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# ARHEOLOGIJA

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# Samostanska bronza: kolekcija predmeta kasnog bronzanog i ranog željeznog doba iz Franjevačkog samostana u Visokom

## Monastic Bronze: A Collection of Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Artifacts from the Franciscan Monastery in Visoko

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**Abstrakt:** Zbirka artefakata kasnog bronzanog i ranog željeznog doba iz muzejske zbirke Franjevačkog samostana u Visokom, iako redukovana u pogledu arheoloških saznanja o njenom tačnom porijeklu, daje nam određene indikacije koje su važne u lokalno-regionalnom kontekstu rasprostranjenosti i upotrebe materijalne kulture tokom ovog perioda. Ništa manje važna nije ni činjenica da imamo sačuvanu zbirku koja svjedoči o franjevačkoj misiji sakupljanja, očuvanja i prezentovanja kulturne baštine duže od jednog stoljeća. Kroz ovu studiju pokušali smo da identifikujemo karakteristične aspekte materijalne kulture i da ih iskoristimo za stvaranje grupa koje imaju zanatski, kulturno-umjetnički, prostorni i hronološki značaj. Najbrojniji dio kolekcije predstavlja bronzani nakit i ukrasi, uglavnom dijelovi ženske nošnje, zatim alat i oružje. Konačno, geografski položaj visočke kotline, u gornjem toku rijeke Bosne, ističe se kao područje gde su se odvijale složene kulturne interakcije – kako u pravcu sjever-jug, tako i prema susjednim, povezanim regionima.

**Ključne riječi:** Kasno bronzano doba, rano željezno doba, centralna Bosna, Visoko, zapadni Balkan, franjevački samostan

**Abstract:** The collection of artifacts from the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age from the museum collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Visoko, although limited in terms of archaeological knowledge about its exact origin, gives us certain indications that are important in the local-regional context for an understanding of the distribution and use of material culture during this period. No less important is the fact that we have a preserved collection that testifies to the Franciscan mission of collecting, preserving, and presenting cultural heritage, which has endured for over a century. Through this study, we have attempted to identify the characteristic aspects of material culture and to use them to create groups that have artisanal, cultural-artistic, spatial, and chronological significance. The largest part of the collection consists of bronze jewelry and ornaments, mostly parts of female attire, followed by tools and weapons. Finally, the geographical position of the Visoko Basin, in the upper course of the Bosna River, makes it stand out as an area in which complex cultural interactions took place; both along a north-south axis and toward neighboring, connected regions.

**Keywords:** Late Bronze Age, Early Iron Age, Central Bosnia, Visoko, Western Balkans, Franciscan Monastery

## UVOD

Predmeti o kojima se raspravlja u ovom radu predstavljaju nastavak dugog spiska nedovoljno dokumentovanih arheoloških nalaza koji su se našli u muzejskoj zbirci Franjevačkog samostana u Visokom. Zajedničko im je to što nemaju adekvatnog konteksta, što značajno ograničava naš interpretativni okvir. Shodno tome, primarna analiza materijalne kulture fokusira se na morfološke, tipološke i stilske analize u odnosu na druge poznate slične predmete, kako bi se ponudilo moguće rješenje za hronološko pozicioniranje i potencijalno mjesto proizvodnje, a konačno i za specifičan kulturni kontekst u kome su artefakti cirkulisali tokom kasnog bronzanog i ranog željeznog doba. U arheologiji, metode klasifikacije i tipologije od velikog su značaja za sistematizaciju predmeta. Stoga, klasifikacija i tipologija pružaju relevantnu osnovu za tumačenje takvih predmeta u okviru sistema ekonomskih, političkih i kulturnih veza, zasnovanih na isprepletenoj mreži međusobnih komunikacija i mobilnosti zajednica i pojedinaca. Najbrojniji dio kolekcije predstavlja bronzani nakit i ukrasi, uglavnom dijelovi ženske nošnje, zatim alat i oružje. Tokom 19. stoljeća među franjevcima iz Bosne i Hercegovine primjećujemo prve tragove sakupljačkih aktivnosti i prikupljanja raznovrsnog arheološkog materijala. Franjevci su tako postali prvi koji su nastavili tradiciju antikvara sa idejom očuvanja i prezentovanja kulturne baštine.<sup>1</sup> Iz izvještaja Franjevačke klasične gimnazije u Visokom od 1934. do 1941. godine vidimo da je muzejski fond stvaran uglavnom doniranjem predmeta za arheološku i etnološku zbirku.<sup>2</sup> Informacije o pojedinačnim artefaktima su praktično nepoznate. Uglavnom su popisane grupe predmeta bez pojedinačnih opisa i tačnih lokacija, a ako su i bili isti, danas su izgubljeni. Tako se, između ostalog, pominje i fra Mijo Čuić, gvardijan iz Tomislavgrada, koji je zbirci poklonio srp i dva kelta.<sup>3</sup> Prema riječima fra Ignacija Gavrana, najveći dio fonda starina sakupljen je u Visokom i okolini.<sup>4</sup> Istaknuto mjesto u razvoju franjevačke zbirke svakako pripada fra Krunoslav Misilu, koji je zbirku i osnovao 1928. godine.<sup>5</sup> Studije arheologije završio je u Beogradu 1934. godine, a predavao je u Franjevačkoj klasičnoj gimnaziji u Visokom u dva navrata od 1928. do 1930. i od 1934. do 1942. godine, dok je 1946/47. bio direktor iste.<sup>6</sup> Arheološkoj zbirci se posvetio nakon povratka sa studija.<sup>7</sup> Današnja arheološka izložba potiče iz 1975. godine i adaptirana je prema uputstvima Đure Baslera.<sup>8</sup> Zanimljivo je da praiatorijska predmetna građa nikada nije obrađena niti pomenuta u stručnim radovima. Takođe je potpuno ignorisana prilikom objavljivanja monografije *Visoko i okolina kroz historiju 1*.<sup>9</sup> Vjerovatno je da se za njeno

## INTRODUCTION

The objects discussed in this paper represent a continuation of a long list of insufficiently documented archaeological finds that have ended up in the museum collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Visoko. What they have in common is the lack of an adequate context, which significantly limits our interpretative framework. Accordingly, the primary analysis of material culture focuses on morphological, typological, and stylistic analyses in relation to other known similar objects, in order to offer a possible solution in terms of chronological positioning and potential places of production, and finally for the specific cultural context in which the artifacts circulated during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age. In archaeology, methods of classification and typology are of great importance for the systematization of objects. Therefore, classification and typology provide a relevant basis for interpreting such objects within systems of economic, political, and cultural connections, based on an intertwined network of mutual communications and the mobility of communities and individuals. The largest part of the collection consists of bronze jewelry and ornaments, mostly parts of female attire, followed by tools and weapons. The first evidence of collecting activities and the gathering of various archaeological material among the Franciscans of Bosnia and Herzegovina stem back to the 19th century. The Franciscans thus became the first to continue the antiquarian tradition with the idea of preserving and presenting aspects of cultural heritage.<sup>1</sup> From the reports of the Franciscan Classical Gymnasium in Visoko from 1934 to 1941, we see that the museum collection was created mainly through donations of objects to the archaeological and ethnological collection.<sup>2</sup> Information about individual artifacts is, however, essentially absent. Mostly, groups of objects were listed without individual descriptions and exact find locations, and, if such data ever existed, they have now been permanently lost. Among others, Friar Mijo Čuić, guardian from Tomislavgrad, is mentioned as having donated a sickle and two celts to the collection.<sup>3</sup> According to Friar Ignacije Gavran, the largest part of the collection of antiquities was gathered from Visoko and its surroundings.<sup>4</sup> A prominent place in the development of the Franciscan collection certainly belongs to Friar Krunoslav Misilo, who founded the collection in 1928.<sup>5</sup> He completed his studies in archaeology in Belgrade in 1934, and taught at the Franciscan Classical Gymnasium in Visoko on two occasions; from 1928 to 1930 and from 1934 to 1942. In 1946/47 he served as the Gymnasium's headmaster.<sup>6</sup> He devoted himself to the archaeological collection after returning from his studies in Belgrade.<sup>7</sup> The current archaeological exhibition dates back to 1975, and was adapted according to the instructions of Đuro Basler.<sup>8</sup> It is interesting to note that the prehistoric material collection was never processed or mentioned in professional works, and was also completely ignored during the publication of the monograph

1 Kaljanac, Križanović 2012, 242–246.

2 Periša 2017, 242.

3 Gavran 2000, 124.

4 Gavran 2000, 125.

5 Periša 2017, 238–240.

6 Periša 2017, 238–240.

7 Periša 2017, 242.

8 Gavran 2000, 125.

9 Čović 1984, 29–48.

1 Kaljanac, Križanović 2012, 242–246.

2 Periša 2017, 242.

3 Gavran 2000, 124.

4 Gavran 2000, 125.

5 Periša 2017, 238–240.

6 Periša 2017, 238–240.

7 Periša 2017, 242.

8 Gavran 2000, 125.

postojanje znalo, jer su, između ostalog, istaknuti arheolozi poput Alojza Benca i Pava Anđelića bili učenici Franjevačke klasične gimnazije u Visokom, a Krunoslav Misilo je jedno vrijeme bio i njihov razredni starješina.<sup>10</sup>

Arheološka baština kasnog bronzanog i ranog željeznog doba visočke kotline i cijelog gornjeg toka Bosne je relativno skromno poznata.<sup>11</sup> Naselja iz ovog perioda su slabo istražena. Iskopavanja manjeg obima su vršena na gradinama u Hadžićima,<sup>12</sup> dok je prikupljeni materijal sa gradine Dobrinje kod Visokog naknadno objavljen.<sup>13</sup> Podaci o načinu sahranjivanja su takođe izuzetno oskudni i nepotpuni. Riječ je o nalazima zabilježenim od kraja 19. do sredine 20. stoljeća. Pretpostavlja se, iz kratkih bilješki o okolnostima nalaza, da je sahranjivanje vršeno u ravnim nekropolama sa skeletnim ukopavanjima. Generalno, prikupljeni su i/ili sačuvani najreprezentativniji dijelovi nošnji izrađeni mahom od bronzne.<sup>14</sup> Grobovi iz Čatića, Zgošća i Srijeteža u okolini Kaknja su okvirno datovani u period 11/10. stoljeća prije nove ere,<sup>15</sup> dok je materijal iz uništene nekropole u Gračanici u Malom Čajnu kod Visokog hronološki definisan u dva horizonta, stariji datovan u period 8/7. stoljeća i mlađi u 6/5. stoljeće.<sup>16</sup> Starijem horizontu 8/7. stoljeća može se pripisati i grob iz Semizovca.<sup>17</sup> Slična situacija je zabilježena na području Lašvanske doline u istom periodu.<sup>18</sup> Početkom 20. stoljeća, na ušću Lašve u Bosni otkrivena su dva predmeta, kratki bronzani mač i ukrašeni disk, protumačeni kao ostava i datovani u period 13/12. stoljeća.<sup>19</sup> Predmeti iz ostave Motke kod Kaknja mogu se pripisati istom horizontu ostava sjeverne Bosne.<sup>20</sup> Sav predmetni materijal je posmatran u okviru definisane srednjobosanske kulturne grupe kasnog bronzanog doba.<sup>21</sup>

## TIPOLOŠKA, STILSKA I HRONOLOŠKA ANALIZA I INTERPRETACIJA GRAĐE

### MAČ TIPa CELLDÖMÖLK

Mačevi su posebno važna kategorija oružja i jedan od najvrijednijih oblika metalnih predmeta bronzanog doba. Njihov značaj proizilazi kako iz njihove materijalne vrijednosti, tako i iz njihove funkcije kao efikasnog oružja. Štaviše, nošenje mača bio je pokazatelj društvenog ranga, što je dodatno doprinosilo značaju oružja. Iako se mačevi nalaze u mnogo rjeđoj učestalosti od drugih predmeta, njihova uloga ih čini posebnim fokusom u istraživanju materijalne kulture

*Visoko and Its Surroundings Through History* (vol. 1).<sup>9</sup> It is likely that its existence was known, since, among others, prominent archaeologists such as Alojz Benac and Pavao Anđelić were students of the Franciscan Classical Gymnasium in Visoko, and Krunoslav Misilo was, for a time, their teacher.<sup>10</sup>

The archaeological heritage of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age of the Visoko Basin and the entire upper course of the Bosna River is relatively modestly known.<sup>11</sup> Settlements from this period have been poorly researched. Small-scale excavations were carried out on hillforts in Hadžići,<sup>12</sup> while the material collected from the Dobrinje hillfort near Visoko was published subsequently.<sup>13</sup> Data on burial practices are also extremely scarce and incomplete. Such finds were largely recorded from the end of the 19th to the middle of the 20th century. It is assumed, from brief notes on the circumstances of finds, that burials were performed in flat necropolises with skeletal inhumations. Generally, the most representative parts of costumes, mostly made of bronze, were collected and/or preserved.<sup>14</sup>

The graves from Čatići, Zgošća, and Srijetež in the vicinity of Kakanj are roughly dated to the period of the 11th/10th century BCE,<sup>15</sup> while the material from the destroyed necropolis in Gračanica, in Malo Čajno near Visoko, is chronologically defined in two horizons; the older one dated to the 8th/7th century and the younger to the 6th/5th century.<sup>16</sup> A grave from Semizovac can also be attributed to the older 8th/7th-century horizon.<sup>17</sup> A similar situation is recorded for the area of the Lašva Valley during the same period.<sup>18</sup> At the beginning of the 20th century, at the confluence of the Lašva and Bosna rivers, two objects were discovered – a short bronze sword and a decorated disc – interpreted as part of a hoard and dated to the 13th/12th century BCE.<sup>19</sup> Objects from a hoard from Motke, near Kakanj, can be attributed to the same horizon as hoards from northern Bosnia.<sup>20</sup> All of the material evidence has been observed within the framework of the defined Central Bosnian cultural group of the Late Bronze Age.<sup>21</sup>

## TYPOLICAL, STYLISTIC AND CHRONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS, AND INTERPRETATION OF THE MATERIAL

### SWORD OF THE CELLDÖMÖLK TYPE

Swords are a particularly important category of weapons, and one of the most valuable forms of metal objects of the Bronze Age. Their significance is derived from both their material value and their function as efficient weapons. Moreover, carrying a sword was an indicator of social rank, which further

10 Periša 2017, 248.

11 Pod terminom gornji tok rijeke Bosne definisan je prostor od Vrele Bosne do ušća Lašve u Bosnu.

12 Perić 1989, 60–62; usp. Gavranović, Sejfuli 2018, 28.

13 Gavranović 2006, 83.

14 Perić 2002, 183.

15 Gavranović, Sejfuli 2015, 71. Sva stoljeća dalje u tekstu odnose se na period p.n.e.

16 Čović 1984, 31–37.

17 Gavranović 2011, 186.

18 Gavranović, Sejfuli 2015, 69–70.

19 König 2004, 22.

20 Čović 1983a, 440; König 2004, 22.

21 Čović 1983a, 434.

9 Čović 1984, 29–48.

10 Periša 2017, 248.

11 The designation 'upper course of the Bosna River' is defined as the stretch extending from the source of the Bosna (Vrelo Bosne) to the point where the Lašva flows into the Bosna.

12 Perić 1989, 60–62; cf. Gavranović, Sejfuli 2018, 28.

13 Gavranović 2006, 83.

14 Perić 2002, 183.

15 Gavranović, Sejfuli 2015, 71.

16 Čović 1984, 31–37.

17 Gavranović 2011, 186.

18 Gavranović, Sejfuli 2015, 69–70.

19 König 2004, 22.

20 Čović 1983a, 440; König 2004, 22.

21 Čović 1983a, 434.

bronzanog doba. Upravo tokom ovog perioda došlo je do inovacija kako u proizvodnji, tako i u tehnologiji, u kojima je mač dodatno optimizovan u svojoj praktičnoj upotrebi kao oružje prilagođeno borbenim tehnikama. O mjeri u kojoj mačevi ukazuju na prisutnost ratnika, ratničkog identiteta i/ili ideologiju bilo je riječi u opširnim debatama posljednjih decenija.<sup>22</sup> Ovdje skrećemo pažnju na malu grupu izvanrednih nalaza mačeva koji djeluju zaista egzotično u poređenju sa svakodnevnijim spektrom predmeta koji se obično javljaju. Bronzani mač iz kolekcije samostana u Visokom je slučajan nalaz bez preciznog konteksta njegovog pronalaska (T. I, 1). Karakteriše ga ravno sječivo, gotovo paralelno, sa blago podignutim centralnim grebenom, koji je definisan poprečnim žlijebovima. Prirubni dio drške sa ojačanim ivicama ima jednu perforaciju za zakivak i završava se izbočinama u obliku „ripljg repa“. Ravni kraci štitnika, postavljeni u obliku slova V, oštro se nastavljaju na sječivo sa po jednom perforacijom za zakivke. Mač je blago savijen i prelomljen u donjem dijelu. Očuvana dužina je 27,7 cm. Širina sječiva je 2,8 cm. Na sječivu su zabilježeni tragovi upotrebe u vidu pravilnih i simetričnih oštih zareza u obliku slova V (sl. 1:1). Eksperimentalno je pokazano da se ove vrste oštećenja na mačevima kasnog bronzanog doba javljaju kao posljedica direktnih udara u drugo sječivo tokom borbe, tj. kao rezultat kratkog kontakta dva sječiva.<sup>23</sup> Korozija ima plavo-zelenu boju i glatku patinu po cijeloj površini. S obzirom na opisane tipološke karakteristike, predmetni mač, koji je u veoma dobrom stanju, može se posmatrati u okviru grupe mačeva sa jezičastom drškom (*Griffzungenschwert*) sa funkcijom sječenja i ubadanja, preciznije u okviru posebne i malobrojne grupe mačeva tipa *Celldömölk* (karta 1).<sup>24</sup> Prema A. Hardingu, kratka drška ga potencijalno svrstava u kategoriju manje efikasnog oružja u bliskoj borbi. Raskošni okovi pronađeni s mačem u koritu rijeke Cetine kod Trilja sugeriraju da je umjesto toga mač imao više ceremonijalnu i reprezentativnu funkciju, kao statusna insignija (sl. 1: 2).<sup>25</sup> Za mač istog tipa iz Vojskova u sjevernoj Bosni nema preciznih okolnosti o pronalasku (sl. 1: 3).<sup>26</sup> Nešto više podataka o kontekstu moguće je postaviti za mač iz ostave *Celldömölk-Sághegy II* u Mađarskoj (sl. 1: 4),<sup>27</sup> iako i u ovom slučaju nije postignuta saglasnost o datovanju.<sup>28</sup> Naime P. Turk i S. Hansen predmetnu ostavu datiraju u Ha B1 period, odnosno horizont ostava *Hajdúböszörmény/Gyermely* s prelaza 11. u 10. stoljeće.<sup>29</sup> Drugi autori, međutim, podržavaju prethodno definisano i obrazloženo datovanje A. Mozsolics i T. Kemenczei u Ha B2 period, odnosno horizont ostava *Románd* iz 10/9. stoljeća.<sup>30</sup> Čini se prikladnim

contributed to the importance of such weapons. Although swords are found much less frequently than other objects, their role makes them a special focus in the study of Bronze Age material culture. It was precisely during this period that innovations occurred – both in terms of production and in technology – through which the sword was further optimized for practical use as a weapon adapted to combat techniques. The extent to which swords indicate the presence of warriors, warrior identity, and/or ideology has been widely debated in recent decades.<sup>22</sup> Here, attention is drawn to a small group of exceptional sword finds that appear truly exotic compared to the more everyday range of objects that usually occur.

The bronze sword from the monastery collection in Visoko is a chance find without a precise context of discovery (T. I, 1). It is characterized by a straight, almost parallel, blade with a slightly raised central ridge defined by transverse grooves. The tang part of the handle, with reinforced edges, has a single perforation for a rivet, and ends in protrusions shaped like a 'fish tail'. The flat arms of the guard, set in a V-shape, continue sharply onto the blade, each with a single perforation for rivets. The sword is slightly bent and broken in the lower part. The preserved length is 27.7 cm, while the width of the blade is 2.8 cm. Traces of use are visible on the blade in the form of sharp regular and symmetrical V-shaped notches (Fig. 1:1). Experimental studies have shown that this type of damage on Late Bronze Age swords occurred as a result of direct blows against another blade during combat, i.e. as a consequence of the brief impact between two blades.<sup>23</sup> The corrosion is blue-green in color, forming a smooth patina across the entire surface.

Given the described typological characteristics, the sword in question – which is in very good condition – can be classified within the group of swords with a tongue-shaped handle (*Griffzungenschwert*) designed for cutting and thrusting, more precisely within a specific and rare group of swords of the *Celldömölk* type (Map 1).<sup>24</sup> According to A. Harding, its short handle potentially classifies it as a less efficient weapon in close combat. The sumptuous fittings found with a sword in the riverbed of the Cetina River near Trilj suggest instead that such swords had a more ceremonial and representative function, as a status insignia (Fig. 1:2).<sup>25</sup> A sword of the same type is also known from Vojskova in northern Bosnia, for which there are no precise circumstances of discovery (Fig. 1:3).<sup>26</sup> Somewhat more contextual data can be established for the sword from the *Celldömölk-Sághegy II* hoard in Hungary (Fig. 1:4),<sup>27</sup> although, even in this case, no consensus has been reached regarding its dating.<sup>28</sup> Namely, P. Turk and S. Hansen date this hoard to the Ha B1 period, that is, to the *Hajdúböszörmény/Gyermely* hoard horizon, from the transition between the 11th and 10th centuries.<sup>29</sup> Other authors, however, support a previously defined and reasoned dating by A. Mozsolics and T.

22 Kristiansen 2002; Mödlinger 2011; Mödlinger 2011a; Harding 2011, 196; Siedlaczek 2015; Molloy 2018, 86–87; Jung 2020, 609–610.

23 Hermann *et al.* 2020.

24 Harding 1995, 58; Kemenczei 1996a, 95; usp. Pabst 2024, 353.

25 Harding 1995, 58; Milošević 1999, 209. fig. 2.

26 Harding 1995, 57; Nadbath 2004, 42. T. 4: 1.

27 Mozsolics 1979, 86. T. 6: 2a–b; Kemenczei 1988, 69. T. 41: 370.

28 Ilon 2015, 84, 88; Tarbay *et al.* 2024, 299.

29 Hansen 1994, 404; Hansen 1996, 339; Turk 2012, 219; Turk 2012a, 307; Hansen 2005, 221; Hansen 2019, 210. Turk 2024, 48.

