, a central grave in the middle containing one or several interments, surrounded by graves of the remaining family/ clan members, which were oriented tangentialy to the latter and arranged in one or two rows (Pls. 5-7). Also, all the three tumuli contained approximately the same number of graves, ranging between 10 and 16, and belonged to individuals of both sexes and various ages, what points to more or less equally represented social units, which could be described as family or clan communities. We will focus on this occasion only on female graves and those infant graves, which on the basis of costume or jewellery can be defined as female, or better, as girl graves.

⁴ Čović 1959; Govedarica 1978; Letica 1982.

⁵ Benac / Čović 1957, 26-39, Appendix 1; Čović 1987, 580-602, Figs. 33-35.

⁶ For the area of Western Balkans, see e.g. Teržan 1984; Teržan 1995, 82-83, Abb. 1; Parzinger 1991, 211-217, Abb. 1; Pabst 2012, 171-174, Tab. 6.

⁷ As already mentioned, our intention is not to treat the chronological question, hence see for spectacle fibulae Truhelka 1893, 81-82, Fig. 55; Lucentini 1981, 69-70, Fig. 1,1; Pabst 2012, 88-91, 105-106, 171-174, Taf. 16, 1-3; Tab. 6; Karte 25, 30.

⁸ Cf. Truhelka 1893, 82-83, Figs. 56-59; Kilian 1973a, 14-15, Karte 6; Čović 1976, 294-296, Figs. 159-166; Lucentini 1981, 70-71, Fig. 1, 3-9; Vasić 1999, 42-44.

⁹ Gabrovec 1970; Lucentini 1981, 71-72, Figs. 1, 15-22; 2, 1-5; Vasić 1999, 48-70.

¹⁰ Truhelka 1893, 92, Figs. 107-108; Lucentini 1981, 87, Fig. 5, 16-18; Čović 1987, 596, Sl. 35, 5.

¹¹ Truhelka 1893, 92-95, Figs. 109-124; Lucentini 1981, 84-85, Figs. 4, 18-29; 5, 1-15.

¹² Truhelka 1893, 90-91, Figs. 97-106; Kilian 1975, 129, Taf. 82, 3; Lucentini 1981, 82, Fig. 4, 1-17; Čović 1987, 596-597, Sl. 35, 7-9.

¹³ Truhelka 1893, 97-98, Figs. 145-151; Kilian 1975, 131-132, Taf. 87, 4; Čović 1987, 596-597, Sl. 35, 10-12.

¹⁴ Čović 1959; Govedarica 1978; Letica 1982.

¹⁵ Čović 1959, 54-70, 73-80, Appendices 1-2, T. 1-11.

¹⁶ Govedarica 1978, 21-25, Appendix 2, T. 3-4.

In the tumulus A, graves 3 and 7 clearly stand out due to their rich jewellery (Fig. 1, Pl. 1). Common elements in the costumes of both deceased constitute the belt clasp¹⁷ (Pl. 1, 2 and 11), a pair of bracelets, one for each arm (Pl. 1, 3-4 and 10, 12), and fibulae, which, however, differ according to their type and number. The first female had a pair of unique disc fibulae¹⁸ (Pl. 1, 5-6), while the second wore three fibulae, one two-looped bow fibula and a pair of spectacle fibulae (Pl. 1, 7-9).¹⁹ Similar costume elements, although in a different combination, can be observed also in the somewhat more moderate, double grave 4-5, which, however, did not contain bracelets. Attire of the grave 5 was composed by a bow fibula, a diadem and two belt clasps²⁰ (Pl. 1, 17-21). It seems telling, that the fibula was only one and of the two-looped, bow type, resembling the situation in the previous grave 7. On the other hand, the diadem points to a similar type of headdress encountered in the grave 3. The grave 4 contained the same combination of two spectacle fibulae as in grave 7, one placed on the chest, while the second dislocated left from the head, by the ceramic jug, and a necklace made of amber and glass beads.²¹ The remaining female graves were even more unassuming. In them, mostly spectacle fibulae can be observed (graves 2 and 8a) of the same type as in the graves 4 and 7, while bracelets were not included. However, the grave 2 contained a diadem, similarly as in the case of the grave 5. Interestingly, both richest interments – graves 3 and 7 – represent infant or girl graves,²² while other graves characterised

mostly by spectacle fibulae (with the exception of grave 5) belonged to mature female individuals (Fig. 1).²³

Analogous situation can be observed in the tumulus B (Fig. 1, Pl. 2). Opulent jewellery stands out in the grave 5, which, however, contained double interment of girls²⁴ (Pl. 2, 1-17). Their attire is in many aspects similar, but at the same time demonstrates also evident differences. Both were adorned with a diadem, calotte-shaped buttons together with clasps as decorative elements on the garment or belt as well as fibulae. The latter differ among each other according to their number and type, similarly as in the case of graves 3 and 7 from the tumulus A. The first girl (grave 5a) wore a pair of spectacle/disc fibulae (Pl. 2, 3-4),²⁵ resembling the situation in the grave 3 of the tumulus A, while the second girl (grave 5b) possessed as much as two fibulae pairs, one consisting of two spectacle/disc fibulae and the other comprising two two-looped bow fibulae (Pl. 2, 13-16), what is reminiscent of the fibulae composition within the grave 7 of the tumulus A. Besides the fibulae also other differences between the attire elements of the two girl interments can be noticed. The first girl (grave 5a) namely had a pair of bracelets, while the second girl was adorned with a hairpin, extremely numerous beads (405 made of amber, 117 glass and 2 bone beads) and bronze buttons decorating the garment, which extended from the neck to the ankles of the deceased.²⁶ Interestingly, the jewellery from the remaining three infant graves in the tumulus (graves 4, 6b, 9) demonstrates a marked difference from the first two graves as it is much more modest (Fig. 1, Pl. 2, 19-23) and represented only by bracelets or rings, worn sin-

¹⁷ Interestingly, the clasp was placed above the head (Čović 1959, 57).

¹⁸ One of the fibulae was placed on the right shoulder, while the second was discovered by the left foot with the front side oriented towards ground, what points to its secondary, non-functional position within the grave (Čović 1959, 57).

¹⁹ All three fibulae are made of iron, what points to their special value. For iron two-looped fibulae see also e.g. Teržan 1995, 140-141, Abb. 20.

²⁰ Also in this case, one of the belt clasps lay above the head, while the other example was placed by the right shoulder of the deceased. Both clasps were discovered with a front side facing the ground.

²¹ Čović 1959, 57-58.

²² According to the anthropological analysis, a girl approximately 10 years old was interred in the grave 3, whereas in the grave 7 there were no preserved bone remains, although the discovered small-sized bracelets indicate an infant burial: Čović 1959, 57-58.

²³ Čović 1959, 57-59.

²⁴ Čović 1959, 64 (their age was estimated between 10 and 12 years).

²⁵ From the attested fibulae, only their lower parts are preserved, that is, their band-shaped holders, on which either spirals from the spectacle fibulae of the Glasinac type (according to Pabst 2012, 105-106, Abb. 11, 1) or metal discs from the disc fibulae could be attached; see Čović 1959, 64. Therefore, it cannot be established whether the individual fibulae examples belonged to the spectacle or disc type, what we designated in the text as spectacle/disc fibula.

²⁶ Čović 1959, 64. Description of this garment reminds us in many ways of the princess dress from the grave 27 of the tumulus 48 in Stična, which likewise has been embroidered with bronze buttons and amber beads; cf. Gabrovec 2006, 32-36, T. 16, 21-22; Hellmuth 2008, Fig. 5.

PODILIJAK [tumul]	Burial / pokop [ukop]	Ceramic / keramika	Body attire / oblačilo				Fibulae			Hairdress / oglavje	
			Beads / perle	Buttons / dugmad	Belt hook / kopča	Bracelet / narukvica	Spectacle / naočarasta	Discfibula / kolutasta	Bow / lučna	Pin / ukosnica	Diadem
A3	inf.	1 (?) 1	98 + 64	1	2			2			1
A7	inf.			1	2		2		1		
A5	ad.			2	1 (?)				1		1
A4	ad.						2				
A2	ad.						1				1
A8	5 ad. + 4 inf.						4				
B5b	inf.		405 + 117 + 2	37 + 34				2	2	1	1
B5a	inf.			3 + 3		2		2			1
B2b	ad. + inf.		307 + 333			1 (?)		1		1	
B6a	ad.		271 + 1 + 30		1		2	1			
B6b	inf.		350			1 (?)					
B4	2 inf.		1			1					
B9						2					
C2b	ad.	1		2	1				2		
7(a)	ad. + inf.	2	105 + 41 + 9		1	x (?)	2				

Fig. 1. Podilijak, tumuli A, B and C – tabular presentation of graves with jewellery
(after Čović 1959; Govedarica 1978)

gle or in pairs, small glass beads and small bronze spirally wound wire.²⁷ The combination of jewellery by the only attested mature female individual, which was buried together with an infant of the grave 6a, is comprised of spectacle fibulae, worn in pair, belt clasp and numerous examples of blue glass and amber beads, suggesting either the presence of a necklace or the embroidered upper part of her garment (Fig. 1, Pl. 2, 24-29).²⁸

²⁷ In the grave 4 two infants were interred, in the grave 6 a female individual and infant and in the grave 9 only one infant; cf. Čović 1959, 64-65.

²⁸ Similar garments, embroidered with glass and amber beads are mentioned also in the case of Hallstatt period graves from Dolenjska region, that is, from sites Stična, Magdalenska gora and Novo mesto. For Stična cf. Gabrovec 2006, 15-16, T. 1, 6-18 (tumulus 48/grave 1); 19-20, T. 3, 4-8 (tumulus 48/grave 8); 45-46, T. 29, 5-21 (tumulus 48/grave 43); 74-75, T. 54-55 (tumulus 48/grave 98), 87-89, T. 69 (tumulus 48/graves 119-120); 89-92, T. 70-73 (tumulus 48/grave 121) and also cf. Haevernick 1981; for Magdalenska gora cf. Tecco-Hvala et al. 2004, 28-29, 125, T. 7-8, Appendix

However, remains of comparable jewellery that include fragments of spectacle fibulae, hundreds of minute amber and blue glass beads as well as larger bead made from carnelian, fragments of a ring and hairpin have been found also in the central grave of the tumulus, in the grave 2. The latter was heavily damaged and looted as well, nevertheless the above-stated goods clearly indicate that besides the male individual²⁹ also a mature female person and most probably infant as well had been buried (Fig. 1, Pl. 2, 30-36; 6). The jewellery namely demonstrates a similar combination as in the grave 6a-b, which – as already mentioned – contained interment of mature female individual together with infant (Fig. 1).

2 (tumulus II/grave a); 67-68, 154, Fig. 33, T. 100 (tumulus 13/grave 97), 71-72, 156-157, T. 105-106 (tumulus 13/grave 117); for Novo mesto cf. Križ 2000, 62-65, T. 22-24 (tumulus V/grave 35). Cf. also Teržan 2022.

²⁹ Čović 1959, 63.

