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**ARHEOLOGIJA**  
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ZEMALJSKI MUZEJ  
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# GLASNIK

Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine

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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 Krunoslavu 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 TIP A 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.

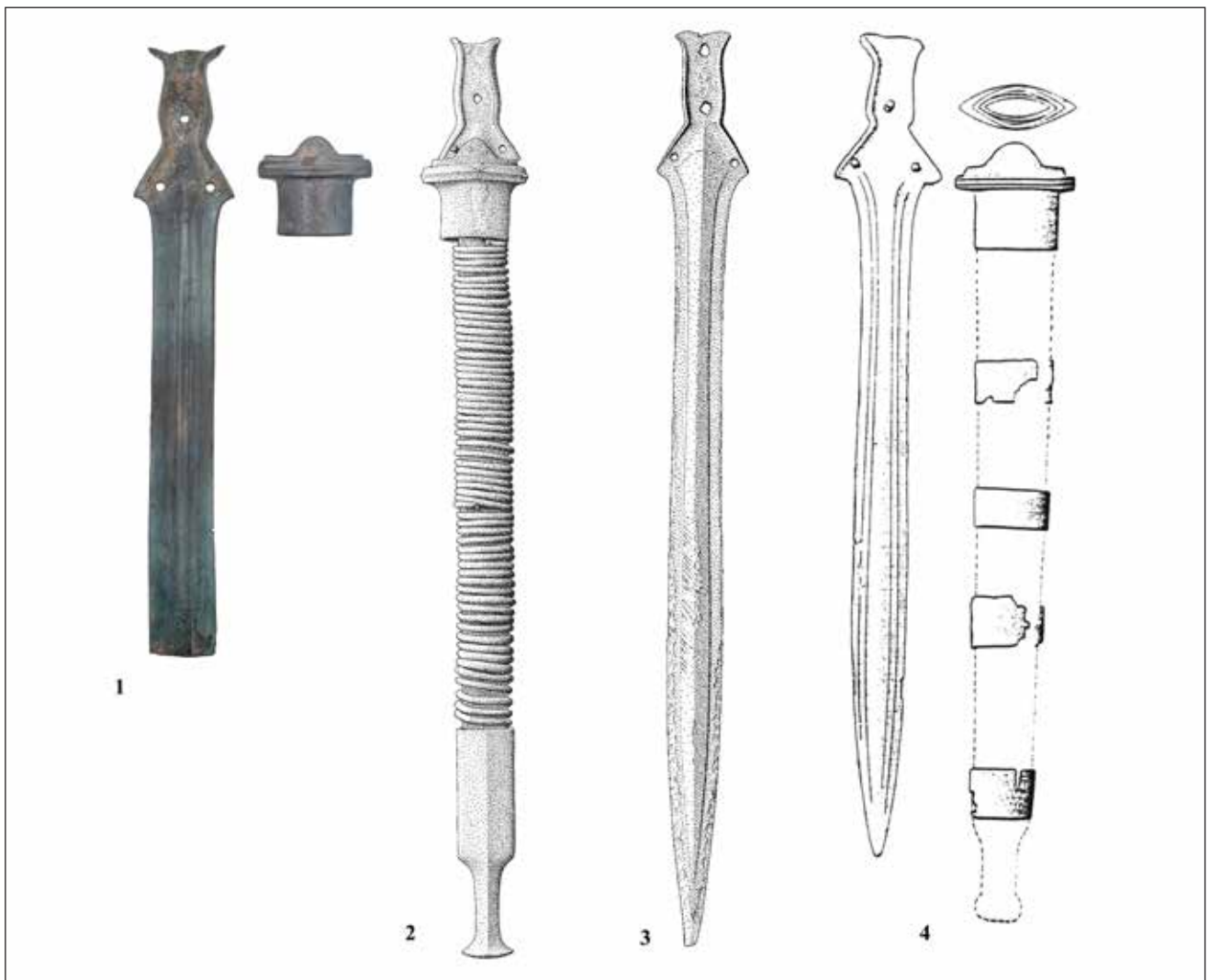
25 Harding 1995, 58; Milošević 1999, 209. fig. 2.

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.

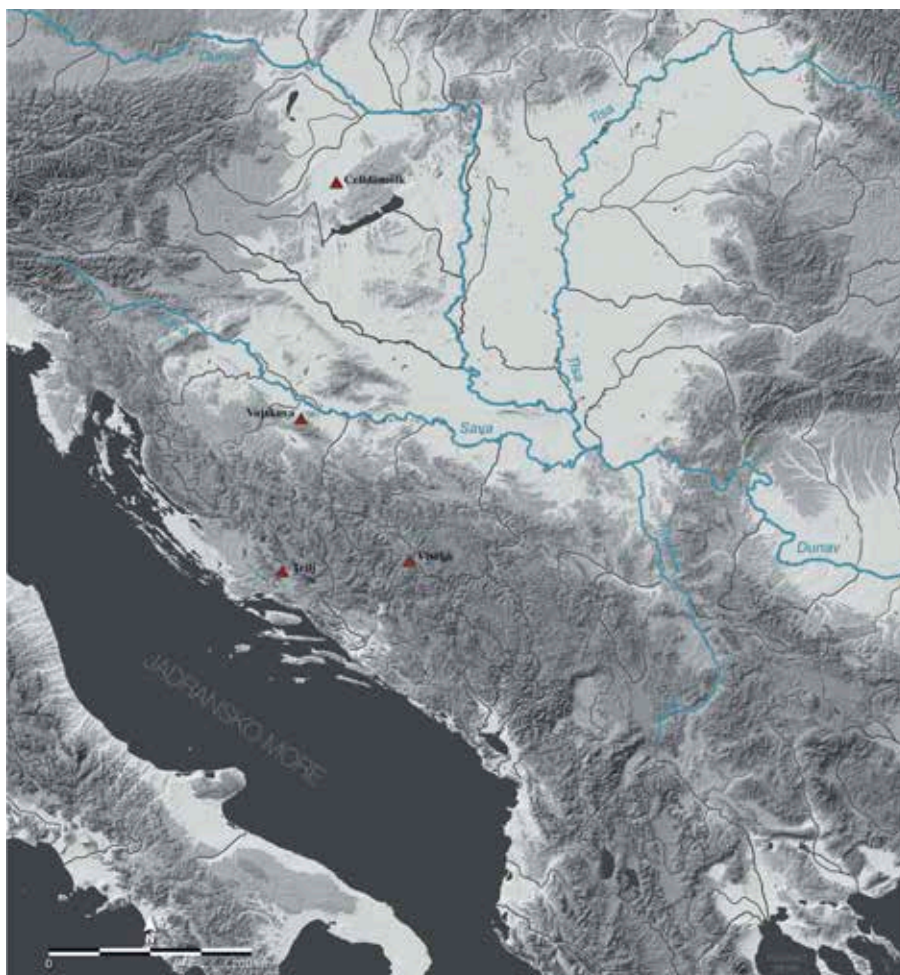
30 Kemenczei 1996, 83–84; 1996a, 95; Mozsolics 2000, 37–38; Pare 2008, fig. 5.9. B; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 55; Tarbay et al. 2024, 298.

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 SJEKIRE

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 sjekire 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 nekorišćenih 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 ovako ukrašeni donji dio nalaze se kod primjerka iz ostava Keszőhidegkút,<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 Keszőhidegkút,<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 Sirmia, 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, Sejfuli 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, Sejfuli 2015, 77; Gavranović 2016, 99.

103 Ložnjak Dizdār 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, Sejfuli 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, Sejfuli 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 Kompolje, 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.

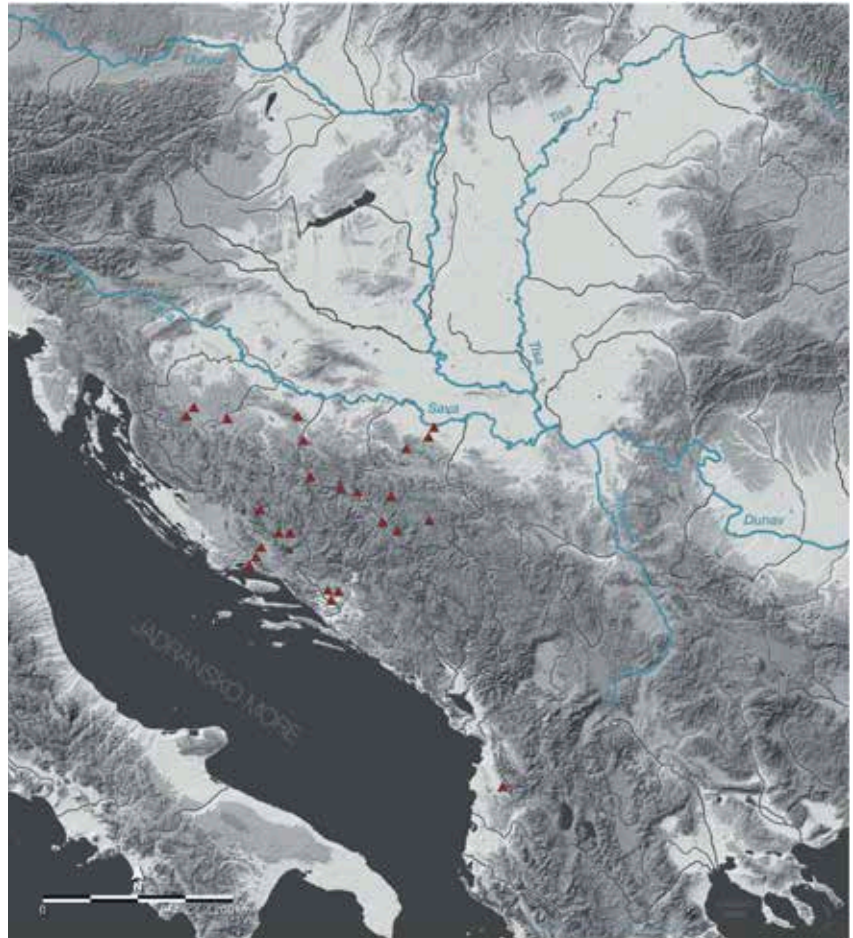
116 Čović 1971, 315; cf. Čović 1970, 75.

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 bronzni“. 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 bronzne“ 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.

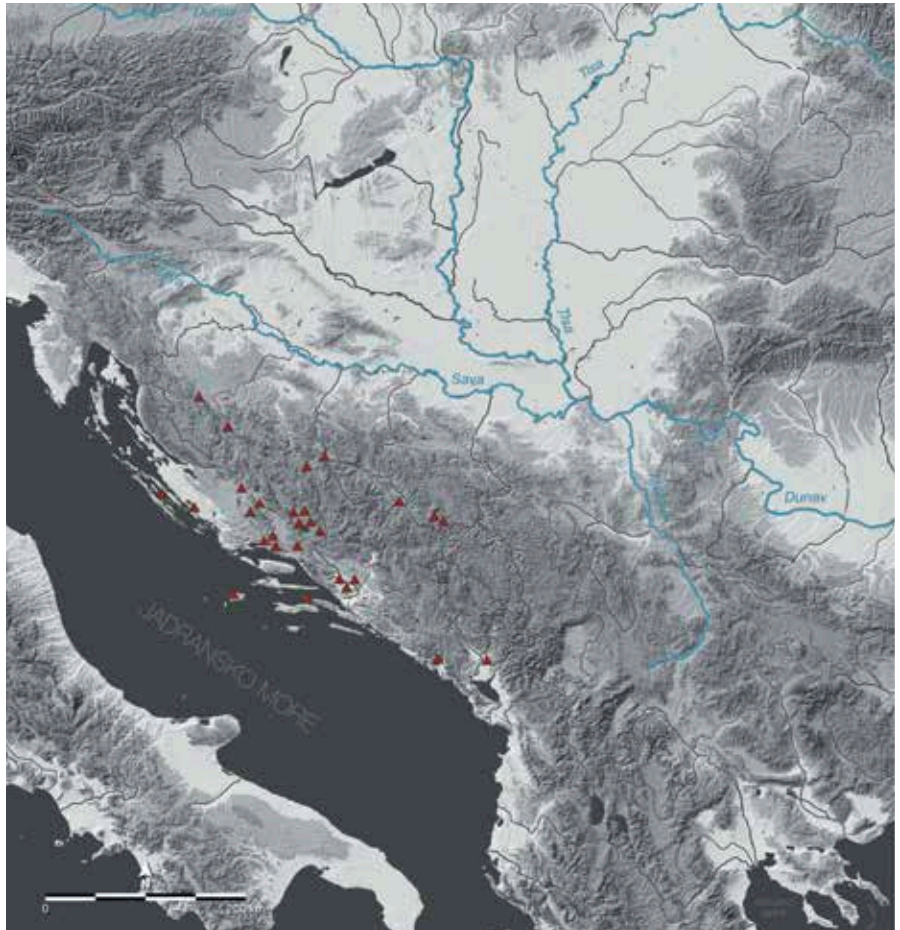
<sup>159</sup> Čović 1981, 109; 1983, 420, 424, 426; Perkić *et al.* 2021, 74.

<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 glavica 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.

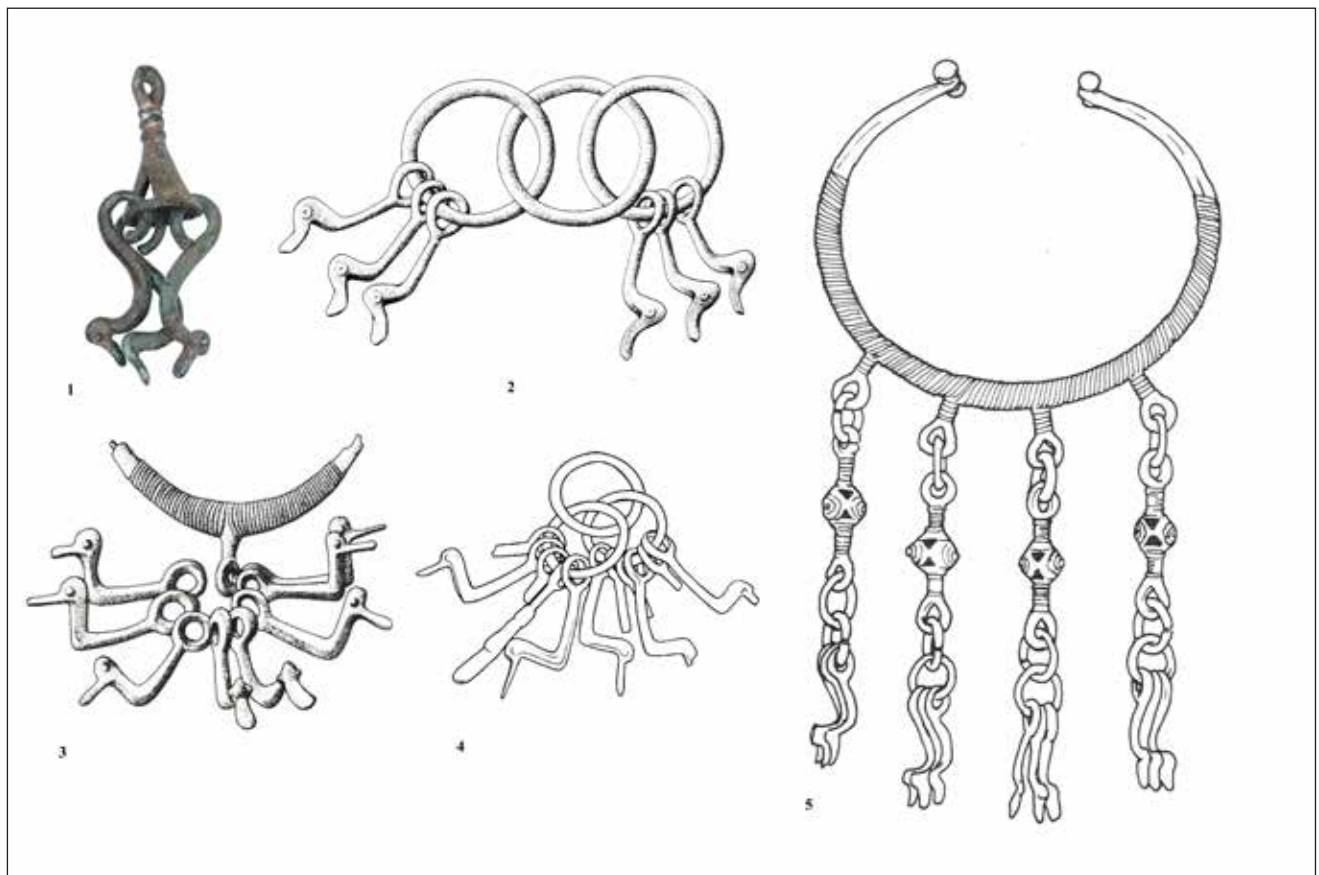
<sup>163</sup> Gavranović 2011, 227. T. 74: 1–3.

<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; Koledin 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; Koledin 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 tjemenom 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.

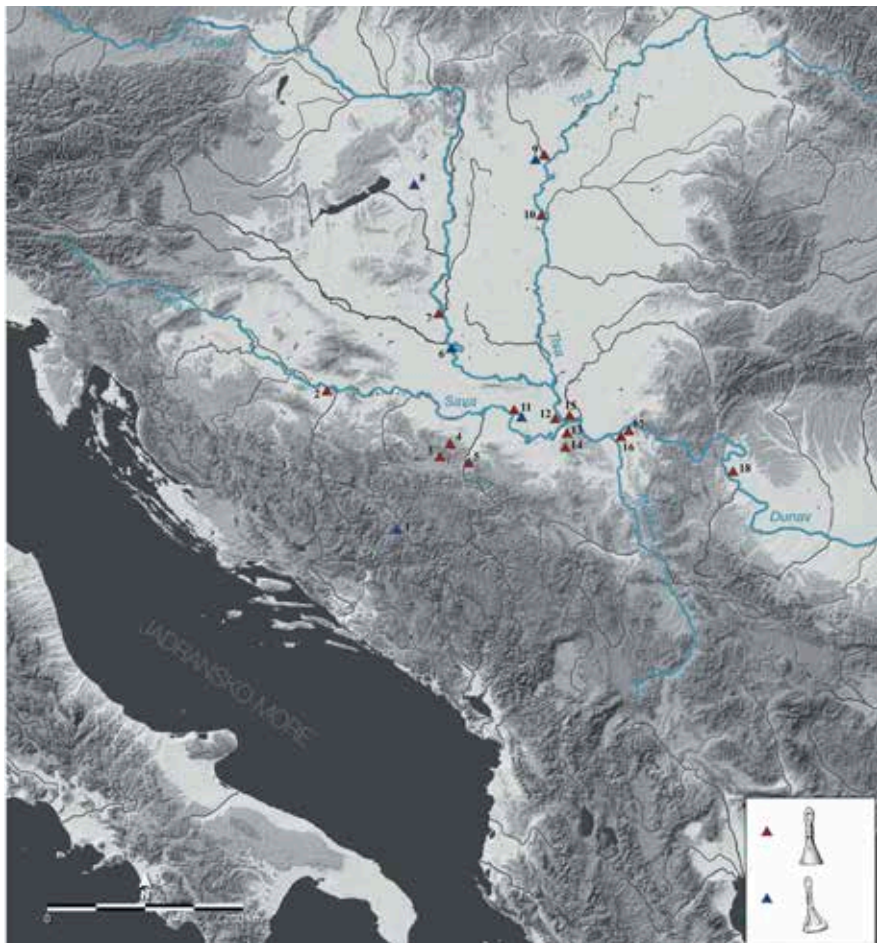
190 Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 300. fig. 137: 1.

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 rasprostranjenošću.<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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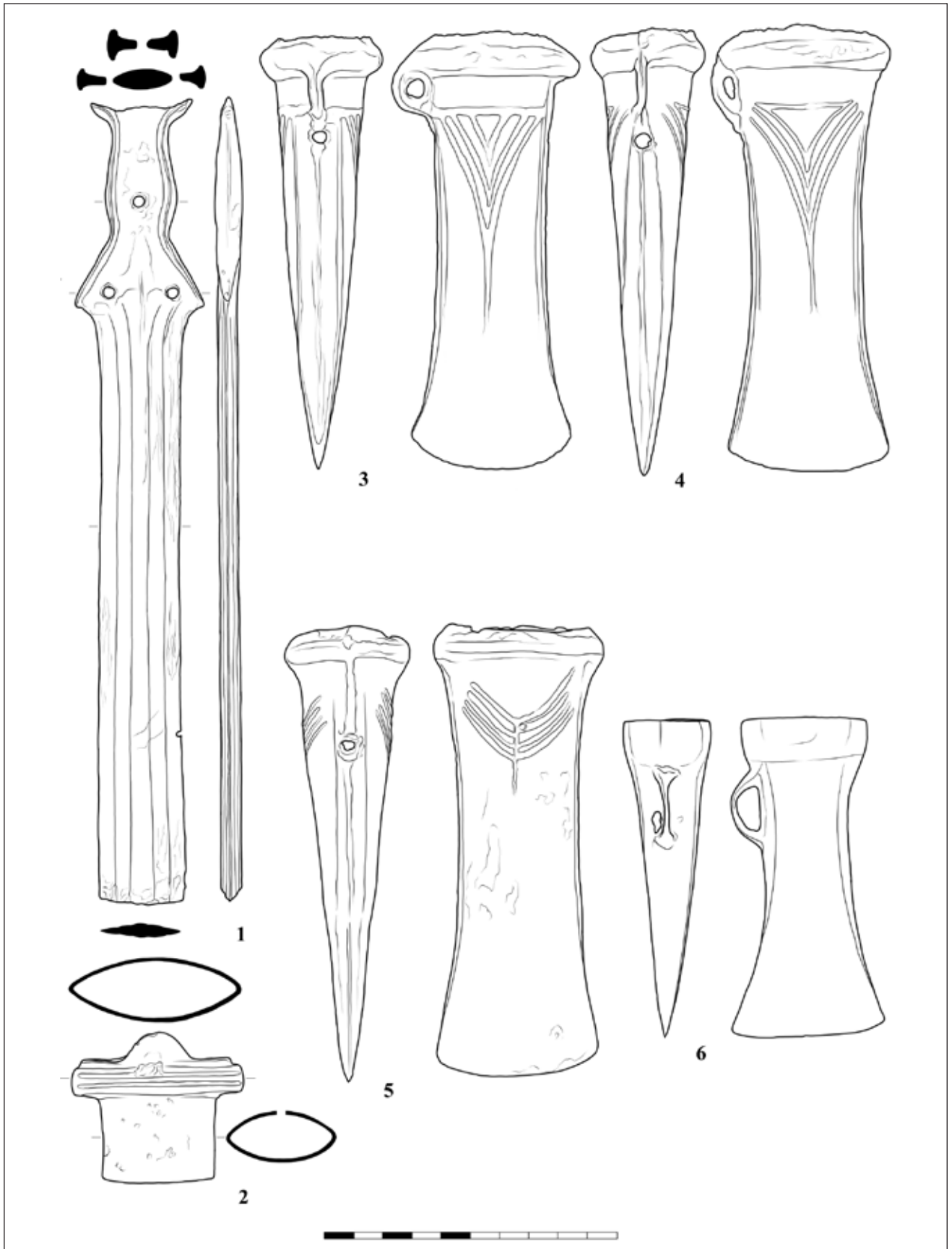
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T. 1

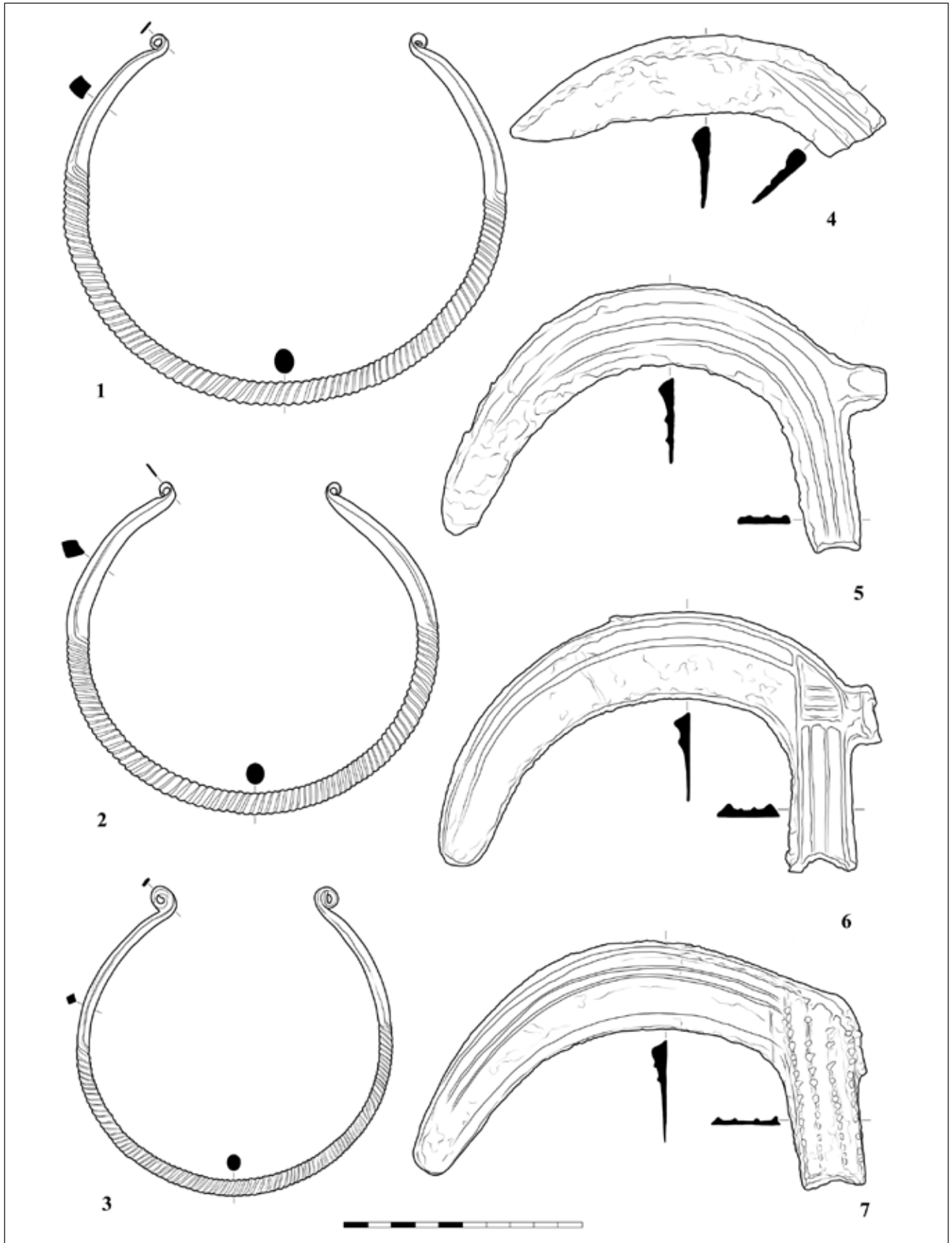
Pl. 1



Crtež/drawing: M. Bešliagić

T. 2

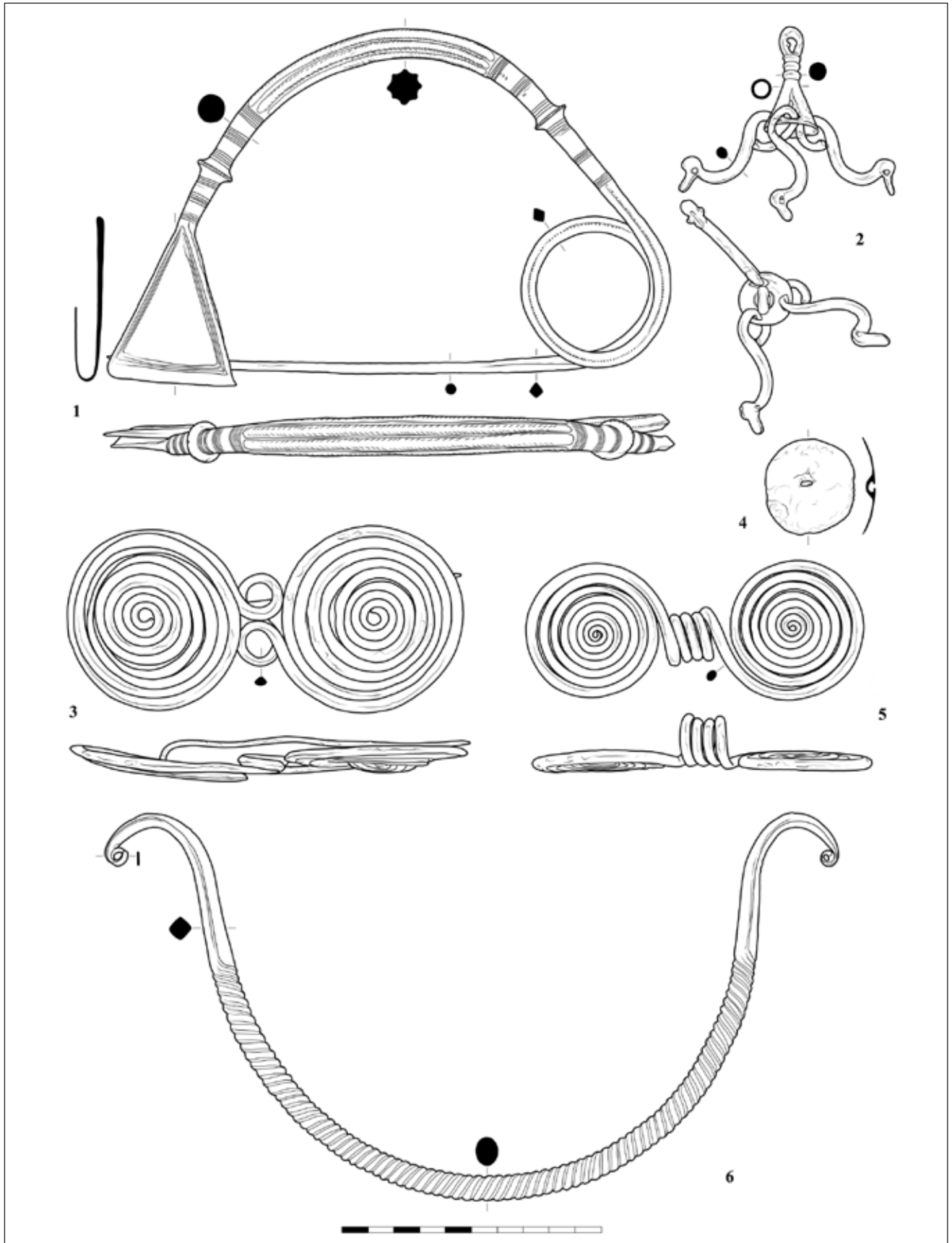
Pl. 2



Crtež/drawing: M. Bešlagić

T. 3

Pl. 3



Crtež/drawing: M. Bešliagić



# Izlaganje prahistorijskog čamca iz Donje Doline u otvorenom izložbenom prostoru

## Display of the Prehistoric Boat from Donja Dolina in an Open Exhibition Space

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Prahistorijski čamac iz Donje Doline kod Bosanske Gradiške otkriven je 1904. godine. Tada konzerviran, stajao je izložen od 1914. do 2020. godine u vitrini na konstrukciji sačinjenoj od 13 metalnih nosača. Od 1992. godine ova izložba je bila zatvorena za javnost zbog ratnih dešavanja te se tek 2015/2016. godine stiču uslovi za planiranje nove stalne izložbe. Po početku radova na novoj stalnoj izložbi planiran je i projekt konzervacije i restauracije prahistorijskog čamca iz Donje Doline, koji je završen 2020. godine. Uporedo je rađeno na projektu izmještanja čamca. Njegova metalna konstrukcija je modifikovana, te je pomoću sajli postavljen na konstrukciju iznad svjetlarnika izložbenog prostora. Od 2021. godine, bez vitrine, čamac stoji slobodno u prostoru između dva sprata izložbe. U ovom radu napravljen je još jedan osvrt na taj projekt, na postavljanje najvećeg predmeta u stalnoj izložbi "Bosna i Hercegovina u prahistorijsko doba" i na njegovo održavanje koje se odvija sada već četvrtu godinu.