30 Kemenczei 1996, 83–84; Kemenczei 1996a, 95; Mozsolics 2000, 37–38; Pare 2008. fig. 5.9. B; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 55; Tarbay *et al.* 2024, 298.

22 Kristiansen 2002; Mödlinger 2011; 2011a; Harding 2011, 196; Siedlaczek 2015; Jung 2020, 609–610.

23 Hermann *et al.* 2020.

24 Harding 1995, 58; Kemenczei 1996a, 95; cf. Pabst 2024, 353.

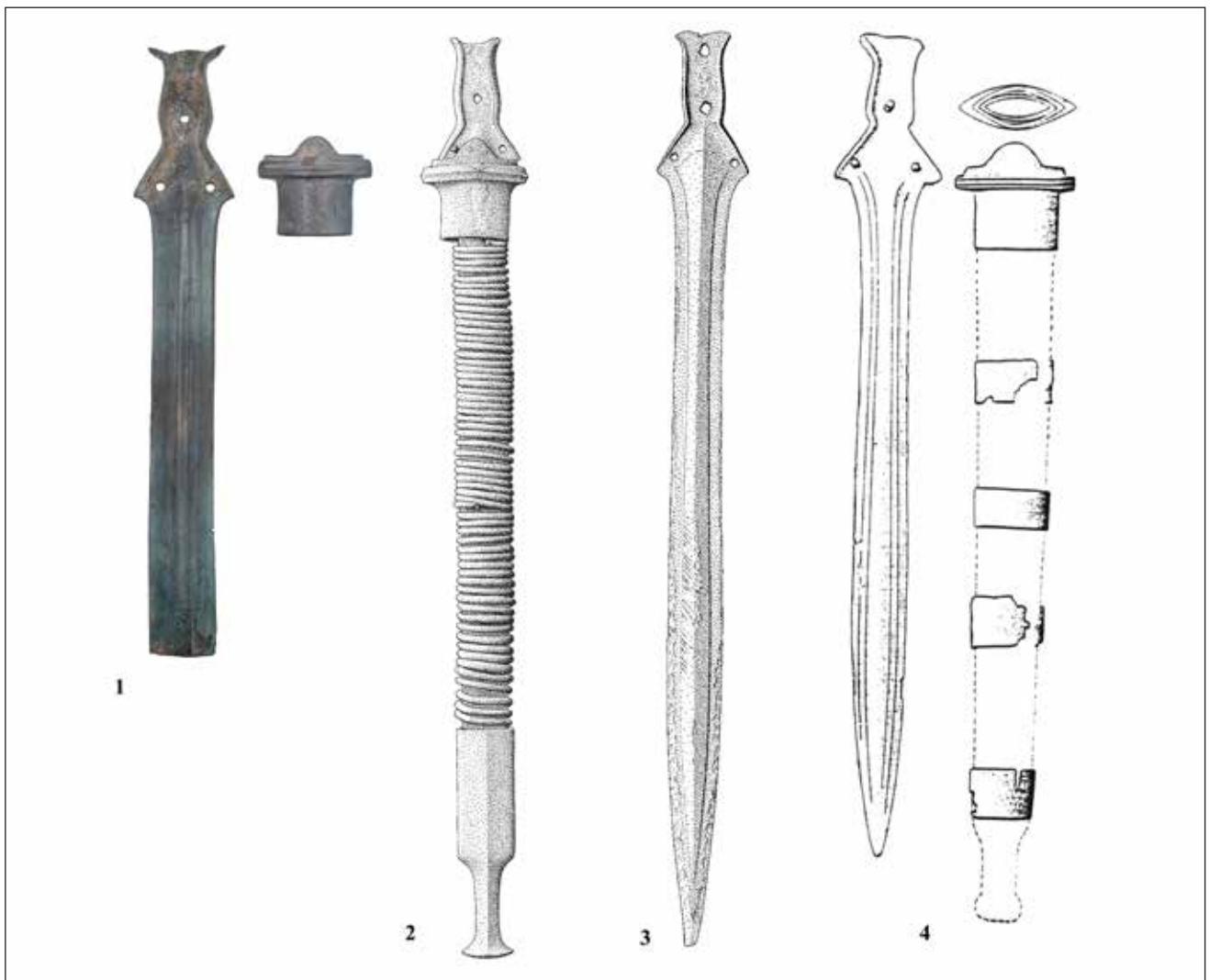
25 Harding 1995, 58; Milošević 1999, 209. fig. 2.

26 Harding 1995, 57; Nadbath 2004, 42. T. 4: 1.

27 Mozsolics 1979, 86. T. 6: 2a–b; Kemenczei 1988, 69. T. 41: 370.

28 Ilon 2015, 84, 88; Tarbay *et al.* 2024, 299.

29 Hansen 1994, 404; 2005, 221; 2019, 210; Turk 2012, 219; 2012a, 307; 2024, 48.



Sl. 1. Mačevi tipa Celldömölk; 1. Visoko, Franjevački samostan Visoko, inv. br. A-95 (snimio: A. Jašarević), 2. Trilj (prema: Harding 1995, T. 24: 195A), 3. Vojskova (prema: Harding 1995, T. 23: 194), 4. Celldömölk (prema: Kemenczei 1996a, fig. 11:2).

Fig. 1. Swords of the Celldömölk type: Visoko, Franciscan Monastery Visoko, inv. no. A-95 (photo: A. Jašarević); Trilj (after Harding 1995, T. 24:195A); Vojskova (after Harding 1995, T. 23:194); Celldömölk (after Kemenczei 1996a, fig. 11:2).

ponoviti stav C. Parea da akumulacija nalaza iz ostave Cell-dömölk-Sághegy II ne znači nužno precizan hronološki okvir za svaki pojedinačan nalaz, već naprotiv ukazuju na cirkulaciju predmeta iz ranijeg perioda koji su pohranjeni tokom Ha B2 perioda.<sup>31</sup> U prilog tome ide i nalaz drugog mača iz ostave s drškom u obliku čaše s tri modelovana rebra, sličan maču iz Grižana i datovan u Ha B1/B2 period.<sup>32</sup>

Uz mač iz Visokog, evidentiran je i odgovarajući okov, tačnije gornji dio pločice sa istaknutim ležištem za rukohvat (T. I, 2; sl. 1:1). Prema klasifikaciji A. Hardinga, okovi sa zaobljenim dodatkom i dvostrukim horizontalnim rebrima pripadaju tipu Kulen Vakuf,<sup>33</sup> odnosno tip Škocjan-Kulen Vakuf prema P. Turku.<sup>34</sup> Brojni primjerci ovog tipa pronađeni su u

Kemenczei to the Ha B2 period, i.e. that of the Románd hoard horizon from the 10th/9th century.<sup>30</sup> It seems appropriate to reiterate C. Pare's view that the accumulation of finds from the Celldömölk-Sághegy II hoard does not necessarily represent a precise chronological framework for each individual find, but rather indicates the circulation of objects from an earlier period that were deposited during the Ha B2 period.<sup>31</sup> Supporting this is the find of another sword from the same hoard with a cup-shaped pommel with three molded ribs on the handle, similar to the sword from Grižane, dated to the Ha B1/B2 period.<sup>32</sup>

Together with the sword from Visoko, a corresponding fitting has also been recorded; specifically, the upper part of a scabbard with a pronounced throat for the hilt (T. I, 2; Fig. 1:1). According to A. Harding's classification, fittings with a rounded addition and

31 Pare 1999, 362.

32 Blečić Kavur 2014, 100–101; usp. Kemenczei 1991, 59. T. 58: 246.

33 Harding 1995, 102.

34 Turk 2016, 99, 106.

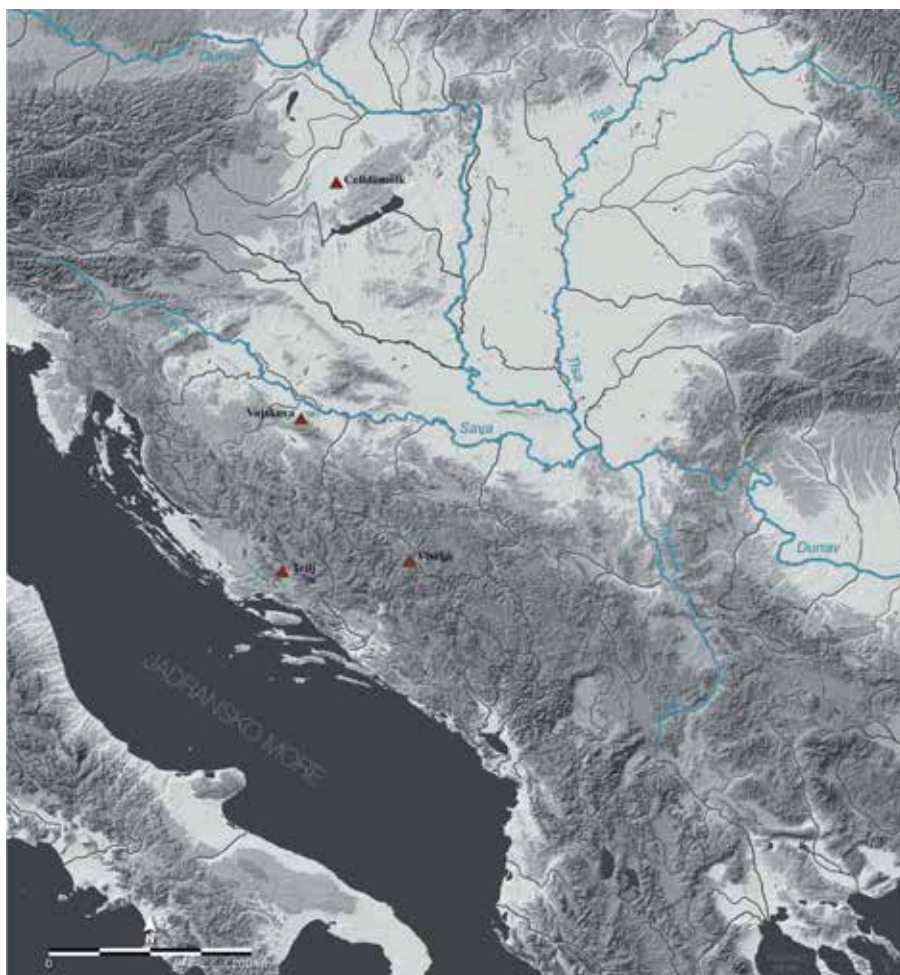
30 Kemenczei 1996, 83–84; 1996a, 95; Mozsolics 2000, 37–38; Pare 2008, fig. 5.9. B; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 55; Tarbay et al. 2024, 298.

31 Pare 1999, 362.

32 Blečić Kavur 2014, 100–101; cf. Kemenczei 1991, 59. T. 58: 246.

Karta 1. Distribucija mačeva tipa Celldömölk (prema: Harding 1995, T. 52: A).

Map 1. *Distribution of Celldömölk-type swords (after Harding 1995, T. 52:A).*



Mušjoj jami u Škocjanu, a zatim slijedi okov iz Kulen Vakufa u zapadnoj Bosni u kombinaciji sa mačem sa ovalnom jabukom.<sup>35</sup> Identični oblici zabilježeni su i kod mača iz ostave Celldömölk-Sághegy II.<sup>36</sup> U potpunosti očuvane korice iz Trilja ukazuju na kombinaciju pločice, spiralno namotane bronzane žice i cilindrično profilisanog bronzanog usadnika.<sup>37</sup> Slični fragmenti žičane korice u funkciji okova evidentirani su i kod mača iz pećine Bezdanjača u Lici, sličnih tipoloških karakteristika.<sup>38</sup> Iz primjera vidimo da su slični segmenti okova korišćeni za mačeve s drškom u obliku čaše, evidentirani sa mačem iz Kastva.<sup>39</sup> Potvrda lokalne proizvodnje zasniva se na kalupu sa Velike Gradine u Varvari u sjevernoj Hercegovini.<sup>40</sup> Dalje, ovo potvrđuje rasprostranjenost, a vjerovatno i zapadnobalkansko porijeklo ovog tipa mača.<sup>41</sup>

double horizontal ribs belong to the Kulen Vakuf type,<sup>33</sup> or, according to P. Turk, to the Škocjan–Kulen Vakuf type.<sup>34</sup> Numerous examples of this type have been found in the Mušja Jama cave in Škocjan, as well as a fitting from Kulen Vakuf in western Bosnia, which was found in combination with a sword with an oval pommel.<sup>35</sup> Identical forms have also been recorded on the sword from the Celldömölk–Sághegy II hoard.<sup>36</sup> Completely preserved scabbards from Trilj indicate a combination of a plate, spirally wound bronze wire, and a cylindrically profiled bronze tang.<sup>37</sup> Similar fragments of wire scabbards functioning as fittings have also been recorded on the sword with similar typological characteristics from the Bezdanjača cave in Lika.<sup>38</sup> From these examples, we see that similar fitting segments were used for swords with a cup-shaped pommel, such as the one recorded together with the sword from Kastav.<sup>39</sup> Evidence of local production is based on a mold from Velika Gradina, in Varvara, northern Herzegovina.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, this confirms the distribution – and likely also the Western Balkan origin – of this sword type.<sup>41</sup>

35 Harding 1995, T. 45: A13–A18; Turk 2016, 99, T. 14: 1b, 2; T. 15: 4; T. 53: 2.

36 Mozsolics 1979, 90.

37 Harding 1995, T. 24: 195A.

38 Malinar 1998, 143, T. IV, 1–2.

39 Harding 1995, T. 45: A12; Blečić Kavur 2014, 96–97, T. 4: 178.

40 Harding 1995, T. A19; Ludajić 2005, 65; Gavranović 2011, 116.

41 Turk 2016, 99.

33 Harding 1995, 102.

34 Turk 2016, 99, 106.

35 Harding 1995, T. 45: A13–A18; Turk 2016, 99, T. 14: 1b, 2; T. 15: 4; T. 53: 2.

36 Mozsolics 1979, 90.

37 Harding 1995, T. 24: 195A.

38 Malinar 1998, 143, T. IV, 1–2.

39 Harding 1995, T. 45: A12; Blečić Kavur 2014, 96–97, T. 4: 178.

40 Harding 1995, T. A19; Ludajić 2005, 65; Gavranović 2011, 116.

41 Turk 2016, 99.

## TULJASTE SJKIRE

Tuljaste sjekire pripadaju onom obliku materijalne kulture koji je označio čitav period kasnog bronzanog doba evropskog kontinenta. Tuljaste sjekire mogu se tumačiti kao višenamjenski predmeti. Mogle su se koristiti i kao oružje i kao alat, a potvrđena je i njihova simbolička funkcija.<sup>42</sup> Uglavnom su poznate iz ostava, na osnovu čijeg sadržaja su hronološki definisane i tipološki detaljno klasifikovane.<sup>43</sup> To je konačno omogućilo i uklapanje slučajnih nalaza bez preciznog konteksta, čiji broj svakako nije zanemarljiv.<sup>44</sup> Prvi primjerak pripada tuljastoj sjekiri sa zadebljanjem ispod otvora. Iz zadebljanja je modelovan viseći ukras u obliku četiri girlandoidna rebra sa centralnom vertikalnom prečkom (T. I, 5). Bočne strane su ojačane plastičnim vertikalnim rebri ma sa po jednom kružnom perforacijom, koja je služila za pričvršćivanje na drvenu dršku. Nisu poznate direktne paralele za ovaj ukras. Slična, ali ne i identična sjekira sa četiri girlande i kratkim vertikalnim produženjem poznata je iz ostave Brezovo Polje.<sup>45</sup> Ako pogledamo distribuciju i oblike tuljastih sjekira – posebno unutar ostava iz sjeverne Bosne – primjetno je da su mnogi lokalni i strani stilski elementi inkorporirani u nove tipove. Ovaj obrazac distribucije ukazuje na neki lokalni radionički potpis iz perioda Ha A/Ha B1. Zatim slijede dva dobro poznata tipa tuljaste sjekire sa ušicom, zadebljanim rubom i gotovo okomitim bočnim stranama (T. I, 3–4).<sup>46</sup> Vrhovi sječiva se šire lepezasto i gotovo su jednako postavljeni sa spoljnim prečnikom otvora. Ispod ojačane ivice nalazi se jedno horizontalno rebro sa kog vise tri V–rebra sa obje strane, blago povijena ka unutra. Iz vrha najvećeg rebra modelovan je dugi vertikalni nastavak. Patina je ujednačena, što sugerise da su u pitanju sjekire iz istog konteksta, najvjerovatnije ostave. Tuljaste sjekire sličnog oblika poznate su iz ostava Kijevo<sup>47</sup> i Motke,<sup>48</sup> koje se pripisuju II. fazi ostava Bosne i Hercegovine.<sup>49</sup> Sličnost je primjetna i sa tuljastim sjekirama sa kvarnerskog Krka.<sup>50</sup> Izvjesno je da dekoracija predstavlja varijaciju od kanonskog tipa tuljaste sekire sa V ornamentom. Glavno područje rasprostranjenosti je Podunavlje i Zapadni Balkan, sa najvećom koncentracijom u međurječju Save i Drave, gdje su se takve sjekire pojavile početkom razdoblja Br D, ali ostaju u upotrebi i u Ha A1 periodu.<sup>51</sup> Tamo ih nalazimo u ostavama mješovitog sastava, tj. II horizont ostava (Veliko Nabrđe) u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj<sup>52</sup> i sa II fazom ostave na teritoriji Srbije.<sup>53</sup> Na prostoru Mađarske,

42 Roberts, Ottaway 2003, 136; Perkić, Ložnjak Dizdar 2005, 48; Blečić Kavur, Jašarević 2014, 44.

43 Vinski-Gasparini 1973; Žeravica 1993; Hansen 1994; König 2004; Gavranović 2011, 130–133.

44 Žeravica 1993.

45 König 2004, T. 29: 5.

46 Gavranović 2011, 131.

47 König 2004, T. 12: 1–3.

48 König 2004, T. 25: 15–17; T. 26: 20.

49 König 2004, 23.

50 Buršić-Matijašić 2010, 74–75. sl. 1.

51 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 126; Žeravica 1993, 86, 92–93, 96–100; Hansen 1994, 158, 177–185; König 2004, 35–42; Jovanović 2010, 27–28; Gavranović 2011, 130–133; Blečić Kavur, Jašarević 2014, 37–39; Blečić Kavur *et al.* 2016, 56.

52 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 126.

53 Jovanović 2010, 29–30.

## SOCKETED AXES

Socketed axes are a form of material culture idiosyncratic to the entire period of the Late Bronze Age of the European continent. They can be interpreted as multifunctional objects; they could be used both as weapons and as tools, with their symbolic function having also been confirmed.<sup>42</sup> Examples have been predominantly derived from hoards, the contents of which have allowed them to be chronologically defined and typologically classified in detail.<sup>43</sup> This has further made it possible to incorporate chance finds without precise context – whose number is by no means negligible – into chronological and typological schemes.<sup>44</sup>

The first example belongs to the form of socketed axes with a thickening below the opening. From the thickening, a hanging ornament was modeled in the form of four garland-like ribs with a central vertical bar (T. I, 5). The sides are reinforced with plastic vertical ribs, each with a single circular perforation that serves to attach it to a wooden handle. No direct parallels for this ornament are known. A similar, although not identical, axe with four garlands and a short vertical extension is known from the Brezovo Polje hoard.<sup>45</sup>

If we look at the distribution and shapes of socketed axes – particularly within hoards from northern Bosnia – it is noticeable that many local and foreign stylistic elements were incorporated into new types. This pattern of distribution indicates a certain local workshop signature from the Ha A/Ha B1 period.

Next are two well-known types of socketed axes with a loop, a thickened edge, and almost vertical sides (T. I, 3–4).<sup>46</sup> The cutting edges expand in a fan-like manner, and are almost aligned with the outer diameter of the socket. Below the reinforced rim is one horizontal rib from which three V-shaped ribs hang on both sides, curving slightly inward. From the top of the largest rib, a long vertical extension was modeled. The patina is uniform between the two specimens, suggesting that they originate from the same context, most likely a hoard.

Socketed axes of similar shape are known from the Kijevo<sup>47</sup> and Motke hoards,<sup>48</sup> which are attributed to the second phase of hoards in Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>49</sup> A similarity is also noticeable with the socketed axes from the island of Krk, in the Kvarner Gulf.<sup>50</sup> It is certain that the decoration represents a variation of the canonical type of socketed axe with a V ornament. The main area of distribution is Transdanubia and the Western Balkans, with the greatest concentration being found around the interfluvium of the Sava and Drava rivers, where such axes appeared at the beginning of the Br D period, but remained in use during the Ha A1 period.<sup>51</sup> There, they are found in hoards of mixed composition, i.e., the second horizon

42 Roberts, Ottaway 2003, 136; Perkić, Ložnjak Dizdar 2005, 48; Blečić Kavur, Jašarević 2014, 44.

43 Vinski-Gasparini 1973; Žeravica 1993; Hansen 1994; König 2004; Gavranović 2011, 130–133.

44 Žeravica 1993.

45 König 2004, T. 29: 5.

46 Gavranović 2011, 131.

47 König 2004, T. 12: 1–3.

48 *Ibid.* T. 25: 15–17; T. 26: 20.

49 *Ibid.* 23.