ILIJAK [tumul]	Burial / pokop [ukop]	Ceramic / keramika	Body attire / oblačilo					Fibulae			Hairdress / oglavje	
			Beads / perle	Pendant / privjesak	Buttons / dugmats	Belt hook / kopča	Bracelet / narukvica	Spectacle / naočarasta	Discfibula / kolutasta	Bow / lučna	Pin / ukosnica	Diadem
IV / 1	S (inf. ?)				15	3	2	3		2 (1 + 1)		1
IV / 2	S x		x	7	18 + 60	1	2	4			1	
IV / 3	S (inf. ?)	1					2 (1 + 1)			1	1	
III / 2	S x		x	8	42 + 160	1	2			2	1	1
III / 3	S (inf. ?)	1				1 + 1	2	2			1	1
III / 5	S (inf. ?)						2					
III / 8	S x			1				1 ?	1 ?		1	
III / 7	S x	1										

Fig. 2. Ilijak, tumuli III and IV – tabular presentation of graves with jewellery (after Benac/ Čović 1957)

The observed structural parameter relating to the female costume in both tumuli A and B is practically identical. Each tumulus features two girl interments containing rich sets of jewellery composed of the circular belt clasp of the Glasinac type in the case of the tumulus A and of calotte-shaped buttons in the tumulus B together with a headdress (diadem or/and hairpin), a pair of bracelets (with the exception of the grave 5b in tumulus B) and with fibulae. The latter must have had an additional designative meaning, as the difference between the two girls of the same tumulus can be observed through diverse fibulae types and their composition, on one hand with dominating two-looped bow fibula (tumulus A, grave 7 and tumulus B, grave 5b), while on the other with disc/spectacle fibula (tumulus A, grave 3 and tumulus B, grave 5a).

Same characteristics can be observed also within the female costume of the tumulus C. The grave 7 contained three individuals, two mature females and an infant. One of the mature female individuals (grave 7a) demonstrated almost corresponding set of jewellery as the females from graves 6a and 2b of the tumulus B and from grave 4 of the tumulus A: on the chest she wore two spectacle fibulae, in the waist area a belt clasp, around her neck there were amber, glass and metal beads,

while her headdress consisted of several tin circlets, which were most probably sewn onto the edge of headscarf (Fig. 1; Pl. 2, 37-41; Fig. 3, 4).³⁰ The double grave 2 within the same tumulus contained male and female, whereas the female costume (grave 2b) consisted of a belt clasp and additional appliques together with a pair of two-looped bow fibulae (Fig. 1; 3,3; Pl. 2, 42-46).³¹ It should be stressed that within tumulus C male graves equipped with weapons prevail, but quite remarkably the only two attested female graves from the tumulus – the described graves 7b and 2a – nevertheless clearly differ between each other as regards designative elements of their female costume, especially in the attested fibulae types (pair of spectacle fibulae as opposed to the pair of two-looped bow fibulae). Therefore, it can be concluded that in relation to female costume within tumulus C we can observe the same variety/pattern as attested in the tumuli A and B (cf. Fig. 1).

Corresponding to the above presented situation at Podilijak is as well the example of tumulus I from Latinsko groblje in Pešter, where our focus will be only on the graves from Early Iron Age period, excluding the earlier ones from Late Bronze

³⁰ Govedarica 1978, 24, T. 4, 1-8.

³¹ Ibid., 22-23, T. 3, 5-10.

Age.³² In the tumulus I once again male warrior graves predominate, while there are only two female interments, hence similar to the situation in the tumulus C of Podilijak. Interestingly, both female graves contain a piece of weapon, that is, a knife (Pl. 3, 7 and 14) in a similar manner as in the male graves, where as a rule one-bladed swords/machairas are found (Pl. 3, 15, 20, 25, 28). Primarily, we would like to draw attention to the costume or jewellery of both females, which is structurally equal, although once again different as regards the types of fibulae. Both costumes contained necklaces made from glass and amber beads together with fibulae, which comprised a pair of spectacle fibulae in the grave 38 and a pair of two-looped bow fibulae together with a fragment of spectacle fibula in the grave 22 (Pl. 3, 1-5, 8-11). Consequently, also in this case the fibulae demonstrate a specific denotative function within the female attire of two members belonging to one and the same community – ergo, displaying identical principles as in the tumuli from Podilijak.

If we now try to use such perspective on the female graves from famous princely barrows in Ilijak, which are known above all by their outstanding warrior graves with prestige weapons, such as long iron swords, bronze greaves³³ and precious imported metal vessels³⁴, we find out that their female costume follows identical pattern as was observed in the tumuli discussed above, only that the graves from Ilijak are even more opulent.

In the tumulus III, there was an outstanding warrior grave (grave 9)³⁵ and additionally also two rich female graves – graves 2 and 3 – which show a rather similar, but not entirely identical, attire (Pl. 4, 25-43; Fig. 2).³⁶ Shared elements are represented by the headdress with

diadem and hairpin, a pair of spiral bracelets,³⁷ belt clasps and a pair of fibulae. The main difference lies once again in the fibulae selection: the grave 3 contains a pair of spectacle/disc fibulae (Pl. 4, 26-27), while the grave 2 features a pair of two-looped bow fibulae (Pl. 4, 34), connected between each other with a necklace. The grave 2 is further distinguished by a considerably richer remaining jewellery, as it contains a lavish necklace made from blue glass and amber beads as well as a luxurious gown, ornamented with 42 calotte-shaped buttons and with approximately 160 minute bronze buttons as well as with eight spherical and hollow pendants with openings (Pl. 4, 37-42; Fig. 3, 2). Such attire is hence parallel to the one in the grave 5b of tumulus B at Podilijak,³⁸ likewise containing a pair of two-looped bow fibulae. In sum, also within the female attire of the princely tumulus III from Ilijak fibulae function as a special parameter with a designative and distinctive function between the deceased female individuals in graves 2 and 3 (Fig. 2; Pl. 4, 25-43). The remaining graves from the tumulus III (graves 5, 7, and 8) appear to be much more modest and only the small-sized bracelet pair from the grave 5 could lead us to suppose it goes for an infant grave (Fig. 2).³⁹

No different is the situation in the tumulus IV from Ilijak, what evidently show the attire compositions in the graves 1 and 2 (Fig. 2, Pl. 4, 1-24).⁴⁰ While the headdress elements such as diadem and hairpin, the spiral bracelets⁴¹ worn in pairs and parts of belt elements such as clasps, buttons/phalerae and appliques represent the canonised constant of female costume in both graves, the differences are once again expressed through the selection and type of fibulae. In this way, the grave 2 contained as much as four spectacle/disc fibulae, that is, two pairs (Pl. 4, 2-5), while the grave 1 included even five fibulae, three spectacle and two bow fibulae, one of the one-looped and the other of the two-looped type (Pl.

³² Letica 1982, 12-16, T. 5-8.

³³ Benac / Čović 1957, 11-12, T. 13, 9; 16; 17, 1-4; Čović 1976, 275-281; Čović 1979, 146-152; Čović 1987, 591-593, Sl. 34, 6-8, 15, 26; 35, 19, 28; T. 61, 6; Kilian 1975, 129, Taf. 82, 2; for bronze greaves cf. also Kilian 1973b; Čović 1976b.

³⁴ Benac / Čović 1957, T. 18; Čović 1983; Čović 1987, 591, Sl. 34, 1-5; cf. also Teržan 1995, 89-92, Abb. 16; 21, 1-4.

³⁵ Benac / Čović 1957, 11, 69-70, T. 15-17. In view of the attested female jewellery, such as diadem, two bracelets and belt clasp, we presume that besides the male also female individual was buried, or alternatively, her jewellery pieces were placed into grave as *pars pro toto*.

³⁶ Benac / Čović 1957, 11-12, 69-70, T. 13, 1-7; 14.

³⁷ Bracelets from the grave 3 are described as small, hence we could infer it goes for an infant – girl burial: see Benac / Čović 1957, 11.

³⁸ Cf. the description of this grave and note 26 in the present article.

³⁹ Benac / Čović 1957, 11, T. 15, 4-5.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 8, 66, T. 6-7.

⁴¹ The bracelets from grave 1 are described as small, hence we could infer it goes for an infant – girl burial: see Benac / Čović 1957, 8, T. 6, 1-2.

4, 14-18). Interesting is also the composition of jewellery in the grave 3, in which besides the two-looped bow fibula, similar to the example from grave 1, two small bracelets of different types are present (Fig. 2)⁴², what in connotative sense is reminiscent of the two diverse types of bow fibulae within the grave 1. For both graves we can namely presume that they represent infant, that is, girl burials.

Our analysis of graves in tumuli from Podilijak, Ilijak and Pešter clearly demonstrated that we can follow the same patterns as regards jewellery or/and clothes. This means, that through female costume in each of the tumuli some kind of differentiation, hierarchization and/or polarisation of its female sphere is expressed, what reflects itself above all in the exclusive use of the particular type of fibulae within the attire.

III.

The relations between the single examples of female costumes with specific distinguishable elements can further be examined also through the grave arrangement within separate tumuli. As first, let us analyse the tumuli from Podilijak (Pls. 5-7). In the tumulus A, both girl interments are located in the first circle of graves surrounding the central burial. As shown on the Plate 5 the grave 3 containing a pair of disc fibulae lies on the right side of the tumulus, while the grave 7 with two-looped bow fibula is on the left side. The first circle of graves includes moreover two graves with mature female individuals, the double grave 4-5 lies on the one side, while the grave 2 on the opposite side of the tumulus. Collective burial including nine individuals (grave 8) and among which at least one female was interred with spectacle fibulae is located in the second tumulus circle (Pl. 5 a-b).

In the tumulus B, the double girl burial, grave 5a and b, is aligned in the first circle of graves, left from the central grave (Pl. 6 a-b). On the opposite, right side of the tumulus there is once again a double grave, grave 6a and b, containing interment of a female with infant. The arrangement of these two graves in relation to the central grave

or cardinal points is fascinating inasmuch as the double grave 5 in tumulus B demonstrates the same position as the grave 7 in tumulus A, while in both of the graves (A/7 and B/5b) the two-looped bow fibula stands as a main distinguishing element of attire. Similar correspondence can be observed also for the other two graves, graves A/3 and B/6, which are positioned right or west from the central grave and are specially denoted by spectacle or disc fibulae (Pl. 6 a-b).

It seems, that the same principle was used also in tumulus C (Pl. 7), as also here the double grave 2, in which one of the interments with female attire included a pair of two-looped bow fibulae, lies left from the central grave. On the contrary, the grave 7 with two mature and one infant interment, among which one of mature individuals with female attire wore a pair of spectacle fibulae, is located at the north-eastern side of the tumulus. Such position could possibly be related with the double grave 4-5 in the tumulus A. Moreover, within the tumulus I in Pešter the female grave 22 with the attire including two-looped bow fibulae also occupies a place in its western part, whereas the grave 38 with a pair of spectacle fibulae was situated on the southern side of the tumulus, what is reminiscent of situation in the case of grave 2 from tumulus A in Podilijak (Pl. 8).