**Ključne riječi:** izlaganje, konzervacija, restauracija, prahistorija, čamac, Donja Dolina, stalna izložba

The prehistoric boat from Donja Dolina near Bosanska Gradiška was discovered in 1904. After being conserved at that time, it stood from 1914 to 2020 exhibited in a display case on a structure composed of 13 metal supports. From 1992, this exhibition was closed to the public due to wartime events, with the conditions for planning a new permanent exhibition having only been realized in 2015/2016. From the outset of preparations for the new permanent exhibition, a project for the conservation and restoration of the prehistoric boat from Donja Dolina was also planned, which was completed in 2020. Simultaneously, a relocation project was put into action; the metal supporting structure was modified and, with the help of cables, the boat was placed in a structure suspended below the skylight of the exhibition space. Since 2021, the boat has stood freely (i.e. without a display case) in the space between the two floors of the exhibition. This paper provides an additional perspective on the project, examining the installation of the largest object within the permanent exhibition "Bosnia and Herzegovina in Prehistoric Times" and the maintenance activities carried out in regard to this over the past four years.

**Key words:** exhibition, conservation, restoration, prehistory, boat, Donja Dolina, permanent exhibition.

## UVOD

Prahistorijski čamac iz Donje Doline izložen je u stalnoj izložbi Zemaljskog muzeja BiH od 2021. godine – kada su se stekli uslovi za ponovno otvaranje izložbe “Bosna i Hercegovina u prahistorijsko doba”. Izložen je u međuprostoru između prizemlja i galerije izložbenog prostora na vrlo atraktivan način; pomoću čelične konstrukcije i sajli visi u vazduhu kao najveći i najteži predmet u izložbi (Sl. 1). Prijedlog za premještanje čamca dala je jedna od autorki izložbe, dr. sc. A. Pravidur. Izmještanjem čamca izložba je dobila određenu dinamiku, savremen izgled te horizontalnu povezanost. Također je omogućeno posmatranje predmeta sa svih strana; moguće je razgledati, koliko to konstrukcija dozvoljava, predmet s donje i gornje, te s bočnih strana. Na mjestu gdje je ranije stajala vitrina s čamcem otvorio se prostor za neometano cirkulisanje posjete te za druge namjene, povremene kulturne događaje i slično. Međutim, stanje čamca nije dozvoljavalo izmještanje bez prethodno obavljenih konzervatorskih radova.

## INTRODUCTION

The prehistoric boat from Donja Dolina has been exhibited in the permanent exhibition of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina since 2021, when the conditions were created for the reopening of the exhibition “Bosnia and Herzegovina in Prehistoric Times.” It is showcased in the opening created by the mezzanine gallery in a very attractive manner – suspended in the air using a steel structure and cables – and represents the largest and heaviest object in the exhibition (Fig. 1). The proposal for relocating the boat was given by one of the authors of the exhibition, Dr. Andrijana Pravidur. By relocating the boat, the exhibition gained a certain dynamic, a modern appearance, and horizontal connectivity. The relocation also enabled the observation of the object from all sides; the new supporting structure makes it possible to view the object from below and above, as well as from the sides. The space formerly occupied by the boat’s display case has been opened up to enable the free circulation of visitors and to serve additional purposes, including the hosting of occasional cultural events and related activities.

However, the condition of the boat was such that it was impossible to relocate without preceding conservation.



Sl. 7. Fotografija čamca iz Donje Doline u stalnoj postavci Bosna i Hercegovina u prahistorijsko doba, Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine (snimio:ZMBiH)

Fig. 7. The boat from Donja Dolina in the permanent exhibition *Bosnia and Herzegovina in Prehistoric Times*, National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (photo by ZMBiH)

## O ANALIZAMA, KONZERVACIJI I PROJEKTU IZMJESTANJA ČAMCA

Čamac je izdubljen u hrastovom stablu i njegova dužina iznosi 12,38 m. Širina mu je u prednjoj četvrtini 0,85 m a u zadnjoj 0,95 m. Prilikom procesa konzervacije i restauracije (Sl. 2), ovaj monoksil je spojen u cjelinu od ukupno 70 ulomaka i jednog velikog fragmenta. Čamac je u periodu od 1914. do 2020. godine bio postavljen na 13 metalnih poprečnih nosača koji prate njegov oblik (Sl. 4). Svaki nosač je stajao na postolju koje je bilo pričvršćeno za dno vitrine, smještene na sredini prizemlja izložbe.

## ABOUT THE ANALYSIS, CONSERVATION, AND THE PROJECT FOR RELOCATING THE BOAT

The boat was hollowed out of an oak trunk, and has a total length of 12.38 m. Its width at the front quarter is 0.85 m and at the rear quarter 0.95 m. During the conservation and restoration process (Fig. 2), this monoxyl was reassembled from a total of 70 smaller fragments and one larger fragment. From 1914 to 2020, the boat was placed on 13 metal transverse supports that followed its contours (Fig. 4), with each support standing on a base fixed to the bottom of the display case, which was located in the middle of the ground floor of the exhibition.



Sl. 4. Fotografija konzervacije čamca iz Donje Doline, Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine (snimio:ZMBiH)

Fig. 4. Conservation of the boat from Donja Dolina, National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (photo by ZMBiH)

Na unutrašnjoj površini čamca vidljive su valovite deformacije prouzrokovane tim metalnim nosačima koji su spriječili prirodna kretanja drveta. Osim nosačima, različitim fizikalnim i hemijskim djelovanjima iz atmosfere prouzrokovana su i druga oštećenja (manje pukotine, deformacije i slično). Dok je arheološko iskopavanje trajalo (Sl. 3), 1904–1905. godine, čamac je natapan karbolineumom kako se drvo u iznenadnom kontaktu sa zrakom ne bi raspalo.<sup>1</sup> To je očuvalo čamac u dobrom stanju, kao i vitrina iz

Wavy deformations are visible on the inner surface of the boat, caused by those metal supports, which inhibited the natural movement of the wood. In addition to these deformations, other damages (minor cracks, warps, etc.) were caused by various physical and chemical influences from the atmosphere. While archaeological excavations were still ongoing (Fig. 3), from 1904 to 1905, the boat was soaked with carbolineum so that the wood would not disintegrate through sudden contact with the atmosphere.<sup>1</sup> This ensured the boat's

<sup>1</sup> Truhelka 1906, 104.

<sup>1</sup> Truhelka 1906, 104.



austrougarskog perioda, napravljena od metalnih ramova sa staklom, nešto drveta, s vunanim filcom na dnu vitrine i brtvama koje su i 100 godina nakon proizvodnje savršeno dihtovale (Sl. 5). Takve vitrine još i danas služe na Odsjeku za antiku i Odsjeku za srednji vijek.

Da bi bilo moguće izložiti čamac slobodno u otvorenom galerijskom prostoru, napravljene su različite analize materijala: analiza površinskog sloja mikroskopskim pregledom i infracrvenom spektroskopijom,<sup>2</sup> identifikacija uzorka drveta,<sup>3</sup> analiza materijala radiokarbonskom metodom,<sup>4</sup> fotogrametrijsko snimanje<sup>5</sup> i radiografsko ispitivanje.<sup>6</sup>

Analiza površinskog sloja mikroskopskim pregledom i infracrvenom spektroskopijom pokazuje složen sistem koji sadrži policikličke arome na bazi antracena i naftalena i spojeve na bazi krezola. Analiza upućuje na to da se radi o sredstvu za zaštitu drvenih predmeta koji je poznat pod nazivom karbolineum (karboleum). Identifikacija uzorka drveta trebala je biti napravljena mikroskopom, međutim, nije bilo moguće izraditi histološke preparate (drvo se raspadalo pri rezanju). Na uzorku drveta je makroskopski uz pomoć lupe ustanovljeno da je drvo iz roda hrast (*Quercus sp.*), te su rezultati radiokarbonske metode pokazali da drvo datira iz perioda 5621–5492 pr. n. e. Fotogrametrijsko snimanje i radiografsko ispitivanje su omogućili prikaz cjelokupnog predmeta prije konzervacije sa svim njegovim ankerima, fragmentima i masticima koji nisu bili vidljivi prostim promatranjem predmeta.<sup>7</sup>

Nakon dobivenih rezultata analiza i nakon što je predmet pregledan, izvršen je konzervatorsko-restauratorski zahvat (čišćenje, konsolidacija, spajanje fragmenata te nanošenje zaštite na površinu predmeta). Također su razmotrene mogućnosti održavanja i zaštite predmeta koji će sada stajati bez vitrine. Izvršeni su svi potrebni istražno-analički radovi prije konzervatorsko-restauratorskog tretmana, ispitani su i analizirani materijali koji su u tom postupku korišteni, izvršene su probe i jedan vid simulacije estetsko-likovnog rješenja po završetku svih radova. Svi upotrebljeni materijali u tom procesu kompatibilni su s autentičnom građom. Konzervacija i restauracija je napravljena u saradnji s Istituto Superiore per la Conservazione ed il

preservation in good condition, as did the Austro-Hungarian-era display case, constructed from metal frames with glass and partial wooden elements, featuring woollen felt at the base and seals that, even a century after their creation, remained perfectly intact (Fig. 5). Such display cases are still in use today within the Department of Classical Antiquity and the Department of the Middle Ages.

In order to make it possible to exhibit the boat freely in an open gallery space, various material analyses were carried out: analysis of the surface layer by microscopic examination and infrared spectroscopy,<sup>2</sup> identification of a sample taken from the wood,<sup>3</sup> analysis of the material using the radiocarbon method,<sup>4</sup> photogrammetric recording,<sup>5</sup> and radiographic examination.<sup>6</sup>

Microscopic examination and infrared spectroscopy of the surface layer revealed a complex system containing polycyclic aromatic compounds based on anthracene, naphthalene, and cresol derivatives. The analysis indicates that this was a protective agent for wooden objects known under the name carbolineum (carboleum). It was intended that the identification of the wood sample would be carried out using a microscope; however, it was not possible to prepare histological sections, due to the wood disintegrating during cutting. Therefore, the wood sample was macroscopically studied with the aid of a magnifying glass; this allowed it to be determined that the wood belongs to the genus oak (*Quercus sp.*), with the results of the radiocarbon method further showing that it dates from 5621–5492 BCE. Photogrammetric recording and radiographic examination enabled the presentation of the entire object prior to conservation, with all its anchors, fragments, and the mastics added by Austro-Hungarian preparators that were not visible through simple observation of the object.<sup>7</sup>

After the analyses had been performed and the object examined, a conservation-restoration intervention was carried out (cleaning, consolidation, joining of fragments, and application of protection to the surface of the object). The possibilities for maintenance and protection, with the artefact now standing outside a display case, were also considered. All necessary investigations and analytics were performed before the conservation-restoration treatment; the materials used in the procedure were also

Sl. 1. Fotografija iskopavanja čamca, Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine (snimio: F. Topić)

Fig. 1. Excavation of the boat, National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (photo by F. Topić)

Sl. 2. Fotografija nosača čamca, Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine (snimio: ZMBiH)

Fig. 2. The boat supports, National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (photo by ZMBiH)

Sl. 3. Fotografija oštećenja i deformacija čamca u vitrini, Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine (snimio: ZMBiH)

Fig. 3. Damage and deformation of the boat in the display case, National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (photo by ZMBiH)

- 2 Analiza napravljena na Univerzitetu u Sarajevu – Prirodno-matematičkom fakultetu, na Odsjeku za hemiju, dr. sc. Emira Kahrović, red. prof.
- 3 Analiza napravljena na Univerzitetu u Sarajevu – Šumarskom fakultetu, prof. dr. Safet Gurda.
- 4 Analiza napravljena na Beta Analytic, radiocarbon dating, Miami, Florida.
- 5 Snimanje napravili Geodet, d. o. o., Snimanje objekata od kulturnog i historijskog značaja.
- 6 Ispitivanje proveo Energoinvest, Institut za materijale i kvalitet – IMQ, laboratorija za ispitivanje bez razaranja.
- 7 Vesković, Bajramović 2023, 107–108.

- 2 Analysis performed at the University of Sarajevo, Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics, Department of Chemistry, by Prof. Dr. Emira Kahrović.
- 3 Analysis performed at the University of Sarajevo, Faculty of Forestry, by Prof. Dr. Safet Gurda.
- 4 Radiocarbon analysis performed by Beta Analytic, Miami, Florida.
- 5 Recording carried out by Geodet d.o.o., service for recording of objects of cultural and historical significance.
- 6 Examination carried out by ENERGOINVEST, Institute for Materials and Quality – IMQ, laboratory for non-destructive testing.
- 7 Vesković, Bajramović 2023, 107–108.

Sl. 5. Prikaz prijedloga izlaganja čamca iz Donje Doline, Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine (izradio: IP INTERPROJEKT)

Fig. 5. Illustration of the proposed display of the boat from Donja Dolina, National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (prepared by IP INTERPROJEKT)



Restauo (ISCR).<sup>8</sup> Izvršeno je uklanjanje karboleuma, kako se nepovoljna isparavanja ne bi širila, ali je projektom izložbenog prostora instaliran i sistem ventilacije. Na taj način je omogućeno sigurno izlaganje predmeta u izložbenoj prostoriji. Odabran je dvokomponentni araldit (Woodplaster 427 part A, part B epoksi smola za modelovanje, popravke drveta), kao lagan i stabilan mastik za šupljine u materijalu, dok su spojevi fragmenata ankerisani drvenim ankerima i spojeni polivinil-acetatnim ljepilom.<sup>9</sup>

8 Godine 2017. kroz radionicu o konzervaciji arheološkog drveta napravljeni su testovi čišćenja čamca. Na radionici su učestvovali konzervatori Zemaljskog muzeja BiH: konzervator savjetnik mr. Esad Vesković, viši preparator Damir Lazzari, konzervator Lejla Bajramović MA, konzervator Emir Kapetanović i viši konzervator mr. Azra Bečević-Šarenkapa; radionicu su vodili: Antonella Di Giovanni, konzervatorica specijalizirana za prezervaciju i konzervaciju historijskih i arheoloških artefakata, zatim Irene Cristofari, konzervatorica arheološke i historijske keramike, metala, stakla i organskih artefakata, te Roberto Saccuman, predavač na Visokom institutu za konzervaciju u Rimu i konzervator i restaurator za drvo, izuzetno bogatog iskustva. (Vesković, Bajramović 2023, 108).

9 Vesković, Bajramović 2023, 108–109.

examined and analysed to determine their compatibility with the authentic fabric. Following the completion of all works, tests were performed, along with a simulation of the final aesthetic and artistic design solution. The conservation and restoration was carried out in cooperation with the Istituto Superiore per la Conservazione ed il Restauro (ISCR), based in Rome, Italy.<sup>8</sup> To prevent the dispersion of harmful vapours, the carboleum was removed, and a ventilation system was installed as part of the exhibition space project. In this way, the safe exhibition of the object in the exhibition room was made possible. A two-component araldite (Woodplaster 427 part A, part B epoxy resin for modelling and wood repairs) was selected as

8 In 2017, tests of cleaning the boat were carried out during a workshop on the conservation of archaeological wood. The workshop was attended by conservators of the National Museum of BiH: Esad Vesković MSc, senior conservator, Damir Lazzari, senior preparator, Lejla Bajramović MA, conservator, Emir Kapetanović, conservator, and Azra Bečević-Šarenkapa MSc senior conservator. The workshop was led by the following experts: Antonella Di Giovanni, conservator specialised in the preservation and conservation of historical and archaeological artefacts; Irene Cristofari, conservator of archaeological and historical ceramics, metals, glass and organic artefacts; and Roberto Saccuman, lecturer at ISCR and conservator and restorer for wood, who has exceptionally rich experience in this field (Vesković, Bajramović 2023, 108).

Na temelju provedenih statičkih analiza, kao i analiza svih komponenti koje čine konstrukcijski sistem sa svim potrebnim atestima, urađeno je i kompletno projektno rješenje podizanja čamca. Projektno rješenje podizanja čamca iz Donje Doline uradila je firma IP INTERPROJEKT iz Mostara (Sl. 6). Kako je drvo bilo već deformisano prema obliku postojećih nosača, odlučeno je da se iskoriste s postojećih pozicija kao stalni nosilac predmeta i baza na koju su dodati ostali elementi noseće konstrukcije, te su na taj način izbjegnuta dodatna oštećenja na površini predmeta. Procijenjena masa čamca je oko 800 kg, a za potrebe statičke analize uzete su donja i gornja granica, 700 odnosno 1000 kg.<sup>10</sup> Tim iz IP INTERPROJEKT uzeo je u obzir da je čamac bio izložen više od 100 godina na poprečnim nosačima te su ih zadržali kao ključni kriterij u traženju i izboru novog rješenja izlaganja predmeta.<sup>11</sup>

## PODIZANJE ČAMCA S PRVOBITNE NA NOVU POZICIJU

Podizanje čamca bio je proces u kojem je trebalo obezbijediti zaštitu čamca i njegovu ravnomjerno podizanje.<sup>12</sup> Projektnim rješenjem predviđena je i urađena čelična potkonstrukcija, koja je ojačana čeličnim poprečnim profilima, urađene su i drvene remenate te korito na koje se oslanjala metalna potkonstrukcija (Sl. 7). Prostor između ovih komponenti ispunjen je mekanim materijalom radi ravnomjernog nalijeganja čamca u toku podizanja. Bočno s jedne i druge strane čamca montirana je privremena skela koja je poslužila kao oslanjačka konstrukcija u toku podizanja čamca.<sup>13</sup> Podizanje je vršeno u koracima električnim dizalom s elektromotorom koji je montiran na pozicijama konstrukcije u potkrovnom dijelu prostorije za izlaganje. Metalni lanci dizalice montirani su na čeličnu potkostrukciju ispod čamca i na taj način je lagano vršeno podizanje. U prvom koraku čamac je ravnomjerno podignut na jedan metar visine, oslanjajući se na konstrukciju i poprečne profile. Bilo je to probno podizanje, a čamac je ostao na toj visini 24 sata. U drugom koraku čamac je nakon testiranja ravnomjerno i fazno podizan do predviđene pozicije. Nakon što je podignut u končan položaj, postavljene su sajle, koje su španovane do potrebne jačine zatezanja kako bi preuzele funkciju nosača. Na sajlama se nalaze osigurači i amortizeri za slučaj da dođe do vibracija i potresa. Nakon dotezanja sajli i mjerenja sile, urađena je planska demontaža privremene konstrukcije za podizanje. Svakodnevno je vršen monitoring eventualnih promjena, naročito zategnutosti sajli i drugih promjena koje se odnose na sam eksponat. Tokom ovog monitoringa nisu ustanovljene promjene na eksponatu, a sajle su funkcionalne u punom smislu.

a light and stable mastic for cavities in the material, while the joints of the fragments were anchored with wooden anchors and joined with polyvinyl-acetate adhesive.<sup>9</sup>

Based on the conducted static analyses, as well as certified analysis of all components forming the structural system, a design solution for lifting the boat was developed. The project for lifting the boat from Donja Dolina was developed by IP INTERPROJEKT, a company based in Mostar (Fig. 6). Since the wood had already deformed to match the shape of the existing supports, it was decided that they would be retained in their current positions as the permanent support for the object and as the base for the addition of other structural elements, thereby avoiding further damage to the object's surface. The estimated mass of the boat is around 800 kg, and for static analysis lower and upper limits of 700 and 1000 kg, respectively, were taken.<sup>10</sup> Recognizing that the boat had been exhibited for more than a century on transverse supports, the IP INTERPROJEKT team retained this as a central criterion when designing and choosing a new display solution.<sup>11</sup>

## LIFTING OF THE BOAT FROM THE ORIGINAL TO THE NEW POSITION

In the process of lifting the boat, it was necessary to ensure its protection and even lifting.<sup>12</sup> The project included the design and implementation of a metal steel substructure reinforced with steel cross-profiles. Wooden beams were also constructed, as well as a trough, on which the metal substructure rested (Fig. 7). The space between these components was filled with soft material to achieve an even seating of the boat during lifting. A temporary scaffold was mounted on both sides of the boat, which served as a support structure during its lifting.<sup>13</sup> The lifting itself was carried out in phases with the help of an electric hoist and motor, mounted at the structural positions in the attic part of the exhibition room. The metal chains of the hoist were mounted on the steel substructure beneath the boat, allowing for careful lifting. The first phase included the even lifting of the boat to a height of one metre, then resting it on the construction and steel cross-profiles. This was a 'trial' lift, with the boat remaining at that height for 24 hours. In the second phase, after testing, the boat was evenly and gradually lifted to the planned position. After it had been raised to its final position, cables were installed, which were tensioned to the required strength so as to take over the function of the supports. These cables are equipped with safety devices and shock absorbers to address vibrations and earthquakes. Once the cables were tightened and the force measured, the temporary lifting construction was dismantled according to plan. Daily monitoring was conducted, focusing in particular on cable tension and any changes to the exhibit. During this monitoring, no changes were noted, and the cables were determined to be fully functional.

<sup>10</sup> Humo *et al.*, 2023, 114.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Vesković, Bajramović 2023, 108–109.

<sup>10</sup> Humo, Žuškić, Kulukčija, 2023, 114.

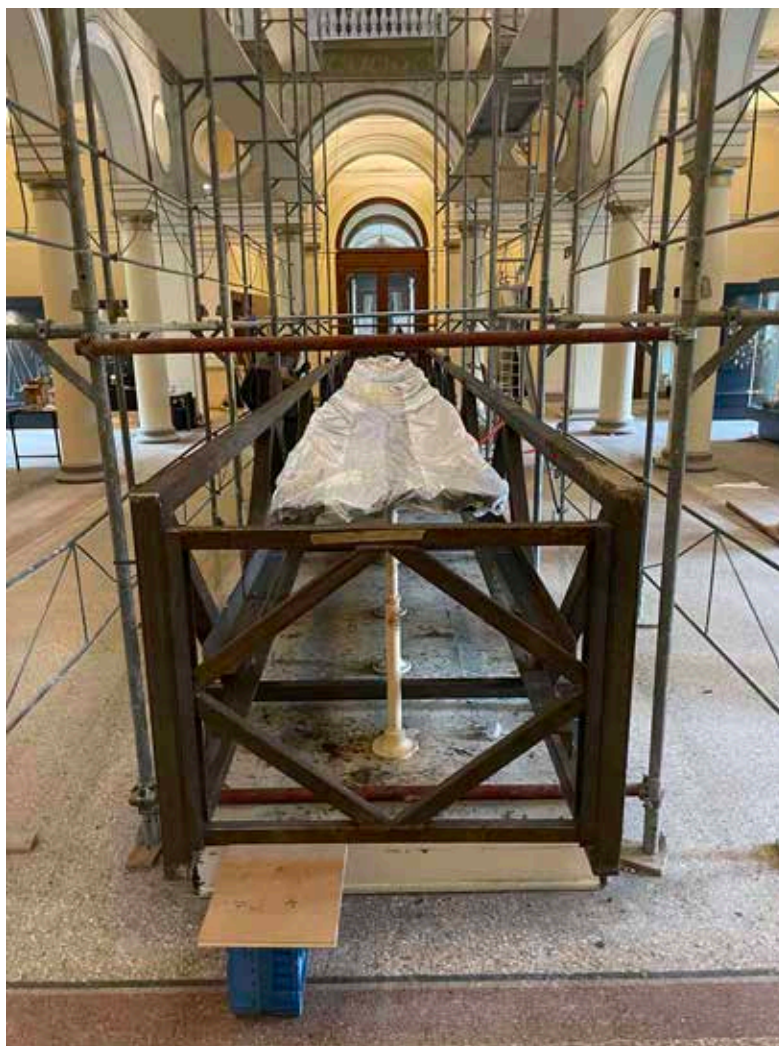
<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

Sl. 6. Fotografija podizanja čamca iz Donje Doline, Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine (izradio: Neimari d.o.o.)

Fig. 6. Lifting of the boat from Donja Dolina, National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (executed by Neimari d.o.o.)



## ODRŽAVANJE EKSPONATA

U toku ove četiri godine bilo je nekoliko manjih potresa na teritoriji Sarajeva, a manje vibracije prouzrokovane javnim saobraćajem su konstantne, međutim, nije bilo bitnih promjena na materijalu. Kako je čamac izložen na otvorenom, podložan je nakupljanju prašine i drugih nečistoća iz zraka, zbog čega se obavlja elektromehaničko čišćenje s pokretne skele svakih tri do šest mjeseci. Također vizuelno se provjerava njegovo stanje, radi uočavanja eventualnih pojava promjena i oštećenja. Na galeriji izložbenog prostora postavljen je i mjerač kvalitete zraka koji daje vrijednosti temperature, relativne vlažnosti zraka i zagađenja zraka.

## ZAKLJUČAK

Čamac iz Donje Doline je, uprkos činjenici da je drvo od kojeg je izrađen izgubilo sva svoja svojstva, uspješno sačuvano duže od stoljeća. Krt i izuzetno osjetljiv materijal, a kao cjelina kompaktan i vrlo stabilan, rezultat su upotrebe mastika dobre adhezivne moći, različitih ankera i prije svega znanja

## MAINTENANCE OF THE EXHIBIT

During the four years that have passed since the relocation of the monoxyl, several minor earthquakes have affected the territory of Sarajevo, and minor vibrations caused by public traffic are constant; however, there have been no significant changes to the material. As the boat is showcased in the open, it is susceptible to the accumulation of dust and other impurities from the air, and electromechanical cleaning is carried out from a mobile scaffold every 3 to 6 months. Its condition is also visually inspected, in order to check for possible occurrences of change and/or damage. An air quality meter has also been installed in the gallery of the exhibition space, providing temperature, relative humidity and air pollution values.

## CONCLUSION

The boat from Donja Dolina – in spite of the wood from which it was made having lost many of its properties – has been successfully preserved for more than a century. The wood from which the boat was made is a brittle and

tadašnjih preparatora i arheologa o prepariranju mokrog drveta. To je omogućilo da se danas čamac iz Donje Doline može sagledati bolje nego ikada, što ga čini jednim od najatraktivnije izloženih predmeta u Zemaljskom muzeju Bosne i Hercegovine.<sup>14</sup> Predmet i njegova prezentacija svakodnevno impresioniraju kako mlađe tako i zrelije posjetitelje našeg Muzeja.

extremely sensitive material, yet as a whole compact and very stable; the result of the use of mastics with good adhesive power, various anchors, and, above all, the knowledge of the preparators and archaeologists of that time regarding the treatment of waterlogged wood. This has made it possible for the boat from Donja Dolina to be presented today in an innovative and attractive manner, making it one of the highlight exhibits of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>14</sup> The object and its presentation continue to impress younger and older visitors alike to our museum each and every day.

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<sup>14</sup> Vesković, Bajramović 2023, 112.

<sup>14</sup> Vesković, Bajramović 2023, 112.



# Avarodobni nalazi u okolici Nove Gradiške

## Avar-Period Finds in the Vicinity of Nova Gradiška

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U ovom radu predstavljamo četiri nova nalaza iz fundusa Gradskog muzeja Nova Gradiška pronađena u blizini Nove Gradiške (Republika Hrvatska). Tipokronološka analiza dva pojasna jezičca sporednih remena, jednog okova glavnog i jednog okova sporednog remena ukazuje na avarodobnu produkciju kasnog 8. stoljeća. Jedan od jezičaca pripada široj skupini nalaza tipa Hohenberg, dok je jedan od okova glavnog remena ukrašen motivima grožđa. Drugi jezičac ukrašen je motivom stabla života, dok je okov sporednog remena neukrašen. Analogije ovim predmetima potječu s rubnih dijelova Avarije, što podržava teze pojedinih istraživača o „elitama s periferije“, ali svjedoče i o visokom stupnju proizvodnje i /ili trgovine u ovom području. Zanimljivi zbog činjenice da se radi o relativno rijetkim nalazima u okvirima cjelokupne avarodobne produkcije još su zanimljiviji jer potječu s područja za koje se do sada smatralo da nema nalaza iz ovog razdoblja. Premda su ovi nalazi slučajni, površinski, njihova pojava i značaj upućuju na daljnju potrebu istraživanja ovog područja kako bismo shvatili karakter nalazišta i smjestili nalaze u stratigrafske odnose.

**Ključne riječi:** okovi pojasa, jezičci pojasa, avarodobni nalazi, Nova Gradiška

This paper presents four new finds from the collection of the Municipal Museum Nova Gradiška, discovered near Nova Gradiška (Croatia). A typonchronological analysis of two belt strap ends, one main belt fitting, and one side strap fitting indicates Avar-period production from the late 8th century. One of the strap ends belongs to the broader group of Hohenberg-type finds, while one of the main belt fittings is decorated with grape motifs. The other strap end is decorated with a Tree of Life motif, while the side strap fitting is undecorated. Analogies for these items come from the peripheral areas of Avaria, supporting the theories of certain researchers regarding “peripheral elites”. The finds also demonstrate a high level of production and/or trade in this area. These items are particularly interesting due to their rarity within Avar-period production, coming from an area previously considered devoid of finds from this period. Although these finds are accidental and surface finds, their occurrence and significance indicate a further need for research in this area, in order to understand the character of the site and to place the finds within stratigraphic contexts.

**Keywords:** belt fittings, belt strap ends, Avar-period finds, Nova Gradiška

## UVOD

Izložba „Avari i Slaveni južno od Drave“<sup>1</sup>, u zajedničkoj organizaciji Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu i Gradskog muzeja Vinkovci, prilikom gostovanja u drugim muzejima često je bila obogaćena i nalazima koji se u tim ustanovama čuvaju. Tijekom gostovanja u Gradskom muzeju Nova Gradiška<sup>2</sup> iz fundusa je izdvojeno nekoliko nalaza koji pripadaju avarodobnoj produkciji, a koji su javnosti po prvi puta predstavljeni u okviru izložbe. Predmeti u pitanju do sada nisu objavljeni i nisu bili poznati, a zanimljivi su iz nekoliko razloga. Ukupno četiri nalaza potječu s dva lokaliteta udaljena oko 9 km zračne linije jedan od drugog (Karta 1); u okvirima avarodobne produkcije neki od ovih nalaza su iznimno rijetki ili luksuzni proizvodi; ovi nalazi popunjavaju nam takozvane „bijele mrlje“ na arheološkoj karti avarodobnog razdoblja u Hrvatskoj<sup>3</sup>.