50 Buršić-Matijašić 2010, 74–75. fig. 1.

51 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 126; Žeravica 1993, 86, 92–93, 96–100; Hansen 1994, 158, 177–185; König 2004, 35–42; Jovanović 2010, 27–28; Gavranović 2011, 130–133; Blečić Kavur, Jašarević 2014, 37–39; Blečić Kavur *et al.* 2016, 56.

nešto su češće u južnoj Transdanubiji, koje hronološki, strukturno i kvantitativno odgovaraju horizontu Kurd.<sup>54</sup> Poslednji predmet iz ove grupe pripada tipu malih neukrašenih tuljastih sjekira (T. I, 6). Rub je blago zadebljan, pri čijem dnu je formirana široka i tanka ušica. Bočne strane su blago zakrivljene i značajnije se šire u donjem dijelu blizu sječiva, dajući sjekiri trapezoidni oblik. Sječivo je blago zaobljeno. Patina je potpuno mehanički uklonjena sa površine sjekire, sa vidljivim tragovima struganja i grubog poliranja. Ovaj tip sjekire je hronološki pripisan periodu finalnog bronzanog doba (Ha B3).<sup>55</sup> Do sada pronađeni primjerci su uglavnom koncentrisani u sjevernobosanskom području i vjerovatno se mogu tumačiti kao jedna od lokalnih varijanti zapadnobalkanskih tuljastih sjekira iz mlađe faze polja sa urnama.<sup>56</sup> Paralele vidimo u slučajnim nalazima sjekira iz Tešnja<sup>57</sup> i ostave Srpska Varoš 2 u Modriči,<sup>58</sup> s tom razlikom što ušica nije formirana tako nisko kao kod primjerka iz Visokog. Slične sjekire sa vertikalnim rebrima, ali bez ušice, koje su zastupljene u ostavi Pašalići kod Gračanice,<sup>59</sup> takođe se mogu dodati ovoj grupi. Iz ostave Osredak potiče serija malih tuljastih sjekira,<sup>60</sup> kao i primjerci iz susjednih krajeva: Gajina pećina i Matijevići u Lici ili Cigleniku i Adaševci u slavonsko-sremskoj regiji.<sup>61</sup> Sličnost je primjetna i sa neukrašenim sjekirama sa tordiranom/face-tiranom ivicom tuljca poput onih iz Grapske i ostave Tešanj 1, što je svakako proizvod lokalnih radionica.<sup>62</sup> Većina malih sjekira su slučajni nalazi ili iz ostava datovanih u V. fazu ostava Bosne i Hercegovine<sup>63</sup> ili iz V horizonta ostava međuriječja Drave i Save (faza Matijevići).<sup>64</sup>

## SRPOVI

Srpovi zauzimaju istaknuto mjesto među metalnim predmetima iz bronzanog doba, zbog brojnosti i geografske distribucije. Pošto se njihov oblik jedva promijenio tokom proteklih nekoliko milenijuma, smatraju se usko specijalizovanim alatima koje su se koristile pri žetvi.<sup>65</sup> Ipak, detaljna analiza konteksta nalaza i njihovog fizičkog stanja, kao i njihovo poređenje sa istorijskim, antropološkim i etnografskim studijama, otkrivaju karakteristike koje prevazilaze čisto funkcionalni karakter radnog alata. Studije evropskog fenomena ostava takođe su naglasile njihovu posebnu ulogu u kasnom bronzanom dobu i ukazale da su takvi predmeti imali simboličku vrijednost izvan svoje primarne funkcije. Veliki broj nekorisćenih srpova ili srpova sa neznatnim tragovima upotrebe potvrđuje da nisu skladišteni kao metal za

of hoards (Veliko Nabrđe) in continental Croatia,<sup>52</sup> and in the second phase of hoards on the territory of Serbia.<sup>53</sup> In Hungary, they occur somewhat more frequently in southern Transdanubia, which, chronologically, structurally and quantitatively, corresponds to the Kurd horizon.<sup>54</sup>

The last object in this group belongs to the category of small, undecorated socketed axes (T. I, 6). The edge is slightly thickened, with a wide and thin loop formed at its base. The sides are slightly curved, widening significantly in the lower part near the blade, giving the axe a trapezoidal shape. The cutting edge is slightly rounded. The patina has been completely mechanically removed from the surface of the axe, with visible traces of scraping and rough polishing. This type of axe is chronologically attributed to the Final Bronze Age (Ha B3).<sup>55</sup>

Comparable examples found to date are mainly concentrated in the northern Bosnian area, and can probably be interpreted as a local variant of Western Balkan socketed axes from the later phase of the Urnfield culture.<sup>56</sup> Parallels can be seen in chance finds of axes from Tešanj<sup>57</sup> and in the Srpska Varoš 2 hoard from Modriča,<sup>58</sup> with a difference being that the loop is not positioned as low as on the specimen from Visoko. Similar axes with vertical ribs, albeit without a loop, represented in the Pašalići hoard near Gračanica, can also be added to this group.<sup>59</sup> A series of small socketed axes come from the Osredak hoard,<sup>60</sup> as well as examples from neighboring regions: Gajina Pećina and Matijevići in Lika, or Ciglenik and Adaševci in the Slavonia-Syrmia region.<sup>61</sup> A similarity is also noticeable with undecorated axes with a twisted/faceted socket rim, such as those from Grapska and the Tešanj 1 hoard, which are undoubtedly products of local workshops.<sup>62</sup> Most of the small axes are chance finds or come from hoards dated to the fifth phase of hoards in Bosnia and Herzegovina,<sup>63</sup> or from the fifth horizon of hoards in continental Croatia (Matijevići phase).<sup>64</sup>

## SICKLES

Sickles hold a prominent place among metal objects from the Bronze Age due to their abundance and wide geographic distribution. Since their form has changed very little over the past several millennia, they are considered highly specialized tools used for harvesting.<sup>65</sup> However, a detailed analysis of the finds' contexts and physical conditions, as well as comparisons with historical, anthropological, and ethnographic studies, reveals characteristics that go beyond the purely functional nature of a working tool. Studies of the European phenomenon of hoards have also emphasized their special role in the

54 Mozsolics 1985, 78; Tarbay 2021, 28. fig. 7.

55 Gavranović, Jašarević 2016, 106–107; Jašarević, Mujkanović 2024, 89.

56 Žeravica 1993, 75; Rakvin 2015, 93, karta 2; Gavranović, Jašarević 2016, 106–107.

57 Žeravica 1993. T. 21: 274; König 2004, T. 59C; Jašarević, Mujkanović 2024, 89.

58 Gavranović, Jašarević 2016, 115. fig. 6.

59 Gavranović, Jašarević 2016, 115.

60 König 2004. T. 59D: 2–4; T. 60: 5–12; T. 61: 13.

61 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, T. 126A: 4; T. 128: 11; T. 129: 5; T. 130: 1–2; Gavranović 2011, 143.

62 König 2004. T. 77: 7–8.

63 König 2004, 27.

64 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 169.

65 Jovanović 2010, 23; Fejér 2020, 24.

52 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 126.

53 Jovanović 2010, 29–30.

54 Mozsolics 1985, 78; Tarbay 2021, 28. fig. 7.

55 Gavranović, Jašarević 2016, 106–107; Jašarević, Mujkanović 2024, 89.

56 Žeravica 1993, 75; Rakvin 2015, 93, map 2; Gavranović, Jašarević 2016, 106–107.

57 Žeravica 1993. T. 21: 274; König 2004, T. 59C; Jašarević, Mujkanović 2024, 89.

58 Gavranović, Jašarević 2016, 115. fig. 6.

59 Gavranović, Jašarević 2016, 115.

60 König 2004, T. 59D: 2–4; T. 60: 5–12; T. 61: 13.

61 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, T. 126A: 4; T. 128: 11; T. 129: 5; T. 130: 1–2; Gavranović 2011, 143.

62 König 2004, T. 77: 7–8.

63 König 2004, 27.

64 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 169.

65 Jovanović 2010, 23; Fejér 2020, 24.

reciklažu, pa njihova sekundarna, simbolička funkcija postaje očiglednija. U ovom kontekstu, srpovi se mogu koristiti i kao simboli za demonstriranje ekonomske moći.<sup>66</sup> Veliki broj fragmentovanih srpova naveli su i na razmišljanje o njihovoj predmonetarnoj funkciji.<sup>67</sup> Predmetna građa je sistematski analizirana tokom proteklih pola stoljeća, stvarajući iscrpne tipološke i hronološke podjele i kulturno-istorijska tumačenja,<sup>68</sup> a posebno opsežno su prikazani u monografskoj seriji *Prähistorische Bronzefunde*.<sup>69</sup> Ista i nova građa je iznova analizirana, interpretirana i kritički procijenjena, s posebnim akcentom na tehnološke aspekte i simboličke prakse.<sup>70</sup> Slično susjednim regijama Jugoistočne Evrope, srpovi u Bosni i Hercegovini se nalaze gotovo isključivo u ostavama iz ranog i kasnog perioda polja sa urnama.<sup>71</sup> Pojedinačni nalazi su rijetki i javljaju se u područjima gdje deponovanje u ostavama nije toliko dominantna pojava.<sup>72</sup> Jedini srpovi iz naselja potiču s Topolavaca Bregova iz perioda Br D/Ha 1,<sup>73</sup> te Donje Doline, Korita i Poda iz Ha B perioda.<sup>74</sup>

Različite evropske regije pokazuju preferencije za različite tipove bronzanih srpova, a posebno veliku grupu čine takozvani jezičasti tipovi (*Griffangelsicheln*), koji se javljaju u velikom broju u ostavama iz Panonije i Karpatskog basena.<sup>75</sup> Ovoj grupi se pridružuju i noviji nalazi srpova iz Visokog. Tipološka podjela jezičastih srpova zasniva se prvenstveno na broju, položaju i obliku rebara na dršci. Kod prvog srpa, spoljašnja ivica sječiva je ojačana plastičnim rebrom, ispod kojeg je modelovano još jedno manje; drška je podijeljena sa četiri plastična rebra, od kojih se spoljašnje nastavlja u ojačanje sječiva, a unutrašnje se završava pod oštrim uglom u istom ojačanju (T. II, 6). Na prelazu drške u sječivo formirana su tri kratka poprečna rebra. Primjerak pripada tipu Uioara 5 prema podjeli M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița.<sup>76</sup> Sličan tip srpa poznat je iz ostava Bingula-Divoš, Jakovo i Markovac-Grunjac u Srbiji,<sup>77</sup> Šumatac<sup>178</sup> i Donja Dolina<sup>79</sup> u Bosni, te Debeli vrh nad Predgradom u Sloveniji.<sup>80</sup> U kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj zastupljeni su brojnim varijantama u ostavama Otok-Privlaka, Tenja, Siče, Podcrkavlje-Slavonski Brod, Brodski Varoš i Punitovac.<sup>81</sup> Kod drugog primjerka, spoljašnja ivica sječiva je ojačana plastičnim rebrom, ispod kojeg su formirana još dva manja rebra (T. II, 7). Drška je raščlanjena s

Late Bronze Age, and point to the fact that such objects had symbolic value beyond their primary function. A large number of sickles that were unused or show minimal traces of use confirms that they were not deposited as metal for recycling, and thus their secondary, symbolic function becomes more evident. In this context, sickles may also have been used as symbols to demonstrate economic power.<sup>66</sup> The large number of fragmented sickles has also led to considerations regarding a potential pre-monetary function.<sup>67</sup>

The material in question has been systematically analyzed over the past half-century, producing exhaustive typological and chronological classifications and cultural-historical interpretations,<sup>68</sup> presented particularly comprehensively in the monographic series *Prähistorische Bronzefunde*.<sup>69</sup> The same and new material has been repeatedly analyzed, interpreted, and critically evaluated, with special emphasis having been placed on technological aspects and symbolic practices.<sup>70</sup> Similar to neighboring regions of Southeastern Europe, sickles in Bosnia and Herzegovina are found almost exclusively in hoards from the early and late phases of the Urnfield culture.<sup>71</sup> Individual finds are rare, and generally appear in areas where hoard deposition was not such a dominant occurrence.<sup>72</sup> The only sickles from settlements come from Topolovaca Bregovi from the Br D/Ha 1 period,<sup>73</sup> and from Donja Dolina, Korita, and Pod from the Ha B period.<sup>74</sup>

Different European regions show preferences for different types of bronze sickles, with a particularly large group being the so-called tongue-handled types (*Griffangelsicheln*), which occur in great numbers in hoards from Pannonia and the Carpathian Basin.<sup>75</sup> The new finds of sickles from Visoko can also be assigned to this group. The typological classification of tongue-handled sickles is based primarily on the number, position, and shape of ribs on the handle.

In the first sickle, the outer edge of the blade is reinforced with a plastic rib, below which another smaller one is modeled; the handle is divided by four plastic ribs, of which the outermost continues into the reinforcement of the blade, while the innermost ends at a sharp angle within the same reinforcement (T. II, 6). At the transition from handle to blade, three short transverse ribs were formed. The specimen belongs to the Uioara 5 type according to the classification of M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița.<sup>76</sup> A similar type of sickle is known from the hoards Bingula-Divoš, Jakovo, and Markovac-Grunjac in Serbia;<sup>77</sup> Šumatac<sup>178</sup> and Donja Dolina<sup>79</sup> in Bosnia; and Debeli vrh nad Predgradom

66 Jahn 2012, 193, 195; Fejér 2017, 343; Fejér 2020, 24.

67 Primas 1986, 38; Sommerfeld 1994, 265–268.

68 Vinski-Gasparini 1973; Mozsolics 1985; Hansen 1994; Pavlin 2023.

69 Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1978; Primas 1986; Řihovský 1989; Vasić 1994; Gedl 1995; König 2004; Furmanek, Novotna, 2006. usp. Arnoldussen, Steegstra 2016, 69; Fejér 2017, 338.

70 Sommerfeld 1994; Jovanović 2010; Jockenhövel 2011, 3–13; Jahn 2012, 191–195; Jahn 2013; Fejér 2020, 24–28; Fejér 2020a.

71 Vinski-Gasparini 1973; König 2004, 55–61; Pavlin, Jašarević 2016, 136.

72 Gavranović 2011, 150.

73 Belić 2010, 238. T. VII, 3.

74 Govedarica 1982, 141. T. XIV, 1; Gavranović 2011, 150.

75 Vasić 1994, 40; Jovanović 2010, 24; Jahn 2012, 191; Fejér 2020a, 100; Pavlin 2023.

76 Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1978, 35–36; Jahn 2013, 24.

77 Гарашанин 1975. T. XXVII, 6; Vasić 2004, T. 18: 230, 232.

78 König 2004, T. 11: 34.

79 Николић 1962, 72. T. IV, 20.

80 Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 159. T. 64: 41.

81 Vinski-Gasparini 1973. T. 29:1; T. 33: 7; T. 68: 18; T. 65:9; T. 95: 8, 15; Vinski-Gasparini 1979. T. V: 4.

66 Jahn 2012, 193, 195; Fejér 2017, 343; 2020, 24.

67 Primas 1986, 38; Sommerfeld 1994, 265–268.

68 Vinski-Gasparini 1973; Mozsolics 1985; Hansen 1994; Pavlin 2023.

69 Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1978; Primas 1986; Řihovský 1989; Vasić 1994; Gedl 1995; König 2004; Furmanek, Novotna 2006. cf. Arnoldussen, Steegstra 2016, 69; Fejér 2017, 338.

70 Sommerfeld 1994; Jovanović 2010; Jockenhövel 2011, 3–13; Jahn 2012, 191–195; 2013; Fejér 2020, 24–28; 2020a.

71 Vinski-Gasparini 1973; König 2004, 55–61; Pavlin, Jašarević 2016, 36.

72 Gavranović 2011, 150.

73 Belić 2010, 238. T. VII, 3.

74 Govedarica 1982, 141. T. XIV, 1; Gavranović 2011, 150.

75 Vasić 1994, 40; Jovanović 2010, 24; Jahn 2012, 191; Fejér 2020a, 100; Pavlin 2023.

76 Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1978, 35–36; Jahn 2013, 24.

77 Гарашанин 1975, T. XXVII, 6; Vasić 1994, T. 18: 230, 232.

78 König 2004, T. 11: 34.

79 Николић 1962, 72. T. IV, 20

četiri plastična rebra od kojih se vanjsko nastavlja u ojačanje sječiva, a unutrašnje se pod ostrim uglom završava u istom ojačanju. Unutrašnja rebra paralelno su formirana do vanjske ivice. Rebra su ukrašena jamičastim udubljenjima. Oblik srpa se takođe može pripisati tipu Uioara 5. Analogije za ova-ko ukrašeni donji dio nalaze se kod primjerka iz ostava Keszöhidegkút,<sup>82</sup> Pécs II,<sup>83</sup> Szentés,<sup>84</sup> Palotabozsok<sup>85</sup> i Márok<sup>86</sup> u Mađarskoj, zatim iz ostava Šimanovci i Vršac-Kozluk u Srbiji, gdje je dekoracija izvedena urezivanjem.<sup>87</sup> Srpovi tipa Uioara 5 su zastupljeni u ostavama mješovitog sastava, i javljaju se u manjem broju tokom perioda Br D, a češće tokom perioda Ha A1.<sup>88</sup> Na teritoriji Srbije i Vojvodine datuju se u II horizont ostava,<sup>89</sup> odnosno II horizont ostave (Veliko Nabrđe) kontinentalne Hrvatske<sup>90</sup> i II fazu ostava Bosne i Hercegovine,<sup>91</sup> tj. u 12. stoljeće, što odgovara opštoj hronološkoj slici ostava u Karpatskom basenu i Transdanubiji iz kurdsog horizonta.<sup>92</sup> Treći primjerak srpa je znatno oštećen i izlizan, te je od tipoloških karakteristika moguće definisati samo vanjsku ivicu sječiva sa ojačanim plastičnim rebrom. Ručka je raščlanjena s dva spoljašnja i jednim unutrašnjim rebrom koje se iz sredine ručke nastavlja na sječivo (T. II, 5). Opisane karakteristike svrstavaju ga u tip Uioara 3. Srpovi iz ove grupe su relativno malobrojni na teritoriji Srbije, a najveći broj potiče iz Srema, dok su južno od Dunava potpuno nepoznati. U Banatu se poznati iz ostava Markovac-Grunjac i Pančevo-Gornjovaroška ciglana.<sup>93</sup> U znatno većem broju evidentirani su u Slavoniji i sjevernoj Bosni u ostavama Ha A1-Ha B perioda.<sup>94</sup> Od posljednjeg, četvrtog komada srpa očuvan je samo dio sječiva sa ojačanom vanjskom ivicom sječiva i jednim kraćim rebrom koje se završava na vanjskoj ivici (T. II, 4).

Srpovi iz Visokog pokazuju visok stepen korozije, što je moguća posljedica taloženja u vodenom okruženju. Nažalost, to onemogućava iščitavanje svih tehnoloških aspekata korišćenih u procesu proizvodnje, kao i kasnijih elemenata vezanih za upotrebu. Međutim, kao što je tipično za ovaj period, srpovi su često bili nasilno uništavani, savijani i lomljeni.<sup>95</sup> Iz primjera i prakse saznajemo da su srpovi iz Karpatskog basena liveni u dvodijelnim kalupima, a nakon livenja, dodatno su obrađivani različitim tehnikama od brušenja, kovanja i poliranja, kako bi se povećala čvrstoća i izdržljivost sječiva.<sup>96</sup> Dok se funkcija rebara koja se protežu sa spoljašnje strane sječiva, kao i na ivicama, a ponekad i u sredini drške, mogu objasniti praktičnim razlozima (npr. obezbjeđivanje stabilnosti drške). Teško je pronaći funkcionalno objašnjenje

in Slovenia.<sup>80</sup> In continental Croatia, they are represented in numerous variants in the hoards Otok-Privlaka, Tenja, Siče, Podcrkavlje-Slavonski Brod, Brodski Varoš, and Punitovac.<sup>81</sup>

In the second one, the outer edge of the blade is reinforced with a plastic rib, below which two smaller ribs are formed (T. II, 7). The handle is divided by four plastic ribs, of which the outer one continues into the reinforcement of the blade, while the inner one ends at a sharp angle within the same reinforcement. The inner ribs are formed in parallel up to the outer edge. The ribs are decorated with small pit-like indentations. The shape of this sickle can also be assigned to the Uioara 5 type. Analogies for this kind of decorated lower part can be found in specimens from the hoards Keszöhidegkút,<sup>82</sup> Pécs II,<sup>83</sup> Szentés,<sup>84</sup> Palotabozsok,<sup>85</sup> and Márok<sup>86</sup> in Hungary, and from the hoards Šimanovci and Vršac-Kozluk in Serbia, where the decoration was executed by engraving.<sup>87</sup> Sickles of the Uioara 5 type appear in hoards of mixed composition, occurring in smaller numbers during the Br D period, and more frequently during the Ha A1 period.<sup>88</sup> Upon the territory of Serbia and Vojvodina, they date to the second horizon of hoards,<sup>89</sup> which conforms to the second horizon of hoards (Veliko Nabrđe) in continental Croatia<sup>90</sup> and the second phase of hoards in Bosnia and Herzegovina,<sup>91</sup> that is, the 12th century BCE, which corresponds to the general chronological framework of hoards in the Carpathian Basin and Transdanubia from the Kurd horizon.<sup>92</sup>

The third sickle example is significantly damaged and worn, and from its typological features only the outer edge of the blade with a reinforced plastic rib can be defined. The handle is divided by two outer and one inner rib, which continues from the middle of the handle onto the blade (T. II, 5). The described characteristics classify it as being of the Uioara 3 type. Sickles from this group are relatively few in number on the territory of Serbia, with the largest number coming from Sarmia, while south of the Danube they are completely unknown. In Banat, they are known from the hoards Markovac-Grunjac and Pančevo-Gornjovaroška ciglana.<sup>93</sup> They are recorded in significantly larger numbers in Slavonia and northern Bosnia in hoards from the Ha A1-Ha B period.<sup>94</sup> Of the last, fourth, sickle fragment, only a part of the blade has been preserved, with a reinforced outer edge of the blade and one shorter rib ending at the outer edge (T. II, 4).

The sickles from Visoko show a high degree of corrosion, which may be a consequence of deposition in a peaty environment. Unfortunately, this prevents the reading of all technological aspects used in the manufacturing process, as well as later

82 Mozsolics 1985. T. 33: 13.

83 Mozsolics 1985. T. 51: 4.

84 Mozsolics 1985. T. 222: 13.

85 Fejér 2020a. T. 227: 1, 4.

86 Fejér 2020a. T. 214: 1.

87 Гарашанин 1975. T. XLII, 16; Vasić 2004, T. 17: 225; T. 18: 236-237.

88 Petrescu-Dimbovița 1978, 35-36; Perkić, Ložnjak Dizdar 2005, 49.

89 Vasić 1994, 41; Jovanović 2010, 23-24.

90 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 126.

91 König 2004, 59; Pavlin, Jašarević 2016, 146.

92 Mozsolics 1985, 44-45; Hansen 1994, 205; Jahn 2012, 195.

93 Vasić 1994, 41; Jovanović 2010, 25.

94 Vinski-Gasparini 1973; König 2004, 59-60.

95 Fejér 2020, 25.

96 Jovanović 2010, 23; Fejér 2017, 340.

80 Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 159. T. 64: 41.

81 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, T. 29: 1; T. 33: 7; T. 68: 18; T. 65: 9; T. 95: 8, 15; Vinski-Gasparini 1979, T. V: 4.