The conducted overview of the arrangement of female graves within separate tumuli leads us to conclude, that selecting the grave position in tumulus was not left to coincidence, but rather a matter of rigid, although unwritten, rules. The place was determined in regard to central grave and cardinal points, while at the same time it depended on age, class and status of the deceased individual within the framework of its family group. Certainly, the fact that central grave is flanked on its west and east side with mostly infant, girl graves, cannot be only accidental, nor can it be a pure chance that graves with female attire comprising two-looped bow fibulae align as a rule on the eastern respectively western side of the tumulus. These must have had a certain designative role within the individual family communities. The arrangement of graves containing mature female individuals, which are mostly ordered to the north and south of the central grave, is likewise attested so frequently that it cannot be only a coincidence.

⁴² Benac/ Čović 1957, 8, T. 7, 12-14.

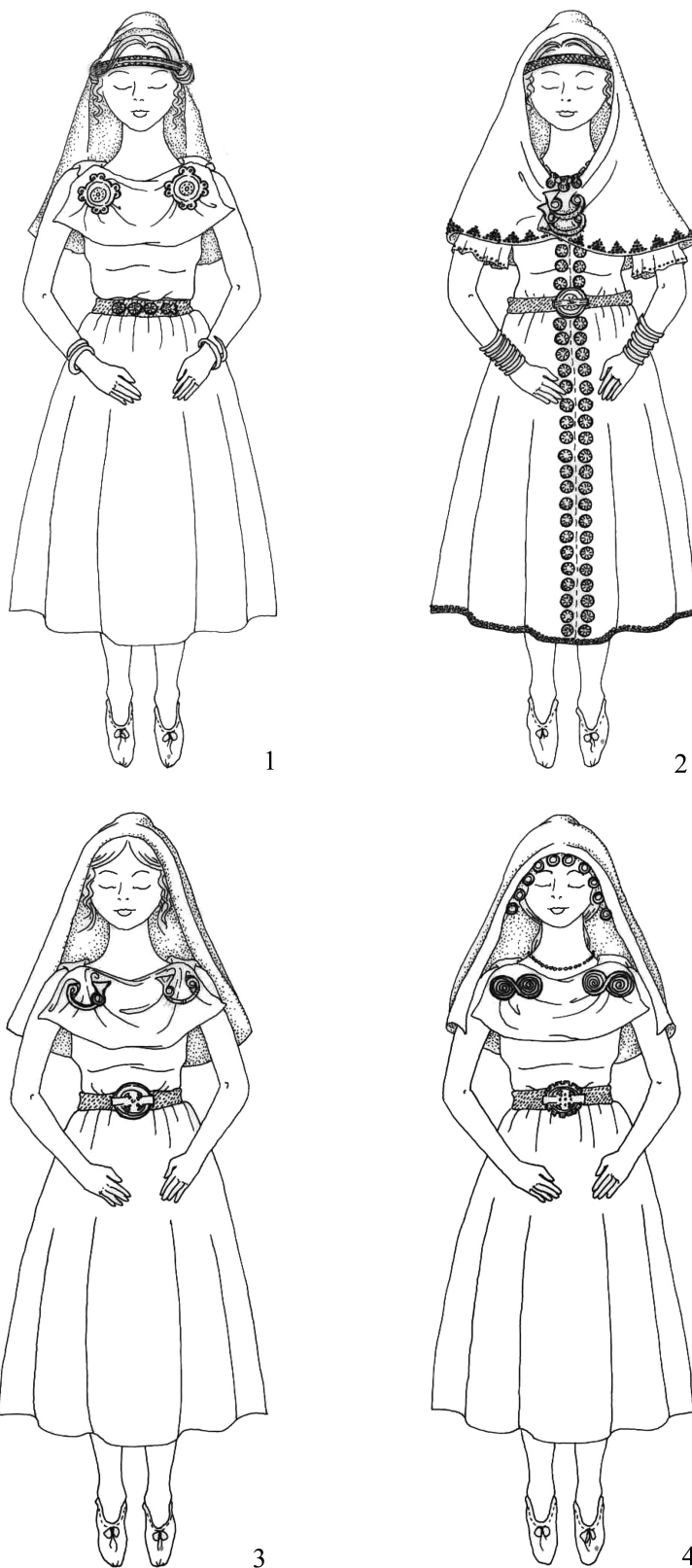


Fig. 3. Possible reconstruction of the appearance of female costume at Glasinac – 1 Podilijak, tumulus B/ grave 5a or tumulus A/ grave 3; 2 Ilijak, tumulus III/ grave 2; 3-4 Podilijak, tumulus C/ graves 2b and 7a (after Čović 1959; Benac/ Čović 1957; Govedarica 1978). The illustration of clothes and headscarf was modelled according to the female depictions on reliefs of Delmatae from Opačić in Glamoč Field, which otherwise date to the early period of Roman rule (Čović 1976, 255-257, Figs. 139-140). Drawing by Anja Hellmuth-Kramberger.

Therefore, it follows that in the Glasinac culture, rigorous and normative structural principles were in use, on which its social organisation was based. These principles regulated relations and bonds both among the members of a particular family group as well as among the separate families or clans.

IV.

The question regarding the actual position of female individuals, designated with the above presented jewellery (that is, either with bow or spectacle/disc fibulae), is of course much more difficult to answer.

At this point, we can further our inquiry with the help of ethnological research on »national costumes« respectively »folk dress« of the Balkan territory, especially from the neighbouring Dalmatian-Dinaride area as well as from the rest of Eastern Europe and, more particularly, studies which discuss symbolic meanings of particular elements of costume and attire. It is interesting, that costumes, regardless of their differences, demonstrate quite some common characteristics. Thus, the multi-coloured and elaborately decorated costumes, especially those with wide colourful belts and headdresses, are mainly characteristic of girls suitable to marriage, brides and newly-wed females. On the other hand, the costumes of married and widowed females appear more monotonous and modest with, as a rule, a large kerchief over their heads and shoulders (Fig. 4, 1-2).⁴³

If we take these findings as a starting point for our inferences, we can surprisingly discover that similar characteristics can be observed also with the female attires of above discussed Glasinac graves. The graves of mature females are mostly more modest in regard to jewellery, as their costumes are characterised mainly by pairs of spectacle fibulae, belt clasps and beads (cf. Fig. 1; Pls. 1-2: tumulus A/graves 4, 8a; tumulus B/graves 6a, 2b; tumulus C/grave 7a), while in several other graves metal, glass or amber jewellery is lacking, what prevents determination of their sex in archaeological analysis. In contrast, the graves of girls and young women show a completely different image,

as their jewellery is as a rule more varied and richer, what is evident from the figures presented above (Figs. 1-2, Pls. 1-2, 4). Among these, graves with opulent attire particularly stand out, as on one hand they contain the costume elements peculiar for mature females – fibulae and belt clasps – which appear, however, in larger numbers and more lavishly realised. This is especially evident in the case of precious clothes from the grave 5b of the tumulus B in Podilijak and those from the grave 2 of the tumulus III in Ilijak (Figs. 3, 1-2). On the other hand, the same graves are characterised by a quite specific jewellery such as diadems and bracelets worn in pairs, what opens a special problem of their interpretation.

Diadem was worn also by the deceased in graves 5 and 2 of the tumulus A, which according to the anthropological analysis were identified as mature individuals (Fig. 1; Pl. 1, 17-23). Likewise, Sabine Pabst conducted an integral analysis of graves with spectacle fibulae at Glasinac and could establish that spectacle fibulae in combination with diadems (1st group) and with bracelets worn in pairs (2nd group) appear mostly in graves of mature female individuals, although in cases in infant graves as well.⁴⁴ Spectacle fibulae represent a characteristic element of the female attire also at Vergina in Macedonia, where the female costumes are in many aspects very similar to those at Glasinac. In Vergina, a pair of spectacle fibulae combined with circular jewellery such as torques and bracelet pair are likewise characteristic of female attire belonging to mature wives.⁴⁵ Quite remarkably, bracelets worn on both hands are typical for attires of generally mature female individuals also in the area of the south-eastern Alpine Hallstatt culture, both in the Dolenjska and in the Notranjska group. This led us to interpret that the bracelets worn in pairs function as a sign and at the same time as a warning in visual communication, designating the person wearing bracelets as already given away, that is, married or engaged and hence untouchable.⁴⁶ In spite of this, the bracelets worn in pairs from the above treated graves of tumuli at Glasinac appear predominantly as a constitutive part of girl costumes

⁴⁴ Pabst 2012, 173, Tab. 6.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 140, 147, Abb. 14, Tab. 2; Pabst-Dörrer 2007, 649-652, Abb. 1.

⁴⁶ Cf. Teržan 1978, 55-63, Sl. 1-3; Teržan 1985, 80-83, 88-92, 99-101, Sl. 3-4, 8-11; Teržan 2008, 246-255, Sl. 24, I-III.

⁴³ Cf. e.g. Schubert 1993, 89-90, 192-203; Welters 1999, 7-10; Oštrić 2005, 14-16; Lulić Štorić 2005, 131-133, 138-143.