Naime, u središnjem južnom dijelu kontinentalne Hrvatske do sada su bila poznata samo tri nalazišta iz ovog razdoblja: Brodski Drenovac, djelomično istraženo groblje<sup>4</sup> udaljeno 35 km zračne linije prema istoku; Požeški Brestovac, nalazi iz uništenog groblja<sup>5</sup> udaljen 25 km zračne linije prema sjeveroistoku i nalaz sablje iz Novske<sup>6</sup> udaljene oko 20 km zračne linije prema zapadu. U svjetlu ovih prethodno spomenutih nalaza otkriće u okolici Nove Gradiške nije iznenađujuće, ali je značajno i zanimljivo.

## INTRODUCTION

The exhibition *Avars and Slavs South of the Drava*,<sup>1</sup> organized jointly by the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb and the Municipal Museum Vinkovci, was often supplemented during its travels to other museums by finds from those institutions. When it was presented at the Municipal Museum Nova Gradiška,<sup>2</sup> several artifacts from the Avar period were selected from this museum's holdings and presented to the public for the first time as part of the exhibition. These objects had not been published previously and were unknown to the broader academic community, but are interesting for several reasons. Altogether, four finds come from two sites approximately 9 km apart in a straight line (Map 1), with some of these finds being extremely rare or luxury items within Avar-period production, also serving to fill so-called 'blank spots' on the archaeological map of the Avar period in Croatia.<sup>3</sup>

In the central southern part of continental Croatia, only three sites from this period were previously known: Brodski Drenovac, a partially investigated cemetery,<sup>4</sup> located 35 km east in a straight line from our sites; Požeški Brestovac, with finds from a destroyed cemetery,<sup>5</sup> located 25 km northeast in a straight line; and a sword find from Novska,<sup>6</sup> about 20 km west in a straight line. In light of these previously mentioned finds, the discovery in the vicinity of Nova Gradiška is, while being of some significance and interest, of little surprise.



Karta 1. Položaj lokaliteta Pivare (plava točka) i lokaliteta Gornji Bogičevci (crvena točka) na karti Hrvatske (izradio I. Brtan (GMNG), podloga DGU)

Map 1. Location of the Pivare site (blue dot) and the Gornji Bogičevci site (red dot) on the map of Croatia (prepared by I. Brtan (GMNG), base map: DGU).

1 Dugonjić, Rapan Papeša 2019.  
2 Datum izložbe: 02. prosinac 2022. – 12. siječanj 2023.  
3 Šmalcelj Novaković 2022a, 68, Fig. 3  
4 Vinski-Gasparini, Ercegović 1958.  
5 Jarak 2016.  
6 Aralica, Ilkić 2012, 172–173.

1 Dugonjić, Rapan Papeša 2019.  
2 Exhibition dates: 2 December 2022 – 12 January 2023.  
3 Šmalcelj Novaković 2022a, 68, Fig. 3.  
4 Vinski-Gasparini, Ercegović 1958.  
5 Jarak 2016.  
6 Aralica, Ilkić 2012, 172–173.

## POVIJEST ISTRAŽIVANJA

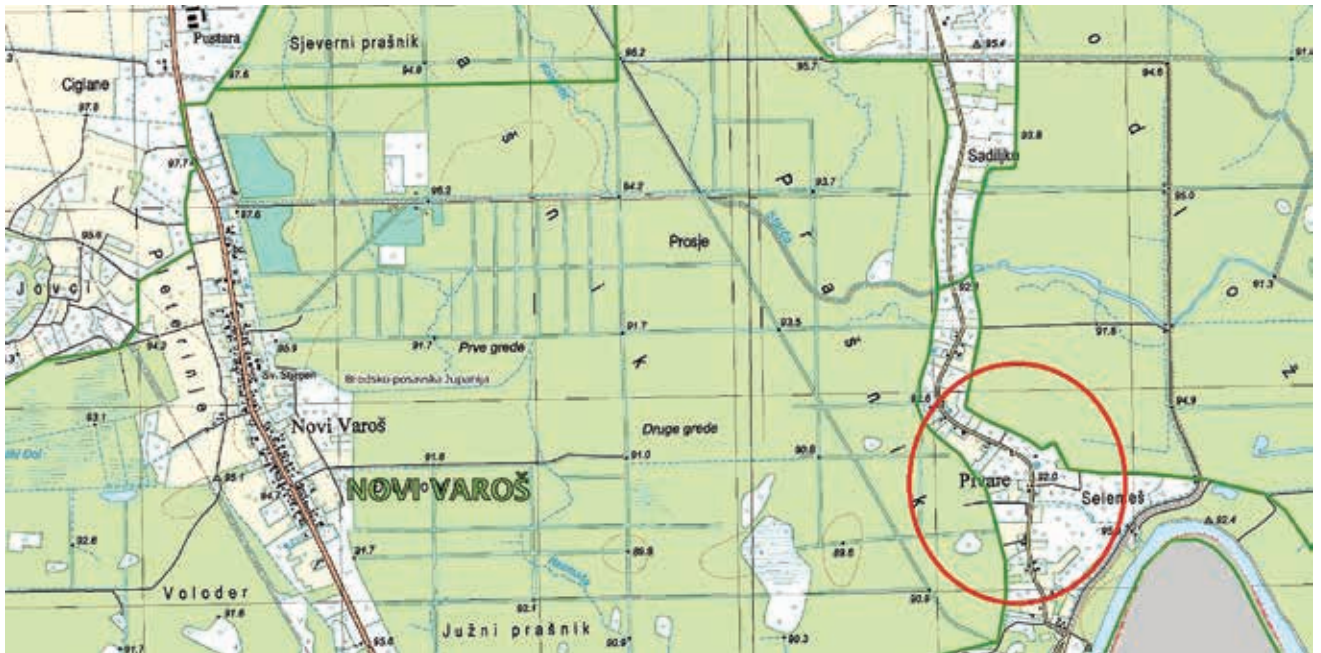
Okov glavnog remena i jezičac sporednog remena potječu s lokaliteta Pivare. Pivare su najmanje naselje u općini Stara Gradiška, smješteno na 95 metara nadmorske visine na lijevoj obali rijeke Save, na mjestu gdje Sava stvara okuku mijenjajući tok iz smjera jug – sjever u zapad - istok (Karta 2). U Pivarama je zabilježeno postojanje antičkog naselja<sup>7</sup>, koje pojedini autori čak identificiraju s antičkim Servicijem<sup>8</sup>. No, prevladava mišljenje da je Servicij smješten na prostoru Bosanske Gradiške, a u blizini Pivara, uz Posavsku magistralu prolazi i odvojak ceste prema sjeveru.<sup>9</sup> S obzirom na antičku ostavštinu, kao i činjenicu da se radi o prirodnom prijelazu preko rijeke Save ovo područje svakako je zanimljivo. Arheološki nalazi iz ranog srednjeg vijeka prikupljeni su tijekom terenskog pregleda 2020. godine.

Okov sporednog remena i jezičac sporednog remena, potječu s lokaliteta Gornji Bogičevci. Gornji Bogičevci sjedište su istoimene općine, smješteno na obroncima Psunja, na nadmorskoj visini od 140 m (Karta 3). Pregled terena (reko-gnosciranje) provedeno je 2021. godine na oranicama ispod kasnosrednjovjekovne utvrde (sl. 1). Na oranicama koji su smještene jugozapadno od kasnosrednjovjekovne utvrde Sv. Ivan Trnava na, prostoru zvanom Varošine, prikupljeni su nalazi koji pripadaju razdoblju kasne antike (4. stoljeće), te ranog srednjeg vijeka (8. stoljeće) i kasnog srednjeg vijeka (14.-16. stoljeće).

## HISTORY OF RESEARCH

The main belt fitting and the side strap end come from the site of Pivare. Pivare is the smallest settlement in the municipality of Stara Gradiška, situated at 95 meters above sea level on the left bank of the Sava, at a location where the Sava forms a meander, changing its flow from south–north to west–east (Map 2). An ancient settlement has been recorded in Pivare,<sup>7</sup> which some authors even identify with the ancient Servitium.<sup>8</sup> However, the prevailing opinion is that Servitium was located in the area of (Bosanska) Gradiška, with a branch of the road diverging north from the Posavinan main road near Pivare.<sup>9</sup> Considering the ancient heritage and the fact that it is a natural river crossing, this area is certainly of archaeological interest, with finds from the Early Middle Ages having been collected during a field survey in 2020.

The side strap fitting and the side strap end come from the site of Gornji Bogičevci. Gornji Bogičevci is situated in the same municipality on the slopes of Psunj, at an altitude of 140 m (Map 3). A terrain survey (reconnaissance) was conducted in 2021 on fields below the Late Medieval fortress (Image 1). On the fields, southwest of the late medieval fortress of St. Ivan of Trnava, in the area called Varošine, finds belonging to the Late Antique period (4th century), the Early Middle Ages (8th century), and the Late Middle Ages (14th–16th centuries) were collected during this survey.



Karta 2. Položaj lokaliteta Pivare (izradio I. Brtan GMNG, podloga DGU, M-1:25000)

Map 2. Location of the Pivare site (prepared by I. Brtan (GMNG), base map: DGU, scale 1:25,000).

7 Mihaljević 2012, 134.

8 Miškić 2006, 48.

9 Milotić, 2010, 418.

7 Mihaljević 2012, 134.

8 Miškić 2006, 48.

9 Milotić 2010, 418.

Karta 3. Položaj lokaliteta Gornji Bogičevci (izradio I. Brtan GMNG, podloga DGU, M-1:25000)

Map 3. Location of the Gornji Bogičevci site (prepared by I. Brtan (GMNG), base map: DGU, scale 1:25,000).



Slika 1. Terenski pregled oranica oko utvrde sv. Ivan Trnava (snimio: I. Brtan, GMNG)

Figure 1. Field survey of arable land around the fortress of St. Ivan Trnava (photograph: I. Brtan, GMNG).



Ivanovačka utvrda - Sv. Ivan Trnava (*castrum sancti Johannis Tornow*) smjestila se jugoistočno od naselja Gornji Bogičevci u blizini dvaju potoka, Dračevca i Starče. Prema smještaju u prostoru i vrsti terena utvrda Sv. Ivan Trnava kod Gornjih Bogičevaca nizinska je utvrda okružena s dvije grabe, koje su bile ispunjene vodom. Sustavna arheološka istraživanja rezultirala su nalazima nepokretne strukture drvene fortifikacije te mnoštvom pokretnog arheološkog materijala koje se preliminarno datira u razdoblje od 14. do prve polovice 16. stoljeća<sup>10</sup>.

The Knights Hospitaller fortress – St. Ivan of Trnava (*castrum sancti Johannis Tornow*) was located southeast of the settlement of Gornji Bogičevci, near two streams; Dračevac and Starče. Based on its spatial location and terrain type, the fortress of St. Ivan of Trnava near Gornji Bogičevci is a lowland fortress surrounded by two moats, which were filled with water. Systematic archaeological investigations resulted in findings of immovable wooden fortification structures, as well as a large amount of movable archaeological material, preliminarily dated from the 14th to the first half of the 16th century.<sup>10</sup>

10 Ivanušec 2015, 87-90; Mihaljević et al. 2015; 2016; 2017; Mihaljević, Matković Vrbanić 2018; Mihaljević 2019

10 Ivanušec 2015, 87-90; Mihaljević et al. 2015; 2016; 2017; Mihaljević, Matković Vrbanić 2018; Mihaljević 2019.

## KATALOG NALAZA

### 1. OKOV GLAVNOG REMENA, PIVARE (INV. BR. 7923A ,sl. 2-3)

Brončani, na proboj lijevan, dvodijelni okov glavnog remena, štitolika oblika, izvorno sa šarnirom i privjeskom koji sada nedostaju, od tri zakovice uz gornji rub sačuvana samo krajnja lijeva, a od dvije zakovice uz donji rub sačuvana samo desna, ukras, zrcalno po sredini, prikazuje u donjem dijelu cvijet s tri latice, a u gornjem dijelu sa zaobljene vitice visi grozd sa pet boba, dužina: 41 mm, širina: 33 mm, debljina: 5-7 mm.

### 2. JEZIČAC SPOREDNOG REMENA, PIVARE (INV. BR. 7923B, sl. 4-6)

Brončani, na proboj lijevan, jednodijelni jezičac sporednog remena, s tuljcem koji po sredini gore ima rupu za zakovicu koja nedostaje i ukrašen je vodoravno postavljenom viticom s-oblika, ravnih stranica i zaobljena donjeg dijela, ukrašen motivom drva života, uz rub imitacija krupnog perlastog ruba, debljina: 40 mm, širina: 15 mm, debljina: 3-6 mm.

### 3. JEZIČAC SPOREDNOG REMENA, GORNJI BOGIĆEVCI (INV. BR. 10243, sl. 7-9)

Brončani pozlaćeni lijevan dvodijelni jezičac sporednog remena, na gornjem dijelu s dvije zaobljene ušice za zakovice (nedostaju), ušice uokvirane plitkom imitacijom perlastog ruba, ravnih stranica i zaobljena donjeg dijela, ukrašen s dva para nasuprot postavljenih s-vitica, uz rub imitacija perlastog ruba, bočne stranice ukrašene motivom jelove grančice d. 21 mm, š. 12 mm, deb. 8 mm.

### 4. OKOV ZA RUPICE/OKOV SPOREDNOG REMENA, GORNJI BOGIĆEVCI (INV. BR. 10242 , sl. 10-11)

Brončani lijevani okov za rupice ili okov sporednog remena, štitolika oblika s oblim krajevima, uz gornji rub urez, po sredini gore i dolje rupe za zakovice (obje nedostaju), neukrašen, manje oštećenje po sredini desno, v. 19 mm, š. 18 mm, deb. 4 mm.

## RASPRAVA

Okov glavnog remena s lokaliteta Pivare (sl. 2-3.; kat. .br. 1) predstavlja iznimno zanimljiv i relativno rijedak nalaz u avarodobnim pojasnim garniturama. Prema dostupnoj literaturi, poznato je svega nekoliko sličnih nalaza.

Prostorno, najbliže analogije nalazimo na lokalitetu Nuštar Dvorac, u okovima glavnog remena pojasne garniture iz groba 68B<sup>11</sup> i 55. Pojasna garnitura groba 68B<sup>12</sup> sadrži i šest okova glavnog remena. Četiri okova sačuvana su u cijelosti, dok na dva, kao i na primjerku iz Pivara, nedostaje privjesak. Okovi, lijevani na proboj, su štitolika oblika, sa šarnirom

## CATALOGUE OF FINDS

### 1. MAIN BELT FITTING, PIVARE (INV. NO. 7923A, Fig. 2-3)

Bronze, openwork, shield-shaped two-part main belt fitting, originally with a hinge and a pendant (now missing). Out of three rivets on the upper edge, only the far left is preserved, and out of two rivets on the lower edge, only the right is preserved. The decoration, mirrored down the center, shows a three-petaled flower at the bottom and, above, a cluster of five grapes hanging from rounded tendrils, length 41 mm, width 33 mm, thickness 5–7 mm.

### 2. SIDE STRAP END, PIVARE (INV. NO. 7923B, Fig. 4-6)

Bronze, openwork, single-piece side strap end, with a socket that has a hole in the middle at the top for a rivet (missing), decorated with a horizontally placed S-shaped tendril, with straight sides and rounded bottom, decorated with a Tree of Life motif, along the edge an imitation of a large beaded rim, length 40 mm, width 15 mm, thickness 3–6 mm.

### 3. SIDE STRAP END, GORNJI BOGIĆEVCI (INV. NO. 10243, Fig. 7-9)

Bronze, gilded, cast, two-part side strap end, with two rounded rivet loops at the top (missing), loops framed with a shallow imitation of a beaded rim, straight sides, rounded bottom, decorated with two pairs of opposing S-shaped tendrils, with sides decorated with a motif of a fir branch, length 21 mm, width 12 mm, thickness 8 mm.

### 4. FITTING FOR HOLES / SIDE STRAP FITTING, GORNJI BOGIĆEVCI (INV. NO. 10242 , Fig. 10-11)

Bronze, cast, fitting for holes or side strap fitting, shield-shaped with rounded ends, with a notch along the upper edge, holes for rivets at the top and bottom (both missing), undecorated, minor damage in the middle on the right, height 19 mm, width 18 mm, thickness 4 mm.

## DISCUSSION

The main belt fitting from Pivare (Fig. 2-3, Cat. no. 1) represents an extremely interesting and relatively rare find among Avar-period belt sets. According to the available literature, only a few similar finds are known. Spatially, the closest analogies are found at Nuštar Dvorac, in the main belt fittings of belt sets from graves 68B<sup>11</sup> and 55. The belt set from grave 68B<sup>12</sup> contains six main belt fittings. Four fittings are preserved entirely, while two, as in the Pivare example, lack pendants. The openwork fittings are shield-shaped, with a hinge and a U-shaped pendant, and decorated with an

11 Dugonjić, Rapan Papeša 2019, 118.

12 Rapan Papeša 2024, 177, 183-185.

11 Dugonjić, Rapan Papeša 2019, 118.

12 Rapan Papeša 2024, 177, 183-185.

Sl. 2. Okov glavnog remena s lokaliteta Pivare (GMNG, inv. br. 7923a, snimila: J. Kovre, GMNG)

Figure 2. Main belt fitting from the Pivare site (GMNG, inv. no. 7923a, photograph: J. Kovre, GMNG).

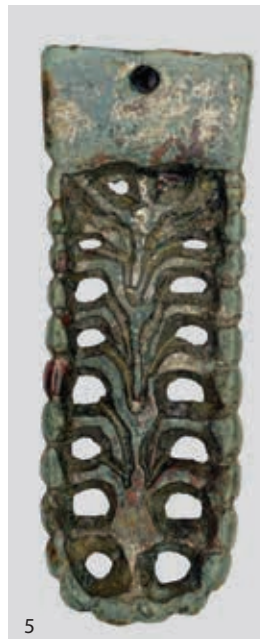


Sl. 3. Okov glavnog remena s lokaliteta Pivare - poleđina (GMNG, inv. br. 7923a, snimila: J. Kovre, GMNG)

Figure 3. Main belt fitting from the Pivare site – back (GMNG, inv. no. 7923a, photograph: J. Kovre, GMNG).

Sl. 4. Jezičac sporednog remena s lokaliteta Pivare (GMNG, inv. br. 7923b, snimila: J. Kovre, GMNG)

Figure 4. Secondary belt tongue from the Pivare site (GMNG, inv. no. 7923b, photograph: J. Kovre, GMNG).



Sl. 5. Jezičac sporednog remena s lokaliteta Pivare - poleđina (GMNG, inv. br. 7923b, snimila: J. Kovre, GMNG)

Figure 5. Secondary belt tongue from the Pivare site – back (GMNG, inv. no. 7923b, photograph: J. Kovre, GMNG).

Sl. 6. Jezičac sporednog remena s lokaliteta Pivare – bočno (GMNG, inv. br. 7923b, snimio: A. Pavleković, GMNG)

Figure 6. Secondary belt tongue from the Pivare site – lateral view (GMNG, inv. no. 7923b, photograph: A. Pavleković, GMNG).

i privjeskom oblika širokog slova U, ukrašenim motivom cvijeta na proboj. Za pojas su se pričvršćivali sa pet zakovica, tri u gornjem dijelu i dvije u donjem dijelu. Na temelju razmaka između zakovica širina pojasa iznosila je 2,5 cm, što dodatno potvrđuje i razmak između zakovica na jezičcu glavnog remena i kopči pojasa. Ukrašeni su simetrično, na donjem dijelu nalazi se cvijet s tri latice koji je viticom povezan s grozdom s pet boba smještenim u gornjem dijelu. Riječ je o dvojnom grobu dva muškarca od kojih drugi (grob 68A) ima pojasnu garnituru ukrašenu biljnim ornamentima cvijeta ljljana na punciranoj podlozi, a kako je ukop istovremen to nam omogućava i dataciju ovog groba u posljednju četvrtinu 8. stoljeća.<sup>13</sup>

Na istom lokalitetu, Nuštar Dvorac, u grobu 55 je pokopan pokojnik koji ima pojasnu garnituru koja sadrži i sedam okova glavnog remena.<sup>14</sup> Pet okova sačuvano je u cijelosti, dvama nedostaje privjesak, a posljednji, sedmi nije imao privjesak i sačuvan je u cijelosti. Okovi, lijevani na proboj, štitolika su oblika, sa šarnirom i privjeskom oblika širokog

openwork flower motif. They were attached to the belt by five rivets; three at the top and two at the bottom. Based on the distance between the rivets, the belt width is 2.5 cm, further confirmed by the spacing between rivets on the strap end of the main belt and the belt buckle. They are symmetrically decorated, with a three-petaled flower at the bottom connected by a tendril to a cluster of five grapes at the top. The double grave contained two men; the other (grave 68A) has a belt set decorated with floral ornaments of lilies on a punched background, and as the burial is simultaneous, it allows dating of this grave to the last quarter of the 8th century.<sup>13</sup>

Also at the Nuštar Dvorac site, grave 55 contains a buried person with a belt set including seven main belt fittings.<sup>14</sup> Five fittings are fully preserved, two lack pendants, and the final, seventh, had no pendant but is fully preserved. The openwork fittings are shield-shaped, with a hinge and a U-shaped pendant. The pendants are also openwork, decorated with a flower motif. The fittings were attached to the belt by three rivets;

13 Rapan Papeša 2024, 413.

14 Rapan Papeša 2024, 149-153.

13 Rapan Papeša 2024, 413.

14 Rapan Papeša 2024, 149-153.



Sl. 7. Jezičac sporednog remena s lokaliteta Gornji Bogičevci (GMNG, inv. br. 10243, snimila: J. Kovre, GMNG)

Figure 7. Secondary belt tongue from the Gornji Bogičevci site (GMNG, inv. no. 10243, photograph: J. Kovre, GMNG).



Sl. 8. Jezičac sporednog remena s lokaliteta Gornji Bogičevci - poledina (GMNG, inv. br. 10243, snimila: J. Kovre, GMNG)

Figure 8. Secondary belt tongue from the Gornji Bogičevci site - back (GMNG, inv. no. 10243, photograph: J. Kovre, GMNG).



Sl. 9. Jezičac sporednog remena s lokaliteta Gornji Bogičevci - bočno (GMNG, inv. br. 10243, snimio: A. Pavleković, GMNG)

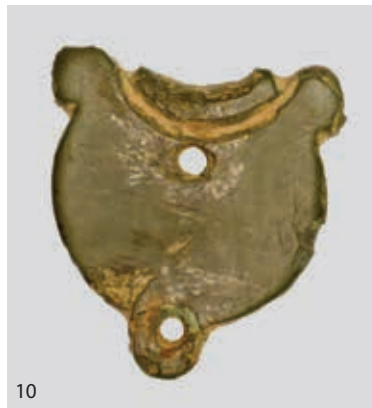
Figure 9. Secondary belt tongue from the Gornji Bogičevci site - lateral view (GMNG, inv. no. 10243, photograph: A. Pavleković, GMNG).

Sl. 10. Okov sporednog remena s lokaliteta Gornji Bogičevci (GMNG, inv. br. 10243, snimila: J. Kovre, GMNG)

Figure 10. Secondary belt fitting from the Gornji Bogičevci site (GMNG, inv. no. 10243, photograph: J. Kovre, GMNG).

Sl. 11. Okov sporednog remena s lokaliteta Gornji Bogičevci - poledina (GMNG, inv. br. 10243, snimila: J. Kovre, GMNG)

Figure 11. Secondary belt fitting from the Gornji Bogičevci site - back (GMNG, inv. no. 10243, photograph: J. Kovre, GMNG).



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slova U. Privjesci su također lijevani na proboj i ukrašeni su motivom cvijeta. Okovi su za pojas pričvršćivani s tri zakovice, jednom u gornjem dijelu, a po dvije u donjem dijelu. Na osnovu razmaka između zakovica od 2.2 cm širina pojasa iznosi 2.5 cm. Okovi su ukrašeni simetrično, na donjem dijelu je prikaz cvijeta s tri latice viticom povezana s grozdom od pet bobaa u gornjem dijelu. Ovaj grob, na temelju nalaza i horizontalne stratigrafije groblja, datiramo u posljednju četvrtinu 8. stoljeća.<sup>15</sup>

Južnom dijelu kaganata pripada i nalaz iz razorenog groba 9 na nekropoli Odžaci V, koju autor datira u kraj 8. i

one at the top and two at the bottom. Based on the spacing of 2.2 cm between rivets, the belt width was 2.5 cm. The fittings are symmetrically decorated, with a flower at the bottom connected by a tendril to a cluster of five grapes at the top. This grave, based on the finds and horizontal stratigraphy of the cemetery, is dated to the last quarter of the 8th century.<sup>15</sup>

The southern part of the khaganate would also include the find from the destroyed grave 9 in the Odžaci V necropolis, which the describing author dated to the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century.<sup>16</sup> The openwork fitting is shield-shaped, with a hinge and a pendant in the shape of a wide letter U, decorated with an openwork cast flower motif.

15 Rapan Papeša 2024, 412.

15 Rapan Papeša 2024, 412.

16 Karamanski 1975, 10, T. VII/4.

početak 9. stoljeća.<sup>16</sup> Okov, lijevan na proboj, je štitolika oblika, sa šarnirom i privjeskom u obliku širokog slova U, ukrašen na proboj lijevanim motivom cvijeta. Za pojas se pričvršćivao sa pet zakovica. Ukrašen je simetrično i zrcalno cvijetom s tri latice u donjem dijelu i grozdom na vitici u gornjem dijelu. Novija analiza ovaj grob datira u drugu polovinu 8. stoljeća (s mogućnosti da pripada i fazi SS III po Zaboju, 750-780), dok datacija cijelog groblja ostaje uglavnom nepromijenjena u odnosu na prvotnu objavu.<sup>17</sup> Opća datacija u 8. stoljeće navodi se u ADAM-u.<sup>18</sup>

Posljednja paralela uključuje nalaz iz konjaničkog groba 10 na lokalitetu Žitavska Ton u Slovačkoj. Konjanik ima pojasnu garnituru s pozlaćenim okovima koju autor datira oko 800. godine.<sup>19</sup> Pronađeno je ukupno šest dvodijelnih okova, rađenih od pozlaćene bronce lijevanjem na proboj, pri čemu na dva nedostaju privjesci. Okovi su štitolika oblika, sa šarnirom i privjeskom oblika širokog slova U, ukrašenog motivom cvijeta na proboj. Na pojas, širine 3.5 cm, pričvršćivali su se sa tri zakovice. Ukrašen je simetričan, na donjem dijelu nalazi se cvijet s tri latice koji je viticom povezan s gornjim dijelom na kojem se nalazi grozd s pet boba. Ova garnitura potječe iz groba u kojem su uz konja pronađeni i poznati ukrasni dijelovi orme, okovi s licima.<sup>20</sup> Datacija lokaliteta u cjelini obuhvaća posljednju četvrtinu 7. do kraja 8. stoljeća.<sup>21</sup>

U literaturi se navodi i primjerak iz Tatabánye (Mađarska), koji, zbog izostanka opisa i slikovne dokumentacije te

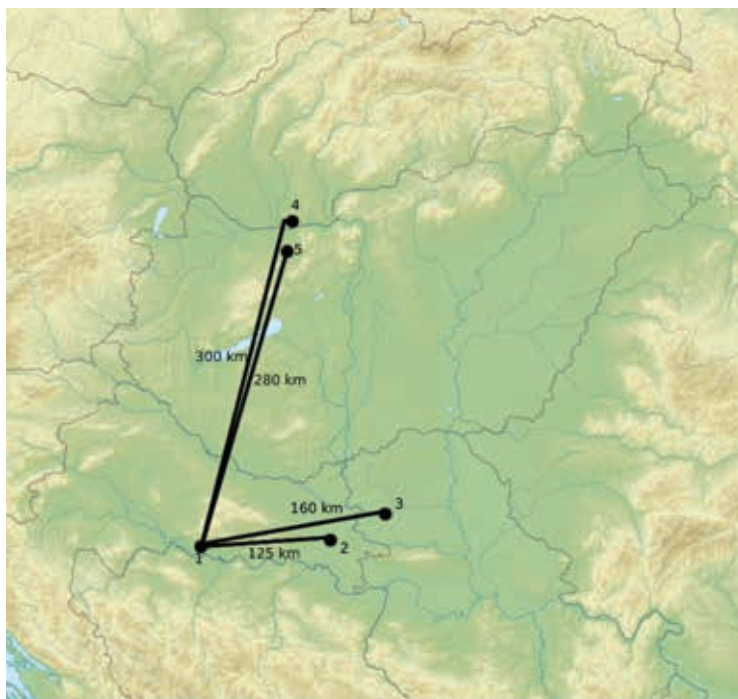
It was attached to the belt by five rivets. It is symmetrically decorated with a three-petaled flower in the lower part and grapes on a tendril in the upper. A more recent analysis dates this grave to the second half of the 8th century (with the possibility that it also belongs to the SS III phase according to Zaboju, i.e. 750–780 CE), while the dating of the entire cemetery remains largely unchanged compared to the original publication.<sup>17</sup> A general dating to the 8th century is cited in ADAM.<sup>18</sup>

The final parallel includes the find from the horseman's grave 10 at the Žitavská Tôňa site in Slovakia. The horseman had a belt set with gilded fittings, which the describing author dated to around the year 800.<sup>19</sup> A total of six two-piece fittings were found, made of gilded bronze openwork casting, with two missing pendants. The fittings are shield-shaped, with a hinge and a pendant in the shape of a wide U, decorated with an openwork flower motif. These were attached to a belt, 3.5 cm wide, by three rivets. The decoration is symmetrical, with a three-petaled flower on the lower part connected by a tendril to the upper, which has a cluster of five grapes. This set comes from a grave in which, along with a horse itself, known decorative parts of harness fittings with faces were found.<sup>20</sup> The dating of the site as a whole covers the last quarter of the 7th to the end of the 8th century.<sup>21</sup>

The literature also reports a specimen from Tatabánya (Hungary); however, due to the absence of a description and visual documentation, as well as the unavailability of the specimen itself, it was not possible to include it in the discussion.

Karta 4. Međusobna zračna udaljenost lokaliteta Pivare (1) u odnosu na Nuštar (2), Odžake (3), Žitavsku Ton (4) i Tatabányu (5) (izradila A. Rapan Papeša, podloga [https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modul:Location\\_map/data/Panonska\\_nizina#](https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modul:Location_map/data/Panonska_nizina#))

Map 4. Straight-line distances between the Pivare site (1) and Nuštar (2), Odžaci (3), Žitavska Ton (4), and Tatabánya (5) (prepared by A. Rapan Papeša, base map: [https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modul:Location\\_map/data/Panonska\\_nizina#](https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modul:Location_map/data/Panonska_nizina#)).



16 Karamanski 1975, 10, T. VII/4.

17 Bugarski 2014, 414, 418, T.44.

18 ADAM 2002, 270.

19 Budinsky-Krička 1956, 19, 52-53, T. XVII.

20 Avari a Slovania 2015, 28.

21 ADAM 2002, 301.

17 Bugarski 2014, 414, 418, T. 44.

18 ADAM 2002, 270.

19 Budinsky-Krička 1956, 19, 52-53, T. XVII.

20 Avari a Slovania 2015, 28.

21 ADAM 2002, 301.

nedostupnosti samog primjerka, nije bilo moguće uključiti u raspravu.