82 Mozsolics 1985, T. 33: 13.

83 Mozsolics 1985, T. 51: 4.

84 Mozsolics 1985, T. 222: 13.

85 Fejér 2020a, T. 227: 1, 4.

86 Fejér 2020a, T. 214: 1.

87 Гарашанин 1975, T. XLII, 16; Vasić 1994, T. 17: 225; T. 18: 236-237.

88 Petrescu-Dimbovița 1978, 35-36; Perkić, Ložnjak Dizdar 2005, 49.

89 Vasić 1994, 41; Jovanović 2010, 23-24.

90 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 126.

91 König 2004, 59; Pavlin, Jašarević 2016, 36.

92 Mozsolics 1985, 44-45; Hansen 1994, 205; Jahn 2012, 195.

93 Vasić 1994, 41; Jovanović 2010, 25.

94 Vinski-Gasparini 1973; König 2004, 59-60.

za složenije rasporede. Štaviše, može se pretpostaviti da su ova rebra otežavala livenje i držanje predmeta. Pošto je drška srpa napravljena od organskog materijala pokrivala ovaj dio tokom upotrebe, može se dovesti u pitanje i čisto estetska uloga rebara. Poznate su brojne varijante ukrasa sastavljenih od različitih rebrastih elemenata, uglavnom formiranih na dršci. Varijacije znakova su tumačene na različite načine: kao numerički sistem, znaci livničkih radionica i/ili vlasnika, apotropejski znaci itd.<sup>97</sup> Kako bi se bolje razumjeli razlozi zašto su srpovi iz kasnog bronzanog doba bili pohranjeni u tako velikim količinama i u različitim stepenima očuvanosti, te zašto su bili opremljeni složenim rebrastim uzorcima, potrebno je uzeti u obzir i simbolička značenja i funkcije koje su nekad bile povezane s tim artefaktima.

### TORKVESI

Bronzani tordirani torkvesi sa glatkim gornjim dijelom rombičnog presjeka i krajevima uvijenim u ušicu pripadaju prepoznatljivom tipu obručastog nakita sa širokim područjem rasprostranjenosti, koji se javlja u gotovo nepromijenjenom obliku tokom kasnog bronzanog i ranog željeznog doba.<sup>98</sup> Četiri tokvesa istog tipa potiču iz samostanske kolekcije u Visokom (T. II, 1–3), od kojih je jedan deformisan usljed istezanja žice (T. III, 6). Prostorna distribucija pokazuje izraženu varijabilnost i neznatnu kulturnu i hronološku osjetljivost, što je svakako i rezultat konteksta u kome su pronađeni.<sup>99</sup> Najbliže prostorno poređenje poznato je iz uništenih grobnih cjelina u Klaonicama kod Travnika. Mlađi tip tokvesa sa rombičnim presjekom ovdje je datovan u period između 10. i 8. stoljeća.<sup>100</sup> U sjevernoj Bosni, torkvesi su uobičajeni predmeti u ostavama kulture polja sa urnama, i to ostavama faze IV Bosne i Hercegovine (Drenov do, Monj, Bokavić, Tešanj 2).<sup>101</sup> Svakako, torkvesi čine značajan dio repertoara ženskih nošnji iz završnih faza bronzanog doba (period Ha B2-3). Kod luksuznijih nošnji primjetna je pojava čitavih kompleta od tri ili pet ogrlica, poput onih dokumentovanih u inventaru groba iz Ostrožca kod Cazina ili u hercegovačkim ostavama Otoka kod Ljubuškog i Krehin Gradca.<sup>102</sup> Štaviše, nekoliko tordiranih tokvesa pronađeno je u grobovima u Jezerinama i Kopolju, takođe datovanim u period Ha B. Tu je i bogato opremljen ženski grob 3/1916 iz Velike Gorice, koji ukazuje na kombinaciju nošnji poznatih u jugoistočnoalpskim i srednjopodunavskim oblastima, kao i u obližnjem japodskom području.<sup>103</sup> Na području Slovenije evidentirani su kao grobni inventar iz mlađe faze kulture polja sa urnama (Ha B), od sredine 11. do zadnje trećine 9. stoljeća.<sup>104</sup> Isti tip

traces related to use. However, as is typical for this period, sickles were often deliberately destroyed, bent, and broken.<sup>95</sup> From examples and practice, we know that sickles from the Carpathian Basin were cast in two-part molds and then further processed by various techniques, such as grinding, forging, and polishing, to increase the strength and durability of the blade.<sup>96</sup> While the function of the ribs extending along the outer side of the blade, as well as on the edges and sometimes in the middle of the handle, can be explained by practical reasons (e.g. providing handle stability), it is difficult to find a functional explanation for more complex arrangements. Moreover, it can be assumed that these ribs made both casting and holding the object more difficult. Since the handle of the sickle, made of organic material, covered this part during use, the purely aesthetic role of the ribs can also be questioned. Numerous variants of decoration composed of different ribbed elements are known, mostly formed on the handle. The variations of signs have been interpreted in a number of different ways: as a numerical system, marks of workshops and/or owners, apotropaic symbols, etc.<sup>97</sup> To better understand why sickles from the Late Bronze Age were deposited in such large quantities and in varying degrees of preservation, and why they were equipped with complex rib patterns, it is necessary to also take into account the symbolic meanings and functions that were once associated with these artifacts.

### TORCS

Bronze twisted torcs with a smooth upper part of rhomboidal cross-section and ends twisted into loops belong to a recognizable type of ring-shaped jewelry with a wide area of distribution, appearing in an almost-unchanged form throughout the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages.<sup>98</sup> Four torcs of the same type originate from the monastic collection in Visoko (T. II, 1–3), one of which is deformed due to stretching of the wire (T. III, 6). The spatial distribution of such torcs shows pronounced variability and slight cultural and chronological sensitivity, which is certainly the result of the contexts in which they were found.<sup>99</sup> The closest spatial comparison is known from destroyed burial assemblages in Klaonice, near Travnik. The later type of torc with a rhomboidal cross-section was dated to the period between the 10th and 8th centuries BCE.<sup>100</sup> In northern Bosnia, torcs are common items in hoards of the Urnfield culture, specifically in hoards belonging to the fourth phase of hoards in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Drenov Do, Monj, Bokavić, Tešanj 2).<sup>101</sup> Undoubtedly, torcs form a significant part of the repertoire of women's attire from the final phases of the Bronze Age (period Ha B2–3). In more luxurious outfits, sets of three or five necklaces appear, such as those documented in the grave inventory from Ostrožac near Cazin or in the Herzegovinian hoards from Otoka near Ljubuški and Krehin Gradac.<sup>102</sup> Moreover, several

97 Vinski-Gasparini 1979, 98; Jockenhövel 2011, 3–13; Fejér 2020, 25.

98 König 2004, 82; Vasić 2010, 6–7; Gavranović 2011, 213; Perkić *et al.* 2021, 74; Jašarević, Mujkanović 2024, 89.

99 Gavranović 2011, 213.

100 Gavranović, Sejfili 2015, 77–78.

101 König 2004, 27.

102 Čović 1971, 303; Raunig 1982, 8; König 2004, T. 68: 12–13; T. 69: 14–16; T. 75: 26–28; Gavranović 2011, 213; Jamaković 2011, Gavranović, Sejfili 2015, 77; Gavranović 2016, 99.

103 Ložnjak Dizdžar 2009, 158, 161; Karavanić 2013, 124; Jašarević 2020, 53.

104 Škvor Jernejčič 2018, 176, 178

95 Fejér 2020, 25.

96 Jovanović 2010, 23; Fejér 2017, 340.

97 Vinski-Gasparini 1979, 98; Jockenhövel 2011, 3–13; Fejér 2020, 25.

98 König 2004, 82; Vasić 2010, 6–7; Gavranović 2011, 213; Perkić *et al.* 2021, 74; Jašarević, Mujkanović 2024, 89.

99 Gavranović 2011, 213.

100 Gavranović, Sejfili 2015, 77–78.

101 König 2004, 27.

102 Čović 1971, 303; Raunig 1982, 8; König 2004, T. 68: 12–13; T. 69: 14–16; T. 75: 26–28; Gavranović 2011, 213; Jamaković 2011; Gavranović, Sejfili 2015, 77; Gavranović 2016, 99.

torkvesa pronađen je na nekoliko lokaliteta na istočnoj obali Jadrana (Vranjica i Nakovane), koji su datovani u kasno bronzano doba, tj. u 11/10. stoljeće.<sup>105</sup> Slučajni nalazi torkvesa iz okoline Jajca i Bile najverovatnije pripadaju istom periodu, barem prema njihovom obliku i načinu izrade.<sup>106</sup> To potvrđuje i rekonstruisani grobni inventar iz Jajca.<sup>107</sup> Pojava tordiranih torkvesa na Glasincu karakteristična je za fazu Glasinac IVa i spada među one oblike naslijeđene iz prethodne faze Glasinac IIIc, zajedno sa fibulama tipa Golinjevo.<sup>108</sup> Međutim, njihovo korištenje ostaje ograničeno na ovaj kratki period. Na Talinama (tumulus X) i iz Bara kod Tuzle, torkvesi su zabilježeni zajedno sa dvopetljestim lučnim fibulama sa trouglastom stopom, jednim od najprepoznatljivijih tipova nakita iz 8. stoljeća.<sup>109</sup> Vremenski, njima bi se mogao pridružiti i torkves iz Mravića.<sup>110</sup> U centralnoj Bosni, tordirani torkvesi se takođe javljaju tokom 3. faze razvoja srednjobosanske grupe. Torkves iz Grbavice kod Lašve dolazi u kombinaciji sa fibulom čija se stopa završava u obliku beotskog štita, varijanta 2, iz druge polovine 7. stoljeća ili faze Glasinac IVc-1.<sup>111</sup> Ova vrsta nakita poznata je sa više lokaliteta srednjodalmatinske kulturne grupe. Primjerak tordiranog torkvesa evidentiran je u grobu Pod Stražnicom u Crvenicama kod Duvna i datovan u 3. fazu srednjodalmatinske grupe, što potvrđuje i torkves iz Gorice iz rane faze deponiranja u svetištu.<sup>112</sup> Kao impresivni komadi nakita, statusnih odlika, karakteristični su i za luksuznu žensku nošnju iz Donje Doline od sredine 7. do posljednje četvrtine 6. stoljeća ili donjodolinske faze 2a-b.<sup>113</sup>

## FIBULA TIP A GOLINJEVO

Na jadranskoj obali i zaleđu značajna uloga pripada lučnim jednopetljestim fibulama s dva prstenasta ili bikonična zadebljanja, koje se smatraju jednim od najprepoznatljivijih oblika nakita kasnog bronzanog doba i pojavljuju se u grobovima datovanim od 11. do 9. stoljeća.<sup>114</sup> Fibule sa dva dugmeta na luku definišu se brojnim lokalnim varijantama, dok je u našem kontekstu najznačajnija mlađa, takozvana zapadnobalkanska varijanta ili tip Golinjevo.<sup>115</sup> Fibula iz Visokog (T. III, 1; sl. 2) može se pripisati ovoj grupi. Fibula ima visok, zadebljani, paraboloidni luk sa poligonalnim presjekom, kanelovan i sa gusto urezanim motivom jelice. Prstenasta zadebljanja na luku su diskoidnog ili bikoničnog oblika, ukrašene poprečnim urezima. Krajevi luka su kružnog presjeka sa metopno raspoređenim snopovima kružnih linija. Jedan kraj se završava velikom petljom diskoidnog presjeka sa punktiranim tačkama, dok se drugi nastavlja u veću trouglastu

twisted torcs were found in graves at Jezerine and Kmpolje, also dated to the Ha B period. There is also a richly equipped female grave 3/1916 from Velika Gorica, which indicates a combination of costumes known from the southeastern Alpine and central Danubian regions, as well as the nearby Iapodian area.<sup>103</sup> In Slovenia, they are recorded as grave goods from the later phase of the Urnfield culture (Ha B), from the mid-11th to the final third of the 9th century BCE.<sup>104</sup> The same type of torc was found at several sites on the eastern Adriatic coast (Vranjica and Nakovane), dated to the Late Bronze Age, i.e., the 11th/10th century BCE.<sup>105</sup> The chance finds of torcs from the surroundings of Jajce and Bila most likely belong to the same period, at least according to their shape and method of manufacture.<sup>106</sup> This is also confirmed by the reconstruction of a grave inventory from Jajce.<sup>107</sup> The appearance of twisted torcs on Glasinac is characteristic of the Glasinac IVa phase, and belongs among those forms inherited from the preceding Glasinac IIIc, together with fibulae of the Golinjevo type.<sup>108</sup> However, their use remains limited to this short period. At Taline (tumulus X) and from Bare, near Tuzla, torcs were recorded together with double-looped bow fibulae with a triangular foot; one of the most recognizable jewelry types of the 8th century BCE.<sup>109</sup> In terms of chronology, the torc from Mravići could also be assigned to this group.<sup>110</sup> In central Bosnia, twisted torcs also appear during the third phase of the development of the Central Bosnian group. The torc from Grbavica near Lašva appears in combination with a fibula with foot in the shape of a Boeotian shield, variant 2, from the second half of the 7th century BCE or phase Glasinac IVc-1.<sup>111</sup> This type of jewelry is known from several sites of the Central Dalmatian cultural group. A specimen of a twisted torc is recorded in the grave at Pod Stražnicom in Crvenice, near Tomislavgrad, and dated to the third phase of the Central Dalmatian group, which is also confirmed by the torc from Gorica, which has been dated to the early phase of deposition in the sanctuary.<sup>112</sup> As impressive pieces of jewelry and status markers, they are also characteristic of the luxurious female attire from Donja Dolina, from the mid-7th to the final quarter of the 6th century BCE, or Donja Dolina phase 2a-b.<sup>113</sup>

## FIBULA OF THE GOLINJEVO TYPE

Across the Adriatic coast and its hinterland, fibulae with two knobs on the bow are considered one of the most recognizable forms of jewelry from the Late Bronze Age, being present in graves dating from the 11th to the 9th century BCE.<sup>114</sup> Fibulae with two knobs on the bow exhibit numerous local variants, with the most significant in our context being the

105 Perkić *et al.* 2021, 74.

106 Арсенијевић *et al.* 2008, kat. 15–17.

107 Gavranović 2011, T. 74: 1–3.

108 Čović 1983, 426; Čović 1987b, 582; Gavranović 2011, 213; Perkić *et al.* 2021, 74.

109 Gavranović 2011, 213

110 Jašarević, Mujkanović 2024, 89. T. II, 6.

111 Čović 1987, 492–493; usp. Heilmann 2016, 13–14.

112 Truhelka 1899, 367. sl. 41; Čović 1962, 43; Čović 1987d, 452.

113 Čović 1987a, 246–248; Gavranović 2011, 214.

114 Glogović 2003, 8–9; Blečić Kavur 2014, 45. fig. 18; Teržan 2016, 244. fig. 77; Perkić *et al.* 2021, 74.

115 Teržan 2016, 244.

103 Ložnjak Dizdar 2009, 158, 161; Karavanić 2013, 124; Jašarević 2020, 53.

104 Škvor Jernejčič 2018, 176, 178.

105 Perkić *et al.* 2021, 74.

106 Арсенијевић *et al.* 2008, cat. no. 15–17.

107 Gavranović 2011, T. 74: 1–3.

108 Čović 1983, 426; 1987b, 582; Gavranović 2011, 213; Perkić *et al.* 2021, 74.

109 Gavranović 2011, 213.

110 Jašarević, Mujkanović 2024, 89. T. II, 6.

111 Čović 1987, 492–493; cf. Heilmann 2016, 13–14.

112 Truhelka 1899, 367. fig. 41; Čović 1962, 43; Čović 1987c, 452.

113 Čović 1987a, 246–248; Gavranović 2011, 214.

114 Glogović 2003, 8–9; Blečić Kavur 2014, 45. fig. 18; Teržan 2016, 244. fig. 77; Perkić *et al.* 2021, 74.



Sl. 2. Fibula tipa Golinjevo, Visoko, Franjevački samostan Visoko, inv. br. A-92 (snimio: A. Jašarević).

Fig. 2. Fibula of the Golinjevo type, Visoko, Franciscan Monastery Visoko, inv. no. A-92 (photo by A. Jašarević).

stopu. Prednja strana ukrašena je urezanim trouglastim poljima, svedenim duž ivica stope, dok je zadnja strana povijena za ležaj igle. Impresivnih dimenzija: 21,6 cm dužine i 13,5 cm visine. U zavisnosti od veličine ukrasa na stopi i oblika luka, B. Čović razlikuje tri generacije fibula ove varijante.<sup>116</sup> Međutim, pojava ovog tipa fibule, i definisana tipološko-morfološka varijanta, ne znači nužno i precizan hronološki okvir. Dalje, treba napomenuti da su svi do sada poznati primjerci jedinstveni komadi, svaki sa svojim individualnim karakteristikama dekoracije i dizajna.<sup>117</sup> Ali uprkos tome, fibula iz Visokog može se pripisati grupi iz takozvane druge generacije, koju B. Čović prvenstveno iz tipoloških razloga pripisuje 9. stoljeću. Bez izuzetka, svi pojedinačni komadi ove varijante su bez ikakvog konteksta nalaženja.<sup>118</sup> Karakteristika ove grupe je uvećanje stope, izmjena u profilaciji luka, koji dobija više poligonalan, često zvjezdast presjek. Takođe dolazi do postepenog redukovanja ukrasa na srednjem dijelu luka i pojava dekoracija na stopi fibule. Uz ove tri osnovne, treba spomenuti i tendenciju postepenog povećanja dimenzije čitave fibule, karakterističnu naročito za primjerke iz treće generacije.<sup>119</sup>

Analogije za fibulu iz Visokog iz grupe tzv. druge generacije vidimo u primjerku iz Grkovice, Jajca i Livna, s tim što su navedeni primjerci znatno manjih dimenzija.<sup>120</sup> Jedini nalaz

so-called younger Western Balkan variant, or the Golinjevo type,<sup>115</sup> to which the fibula from Visoko (T. III, 1; Fig. 2) can be attributed. The fibula has a high, thickened, paraboloid bow with a polygonal cross-section, fluted, and densely engraved with a fir-tree motif. The ring-shaped thickenings on the bow are discoid or biconical, decorated with transverse incisions. The ends of the bow have a circular cross-section with metopically arranged bundles of circular lines. One end terminates in a large loop of discoid cross-section with punctured dots, while the other continues into a larger triangular foot. The front side is decorated with engraved triangular fields reduced along the edges of the foot, while the underside is curved to form the needle rest. The fibula is impressive in its dimensions, being 21.6 cm in length and 13.5 cm in height. Depending on the size of the decoration on the foot and the shape of the bow, B. Čović distinguishes three generations of fibulae of this variant.<sup>116</sup> However, the appearance of this fibula type and its defined typological-morphological variant does not necessarily indicate a precise chronological frame. Furthermore, it should be noted that all known specimens so far are unique pieces, each with its own individual decorative and design characteristics.<sup>117</sup> Nevertheless, the fibula from Visoko can be attributed to the so-called 'second generation' group, which B. Čović – primarily for typological reasons – assigns to the 9th century BCE. Without exception, all individual pieces of this variant lack any contextual data about their discovery.<sup>118</sup> The key characteristics of this group are the enlargement of the foot, and a change

116 Čović 1971, 315; usp. Čović 1970, 75.

117 Gavranović 2011, 177; Gavranović, Sejfuli 2015, 76.

118 Čović 1971, 320; Čović 1975, 25–27; usp. Čović 1970, 76.

119 Čović 1971, 319.

120 Čović 1971, 320; Petrinc et al. 1995, 56. kat. 77; Gavranović 2011, 178.

115 Teržan 2016, 244.

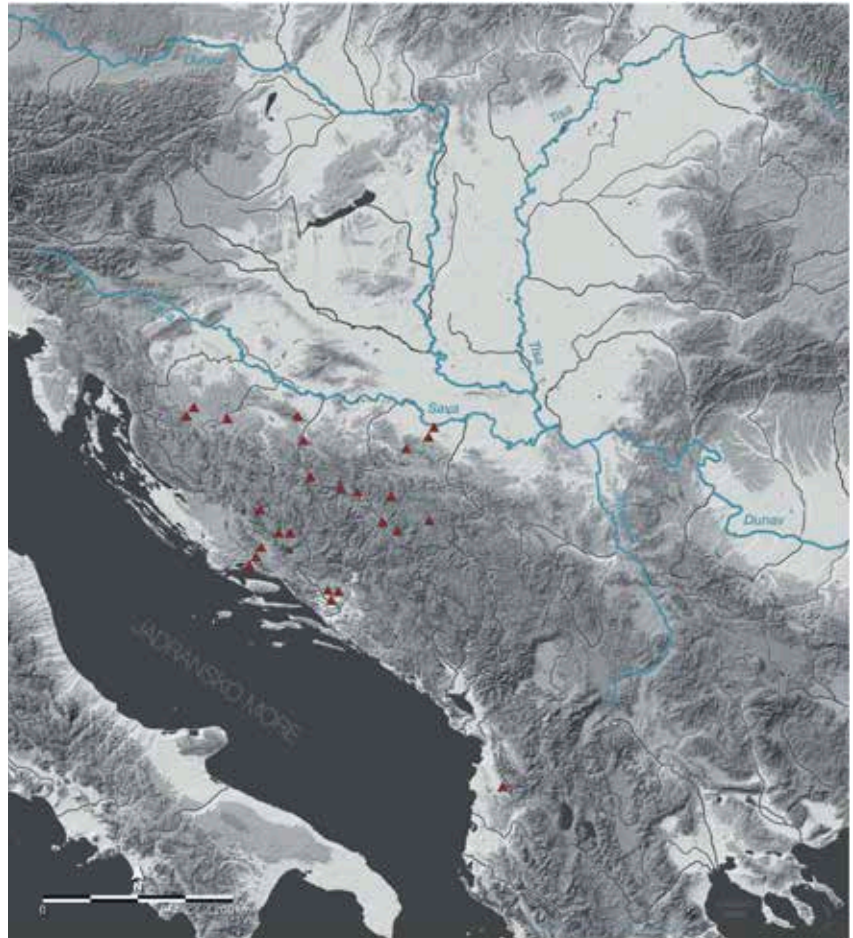
116 Čović 1971, 315; cf. Čović 1970, 75.

117 Gavranović 2011, 177; Gavranović, Sejfuli 2015, 76.

118 Čović 1971, 320; 1975, 25–27; cf. Čović 1970, 76.

Karta 2. Distribucija fibula tipa Golinjevo, sve varijante (prema: Teržan 2016, fig. 77).