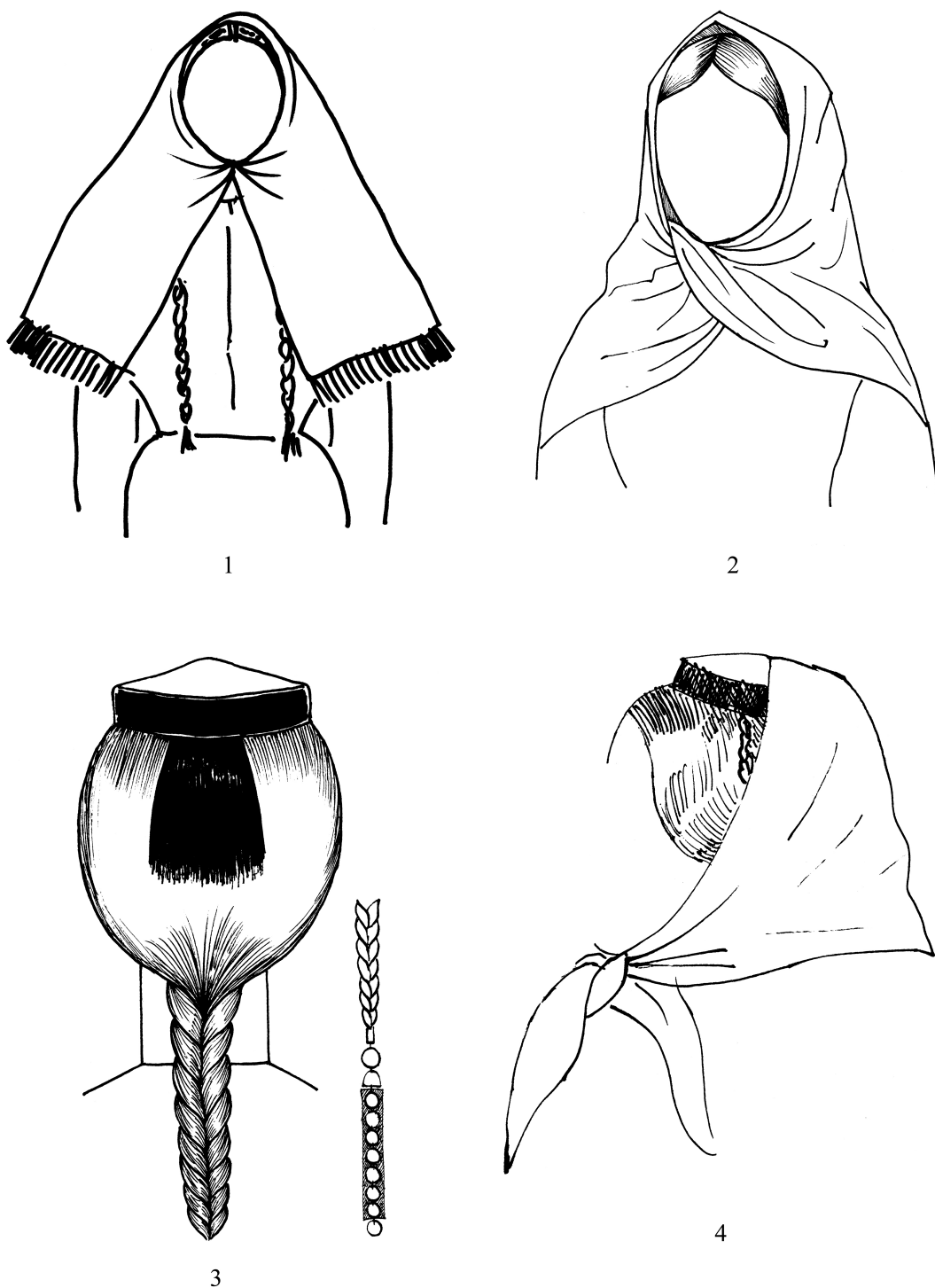


Fig. 4. Headscarves of national costumes from Northern Dalmatia, Dinaride type – 1 headscarf of a married Croatian wife; 2 headscarf of a married Serbian wife; 3-4 cap “crvena kapica” and headscarf of a young woman (after Lulić Štorić/ Oštrić/ Vojnović Tražiluk 2005)

(Figs. 1-2, Pls. 1-2, 4). Therefore, we presume that they represent prematurely passed away girls, which were engaged or given in marriage already at birth or in early childhood. Such presumption could possibly be substantiated with the wearing

of a diadem, which according to ethnological analogies also bears a special designative and symbolic meaning. It can namely be supposed that diadem decorated a particular headdress, resembling “crvena kapica” of Dalmatian-Dinaride

costume – a colourful girl headdress, which girls took off only several days after the wedding (Fig. 4, 3-4).⁴⁷ Accordingly, it can be proposed that costume, the part of which was also a diadem, denoted young women right before the wedding, brides and possibly also newly-wed wives (Figs. 3, 1-2).⁴⁸

More difficult to solve appears the question regarding the symbolic meaning of fibulae, either of the spectacle and disc type or those with a raised bow – bow fibulae. Spectacle/disc fibulae are attested as a part of the attire, which can be ascribed both to mature and infant female individuals (Figs. 1-2, Pls. 1-4).⁴⁹ For the bow fibula types, especially for the fibula from tumulus IV/ grave 1 at Ilijak (Pl. 4, 14) we could possibly draw an interesting parallel with small bow fibulae examples from Vergina, which are characteristic of costumes, belonging to infant individuals.⁵⁰ A similar differentiation between the costumes with spectacle fibulae and those with two-looped bow fibulae we could discern also in the case of female graves at the Hallstatt period cemeteries of the Notranjska region, although not within the framework of individual tumuli, but rather inside the limits of separate or even entire necropolises. The observed phenomenon led us to develop a thesis that it goes for a specific family/clan designations.⁵¹ As we tried to show here, the fibulae from graves at Glasinac likewise represent a very specific part of jewellery within separate costume types (Figs. 1-2, Pls. 1-4) and evidently had even been crucial in canonized decisions for grave position of their female owners within the tumulus (Pls. 5-8). This would in turn indicate that potentially the same denotative role of fibulae also existed within the framework of family/clan social groupings. We can only guess, whether in those graves first- and second-born daughters are represented or they rather denote principal and secondary wives, possibly brides.... Who knows?

⁴⁷ Oštrić 2015, 14, see figs. on pp. 39-42; Lulić Štorić 2005, 131-133, 140-142.

⁴⁸ For infant brides cf. also e.g. Barber 1999, 29; for brides and newly-wed women cf. Lulić Štorić 2015, 142.

⁴⁹ Cf. also notes 44-45 above.

⁵⁰ Pabst-Dörrer 2007, 648, notes 5 and 12.

⁵¹ Cf. Teržan 2021, 237-243, 257-258, Figs. 3-8.

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Rezime

Ženska nošnja ranog željeznog doba na Glasincu

U pogrebnim običajima već odavno vladaju nepisani zakoni, specifični za pojedine društvene i etničke zajednice, krajeve, krajine, kulture... Zbog ustaljenosti tih običaja već u prahistoriji, možemo ponekad iz grobova, grobnih priloga ustanoviti kakva je bila tzv. »narodna nošnja«. Nošnja nam sigurno najbolje predstavlja kulturni identitet određenog kraja odnosno društvene ili kulturne zajednice, jer se kod nošnje vizualna komunikacija utvrđuje prije verbalne interakcije. To znači, da se nošnja može promatrati i kao znak i simbol. Svaki nosilac odjeće nosi onu nošnju koja pripada njegovu sociokulturnom sistemu. Na taj način dobiva se uvid u strukturu, običaje i rituale kao i moralne i estetske vrednote društva kome pojedina osoba pripada (F 1).

I.

Ovom prilikom pokušavamo ustanoviti kakva je bila ženska nošnja u rano željezno doba na području glasi-načke kulture. Mislim, da ovdje nije potrebno objašnjenje, šta se razume pod terminom »glasinačka kultura«. Ona je već odavno definirana, zbog toga dozvolite da napomenem samo temeljne radove Alojza Benca in Borivoja Čovića (F 2-3). Isto tako ovdje ne ulazim u kronološke probleme starijeg gvozdenog doba glasi-načkog područja niti u datacije obrađivanih tumula i pojedinih predmeta, budući da je osnovna namjera drugačija. Moja izlaganja temelje samo na nekim dobro i u cjelini objavljenim tumulima iz Podilijaka i Ilijaka na Glasincu kao i Peštera u zapadnoj Srbiji, koje možemo svrstati među najkarakterističnije reprezentante glasi-načke kulture. Napomenem samo, da tumuli, koje ovdje želimo promatrati, spadaju u vremenski raspon Glasinac IV a-b stupnja v smislu periodizacije

Benca i Čovića, pojedinačne kasnije ukopane grobove iz faze Glasinac V a-b ovdje nisu uzeli u obzir (F 4-5).

Analiza pojedinih grobova u sklopu obrađivanih tumula izvršena je po metodi sa jedinstvenim kriterijima (F 6), što se dobro vidi na tabelama (Sl. 1-2). Grobni prilozi i sustavni elementi nošnje odnosno nakit uz žensku nošnju analizirani su s obzirom na njihovu funkciju, način nošenja i njihovo simbolično značenje: prvu, za nas najintrigantniju kategoriju predstavljaju fibule (tj. naočaraste, kolutaste/pločaste i lučne fibule), drugu nakit za glavu odnosno kosu kao diadem i igla ukosnica, treću nakit kao narukvice i alke, četvrtu elementi pojasa kao što su kopče, dugmad, privjesci i aplikacije, petu jantarne, staklene i brončane perle od ogrlica i šestu keramika (F 7-13). Na sl. 1-2 su uzeti u obzir i antropološki podaci, ako su publicirani (F 14).

II.

Pogledajmo na koji način možemo definisati pojedine tipove nošnje i šta je za njih karakteristično.

Sa nekropole v Podilijaku, koja broji oko 10 tumula, u našoj istrazi uzeli smo u obzir ženske grobove iz tri tumula, prva dva tumul A in B je iskopao Borivoj Čović, tumulus C pa Blagoje Govedarica (F 15-16). Za sva tri je karakteristična jednaka struktura, što znači, da je bio u središtu centralni grob sa jednim ili više pokopa, a oko njega bili su u jednom ili dva koncentrična kruga svrstani tangencijalno na njega grobovi ostalih članova porodice/rodbine. U sva tri tumula je bio približno jednak broj grobova, između 10 in 16; pripadali su osobama oba pola različitih starosti, što ukazuje na približno jednako jake društvene jedinice koje možemo označiti kao porodične ili rodbinske zajednice. U ovom slučaju interesuju nas samo ženski grobovi i dječji grobovi, koje zbog nošnje i nakita smatramo ženske ili djevojačke.

U tumulu A prema bogatom nakitu ističu se grobovi 3 i 7 (Sl. 1, T. 1). Zajednički elementi nošnje obe preminule su kopče, par narukvica, po jedna na svakoj ruci, in fibule, koje se međusobno razlikuju s obzirom na tip i broj. Prva je imala par unikatnih kolutastih fibula (T. 1, 5-6), druga je imala tri fibule i to jednu lučnu dvopetljastu fibulu in par naočarastih fibula (Sl. 1, 7-9) (F 17-19). Iste elemente, ali u drugoj kombinaciji nađeno je u nekoliko skromnijem grobu 5, u kojem nije bilo narukvica. Uz nošnju groba 5 su bile i dvije pojasne kopče, fibula i dijadema. Interesantno je, da je fibula samo jedna i to lučna dvopetljasta, znači slično kao u grobu 7, a suprotno tome dijadema ukazuje na isti tip naglavnog ukrasa kao v grobu 3 (F 20-21). Ostali ženski grobovi su bili mnogo skromniji. U njima možemo pratiti samo naočaraste fibule - istega tipa kao u grobu 7, koje su bile isto tako nošene po pravilu u paru. Njihove nošnje nisu uključivale

narukvice, u grobu 2 bila je i dijadema, u grobu 4 ogrlica iz jantarnih in staklenih perli. Interesantno je, da su oba najbogatija groba - groba 3 i 7 - djevojački, dok su ostali grobovi, koje posebno označavaju naočaraste fibule (sa izuzetkom groba 5), pripadali odraslim ženskim osobama (Sl. 1) (F 22-23).