Time ovaj primjerak postaje šesti poznati i objavljeni; uz dva poznata na sjeveru ovo je četvrti na jugu Avarije (Karta 4). Nalazi na rubnim dijelovima Avarije iz druga polovina 8. stoljeća često nemaju paralela u središnjim dijelovima (prostor današnje Mađarske) ili su one pojedinačne, što sugerira opskrbu iz jednog proizvodnog centra i distribuciju istaknutim članovima zajednica na rubnim područjima.<sup>22</sup>

Serijacija J. Zaboyník-a ne donosi ovaj konkretni primjer, ali općenito gledano može se svrstati u skupinu okova glavnog remena tipa 245, 246 i 248 koji se datiraju u vrijeme SS III (750-780).<sup>23</sup>

Prema klasifikaciji P. Stadlera<sup>24</sup> ovakvi okovi pripadaju grupi HRB09110 (*Hauptriemenbeschlag*), s opisom „lijevani – štitoliki – cvjetna lozica – dva cvijeta“, a navodi da su nađeni na tri lokaliteta (ukupno 6 primjeraka - po jedan u Odžacima i Tatbanyu, te četiri u Žitavskoj Toni).

Prema klasifikaciji G. Szenthe ovakvi okovi pripadaju grupi IV. (složene kompozicije s palmetama), podgrupi IV.5.3. (prikazi stabla palmete) te su označeni kao Tip 8. (par okomito ponovljenih, raširenih vitica). Motivi ovog tipa opisani su: „Na kraju donjeg para, oko okruglog središta, nalazi se cvijet s tri latice, dok na gornjem paru voluta visi peteročlani grozd.“<sup>25</sup> U kasnoavarodobnoj dekorativnoj umjetnosti, novi trend koji je donio izrazitu promjenu nakon pojave kasnoavarodobnog životinjskog stila najbolje se može uočiti kroz osno simetrične oblike palmeta. Pojam „palmeta“ opisuje općenito jединicu bilo kojeg aksijalno simetričnog uzorka biljnog podrijetla;<sup>26</sup> pojavljuju se u krupnoj, plastičnoj izvedbi svojstvenoj kasnoavarskom animalnom stilu.<sup>27</sup> U skladu s njegovom tipološkom – kronološkom shemom ovakvi okovi vežu se uz kasnoantički krug avarodobne produkcije (faza SS IIb po Zaboyníku), što znači da se radi o antičkom motivu koji, preko Mediterana, ulazi u područje Avarije.

Motiv grožđa u avarodobnoj umjetnosti nije uobičajen, ali nije ni nepoznat. U antičkoj ikonografiji, grožđe se opisuje kao simbol života, obilja, bogatstva i plodnosti.<sup>28</sup> Međutim, kao i kod drugih antičkih motiva, njihova simbolika u avarodobnom društvu vjerojatno se razlikuje.<sup>29</sup> Motiv vinove loze nešto se češće pojavljuje na jezičcima remena, pa neki autori smatraju da ovi prikazi predstavljaju vrhunac realističnih prikaza tog razdoblja.<sup>30</sup>

Jezičac sporednog remena s lokaliteta Pivare (sl. 4-6; kat. br. 2) na prvi pogled izgleda kao jedan od uobičajenih nalaza avarodobne produkcije, prvenstveno zbog motiva stabla života. Međutim, detaljnija analiza otkriva tek nekoliko sličnih analogija i za ovaj nalaz.

This makes this example the sixth known and published; along with two known in the north, this is the fourth in the south of Avaria (Map 4). Finds on the outskirts of Avaria from the second half of the 8th century often have no parallels in the central parts (the area of present-day Hungary), with any such examples being isolated finds, suggestive of supply from a single production center and distribution to prominent members of communities in the peripheral areas.<sup>22</sup>

J. Zaboyník's seriation does not cover this particular example, but, in general, it can be classified in the group of main belt fittings of types 245, 246, and 248, which are dated to phase SS III (750–780 CE).<sup>23</sup>

According to P. Stadler's classification,<sup>24</sup> such fittings belong to group HRB09110 (*Hauptriemenbeschlag*), described as “cast – shield-shaped – floral tendril – two flowers,” with Stadler noting that examples of such have been found at three sites (a total of six specimens: one each from Odžaci and Tatabánya, and four from Žitavská Tőňa).

In the classification of G. Szenthe, these fittings belong to group IV (complex compositions with palmettes), subgroup IV.5.3. (depictions of a palmette tree) and are designated as Type 8 (a pair of vertically repeated, spreading tendrils). The motifs of this type are described as follows: “At the end of the lower pair, around the circular center, there is a three-petaled flower, while on the upper pair of volutes there is a cluster of five grapes.”<sup>25</sup> In late Avar decorative art, a new trend that brought a marked change after the emergence of the late Avar animal style can best be seen through the axisymmetric forms of palmettes. The term ‘palmette’ generally describes a unit of any axially symmetrical pattern of plant origin;<sup>26</sup> they appear in a large, plastic design characteristic of the late Avar animal style.<sup>27</sup> According to Szenthe's typological-chronological scheme, such fittings are associated with the late antique circle of Avar-period production (phase SS IIb according to Zaboyník), meaning that this is an antique motif that entered the Avar territory via the Mediterranean.

The grape motif is not common in Avar art, but it is not unknown either. In ancient iconography, grapes are described as a symbol of life, abundance, wealth, and fertility.<sup>28</sup> However, as with other ancient motifs, their symbolism in Avar society probably differs.<sup>29</sup> The vine motif appears somewhat more frequently on belt strap ends, with some authors considering these depictions as the zenith of realistic depictions of that period.<sup>30</sup>

The strap end of the side strap from the Pivare site (Fig. 4-6, Cat. no. 2) at first glance appears to be a usual find of Avar-period production, primarily due to the motif of the Tree of Life. However, a more detailed analysis reveals only a few close analogies for this find. One of these comes from grave 2286 at the Zamárdi – Rétföldek site; a male burial with a belt

22 Cf. Rapan Papeša 2021a; Šmalcelj Novaković 2022b.

23 Zaboyník 1991, 319.

24 Stadler 2005.

25 Szenthe 2020, 186.

26 Szenthe 2020, 420.

27 Szenthe 2020, 427.

28 Savo *et al.* 2016.

29 *usp.* Szenthe 2023.

30 *cf.* Pap 1997, 8.

22 *cf.* Rapan Papeša 2021a; Šmalcelj Novaković 2022b.

23 Zaboyník 1991, 319.

24 Stadler 2005.

25 Szenthe 2020, 186.

26 Szenthe 2020, 420.

27 Szenthe 2020, 427.

28 Savo *et al.* 2016.

29 *cf.* Szenthe 2023.

30 *cf.* Pap 1997, 8.

Jedan od njih potječe iz groba 2286 na lokalitetu Zamárdi – Rétiföldek, ukopa muškarca s pojasnom garniturom.<sup>31</sup> Riječ je o dva jezičca sporednih remena, jednodijelni, lijevani na proboj, neukrašenim tuljcem, ravnih stranica i zaobljena donjeg dijela, ukrašeni su motivom stabla života i imitacijom krupnog perlastog ruba. Grob je datiran u 8. stoljeće.<sup>32</sup>

I u ovom slučaju imamo nalaze koji se smještaju na sjevernoj, odnosno zapadnoj granici Avarije, a nalaz iz Pivara predstavlja jedini nalaz na južnoj granici.

Na lokalitetu Balatonszólós – zadružna štala, u razorenom grobu označenom kao grob C, otkrivena je pojasna garnitura koja uključuje i dva našem identična jezičca sporednog remena.<sup>33</sup> Brončani jednodijelni jezičci sporednih remena, lijevani na proboj, s dvama ušicama sa zakovicama na vrhu, neukrašenim tuljcem, ravnih stranica i zaobljena donjeg dijela, ukrašeni su motivom stabla života i imitacijom krupnog perlastog ruba. Ovaj grob, kao i još nekoliko njih, datirani su na prijelaz 8. u 9. stoljeće,<sup>34</sup> odnosno u 8. i prvu četvrtinu 9. stoljeća.<sup>35</sup>

Slični jezičci sporednog remena pronađeni su u grobu 148 na lokalitetu Pilismarót-Basaharc, kao dio pojasne garniture.<sup>36</sup> Brončani jednodijelni jezičac sporednog remena, lijevan na proboj, s dvama ušicama sa zakovicama na vrhu, tuljcem ukrašenim vodoravno položenom s-viticom, ravnih stranica i zaobljenog donjeg dijela, s ukrasom motiva stabla života i imitacijom krupnog perlastog ruba. Groblje je datirano u razdoblje od 740. do 796. godine,<sup>37</sup> odnosno od sredine 8. do prve četvrtine 9. stoljeća.<sup>38</sup>

Još jednu analogiju nalazimo u grobu 43 na lokalitetu Zwölfaxing, ukopu muškarca s pojasnom garniturom.<sup>39</sup> Brončani jednodijelni jezičac sporednog remena, lijevan na proboj, s dvama ušicama sa zakovicama na vrhu, ukrašenim tuljcem, ravnih stranica i zaobljena donjeg dijela, ukrašen motivom stabla života i imitacijom krupnog perlastog ruba. Ovaj grob pripada posljednjoj fazi, odnosno završetku ukopa na groblju koje je prema autoru datirano od zadnje četvrtine 7. do prve četvrtine 9. stoljeća,<sup>40</sup> odnosno u kraj 7. i 8. stoljeća.<sup>41</sup> (Karta 5).

Serijacija J. Zábójnika ne donosi ovaj konkretni primjer, ali općenito gledano može se svrstati u skupinu jezičaca sporednih remena remena tipa 90, koji se datiraju u vrijeme SS III (750.-780.).<sup>42</sup>

Prema klasifikaciji P. Stadlera ovakvi jezičci pripadaju grupi NRZ02270 (*Nebenriemenzunge*) s opisom „lijevan – stablo – 2 ušice“, a navodi da su nađeni na četiri lokaliteta (ukupno

set,<sup>31</sup> with two single-part strap ends of side straps created by openwork casting, with an undecorated socket, straight sides, and a rounded lower part decorated with a Tree of Life motif and imitation of a coarse beaded border. The grave is dated to the 8th century,<sup>32</sup> and, as with Pivare, the finds are located on the periphery of Avaria, along the northern or western borders, with the find from Pivare being the only one situated on the southern border.

At the Balatonszólós – Cooperative Stable site, a belt set was discovered in a disturbed grave, marked as Grave C. It includes two identical side belt strap ends.<sup>33</sup> The bronze openwork single-piece side belt strap ends feature two loops with rivets at the top, an undecorated socket, flat sides, and a rounded lower part. They are decorated with a Tree of Life motif and an imitation of a large beaded edge. This grave, along with several others, is dated to the transition between the 8th and 9th centuries,<sup>34</sup> or, more precisely, to the 8th century and the first quarter of the 9th century.<sup>35</sup>

Similar side strap ends were found in Grave 148 at the Pilismarót-Basaharc site, as part of a belt set.<sup>36</sup> The single-piece bronze openwork side belt strap end has two loops with rivets at the top and a socket decorated with a horizontally placed S-shaped tendril. It has straight sides and a rounded lower part, decorated with a Tree of Life motif and an imitation of a large beaded edge. The cemetery is dated to the period from 740 to 796,<sup>37</sup> or from the mid-8th to the first quarter of the 9th century.<sup>38</sup>

Another parallel is found in Grave 43 at the Zwölfaxing site; the burial of an adult male with a belt set.<sup>39</sup> The bronze openwork single-piece side belt strap end has two loops with rivets at the top and a decorated socket. It features straight sides and a rounded lower part, again adorned with a Tree of Life motif and an imitation of a large beaded edge. This grave belongs to the final phase, or rather the conclusion, of burials in the cemetery, which, according to the author, can be dated to the last quarter of the 7th to the first quarter of the 9th century,<sup>40</sup> or to the end of the 7th and throughout the 8th century.<sup>41</sup> (Map 5).

J. Zábójnik's seriation does not include this specific example, but in general it can be classified as a group of side belt strap ends of type 90, dated to the time of SS III (750-780).<sup>42</sup>

According to P. Stadler's classification, such strap ends belong to the group NRZ02270 (*Nebenriemenzunge*) with the description "cast - stem - 2 loops", with the classification further stating that examples of such had been found at four sites (four examples in total); however, one example is mentioned twice, meaning that there are actually three examples from three sites.

31 Bárdos – Garam 2014, 127.

32 Bárdos – Garam 2018, 109, 288.

33 Nemeth 1969, 160, sl. 13.

34 MRT 1969, 56.

35 ADAM 2002, 41.

36 Fettih 1965, 50, sl. 80.

37 MRT 1979, 285.

38 ADAM 2002, 289.

39 Lippert 1969, 80-82, 132.

40 Lippert 1969, 102-103.

41 ADAM 2002, 436.

42 Zábójnik 1991, 301.

31 Bárdos, Garam 2014, 127.

32 Bárdos – Garam 2018, 109, 288.

33 Erdélyi, Nemeth 1969, 160, Fig. 13.

34 MRT 1969, 56.

35 ADAM 2002, 41.

36 Fettih 1965, 50, Fig. 80.

37 MRT 1979, 285.

38 ADAM 2002, 289.

39 Lippert 1969, 80-82, 132.

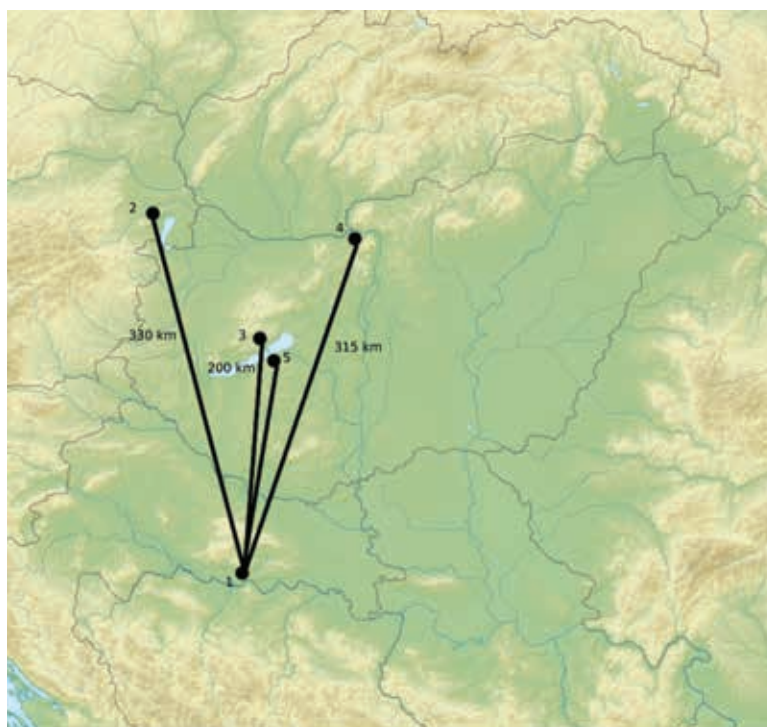
40 Lippert 1969, 102-103.

41 ADAM 2002, 436.

42 Zábójnik 1991, 301.

Karta 5. Međusobna zračna udaljenost lokaliteta Pivare (1) u odnosu na Zwölfaxing (2), Balatonszőlős (3), Pilismarót (4) i Zamárdi (5) (izradila A. Rapan Papeša, podloga [https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modul:Location\\_map/data/Panonska\\_nizina#](https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modul:Location_map/data/Panonska_nizina#))

Map 5. Straight-line distances between the Pivare site (1) and Zwölfaxing (2), Balatonszőlős (3), Pilismarót (4), and Zamárdi (5) (prepared by A. Rapan Papeša, base map: [https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modul:Location\\_map/data/Panonska\\_nizina#](https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modul:Location_map/data/Panonska_nizina#)).



4 primjerka); pri tome jedan primjerak navodi dva puta, tako da u konačnici ima tri primjerka s tri lokaliteta.

Ovaj motiv, ali zrcalno izveden u odnosu na naš primjerak, zabilježen je u grobu 1281a na lokalitetu Tiszafüred,<sup>43</sup> a datiran je u početak treće faze ukopa na ovom lokalitetu koja se veže uz bizantske utjecaje, odnosno početak 8. stoljeća.<sup>44</sup>

Prema klasifikaciji G. Szenthea ovakvi okovi pripadaju grupi IV. (složene kompozicije s palmetama), podgrupi IV.1. (simetrični stupci identičnih elementa) te Tipu 2.1. (vrh zatvoren iglom koja raste između listova), varijanti 4. (baza svakog trećeg lista na deblu oslanja se na volutu) i Tipu 2.2. (stup zatvoren s parom malih voluta, koje se sastoje od dijelova, po dva odjednom, s uskim listovima koji rastu prema gore).<sup>45</sup> Ovu ornamentiku prati tipološka ujednačenost i stilska sličnost, čak i kad se nalaze na lokalitetima velike udaljenosti.<sup>46</sup> U skladu s njegovom tipološko – kronološkom shemom ovakvi motivi vežu se uz geometrijski stil avarodobne produkcije (faza SS IIb-III po Zaboju), stil specifičan za Karpatsku kotlinu, ali oblikovan utjecajima svijeta koji ju okružuje.<sup>47</sup>

Motiv stabla života, uvriježen naziv u starijoj literaturi, u novije se vrijeme opisuje kao modificirani prikaz palme,<sup>48</sup> što polako postaje prihvaćeno i u krugu avarodobne arheologije.<sup>49</sup>

S lokaliteta Gornji Bogičevci također imamo dva nalaza; prvi od njih (sl. 7-9; kat. br. 3) je jezičac sporednog remena

A version of this motif – mirrored in relation to our specimen – was recorded in Grave 1281a at the Tiszafüred site.<sup>43</sup> It is dated to the beginning of the third phase of burials at the site, which is associated with Byzantine influences; i.e. the early 8th century.<sup>44</sup>

According to G. Szenthe's classification, these fittings belong to group IV (complex compositions with palmettes), subgroup IV.1 (symmetrical columns of identical elements) and Type 2.1 (top closed by a needle growing between the leaves), variant 4 (the base of every third leaf on the trunk rests on a volute) and Type 2.2 (column closed with a pair of small volutes, consisting of two-part elements with narrow leaves growing upwards).<sup>45</sup> This ornamentation is accompanied by typological uniformity and stylistic similarity, even when examples are found in sites of great distance from one another.<sup>46</sup> In accordance with his typological-chronological scheme, such motifs are associated with the geometric style of Avar-era production (phase SS IIb-III according to Zaboju); a style specific to the Carpathian Basin, but shaped by the influences of the surroundings.<sup>47</sup>

The motif of the 'Tree of Life', a common name in older literature, has recently been re-described as a modified depiction of a palm tree,<sup>48</sup> with this description slowly gaining acceptance in the circle of Avar-era archaeology.<sup>49</sup>

Two finds from the Gornji Bogičevci site are also relevant. The first (Fig. 7-9, Cat. no. 3) is a side strap end belonging to a group of finds referred to as being of Hohenberg type, after

43 Garam 1995, 156.

44 Garam 1995, 408-410.

45 Szenthe 2020, 148-149.

46 Szenthe 2020, 343, bilj. 1212.

47 Szenthe 2020, 352.

48 Eger 2004, 463-467.

49 Szenthe 2020, 440, bilj. 1717.

43 Garam 1995, 156.

44 Ibid. 408-410.

45 Szenthe 2020, 148-149.

46 Szenthe 2020, 343, bilj. 1212.

47 Szenthe 2020, 352.

48 Eger 2004, 463-467.

49 Szenthe 2020, 440, note 1717.

koji pripada skupini nalaza koju nazivamo, prema nalazištu u Austriji, tip Hohenberg. Jezičac ovog tipa vidljiv je i na djelomično sačuvanoj freski s prikazom dječaka u crkvi Santa Maria Antiqua u Rimu, datiranoj u 8. stoljeće.<sup>50</sup>

Prostorno najbliži nalaz ovog tipa u Hrvatskoj slučajni je nalaz iz Bijelog brda; jednodijelni jezičac sporednog remena, lijevan u bronci s tragovima pozlate, ukrašen degeneriranom viticom i pseudogranuliranim ukrasom po rubu, dužine 25 mm.<sup>51</sup> Lokalitet Bijelo Brdo I. (Bajer) datira se u 7. i 8. stoljeće,<sup>52</sup> dok se ovaj slučajni nalaz datira u prijelaz 8. na 9. stoljeće.<sup>53</sup>

Prostorno je blizak i jedan novi, neobjavljeni nalaz iz okolice Vinkovaca. Uz još neke novootkrivene i neobjavljene nalaze uskoro će biti detaljnije obrađen i objavljen.

Osim toga, poznat je i jedan nalaz iz okolice Sremske Mitrovice, brončani pozlaćeni jezičac glavnog remena, lijevan u komadu, s dvije ušice, ukrašen uvinutim viticama, s pseudogranulacijom na rubu i urezanim ukrasom na spoju.<sup>54</sup> Jezičac tipa Hohenberg – Bozen datiran je u 8. stoljeće,<sup>55</sup> iako ostaje otvoreno pitanje radi li se o predmetu bizantske ili avarske produkcije.<sup>56</sup>

S lokaliteta Bártok B. U. u Dömösu iz jednog od 11 istraženih grobova potječe jezičac sporednog remena tipa Hohenberg,<sup>57</sup> a lokalitet se datira u zadnju četvrtinu 7. i 8. stoljeće.<sup>58</sup>

S područja Dalmacije poznat je primjerak koji potječe iz Biskupije<sup>59</sup> ili Bribirske glavice,<sup>60</sup> ukrašen pseudogranulacijom po rubu i nasuprot postavljenim S-viticama; prema klasifikaciji F. Daima ovaj nalaz pripada tipu Hohenberg – Bozen, odnosno italo-bizantskim radionicama,<sup>61</sup> a ne avarskom zlatarstvu. Ovaj nalaz datiran je u drugu polovinu 8. i početak 9. stoljeća.<sup>62</sup>

Serijacija J. Zábójnika ne donosi ovaj konkretni primjer, ali općenito gledano može se svrstati u skupinu jezičaca sporednog remena tipa 116, koji se datiraju u vrijeme SS III (750-780) – SS IV (780-800/825).<sup>63</sup>

Prema podjeli P. Stadlera ovakvi jezičci pripadaju grupi NRZ03310 (*Nebenriemenzunge*) s opisom „lijevani – krugolika vitica – 2 ušice“, a navodi da su nađeni na 8 lokaliteta (ukupno 12 komada).

Prema podjeli G. Szenthe ovakvi nalazi pripadaju grupi „Sobor-Kiskőrös“ (plastični floralni geometrijski uzorci) i datiraju se samim krajem kasnoavarskog razdoblja, dok skupina nalaza tipa Hohenberg čini posebnu varijantu ovog tipa.<sup>64</sup>

the site in Austria. A strap end of this type can also be seen on a partially preserved fresco depicting a boy in the Church of Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome, dated to the 8th century.<sup>50</sup>

The spatially closest find of this type in Croatia is a chance discovery from Bijelo Brdo: a one-piece bronze side strap end with traces of gilding, decorated with a degenerated tendril and pseudo-granulated ornamentation along the edge, measuring 25 mm in length.<sup>51</sup> The Bijelo Brdo I. (Bajer) site is dated to the 7th and 8th centuries,<sup>52</sup> while this chance find dates to the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries.<sup>53</sup>

Another spatially close example is a newly discovered unpublished find from the vicinity of Vinkovci. Along with several other newly unearthed and unpublished finds, it will soon be analyzed in greater detail and published.

In addition, a find from the Sremska Mitrovica area is also known, a bronze gilded main belt strap end, cast in one piece, with two loops, decorated with twisted tendrils, pseudo-granulation along the edge, and an engraved ornament at the junction.<sup>54</sup>

The strap end of the Hohenberg–Bozen type from Sremska Mitrovica is dated to the 8th century,<sup>55</sup> although it remains an open question whether it represents a product of Byzantine or Avar manufacture.<sup>56</sup>

A Hohenberg-type side strap end<sup>57</sup> was found in one of the 11 excavated graves from the Bártok B. U. site in Dömös, with the site having been dated to the last quarter of the 7th and 8th centuries.<sup>58</sup> From the Dalmatian region, an example originating from Biskupija<sup>59</sup> or Bribirska Glavica<sup>60</sup> is known, decorated with pseudo-granulation along the edge and opposed S-shaped tendrils. According to the classification of F. Daim, this find belongs to the Hohenberg–Bozen type, i.e. Italo-Byzantine workshops,<sup>61</sup> and is not an example of Avar goldsmithing. This find is dated to the second half of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century.<sup>62</sup> J. Zábójnik's seriation does not include this specific example, but in general it can be classified as belonging to a group of side strap ends of type 116, which date back to the time of SS III (750–780) to SS IV (780–800/825).<sup>63</sup> According to P. Stadler's classification, such strap ends belong to group NRZ03310 (*Nebenriemenzunge*), described as “cast – circular tendril – two loops”, with it further being noted that a total of twelve specimens been found across eight sites.

According to G. Szenthe's classification, such finds belong to the Sobor-Kiskőrös group (plastic floral geometric patterns), and date back to the very end of the Late Avar period, while

50 Daim 2000, 156.

51 Simoni 1986, 219.

52 ADAM 2002, 58.

53 Seoba 1962, 110.

54 Daim 2000, 159.

55 Bugarski 2022, 359.

56 Cf. Szenthe 2016, 359.

57 MRT 1979, 71.

58 ADAM 2002, 117-118.

59 Milošević 2000, 236.

60 Petrinc 2007, 79-80.

61 Piteša 2006, 9.

62 Petrinc 2007, 81.

63 Zábójnik 1991, 303.

64 Szenthe 2020, 514.

50 Daim 2000, 156.

51 Simoni 1986, 219.

52 ADAM 2002, 58.

53 Seoba 1962, 110.

54 Daim 2000, 159.

55 Bugarski 2022, 359.

56 Cf. Szenthe 2016, 359.

57 MRT 1979, 71.

58 ADAM 2002, 117-118.

59 Milošević 2000, 236.

60 Petrinc 2007, 79-80.

61 Piteša 2006, 9.

62 Petrinc 2007, 81.

63 Zábójnik 1991, 303.

Sl. 12. Jezičac sporednog remena s lokaliteta Bribir (snimio: Z. Alajbeg, Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika - Split)

Figure 12. Secondary belt tongue from the Bribir site (photograph: Zoran Alajbeg, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments-Split).



Skupina nalaza tipa Hohenberg, prema nalazu iz Hohenberga smatra se bizantskom produkcijom,<sup>65</sup> no postoji jedna šira grupa u koju se svrstavaju i nalazi avarodobne produkcije, koji čak sežu i u post-avarodobno razdoblje.<sup>66</sup> Zanimljivo je da je ovdje prezentiran nalaz gotovo identičan, ukrasom i dimenzijama, nalazu iz Dalmacije (Sl. 12), te vjerojatno potječu iz iste radionice. Dodatne analize u budućnosti bi trebale potvrditi ili opovrgnuti ovu pretpostavku.

S područja Gornjih Bogičevaca potječe još jedan nedvojbeno avarodobni nalaz (sl. 10-11; kat. br. 4), koji međutim bez točnog konteksta može predstavljati i okov sporednog remena (što je vjerojatnije), ali i okov za rupice remena. Naime, oba ova tipa nalaza su prilično slična i iako su okovi za rupice većih dimenzija nego okovi sporednih remena često se njihova veličina preklapa u različitim pojasnim garniturama. Iako se i ovdje na prvu čini da je riječ o tipičnom nalazu, i u ovom slučaju imamo varijantu koju ne nalazimo često.

Prostorno najbližu analogiju predstavlja nalaz iz Borova, s lokaliteta Gradac, a radi se o dijelu nepotpuno sačuvane pojasne garniture iz groba uništenog tokom rijeke Dunav.<sup>67</sup> Nalaz se sastoji od brončane pređice, okova brončane kopče, dva jezičca sporednog remena i četiri okova sporednog remena. Slučajni nalazi s borovskog Gradca datirani su općenito u 8. stoljeće,<sup>68</sup> dok se prema analogijama ovaj nalaz može uže datirati u razdoblje druge polovice 8. stoljeća.<sup>69</sup>

S lokaliteta Nuštar Dvorac, iz groba 5, potječu 4 identična okova sporednog remena,<sup>70</sup> od kojih je na jednom sačuvan dio tkanine interpretirane kao dio odjeće.<sup>71</sup> Grob se datira u razdoblje 750.-780. godine.

S područja Like (nepoznata nalazišta) u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu čuvaju se dva primjerka<sup>72</sup>. Ovaj lokalitet

the group of finds of Hohenberg type constitutes a special variant of this type.<sup>64</sup>

The group of Hohenberg-type finds is, according to the Hohenberg find itself, considered to be of Byzantine production,<sup>65</sup> but there is a broader group that also includes finds of Avar production, which even date back to the post-Avar period.<sup>66</sup> It is of note that the find presented here is almost identical, in terms of both decoration and dimensions, to the find from Dalmatia (Fig. 12), and likely originates from the same workshop. Additional analyses in the future should confirm or refute this assumption.

Another undoubtedly Avar-period find (Fig. 10-11, Cat. no. 4) originates from the area of Gornji Bogičevci, which, however, without an exact context, may represent either a side belt fitting (which is more likely) or a belt-hole protectors. Namely, these types of finds are relatively similar, and, although the hole protectors are larger in size than the side belt fittings, their size ranges overlap. Although at first glance this seems to be a typical find, in this case, we have a variant that is not often found.

The closest spatial analogy is the find from Borovo, from the Gradac site, which is part of an incompletely preserved belt set from a grave destroyed by the Danube River.<sup>67</sup> The find consists of a bronze buckle frame, a bronze buckle fitting, two side strap ends, and four side strap fittings.

The chance finds from Borovo Gradac are generally dated to the 8th century,<sup>68</sup> while, based on analogies, this particular find can be more precisely dated to the second half of the 8th century.<sup>69</sup>

At the Nuštar Dvorac site, from grave 5, four identical side belt fittings were found,<sup>70</sup> one of which preserved a piece of

65 Daim 2010, 67–68.

66 Szalontai 1996.

67 Hutinec 2013.

68 ADAM 2002, 65.

69 Rapan Papeša 2021b, 356–357.

70 Rapan Papeša 2024.

71 Grömer, Rapan Papeša 2015, 61.

72 Simoni 1986, 218.

64 Szenthe 2020, 514.

65 Daim 2010, 67–68.

66 Szalontai 1996.

67 Hutinec 2013.

68 ADAM 2002, 65.

69 Rapan Papeša 2021b, 356–357.

70 Rapan Papeša 2024.

datira se u razdoblje posljednje četvrtine 8. i prve četvrtine 9. stoljeća.<sup>73</sup>

S lokaliteta Bártok B. U. u Dömösu iz jednog od 11 istraženih grobova imamo sličan okov sporednog remena,<sup>74</sup> a lokalitet se datira u zadnju četvrtinu 7. i 8. stoljeća.<sup>75</sup>

Slične okove, ali u funkciji štitnika za rupice, bilježimo u grobu 142 na lokalitetu Kechnec; riječ je o grobu konjanika i konja.<sup>76</sup> Lokalitet je datiran u 8. i prvu četvrtinu 9. stoljeća,<sup>77</sup> dok sam grob pripada kraju 8. stoljeća.