Map 2. Distribution of Golinjevo-type fibulae, all variants (after Teržan 2016, fig. 77).



približno istih dimenzija pripada fibuli iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu.<sup>121</sup> Fibula iz Jajca je jedina koja pruža nešto više informacija o datovanju. Prema inventarskoj knjizi Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu, pronađena je zajedno s tordiranim torkvesom i naočarastim privjeskom s cjevastim srednjim dijelom, što upućuje na grobni ili nalaz iz ostave.<sup>122</sup> M. Gavranović datuje predmetni skup u kraj 10. stoljeća i ukazuje da su jednopetljaste fibule tipa Golinjevo sa kanelovanim, zvjezdastim lučnim presjekom nešto mlađe od primjeraka sa poligonalnim lukom. Naravno, nije isključio duži period njihove upotrebe niti hronološko preklapanje.<sup>123</sup> Mapiranje fibula tipa Golinjevo pokazuje da one zauzimaju područje rasprostranjenosti između centralnodalmatinske obale na jugu i donjeg do srednjeg toka rijeka Bosne i Vrbasa na sjeveru (karta 2).<sup>124</sup> Izvan ove zone koncentracije su udaljeni nalazi iz ostave Drnava u zapadnom Karpatskom bazenu, koja sadrži šest fibula tipa Golinjevo s poligonalnim presjekom luka.<sup>125</sup> Upravo fibule tipa Golinjevo predstavljaju dobar primjer za tumačenje pretpostavke kako su efektni komadi nakita igrali aktivnu ulogu u konstrukciji i refleksiji društvenih identiteta s kraja bronzanog doba. Iako nije poznat identičan

in the profiling of the bow, which becomes more polygonal, often with a star-shaped cross-section. There is also a gradual reduction of decoration on the middle part of the bow and the appearance of decorations on the foot of the fibula. Along with these three basic tendencies, it is also worth mentioning the gradual increase in the overall size of the fibula, characteristic especially for specimens of the third generation.<sup>119</sup>

Analogies for the fibula from Visoko belonging to the so-called second generation group can be seen in specimens from Grkovice, Jajce, and Livno, although these are all of considerably smaller dimensions.<sup>120</sup> The only specimen of approximately the same size is the fibula from the Archaeological Museum in Split.<sup>121</sup> The fibula from Jajce is the only one from which more information on dating can be derived: According to the inventory book of the National Museum in Sarajevo, it was found together with a twisted torc and a spectacle pendant with a tubular middle section, indicating a grave or hoard context.<sup>122</sup> M. Gavranović dates this assemblage to the end of the 10th century BCE, noting that the single-loop fibulae of the Golinjevo type with fluted, star-shaped bow cross-sections are somewhat younger than the specimens with polygonal bows. Of course, he did not exclude a longer period of use or chronological overlap.<sup>123</sup>

121 Marović 1960, 14. T. 6:3; Batović 1983, 338. T. 48: 2; Glogović 2003, 12. T. 6: 32.

122 Gavranović 2011, 178. T. 74: 1-3.

123 Gavranović 2011, 178–179.

124 Glogović 2003, 13; Gavranović 2011, 178. karta 58; Teržan 2016, 244.

125 Novotná 2001, 65. T. 16: 144–145, T. 17: 146–149.

119 Čović 1971, 319.

120 Čović 1971, 320; Petrinec 1999, 56. cat. no. 77; Gavranović 2011, 178.

121 Marović 1960, 14. T. 6:3; Batović 1983, 338. T. 48: 2; Glogović 2003, 12. T. 6: 32.

122 Gavranović 2011, 178. T. 74: 1-3.

123 Gavranović 2011, 178–179.

primjerak, njihova distribucija dokaz je prenošenja specifičnih poruka koje su reprezentacija društvenih, simboličkih i ideoloških koncepata koji ne predstavljaju samo vrijednosti lokalnih zajednica već su dio šireg kulturnog miljea, i treba ih u krajnjoj liniji shvatiti kao izraz regionalne mode.<sup>126</sup> Za sada možemo samo pretpostaviti da je u pitanju rodno ekskluzivna kategorija nalaza, rezervisana za žene istaknutog statusa, što svakako može biti određeni lokalni/regionalni ideološki diskurs u tumačenju kulturnih razlika.

## NAOČARASTA FIBULA

Naočaraste fibule, sa svojim brojnim lokalnim i regionalnim varijantama, široko su rasprostranjene od Baltičkog do Egejskog mora i od srednjoevropskog područja do Crnog mora i južne Italije. Korišćene su tokom dugog vremenskog perioda i postale su jedan od oblika nakita koji je, uz manje izmjene, dugo bio prisutan u nošnjama od mlađe faze kasnog bronzanog doba (Ha B1), pa čak i ranije od perioda Br D / Ha 1, do ranog željeznog doba (Ha C / Ha D1). Ishodište u oblikovanju smatra se područje Karpatske kotline, između Moravske i Transilvanije, dok se inovativniji oblici javljaju posebno u perifernim oblastima Balkana i jugoistočnom alpskom području.<sup>127</sup> U isprepletеноj mreži dinamičnih kontakata i komunikacija krajem bronzanog doba, pojava naočaraste fibule u središnjoj Bosni nije nimalo iznenađujuća (T. III, 3). Napravljena je od jednog komada bronzane žice namotane u dva spiralna diska i povezane osmicom u sredini. Petlja u obliku osmice i spiralni zavoji imaju rombični presjek, tek kod posljednjih namotaja žica se mijenja u okrugli profil koji ostaje sve dok ne dođe do unutrašnjosti spirale, iz koje izlaze igla i držač igle (sl. 3.). Prema opisanim karakteristikama, fibula odgovara tipu Vergina prema tipologiji S. Pabst,<sup>128</sup> odnosno starijoj podjeli koju je P. Betzler definisao kao nadregionalni tip Haslau-Regelsbrunn.<sup>129</sup>

Fibule tipa Vergina rasprostranjene su prvenstveno u sjevernoj Grčkoj, sjevernoj Makedoniji i jugoistočnoj Albaniji (karta 3). Najveći broj je pronađen na nekropoli u Vergini, u Grčkoj. Jedan primjerak potiče iz Vidina, nedaleko od Đerdapa, već van matičnog područja rasprostranjenosti.<sup>130</sup> Najvjerovatnije je riječ o devastiranom grobu, čiji se inventar sastojao od naočarastih fibula tipa Vergina i Galaxidi.<sup>131</sup> Fibule tipa Vergina sa istoimene nekropole datovane su u vrijeme od 11/10. stoljeća do kraja 9. stoljeća,<sup>132</sup> odnosno od početka protogeometrijskog perioda.<sup>133</sup> Fibule sa lokaliteta Barç I/50 i Luaras, grob 110 u Albaniji takođe su datovane

Mapping of the Golinjevo-type fibulae shows that they occupy a distribution area between the central Dalmatian coast in the south and the lower-to-middle courses of the Bosna and Vrbas rivers in the north (Map 2).<sup>124</sup> Beyond this concentration zone are distant finds from the Drnava hoard in the western Carpathian Basin, which contains six fibulae of the Golinjevo type with polygonal bow cross-sections.<sup>125</sup> Indeed, the Golinjevo-type fibulae represent a good example for interpreting the assumption that striking jewelry pieces played an active role in the construction and reflection of social identities at the end of the Bronze Age. Although no identical specimen is known, their distribution attests to the transmission of specific messages representing social, symbolic, and ideological concepts that do not merely express the values of local communities but are part of a broader cultural milieu and, ultimately, should be understood as expressions of regional fashion.<sup>126</sup> For now, we can only assume that these are gender-exclusive categories of finds, reserved for women of distinguished status, which may certainly represent a particular local or regional ideological discourse in the interpretation of cultural differences.

## SPECTACLE FIBULA

Spectacle fibulae, with their numerous local and regional variants, were widely distributed from the Baltic to the Aegean Sea, and from Central Europe to the Black Sea and southern Italy. They were used over an extended period of time, and became one of the forms of jewelry that, with minor modifications, remained in use in costumes from the later phase of the Late Bronze Age (Ha B1) – and even earlier, from the Br D / Ha 1 period – until the Early Iron Age (Ha C / Ha D1). Their origin in terms of design is considered to be the Carpathian Basin area, between Moravia and Transylvania, while more innovative forms appear particularly in the peripheral regions of the Balkans and the southeastern Alpine area.<sup>127</sup> Within the intertwined network of dynamic contacts and communications at the end of the Bronze Age, the appearance of the spectacle fibula in central Bosnia is by no means surprising (T. III, 3). It is made from a single piece of bronze wire coiled into two spiral discs, joined in the middle by an 8-shaped loop. The figure-8 loop and spiral coils have a rhomboid cross-section; only in the final windings does the wire change to a round profile, which continues until it reaches the inner part of the spiral, from which the pin and pin-holder emerge (Fig. 3). According to these described features, the fibula corresponds to the Vergina type according to the typology of S. Pabst,<sup>128</sup> or to the earlier classification defined by P. Betzler as the supraregional Haslau-Regelsbrunn type.<sup>129</sup>

Fibulae of the Vergina type are distributed primarily in northern Greece, northern Macedonia, and southeastern Albania (Map 3), with the largest number having been found in the necropolis at Vergina, Greece. One specimen originates

126 Gavranović 2017, 115.

127 Pabst 2012; Blečić-Kavur 2014, 105; Romano, Trefny 2015, 197–198; usp. Betzler 1974, 91–133; Říhový 1993, 66–68; Bader 1983, 56–70; Gergova 1987, 51–54; Vasić 1999, 28–42; Novotná 2001, 51–59; Glogović 2003, 23–33; Gedl 2004, 61–70; Aliu, Bejko 2005, 71–77.

128 Pabst 2011, 212; Pabst 2012, 39.

129 Betzler 1974, 91. usp. Vasić 1999, 37.

130 Pabst 2012, 40; Bräuning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 38. usp. Gavranović *et al.* 2021, 140.

131 Pabst 2008, 610. Tip Galaxidi ima iste morfološki odlike kao tip Vergina, sa razlikom u prilaciji žice koja je obla.

132 Pabst 2012, 141.

133 Bräuning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 38.

124 Glogović 2003, 13; Gavranović 2011, 178. map 58; Teržan 2016, 244.

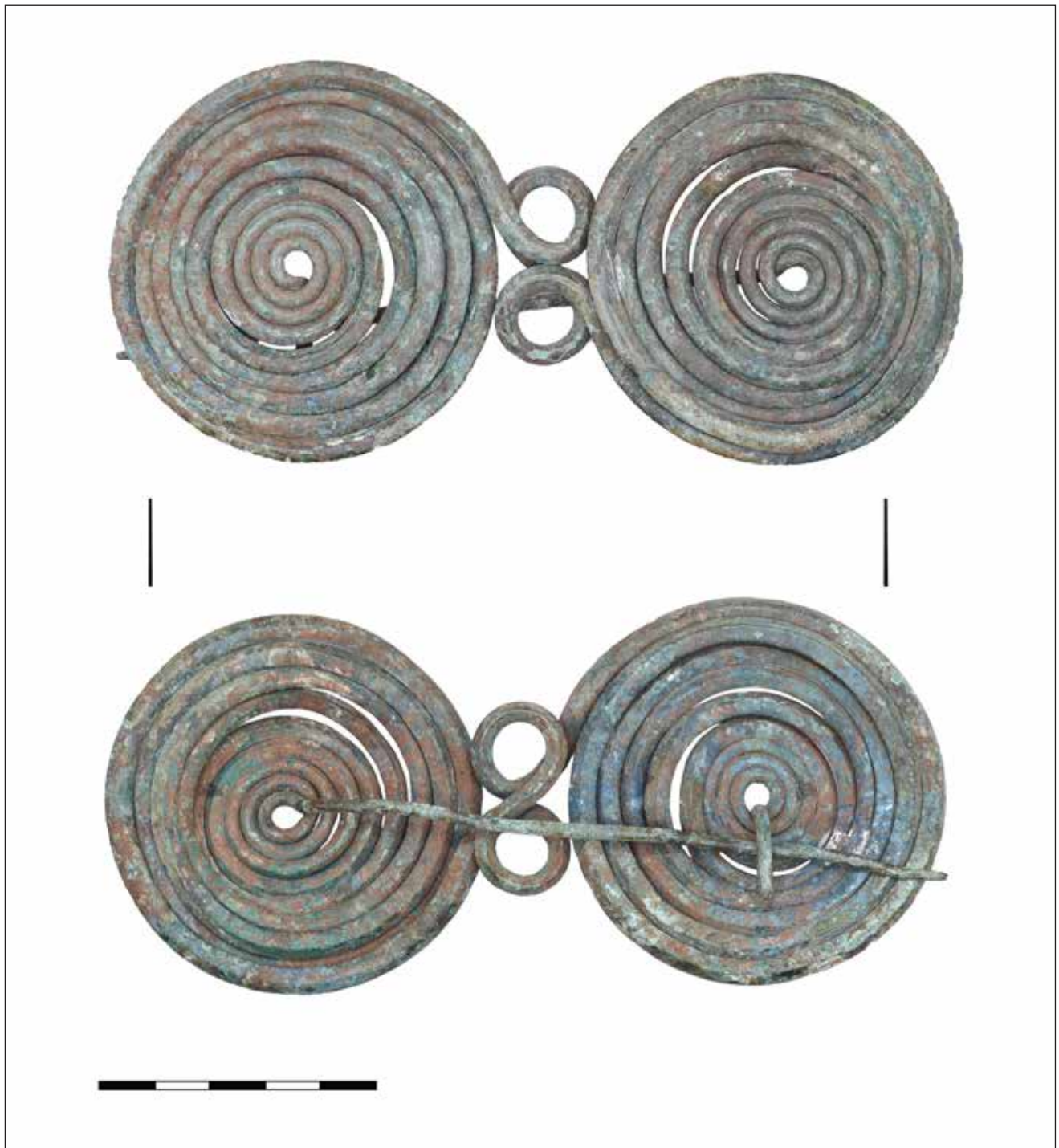
125 Novotná 2001, 65. T. 16: 144–145, T. 17: 146–149.

126 Gavranović 2017, 115.

127 Pabst 2012; Blečić-Kavur 2014, 105; Romano, Trefny 2015, 197–198; cf. Betzler 1974, 91–133; Říhový 1993, 66–68; Bader 1983, 56–70; Gergova 1987, 51–54; Vasić 1999, 28–42; Novotná 2001, 51–59; Glogović 2003, 23–33; Gedl 2004, 61–70; Aliu, Bejko 2005, 71–77.

128 Pabst 2011, 212; 2012, 39.

129 Betzler 1974, 91; cf. Vasić 1999, 37.



Sl. 3. Fibula tipa Vergina, Visoko, Franjevački samostan Visoko, inv. br. A-94 (snimio: A. Jašarević).

Fig. 3. *Fibula of the Vergina type, Visoko, Franciscan Monastery Visoko, inv. no. A-94 (photo by A. Jašarević).*

u 11/10. stoljeće.<sup>134</sup> Štaviše, postoji samo nekoliko nalaza iz grobova relevantnih za datovanje sa cijelog područja rasprostranjenosti naočarastih fibula tipa Vergina (izuzev nekropole Vergina). U tom kontekstu, važna su dva lokaliteta iz doline Vardara; grob B iz Chauchitse i grob 1 iz Suve Reke. Nalaz iz groba iz Chauchitse sadrži fibulu, dvije bronzane narukvice sa preklapljenim krajevima, 16 bronzanih perli i

from Vidin, near Đerdap, already outside the core distribution area.<sup>130</sup> It most likely comes from a destroyed grave whose inventory included spectacle fibulae of the Vergina and Galaxidi types.<sup>131</sup> Fibulae of the Vergina type from the eponymous

<sup>130</sup> Pabst 2012, 40; Bräuning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 38. cf. Gavranović *et al.* 2021, 140.

<sup>131</sup> Pabst 2008, 610. The Galaxidi type exhibits the same morphological characteristics as the Vergina type, differing only in the profiling of the wire, which is rounded.

<sup>134</sup> Aliu, Bejko 2005, 76.

privjesak u obliku ptice. Bikonične bronzane perle i privjesak u obliku ptice pripadaju tipičnom repertoaru takozvanih „makedonskih bronzina“. Kostimski ansambl iz Suve Reke sastoji se od para naočarastih fibula (od kojih barem jedan pripada tipu Vergina) i para spiralnih narukvica i nekoliko bikoničnih bronzanih perli. Nalazi iz doline Vardar stoga sugeriraju (barem za ovu regiju) duži period upotrebe fibula tipa Vergina, kroz čitavo 8. stoljeće,<sup>135</sup> a vjerovatno i tokom 7. stoljeća.<sup>136</sup> U grobovima iz Vergine koji su do sada otkriveni, ornamenti iz grupe „makedonske bronzine“ nisu potvrđeni u kontekstu fibula tipa Vergina (ili tipa Galaxidi); oni se tamo pojavljuju samo u okviru kasnijih nošnji iz 8/7. stoljeća sa naočarstim fibulama tipa Vitsa.<sup>137</sup> Porijeklo naočarastih fibula u sjevernoj Grčkoj (Makedonija), kao i njihov hronološki odnos sa udaljenom teritorijom, još uvijek nije u potpunosti razjašnjeno.<sup>138</sup> Za prvi horizont sahranjivanja na Vergini (11/10. stoljeće) karakteristična je pojava naočarastih fibula (tip Vergina i Galaxidi) sa narukvicama i torkvesima.<sup>139</sup> U pravilu, to su bogato opremljeni grobovi žena/djevojčica. U grobovima su registrovani i predmeti ritualnog karaktera, poput žezla u obliku labrisa, što ukazuje na sahranjivanje žena posebnog statusa u zajednici.<sup>140</sup> Prema S. Pabst, kostimi formirani od naočarastih fibula – torkves – narukvica koji se javljaju od 11/10. stoljeća na sjeverozapadnom Balkanu i u sjevernoj Grčkoj ukazuju na vestimentarne odnose između dva regiona tokom ranog željeznog doba. U tom pogledu autorka je korigovala datovanje pojedinih grobnih cjelina i nalaza radi hronološkog usklađivanja i definisanja jedinstvenog kulturnog horizonta koji se prepoznaje u formiranju bogate ženske nošnje, a takav set, prema autorici, ima svoje porijeklo i/ili podsticaj sa teritorije sjeverozapadnog Balkana.<sup>141</sup> Kao primjer za poređenje, navodi inventar groba iz Ostrožca kod Cazina u dolini Une u sjeverozapadnoj Bosni. Ovaj posebno bogat ženski grob datirala je u vrijeme 11/10. stoljeća, prvenstveno na osnovu fibule tipa Kompolje, koja ima slične tipološke karakteristike i dimenzije kao tip Vergina, izuzev posebno spojene igle za kopčanje i igle pripisane tipu Moravičany.<sup>142</sup> Isto visoko datovanje postavljeno je i za fragment naočaraste fibule i iglu istog tipa iz Gajine pećine kod Drežnika.<sup>143</sup> No, takvo datovanje nije prihvatljivo, time i pozicija fibula mora biti korigovana barem u 9. stoljeće (Ha B2/3 period prema srednjoevropskoj periodizaciji), što bi se relativno usaglasilo i s datovanjem drugih priloga u grobu, odnosno nalaza iz ostave i njihovim lokalnim/regionalnim kontekstom.<sup>144</sup>

necropolis are dated to the period from the 11th/10th century to the end of the 9th century BCE;<sup>132</sup> i.e. from the beginning of the Protogeometric period.<sup>133</sup> Fibulae from the sites of Barç I/50 and Luaras, grave 110, in Albania, are also dated to the 11th/10th century BCE.<sup>134</sup> Moreover, there are only a few finds from graves relevant for dating across the entire distribution area of Vergina-type spectacle fibulae (except for the Vergina necropolis itself). In this context, two sites from the Vardar Valley are important: grave B from Chauchitsa and grave 1 from Suva Reka. The find from Chauchitsa contained a fibula, two bronze bracelets with overlapping ends, sixteen bronze beads, and a bird-shaped pendant. The biconical bronze beads and bird-shaped pendant belong to the typical repertoire of the so-called ‘Macedonian bronzes’. The costume assemblage from Suva Reka consists of a pair of spectacle fibulae (at least one belonging to the Vergina type), a pair of spiral bracelets, and several biconical bronze beads. The finds from the Vardar Valley therefore suggest (at least for this region) a longer period of use of Vergina-type fibulae; throughout the 8th century<sup>135</sup> and probably during the 7th century BCE as well.<sup>136</sup> In the graves from Vergina discovered to date, ornaments from the ‘Macedonian bronze’ group have not been confirmed in association with fibulae of the Vergina (or Galaxidi) type; they appear only in later costumes from the 8th/7th century featuring spectacle fibulae of the Vitsa type.<sup>137</sup> The origin of spectacle fibulae in northern Greece (Macedonia), as well as their chronological relationship with distant territories, is still not fully clarified.<sup>138</sup> For the first burial horizon at Vergina (11th/10th century BCE), the appearance of spectacle fibulae (of Vergina and Galaxidi types) along with bracelets and torcs is characteristic.<sup>139</sup> As a rule, these burials are richly equipped graves of women or girls. The graves also contained ritual objects, such as scepters in the form of a labrys, indicating burials of women of special status within the community.<sup>140</sup> According to S. Pabst, costumes composed of spectacle fibulae–torcs–bracelets appearing from the 11th/10th century BCE in the northwestern Balkans and northern Greece indicate vestimentary connections between the two regions during the Early Iron Age. In this regard, the author revised the dating of certain graves and finds in order to establish chronological alignment and define a unified cultural horizon recognized in the formation of rich female costumes. Such an assemblage, according to the author, has its origin and/or inspiration in the territory of the northwestern Balkans.<sup>141</sup> As a comparative example, she cites the grave inventory from Ostrožac near Cazin in the Una Valley in northwestern Bosnia. Pabst dated this particularly rich female grave to the 11th/10th century BCE, primarily based on a fibula of the Kompolje type, which has similar typological characteristics and dimensions to the Vergina type, except for the separately attached fastening pin, and a needle attributed

135 Pabst 2012, 41, 155.

136 Митревски 2019, 97.

137 Pabst 2012, 40–41.

138 Bräuning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 38.

139 Pabst-Dörrer 2007, 645; Pabst 2008, 609.

140 Pabst 2012, 138.

141 Pabst 2008, 601–602; Pabst 2011, 215.

142 Pabst 2011, 213; Pabst 2012, 60, 305. usp. Jašarević 2020, 51.

143 Pabst 2012, 61, 309.

144 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 168; Raunig 1982, 10; Drechsler-Bižić 1987, 399–400; Teržan, 1987, 8; Gavranović 2013, 155; Gavranović, 2016, 99; Gavranović 2017, 116; Jašarević 2020, 53.