Slična situacija je i u tumulu B. Po bogatstvu nakita ističe se grob 5, u kojem su bile odjednom sahranjene dvije djevojke (Sl. 1, T. 2, 1-17) (F 24). Njihova nošnja je po mnogo čemu veoma slična: obje su imele dijademe, pojasne aplikacije odnosno dugmeta/toke i kopče i fibule. I ove se slično kao u grobovima 3 in 7 tumula A međusobno razlikuju u odnosu na tip i broj. Prvu djevojku (5a) je krasio par kolutastih/naočarastih fibul (F 25), znači jednako kao u grobu A 3. Druga djevojka (5b) imela je čak dva para fibula, pored dvije kolutaste/naočaraste i par lučnih dvopetljastih fibula. Razlike među njima bile su odražene još u nekim elementima nošnje, na primjer u parnoj nošnji narukvica prve djevojke (5a), u ukosnici, ogrlici i brojnim tokama od vrata do ispod koljena druge (F 26). Interesantno je, da se nakit u ostalim dječjim grobovima (grobovi 4, 6b, 9) bitno razlikuje od prva dva, jer je mnogo skromniji. Predstavljaju ga samo narukvice odnosno alke, koji se nose po jedna ili u paru, sitne staklene perle i spiralice od ogrlica (F 27). Nakit jedine odrasle ženske osobe, koja je bila sahranjena zajedno sa djetetom u grobu 6 a, predstavljaju naočaraste fibule, koje su nošene u paru, kopča i veliki broj staklenih i jantarnih perli, koje su bile od ogrlice ili su bile ušivene za gornji dio njene odjeće (Sl. 1, T. 2, 24-29) (F 28). Ostaci sličnog nakita kao što fragmenti kolutastih/naočarastih fibul, više stotina sitnih jantarnih in staklenih perli ter veća perla od karneola, fragmenti obruča in igle ukosnice pokazuju, da su u centralnom grobu, grobu 2, koji je inače bio opljačkan i vrlo oštećen, trebali biti uz muškarca sahranjeni i odrasla ženska osoba i vjerovatno i dijete (Sl. 1, T. 2, 30-36), jer je nakit sličnog sastava kao u grobu 6a-b, u kojem se radi u pokopu odrasle žene sa djetetom (F 29).

Iste karakteristike možemo ustanoviti i kod ženske nošnje u tumulu C. U grobu 7, u kojem su bile sahranjene tri osobe, dvije odrasle in dijete, je odrasla ženska osoba (7 a) imala skoro sasvim identičan nakit kao ženske osobe u grobovima 6 a in 2 b tumula B i groba 4 tumula A: na grudima je nosila dvije naočaraste fibule, u pojasu kopču, oko vrata jantarne, staklene in metalne perle, pored lubanje više alki, očito kao ukras na velu (Sl. 1; 3, 4; T. 2, 37-41). U duplom grobu 2 u istom tumulu sa pokopanim muškarcem i ženo, zastupljena je ženska nošnja (grob 2b), koja je definisana osim pojasnom kopčom i sa parom lučnih dvopetljastih fibula (T. 2, 42-46) (F 30-31). Pri tome je frapantna činjenica, da su u ta dva groba (6a in 2 b) jedine ženske osobe tog tumula sa prepoznatljivim

elementima ženske nošnje, koje se razlikuju po tipu fibula, slično kao je slučaj u tumulima A i B (Sl. 1).

Vrlo slična situacija odražava se i u tumulu I iz Latinskog groblja u Pešteru, u okviru kog nas zanimaju samo grobovi iz starijeg željeznog doba, a ne i oni iz ranije faze, tj. iz kasnog bronzanog doba (F 32). V tumulu I prevladavaju muški, ratnički grobovi, ali među njima su i dva ženska groba. Interesantno je, da su isto tako opremljeni sa oružjem, naime sa po jednim nožem, slično kao muškarci. No, nas zanima nošnja odnosno nakit ovih žena, koji je strukturno jednak, ali sa obzirom na tipove fibula opet različit. U nošnju obje žene spadale su ogrlica i fibule, a u grobu 38 par naočarastih fibula, u grobu 22 par lučnih dvopetljastih fibula i jedan disk naočaraste fibule (T. 3, 1-14). Znači, i tu imaju fibule specifičnu diferencijalnu funkciju ženske nošnje dvije pripadnice jedne te iste društvene zajednice.

Ako sa stoga stanovišta gledamo i ženske grobove sa slavni kneževih tumula u Ilijaku, koji su posebno poznati po grobovima ratnika sa luksuznim oružjem kao što su dugi željezni mačevi i bronzane knemide i sa dragocnim importiranim metalnim posudama (F 33-34), vidimo u njihovoj ženskoj nošnji identičan uzorak kao u dosad obrađenim tumulima, samo što su grobovi iz Ilijaka još bogatiji.

U tumulu III osim ratničkog groba (9), koji se prema svom prilogu posebno ističe (F 35), bila su i dva bogata ženska groba – 2 i 3 – sa vrlo sličnom, ali ipak ne sasvim identičnom nošnjom (Sl. 2, T. 4, 25-43). Zajedničke elemente predstavljaju naglavni nakit sa dijademom in iglom ukosnicom, par spiralnih narukvica, pojasne kopče i aplikacije te po dvije fibule. Bitna je razlika opet u izboru fibula: u grobu 3 je par naočarastih/ kolutastih fibula, u grobu 2 par lučnih dvopetljastih fibula. Međutim, grob 2 isticao se i po ostalom, znatno bogatijem nakitu, jer je sadržao bogatu ogrlicu iz staklenih i jantarnih perli i vrlo dragocjeno odijelo, ukrašeno sa 42 kalotasta dugmeta i sa oko 160 sitna dugmeta te sa osam privjesaka, izrađenih u probušenoj tehnici. Ukratko, u ženskoj nošnji ovog kneževog tumula fibule su imale, kao poseban parametar, ulogu obeležavanja odnosno razlikovanja među preminulima u grobovima 2 i 3 (F 35-39).

A nije ništa drugačije čak ni u tumulu IV, kao što to očigledno prikazuje sastav nošnje u grobovima 1 i 2 (Sl. 2, T. 4, 1-24). Dok naglavni nakit (dijadema i igla ukosnica), par spiralnih narukvica i elementi pojasne garniture kao kopče, dugmadi i aplikacije predstavljaju kanoniziranu konstantu ženskih nošnji u oba groba, razlike se ponovo izražavaju kroz izbor i tip fibula. Tako su u grobu 2 bile čak četiri naočaraste/ kolutaste fibule, znači dva para, u grobu 1 bilo je pet fibula, od toga tri naočaraste i dvije lučne (F 40-42). Bez sumnje radi se o identičnom uzorku kao kod svih dosad analiziranih tumula, što znači, da se kroz žensku nošnju

izražava u svakome od tumula neka vrsta diferencijacije, hijerarhizacije in polarizacije njene ženske sfere, što se posebno reflektuje u ekskluzivnosti nošnje određenih tipova fibula.

III.

Značajan pogled u odnose između pojedinačnih nosioca ovih različitih ženskih nošnji sa specifičnim diferencijalnim elementima pruža raspored grobova u pojedinačnim tumulima. Pogledajmo prvo tumule iz Podilijaka (T. 5-7): Kao prikazano na Tabli 5 u tumulu A leže oba djevojačka groba u prvom krugu pokopa oko centralnog groba, naime grob 3 sa kolutastim fibulama na desnoj strani, grob 7 sa lučnom fibulom na lijevoj. V prvom krugu su još dva groba sa odraslim ženskim osobama, dvostruki grob 4-5 leži na jednoj strani centralnog groba, a grob 2 njemu nasuprotni strani od centralnog groba. Zajednički grob sa devet osoba, grob 8, među kojima je barem jedna ženska osoba sa naočarastim fibulama, nalazi se jedini u drugom krugu tumula (T. 5 a-b).

Kao prikazano na Tabli 6 u tumulu B dvostruki djevojački grob, grob 5 a i b, leži u prvom krugu pokopa, naime lijevo od centralnog groba. Suprotno njemu - na desnoj strani tumula nalazi se također dvostruki grob, grob 6 a i b, sa pokopanom ženom sa djetetom. Zanimljiv je raspored ovih grobova s obzirom na centralni grob i stranu sveta, jer dvostruki grob 5 ima istu poziciju u tumulu B kao grob 7 u tumulu A, a u oba je glavni diferencijalni element nošnje lučna dvopetljasta fibula. Slično vrijedi i za druga dva groba, grob B/6 i grob A/3, koja leže zapadno od centralnih grobova i su označena sa nošnjom naočarastih/kolutastih fibula (T. 6 a-b).

Čini se, da su prema istom principu sahranjivali i u tumulu C, jer i tu leži dvostruki grob 2, u kojem je jedna od preminulih osoba u ženskoj nošnji sa parom lučnih dvopetljastih fibula, lijevo od glavnog groba. Suprotno tome grob 7, sa dva odrasla i jednim dječjim pokopom, među kojima je jedna od odraslih osoba u ženskoj nošnji sa parom naočarastih fibula, nalazi se na sjeveroistočnoj stranici tumula (T. 7), što liči na raspored pokopa odraslih ženskih osoba u tumulu A.

I u tumulu I na Latinskom groblju u Pešteru ženski grob sa nošnjom lučnih dvopetljastih fibula zauzima mjesto u njenom zapadnom djelu, dok drugi grob sa parom naočarastih fibula prostor na južnoj strani tumula (T. 8).

Nakon ovog pregleda rasporeda ženskih grobova u pojedinačnim tumulima možemo zaključiti, da izbor mjesta za grob u tumulu nije bio prepušten slučaju, nego se ravnao po strogim, iako nepisanim pravilima. Mjesto bio je određeno u odnosu na centralni grob i stranu sveta i zavisio je od starosti, stanja i statusnog položaja preminulog u okviru njegove porodične zajednice. Svakako ne može biti slučaj, da flankiraju

centralni grob na istočnoj i zapadnoj strani po pravilu dječji odnosno djevojački grobovi, kao što ne može biti samo slučaj, da se grobovi sa ženskom nošnjom, čiji sastavni dio su lučne dvopetljaste fibule, nalaze po pravilu desno ili lijevo od centralnog groba. Očito je, da je njima trebala pripadati neka posebna uloga u okviru pojedinačnih porodica. Također raspored grobova odraslih ženskih osoba, svrstanih pretežno u sjevernom i južnom pravcu u odnosu na centralni grob tako je česta, da ne može biti samo slučajna (T. 5-8).

Iz toga sledi, da su u glasinackoj kulturi važila strogo normirana strukturna načela, na kojima je bila zasnovana njena društvena organizacija. Ova načela uređivala su odnose i veze kako među članovima svake pojedinačne porodične zajednice kao i među pojedinačnim porodicama odnosno rodbinama. I kao što pokazuje analiza karakterističnih grobova iz Podilijaka, Ilijaka i Peštera, ženska nošnja nije bila posve jedinstvena, već je specifična i determinirajuća za socijalni status pojedinih žena i time reflektira položaj i ulogu žena u društvu ranog željeznog doba glasinacke kulture.

IV.

Na pitanje, kakvo mjesto je konkretno pripadalo ženskim osobama, označenim sa gore predstavljenim nošnjom odnosno nakitom (tj. sa lučnim ili kolutastim/naočarastim fibulama), naravno vrlo je teško odgovoriti.

U pomoć bi nam mogla biti etnološka istraživanja »narodnih nošnji« na području Balkana i ostale istočne Evrope, pogotovo ona, koja se bave simboličkim značenjima pojedinačnih elemenata nošnje i nakita. Zanimljivo je, da imaju uprkos razlikama prilično mnogo zajedničkih karakteristika: tako so na primjer šarene, bogato ukrašene nošnje, osobito one sa širokim šarenim pojasom in živopisnim pokrivalima, karakteristične prevashodno za djevojke stasale za udaju, neveste i mlado udate žene, dok je nošnja udatih žena i udovica više monotona i skromnija (F 43).