Okov iz groba 16 na lokalitetu Brodski Drenovac<sup>78</sup>, iako izgleda slično i ima istu vrstu ureza na vrhu za pojas se pričvršćivao sa tri zakovice,<sup>79</sup> pa ga ne uzimamo kao direktnu analogiju. Groblje je datirano u posljednju četvrtinu 8. do kraja polovine 9. stoljeća.<sup>80</sup>

Serijacija J. Zábójnika ne donosi ovaj konkretni primjer, ali općenito gledano može se svrstati u skupinu okova sporednog remena tipa 167, koji se datiraju u vrijeme SS IV (780-800).<sup>81</sup>

Prema podjeli P. Stadlera ovaj tip NRB00410 (*Nebenriemenbeschlag*), s opisom „lijevan – glatki – neukrašen – kruna“, a navodi da su nađeni na 18 lokaliteta (ukupno 18 primjeraka), no ne uzima u obzir različit broj zakovica nego samo oblik i ukras.

Okviri se prema svom obliku, čak i kad nisu ukrašeni vezuju uz tzv. horizont nalaza Blatnica,<sup>82</sup> odnosno s garniturama s gravirano-punciranim ukrasima ili garniturama s dvodijelnim jezičcima s ušicama ukrašenim viticama.<sup>83</sup>

## ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA

Novi i do sada nepoznati nalazi iz okolice Nove Gradiške, na temelju analogija, pripadaju avarodobnim pojasnim garniturama. Kako se radi o predmetima koji nemaju siguran arheološki kontekst, njihov karakter određuje tipologija i kronološka analiza sličnih nalaza s područja Avarije. Prisutnost kasnoavarodobnih populacija na ovom području Hrvatske nije dvojbena ni upitna, a buduća istraživanja trebala bi pružiti više informacija o detaljima koji su trenutno na razini pretpostavki.

Čini se da je prisutnost avarodobnih populacija na južnim granicama Avarije znatno veća nego je to do sada predstavljano u literaturi. Kada razmotrimo povijesne činjenice takav rasplet ne bi trebao iznenađivati. Krajem 8. stoljeća Avarija se našla između velikih sila zapada i istoka – Franačkog i

fabric interpreted as part of an item of clothing.<sup>71</sup> The grave is dated to the period 750–780.

Two examples from unknown sites from the Lika region are kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.<sup>72</sup> These have been dated to the last quarter of the 8th and first quarter of the 9th century.<sup>73</sup>

From one of the 11 excavated graves at the Bártok B. U. site in Dömös comes a similar side belt fitting,<sup>74</sup> with this site having been dated to the last quarter of the 7th and the 8th century.<sup>75</sup>

Similar fittings, though serving the function of belt-hole protectors, were found in grave 142 at the Kechnec site; a double burial of a horseman and his horse.<sup>76</sup> The site is dated to the 8th and the first quarter of the 9th century,<sup>77</sup> while the grave itself belongs to the late 8th century.

The fitting from grave 16 at the Brodski Drenovac site,<sup>78</sup> although similar in appearance and featuring the same type of incision at the top, was attached to the belt with three rivets,<sup>79</sup> and is therefore not considered a direct analogy. The cemetery dates from the last quarter of the 8th to the end of the first half of the 9th century.<sup>80</sup>

J. Zábójnik's seriation does not include this specific example, but, in general, it can be classified as a type 167 side belt fitting, which is dated to the SS IV period (780–800).<sup>81</sup> According to P. Stadler's classification, this type corresponds to NRB00410 (*Nebenriemenbeschlag*), described as "cast – smooth – undecorated – crown-shaped". These fittings were found at 18 sites (a total of 18 specimens), though Stadler does not consider the number of rivets, only shape and decoration.

Such fittings, even when undecorated, are associated with the so-called horizon of the Blatnica finds,<sup>82</sup> i.e. with sets with engraved-punched decorations or sets with two-part strap ends with loops decorated with tendrils.<sup>83</sup>

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

New and previously unknown finds from the vicinity of Nova Gradiška belong, on the basis of analogies, to Avar belt sets. Since these are objects that lack a secure archaeological context, their character is determined by the typology and chronological analysis of similar finds from the area of Avaria. The presence of late Avar populations in this area of Croatia is neither doubtful nor questionable, and future

73 ADAM 2002, 228.

74 MRT 1979, 71.

75 ADAM 2002, 117–118.

76 Pásztor 1971, 131.

77 ADAM 2002, 187.

78 Vinski-Gasparini, Ercegović 1958, 157.

79 Nalaz potječe iz groba žene i nađen je na području vrata uz ogrlicu od perli, što sugerira sekundarnu uporabu, ali raspored rupica i zakovica za pričvršćivanje je drugačiji od našeg.

80 ADAM 2002, 71.

81 Zábójnik 1991, 311.

82 Simoni 1986, 222; termin „Blatnica“ ovdje se koristi samo u svojstvu opisa koji je uvriježen u literaturi za slične nalaze, potpuno svjesni da novija istraživanja pokazuju da takav horizont ne postoji u dosadašnjem tumačenju, a da se slični nalazi okova vezuju uz kasnoavarodobno vrijeme (Robak 2017, 112).

83 Garam 1995, 256.

71 Grömer, Rapan Papeša 2015, 61.

72 Simoni 1986, 218.

73 ADAM 2002, 228.

74 MRT 1979, 71.

75 ADAM 2002, 117–118.

76 Pásztor 1971, 131.

77 ADAM 2002, 187.

78 Vinski-Gasparini, Ercegović 1958, 157.

79 The find comes from the grave of a woman, and was discovered in the neck area alongside a beaded necklace, suggesting secondary use; however, the arrangement of the holes and rivets for attachment differs from that of our specimen.

80 ADAM 2002, 71.

81 Zábójnik 1991, 311.

82 Simoni 1986, 222; the term 'Blatnica' is used here solely as a conventional descriptive label in the literature for similar finds. We are fully aware, however, that recent research indicates that such a horizon does not exist in current interpretations, and that comparable fittings are associated with the Late Avar period (Robak 2017, 112).

83 Garam 1995, 256.

Bugarskog carstva, a konačnoj propasti dodatno su pridonijela i unutarnja previranja<sup>84</sup>.

Distribucija tipoloških sličnih nalaza ocrtava zanimljivu vezu između juga i sjevera Avarije koja polako sve više ulazi u fokus istraživača. Pri tome treba imati na umu da se količina luksuznih predmeta u graničnim područjima na samom kraju kasnoavarodobnog razdoblja drastično povećava. Ovaj porast povezan je s vrijednošću tih područja koja omogućavaju prolaz drugim silama, kao i darovima koji upućuju na zaoštavanje unutarnje konkurencije i uspon elita.<sup>85</sup> U svakom slučaju, prethodno opisani primjerci mogu se povezati s nalazima „međuregionalnog sustava veza na daljinu“ koji je svojstven za elite.<sup>86</sup> U starijoj literaturi elite se tradicionalno povezuje s nalazima dragocjenih metala i /ili oružja; znamo li da se u kasnoavarodobnim grobovima takvi nalazi pojavljuju iznimno rijetko moramo kao odrednicu elite uzeti neke druge elemente<sup>87</sup> vidljive kroz vodoravni i okomiti poredak. Pri tome vodoravni poredak podrazumijeva elite koje oponašaju bizantske i mediteranske utjecaje, a okomiti poredak podrazumijeva privilegirani položaj unutar zajednice. Ove „elite“, pod navodnicima, svojstvene su rubnim područjima Avarije – nisu to elite u pravom smislu riječi, ali su ovi nalazi svakako odraz jedne više klase, koja je možda upravo kroz te nalaze dosegla svoj vrhunac. S druge strane, nalaze se u blizini lokaliteta Brestovac koji svakako spada u elitne nalaze i s oprezom možemo pretpostaviti jednu skupinu kasnoavarodobne elite.<sup>88</sup> Vjerojatno se radi o skupini koja nadgleda prijelaze preko rijeke Save i tako čuva južne granice Avarije.<sup>89</sup> Uključimo li u priču i trasu rimske Posavske magistrale koja je prolazila u blizini dobivamo dodatnu potvrdu, jer znamo da se u avarodobno vrijeme koristila rimska cestovna infrastruktura i komunikacijski pravci.<sup>90</sup>

Sva četiri ovdje predstavljena nalaza vezujemo uz kasnoavarodobnu produkciju druge polovine 8. stoljeća i možemo pretpostaviti da su proizvod vrlo kvalitetne radionice. Distribucija ovakvih nalaza pretpostavlja se da je išla iz nekog centralnog mjesta, poput hringa, zaslužnim pojedincima u važnim mjestima. Osim nalaza s lokaliteta Žitavska ton koji predstavljaju luksuzniju i dimenzijama nešto veću varijantu okova glavnog remena s motivom grožđa, nalazi s juga Avarije (Pivare, Nuštar, Odžaci) pokazuju značajne sličnosti u izradi i dimenzijama, što nas dovodi do pretpostavke da su rad istog majstora. U tom kontekstu, nalazi iz Žitavske Toni predstavlja uzorak, dok su nalazi s juga njegove kopije.

S obzirom na tehnologiju izrade jezičac tipa Hohenberg iz Gornjih Bogičevaca pripada produkciji Karpatske kotline, odnosno avarodobnim radionicama, iako je sam motiv mediteransko – bizantskog podrijetla. Riječ je o skupini nalaza

research should provide more information on aspects that are currently at the level of assumptions.

It seems that the presence of Avar populations on the southern borders of Avaria is significantly greater than has been presented in the literature to date. Considering historical circumstances, such a situation should be of little surprise. At the end of the 8th century, Avaria found itself between the great powers of the West and the East – the Frankish and Bulgarian Empires – and internal turmoil additionally contributed to its final collapse.<sup>84</sup>

The distribution of typologically similar finds outlines an interesting connection between the south and north of Avaria, which is slowly coming under increased focus of researchers. It should be noted that the quantity of luxury items in border areas rose dramatically toward the very end of the Late Avar period. This increase is connected both to the strategic value of these regions, which facilitated the movement of foreign forces, and to the circulation of diplomatic gifts, which are reflective of intensifying internal rivalries and the rise of local elites.<sup>85</sup> In any case, the previously described examples can be linked to findings of an “interregional long-distance communication system” that is characteristic of elites.<sup>86</sup> In older literature, the ‘elite’ are traditionally associated with finds of precious metals and/or weapons. However, since such items are exceptionally rare in Late Avar graves, we must redefine elite status through other indicators<sup>87</sup> visible in both the horizontal and vertical social hierarchy. The horizontal dimension refers to elites that imitated Byzantine and Mediterranean influences, while the vertical dimension indicates privileged positions within the local community. These ‘elites’ are characteristic of the peripheral areas of Avaria; while they are not elites in the true sense of the word, these finds certainly reflect the existence of an upper class, which perhaps reached its peak precisely through such artifacts themselves. On the other hand, they are found near the Brestovac site, whose finds can certainly be categorized as elite, and we can, therefore, cautiously assume a group of Late Avar elite.<sup>88</sup> It is likely that this group oversaw crossings over the Sava River, thus guarding the southern frontiers of the Avar Khaganate.<sup>89</sup> Additional support for this can be derived from the fact that the route of the Roman-era Posavinan Road passed nearby, since it is well known that Avar-period populations continued to use Roman road infrastructure and communication routes.<sup>90</sup>

All four finds presented here are associated with Late Avar-period production from the second half of the 8th century, and it can be assumed that they were products of a highly skilled workshop. The distribution of such finds likely originated from a central location – possibly a *hring* – with the items subsequently being passed on to distinguished individuals in key settlements. Aside from the finds from the Žitavská Tůňa

84 Gračanin 2008; 2009; 2013.

85 Szenthe 2020, 521.

86 Szenthe 2018, 297.

87 Szenthe 2015, 295.

88 Szenthe, Gall 2022, 329, sl. 128.

89 Gračanin 2009, 18, 20, 22.

90 Kovačević 1973 (istočni Srijem); Valent, Zvijerac 2017 (Podravina); Szücs 2015 (Mezőföld); Jurakić 2021.

84 Gračanin 2008; 2009; 2013.

85 Szenthe 2020, 521.

86 Szenthe 2018, 297.

87 Szenthe 2015, 295.

88 Szenthe, Gall 2022, 329, Fig. 128.

89 Gračanin 2009, 18, 20, 22.

90 Kovačević 1973 (for East Srijem); Valent, Zvijerac 2017 (for Podravina); Szücs 2015 (for Mezőföld); Jurakić 2021.

koju u kasnoavarodobnoj produkciji vežemo uz statusni simbol unutar zajednice.<sup>91</sup>

S obzirom na naše detaljnije nepoznavanje područja uz rijeku Savu u ovom razdoblju iz recentnih rasprava o trgovačkim putovima plovni put rijekom Savom je uglavnom izostavljen, ali je logičan i pretpostavljen,<sup>92</sup> uzmemo li u obzir činjenicu da se Dunav smatra jednim od komunikacijskih i trgovačkih pravaca distribucije.<sup>93</sup> Niz (pojedinačnih) nalaza uz rijeku Savu,<sup>94</sup> ali i oni koji joj gravitiraju dopuštaju takvo razmatranje. To je posebno važno u kontekstu luksuznih nalaza iz Požeškog Brestovca i ranosrednjovjekovnog groblja u Bojni.<sup>95</sup> Dodatnu potporu tezi o puno gušćoj naseljenosti nego što pretpostavljamo na osnovu dosadašnjih spoznaja pružaju i novi nalazi – ovdje predstavljeni, ali na primjer i dio naselja istražen u Stružanima.<sup>96</sup>

Područje uz rijeku Savu nedvojbeno je arheološki zanimljivo, ali u fokus istraživača ulazi intenzivnije tek unatrag nekoliko desetljeća. Tradicionalno, uobičajene granice avarodobnih utjecaja do kraja 20. stoljeća uglavnom se postavljala istočno od linije Koprivnica – Suhopolje – Vinkovci – Privilaka – Mitrovica,<sup>97</sup> no upravo niz kasnoavarodobnih nalaza uz Savu upućuju na strateški važne pozicije koje su kontrolirale ili putove ili prijelaze preko rijeke.<sup>98</sup> Ostaje otvoreno pitanje radi li se tu o trajnom naseljavanju<sup>99</sup> ili o zaposjedanju bez jasno definirane, homogene i planirane Vojne granice.<sup>100</sup> U posljednje vrijeme, i strani autori također postavljaju granicu Avarije na Savu, ali više sa stajališta područja utjecaja nego trajnog naseljavanja.<sup>101</sup> Objave nalaza poput onih ovdje predstavljenih trebali bi pridonijeti promijeni percepcije o južnoj granici rasprostranja Avarije.

## ZAHVALE

Autorice se zahvaljuju Slađani Latinović, višoj konzervatori-ci-restauratorici Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu na obradi metalnih nalaza, kao i kolegi dr. sc. G. Szentheu iz Nacionalnog muzeja Mađarske u Budimpešti na pomoći oko rada.

site, which represent a more luxurious and slightly larger variant of the main belt fittings decorated with the grape motif, the finds from the southern regions of the Avar Khaganate (Pivare, Nuštar, Odžaci) bear notable similarities in craftsmanship and dimensions. This supports the assumption that they were made by the same master craftsman. In this context, the find from Žitavská Tôňa can be seen as the prototype, while the southern examples represent its copies.

In terms of production technology, the Hohenberg-type strap end fitting from Gornji Bogićevci belongs to the Carpathian Basin production – i.e. to Avar-period workshops – although the motif itself is of Mediterranean-Byzantine origin. This group of finds within Late Avar production is linked to status symbols within the community.<sup>91</sup>

Due to our still-limited understanding of the area along the Sava river during this period, recent discussions on trade routes have mostly excluded the navigable Sava, though it seems logical to assume it played a role,<sup>92</sup> especially considering that the Danube is recognized as a key communication and trade artery.<sup>93</sup> A series of isolated finds along the Sava<sup>94</sup> – as well as in areas gravitating toward it – supports this assumption. This is particularly significant in the context of luxurious finds from Požeški Brestovac and the early medieval cemetery in Bojna.<sup>95</sup>

Additional evidence for a denser settlement network than previously assumed, based on current knowledge, is provided both by the new finds presented here and by discoveries such as the excavated part of the settlement in Stružani.<sup>96</sup>

The area along the Sava River is undoubtedly archaeologically significant, yet it has only come into sharper research focus in recent decades. Traditionally, until the end of the 20th century, the usual western boundary of Avar-period influence was drawn roughly along the line Koprivnica – Suhopolje – Vinkovci – Privilaka – Mitrovica. However, the numerous Late Avar finds along the Sava point to strategically important locations that controlled routes and river crossings.

It remains an open question as to whether these finds indicate permanent settlement or rather occupation without a clearly defined, homogeneous, or planned military frontier. Recently, foreign scholars have also placed the southern border of the Avar Khaganate along the Sava, viewing it more as a zone of influence than an area of permanent habitation.

Publications of finds such as those presented here should contribute to reshaping our perception of the southern boundary of Avar territory.

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91 Szenthe 2013

92 Bugarski 2022, 360

93 Šmalcelj Novaković 2024, 238

94 Filipec 2003, 126

95 Madiraca et al. 2017, Budak 2019

96 Miklik-Lozok 2012, 43-51

97 Filipec 2003, 125

98 Rapan Papeša 2015

99 Filipec 2015, 35

100 Gračanin 2011, 141

101 Cf. Spánu, Gáll 2016, 188, Fig. 8; Szentpéteri 2019, 146; Bugarski, Cerović 2021, 334

91 Szenthe 2013.

92 Bugarski 2022, 360.

93 Šmalcelj Novaković 2024, 238.

94 Filipec 2003, 126.

95 Madiraca et al. 2017; Budak 2019.

96 Miklik-Lozok 2012, 43-51.

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# Novootkrivena figuralna ploča iz Zavale (Općina Ravno): Ikonografsko-stilska analiza i prilog kontekstualizaciji kamenih ulomaka

## Newly Discovered Relief Slab from Zavala (Ravno Municipality): Iconographic-Stylistic Analysis and a Contribution to the Contextualization of Stone Fragments

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**Sažetak:** U radu je predstavljena novootkrivena, do sada neobjavljena, figuralna reljefna ploča s lokaliteta Crkvina u Zavali, Općina Ravno. Pronađena je 2020. godine unutar perimetra trolisne predromaničke građevine, otkrivene ispod mlađe Male crkve prilikom posljednje faze arheoloških istraživanja. Odlikuje je figuralna kompozicija s predstavom velike ptice s nimбом i bogato obrađen gornji pojas (vijenac). Ploča je analizirana iz ikonografsko-stilskog stajališta i dovedena u odnos s ranije pronađenim figuralnim pločama s istog lokaliteta, kao i s drugom komparativnom građom. Predloženo ikonološko tumačenje reljefa usmjereno je prema simbolici rajskoga vrta i eshatološkim značenjima, naročito nadi u uskrsnuće. Pitanju namjene donje trolisne građevine također je posvećena pažnja. U svjetlu arheoloških nalaza, funerarnog okruženja te ikonografskog repertoara, ova predromanička građevina sada se argumentirano razmatra i kao moguća memorija, a ne isključivo kao crkva. Spoznavanje nove ploče iz različitih uglova doprinosi boljem razumijevanju i kontekstualizaciji zavalske kamene plastike. Time se otvara put novim tumačenjima složene sakralne topografije ovog lokaliteta i, šire gledano, uloge Zavale u stilskim i ikonografskim tokovima ranog srednjeg vijeka.

**Cljučne riječi:** Crkvina u Zavali, kamena plastika, reljefna ploča, predromanika, rani srednji vijek

**Abstract:** This paper presents a newly discovered, previously unpublished, figural relief slab from the site of Crkvina in Zavala, Ravno municipality. It was discovered in 2020 within the perimeters of a triconchal pre-Romanesque structure, which lay beneath the later Small Church (*Mala crkva*) and was uncovered during the final phase of archaeological research. It is characterized by a figural composition featuring a depiction of a large bird with a nimbus and a richly decorated upper band. The slab has been analysed from an iconographic and stylistic perspective, and compared with previously discovered figural slabs from the same site, as well as with other comparative material. The proposed iconological interpretation of the relief is directed toward the symbolism of the Garden of Eden and eschatological meanings, particularly the hope of resurrection. Attention has also been devoted to the question of the function of the lower triconchal (trefoil) structure. Taking into account the archaeological evidence, burial context and iconographic repertoire, it is now argued that this pre-Romanesque structure may have served as a *memoria*, in contrast to the previous interpretation of it having functioned solely as a church. Examining the new slab from different perspectives contributes to a better understanding and contextualization of the stone sculpture from Zavala; this in turn opens a route to new interpretations of the complex sacred topography of this site and, more broadly, the role of Zavala in the stylistic and iconographic developments of the Early Middle Ages.

**Keywords:** Crkvina in Zavala, stone sculpture, relief slab, pre-romanesque, early middle ages

## UVOD

U fokusu istraživanja je velika reljefna ploča s motivom ptice s nimbom (sl. 1, 2) s lokaliteta Crkvina u Zavali, Općina Ravno. Otkrivena je tek 2020. godine, nakon revizijskih istraživanja ovog sakralnog kompleksa. Pronalazak novog ulomka, uz promijenjene okolnosti na terenu i identifikaciju starije, predromaničke trolisne građevine, zahtijeva ponovni uvid u kamenu plastiku iz Zavale, poznatu od ranije, te omogućuje nove spoznaje i tumačenja složene ikonografije kamenih pregrada na prostoru današnje Bosne i Hercegovine u ranom srednjem vijeku.

## INTRODUCTION

This research focuses on a large relief slab featuring a bird with a nimbus (halo) motif (Figs. 1, 2) from the Crkvina site in Zavala, Ravno municipality, discovered in 2020, following a revision of archaeological research of this sacral complex. The discovery of a new fragment, together with a change in fieldwork conditions and the identification of an earlier, pre-Romanesque triconchal structure, requires a renewed examination of the previously known stone sculpture from Zavala, and enables new insights and interpretations of the complex iconography of stone partitions upon the territory of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Early Middle Ages.



Slika 1. Novootkrivena figuralna reljefna ploča iz Zavale (snimila i obradila: A. Mekić).

Figure 1. Newly discovered figural relief slab from Zavala (photography and editing: A. Mekić).



Slika 2. Novootkrivena figuralna reljefna ploča iz Zavale (snimila i obradila: A. Mekić).  
Figure 2. Newly discovered figurative relief slab from Zavala (photography and editing: A. Mekić).



Slika 3. Reljefna ploča 1 iz Zavale (a, b; dimenzije: 78 x 42 x 11 cm). Muzej Hercegovine u Trebinju, inventar Srednjovjekovne arheološke zbirke br. 15 (snimila i obradila: A. Mekić).

Slika 4. Reljefna ploča 2 (a, b; dimenzije 43 x 30 x 13 cm) i reljefna ploča 3 (c; dimenzije 45 x 25 x 16 cm) iz Zavale. Muzej Hercegovine u Trebinju, inventar Srednjovjekovne arheološke zbirke br. 17 i br. 14 (snimila i obradila: A. Mekić).

Figure 3. Relief slab 1 from Zavala (a, b; dimensions: 78 x 42 x 11 cm). Museum of Herzegovina in Trebinje, inventory of the Medieval Archaeological Collection, No. 15 (photography and editing: A. Mekić).

Figure 4. . Relief slab 2 (a, b; dimensions: 43 x 30 x 13 cm) and relief slab 3 (c; dimensions: 45 x 25 x 16 cm) from Zavala. Museum of Herzegovina in Trebinje, inventory of the Medieval Archaeological Collection, Nos. 17 & 14 (photography and editing: A. Mekić).

Ikonografsko-stilske karakteristike ovog nalaza upućuju na povezanost s drugim figuralnim pločama iz Zavale (sl. 3, 4), osobito s velikim reljefom s prikazom dvije ptice, od kojih veća ima nimbu. Već na prvi pogled uočljive su međusobne sličnosti, u pogledu dimenzija, izbora motiva, tehničke izvedbe i stilskih odlika. Izvođenje zaključaka o njihovoj izravnoj povezanosti, ipak, može uslijediti tek nakon detaljnije analize i komparacije.

O kamenoj plastici iz Zavale se opsežno pisalo, uz različite prijedloge i argumentacije za datiranje i stilsko određivanje.<sup>1</sup> Brojne dvojbe, koje su se javljale pri smještanju reljefnih ploča u vremenski kontekst, povezane su s problemom njihovog pripisivanja određenom sakralnom objektu. Pojedini dijelovi, za koje se pretpostavlja da su činili (oltarnu) kamenu pregradu, pronađeni su tek fragmentarno i izmješteni na više lokacija. Stajališta u struci i dalje se razilaze, što je donekle i razumljivo, s obzirom na sve nepoznanice u vezi s objek-

The iconographic and stylistic features of this find indicate a connection with other figural slabs from Zavala (Figs. 3, 4), particularly the large relief showing two birds, one of which – larger in size – bears a nimbus. Initially, mutual similarities are noticeable in terms of dimensions, choice of motifs, technical execution and stylistic features. However, conclusions about their direct connection can only be drawn after a more detailed analysis and comparison.

The stone sculpture from Zavala has long been the subject of extensive scholarly debate, particularly regarding its chronology and stylistic classification.<sup>1</sup> Numerous doubts that arose when temporally positioning the relief slabs were related to the problem of attributing them to a specific sacral object. Certain parts, assumed to have formed the (altar) stone partition, were found only in a fragmented state, and have been relocated to several locations. Scholarly opinions remain divided, which is somewhat understandable given all the uncertainties regarding the structure to which they belonged. The wide range of

<sup>1</sup> Interes prema arheološkom kompleksu Crkva u Zavali, posebno reljefnoj plastici, u svojim radovima su iskazali: Mihajlović 1890; Tihčić-Basler 1957; Vego 1961; Miletić 1984; Jovanović 1986; Palameta 1997; Praštalo 2003, Tomasović 2011; Marasović 2013, i drugi.

<sup>1</sup> Interest in the archaeological complex of Crkva in Zavala, particularly its relief sculpture, has been expressed in the works of: Mihajlović (1890), Tihčić & Basler (1957), Vego (1961), Miletić (1984), Jovanović (1986), Palameta (1997), Praštalo (2003), Tomasović (2011), Marasović (2013), and others.

tom kojem su pripadale. Širok raspon predloženih datacija, koji obuhvata više stoljeća, ujedno ukazuje na jedinstvenost nalaza. Interpretiranje ulomaka dodatno usložnjavaju stilske razlike između pleterne ornamentike i figuralnih predstava, zbog čega su se pojedine skupine ulomaka s istog lokaliteta često u literaturi različito datirale (iako najveća ploča ima vijenacu tropletu, op.a). Iz tih razloga, desetljećima se smatralo da fragmenti potječu iz crkve sv. Petra, čije vrijeme nastanka nije precizno utvrđeno, iako je najčešće datirana u 12. stoljeće.<sup>2</sup> Tek ponovljenim istraživanjima lokaliteta Crkvine u Zavali 2016–2018. godine na svjetlost dana izlazi trolisna, predromanička građevina (moguće iz 9. stoljeća), za koju se dosad nije znalo. Rezultate na terenu dopunjavaju temelji mlađe crkve (10–11. stoljeće), te ostatci novovjekovnog sakralnog objekta. Ovi nalazi bitno mijenjaju kontekst i nameću potrebu ponovnog razmatranja pitanja podrijetla i funkcije kamene plastike iz Zavale, pri čemu novootkrivena figuralna ploča postaje ključni element u njezinoj rekontekstualizaciji i reinterpretaciji.<sup>3</sup>

proposed datings – spanning several centuries – simultaneously indicates the uniqueness of the find. Stylistic differences between the interlace decoration and the figural representations further complicate the interpretation of the fragments, which explains why some groups from the same site have been assigned differing dates in scholarly works (author's note: even though the largest slab contains an upper band in a triple braid motif). Accordingly, it was long held that the fragments originated from the Church of St. Peter, a building whose exact construction date remains unclear, though it is typically dated to the 12th century.<sup>2</sup> New archaeological investigations conducted at the Crkvina site between 2016 and 2018 have significantly transformed this picture, revealing a previously unknown triconchal building of pre-Romanesque character, possibly dating to the 9th century. The field results are complemented by the foundations of a later church (10th–11th century) and the remains of an Early Modern sacral structure. Altogether, this new evidence substantially alters the context, and calls for a renewed examination of the provenance and function of the Zavala stone sculpture, with the newly identified figural slab assuming a key role in this process.<sup>3</sup>

- 2 Prijedlozi datiranja sakralnih objekata u Zavali često su vezani za vrijeme njihove gradnje ili kameni namještaj, pri čemu su iznesena stajališta neujednačena. Tihčić i Basler su, u kraćem izvješću, analizirajući reljefnu plastiku predložili vrijeme izgradnje u drugu polovicu 11. stoljeća. Ističu da su reljefi nastali kada se već formirala zrela pleterna skulptura (između 9. i prve polovice 11. stoljeća). Također napominju da se pojava predmeta simboličnog značenja – kakvi su krug oko glave pauna i posuda – javlja krajem tog perioda (u drugoj polovici 11. stoljeća), kada počinje preplitanje i miješanje starih oblika pletera s tendencijama rane romantike (Tihčić, Basler 1957, 111). Za razliku od njih, Vego je, na osnovu načina gradnje te pojave pleternog ornamenta, datirao u drugu polovicu 12. stoljeća i crkvu i kamenu plastiku (Vego 1959, 199). Miletić, nešto kasnije, reljefe s pticama datira u 11. ili 12. stoljeće, a kamenu plastiku s pleternim ukrasom smatra izrazitim predstavnikom predromaničke umjetnosti, karakterističnim za vrijeme 9.-10. stoljeća (Miletić 1984, 400-401; 2001, 7, 10). Jovanović pleternu plastiku smješta u 9.-10. stoljeće, uz naglasak da ove fragmente smatra spolijama u crkvi sv. Petra, dok ploče s pticama datira u vrijeme njezine gradnje – 11. ili rani 12. vijek (Jovanović 1986, 78). Ovih spomenika dotiče se i Jurković, koji ih datira u 10. stoljeće (Jurković 1987, 111). U Arheološkom leksikonu BiH, Glavaš navodi da je crkva sv. Petra imala kamenu oltarnu ogradu ukrašenu predromaničkim ornamentom, te da je, na osnovu solidne gradnje, datirana u 12. stoljeće. Istovremeno ističe da stilske osobine kamenog namještaja upućuju na znatno raniji period, na 9. stoljeće (Glavaš 1988, 171). Tridesetak godina nakon svog prvog teksta, Basler ponovo analizira plastiku iz Zavale. Pripisuje je crkvi sv. Petra te je, kao i nju, datira u 11. stoljeće (Basler 1990, 119). To čini i Marasović (2013, 328-330). On ploče, s reljefima ptica i pleternom ornamentikom, kao i Basler, veže za istu oltarnu pregradu. Uz to Basler sugerira postojanje neke još starije crkve, koja bi se mogla nalaziti na obližnjoj lokaciji Mihalje. (Basler 1990, 119). Vego napominje da su 1957. na tom mjestu izvršena probna iskopavanja, ali bez rezultata. Registrirano je tek manje groblje i profilirani fragment s motivom križa (Vego 1959, 184). Miletić, pozivajući se na taj nalaz, sugerira da se naziv Mihalje može vezati uz crkvu sv. Mihalja koja je nekad tu mogla postojati (Miletić 2001, 10). Spomenuta razmatranja o lokalitetu i spomenicima sada su vrlo indikativna s obzirom na nedavna otkrića starijih objekata.
- 3 Praštalo iznosi mišljenje da su reljefne ploče, koje datira u 9. stoljeće, dijelovi oltarne pregrade starije crkve, otkrivene unutar kompleksa manastira Vavedenja Presvete Bogorodice u Zavali (Praštalo 2003, 195). Na tom tragu, uporište nalazi i Okilj (Okilj 2010, 57-62). Podudarnost u širini naosa pomenute crkve i ponuđene rekonstrukcije oltarne pregrade (Praštalo, op.cit., tabla IV) tumači se kao argument da je ona odatle prenesena u crkvu sv. Petra. Prethodne stavove, sada kada raspoložemo rezultatima posljednjih arheoloških istraživanja, ne možemo smatrati znanstveno relevantnim.