132 Pabst 2012, 141.

133 Bräuning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 38.

134 Aliu, Bejko 2005, 76.

135 Pabst 2012, 41, 155.

136 Митревски 2019, 97.

137 Pabst 2012, 40–41.

138 Bräuning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 38.

139 Pabst-Dörrer 2007, 645; Pabst 2008, 609.

140 Pabst 2012, 138.

141 Pabst 2008, 601–602; 2011, 215.

Karta 3. Distribucija fibula tipa Vergina (prema: Pabst 2012, karta 10).

Map 3. *Distribution of Vergina-type fibulae (after Pabst 2012, map 10).*



Za distribuciju fibule, S. Pabst se poziva na migraciono tumačenje, identifikujući nosioce naočaraste fibule kao etničku grupu koja dolazi iz japodsko-dalmatskog područja, koja se kretala preko južne Albanije i zapadne Makedonije da bi se naselila na području sjeverne Grčke, čime je izazvala migraciju dorskog stanovništva koje se prethodno naselilo na istim područjima.<sup>145</sup> Takođe, B. Teržan i S. Hansen, zbog ovih pravilnosti u distribuciji, od jugoistočnih Alpa do sjeverne Grčke takođe sugeriraju postojanje nekog oblika migracionog talasa na prelazu milenijuma.<sup>146</sup> Prvo tumačenje dovodi do pretpostavki o mobilnosti ljudi, koja može biti masovna ili ograničena na male grupe, često povezana sa nasiljem i razaranjem. Drugo tumačenje ne pridaje primarni značaj faktoru migracije, već se fokusira na cirkulaciju i razmjenu predmeta i/ili ideja između pojedinaca i zajednica u isprepletenoj društveno-političkoj mreži kontakata i komunikacija.<sup>147</sup> Naočaraste fibule tipa Vergina i Galaxidi imaju svoje formalne uzore u naočarastim fibulama tipa Gyermely (zabilježene u Panoniji od 13/12. stoljeća) i u naočarastoj fibuli tipa Maribor, uobičajenoj u jugozapadnoj Panoniji u 11/10. stoljeću.<sup>148</sup> Svakako standardizovani tipovi fibula su dokaz

to the Moravičany type.<sup>142</sup> A similarly early dating has been proposed for a fragment of a spectacle fibula and a needle of the same type from Gajina pećina near Drežnik.<sup>143</sup> However, such dating is not acceptable; thus, the position of the fibulae must be corrected at least to the 9th century BCE (Ha B2/3 period according to Central European chronology), which would align relatively well with the dating of other items from the grave, i.e., hoard finds and their local/regional context.<sup>144</sup>

For the distribution of this fibula, S. Pabst proposes a migratory interpretation, identifying the wearers of the spectacle fibula as an ethnic group originating from the Iapodian–Dalmatian region, who moved through southern Albania and western Macedonia to settle in northern Greece, thereby provoking the migration of the Dorian population that had previously inhabited these same areas.<sup>145</sup> Likewise, B. Teržan and S. Hansen, due to the regularities in distribution from the southeastern Alps to northern Greece, also suggest the existence of a form of migratory wave at the turn from the second to the first millennium BCE.<sup>146</sup> The first interpretation leads to assumptions about the mobility of people – whether on a large or small scale

145 Pabst 2012, 328–335.

146 Teržan 2021, 303–304; Hansen 2019, 214.

147 Bulatović *et al.* 2021, 87.

148 Romano, Trefný 2015, 207–208; Teržan 2021, 301–304.

142 Pabst 2011, 213; 2012, 60, 305. cf. Jašarević 2020, 51.

143 Pabst 2012, 61, 309.

144 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 168; Raunig 1982, 10; Drechsler-Bižić 1987, 399–400; Teržan 1987, 8; Gavranović 2013, 155; 2016, 99; 2017, 116; Jašarević 2020, 53.

145 Pabst 2012, 328–335.

146 Teržan 2021, 303–304; Hansen 2019, 214.

razmjene dobara i/ili cirkulacije modela koji se dijele na osnovu njihovog prepoznatog simboličkog potencijala u izražavanju društvenog i ekonomskog prestiža, tj. statusa. Svakako ne treba zanemariti i njihov očigledan funkcionalni karakter, kao predmeta koji je relativno jednostavan za izradu, a izuzetno efektan u kostimima. Presjek žice, okrugli, ovalni, romboidni ili kvadratni, proporcije petlje u obliku osmice i spiralnih diskova, kao i tehnika namotavanja, služe kao osnova za definisanje tipova i varijanti naočarastih fibula, ali je pitanje koliko ove morfološke karakteristike imaju hronološki značaj, van konteksta u kome su pronađene.<sup>149</sup> U tom pogledu, hemijski sastav naočaraste fibule tipa Vergina iz groba 54 iz nekropole Milci je takođe zanimljiv, i ukazuje na drugačije vrijednosti od većine nalaza sa nešto nižom koncentracijom nikla, ali trenutno nije moguće raspravljati o mogućem porijeklu ili sirovini.<sup>150</sup> Takođe već je naznačeno da fibule u nošnjama i životima svojih vlasnika ispunjavaju različite uloge i mogu biti korištene tako da označavaju određene društvene identitete poput dobi, pola i/ili roda. Fibule tipa Vergina s istoimene nekropole ukazuju na upotrebu u ženskim nošnjama. Nošnje odraslih žena formirane su od para većih fibula postavljenih na ramenima, dok su u nošnjama djevojčica evidentirane samo na jednom ramenu i to one manjih dimenzija.<sup>151</sup> S druge strane A. Bräuning i I. Kilian-Dirlmeier skeptične su prema ovoj podjeli, prema istim veličina fibule nije povezana s dobi, već s kvalitetom tkanine i vrstom odjeće, i konačno sa klimatskim uslovima.<sup>152</sup> Veće fibule bile su potrebne za teže vunene tkanine.<sup>153</sup> Za nalaze naočaraste fibule iz Visokog može se samo pretpostaviti kako se radi o predmetu ženske nošnje i okvirno hronološki smjestiti u vrijeme 10/9. stoljeća.

## NAOČARASTI PRIVJESAK SA CJEVASTIM SREDNJIM DIJELOM

Zapadnobalkanskoj zanatskoj baštini kasnog bronzanog doba može se pribrojati i naočarasti privjesak sa cjevastim srednjim dijelom i spiralnim diskovima koji se sužavaju prema sredini. Izrađen je od jednog komada žice oblog presjeka u tehnici savijanja, stanjivanja i namotavanja. Spiralno-naočarasti diskovi formirani su od osam navoja, dok se središnja spiralna cijev sastoji od četiri navoja (T. III, 5; sl. 4). Radi se o prepoznatljivom predmetu koji je do sada već više puta detaljno analiziran, te tipološki dosljedno određen od strane brojnih autora.<sup>154</sup> Slični, ali ne isti oblici naočarastih privjesaka sa cjevastim srednjim dijelom poznati su u srednjoj Evropi još od srednjeg bronzanog doba.<sup>155</sup> Od kasnog bronzanog doba najčešće su zastupljeni na zapadnom

– often connected with violence and destruction. The second interpretation does not attribute primary importance to migration, but instead focuses on the circulation and exchange of objects and/or ideas among individuals and communities within an intertwined socio-political network of contacts and communications.<sup>147</sup> Spectacle fibulae of the Vergina and Galaxidi types have their formal prototypes in spectacle fibulae of the Gyermely type (recorded in Pannonia from the 13th/12th century BCE) and in the Maribor type, common in southwestern Pannonia in the 11th/10th century BCE.<sup>148</sup> Standardized fibula types undoubtedly represent evidence of the exchange of goods and/or the circulation of models shared for their recognized symbolic potential in expressing social and economic prestige; i.e. status. Their obvious functional character should not be overlooked either, as they are relatively simple to make yet extremely effective costume elements. The wire cross-section – whether round, oval, rhomboid, or square – the proportions of the figure-8 loop and spiral discs, as well as the coiling technique, serve as the basis for defining types and variants of spectacle fibulae. However, the question remains as to what extent these morphological characteristics have chronological significance outside the context of their discovery.<sup>149</sup> In this respect, the chemical composition of the Vergina-type spectacle fibula from grave 54 in the Milci necropolis is of interest, as it shows differing values from most other finds, with slightly lower nickel content, although it is currently not possible to discuss its possible provenance or raw material.<sup>150</sup> It has already been noted that fibulae fulfilled various roles in the costumes and lives of their owners and could have been used to mark certain social identities, such as age, sex, and/or gender. Fibulae of the Vergina type from the eponymous necropolis indicate their use in women's attire. Costumes of adult women were formed from pairs of larger fibulae placed on the shoulders, while in the costumes of girls they were recorded only on one shoulder, and of smaller dimensions.<sup>151</sup> On the other hand, A. Bräuning and I. Kilian-Dirlmeier were skeptical of this division: according to them, the size of the fibula is not connected to age, but rather to the quality of fabric and type of garment, and, ultimately, climatic conditions;<sup>152</sup> larger fibulae were needed for heavier woolen textiles.<sup>153</sup> For the spectacle fibula from Visoko, it can only be assumed that it belonged to female attire and can be broadly dated to the 10th/9th century BCE.

## SPECTACLE PENDANT WITH TUBULAR CENTRAL PART

The spectacle pendant with tubular central part and spiral discs narrowing toward the center can also be ascribed to the Western Balkan craft tradition of the Late Bronze Age. The pendant was made from a single piece of wire with a round cross-section using the techniques of bending, tapering, and coiling. The spiral spectacle discs consist of eight turns, while the central spiral tube consists of four (T. III, 5; Fig. 4). This is a

149 Bräuning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 38.

150 Gavranović *et al.* 2021, 140.

151 Pabst 2008, 601–602.

152 Bräuning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 40.

153 Ložnjak Dizdar 2018, 146.

154 Batović 1960, 61–63; Čović 1970, 80–82; Batović 1980, 34; Batović 1983, 312, 325, 329; Della Casa 1996, 150–151; Gavranović 2011, 227; Tomas, Rešić 2015, 77–81; Perkić *et al.* 2021, 74.

155 Batović 1983, 325, 329.

147 Bulatović *et al.* 2021, 87.

148 Romano, Trefný 2015, 207–208; Teržan 2021, 301–304.

149 Bräuning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 38.

150 Gavranović *et al.* 2021, 140.

151 Pabst 2008, 601–602.

152 Bräuning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 40.

153 Ložnjak Dizdar 2018, 146.



Sl. 4. Naočarasti privjesak sa cjevastim srednjim dijelom, Visoko, Franjevački samostan Visoko, inv. br. A-93 (snimio: A. Jašarević).

Fig. 4. Spectacle pendant with tubular central part, Visoko, Franciscan Monastery Visoko, inv. no. A-93 (photo by A. Jašarević).

Balkanu, odakle su rašireni do srednjeg Jadrana, gdje su se razvile lokalne varijante na liburnskom i dalmatskom području, prilagođene nošnji i prethodnoj zanatskoj tradiciji.<sup>156</sup> Privjesak iz Visokog može se svrstati u tip B, prema B. Čoviću,<sup>157</sup> varijantu s kraćim međuzavojima, odnosno tip B3 prema tipologiji P. Della Casa.<sup>158</sup>

Na prostoru Glasinca privjesci ovog tipa pojavljuju se tokom faze IIIa, odnosno na početku kasnoga bronzanog doba, često evidentirani pokraj glava pokopanih, zbog čega se smatralo kako su predstavljali nakit za kosu/oglavlja. Isto tako, istaknuto je kako se više ne pojavljuju od mlađega dijela faze Glasinac IIIc.<sup>159</sup> Prema rezultatima koje je P. Della Casa predstavio za nalaze s područja Glasinca i Dalmacije, povećanje veličine očigledno je hronološki indikator.<sup>160</sup> Najstarije su, stoga, jednostavne male naočaraste spirale s dva do četiri zavoja, karakteristične za period kasnog bronzanog doba, dok su mlađe varijante iz 11/10. stoljeća masivnije izrade, pa se vjerovatno ne mogu smatrati nakitom za kosu već ostaje mogućnost kako se radilo o privjescima koji su se nosili na gornjim dijelovima nošnji.<sup>161</sup> Na istočnoj obali Jadrana i zaleđu datovani su u period 11/10. stoljeća i to često u kombinaciji s torkvesima i/ili jednopetljustim lučnim fibulama.<sup>162</sup> Najbliža prostorna analogija za privjesak iz Visokog poznat je u nalazu iz Jajca, za koji se smatra da potiče iz devastiranog groba. Evidentiran je zajedno u kontekstu sa fibulom tipa Golinjevo i tordiranim torkvesom, te shodno tome datovan

recognizable object that has already been analyzed in detail on several occasions, having been typologically and chronologically defined by numerous authors.<sup>154</sup> Similar, though not identical, forms of spectacle pendant with tubular central part are known from Central Europe as early as the Middle Bronze Age.<sup>155</sup> From the Late Bronze Age onward, examples are most frequently found in the Western Balkans, from where they spread to the central Adriatic, where local variants developed in the Liburnian and Dalmatian regions, adapted to local costume and earlier craft traditions.<sup>156</sup> The pendant from Visoko can be classified as type B according to B. Čović,<sup>157</sup> the variant with shorter intermediate coils, or type B3, according to the typology of P. Della Casa.<sup>158</sup>

In the Glasinac region, pendants of this type appear during phase IIIa, i.e. at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, often recorded beside the heads of the deceased, for which reason they have been considered ornaments for the hair or headgear. It has also been pointed out that they no longer appear after the later part of the Glasinac IIIc phase.<sup>159</sup> According to the results presented by P. Della Casa for finds from the Glasinac and Dalmatian areas, an increase in size is clearly a chronological indicator.<sup>160</sup> The earliest examples are thus simple, small spectacle spirals with two to four coils, characteristic of the Late Bronze Age, while later variants from the 11th/10th century BCE are of more massive workmanship, and probably cannot be considered hair ornaments, but rather pendants worn on the upper parts of garments.<sup>161</sup> On the eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland,

<sup>156</sup> Tomas, Rašić 2015, 77.

<sup>157</sup> Čović 1970, 81. karta III.

<sup>158</sup> Della Casa 1996, 151–152.

<sup>159</sup> Čović 1981, 109; Čović 1983: 420, 424, 426; Perkić *et al.* 2021, 74.

<sup>160</sup> Della Casa 1996: 151–152

<sup>161</sup> Čović 1970, 81; König 2004, 140; Gavranović 2011, 227; Tomas, Rašić 2015, 80; Perkić *et al.* 2021, 74.

<sup>162</sup> Perkić *et al.* 2021, 74.

<sup>154</sup> Batović 1960, 61–63; 1980, 34; 1983, 312, 325, 329; Čović 1970, 80–82; Della Casa 1996, 150–151; Gavranović 2011, 227; Tomas, Rašić 2015, 77–81; Perkić *et al.* 2021, 74.

<sup>155</sup> Batović 1983, 325, 329.

<sup>156</sup> Tomas, Rašić 2015, 77.

<sup>157</sup> Čović 1970, 81. map III.

<sup>158</sup> Della Casa 1996, 151–152.

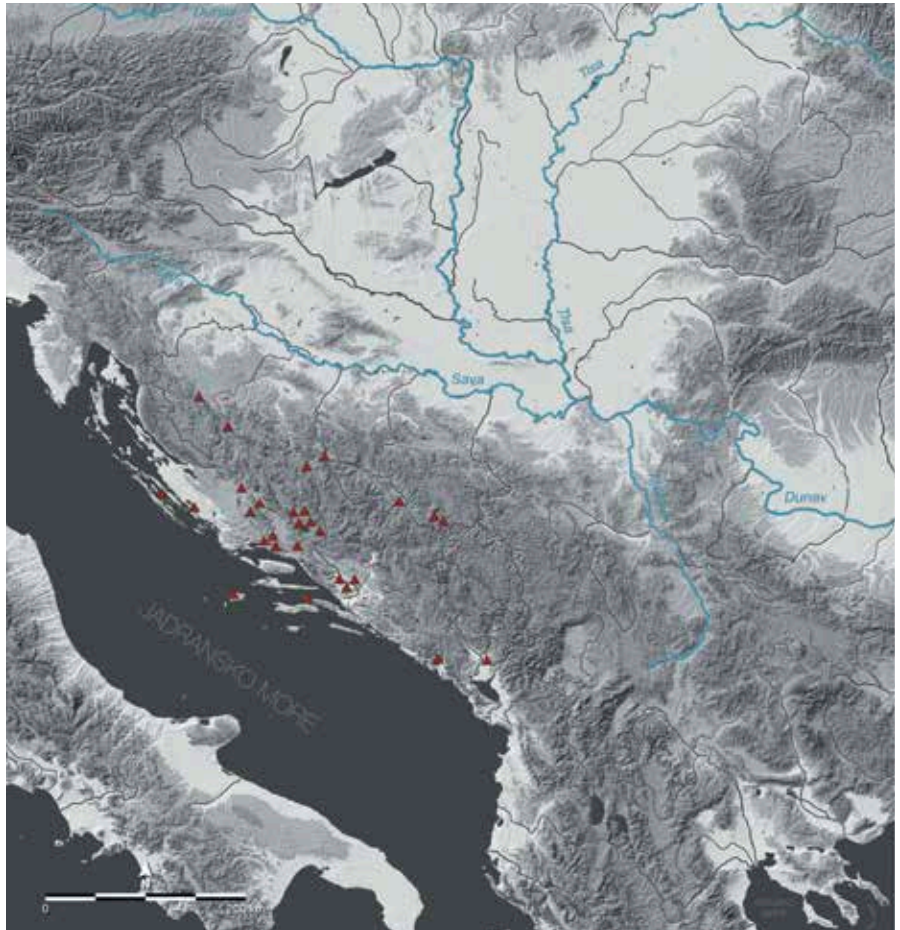
<sup>159</sup> Čović 1981, 109; 1983, 420, 424, 426; Perkić *et al.* 2021, 74.

<sup>160</sup> Della Casa 1996, 151–152

<sup>161</sup> Čović 1970, 81; König 2004, 140; Gavranović 2011, 227; Tomas, Rašić 2015, 80;

Karta 4. Distribucija naočarastih privjesaka sa cjevastim srednjim dijelom, tip B3 (prema: Gavranović 2011, karta 66).

Map 4. *Spectacle pendant with tubular central part, type B3 (after Gavranović 2011, map 66).*



u 10. stoljeće.<sup>163</sup> Identične oblike vidimo i u privjescima iz Franjevačkog muzeja na Gorici u Livnu, nepoznatog mjesta nalaženja.<sup>164</sup> Najveća koncentracija im je u Dalmaciji, jugozapadnoj i središnjoj Bosni, odnosno do Neretve s ponekim nalazom i dalje sve do Velike Grude i sjeverne Zete u Crnoj Gori (karta 4).<sup>165</sup> Za privjeske ovoga oblika još se navodi kako se pojavljuju i na početku starijeg željeznog doba na srednjodalmatinskom području,<sup>166</sup> no valja istaći da za veliki broj te vrste nalaza nedostaje pouzdan kontekst.<sup>167</sup>

### ORNITOMORFNI PRIVJESAK

Najzanimljiviji oblik nakita iz samostanske zbirke svakako je kompozitni bronzani privjesak formiran od zvonastog prošupljenog tijela s tri zadebljanja i kružnim otvorom za kačanje na gornjoj strani (T. III, 2). Zvonasto tijelo prorezano je s tri simetrična trougla, o koja su okačene po jedna ornitomorfna prečka. Krajevi prečke završavaju se u obliku ptičijih glavic s pljosnatim kljunom, istaknutim očima, glavicom sa naglašenom krestom, kratkog vrata iz kojeg je formirano tijelo u obliku gudala od žice oblog presjeka. Drugi kraj je u obliku svinute žice koja je okačena o tijelo privjeska (sl. 5: 1).

they are dated to the 11th/10th century BCE, and often found in combination with torcs and/or single-loop bowed fibulae.<sup>162</sup> The closest spatial analogy for the pendant from Visoko is known from a find in Jajce, thought to originate from a destroyed grave. It was recorded in the same context as a fibula of the Golinjevo type and a twisted torc, and accordingly dated to the 10th century BCE.<sup>163</sup> Identical forms can be seen in pendants from the Franciscan Museum on Gorica in Livno, from an unknown find location.<sup>164</sup> Their greatest concentration is in Dalmatia, southwestern and central Bosnia – i.e. as far east as the Neretva River – with some finds extending further to Velika Gruda and northern Zeta in Montenegro (Map 4).<sup>165</sup> It is also noted that pendants of this form appear at the beginning of the Early Iron Age in central Dalmatia,<sup>166</sup> although it should be emphasized that a reliable context is lacking for many such finds.<sup>167</sup>

### ORNITHOMORPHIC PENDANT

The most interesting form of jewelry from the monastic collection is undeniably the composite bronze pendant formed from a bell-shaped hollow body with three thickenings and a circular hole for suspension on the upper side (T. III, 2). The

<sup>163</sup> Gavranović 2011, 227. T. 74: 1–3.

<sup>164</sup> Petrinc et al. 1995, 23, kat. 84–85.

<sup>165</sup> Gavranović 2011, 228; Bugaj et al. 2013, 429; Perkić et al. 2021, 74.

<sup>166</sup> Čović 1987c, 448, Perkić et al. 2021, 74.

<sup>167</sup> Tomas, Rašić 2015, 80.

Perkić et al. 2021, 74.

<sup>162</sup> Perkić et al. 2021, 74.