Ako uzmemo ova etnološka razmatranja kao polazište za naša zaključivanja, sa iznenađenjem ustanovljavamo, da se radi o sličnim karakteristikama i kod nošnje upravo istraženih glasinackih grobova. Grobovi odraslih žena su u odnosu na nakit uglavnom skromniji, jer su za njih karakteristične prevashodno naočaraste fibule, koje se nose u paru, perle i pojase kopče (Sl. 1-3, 3-4), u više grobova nema ni metalnog ni staklenog ili jantarnog nakita. Nasuprotno tome su grobovi djevojčica i djevojaka prikazuju sasvim drukčiju sliku, jer je nakit u njima po pravilu bogatiji (Sl. 1-3, 1-2; T. 1-2, 4). Među njima se naravno ističu grobovi sa bogatom nošnjom, uz koju spadaju na jednoj strani - jednako kao uz nošnju nekih odraslih žena - fibule in pojasevi, ali u većom broju i u bogatijoj izradi, dok je na drugoj strani za njih karakterističan

specifičan nakit, kao što su dijademe i par narukvica (F 44-46). Prema etnološkim analogijama čini se, da možemo dijademi pripisati poseban obeleživački in simbolički značaj. Za nju naime pretpostavljamo, da je krasila poseban veo, sličan »crveni kapici« dalmatinsko-dinarske nošnje, »živopisno djevojačko ogjavlje«, kojeg su djevojke skidale tek nekoliko dana posle svadbe (Sl. 4,3-4) (F 47). Zato je naša hipoteza, da možemo u grobovima sa nošnjom, čiji sastavni dio bili su dijadema kao i narukvice, tražiti prerano preminule djevojčice, vjerenice odnosno one, koje su bile već po rođenju ili u ranoj mladosti obećane za brak, i djevojke neposredno pred vjenčanjem, neveste i možda mlado udate žene.

Problem, koji je zagonetniji, je naravno simbolično značenje tipa fibula, na jednoj strani lučnih, na drugoj kolutastih/ naočarastih. Svakako radi se o specifičnom nakitu nošnje, koji je u pogrebnom ritualu mjerodavan za kanonsko određivanje mjesta groba njezinih vlasnica u okviru tumula, znači i u okviru porodične zajednice. Možemo samo nagađati, da li su u ovim grobovima pokopane prvo i drugo rođene ćerke ili prva i druga žena ili neveste ili ...? Ko bi znao?

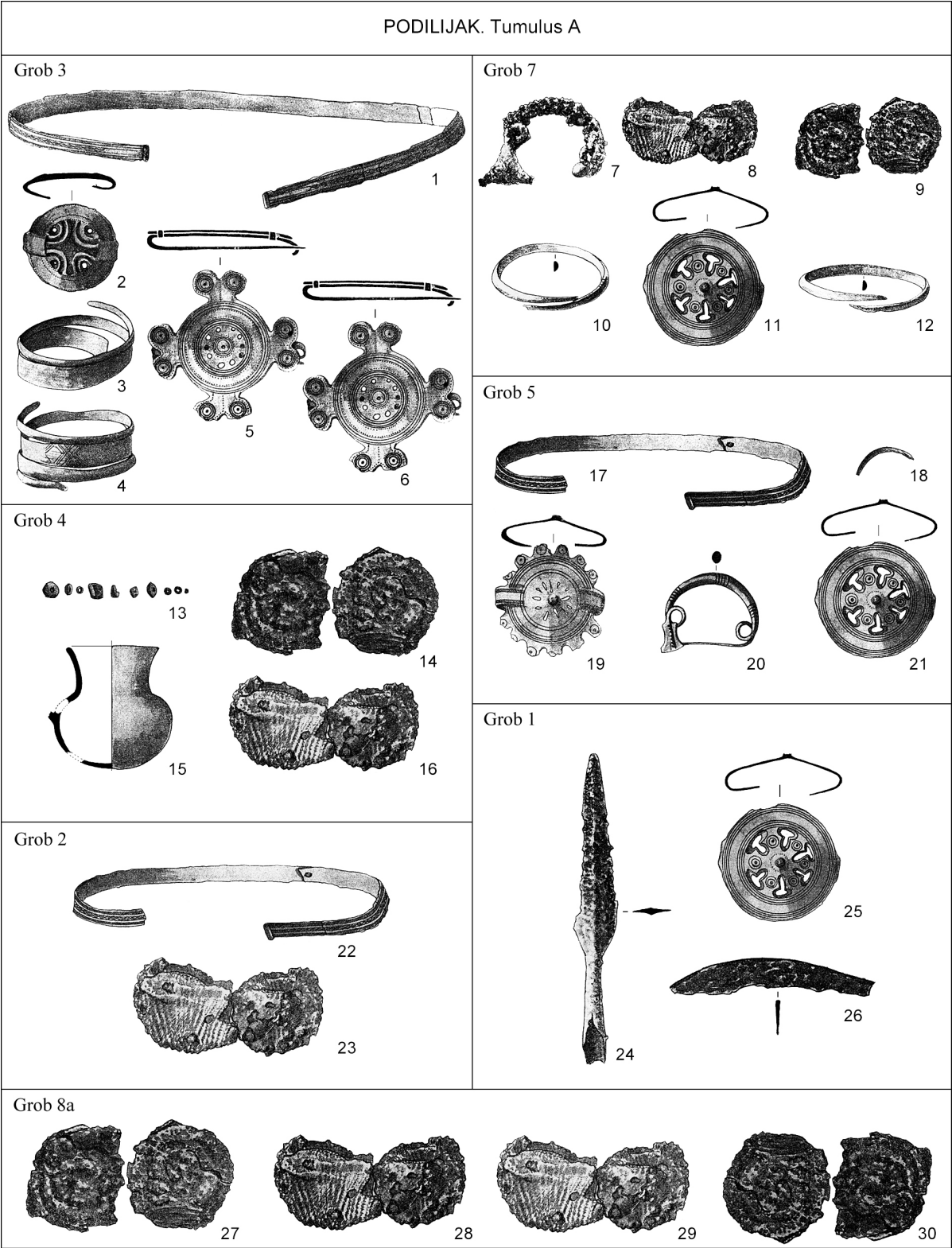
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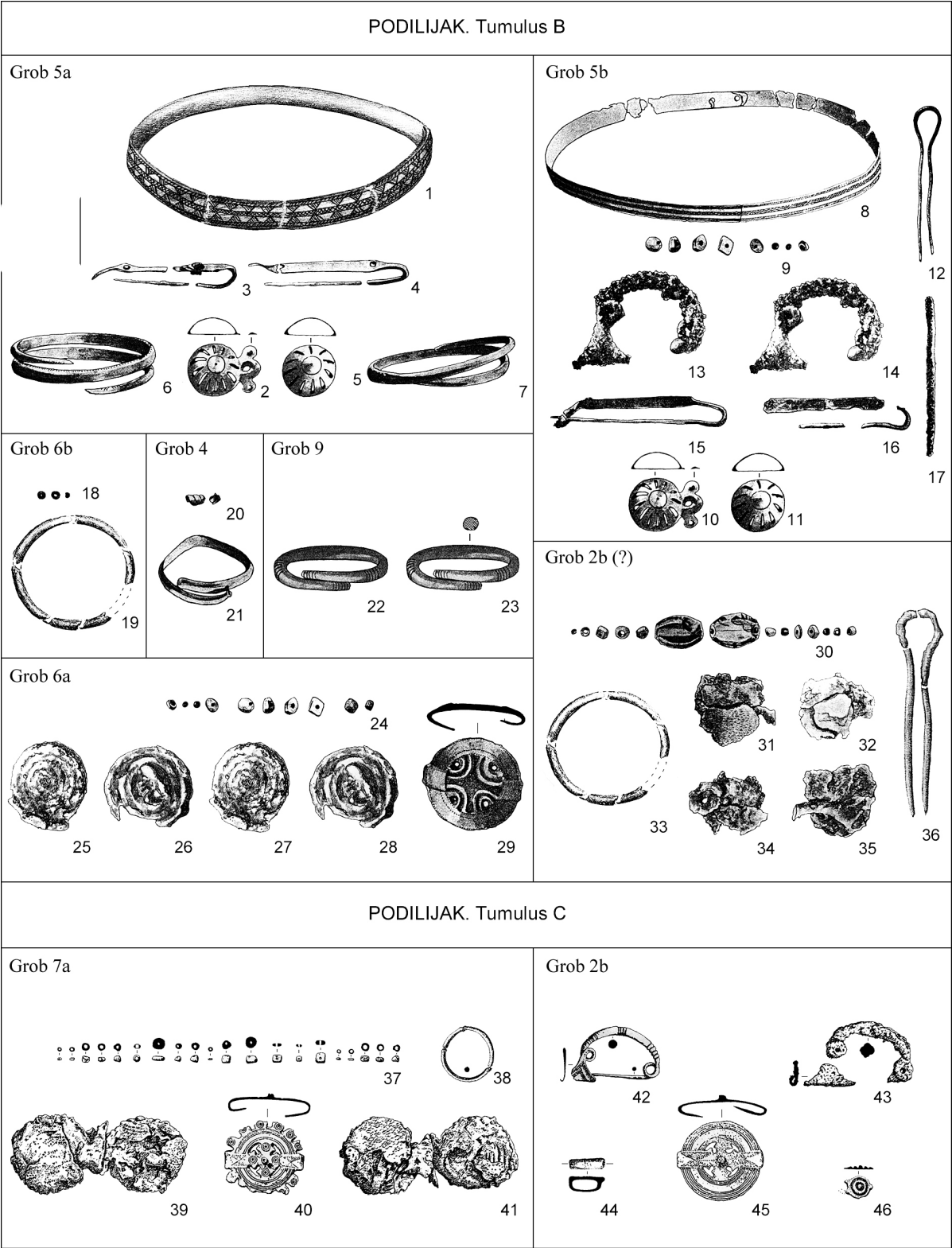
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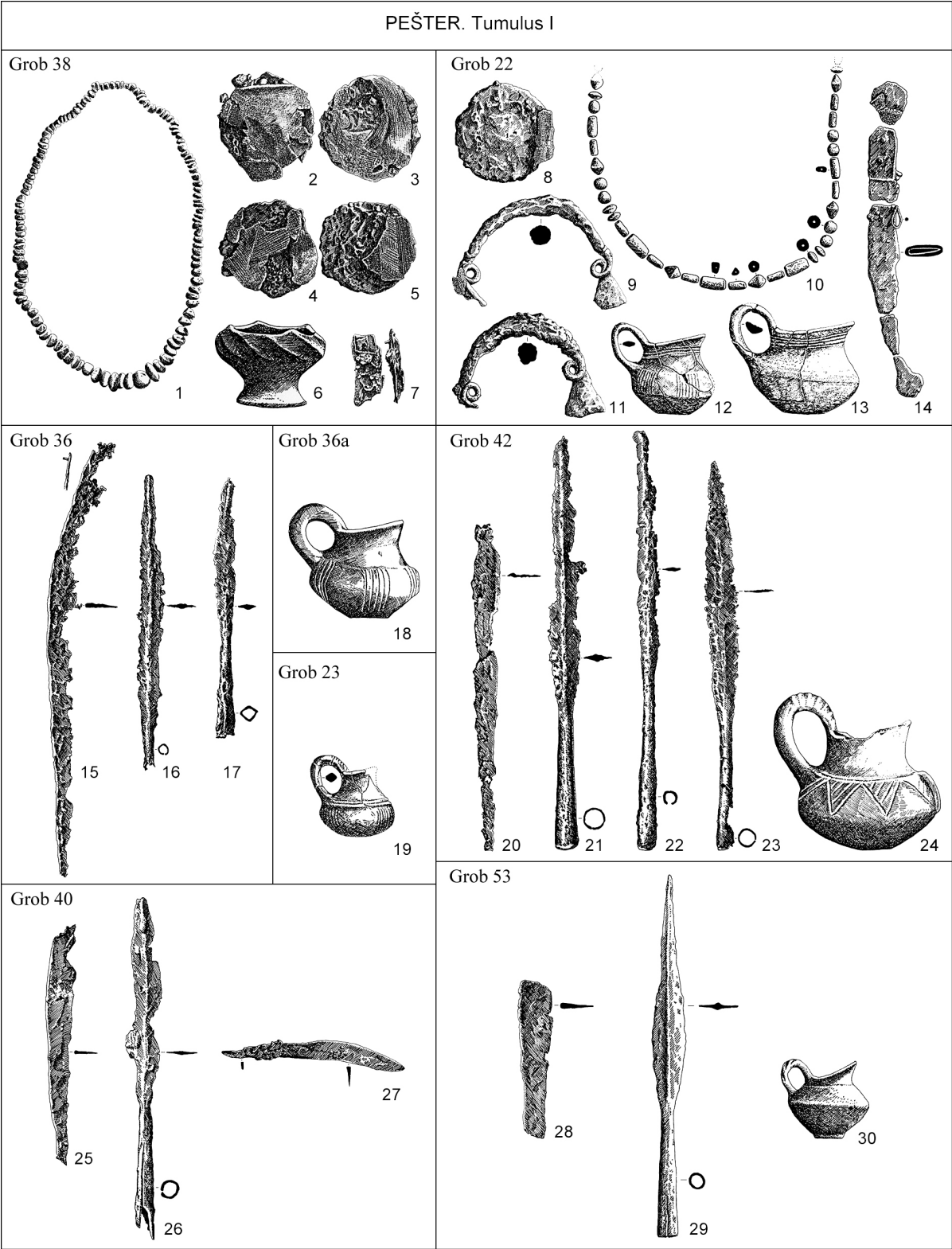
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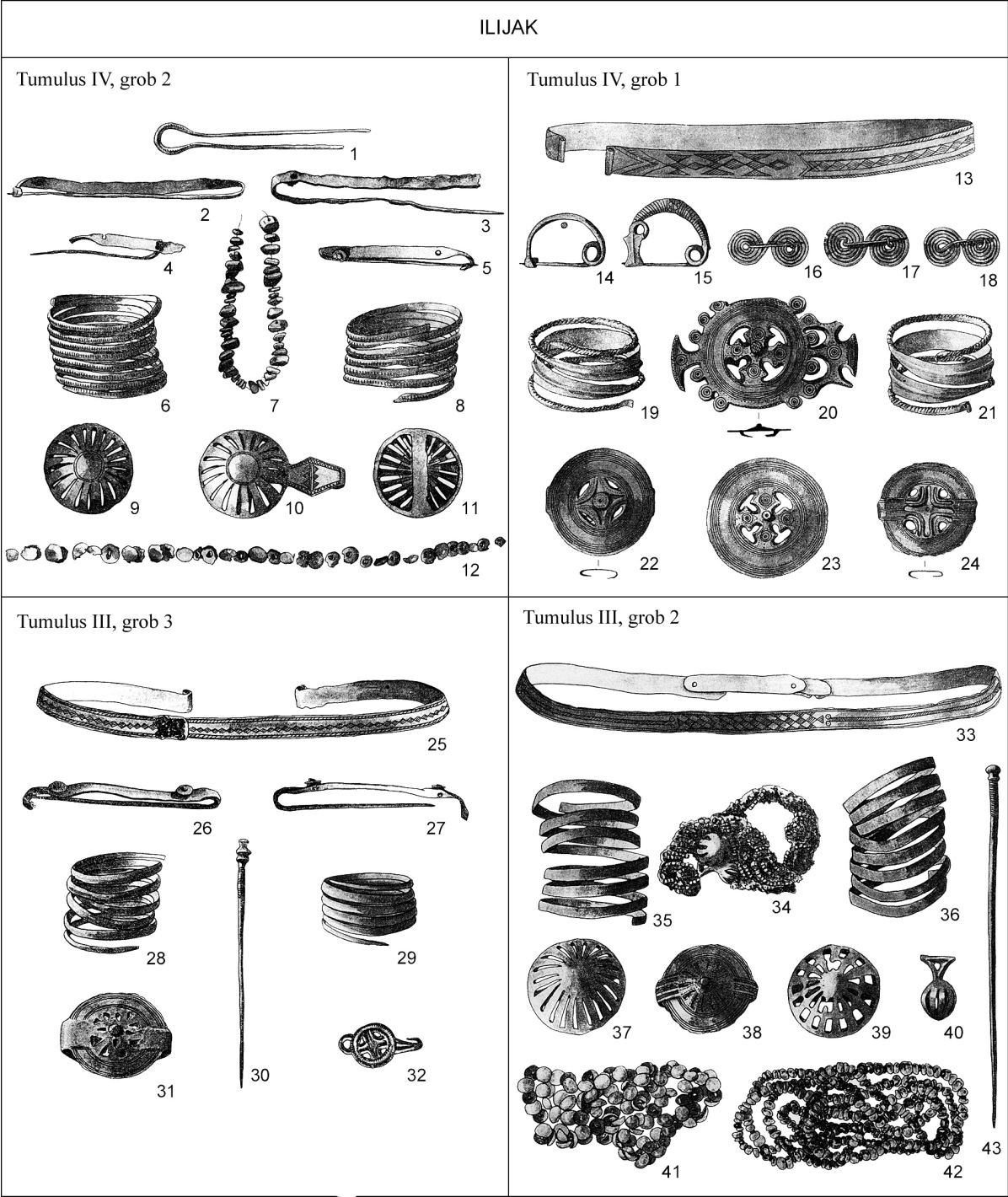
Pl. 1. Podilijak, tumulus A, graves with jewellery (after Čović 1959)