- 2 Proposals for dating the sacral buildings in Zavala are often tied to either the time of their construction or the stone furnishings, and the views put forward are not uniform. Tihčić and Basler, in a brief report, analysed the relief sculpture and proposed the second half of the 11th century as the time of construction. They emphasize that the reliefs were created when mature interlace sculpture had already been formed (between the 9th and the first half of the 11th centuries). They also note that the appearance of objects of symbolic meaning – such as the circle around the peacock's head and the vessel situated between two birds – occurs at the end of that period (in the second half of the 11th century), when the interweaving and blending of older interlace forms with tendencies of early Romanesque begins (Tihčić, Basler 1957, 111). In contrast, Vego, based on the construction technique and the appearance of interlace ornament, dated both the church and the stone sculpture to the second half of the 12th century (Vego 1959, 199). Somewhat later, Miletić dated the reliefs with birds to the 11th or 12th century, while considering the stone sculpture with interlace decoration to be a pronounced representative of pre-Romanesque art, characteristic of the 9th to 10th centuries (Miletić 1984, 400-401; 2001, 7, 10). Jovanović places the interlace sculpture in the 9th to 10th centuries, emphasizing that he considers these fragments to be spolia in the Church of St. Peter, dating the slabs with birds to the time of its construction – the 11th or early 12th century (Jovanović 1986, 78). These monuments are also addressed by Jurković, who dates them to the 10th century (Jurković 1987, 111). In the Archaeological Lexicon of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Glavaš states that the Church of St. Peter had a stone altar screen decorated with pre-Romanesque ornament, and that, based on its solid construction, it dates to the 12th century. At the same time, he pointed out that the stylistic features of the stone furnishings indicate a much earlier period, namely the 9th century (Glavaš 1988, 171). About thirty years after his first text, Basler reanalysed the sculpture from Zavala, attributing it to the Church of St. Peter and dating it, like the church itself, to the 11th century (Basler 1990, 119). The same conclusion was drawn by Marasović (2013, 328-330). He, like Basler, connected the slabs with reliefs of birds and interlace ornamentation to the same altar screen. In addition, Basler suggested the existence of an even older church, which might have been located at the nearby site of Mihalje (Basler 1990, 119). Vego notes that trial excavations were carried out at that site in 1957, but without results; only a small cemetery and a profiled fragment with a cross motif were recorded (Vego 1959, 184). Referring to this find, Miletić suggests that the name Mihalje may be linked to a (hypothetical) Church of St. Michael that may once have existed there (Miletić 2001, 10). These considerations of the site and its monuments are now highly indicative of this in light of recent discoveries of earlier structures.
- 3 Praštalo expresses the opinion that the relief slabs, which he dated to the 9th century, are parts of the altar screen of an older church, discovered within the complex of the Monastery of the Presentation of the Virgin in Zavala (Praštalo 2003, 195). In this regard, Okilj also lends support to this in her writings on the monastery (Okilj 2010, 57-62). The correspondence between the width of the deposit of the mentioned church and the proposed reconstruction of the altar screen (Praštalo 2003, slab IV) is interpreted as an argument that it was transferred from there to the Church of St. Peter. These earlier views, now that we have the results of recent archaeological research, can no longer be considered scientifically relevant.

## TROLISNA PREDROMANIČKA GRAĐEVINA NA CRKVINI: TIPOLOŠKA ANALIZA I RAZMATRANJE FUNKCIJE

Nakon nepotpuno provedenih arheoloških iskopavanja na Crkvini u Zavali 1957. godine, fokusiranih na prostor crkve sv. Petra,<sup>4</sup> na inicijativu Općine Ravno 2016. godine pristupa se ponovnim istraživanjima.<sup>5</sup> Tada su istražena 42 groba na ovom lokalitetu te su ispod podnice Male crkve (ranije u literaturi neutemeljeno nazivane crkva sv. Petke) i drugih građevnih slojeva pronađeni temelji starijeg, devastiranog objekta. Radilo se o manjoj, do tada nepoznatoj sakralnoj građevini predromaničkog doba, s trolisnim tlocrtom koji se ne podudara s temeljima crkve izgrađene iznad, već se s njima presijeca (sl. 5, 6). O ovom otkriću već je pisano.<sup>6</sup> U tom radu su predočeni rezultati istraživanja provedenih u periodu

## THE TRICONCHAL PRE-ROMANESQUE STRUCTURE AT CRKVINA: TYPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS AND CONSIDERATION OF FUNCTION

After limited archaeological work conducted at Crkvina in Zavala in 1957, which was centred on the Church of St. Peter,<sup>4</sup> research was resumed in 2016 at the initiative of the Municipality of Ravno.<sup>5</sup> At that time, 42 burials were excavated at the site, and below the floor level of the Small Church (earlier, though without basis, referred to in the literature as the Church of St. Petka), along with additional construction layers, the foundations of an older, destroyed building were identified. It was a small, previously unknown, sacral structure of the pre-Romanesque period, with a triconch plan that does not correspond to the foundations of the church built over it, but rather intersects with them (Figs. 5, 6). This



Slika 5. Zračni snimak trikonhalne građevine na Crkvini u Zavali. Oznakom 'X' označeno mjesto pronalaska reljefne ploče (arhiva S. Vasilj, snimio: Vjekoslav Burić).  
*Figure 5. Aerial view of the triconchal building at Crkvina site in Zavala. The location at which the relief slab was found is marked with an 'X' (archive of S. Vasilj, photography: Vjekoslav Burić).*

4 Arheološko iskopavanje na Crkvini pod vodstvom M. Vege izvršeno je u svega nekoliko dana, od 1. do 11.7.1957. godine (Vego 1959, 180, zabilješka 5).  
5 Istraživanja je predvodila S. Vasilj, a projekt je realiziran od 2016. do 2018. godine u suradnji Općine Ravno, Federalnog ministarstva kulture i sporta i Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika FBiH. Rezultati objavljeni u časopisu *Hercegovina*. Vasilj 2018, 49-86.  
6 Vasilj 2018, 49-86. Iako su dimenzije prikazane u tom tekstu (Vasilj 2018, 68), za potrebe ovoga rada izvršena su dodatna mjerenja, kako bi se razmotrila mogućnost postojanja kamene pregrade unutar datog objekta.

4 Archaeological excavations at Crkvina, led by M. Vego, were conducted over a brief period from 1 to 11 July 1957 (Vego 1959, 180, note 5).  
5 The research was directed by S. Vasilj and conducted between 2016 and 2018 in collaboration with the Municipality of Ravno, the Federal Ministry of Culture and Sport, and the Institute for the Protection of Monuments of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The findings were published in the journal *Hercegovina* (Vasilj 2018).



Slika 7. Trikonhalna predromanička građevina ispod Male crkve na Crkvini: pogled s vrha središnje konhe ka zapadu (a) i iz predvorja prema istoku (b) (snimila: A. Mekić).

Figure 7. Triconchal pre-Romanesque building below the Small Church at Crkvina site: view from the top of the central conch to the west (a) and from the vestibule to the east (b) (photography: A. Mekić).

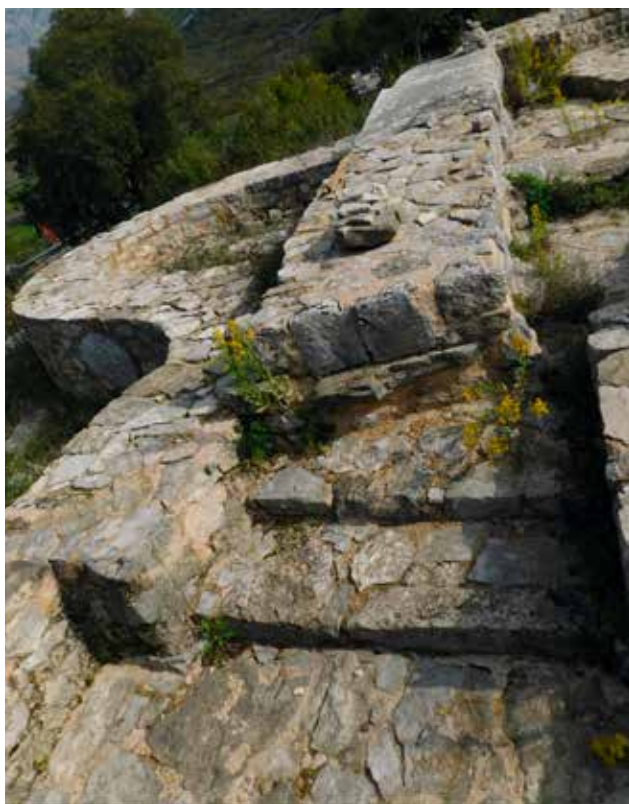


i južna – istražene su, dok je središnja, presječena gornjim strukturama sa stećcima, ostala neistražena. Vanjska širina bočnih konhi, izmjerena na najizbočenijem dijelu, je cca 4,30 m (sa zidovima, a bez zidova 3 m). Dubina im je cca. 1,75 m. Istočna je manja, širine cca 2,75 m, dok se njezina dubina ne može izmjeriti. Širina enterijera između konhi, odnosno u ravni pravolinijskog dijela bočnih zidova je cca. 3 m. To bi potencijalno mogla biti maksimalna širina pregrade parapetnog tipa, ukoliko je postojala i bila konstruirana tako da pregrađuje čitav trikonhalni završetak objekta. U iznimnom slučaju, ukoliko je bio pregrađen samo prostor središnje konhe, ili neki drugi dio prostora, njezina širina bi bila nešto manja.<sup>9</sup> Pri razmatranju objekta kao memorije, važno je naglasiti da takve građevine mogu imati kamenu pregradu, kao vid obilježavanja sakralnog fokusa unutar objekta (u

designed.<sup>8</sup> However, this part of the space was ultimately articulated so that it formed the entrance tract alongside the vestibule, and due to the lack of clearer archaeological indications, this issue is being left aside for now. The two lateral conches – northern and southern – have been investigated, while the central one, intersected by upper structures incorporating reused *stećak* tombstones, has remained unexplored. The external width of the lateral conches, measured at the most protruding point, is approximately 4.30 m (including walls) and 3.0 m without them. Their depth is about 1.75 m. The eastern conch is smaller, having a width of about 2.75 m, while its depth cannot be measured. The width of the interior between the conches, that is, along the plane of the straight sections of the side walls, is approximately 3.0 m. This could represent the maximum width of a parapet-type partition, if one existed and was constructed to divide the entire triconchal end of the building. In an exceptional case, if only the space of the central conch or another part of the interior had been partitioned, its width would have been

<sup>9</sup> Za rekonstrukcije raznovrsnih rješenja oltarnih pregrada vidj. Marasović 2007; 2008, 316-325 (T. III: 1-2). U najvećem broju centralnih polikonalnih građevina nalazila se po sredini crkve. U mnogim ranosrednjovjekovnim crkvama u Dalmaciji sačuvana je baza oltarne pregrade, koju čini stepenica što dijeli niži prostor za vjernike (*quadratum populi*) od povišene razine prezbiterija. Da je stepenica zaista bila u funkciji podnožja oltarne ograde, prepoznaje se po udubinama, koje u mnogim slučajevima pokazuju položaj pluteja i pilastra, odnosno raspon ulaza u prezbiterij. Marasović 2008, 324-326.

<sup>8</sup> Minor differences can be noted between the architectural plan and the current state of preservation in this part of the structure: the plan (Fig. 6) indicates more rounded transitions at the conches, while the photographs (Figs. 5, 7) show angular ones.



Slika 8. Predvorje (desno) i stepenice koje vode iz predvorja u glavnu prostoriju (lijevo) (snimila: A. Mekić).

Figure 8. Lobby (right) and stairs leading from the lobby to the main room (left) (photography: A. Mekić).



slučaju memorije najčešće groba), ali i kao svojevrsnu liturgijsku barijeru – zavisno od koncepcije i specifične upotrebe samog objekta u okviru zajednice.

Građevina, s obzirom na tipološke odlike, gotovo sigurno pripada stilu predromanike, te se može okvirno datirati u vrijeme između 9. i 11. stoljeća.<sup>10</sup> Na tlu Bosne i Hercegovine do danas je poznato tek nekoliko primjera sličnih, ali ne i identičnih rješenja, i ne iz istog vremenskog razdoblja. Trolisni plan općenito je rjeđa, iako ne i neuobičajena pojava u predromanici na ovim prostorima, jer period od 9. do 11. stoljeća obiluje raznim varijantama osnova građevina, posebno onima centralnog plana.<sup>11</sup> Tako je na ovom području reprezentativna pojava trikonhalnog oblikovanja istočnog dijela sakralnog objekta, u znatno većim razmjerima (ukupne dimenzije 24,80 x 15m), registrirana kod rano-kršćanske bazilike u Cimu kod Mostara.<sup>12</sup> Imala je slično formiran trolisni istočni dio, ali većih dimenzija i složenijeg tlocrta. U istom kompleksu se nalazi drugi trolisni objekt – identificiran kao memorija ili grobna crkva, skoro identične

somewhat smaller.<sup>9</sup> If considering the structure as a memoria, it is important to emphasize that such buildings may include a stone partition as a way of marking the sacred focal point within the structure (in the case of a memoria, most often a grave), but also as a kind of liturgical barrier; this is dependent on the concept and specific use of the structure within the community.

Based on its typological characteristics, the building can almost certainly be assigned to the pre-Romanesque style and dated roughly between the 9th and 11th centuries.<sup>10</sup> Upon the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, only a few examples of similar, though not identical, solutions are known to date, and not from the same time period. The triconch plan is generally a more rare, though not unusual, occurrence in the pre-Romanesque architecture of this region, as the period from the 9th to the 11th centuries abounds in building plan variants, especially those of the central plan.<sup>11</sup> Thus, a representative example of triconch articulation of the eastern part of a sacral structure in these regions, on a significantly larger scale (total dimensions 24.80 x 15 m), has been recorded in the early Christian basilica in Cim, near Mostar.<sup>12</sup> It had a similarly formed triconchal eastern section, but was considerably larger and of a more complex plan. Within the same complex exists a smaller triconchal structure – identified as a memoria or funerary church (Pl. II: 2) – almost identical in plan to the triconch in Zavala, as suggested by its dimensions (approx. 11.80 x 5.30 m). As in Zavala, the church contained several burials, and stone fragments were set into the flooring in front of the central conch. Anđelić assumes

10 U 12. stoljeću u Primorju već iščezavaju predromaničke građevine centralnog tipa. Subotić 1963, 14.

11 Bošković 1962, 178–184; Subotić 1963, 12–15. Kao primjeri građevina trikonhalne osnove iz razdoblja predromanike u Primorju navode se sv. Krševan na Krku i sv. Nikola kod Nina (T. II: 4), kao i crkve u Drivasti u oblasti Skadra te Zatonu na Limu. Subotić, 1963. 14–15. Tlocrt crkve u Zatonu, s pravokutnim predvorjem, najbližnji je zavalskoj trolisnoj građevini (T. II: 1)

12 Anđelić 1976, 179–244.

9 For reconstructions of various solutions of altar screens, see Marasović 2007; 2008, 316–325 (Pl. III: 1–2). In the majority of central polyconch buildings, the altar screen was located in the middle of the church. In many Early Medieval churches in Dalmatia, the base of the altar screen has been preserved, consisting of a step that separates the lower space for the worshippers (*quadratum populi*) from the elevated level of the presbytery. That the step indeed functioned as the base of the altar screen is evident through indentations, which in many cases indicate the position of the plutei and pilasters, i.e. the span of the entrance to the presbytery (Marasović 2008, 324–326).

10 In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, pre-Romanesque buildings of the central type had already disappeared from the Littoral (Subotić 1963, 14).

11 Bošković 1962, 178–184; Subotić 1963, 12–15. Examples of buildings with a triconch plan from the pre-Romanesque period in the Littoral include St. Chrysogonus on Krk and St. Nicholas near Nin (Pl. II: 4), as well as churches in Drivast in the region of Shkodra and in Zaton on the river Lim (Subotić 1963, 14–15). The ground plan of the church in Zaton, with a rectangular vestibule, is most similar to the trilobed structure in Zavala (Pl. II: 1).

12 Anđelić 1976, 179–244.

osnove kao trikonhos u Zavali (T. II: 2, 5), na što sugeriraju i male dimenzije (cca. 11,80 x 5,30 m). Kao u Zavali i u ovoj crkvi su pronađeni višestruki ukopi, a ispred središnje konhe i kameni fragmenti, ukomponirani u podnicu. Za njih Anđelić pretpostavlja da bi mogli biti ostatci oltarne pregrade.<sup>13</sup> Komparacijom rasporeda, izgleda zidova i prostorija, uočava se sličnost u oblikovanju predvorja i prolaza. Veća razlika je u tome što trikonhos u Cimu ima nešto pravilniju osnovu, uz manje izražene bočne konhe. Trolisni tlocrt zabilježen je i na crkvi sv. Pavla u Čičevu kod Trebinja, tj. paraklesionu posvećenom sv. Petru (T. II: 3).<sup>14</sup> U arheološkoj literaturi nerijetko se javljaju nedoumice oko datiranja objekata ovog tipa.<sup>15</sup> S tim u vezi stoji i tvrdnja Subotića da se podrijetlo građevina trolisnog tlocrta u predromanici može naslutiti iz starijeg perioda, pri čemu razlog za to, prema njegovom mišljenju, leži u kontinuitetu graditeljstva mediteranskog područja, koje je čuvalo pojedine arhitektonske tipove ili se inspirisalo njima.<sup>16</sup> Na tlu Hrvatske nisu rijetke šesterolisne i troapsidalne predromaničke građevine, no među njima su rjeđe one s tri apside koje nisu grupirane, već artikuliraju trolisni završetak građevine, kakav ima i ona u Zavali.<sup>17</sup> U kontekstu interpretacije funkcije ovakvih objekata važno je istaći i Vežićev zaključak da su dalmatinski trikonhosi u svojoj najranijoj fazi nastajali kao kršćanske memorije, zadržavajući kroz rani srednji vijek memorijalno-funerarnu funkciju, iako su pojedini primjeri kasnije prerastali u crkve.<sup>18</sup>

S obzirom na arheološke nalaze na lokalitetu Crkvina u Zavali i njegovoj okolini – više sakralnih objekata, kamenu plastiku i višestruke ukope – jasno se očituje dugotrajan sakralni kontinuitet ovoga mjesta, očuvan u tradiciji lokalnog stanovništva.<sup>19</sup> Pitanje preciznijeg vremenskog određenja, namjene, kao i okolnosti devastiranja predromaničke građevine u Zavali ostaje otvoreno.<sup>20</sup> Trolisnoj građevini trebalo bi posvetiti dodatnu pažnju kroz istraživanja na terenu i izvan

that these could be remains of an altar screen.<sup>13</sup> By comparing the arrangement, the appearance of walls and the layout of rooms, similarities can be seen in the design of the vestibule and passageways. A major difference is that the triconch in Cim has a somewhat more regular plan, with less pronounced lateral conches. A triconchal plan is also recorded in the Church of St. Paul in Čičevo, near Trebinje, namely in the paraklesion dedicated to St. Peter (Pl. II: 3).<sup>14</sup> In archaeological literature, uncertainties regarding the dating of structures of this type are not uncommon.<sup>15</sup> In this regard, Subotić's claim – i.e. that the origin of triconch-plan structures of the pre-Romanesque period can be sensed in earlier periods – is also relevant, with the reason for this, in his opinion, lying "in the continuity of Mediterranean architecture, which preserved certain architectural types or drew inspiration from them."<sup>16</sup> In addition to these, upon the territory of Croatia, hexaconch and triapsidal pre-Romanesque structures are not uncommon, but among them those with three apses that are not grouped, but instead articulate a trefoil termination, such as that of the structure in Zavala, are rarer.<sup>17</sup> In the context of interpreting the function of such structures, it is also important to emphasize Vežić's conclusion that Dalmatian triconchs, in their earliest phase, emerged as Christian memoriae, retaining a memorial-funerary function throughout the Early Middle Ages, although some examples later developed into churches.<sup>18</sup>

Given the archaeological finds at Crkvina and its surroundings – multiple sacral structures, stone sculpture and multiple burials – a long-lasting sacral continuity of this place is clearly evident, preserved in the tradition of the local population.<sup>19</sup>

The question of a more precise chronological determination and purpose, as well as the circumstances of the devastation of the pre-Romanesque structure in Zavala remains open.<sup>20</sup>

13 Anđelić 1976, 184–188.

14 Plan ovog objekta je nešto složeniji. Osim što je dimenzijama veći: 14 x 6,30 m, kao i objekt u Zavali imao je nartheks (2,30 x 5,10 m), tri apside, polukružno oblikovane s uglovima između konhi. S vanjske strane zidovi su bili zaravnjeni tako da su činili oblik trapeza. Popović 1973, 313–346.

15 Crkva sv. Pavla, prvobitno datirana u 12. stoljeće (Popović, op.cit), s otkrićem baptisterija s piscinom 2001. godine, datira se u kasnoantičko doba (Janković 2002, 99–124).

16 Subotić 1963, 15. Cf. Jurković 1988. Među recentnijim istraživanjima posebno se izdvaja rad P. Vežića (2011) o genezi i tipologiji dalmatinskih trikonhosa, s posebnim osvrtom na njihovu funkciju.

17 Cf. Vežić 2011; 2012; Marasović 2008–2013; Jakšić 1997. Oblik njihove osnove se povezuje s bizantskim i karolinškim utjecajima tijekom 9. stoljeća. Jarak 1998, 119–125; Jurković 2000, 167–173, 186–189. Opa. Naglašava se da se građevine centralnog tipa, najčešće posvećene Mariji ili arhandelu Mihovilu, profiliraju kao privatne kapele memorijalnog ili funerarnog karaktera što proizilazi iz antičkih i kasnoantičkih mauzoleja. Imale su oltarne pregrade koje su apside dijelile od ostatka prostora. Jurković 2000, 186.

18 Vežić 2011, 56.

19 U ranom srednjem vijeku moguće je pratiti kontinuitet kršćanskih kulturnih mjesta. Nerijetko se ranosrednjovjekovne crkve grade neposredno iznad starokršćanskih te su služile u obnovi bogoslužja. Rapanić 1986, 12–13. Ovakav model kontinuiteta aktualan je i u ranom i razvijenom srednjem vijeku. Prepoznaje se i u Zavali, gdje je kroz više faza gradnje i ukopa zabilježeno dugotrajno zadržavanje sakralne funkcije prostora.

20 Prilikom istraživanja terena, u i oko trolisnog objekta uočeni su tragovi paljevine do 0,30 m, što upućuje na požar većih razmjera. Iznad predromaničke crkve utvrđeni su ostatci manje jednobrodne građevine sa sprastom apsidom. U 15. stoljeću postavljaju se i stećci, koji su se prilikom treće graditeljske faze našli u strukturi novovjekovne crkve. Vasilj 2018, 54, 67, 71.

13 Anđelić 1976, 184–188.

14 The plan of this structure is somewhat more complex. In addition to being larger in dimensions (14 x 6.30 m), like the structure in Zavala, it had a narthex (2.30 x 5.10 m) and three apses, semi-circular in form, with angles between the conches. On the exterior, the walls were levelled to form a trapezoidal shape (Popović 1973, 313–346).

15 The Church of St. Paul, initially dated to the 12th century (Popović 1973), was reassigned to the Late Antique period following the discovery of a baptistery with a piscina in 2001 (Janković 2002).

16 Subotić 1963, 15; cf. Jurković 1988. Among more recent research, the work of P. Vežić (2011) on the genesis and typology of Dalmatian triconchs, with particular reference to their function, stands out.

17 cf. Vežić 2011; 2012; Marasović 2008; 2013; Jakšić 1997. The form of their ground plans is associated with Byzantine and Carolingian influences during the 9th century (Jarak 1998; Milošević 2013, 167–173, 186–189). It is emphasized in the text that central-type buildings – most often dedicated to Mary or the Archangel Michael – were profiled as private chapels of a memorial or funerary character, deriving from ancient and Late Antique mausolea. They had altar screens that separated the apses from the rest of the space (Milošević 2013, 186).

18 Vežić 2011, 56.

19 A continuity of Christian cult places can be traced through the Early Middle Ages. Early Medieval churches were often built directly above early Christian ones, and served in the renewal of liturgy (Rapanić 1986, 12–13). This model of continuity is present in both the Early and the developed (High) Middle Ages. It is also recognizable in Zavala, where, through several phases of construction and burial, a long-lasting preservation of the sacral function of the space is evident.

20 During field investigations, traces of burning of depths up to 0.30 m were observed in and around the trilobed structure, indicating a fire of considerable scale. Above the pre-Romanesque church, remains of a smaller single-nave building with a sickle-shaped apse were identified. In the 15th century, *stećci* were also placed, which, during the third construction phase, became incorporated into the structure of a Modern period church (Vasilj 2018, 54, 67, 71).

njega, međutim, cilj ovoga rada primarno je usmjeren na novopronađenu figuralnu reljefnu ploču te na nove spoznaje i moguće (re)interpretacije koje ovaj nalaz donosi.

### **NOVOOTKRIVENA RELJEFNA PLOČA: OKOLNOSTI PRONALASKA I KONTEKSTUALIZIRANJE NALAZA**

U jesen 2020. godine, u pripremi restauracije i konzervacije prostora oko Male crkve, obavljen je naknadni uvid u teren, prilikom čega je došlo do novog otkrića. Pažljivijim promatranjem svakog od pojedinačnih komada kamena, u potrazi za profiliranim fragmentima koji ranije nisu uočeni, ispod jednog stećka, iskorištenog za konstrukciju zida mlađeg objekta, ukazao se rijedak nalaz – oveća ploča s dobro očuvanom figuralnom kompozicijom u plitkom reljefu. (sl. 9, 10; T. I: 1, 2). U odnosu na prostor trolisne građevine, koju presijeca spomenuti zid s ugrađenim stećkom, ploča je bila pozicionirana otprilike u sjecište između njezine tri konhe, a stajala je licem prema dolje (sl. 5: mjesto pronalaska označeno znakom 'X'). Trenutno se čuva u Biospeleološkom muzeju Vjetrenica u Zavali.

The triconchal structure should be given additional attention through both field and off-site research; however, the primary focus of this paper is the newly discovered figural relief slab, as well as new insights and possible (re)interpretations that this find brings.

### **THE NEWLY DISCOVERED RELIEF SLAB: CIRCUMSTANCES OF DISCOVERY AND CONTEXTUALIZATION OF THE FIND**

In the autumn of 2020, during preparations for the restoration and conservation of the area surrounding the Small Church, an additional field survey was conducted, resulting in a new discovery. Through more careful observation of each piece of stone, in search of previously unnoticed profiled fragments, beneath a stećak tombstone reused in the construction of the wall of a later structure, a rare find appeared; a large slab with a well-preserved figural composition in shallow relief (Figs. 9, 10; Pl. I: 1, 2). In relation to the space of the triconchal structure, which is intersected by the aforementioned wall with built-in stećak, the slab was positioned approximately at the intersection of its three conches



Slika 9. Pronalazak reljefne ploče tijekom revizije terena na Crkvini u Zavali (snimila: S. Vasilj).

Figure 9. Discovery of the relief slab during the revision of the terrain at Crkvina site (photography: S. Vasilj).



Slika 10. Mjesto i položaj ploče prilikom pronalaska (snimila: S. Vasilj).

Figure 10. Place and position of the slab at the time of discovery (photography: S. Vasilj).

U kontekstu pronalaska ploče i razmatranja pripadnosti zavalske kamene plastike trolisnom objektu, bez obzira na njegovu moguću funkciju, bitno je podvući činjenicu da se na ostatcima zidova ne mogu uočiti nikakve fizičke naznake kamene ograde. Zapravo, na terenu se ne zamjećuju nikakvi arheološki indikatori postojanja određenog oblika pregradne konstrukcije, a naročito pripadnosti pronađenih fragmenata ovom objektu, što ne isključuje tu mogućnost. Pitanje je, koliko je širina unutarnjeg prostora objekta (cca. 2,85 m) bila dovoljna za smještaj konstrukcije kojoj bi potencijalno pripadale sve dosad pronađene parapetne ploče (one za koje se čini da bi mogle pripadati istoj cjelini), pogotovo ukoliko se pretpostavi da je oltarna pregrada imala izgled uobičajen za doba predromanike, koji je uključivao i prolaz po sredini (T. III: 1, 2).<sup>21</sup> Na takav izgled ukazuju forma i dimenzije pronađenih fragmenata (ploče i stupići), a funkciju im potvrđuje i to što su ploče imale uglavne elemente

and was lying face down (Fig. 5: findspot marked with an "X"). It is currently kept in the Vjetrenica Biospeleological Museum in Zavala.

Regarding the discovery of the slab and the potential attribution of the Zavala stone sculpture to the triconchal structure, regardless of its function, it must be stressed that the preserved walls show no evidence of a stone partition. In fact, no archaeological indicators of the existence of any form of partition structure are noticeable on site, especially none that would confirm the association of the discovered fragments with such a structure, although this possibility cannot be excluded. This raises the question of whether the interior width (approximately 2.85 m) is sufficient to accommodate a structure to which the discovered parapet slabs – apparently belonging to the same ensemble – might be attributed, particularly if one assumes a pre-Romanesque altar screen included a central passage (Pl. III: 1, 2).<sup>21</sup>

21 Primjera radi, ponuđena rekonstrukcija oltarne pregrade prema Praštalo (T. III: 3) je širine 3,76 m, a uključuje nekolicinu (ne sve) ploča iz Zavale, pri čemu sve tri ploče s pticama (bez novootkrivene ploče, op.a). Praštalo 2003, T-IV. Njegov prijedlog odgovara tzv. visokom tipu s trabeacijom, čestom u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Dalmaciji. Marasović 2007, 102. Za uobičajeni izgled i tipove oltarnih pregrada Cf. Marasović, *Ibid.* i Petricioli 1986, 39–46.

21 For example, the proposed reconstruction of the altar screen according to Praštalo (Pl. III: 3) has a width of 3.76 m and incorporates several (but not all) slabs from Zavala, including all three slabs with birds (note by author: excluding the newly discovered slab) (Praštalo 2003, Pl. IV). His proposal corresponds to the so-called high type with trabeation, common in Early Medieval Dalmatia (Marasović 2007, 102). For the usual appearance and types of altar screens, see Marasović (*ibid.*) and Petricioli 1986, 39–46.



Slika 11. Donji, oštećeni dio novootkrivene ploče (snimila i obradila: A. Mekić).