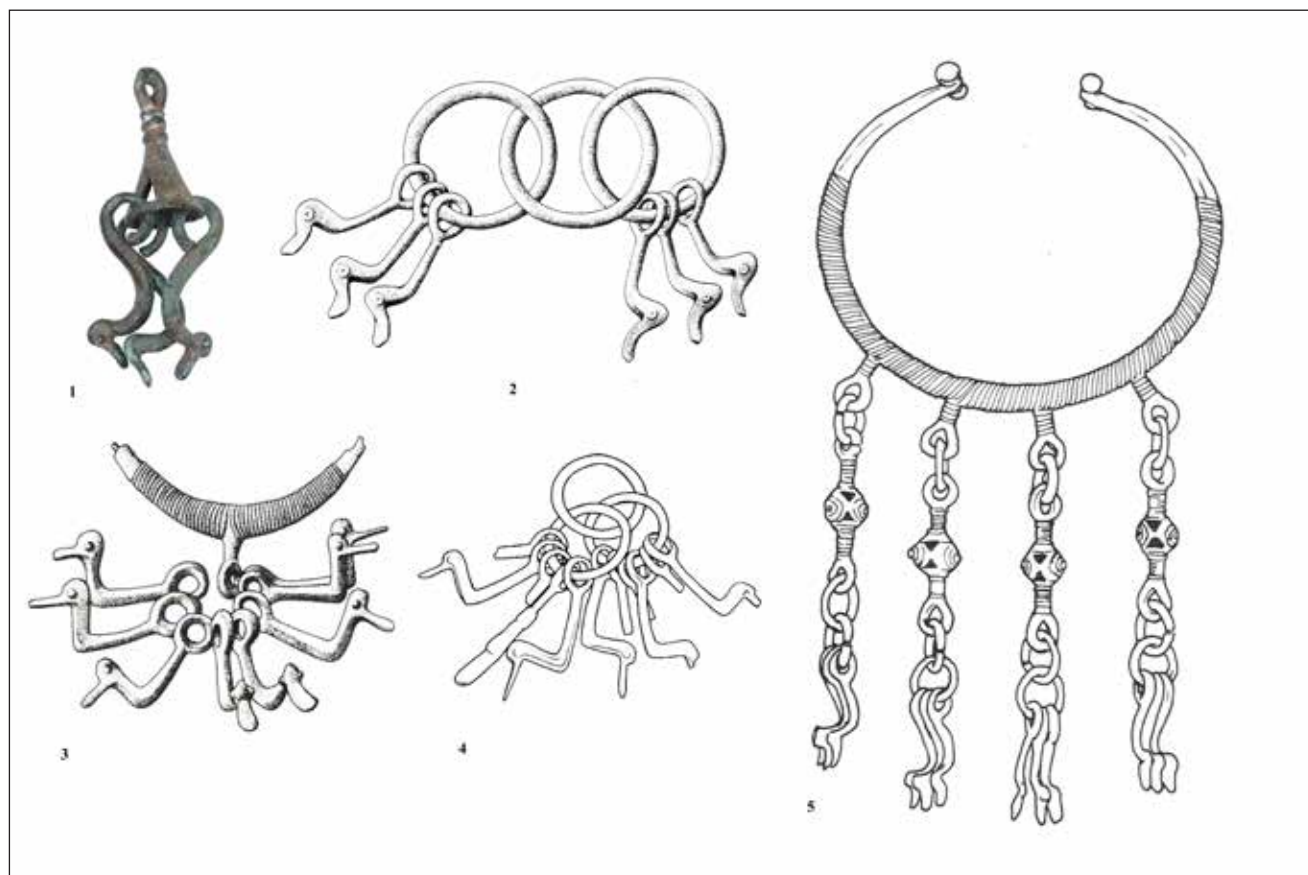
<sup>163</sup> Gavranović 2011, 227. T. 74: 1–3.

<sup>164</sup> Petrinc 1999, 23, cat. no. 84–85.

<sup>165</sup> Gavranović 2011, 228; Bugaj et al. 2013, 429; Perkić et al. 2021, 74.

<sup>166</sup> Čović 1987c, 448; Perkić et al. 2021, 74.

<sup>167</sup> Tomas, Rašić 2015, 80.



Sl. 5. Ornitomorfni privjesci; 1. Visoko, Franjevački samostan Visoko, inv. br. A-bb (snimio: A. Jašarević), 2. Adeševci (prema: Kemenczei 2005, T. 34: C3), 3. Novi Banovci (prema: Vasić 1999, T. 30: 365), 4. Loznica (prema: Булатовић et al. 2017, T. LVIII, 1), 5. Sinoševci (prema: Vasić 1977, T. 7: B).

Fig. 5. Ornithomorphic pendants: 1. Visoko, Franciscan Monastery Visoko, inv. no. A-bb (photo: A. Jašarević); 2. Adeševci (after: Kemenczei 2005, T. 34: C3); 3. Novi Banovci (after: Vasić 1999, T. 30: 365); 4. Loznica (after: Bulatović et al. 2017, T. LVIII, 1); 5. Sinoševci (after: Vasić 1977, T. 7: B).

U arheološkom kontekstu do sada nije zabilježena kombinacija ova dva ornamenta, iako pojedinačno su dobro poznati i dosljedno obrađeni. Distribuciju zvonastih privjesaka mapirao je R. Vasić i zabilježeni su na prostoru između istočne Mađarske preko hrvatskog i srpskog Podunavlja do Oltenije na istoku i Bosne na zapadu (karta 5).<sup>168</sup> Prorezana varijanta poznata je s pet nalazišta. Vremenski raspon korištenja ograničen je na 1. horizont starijeg željeznog doba prema R. Vasiću, odnosno u Ha B3-C1, horizont 9/8. stoljeća.<sup>169</sup> To se odnosi na nalaze iz potvrđenog konteksta. Iz kolektivne grobnice II sa Gomolave evidentirana su tri privjeska, dva puno livena i jedan prorezani,<sup>170</sup> kombinacija istih varijanti poznat je iz Szolnoka u Mađarskoj.<sup>171</sup> Pojedinačni komadi poznati su iz bogato opremljenih grobova u Gornjoj Tuzli<sup>172</sup> i Jablanici, grob 2.<sup>173</sup> Također se javlja i u ostavama ranog

bell-shaped body is cut with three symmetrical triangles, to which one ornithomorphic crossbar is attached. The ends of the crossbars terminate in the form of small bird heads with flat beaks, pronounced eyes, a head with a prominent crest, and a short neck from which a bow-shaped body made of round-sectioned wire is formed. The other end is shaped as a bent wire attached to the body of the pendant (Fig. 5: 1). A combination of these two ornaments has not been recorded to date in an archaeological context, although both are well known and have been thoroughly studied individually. The distribution of bell-shaped pendants was mapped by R. Vasić, with examples having been recorded throughout the area stretching from eastern Hungary through the Danubian region of Croatia and Serbia, to Oltenia in the east and Bosnia in the west (Map 5).<sup>168</sup> The perforated variant is known from five sites. The period of use is limited to the first horizon of the Early Iron Age according to R. Vasić, i.e. Ha B3-C1, corresponding to the 9th/8th century BCE.<sup>169</sup> This applies to finds from confirmed contexts. From collective grave II at Gomolava, three pendants were recorded – two solid-cast and one perforated<sup>170</sup> – and a combination of the

168 Vasić 1988, 7–8. sl. 6; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 456.

169 Vasić 1977, 9; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 456; Kemenczei 2005, 86; Pabst 2008, 591–593.

170 Tasić 1972/73, 105. usp. Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 456; Pabst 2012, 25–27; Kolečin 2016, 131.

171 Kemenczei 2005, T. 33:A1–4.

172 Čović 1957, 252. T. I, 8.

173 Gavranović 2011, 234. T. 13: 9.

168 Vasić 1988, 7–8. fig. 6; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 456.

169 Vasić 1977, 9; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 456; Kemenczei 2005, 86; Pabst 2008, 591–593.

170 Tasić 1972/73, 105; cf. Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 456; Pabst 2012, 25–27; Kolečin 2016, 131.

željeznog doba u Srbiji; Rudovci,<sup>174</sup> Budišić,<sup>175</sup> Rožanci<sup>176</sup> i Klenovnik.<sup>177</sup> Za obje varijante može se tvrditi da je najjероватније riječ o ženskom nakitu.<sup>178</sup> Jedinstven nalaz kalupa za livenje zvonastog privjeska iz Karlovića u Sremu potvrđuju lokalnu zanatsku produkciju.<sup>179</sup>

Arheološka literatura već dugo skreće pažnju na široku rasprostranjenost prikaza ptica širom Evrope i njezin jedinstveni status kao najčešćeg figurativnog motiva tokom kasnog bronzanog i ranog željeznog doba.<sup>180</sup> U ikonografskom smislu, osnovni koncept izrade privjesaka počiva na metodi redukcije i stilizacije, ali sadržani elementi treba da ukažu na jasan prikaz u kontekstu vizuelne prezentacije i poruke.<sup>181</sup> Prve dvije ornitomorfne prečke imaju formu s blago uzdignutim pljosnatim kljunom, upadljivo istaknutim očima, skladno oblikovanu glavicu s naglašenom krestom i kratkim vratom, elemente koji neodoljivo asociraju na manju plovušu, odnosno patku. Treći protom ima pljosnati kljun koji prelazi u glavu sa tjemnom koje je razdijeljeno sa dvije plitke brazde, oko je nisko postavljeno, dok je vrat kratak. Njihova rasprostranjenost obilježila je prostor Podunavlja, iako ih nalazimo od zapadne Ukrajine do centralne Evrope.<sup>182</sup> Privjesci su imali različitu namjenu. Pojavljuju se kao dekorativni elementi na konjskoj opremi, u pravilu tri spojene alke od kojih su na dva vanjska prstena okačeni ornitomorfni privjesci; Adeševci,<sup>183</sup> Loznica,<sup>184</sup> Vetropacz,<sup>185</sup> Beograd,<sup>186</sup> Beograd-Zemun,<sup>187</sup> Kudryńce,<sup>188</sup> Vaszar<sup>189</sup> i nalaz iz Srbije s nepoznate lokacije.<sup>190</sup> Čini se vjerovatno da je, u kontekstu konjske opreme, zaštitna funkcija privjesaka u obliku ptica trebala biti prenesena na konja ili čak jahača. Prema sadašnjim saznanjima najraniji oblici razvili su se u Sremu i Transilvaniji. Uprkos velikim rezervama u pogledu cjelovitosti, nalaz iz Adaševaca mogao bi se smatrati jednim od najstarijih provjerljivo pronađenih (sl. 5: 2).<sup>191</sup> Primjetna je njihova pojava i na kulturnim kolicima (*Kesselwagen*) iz kasnog bronzanog i ranog željeznog doba.<sup>192</sup> Takođe korišteni su kao mali dekorativni dodaci u nošnjama. Kao pojedinačni nalaz mogu se pribrojiti privjesci s fibule iz Novih Banovaca datovane u period s kraja 8. i početka 7. stoljeća (sl. 5: 3),<sup>193</sup> koja ima izravne paralele u fibuli istog tipa iz Moldova

same variants is known from Szolnok in Hungary.<sup>171</sup> Individual specimens are known from richly equipped graves in Gornja Tuzla<sup>172</sup> and Jablanica grave 2.<sup>173</sup> They also appear in Early Iron Age hoards in Serbia: Rudovci,<sup>174</sup> Budišić,<sup>175</sup> Rožanci,<sup>176</sup> and Klenovnik.<sup>177</sup> For both variants, it is plausible to claim that they were elements of female jewelry.<sup>178</sup> A unique find of a casting mold for a bell-shaped pendant from Karlovići in Syrmia confirms local craft production.<sup>179</sup>

Archaeological literature has long drawn attention to the widespread depiction of birds throughout Europe and their unique status as the most frequent figurative motif during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages.<sup>180</sup> In iconographic terms, the basic concept of pendant production relies on a method of reduction and stylization, but the contained elements should indicate a clear representation within the context of visual presentation and meaning.<sup>181</sup> The first two ornithomorphic crossbars have forms with slightly raised flat beaks, conspicuously marked eyes, well-proportioned heads with pronounced crests, and short necks; features that are instantly recognizable as those of a small waterfowl, or, more specifically, a duck. The third protome has a flat beak that extends into a head whose crown is divided by two shallow grooves; the eye is placed low, while the neck is short. Their distribution is characteristic of the Danube region, although they are also found from western Ukraine to Central Europe.<sup>182</sup> The pendants had various purposes. They appear as decorative elements on horse gear, typically on three connected rings, with the ornithomorphic pendants hanging from the two outer ones. Examples of such have been found at Adeševci,<sup>183</sup> Loznica,<sup>184</sup> Vetropacz,<sup>185</sup> Belgrade,<sup>186</sup> Belgrade-Zemun,<sup>187</sup> Kudryńce,<sup>188</sup> Vaszar,<sup>189</sup> and an unidentified site in Serbia.<sup>190</sup> It seems likely that, in the context of horse equipment, the protective function of bird-shaped pendants was intended to be transferred to the horse or even the rider. According to current knowledge, the earliest forms developed in Syrmia and Transylvania. Despite considerable uncertainty regarding completeness, the find from Adeševci could be considered one of the oldest reliably documented examples (Fig. 5: 2).<sup>191</sup> Their presence is also notable on cult wagons (*Kesselwagen*) from the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages,<sup>192</sup> and they were also used as small decorative additions to clothing. As individual

174 Vasić 1977, 65. T. 5: 14.

175 Vasić 1977, 54. T. 6: 5; Булатовић *et al.* 2017, 68.

176 Vasić 1977, 65. T. 3: 2–3.

177 Јацановић 1995, 77.

178 Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 456.

179 Јевтић 1975, 151–152. T. II.

180 Tomedi 2002, 1214; Becker 2018, 209.

181 Blečić Kavur 2017, 124.

182 Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 298. fig. 138; Vasić, Vasić 2003, 172. fig. 21: a; Kemenczei 2005, 57–58.

183 Vinski-Gasparini 1973. T. 130: 5; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 300; Kemenczei 2005. T. 34: C3

184 Вукмановић, Радојчић 1995, 67. kat. 112; Булатовић *et al.* 2017, 67.

185 Vasić, Vasić 2003. fig. 22: c.

186 Vasić, Vasić 2003. fig. 22: d.

187 Тодоровић 1971, 94. T. XLIV, 1; Kemenczei 2005. T. 56: D1.

188 Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 300–301. fig. 137: 2.

189 Vasić, Vasić 2003, 177. fig. 23: d.

190 Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 300. fig. 137: 1.

191 Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 301.

192 Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 301; Vasić, Vasić 2003, 182; Govedarica 2022, 122.

193 Vasić 1999, 59. T. 30: 365; Vasić, Vasić 2003, 178.

171 Kemenczei 2005. T. 33: A1–4.

172 Čović 1957, 252. T. I, 8.

173 Gavranović 2011, 234. T. 13: 9.

174 Vasić 1977, 65. T. 5: 14.

175 Vasić 1977, 54. T. 6: 5; Булатовић *et al.* 2017, 68.

176 Vasić 1977, 65. T. 3: 2–3.

177 Јацановић 1995, 77.

178 Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 456.

179 Јевтић 1975, 151–152. T. II.

180 Tomedi 2002, 1214; Becker 2018, 209.

181 Blečić Kavur 2017, 124.

182 Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 298. fig. 138; Vasić, Vasić 2003, 172. fig. 21: a; Kemenczei 2005, 57–58.

183 Vinski-Gasparini 1973. T. 130: 5; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 300; Kemenczei 2005. T. 34: C3

184 Вукмановић, Радојчић 1995, 67. cat. no. 112; Булатовић *et al.* 2017, 67.

185 Vasić, Vasić 2003, fig. 22: c.

186 Vasić, Vasić 2003. fig. 22: d.

187 Тодоровић 1971, 94. T. XLIV, 1; Kemenczei 2005, T. 56: D1.

188 Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 300–301. fig. 137: 2.

189 Vasić, Vasić 2003, 177. fig. 23: d.

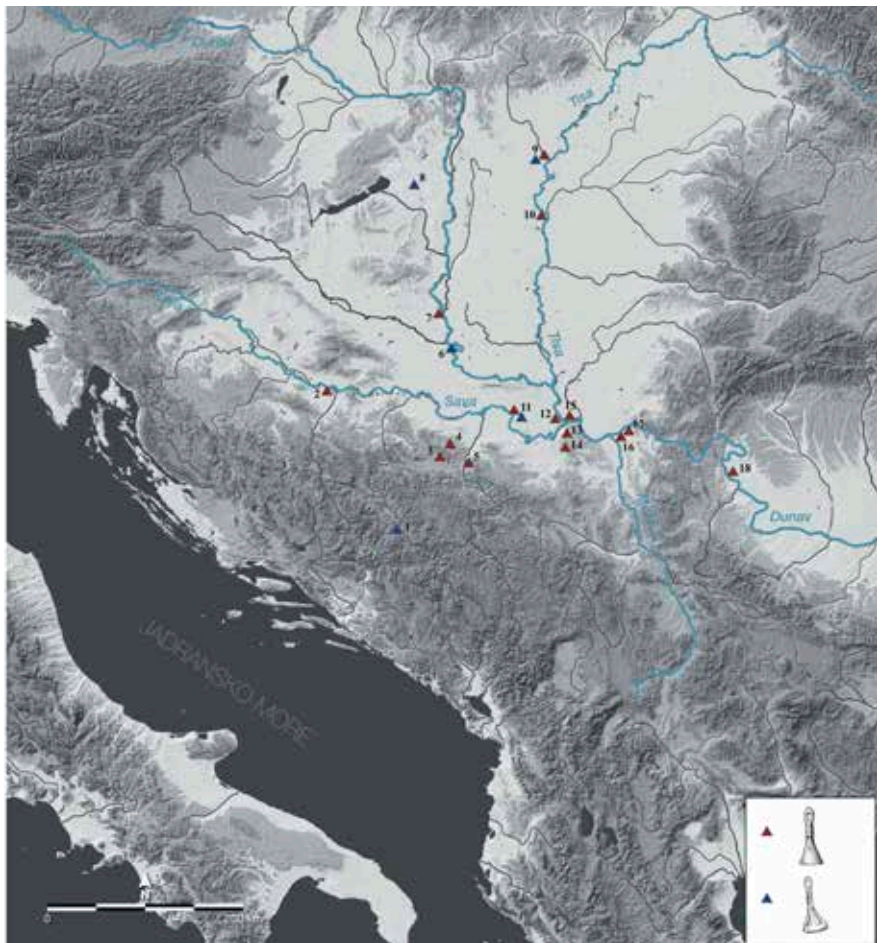
190 Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 300. fig. 137: 1.

191 Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 301.

192 Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 301; Vasić, Vasić 2003, 182; Govedarica 2022, 122.

Karta 5. Distribucija zvonastih privjesaka (dopunjeno prema Vasić 1988; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002; Kemenczei 2005).

Fig. 5. Distribution of bell-shaped pendants (supplemented after Vasić 1988; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002; Kemenczei 2005).



Veche, grob V/3.<sup>194</sup> Nadalje, kompozitni torques iz Sinoševića kod Šapca sa okačenim ptičijim protomima (sl. 5: 5), osim atraktivnog vizuelnog izgleda stvarao je i zvučne efekte pri nošenju, plesu i obredu.<sup>195</sup> Na kraju možemo rezimirati da privjesci s protomima ptica predstavljaju dunavsko-karpatški fenomen i često se vezuju za tzv. trako-kimerski horizont nalaza razdoblja Ha B3/C1.<sup>196</sup> Treba naglasiti da specifični predmeti materijalne kulture, posebno privjesci, igraju važnu ulogu u artikulaciji religijskih ideja, dajući im iskustvenu dimenziju.<sup>197</sup> Svakodnevni život, magija i kultne prakse vjerovatno su ovdje bili mnogo tješnje isprepleteni. U interpretaciji ornitomorfni privjesaka često im je pripisivana uloga amuleta sa apotropejskim, profilaktičkim i magijskim značenjima. Da su ptice, posebno močvarice, bile kosmološki važne u ondašnjim zajednicama sugerise njihov prikaz kao bića koja vode, prate ili vuku sunce po nebu. Stoga se čini da se njihov značaj vrtio oko ideja o kretanju sunca i cikličnosti.<sup>198</sup>

U kategoriju predmeta neznatne hronološke osjetljivosti može se priključiti nalaz bronzane toke/falere. S unutrašnje strane formirana je ušica za prišivanje, odnosno kačenje

finds, pendants attached to a fibula from Novi Banovci dated to the late 8th and early 7th centuries (Fig. 5: 3)<sup>193</sup> should also be considered; this fibula has direct parallels in a fibula of the same type from Moldova Veche, grave V/3.<sup>194</sup> Furthermore, the composite torc from Sinošević near Šabac, with suspended bird protomes (Fig. 5: 5), besides its attractive visual appearance, also produced sound effects when worn, danced with, or used in ritual.<sup>195</sup> In conclusion, pendants with bird protomes represent a Danubian–Carpathian phenomenon, and are often associated with the so-called Thraco–Cimmerian horizon of finds from the Ha B3/C1 period.<sup>196</sup> It should be emphasized that specific items of material culture, especially pendants, play an important role in articulating religious ideas, giving them an experiential dimension.<sup>197</sup> Everyday life, magic, and cult practices were probably much more closely intertwined in this context. In the interpretation of ornithomorphic pendants, they are often ascribed the role of amulets with apotropaic, prophylactic and magical meanings. That birds – especially waterfowl – held cosmological importance in contemporary communities is suggested by their depictions as beings that lead, accompany, or pull the sun across the sky. Therefore, their significance seems to revolve around ideas of solar movement and cyclical renewal.<sup>198</sup>

194 Cărăbiși et al. 2020, fig. A: 8.

195 Vasić 2010, 45. T. 35: 224.

196 Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 298, 302.

197 Blečić Kavur 2017, 123.

198 Blečić Kavur 2017, 137; Becker 2018, 208. usp. Tomedi 2002, 1228; Ilon 2012, 170–174.

193 Vasić 1999, 59. T. 30: 365; Vasić, Vasić 2003, 178.

194 Cărăbiși et al. 2020, fig. A: 8.

195 Vasić 2010, 45. T. 35: 224.

196 Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 298, 302.