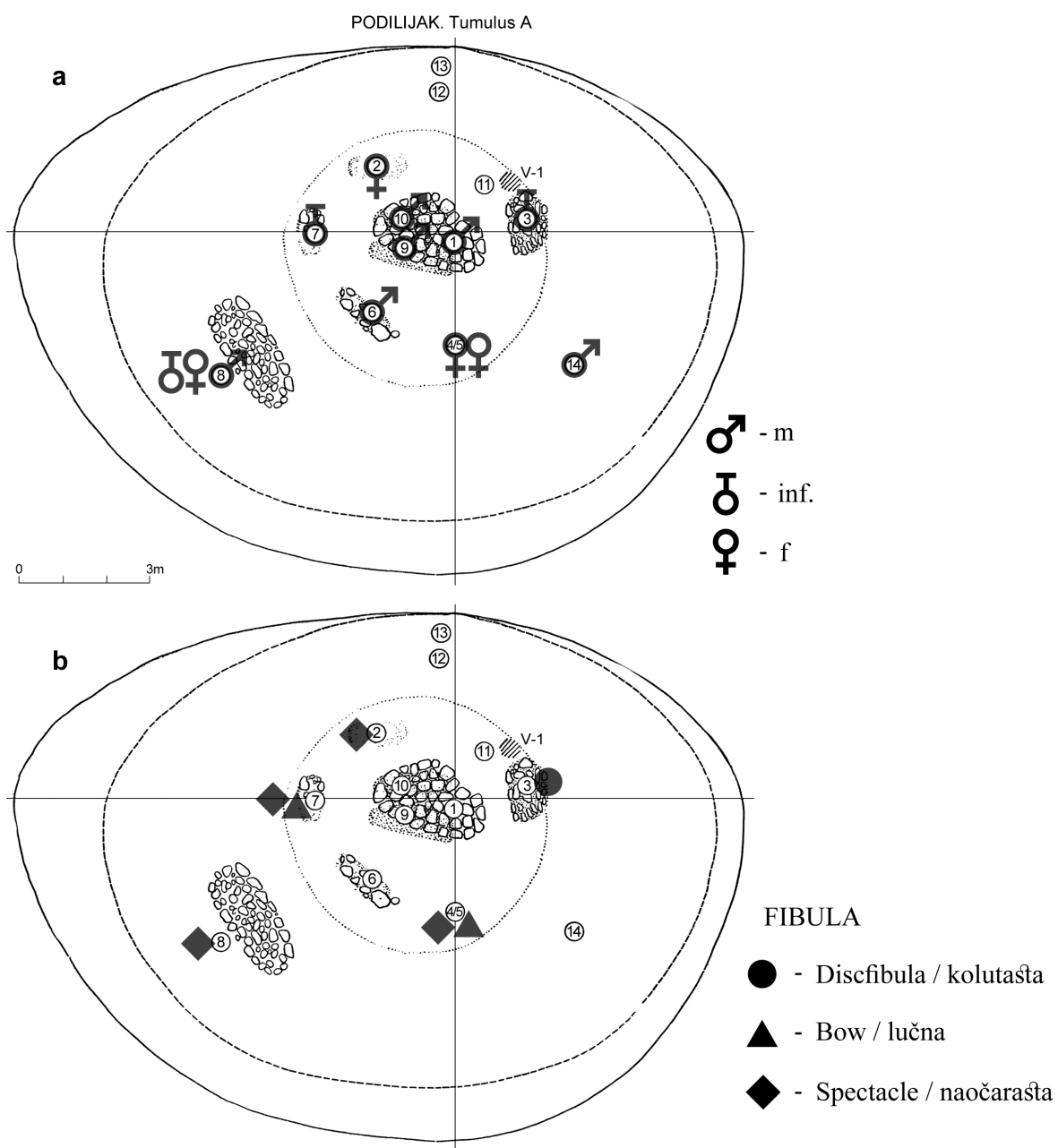
Pl. 2. Podilijak, tumuli B and C, graves with jewellery (after Čović 1959; Govedarica 1978)