Figure 11. Lower, damaged part of the newly discovered slab (photography and editing: A. Mekić).

na bočnim stranama. To je posebno uočljivo na novoj ploči, gdje su vidljivi vertikalni istaci na obje bočne strane (sl. 12), što dodatno ukazuje da je bila dijelom veće pregradne konstrukcije. Trebalo bi razmotriti i mogućnost drugačijeg oblikovanja enterijera u slučaju memorijalne, a ne liturgijske namjene objekta. U prilog tomu idu male dimenzije njegova funkcionalnog prostora, tipične za memorijalno-sepulkralne građevine. Također je nužno imati u vidu širu praksu postupanja s kamenim namještajem u srednjem vijeku. Oltarne ograde mogle su biti zamijenjene novima,<sup>22</sup> ponekad i u relativno kratkom vremenskom razdoblju. Nekad se uobičavalo starije dijelove pohraniti u podnicu ili zidove. S druge strane, prilikom podizanja novog objekta, reljefi su se iz napuštenih ili porušenih građevina premještali i ponovo koristili kao sekundarni materijal, pri čemu se dio građe nerijetko i gubio.<sup>23</sup> Navedeno bi značilo da su pojedini objekti mogli imati više varijanti oltarnih pregrada. Iz istih razloga nije isključeno ni da su fragmenti iz Zavale, kao *spolia*, u određenom razdoblju mogli poslužiti kao dio kamenog namještaja crkve sv. Petra.

## OPIS, IKONOGRFSKO-STILSKA ANALIZA I INTERPRETACIJA

Novootkrivena ploča isklesana je iz jednog komada kamena vapnenca i bogato reljefno ukrašena. Reljef je plitak do srednje plitak, s izdizanjem do 1 cm u odnosu na površinu (sl. 11). Uz to, ploča je oštećena: nedostaje joj donji dio, zbog čega je motiv ptice, sačuvan fragmentarno. Unatoč navedenom, kompozicija je čitljiva i omogućuje identifikaciju osnovnog motiva – ptice s nimбом.

Ukupne dimenzije ploče su: visina cca. 50 cm (zbog neravnog donjeg ruba, mjereno na najistaknutijem mjestu) i širina cca. 48,5 cm. Debljina varira: u gornjem dijelu je cca.

Such an appearance is indicated by the form and dimensions of the discovered fragments (slabs and colonnettes), and their function is further confirmed by the presence of edge elements on the sides of the slabs. This is particularly evident on the newly found slab, where vertical projections are visible on both sides (Fig. 12), further indicating that it was part of a larger partition structure. The possibility of a different interior arrangement should also be considered in the case of a memorial – as opposed to liturgical – function of the structure. This is supported by the small dimensions of its functional space, typical of memorial-sepulchral buildings. It is also necessary to take into account the broader Medieval practice of handling stone furnishings: Altar screens could be replaced with new ones,<sup>22</sup> sometimes within a relatively short period, with older parts on occasion being stored in the floors or walls. On the other hand, during the construction of new structures, reliefs from abandoned or ruined buildings were relocated and re-used as secondary material, with some of the material often being lost in the process.<sup>23</sup> This would mean that certain structures could have had multiple altar screens throughout their history. For the same reasons, it cannot be excluded that fragments from Zavala may have at some point, as *spolia*, served as part of the stone furnishings of the Church of St. Peter.

## DESCRIPTION, ICONOGRAPHIC-STYLISTIC ANALYSIS, AND INTERPRETATION

The newly discovered slab is carved from a single piece of limestone and richly decorated in relief form. The relief is shallow-to-moderately-shallow, rising to 1 cm above the surface (Fig. 11). Additionally, the slab is damaged; its lower part is missing, with the bird motif being only fragmentarily preserved. In spite of this, the composition is legible, allowing identification of the main motif: a bird with a nimbus.

The overall dimensions of the slab are as follows: its height is approximately 50 cm (measured from the furthest-protruding

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Burić 1997.

<sup>23</sup> Iz toga razloga na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije skoro da nema niti jedne rano-srednjovjekovne crkve s očuvanim cjelovitim kamenim namještajem. Đurić 1986, 63.

<sup>22</sup> cf. Burić 1997.

<sup>23</sup> For this reason, almost no Early Medieval church within the territory of the former Yugoslavia preserves its stone furnishings in a complete state (Đurić 1986, 63).



Slika 12. Desni i lijevi vertikalni istak na bočnim stranama ploče (snimila i obradila: A. Mekić).

Figure 12. Right and left vertical protrusions on the sides of the slab (photography and editing: A. Mekić).

12 cm, a u donjem oko 7 cm.<sup>24</sup> Pojedinačna visina polja vijenca je cca. 23 cm, a donjeg dijela reljefa 26 cm. Radi usporedbe, dimenzije veće ploče s pticama iz Muzeja Hercegovine u Trebinju (sl. 5; u daljnjem tekstu: ploča 1) iznose: visina 78 cm, širina 42 cm i debljina 11 cm, dok je visina gornjeg 19 cm, a donjeg dijela ploče 59 cm.<sup>25</sup> Ova ploča je nešto je uža (za oko 5 cm) i ima niži vijenac. Unatoč navedenim, manjim

point due to the uneven lower edge), and its width is approximately 48.5 cm. The thickness varies: in the upper part, it is about 12 cm, and in the lower part, around 7 cm.<sup>24</sup> The height of the upper band's field is approximately 23 cm, and the lower part of the relief is 26 cm. For comparison, the dimensions of the larger slab with birds from the Museum of Herzegovina in Trebinje (Fig. 5; hereafter: Slab 1) are: height 78 cm, width 42 cm, and thickness 11 cm, while the height of the upper part is

<sup>24</sup> U predjelu loma debljina ploče je 5-7 cm.

<sup>25</sup> Veličinu ploče Vego je mjerio prema odljevku iz Zemaljskog muzeja, jer je već tada bila slomljena. Vego 1959, 185-186.

<sup>24</sup> In the area of the fracture, the thickness of the slab is 5-7 cm.



Slika 13. Lijeva bočna strana ploče s vertikalnim istakom (snimila i obradila: A. Mekić).

Figure 13. Left side of the slab with vertical protrusion (photography and editing: A. Mekić).

Slika 14. Gornja i stražnja strana ploče (snimila i obradila: A. Mekić).

Figure 14. Upper and rear sides of the slab (photography and editing: A. Mekić).

nepodudarnostima, opće dimenzije ostaju usporedive s pločom 1, što upućuje na moguću pripadnost istoj strukturi. Ukoliko su visinom bile identične, može se pretpostaviti da novoj ploči nedostaje oko 30 cm visine.<sup>26</sup> Na bočnim stranama sačuvani su pravilni, vertikalni istaci (uglavnici), visine oko 22–23 cm i debljine 3–4 cm.<sup>27</sup> Osim što nisu jednake veličine, različito su pozicionirani na bočnim stranama (sl. 12, 13).<sup>28</sup> To sugerira da se radi o pluteju, arhitektonskom elementu kamene ograde, koji se uklapao u veću konstrukciju. Ranije pronađena ploča također ima vidljive neravnine (ispupčenja) na bočnim stranama, ali za razliku od ove, ne toliko izražene ni pravilno izvedene.

U nastavku slijedi detaljnija likovna i ikonografska analiza reljefa, podijeljenog u dva segmenta, uz izravnu komparaciju s pločom 1. Manje ploče će u komparativnom smislu biti uzete u obzir u završnim razmatranjima, budući da pokazuju manje podudarnosti u općem izgledu i kompoziciji te naznake drugačije funkcije. Gornji pojas je pravokutnog oblika i gusto ispunjen složenim motivom. Izdignut je nekoliko

19 cm and the lower part of the slab 59 cm.<sup>25</sup> This slab is somewhat narrower (being approximately 5 cm), and has a lower upper band. Despite these minor discrepancies, the overall dimensions remain comparable to those of Slab 1, indicating that the two may have belonged to the same structure. If they were originally of identical height, it can be assumed that the new slab is missing about 30 cm of its full height.<sup>26</sup> On the lateral sides, regular vertical projections (tenons) are preserved, approximately 22–23 cm high and 3–4 cm thick.<sup>27</sup> Besides being of unequal size, they are positioned differently on the sides (Figs. 12, 13).<sup>28</sup> This suggests that the new slab is a pluteus, an architectural element of a stone screen, which was fitted into a larger construction. The previously discovered slab also bears irregularities (protrusions) on the sides, but in comparison these are less pronounced and less regularly executed.

What follows is a more detailed, formal, and iconographic analysis of the relief, divided into two segments, with a direct

26 Imajući u vidu proporcije sačuvanog dijela pluteja s pticom, novoj ploči nedostaje najmanje trećina visine ( $v=48,8$  cm), a moguće i više, ako je upoređujemo s pločom 1.

27 Lijevi istak u donjem dijelu je 3 cm, a u gornjem 4 cm; desni je u donjem dijelu širi - 4 cm, dok u gornjem dijelu varira 3,5–4 cm.

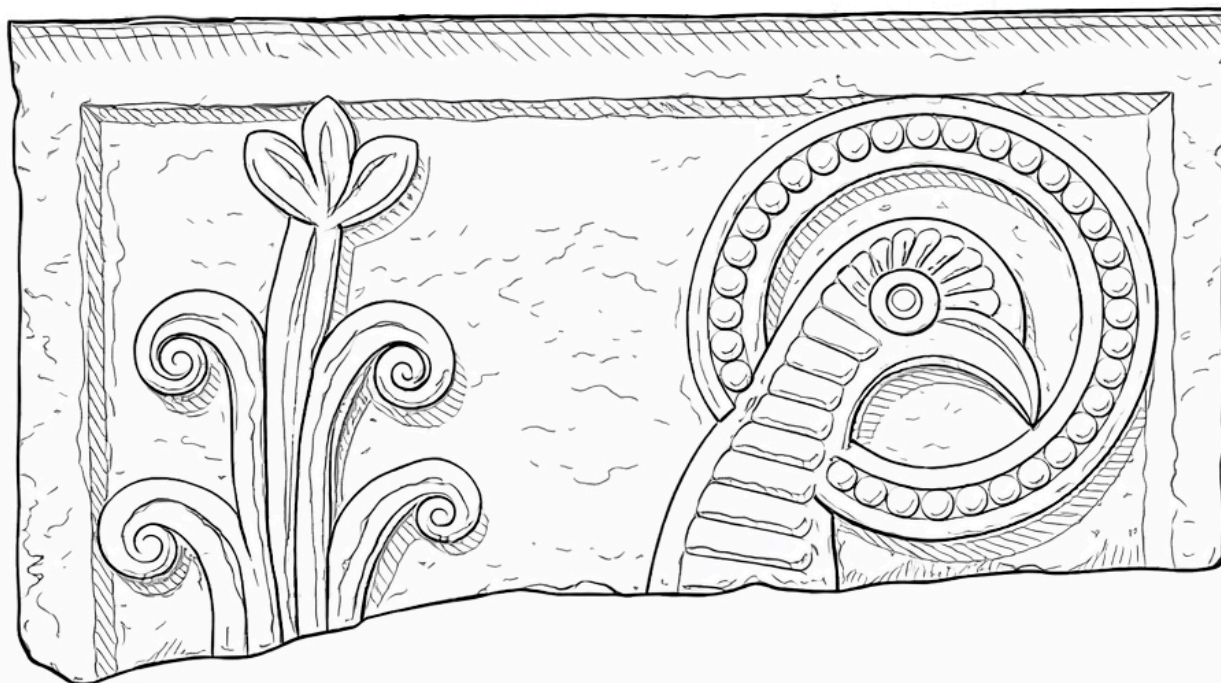
28 Istaci na ploči nisu paralelni. Lijevi istak je od gornjeg ruba odmaknut 7 cm, dok je desni niži - 23 cm od vrha, moguće zbog stabilnosti ploče.

25 Vego measured the size of the slab based on a cast from the National Museum, as it was already broken at that time (Vego 1959, 185–186).

26 Considering the proportions of the preserved part of the pluteus with the bird, the new slab is missing at least one third of its height ( $h = 48.8$  cm), and possibly more if compared with Slab 1.

27 The left projection in the lower part is 3 cm, and in the upper part 4 cm; the right one is wider in the lower part at 4 cm, while in the upper part it varies from 3.5 to 4 cm.

28 The projections on the slab are not parallel. The left projection is set 7 cm from the upper edge, while the right is lower, 23 cm from the top, possibly for stability of the slab.



Slika 15. Donji dio reljefne kompozicije: motivom ptice s nimbom (obradila: A. Mekić, uz pomoć alata vještačke inteligencije).

Figure 15. Lower part of the relief composition: motif of a haloed bird (editing: A. Mekić, with the assistance of AI tools).

centimetara u odnosu na donju zonu i uokviren jednostavnom bordurom. Naglašavanje gornjeg dijela (vijenca) česta je odlika pluteja predromaničkog razdoblja u Dalmaciji i drugdje u Evropi, što upućuje na takvu funkciju i ove ploče.<sup>29</sup> Okvir varira od 2,7 do 3 cm i blago je izdignut i u odnosu na površinu reljefnog prikaza unutar njega. Ista vrsta okvira javlja se i kod ploča ranije pronađenih u Zavali.<sup>30</sup> Ploča 1 također ima ovako oblikovan gornji dio, ali manje isturen i ukrašen samo uglastim pletenom. Vego je također uočio da ga je klesar izradio dosta nemarno, bez naročite preciznosti.<sup>31</sup> Rubovi su općenito pažljivije obrađeni i bolje definirani na novoj ploči. U donjem segmentu, unatoč oštećenju, jasno se prepoznaje motiv veće ptice, vidljive od vrata naviše. Na glavi ima svetačku aureolu, odnosno nimb (sl. 15). Na lijevoj strani, iza njezinih leđa, nalazi se visoki, vertikalni motiv, moguće vegetabilni. Grana se poput palmete, akantusa ili vitice loze, s izrazito (prema vani) uvijenim završecima koji se na samom vrhu šire u tri trakasta elementa. Pažljivijim promatranjem kompozicije dolazi se do spoznaje da može biti riječ i o stiliziranom repu ptice, u tom slučaju vjerojatno pauna.<sup>32</sup>

comparison to Slab 1. The smaller slabs will be considered in a comparative sense in the concluding remarks, as they have a lesser degree of correspondence in overall appearance and composition, in addition to indications of a different function. The upper zone consists of a rectangular form filled with a complex motif. It is raised several centimetres above the lower, and framed by a simple border. The emphasis on the upper band is a common feature of pre-Romanesque plutei in Dalmatia and elsewhere in Europe, which likewise points to such a function for this slab.<sup>29</sup> The frame of the banner varies from 2.7 to 3 cm, and is slightly raised relative to the surface of the relief motif within it. The same type of framing around the motif appears on slabs previously found in Zavala.<sup>30</sup> Slab 1 also has a similarly shaped upper section, but less protruding and solely decorated with angular interlacing. Vego also noted that it was carved "rather carelessly, without particular precision."<sup>31</sup> The edges are generally more carefully worked and better-defined on the new slab. In the lower segment, despite the damage, the motif of a larger bird is clearly recognizable, visible from the neck upward. On its head is a saint's halo, or nimbus (Fig. 15). On the left side, behind its back, there is a tall vertical motif, possibly vegetal. It branches like a palmette, acanthus, or vine

29 Marasović 2007, 102. Marasović na ovom mjestu također navodi da su pluteji uobičajeno bili ukrašeni pletenim ukrasom kao univerzalnim likovnim govorom tog doba, kao i to da se u pravilu likovno obrađuje samo vanjska strana, okrenuta vjernicima, što je slučaj i kod ploče iz Zavale (sl. 14).

30 Većina ulomaka, prema Veginom katalogu, imaju definiran okvir, na osnovu čega se zaključuje da se radi o dijelovima oltarne pregrade. One bez okvira pripisao je antependiju, odnosno teguriju. Vego 1959, 192.

31 Vego 1959, 185.

32 Paun, ali i ptice općenito – osobito golubice, čest su motiv predromaničke sakralne plastike. Uz složene geometrijske pletene, u plitkom reljefu su rabljeni

29 Marasović 2007, 102. At this point, Marasović also notes that plutei were usually decorated with interlace ornament as the universal visual language of the time, and that, as a rule, only the outer side, facing the worshippers, was artistically treated, which is also the case with the slab from Zavala (Fig. 14).

30 Most fragments, according to Vego's catalogue, have a defined frame, based on which it is concluded that they are parts of an altar screen. Those without a frame he attributed to the antependium, or tegurium (Vego 1959, 192).

31 Vego 1959, 185.



Slika 16. Detalji: glava ptice na novoj ploči (a) i glave ptica na ploči 1 (b) (snimila i obradila: A. Mekić).

Figure 16. Details: bird's head on the new slab (a) and bird's head on slab 1 (b) (photography and editing: A. Mekić).

tendrils, with distinctly outward-curving ends that at the very top expand into three ribbon-like elements. Closer observation of the composition suggests that it could also represent a stylized bird's tail; in which case, it is most likely that of a peacock.<sup>32</sup>

The figure is rendered in a rather rudimentary manner: its body is schematically outlined with horizontal lines, while a small head with a prominently large central eye emerges from the neck. The eye is further emphasized by small incisions, arranged radially around it. Differences in the shaping of the two figures appear mainly in the details. The part of the head above the eye in the earlier example is not treated as carefully, although that area of the slab was less damaged. On the new slab, the head is modelled with greater refinement and elegance. It evokes the head of a peacock, but possibly also a dove, due to the absence of a characteristic crest. The rendering of the neck on the new slab is achieved through bold horizontal lines, while on Slab 1 the lines in the upper part of the neck are short and positioned diagonally at right angles. The feathers of the flying bird are stylized not only by lines but also by rows of dotted motifs. Furthermore, the head of the bird without a nimbus (Slab 1) is noticeably more roughly treated, although its neck is more similar to that on the new slab, with the same horizontal lines. The beak is slightly curved, shaped in a high arc, which means it does not fully correspond to the narrow beak of the other large bird on Slab 1. Compared to the smaller bird, the difference is much greater, since it resembles the rounded beak of a waterfowl, such as a duck. In addition, in this case the beak touches the nimbus, which is rendered with two circles, between which there stands a row of dotted ornaments. The same shapes – albeit in a somewhat larger variant – are also visible on the arcade in the upper part of the relief. In relation to the frame of the composition, the nimbus (with a diameter of 17.5 cm, measured from the outer edge of the circle) is positioned in the upper right corner on both slabs (Fig. 16).

The interpretation of the depicted bird allows only for a tentative comparison with Slab 1, as the scholarly literature does not provide a definitive identification of those birds either. Due to its long and spreading tail, the larger bird is most often identified as a peacock, a motif frequently represented on altar screens.<sup>33</sup> On the new slab, the curvature of the bird's neck is gentler, so that its body appears more upright, suggesting that the figure is standing on the ground. The bent posture of the bird on Slab 1, as if watching over the smaller one – as interpreted by Palameta – points to Christ who “guards and gathers Christian souls, watching over them.”<sup>34</sup> The addition of a nimbus on a peacock motif is not a common occurrence. On the contrary, it is very rare after the early Christian period, which calls this interpretation into question to a

32 The peacock – as well as birds in general, and especially doves – is a frequent motif of pre-Romanesque sacral sculpture. Alongside complex geometric interlacing, vegetal motifs were used in shallow relief, “more closely tied to the representation of symbolic Christian content,” as also noted by N. Jakšić. Among the listed motifs, the vine predominates, on which birds peck at grapes, “recalling the Eucharistic feast of the altar,” followed by palm branches (palmettes); symbols of martyrdom. Among animal motifs, peacocks and lions carry the greatest symbolic meaning. They are associated with the symbolism of the Garden of Paradise, immortality, resurrection and strength (Jakšić 2015, 38).

33 See previous note.

34 The author refers to the Medieval pictorial theme of the peacock with chicks; in Christian tradition a symbol of Christ (Palameta 1997, 136).

Likovna obrada figure prilično je rudimentarna: tijelo je izvedeno shematski, definirano horizontalnim linijama, dok iz vrata izrasta sitna glava s krupnim okom u središtu. Ono je dodatno naglašeno sitnim urezima, radijalno postavljenim oko oka. Razlike u oblikovanju dviju figura javljaju se uglavnom u detalju. Dio glave iznad oka na ranijem primjeru nije tako pažljivo tretiran, iako je u tom predjelu ploča bila manje oštećena. Glava je na novoj ploči modelirana s većom finoćom i elegancijom te asocira na glavu pauna, ali i golubice – zbog nedostatka karakteristične krijeste. Obrada vrata na novoj ploči je postignuta krupnim vodoravnim linijama, dok su na ploči 1 linije u gornjem dijelu vrata kratke, postavljene dijagonalno u prave kutove. Perje leteće ptice stilizirano je, osim linija, i nizovima točkastih motiva. Nadalje, glava ptice bez nimba (ploča 1) je osjetno grublje tretirana, ali je njezin vrat sličniji onome na novoj ploči – s istim, vodoravnim linijama. Kljun je blago povijen, oblikovan u visokom luku, zbog čega se ne podudara u potpunosti s uskim kljunom druge velike ptice na ploči 1. U odnosu na manju pticu razlika je znatno veća, budući da podsjeća na zaobljeni kljun neke ptice močvarice – patke. Uz to, kljun u ovom slučaju dodiruje nimb, izveden s dvije kružnice, između kojih je niz točkastih ukrasa. Isti oblici, u nešto krupnijoj varijanti, vidljivi su i na arkadi u gornjem dijelu reljefa. U odnosu na okvir kompozicije, nimb je (promjera 17,5 cm, mjereno s vanjske strane kruga), jednako na obje ploče, pozicioniran u sami gornji desni kut (sl. 16).

Pri interpretaciji prikazane ptice usporedba s prvom pločom moguća je tek sa zadržkom, budući da u literaturi postoje nedoumice i oko preciznije identifikacije tih ptica. Zbog dugog i razgranatog repa, najčešće se veća ptica prepoznaje kao paun, često zastupljen motiv na oltarnim ogradama.<sup>33</sup> Na novoj ploči blaža je zakrivljenost vrata kod ptice, tako da se njezino tijelo doima uspravnijim, što sugerira da figura stoji na tlu. Pognuti stav ptice na ploči 1, kao da bdije nad manjom – kako to tumači Palameta – ukazuje na Krista koji čuva i okuplja kršćanske duše, bdijući nad njima.<sup>34</sup> Dodatak nimba, kada je u pitanju motiv pauna, nije uobičajena pojava.<sup>35</sup> Naprotiv, vrlo je rijetka nakon ranokršćanskog razdoblja, što ovakvo tumačenje donekle dovodi u pitanje. Ipak, nimb bi se u ovom slučaju možda mogao tumačiti kao paunova kruna, onako kako ga definiraju Chevalier i Gheerbrant.<sup>36</sup> Nadalje, simbolika krune u kršćanskoj simbolici

certain degree.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, the nimbus in this case might perhaps be interpreted as the peacock's crown, as defined by Chevalier and Gheerbrant.<sup>36</sup>

Furthermore, the crown in Christian symbolism is associated with the act of baptism and the spiritual identification of the soul with Christ.<sup>37</sup> Authors like Jurković have recognized an eagle in the larger bird on Slab 1, due to the absence of a crown, which a peacock, as a rule, always has, as well as the presence of the nimbus.<sup>38</sup>

In Christological symbolism, both eagle and peacock are associated with the idea of victory over death and resurrection.<sup>39</sup> Such an identification is also supported by the position of the larger bird in relation to the smaller one: with a strongly curved neck and legs resting on its back, it appears like a bird of prey. However, the emphasis on the nimbus on the head excludes negative connotations.<sup>40</sup> For this reason, the hypothesis of symbolism related to protection or resurrection has stronger grounding: the birds are associated with eschatological meanings, as they function as visual signs of the soul and hope for resurrection. In considering a potential memorial-sepulchral function of the structure for which the slabs were intended, such symbolism gains additional weight, and for this reason the interpretation will remain within this framework in the text that follows. Nevertheless, the question of a more precise identification and meaning of the motif should still be approached with caution.

The missing segment of the slab further contributes to these uncertainties. The question arises as to whether the bird held something or another motif – possibly another bird – could have stood in front. The damage to the slab begins 1 cm below the nimbus, making it difficult to interpret this part of the relief. There could have been enough space for another bird, like the one on Slab 1, but, given the upright position of the large figure, this does not appear to be the case. In some iconographic depictions, a bird – usually identified as a dove – holds a bunch of grapes in its beak (Pl. IV: 2), which points to a Eucharistic meaning. On the eastern Adriatic coast, around ten

vegetabilni motivi, tješnje vezani uz predočavanje simboličkih kršćanskih sadržaja, kako je uočio i N. Jakšić. Među nabrojanim motivima prednjači vinova lozica, na kojoj ptice ključaju grozdove, podsjećajući na euharistijsku gozbu misnoga stola, zatim palmine grane (palmete) – simboli mučeništva. Od životinjskih motiva najviše simboličkih značenja nose paunovi te lavovi. Uz njih se veže simbolika rajskog vrta, besmrtnosti, uskrnuća i snage. Jakšić 2015, 38.

33 Cf. prethodna bilješka.

34 Autor govori o srednjovjekovnoj likovnoj temi pauna s pticama, u kršćanskoj tradiciji srednjeg vijeka simbol Krista. Palameta 1997, 136.

35 Nerijetko se s nimbom prikazuju druge životinje – ukoliko simbolično personificiraju svete ličnosti: orao kao evangelist Ivan, lav kao sv. Marko, golubica kao Duh Božji, feniks kao Krist, odnosno kao simbol njegovog Uskrnuća.

36 Prema njihovom Rječniku simbola, aureola je solarna slika u značenju kraljevske krune simboličkog zračenja oko lica, nekad oko cijelog tijela. Značenje je sunčevog podrijetla, a iskazuje sveto, svetost i božansko. Riječ je o antipiranom preobraženju u posvećenim tijelima. Eliptična aureola ili aureola oko glave znak je duhovne svjetlosti koju će imati uskrsla tijela. Chevalier, Gheerbrant 2003, 26.

35 Other animals are also often depicted with a nimbus when they symbolically personify sacred figures: the eagle as the Evangelist John, the lion as St. Mark, the dove as the Holy Spirit, the phoenix as Christ, that is, as a symbol of his resurrection.

36 According to Chevalier & Gheerbrant's Dictionary of Symbols (*Rječnik simbola*), the aureole is "a solar image in the meaning of a royal crown of symbolic radiance around the face, sometimes around the whole body. Its meaning is of solar origin, expressing the sacred, holiness, and the divine. It is an anticipated transfiguration in consecrated bodies. The elliptical aureole or halo around the head is a sign of the spiritual light that resurrected bodies will possess" (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 2003, 26).

37 In texts such as the Odes of Solomon, the image of the crown is inseparable from the image of paradise: "A crown of Truth has been woven for me" (1); "Filled with the grace of God, return to paradise, weave for yourself a wreath from its tree and place it upon your head" (20, 7-8) (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 2003, 326).

38 Jurković 1987, 109.

39 According to Badurina's Iconographic Lexicon, the eagle has the power to fly toward the sun or dive into water, to renew its feathers, youth, and strength. In Psalm 103:5, it is written "...your youth is renewed like the eagle's [...]. But those who hope in the Lord renew their strength, they grow wings like eagles..." (Isaiah 40:31). The eagle is also a symbol of Christ. In a broader sense, it denotes the righteous, while when depicted as a bird of prey, it represents a demon that snatches souls or the sins of pride and earthly lust for power (Badurina 1979, 441).

40 In cases where a bird depicted with a nimbus symbolizes Christ, the nimbus then contains an inscribed cross.



Slika 18. Gornji dio reljefne kompozicije: motiv arkade/niša (obradila: A. Mekić, uz pomoć alata vještačke inteligencije).

Figure 18. Upper part of the relief composition: motif of an arcade/niches (editing: A. Mekić, with the assistance of AI tools).

povezana je s činom krštenja te duhovnog poistovjećenja duše s Kristom.<sup>37</sup> Neki autori, poput Jurkovića, u većoj ptici na ploči 1 – zbog nedostatka krune, koju paun, u pravilu, uvijek ima, kao i zbog nimba – prepoznali su orla.<sup>38</sup> Orao se, kao i paun, u kristološkoj simbolici povezuje s idejom pobjede nad smrću i uskrsnućem.<sup>39</sup> Takvoj identifikaciji odgovara i položaj veće ptice u odnosu na manju: s jako povijenim vratom i nogama oslonjenim na njezina leđa doima se kao grabljivica. Ipak, potenciranje nimba na glavi isključuje negativne konotacije.<sup>40</sup> Zbog toga hipoteza o simbolici zaštite ili uskrsnuća ima više utemeljenja: ptice se dovode u vezu s eshatološkim značenjima, jer djeluju kao vizualni znak duše i nade u uskrsnuće. U razmatranju potencijalne memorijalno-sepulkralne funkcije objekta za koji su ploče bile namijenjene takva simbolika dobiva dodatnu težinu, zbog čega će se tumačenje i u nastavku zadržati u tom interpretativnom okviru. Prema pitanju preciznije identifikacije i značenja motiva, međutim, i dalje se treba odnositi s oprezom.

Nedoumicama doprinosi segment koji na ploči nedostaje. Otvara se pitanje je li ptica nešto držala ili se ispred nje nalazio neki drugi motiv, moguće također druga ptica. Oštećenje ploče počinje već 1 cm ispod nimba pa se teško očitovati o tom dijelu reljefa. Za drugu pticu, poput one na ploči 1, moglo je biti dovoljno prostora, ali se, s obzirom na

pre-Romanesque and early Romanesque plutei with such a motif have been preserved, often combined with interlace ornamentation.<sup>41</sup> However, on the Zavala slab, a clear space is visible beneath the beak, and therefore such a motif can be excluded. Another possibility is that a chalice stood before the bird, although this would usually be placed between two birds, as is the case on two smaller figural slabs from Zavala (Fig. 4). That this is an entirely different composition, featuring only a single bird, is suggested by the visible portion, its size, and its positioning. A review of the available literature and representations of birds in regional stone sculpture suggests that, in pre-Romanesque sculpture, there are no close parallels for such stylization of birds or for such an arrangement within a composition.<sup>42</sup> It is also worth noting that no bird is known to bear a nimbus on its head in other examples. Therefore, this iconography could be interpreted as a transformed representation of a saintly figure (e.g., Christ – despite the absence of a cross in the nimbus – some saint, or an angel), of divine presence, or simply of the sanctity of the bird.<sup>43</sup> In Christian art, from its very beginnings, birds have been understood as symbols of the “winged being,” the soul, or more generally the representation of the spiritual – as opposed to the material – world, making them one of the most common symbolic motifs in sacred art.<sup>44</sup> According to some hypotheses, the relief composition on Slab 1 is a symbolic representation of the Archangel Michael, who carries the souls

37 U tekstovima poput Salomonove Ode, slika krune nedjeljiva je od slike raja: „Spletana je za me kruna Istine“ (1); „Prepun milosti Božje, vrati se u raj, spleti sebi vijenac od njegova stabla i stavi ga na glavu“ (20, 7-8). Chevalier, Gheerbrant 2003, 326.