197 Blečić Kavur 2017, 123.

198 Blečić Kavur 2017, 137; Becker 2018, 208. cf. Tomedi 2002, 1228; Ilon 2012,

(T. III, 4). Na osnovu perforacije u centralnom dijelu, da se pretpostavi postojanje istaknutog nastavka (trn), koji je izgubljen. Slični oblici zastupljeni su u periodu od 11. do 9. stoljeća.<sup>199</sup>

## ZAKLJUČAK

Prikupljeni arheološki materijal iz muzejske zbirke Franjevačkog samostana u Visokom iako redukovano u pogledu arheološkog saznanja o porijeklu, daje nam određene naznake koje su bitne u lokalnom/regionalnom kontekstu distribucije i korištenja materijalne kulture tokom perioda kasnog bronzanog doba i ranog željeznog doba. Ne manje važna je i činjenica da imamo sačuvanu zbirku koja je svjedočanstvo franjevačke misije o sakupljanju, čuvanju i prezentovanju kulturne baštine više od jednog stoljeća. Kao što naša rasprava pokazuje, imamo skup predmeta različite kulturne pozadine, funkcije i distribucije. Kroz ovu studiju pokušali smo identifikovati karakteristične aspekte artefakata i koristiti ih za stvaranje grupa koje imaju zanatsko, prostorno i hronološko značenje. Karakteristično za faze finalnog bronzanog doba (Ha B1–B3) u regiji između Save i Jadrana je pojava novih bronzanih artefakata s ograničenom lokalnom ili regionalnom rasprostranjenosti.<sup>200</sup> Reprezentativan primjerak mača tipa Celldömölk dokaz je složene dinamike mobilnosti, međukulturnih interakcija i prenosa prakse, vještina, znanja i ideja. Na osnovu evidentiranih nalaza istog tipa mača, ali i kalupa za livenje okova tipa Kulen Vakuf s Velike Gradine u Varavari, područje proizvodnje ove vrste mača može se locirati u regiji zapadnog Balkana tokom 11/10. stoljeća.<sup>201</sup> Mač istog tipa iz Vojskova, ali i ostali metalni nalazi iz ovog perioda još jednom naglašavaju istaknutu i intenzivnu komunikaciju između zajednica kasnog bronzanog doba južno od rijeke Save i područja Transdanubije.<sup>202</sup> Svakako dokaz tome su i predmeti višenamjenskog, svakodnevnog karaktera, poput tuljastih sjekira i srpova. Osim njihove praktične uloge, nije isključeno i da su bile dio ostava, složenog sistema panevropskog fenomena kasnog bronzanog doba, koji je dobro dokumentovan ostavama iz sjeverne Bosne.<sup>203</sup> Posljednjih godina sve je veći interes za studije mobilnosti usmjerene na kretanje ljudi, artefakata i ideja, kroz i preko percipiranih kulturnih granica.<sup>204</sup> Promjene u trendovima distribucije bronzanih predmeta mogu se promatrati u kontekstu opštih kulturnih prilika koje su započele u 11. stoljeću, a koje su mogle imati unutrašnji i vanjski uzrok.<sup>205</sup> Takve mreže uključivale su isprepletenost kulturnih elemenata i mode. Prva kombinacija koja se pojavljuje u nošnjama iz 11/10. stoljeća, a evidentirana u našoj kolekciji, uključuje naočarastu fibulu, fibulu tipa Golinjevo, tordirane torkvese

A find of a bronze clasp/phalera can be added to the category of objects with limited chronological sensitivity. On the inner side, a loop for sewing or hanging is formed (T. III, 4). Based on the perforation in the central part, the existence of a prominent extension (pin), now lost, can be assumed. Similar forms are represented in the period from the 11th to the 9th century BCE.<sup>199</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The archaeological material from the museum collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Visoko, although somewhat limited in terms of archaeological knowledge about its origin, provides certain indications important in the local/regional context of the distribution and use of material culture during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. Equally important is the fact that we have a preserved collection that bears witness to the more-than-a-century-long Franciscan mission of collecting, preserving and presenting cultural heritage in this area.

As our discussion shows, we are dealing with a group of objects of different cultural backgrounds, functions and distributions. Through this study, we attempted to identify the characteristic aspects of artifacts, and use these to create groups with artisanal, spatial and chronological significance. Typical for the phases of the Late Bronze Age (Ha B1–B3) in the region between the Sava River and the Adriatic is the appearance of new bronze artifacts with limited local or regional distribution.<sup>200</sup> A representative example, the Celldömölk-type sword, is evidence of complex dynamics of mobility, intercultural interaction, and the transmission of practices, skills, knowledge and ideas. Based on recorded finds of the same sword type, as well as casting molds for Kulen Vakuf-type fittings from Velika Gradina in Varvara, the production area of this sword type can be located in the Western Balkans region during the 11th–10th centuries BCE.<sup>201</sup> A sword of the same type from Vojskova, as well as other metal finds from this period, once again emphasize the prominent and intensive communication between Late Bronze Age communities south of the Sava River and the Transdanubian area.<sup>202</sup> Supporting evidence for this includes also multifunctional, everyday items, such as socketed axes and sickles. Apart from their practical role, the idea that they formed part of hoards – a complex pan-European phenomenon of the Late Bronze Age, particularly well-documented within northern Bosnia – has not been excluded.<sup>203</sup>

In recent years, there has been growing interest in mobility studies focusing on the movement of people, artifacts, and ideas across and beyond perceived cultural boundaries.<sup>204</sup> Changes in the distribution trends of bronze objects can be observed in the context of general cultural conditions that began in the 11th century BCE that could have both internal and external causes.<sup>205</sup> Such networks involved the interweaving of cultur-

199 Gavranović 2011, 231, fig. 232: 4.

200 Gavranović 2013, 153; Gavranović, Jašarević 2016, 94–95; Gavranović, Mehoffer 2016, 96–97; Gavranović 2017, 119.

201 Turk 2016, 106.

202 Gavranović, Ložnjak Dizdar 2019, 146–149.

203 König 2004.

204 Molloy 2018, 82.

205 Lafe, Galaty 2009, 107; Gavranović 2017, 119.

170–174.

199 Gavranović 2011, 231, fig. 232: 4.

200 Gavranović 2013, 153; 2017, 119; Gavranović, Jašarević 2016, 94–95; Gavranović, Mehoffer 2016, 96–97.

201 Turk 2016, 106.

202 Gavranović, Ložnjak Dizdar 2019, 146–149.

203 König 2004.

204 Vandkilde *et al.* 2015.

205 Lafe, Galaty 2009, 107; Gavranović 2017, 119.

i naočarasti privjesak. Čini se jasnim da nije moguće objasniti dokaze o sličnostima između oblika nakita ili kulturnih navika samo kao rezultat migracija zajednica i pojedinaca. Očito je da su mnogi elementi, u različitim mjerama i s različitim ulogama, doprinijeli formiranju novih, specifičnih kostima u ovom periodu. Prvenstveno treba promišljati o mobilnosti ideja, vještina i naravno ljudi, što se podrazumijeva kao cirkulacija i razmjena između članova elita (putem brakova i saveza) i specijalizovanih snaga poput zanatlija/ratnika. Distribucija specifičnih elemenata kostima svjedoči o dijeljenju i razumijevanju istog leksikona od strane elita u velikom dijelu Balkana. Korištenje istih i/ili sličnih artefakata prenosilo je afinitet prema nadregionalnom sistemu vrijednosti, a istovremeno je svaka zajednica razvila drugačiju sintaksu kako bi se prilagodila svojim specifičnim društvenim zahtjevima i stvorila vlastiti identitet. Dokaz tome je svakako izdvajanje elemenata ženskog kostima, za sada najvidljivijeg u arheološkom materijalu. Konačno, geografska pozicija visoke kotline u dolini Bosne nameće se kao prostor u kome se odvijaju složene kulturne interakcije od sjevera ka jugu, ali i na susjedne povezane regije.

## ZAHVALE

Pri publikovanju predmetne građe iz Franjevačkog samostana u Visokom neizostavna je bila podrška kolega, prijatelja i stručnih saradnika, kojima se ovim putem iskreno zahvaljujem: Franjo Radman (gvardijan Franjevačkog samostana u Visokom, Visoko), Adisa Lepić (Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo), Muhamed Bešliagić (Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo), Jovana Milošević (Muzej u Doboju, Doboju), Ago Mujkanović (JU Opća biblioteka Tešanj, Tešanj), Minela Đelmo (Akademija nauka i umjetnosti BiH, Sarajevo).

## DISTRIBUCIJA ZVONASTIH PRIVJESAKA /

1. Visoko
2. Donja Dolina (Marić 1964. T. XV, 10).
3. Gornja Tuzla (Čović 1957. 252. T. I, 8).
4. Jablanica (Gavranović 2011. T. 13: 9).
5. Budišić (Vasić 1977. T. 6: 5).
6. Dalj (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002. T. 66: 8).
7. Batina (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002. T. 9: 22).
8. Sárvíz-Kanal (Kemenczei 2005. T. 48:N2).
9. Szolnok (Kemenczei 2005. T. 33:A1, A2-4).
10. Csongrád (Kemenczei 2005. T. 1:A1).
11. Gomolava (Tasić 1972. sl. 69-70, 75; Vasić 1977. T. 2: 7-8).
12. Novi Banovci (Basić 1988. sl. 5: 3).
13. Rožanci (Vasić 1977. T. 3: 2-3).
14. Rudovci (Vasić 1977. T. 5: 14).
15. Zemun (Вукмановић, Радојчић 1995. kat. 113).
16. Klenovnik (Јацановић 1995. T. XIX, 1-3).
17. Stari Kostolac (Стојић, Јацановић 2008. T. CVIII, 15-19. sl. 132).
18. Balta Verde (Berciu, Comşa, 1956. fig. 77: 5).

al elements and fashions. The first combination appearing in costumes from the 11th/10th century BCE that is recorded in our collection includes spectacle fibulae, Golinjevo-type fibulae, twisted torcs, and spectacle pendants. It seems clear that the similarities between jewelry forms and/or cultural habits cannot be explained solely as the result of migrations of communities or individuals. It is evident that many elements – in varying degrees and roles – contributed to the formation of new, specific costumes during this period. Primarily, we must consider the mobility of ideas, skills, and, of course, people as forms of circulation and exchange among and between members of elites (through marriages and alliances) and specialized groups, such as craftspeople or warriors. The distribution of specific costume elements attests to the sharing and understanding of a common lexicon by elites across much of the Balkans. The use of identical and/or similar artifacts conveyed an affinity with a supra-regional system of values, while each community simultaneously developed its own syntax to adapt to specific social requirements and create its own identity. Evidence of this is particularly clear in the distinctive elements of female costume, currently the most visible in the archaeological record. Finally, the geographical position of the Visoko Basin, in the Bosna Valley, emerges as an area where complex cultural interactions took place; both from north to south and toward neighboring connected regions.

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## DISTRIBUTION OF BELL-SHAPED PENDANTS

1. Visoko
2. Donja Dolina (Marić 1964, T. XV, 10).
3. Gornja Tuzla (Čović 1957, 252. T. I, 8).
4. Jablanica (Gavranović 2011, T. 13: 9).
5. Budišić (Vasić 1977, T. 6: 5).
6. Dalj (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, T. 66: 8).
7. Batina (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, T. 9: 22).
8. Sárvíz-Kanal (Kemenczei 2005, T. 48: N2).
9. Szolnok (Kemenczei 2005, T. 33: A1, A2-4).
10. Csongrád (Kemenczei 2005, T. 1: A1).
11. Gomolava (Tasić 1972/73, figs. 69-70, 75; Vasić 1977, T. 2: 7-8).
12. Novi Banovci (Vasić 1988, fig. 5:3).
13. Rožanci (Vasić 1977, T. 3: 2-3).
14. Rudovci (Vasić 1977, T. 5: 14).
15. Zemun (Vukmanović, Radojčić 1995, cat. 113).
16. Klenovnik (Jacanović 1995, T. XIX, 1-3).
17. Stari Kostolac (Stojić, Jacanović 2008, T. CVIII, 15-19, fig. 132).
18. Balta Verde (Berciu, Comşa 1956, fig. 77:5).

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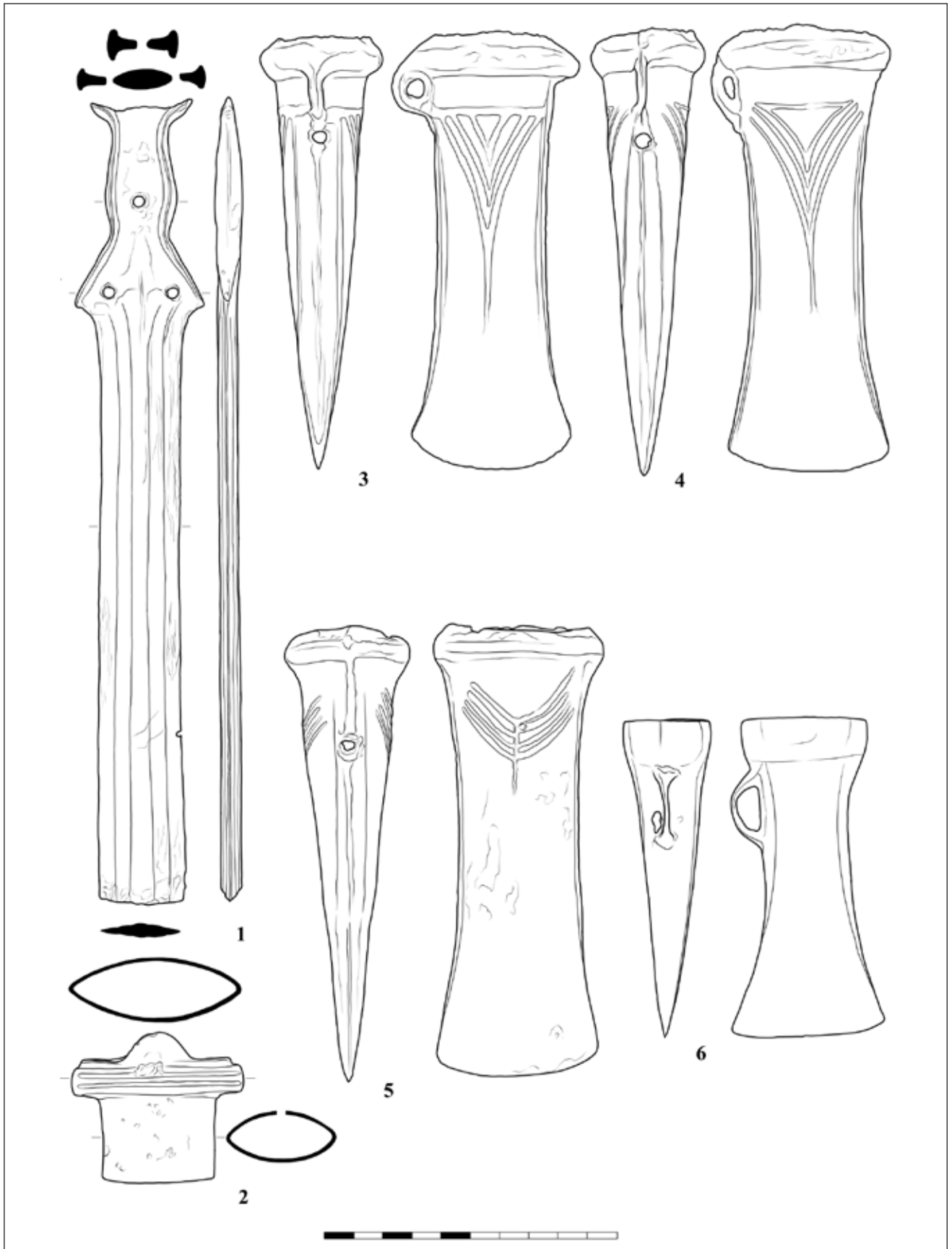
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T. 1

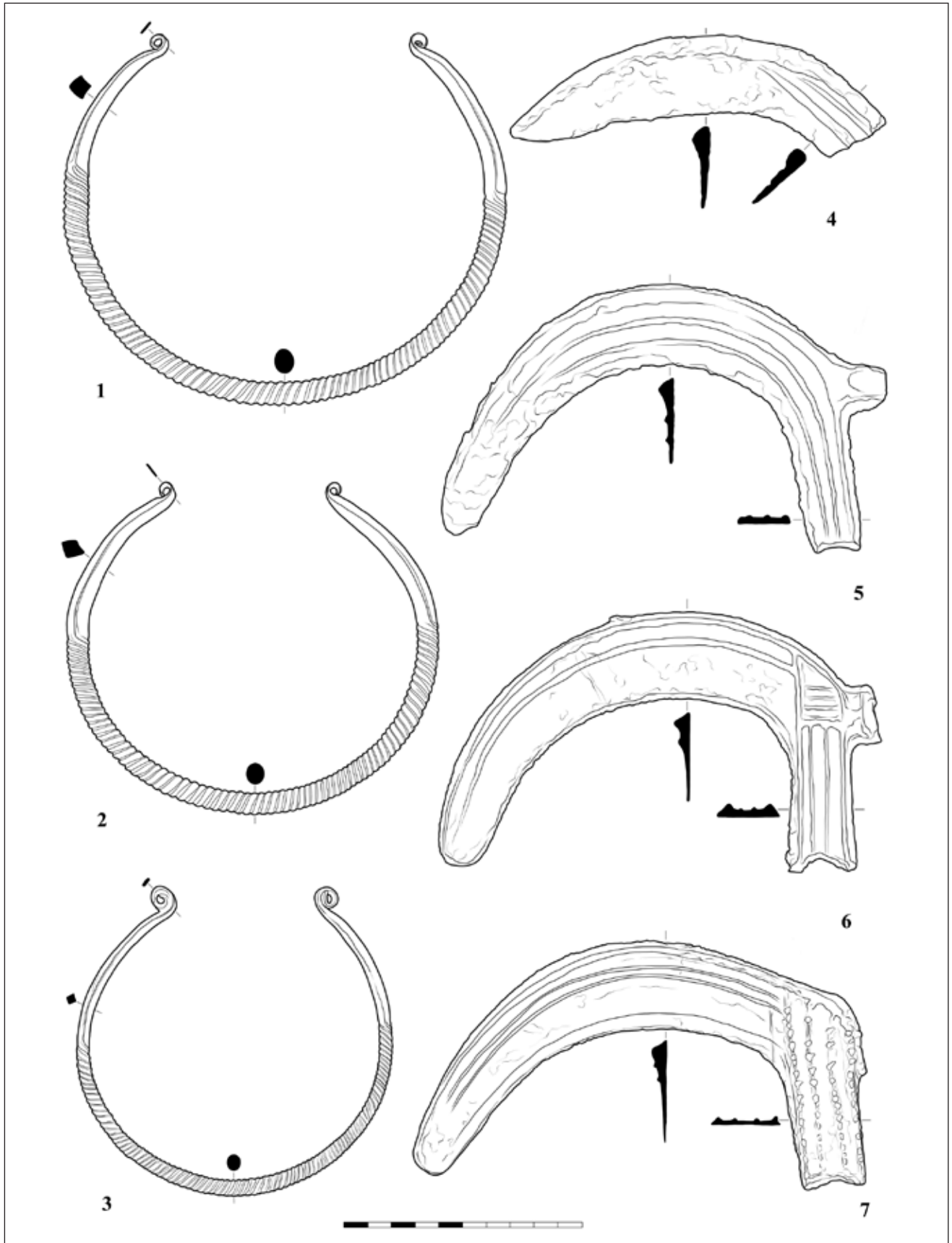
Pl. 1



Crtež/drawing: M. Bešlagić

T. 2

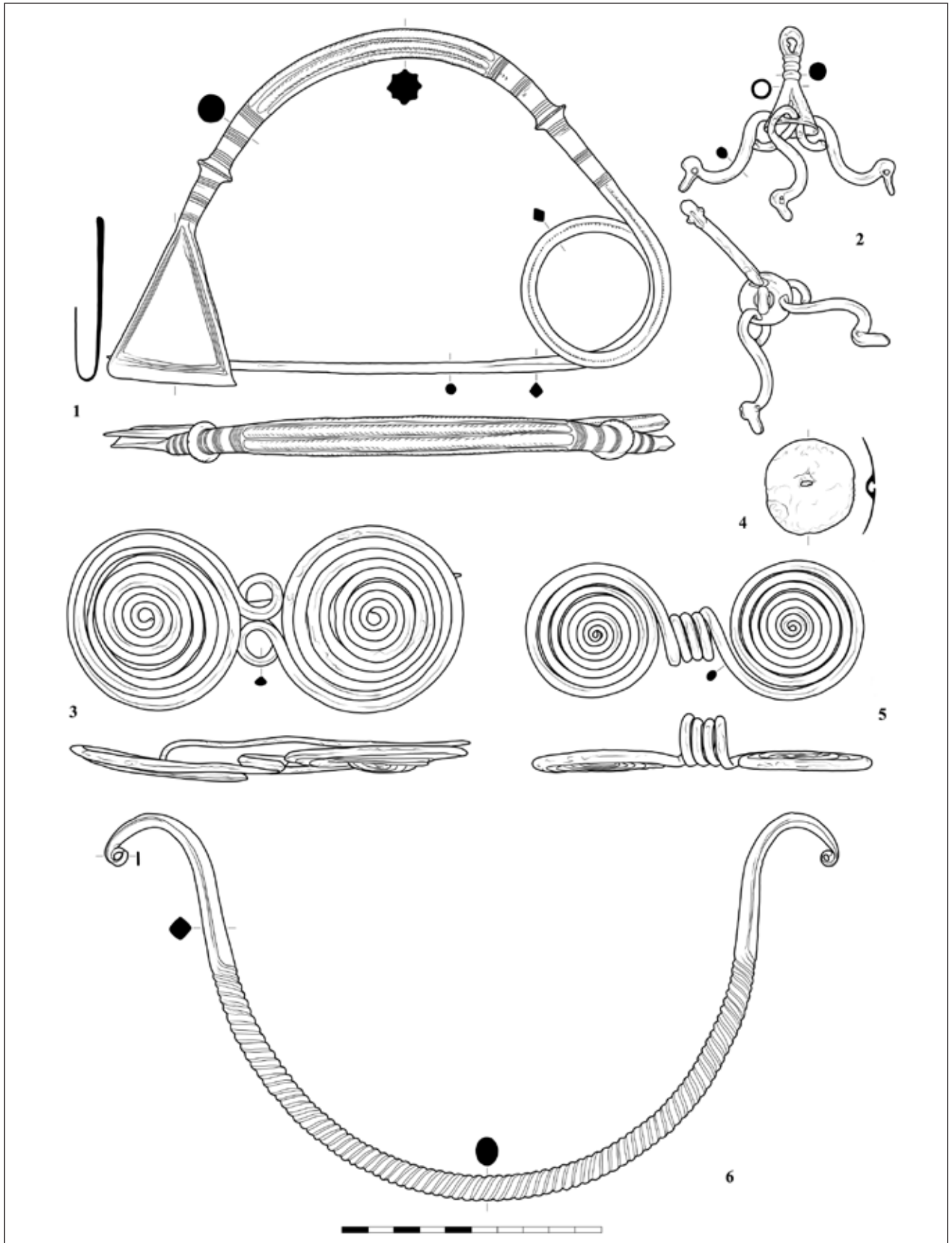
Pl. 2



Crtež/drawing: M. Bešlagić

T. 3

Pl. 3



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