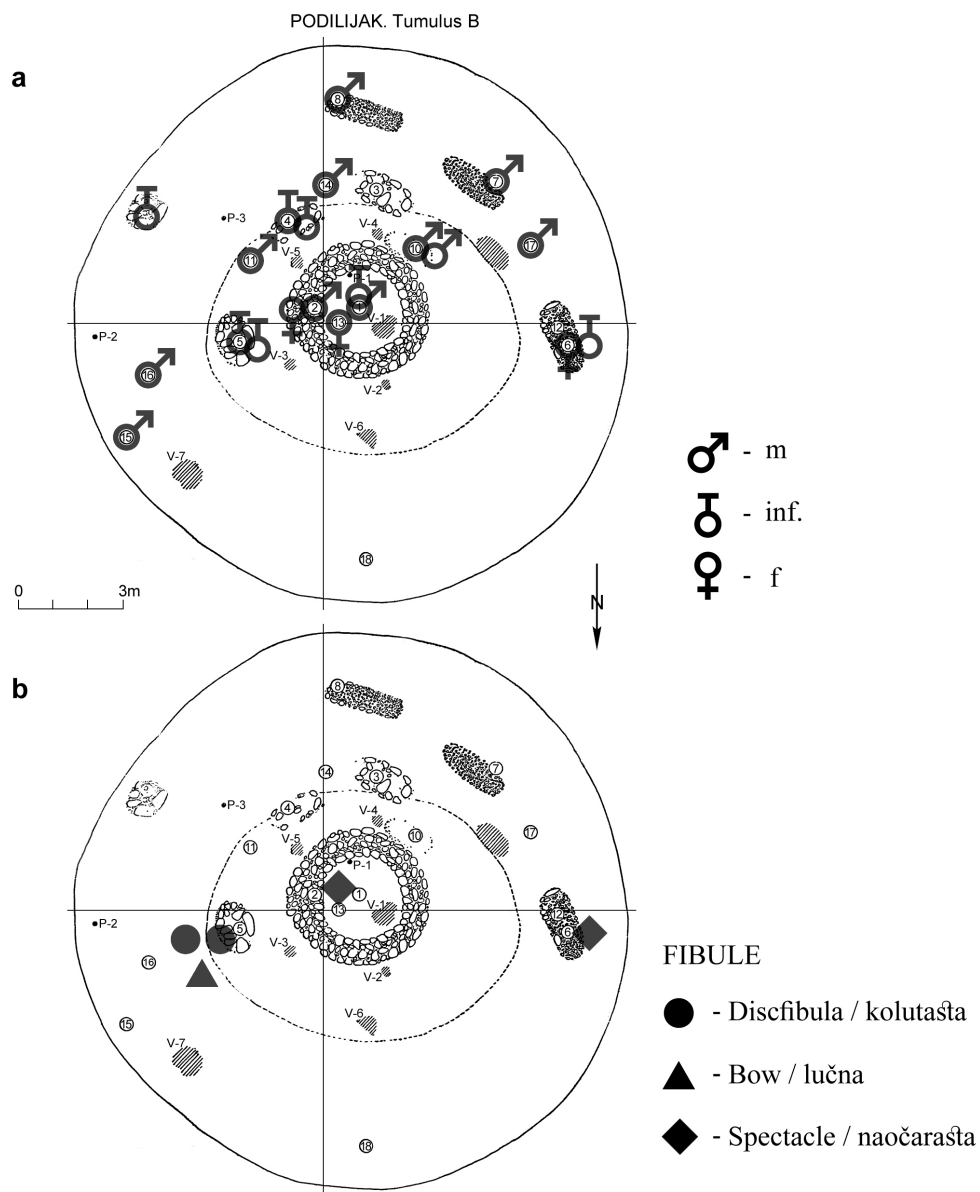
Pl. 3. Pešter, Latinsko groblje, tumulus I (after Letica 1982)



Pl. 4. Ilijak, tumuli III and IV, more opulent graves with jewellery (after Benac/ Čović 1957)



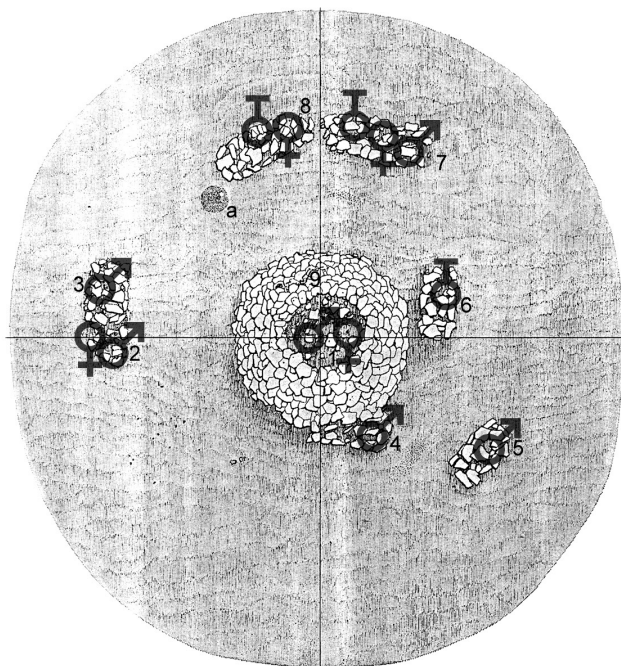
Pl. 5. Podilijak, tumulus A, ground plan – a: arrangement of graves in relation to sex, b: arrangement of graves in relation to fibulae types (after Čović 1959, Appendix 1)



Pl. 6. Podilijak, tumulus B, ground plan – a: arrangement of graves in relation to sex, b: arrangement of graves in relation to fibulae types (after Čović 1959, Appendix 2)

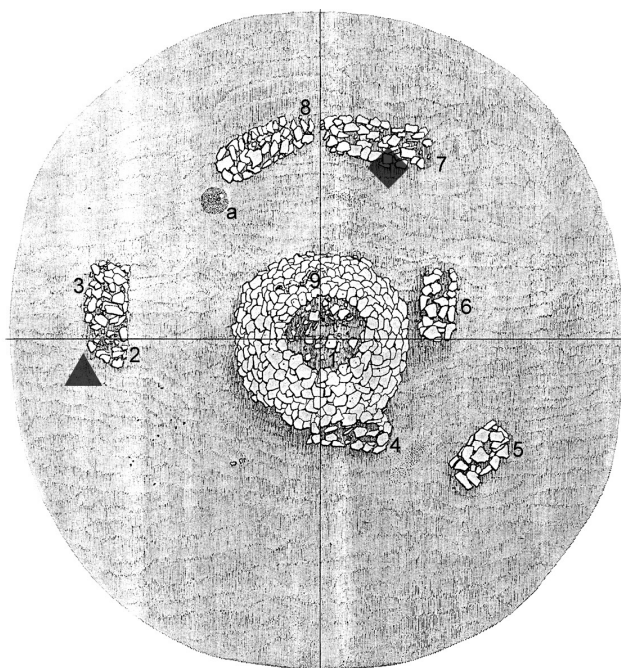
Podilijak C

a



♂ - m
 ♀ - inf.
 ♀ - f

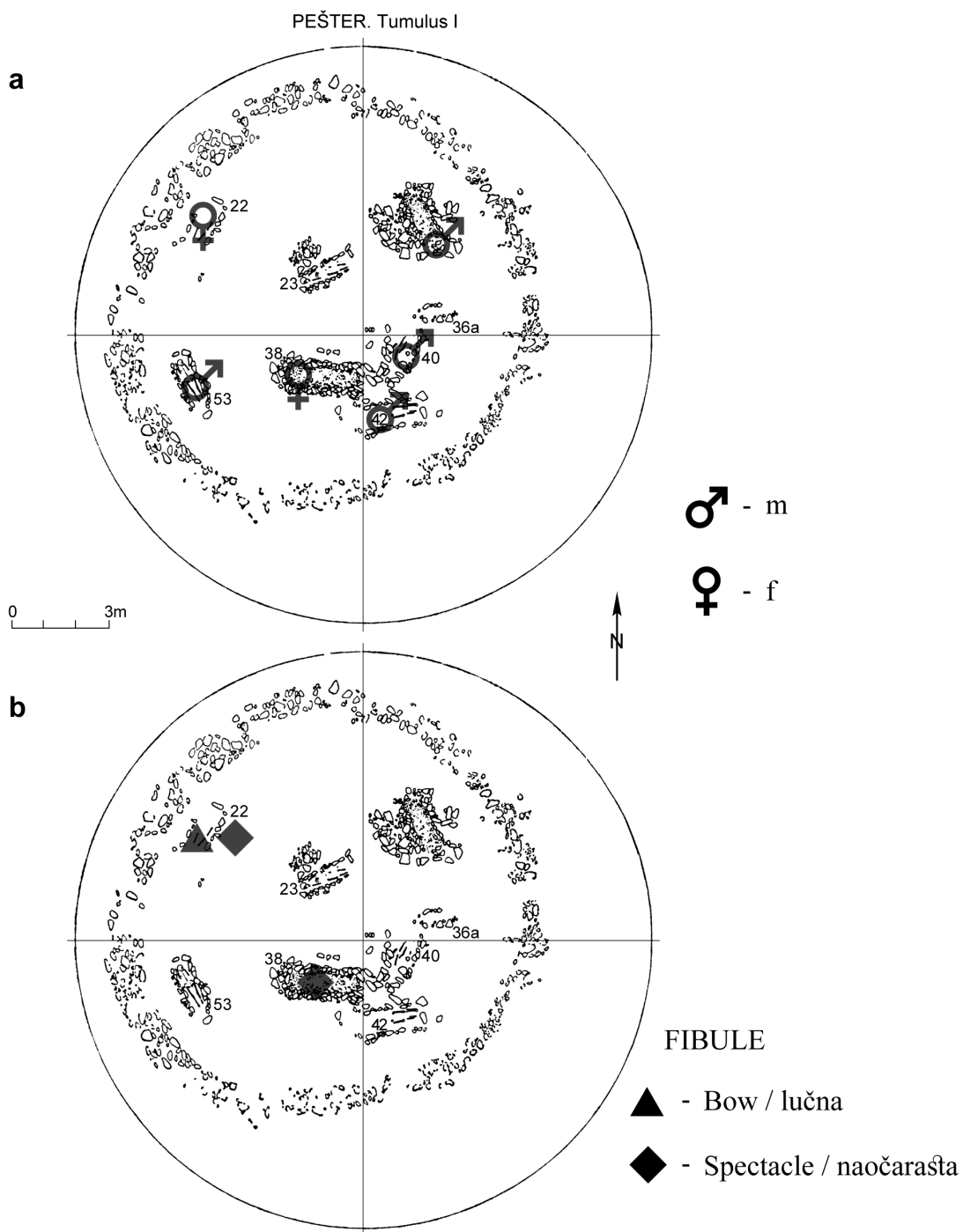
b



FIBULE

▲ - Bow / lučna
 ◆ - Spectacle / naočarasta

Pl. 7. Podilijak, tumulus C, ground plan – a: arrangement of graves in relation to sex, b: arrangement of graves in relation to fibulae types (after Govedarica 1978, Appendix 2)



Pl. 8. Pešter, Latinsko groblje, tumulus I, ground plan – a: arrangement of graves in relation to sex, b: arrangement of graves in relation to the fibulae types (after Letica 1982)

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