38 Jurković 1987, 109.

39 Prema ikonografskom Leksikonu Badurine, orao ima snagu letjeti prema suncu ili zaroniti u vodu, obnoviti perje, mladost i snagu. U Psalmu 103, 5: piše „...ko orlu ti se mladost obnavlja“ (...). „A onima što se u Jahvu uzdaju snaga se obnavlja, krila im rastu kao orlovima...“ (Iz 40, 31). Orao je i simbol Krista. U širem pak smislu on označuje pravednike, dok prikazan kao ptica grabežljivica predstavlja demona koji otima duše ili pak grijehe oholosti i zemaljskog vlastohleplja. Badurina 1979, 441.

40 U slučaju kad ptica prikazana s nimbom simbolizira Krista, nimb tada ima upisan križ.

41 Josipović, Magaš Mesić 2013, 25–28.

42 cf. Jakšić 2015; Janković 2007; Marasović 2007, and other texts and catalogues from the rich corpus on pre-Romanesque and Romanesque sculpture upon the territory of present-day Dalmatia, the Dubrovnik region, and the Montenegrin coast. For several different approaches to rendering the head, body and tail of the bird, see also Pl. IV.

43 In many cultures, birds carry rich symbolic and spiritual meanings: their ability to fly associates them with mediation between heaven and earth and with the celestial realm; they often represent spiritual states, angels, or higher forms of existence. The dove, for instance, in addition to symbolizing the Holy Spirit, can also embody the soul of the righteous (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 2003, 540–541, 169).

44 The depiction of the soul as a bird is linked to the tradition of Ancient Egypt (Badurina 1979, 495).

uspravan položaj velike figure, ne radi o takvom prikazu. U nekim ikonografskim prikazima ptica – obično identificirana kao golubica – u kljunu drži grozd (T. IV: 2), što upućuje na euharistijski značaj. Na istočnoj obali Jadrana sačuvalo se desetak predromaničkih i ranoromaničkih pluteja s takvim motivom, redovito u kombinaciji s pleternom ornamentikom.<sup>41</sup> Međutim, na ploči iz Zavale jasno je vidljiv prazan prostor ispod kljuna, pa je takav motiv isključen. Druga mogućnost je da se ispred ptice nalazio kalež, iako obično postavljen između dvije ptice – što je slučaj i na dvjema manjim figuralnim pločama iz Zavale (sl. 4). Da je u pitanju potpuno drugačija kompozicija, s isključivo jednom pticom, sugerira njezin vidljivi dio, veličina te položaj. Uvidom u dostupnu literaturu i predstave ptica u kamenoj plastici iz okruženja čini se da u predromaničkoj skulpturi nema bliskih paralela ovakvoj stilizaciji ptica, kao ni ovakvom rasporedu unutar kompozicije.<sup>42</sup> Vrijedi istaći i to da na drugim primjerima niti jedna ptica na glavi nema nimb. Zbog toga bi se ova ikonografija mogla tumačiti kao transformirani prikaz neke svetačke figure (npr. Krista – unatoč izostanku križa u nimbu, nekog sveca ili anđela), božanske nazočnosti ili samo svetosti ptice.<sup>43</sup> U kršćanskoj umjetnosti, od njezinih početaka, ptice su shvaćane kao simboli „krilatog bića“, duše, odnosno općenito predstavljanje duhovnog, za razliku od stvarnog svijeta, po čemu su u sakralnoj umjetnosti jedan od najčešćih simboličnih motiva.<sup>44</sup> Prema nekim hipotezama, reljefna kompozicija na ploči 1 simboličan je prikaz arkandela Mihaela, koji duše pokojnika odnosi u nebo, tj. u raj.<sup>45</sup> Ipak, tumačenje da je u pitanju rajska ptica imalo bi najviše utemeljenja. U tom bi se okviru vitičasti element na lijevoj strani mogao čitati dvojako: ili kao rep pauna, ili kao stilizirana reprezentacija rajске vegetacije.<sup>46</sup> Ukoliko se interpretira kao rep, opravdana je njegova komparacija s repom ptice na ploči 1. Obrada na novoj ploči pritom pokazuje profinjeniju stilizaciju, dok razgranati oblik s ploče 1 ne djeluje naturalistički – ni zbog stroge linearnosti ni zbog svog položaja u odnosu na ostatak tijela. Vego ga opisuje kao tri reda kukica s jako zadebljanim okcima s jedne i druge strane, zaključujući da je vajar htio izraziti rep pauna, ali samo šematski.<sup>47</sup> Vijugavi krajevi mo-



Slika 17. Detalji: način oblikovanja lukova u gornjem dijelu ploče (snimila i obradila: A. Mekić).

Figure 17. Detail of the method of shaping the arches in the upper part of the slab (photography and editing: A. Mekić).

of the deceased to heaven, that is, to paradise.<sup>45</sup> However, the interpretation that this is a paradisiacal bird is the strongest. Within this framework, the tendril-like element on the left side could be read in two ways: either as the tail of a peacock or as a stylized representation of paradisiacal vegetation.<sup>46</sup> If interpreted as a tail, its comparison with the tail of the bird on Slab 1 is justified. The treatment of the new slab shows a more refined stylization. The branched form on Slab 1 does not appear naturalistic, neither because of its strict linearity nor its position in relation to the rest of the body. Vego describes it as “three rows of hooks with strongly thickened loops on both sides,” concluding that “the sculptor intended to depict a peacock’s tail, but only schematically.”<sup>47</sup> The sinuous ends of the motif on the new slab are more softly shaped and more widely spaced, while the central part is slightly curved and continuous, resembling a stem. Similar vegetal motifs, including tendrils and palmettes, are frequently used in Early Medieval ornamentation as symbolic references to paradisiacal vegetation (cf. Pl. V: 2–8).

The appearance of a bird with a nimbus and a vegetal element within the same composition suggests a representation of the soul in paradise, while a possible identification with a

41 Josipović, Magaš Mesić 2013, 25–28.

42 Cf. Jakšić 2015; Janković 2007; Marasović 2007. i dr. tekstovi i katalozi iz bogatog korpusa o predromaničkoj i romaničkoj skulpturi na tlu današnje Dalmacije, Dubrovačkog i Crnogorskog primorja. Za nekoliko različitih načina obrade glave, tijela i repa ptice: vidj. i T. IV.

43 U mnogim kulturama ptice imaju bogat simbolički i duhovni značaj; zbog letenja, promatraju se kao posrednici između neba i zemlje, kao simboli nebeskog svijeta; simboliziraju duhovna stanja, anđele, viša stanja bića... Golubica, na primjer, osim Duha Božjeg može personificirati i dušu pravедnika. Chevalier, Gheerbrandt 2003, 540–541, 169.

44 Prikazivanje duše kao ptice veže se za tradiciju drevnog Egipta. Badurina 1979, 495.

45 Ovakva interpretacija je potaknuta posvetom tj. nazivom obližnjeg lokaliteta s grobljem – Mihalje, na kojem se pretpostavlja da se nalazila i crkva sv. Mihovila. Jurković 1987, 109; Basler 1990, 119. Hipoteza je potkrijepljena i činjenicom da je sv. Mihovil/Mihael/Mihajlo vrlo poštovan na ovim prostorima, odnosno da su mu posvećene brojne crkve u široj okolici Ravnoga.

46 U kršćanskoj simbolici vrt označava raj i stanje duhovnog blaženstva. Chevalier, Gheerbrandt 2003, 768. U reduciranim ikonografskim kompozicijama pojedinačni vegetabilni motivi mogu funkcionirati kao oznaka rajskog vrta ili aluzija na drvo života.

47 Vego 1959, 185.

45 This interpretation is prompted by the name of a nearby site with a cemetery – Mihalje – where a church of St. Michael is presumed to have stood (Jurković 1987, 109; Basler 1990, 119). The hypothesis is further supported by the fact that St. Michael/Mihael/Mihajlo is highly venerated in these regions, with numerous churches dedicated to him in the wider area of Ravno.

46 In Christian symbolism, the garden signifies paradise and a state of spiritual bliss (Chevalier, Gheerbrandt 2003, 768). In reduced iconographic compositions, individual vegetal motifs can function as indicators of the Garden of Paradise or as allusions to the Tree of Life.

47 Vego 1959, 185.

tiva na novoj ploči mekše su oblikovani i i međusobno više razmaknuti, dok je središnji dio blago uvijen i cjelovit te više nalikuje stabljici. Slični, biljni motivi, uključujući vitice i palmete, u ranosrednjovjekovnoj ornamentici često se koriste kao simboličke reference na rajsku vegetaciju (usp. T. V: 2–8).

Pojava ptice s nimbom i vegetabilnog elementa unutar iste kompozicije sugerira predstavu duše u raju, pri čemu se ne može isključiti ni eventualna identifikacija sa svecem kojem je kultno mjesto bilo posvećeno. Takva ikonografska koncepcija prerasta u važan argument funkcionalne interpretacije ovoga prostora kao mjesta snažnog sakralnog i memorijalnog značenja, a trolisne građevine kao moguće memorije, a ne isključivo liturgijske crkve. U tom se kontekstu prikaz ptice s nimbom može promatrati kao vizualna artikulacija eshatoloških ideja povezanih s dušom i životom poslije smrti, što naročito dolazi do izražaja u okviru prostora naglašene funerarne simbolike.

Gornji pojas ploče odlikuje znatno složenija i pažljivo strukturirana kompozicija (sl. 17). Obrađena je čitava površina, ali nije ispunjena karakterističnom pleternom ornamentikom. Radi se o anikoničnom, ali simbolički bogatom rješenju koje otvara prostor za detaljniju ikonografsko-ikonološku analizu. Po proporcijama i okviru blisko je vijencu na ploči 1, s ornamentom u tropletu, ali je potpuno drugačije koncipirano. Reljef je u tom segmentu organiziran u dva plana. Gornji (zadnji) sastoji se od sedam zupčastih, prema gore nazubljenih elemenata. Njihova obrada podsjeća na ornament tropleta drugog vijenca, posebno u tehničkoj izvedbi „prutića“ i načinu na koji se izdvajaju iz podloge. Razlika je u tome što zupce na novoj ploči čine dvije, a ne tri trake, uz izraženiji prijelom u vrhu, tj. oštrije rubove. U prednjem planu dominiraju dvije nepotpune kružne forme – polovice kruga oblikovane u vidu ispunjenih traka, odnosno dva luka. U njima se nalaze elementi koji podsjećaju na listiće (snopovi od četiri, odnosno tri lisnate trakice). Lukovi su pravilnog oblika, širine 20,5 cm (promjer zamišljenog kruga izmjeren s vanjske strane luka) i visine 10 cm. S obje strane flankiraju ih sitni, zavijeni oblici, koje možemo identificirati kao volute – što upućuje na mogućnost da su zamišljeni kao arhitektonski elementi. Obrisi lukova različito su likovno tretirani, a pritom njihov izgled snažno asocira na krugove oko glava velikih ptica s ove i druge ploče. Zapravo, oblikom odgovaraju polovicama ta dva nimba, postavljenim jedna uz drugu, što teško može biti slučajnost, nego prije svjesno ponavljanje motiva. Provođenjem komparativne analize postaje očito da su ove cjeline stilski smišljeno povezane, a figuralne ploče u izravnom međuodnosu: lijevi luk, ispunjen kratkim kosim linijama, definiran je na potpuno isti način kao nimb ptice na ploči 1, koji Vego opisuje sintagmom tordirani kružni prsten.<sup>48</sup> Desni luk je sačinjen od niza ispupčenja u vidu medaljona (ili bisernog niza), što korespondira s nimbom ptice ispod. Nimb ima slično riješen obrub, s tom razlikom što su detalji sitniji od onih na vijencu. Ovakva izvedba

saint to whom the cult site was dedicated cannot be excluded. This iconographic conception thus serves as a significant basis for understanding the space as having strong sacred and memorial functions, and for viewing the triconchal structure as a potential memoria rather than exclusively a church. In this context, the depiction of a bird-with-nimbus may be understood as a visual expression of eschatological ideas related to the soul and the afterlife, particularly within a setting defined by funerary symbolism.

The upper zone of the slab is characterized by a significantly more complex and carefully structured composition (Fig. 17). While the whole surface has been treated, it is not covered with the typical interlace ornamentation. It is an aniconic yet symbolically rich solution that opens space for a more detailed iconographic and iconological analysis. In proportions and framing, it is close to the triple-braid band with ornament on Slab 1, but it is conceived in a completely different way. In this segment, the relief is organized into two areas. The upper (background) area consists of seven chevrons, oriented upward. These elements' treatment resembles the triple-braid ornament of the other band, especially in the technical execution of the individual chevrons and the way they stand out from the background. The difference is that the layered chevrons on the new slab consist of two, and not three, strips, with a more pronounced break at the top, i.e. sharper edges. In the foreground, two incomplete circular forms dominate: halves of a circle shaped as filled bands, or two arches. Within them are elements that resemble leaves (clusters of four and three leaf-like strips). The arches are regular in shape, 20.5 cm wide (diameter of the imagined circle measured from the outer edge of the arch) and 10 cm high. On both sides they are flanked by small, curved forms that can be identified as volutes, indicating that they may have been conceived as architectural elements. The contours of the arches are treated differently in a formal sense, and their appearance strongly evokes the circles around the heads of the large birds on both the newly discovered slab and Slab 1. In fact, their shape corresponds to halves of those two nimbuses placed side by side, which can hardly be accidental; it is rather a deliberate repetition of the motif. Through comparative analysis, it becomes evident that these units are stylistically deliberately connected, and that the figural slabs are in direct relationship with one another: the left arch, filled with short oblique lines, is defined in the same way as the nimbus of the bird on Slab 1, which Vego describes as a "twisted circular ring."<sup>48</sup> The right arch is composed of a series of protrusions in the form of medallions (or a string of pearls), corresponding to the nimbus of the bird below. The nimbus has a similarly treated border, with the difference that the details are finer than those in the upper band. Such an execution of the arcade in the upper part of the relief could represent a key indicator of the connection between the new slab and previously discovered fragments, as it suggests a close iconographic and stylistic link, and their belonging to the same sacral and spatial context, possibly even to the same construction of church furnishings.

48 Vego 1959, 185.

48 Vego 1959, 185.

arkade u gornjem dijelu reljefa mogla bi predstavljati ključan indikator povezanosti nove ploče s ranije pronađenim ulomcima, jer sugerira blisku ikonografsko-stilsku vezu i njihovu pripadnost istom sakralnom i prostornom kontekstu, moguće i istoj konstrukciji crkvenog namještaja.

Na temelju prethodnih analiza moguće je pristupiti ikonološkom tumačenju kompozicije u gornjem pojasu (sl. 18) na sljedeći način.<sup>49</sup> Ukoliko se elementi ispod lukova prepoznaju kao stilizirana vegetacija, ostatak kompozicije dobiva jasniju semantičku strukturu: biljni motivi, kao i u donjem dijelu reljefa, označavaju rajsko raslinje. Luk ili arkada, kao likovni motiv, upotrebljavaju se kako bi naznačili prostor – ponekad arhitektonski, a ponekad prostor simboličnog karaktera, kakav je rajski vrt. Simbolizam arkade može se, u smislu duhovne zaštite, promatrati u analogiji s aureolom.<sup>50</sup> Obje imaju konotaciju zaštite, odvajanja od profanog i stavljanja pod okrilje svetosti. Arkada se, dakle, pojavljuje kao vizualna artikulacija skloništa i raja kao konačnog duhovnog prebivališta. Jedan od lukova je, kao što je već navedeno, ispunjen bisernim nizom, što dodatno simbolički impregnira prizor i implicira koncept rajskog pejzaža – kraljevstva nebeskog.<sup>51</sup> Stoga bi likovno rješenje kompletnog reljefa bilo u skladu s ovakvim tumačenjem. Donji dio ploče predstavljao bi veliku pticu u rajskom vrtu, što podupire identifikaciju te ptice kao pauna – uz mogućnost da prizor zapravo simbolizira dušu u raju. Time se svi ključni elementi kompozicije – ptica s nimбом, arkade, biseri, biljni motivi – povezuju u jedinstvenu ikonološku cjelinu usmjerenu simbolici rajskoga vrta.

Ovakvo, eshatološko čitanje prizora, usmjereno na ideju raja i spasenja duše, logično se nadovezuje na arhitektonsko-ikonografski okvir kompozicije. U srednjovjekovnoj likovnoj praksi, umjesto arkada, češće se pojavljuju polukružne niše (konhe), ponekad oblikovane u vidu školjke. Sve ove varijante imaju funkciju baldahina – vizualnog znaka zaštite i izdvajanja svetog prostora, a simbolika školjke i bisera što se u njoj formira dodatno produbljuje eshatološki potencijal ovakvih rješenja.<sup>52</sup> Među najljepšim likovnim ostvarenjima te ikonografske koncepcije, također u funerarnom kontekstu, izdvaja se merovinški sarkofag opatice Teodohilde iz kripte samostana Jouarre u Francuskoj, datiran u 7. stoljeće (T. V: 1).<sup>53</sup> Na objema bočnim stranama sarkofaga u dva niza prikazano je po šest školjki-jakobovih kapica, između

Based on the previous analyses, it is possible to approach an iconological interpretation of the composition of the upper slab area (Fig. 18) in the following way:<sup>49</sup> If the elements beneath the arches are recognized as stylized vegetation, the rest of the composition acquires a clearer semantic structure; vegetal motifs, as in the lower part of the relief, denote the paradisiacal vegetation, while the arch or arcade, as a visual motif, is used to indicate space, sometimes architectural, and sometimes symbolic in character, such as the paradisiacal garden. The role and symbolism of the arcade can, in terms of spiritual protection, be viewed in analogy with the symbol of the aureole.<sup>50</sup> Both carry connotations of protection, separation from the profane, and placement under the shelter of the sacred. The arcade thus appears as a visual articulation of refuge and of paradise as the ultimate spiritual dwelling. One of the arches, as already noted, is filled with a string of pearls, which further symbolically imbues the scene and implies the concept of a paradisiacal landscape: the Kingdom of Heaven.<sup>51</sup> Accordingly, the visual solution of the entire relief would be consistent with such an interpretation. The lower part of the slab would represent a large bird in a paradisiacal garden, which supports the identification of this bird as a peacock, along with the possibility that the scene symbolizes the soul in paradise. In this way, all key elements of the composition – the bird with a nimbus, the arcades, the pearls, and the vegetal motifs – are brought together into a unified iconological whole oriented toward the symbolism of the Garden of Paradise.

Such an eschatological reading of the scene, oriented toward the idea of paradise and salvation of the soul, logically continues the architectural and iconographic framework of the composition. In Medieval visual practice, semi-circular niches (conches) – often shell-shaped – appear more frequently than arcades. All these variants function as a baldachin; a visual sign of protection and separation of the sacred space, with the symbolism of the shell and the pearl formed within it further deepening the eschatological potential of these realizations.<sup>52</sup> Among the finest visual realizations of this iconographic concept, and also in the funerary context, is the Merovingian sarcophagus of Abbess Theodechild from the crypt of the monastery of Jouarre in France, dated to the 7th century (Pl. V: 1).<sup>53</sup> On the lateral sides of the sarcophagus, two rows of six (scallop) shells are depicted with columns between them stylized as stems. The ends of the columns take the form

49 Zahvaljujemo prof. dr. Jeleni Erdeljan na korisnim uputama i sugestijama o mogućem tumačenju ovih simbola.

50 De Champeaux i Sterckx formulirali su ovu analogiju na sljedeći način: „Obris arkade... tek je savršeni obris čovjeka s aureolom. Ona odgovara svecu, čovjeku u kojem je dovršeno uznesenje tijela po duhu, u kojem je ostvaren misterij božanske nenastanjenosti što je simbolizira kamena crkva“. Champeaux, Sterckx, Introduction au monde des symboles; cit. prema: Chevalier, Gheerbrandt 2003, 431.

51 Biser, „najvredniji od dragulja“, znak je spasa, koji vrijedi više od zemaljskoga blaga. Prema Matejevu evanđelju, Krist je rekao: „S kraljevstvom je nebeskim kao s trgovcem koji traži skupocjeno biserje i kad se namjeri na dragocjen biser, ode da proda sve što ima i kupi ga“ (Mt 13,45). Badurina 1979, 159.

52 Simbolika školjke i bisera dovodi se u vezu sa smrću, s obzirom da je njezin razvoj uvjetovan nestankom prvobitnog stanovnika školjke, odnosno, napredak proizilazi iz „smrti“ prethodnog pokoljenja. Chevalier, Gheerbrandt 2003, 679.

53 Melli 2005, 105.

49 The authors would like to express their gratitude to Prof. Dr. Jelena Erdeljan for her useful guidance and suggestions regarding the possible interpretation of these symbols.

50 De Champeaux and Sterckx formulate this analogy as follows: “The outline of the arcade [...] is nothing but the perfect outline of a man with an aureole. It corresponds to the saint, the man in whom the ascension of the body through the spirit has been completed, in whom the mystery of divine indwelling, symbolized by the stone church, is realized” (Champeaux, Sterckx, Introduction au monde des symboles; cited in Chevalier, Gheerbrandt 2003, 431).

51 The pearl, “the most valuable of jewels,” is a sign of salvation, worth more than earthly treasure. According to the Gospel of Matthew, Christ said: “The kingdom of heaven is like a merchant seeking fine pearls, who, when he finds one pearl of great value, goes and sells all that he has and buys it” (Mt 13:45) (Badurina 1979, 159).

52 The symbolism of the shell and the pearl is associated with death, insofar as its development is conditioned by the disappearance of the shell's original inhabitant; that is, progress arises from the “death” of the previous generation (Chevalier, Gheerbrandt 2003, 679).

53 Melli 2005, 105.

kojih se nalaze stubići, stilizirani od stabljika. Krajevi stubića su u vidu tri trakice, vrlo slične završetku motiva u donjoj lijevoj zoni reljefa iz Zavale. Slična simbolika prisutna je i na vizigotskim pločama iz Museo de Zamora (Španija), također datiranim u 7. stoljeće (T. V: 2). Ovdje je motiv školjke smješten pod lukom od perli, izgledom srodnom luku i nimbu s nove ploče. Lukovi ispunjeni nizom bisera, u isprepletenoj varijanti i u štuko tehnici, zastupljeni su i na ciboriju u Crkvi Sant'Ambrogio u Milanu iz 10. stoljeća (T. V: 3).<sup>54</sup> Unutar arkade razaznaju se biljni motivi, stilizirani trolisno, također slični onima u lukovima na reljefu iz Zavale. Navedeni primjeri predstavljaju mali dio šireg korpusa srodnih likovnih rješenja. Slični dekorativni frizovi mogu se naći i na istočnoj obali Jadranskog mora, između ostalog na reljefima iz Novigrada, Splita, Zadra, kao i na crnogorskom primorju (T. V: 4-8).<sup>55</sup> Unatoč geografskoj i vremenskoj udaljenosti izdvojenih primjera, odabir motiva i formalne sličnosti upućuju na postojanje zajedničkog ikonografsko-stilskog repertoara u ranosrednjovjekovnoj sakralnoj skulpturi šireg europskog prostora. Riječ je o univerzalnom vizualnom jeziku – simbolici zaštite, sakralnog prostora i duhovnog prebivališta – formiranom unutar mediteranskog kulturnog kruga. Iako se kamena plastika Zavale može razmatrati unutar tog okvira, ona i dalje ostaje jedinstvena pojava. Premda su tumačenja njihove ikonografije zasad na razini pretpostavki, originalnost ovih ploča – koja se prije svega ogleda u izostanku neposrednih paralela – ukazuje na potrebu daljnijeg istraživanja mogućih uzora i dublje interpretacije slojevite simbolike koju nose.

## ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA

Otkriće nove figuralne reljefne ploče i predromaničke trolisne građevine na Crkvi u Zavali, iako otvara nove mogućnosti za preciznije određivanje vremenskog okvira kamenog namještaja s ovog lokaliteta, ujedno dodatno usložnjava interpretaciju arheoloških nalaza i građevnih slojeva na nje-mu. Premda je teško precizno povezati ulomke s konkretnim slojevima, sama potvrda postojanja starijih građevina na ovom mjestu povećava vjerojatnoću njihove pripadnosti predromaničkom razdoblju, kako su to ranije predlagali pojedini istraživači. S obzirom na nedostatak materijalnih dokaza na terenu, nije moguće bez zadržke iznijeti argumentaciju za izvornu pripadnost ulomaka najstarijoj građevini, kao ni bilo kojoj drugoj – iskopanoj ili još neotkrivenoj – na širem području sela Zavala. Arheološki integritet pokretnih

of three strips, very similar to the termination of the motif in the lower left area of the relief from Zavala. A similar symbolism is present on Visigothic slabs from the Museo de Zamora (Spain), also dated to the 7th century (Pl. V: 2). Here, the shell motif is placed under an arch of pearls, visually related to the arch and nimbus on this new slab. Arches filled with strings of pearls, in an interlaced variant and in stucco technique, are also present on the ciborium in the Church of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan from the 10th century (Pl. V: 3).<sup>54</sup> Within the arcade, vegetal motifs can be discerned, stylized in three-lobed form, also similar to those within the arches on the Zavala relief. The cited examples represent only a small part of a broader corpus of related visual solutions. Similar decorative friezes can also be found along the eastern Adriatic coast, including on reliefs from Novigrad, Split and Zadar, as well as along the Montenegrin coast (Pl. V: 4–8).<sup>55</sup> Despite the geographical and chronological distance between the selected examples, the choice of motifs and formal similarities points to the existence of a shared iconographic and stylistic repertoire in Early Medieval sacral sculpture across a broader European space. This represents a universal visual language – the symbolism of protection, sacred space, and spiritual dwelling – formed within the Mediterranean cultural sphere. Although the stone sculpture of Zavala can be considered within this framework, it nevertheless remains a unique phenomenon. Even though interpretations of its iconography currently remain at the level of hypothesis, the originality of these slabs – most evident in the absence of direct parallels – indicates the need for further research into possible models, and a deeper interpretation of the layered symbolism they have.

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The discovery of a new figural relief slab and a pre-Romanesque triconchal structure at Crkvina in Zavala, although opening up new possibilities for a more precise determination of the chronological framework of the stone furnishings from this site, at the same time further complicates the interpretation of the archaeological finds and building layers present there. While it is difficult to precisely link the fragments to specific layers, the very confirmation of the existence of earlier structures at this location increases the likelihood of their attribution to the pre-Romanesque period, as previously suggested by certain researchers. Given the lack of material evidence in the field, it is not possible to unreservedly argue for an original attribution of the fragments to the earliest

54 Melli 2005, 155–157.

55 Komponirani su tako da se ispod luka nalaze motivi nalik rozeti, ponekad sa stiliziranom nišom u obliku školjke i volutama. U sakralnoj plastici često je zastupljen ikonografski obrazac križa u vegetaciji, kao vizualna metafora rajskog vrta, naslijeđena iz ranokršćanske ikonografije. Jakšić ovakve predstave vidi kao „rajski vrt” ili „rajski motiv, prepoznatljiv u plastici oltarnih pregrada na istočnoj obali Jadrana (T. V: 4, 6, 8). Jakšić 2015, sl. 17, 29, 36; Subotić 1963, sl. 11; Janković 2007, sl. 87. Biljni motivi sa strana križa najčešće su stabla ili palmete (T. V: 4, 6, 8). I na njima su nerijetko prisutne arkade ili niše, različito oblikovane. Javljuju se od Kotora na jugu do Novigrada u Istri. U kombinaciji s ovim motivom pojavljuje se greda s nizom koji je Jakšić nazvao „vijenac polurozeta/ razlistanih palmetica”, na što asocira arkada u gornjem dijelu zavalske ploče. Jakšić 2015, 81, 84, 156.

54 Melli 2005, 155–157.

55 They are composed in such a way that beneath the arches there are rosette-like motifs, sometimes with a stylized niche in the form of a shell and volutes. In sacral sculpture, the iconographic scheme of the cross amidst vegetation is frequently represented as a visual metaphor of the Garden of Paradise, inherited from early Christian iconography. Jakšić interprets such representations as a “paradisical garden” or “paradisical motif, recognizable in the sculpture of altar screens on the eastern Adriatic coast” (Pl. V: 4, 6, 8) (Jakšić 2015, figs. 17, 29, 36; Subotić 1963, fig. 11; Janković 2007, fig. 87). The vegetal motifs on either side of the cross are most often trees or palmettes (Pl. V: 4, 6, 8), and arcades or niches of various forms are frequently present on them. They appear from Kotor in the south to Novigrad in Istria. In combination with this motif, a beam appears with a sequence that Jakšić termed a “wreath of half-rosettes / foliated palmettes,” to which the arcade in the upper part of the Zavala slab corresponds (Jakšić 2015, 81, 84, 156).

nalaza iz Zavale nedostatan je do te mjere da zasad ne dopušta iznošenje zaključaka o njihovoj povezanosti s istraženim objektima, pa ni o međusobnoj vezi svih pronađenih fragmenata.

Novootkrivena ploča, iako velik i očigledno značajan dio, ne olakšava rekonstrukciju kamene pregrade kao funkcionalne i likovne cjeline,<sup>56</sup> ali ključna je za ikonografsku (re)interpretaciju i dopunu dosadašnjih stilskih razmatranja.

Ikonografske i stilske sličnosti dviju velikih ploča, uz veće podudarnosti pojedinih detalja (poput obrade nimbova i polukružnih niša te linearnog tretmana perja), jasno ih postavljaju u izravnu korelaciju i isto vremensko razdoblje, uz mogućnost da su pripadale istoj kamenoj pregradi. Moglo bi se, stoga, pretpostaviti da su potekle iz iste radionice. Očigledne razlike u tehničkoj izvedbi, međutim, upućuju na različite klesare: novu ploču odlikuje precizniji rez i obrada detalja, dok ploča 1 pokazuje mekši tretman forme. Manje ploče s pticama (ploče 2 i 3) mogu se dovesti u vezu s velikima tek na općoj ikonografskoj razini, kao dio istog vizualnog repertoara. U stilskom pogledu ploča 2 pokazuje određene podudarnosti – redukciju volumena u korist linije i oblikovanje tijela i perja pomoću horizontalnih crtica – dok je ploča 3 još grublje izvedena, uz tek pojedine formalne sličnosti s ostalim primjerima. Istodobno, djeluju kao fragmenti druge vrste dekoracije, ne nužno iste kamene pregrade. Na osnovu komparativne analize i stilskih odlika – prije svega naglašene linearne obrade i reduciranja volumena – figuralne ploče mogle bi se s većom sigurnošću okvirno datirati u razdoblje između 9. i 11. stoljeća, imajući u vidu promjene u likovnom izrazu početkom 12. stoljeća.<sup>57</sup> Bliska kulturološka povezanost s dubrovačkim područjem značajno umanjuje mogućnost izrazito zakašnjelih oblika na jugu današnje Bosne i Hercegovine.<sup>58</sup> Zbog ikonografske i stilske specifičnosti ovih figuralnih ploča, u potrazi za uzorima, radionicama i općenito novim spoznajama, nužno je proširiti istraživanja u više smjerova. U daljnjoj analizi treba imati u vidu i bizantske utjecaje na području južnog jadranskog primorja i njegovog zaleđa, uz mogućnost da su u autohtonom likovnom jeziku zastupljeni i kroz baštinenje tradicija ranokršćanskog doba.<sup>59</sup>

structure, nor to any other – excavated or yet undiscovered – within the wider area of the village of Zavala. The archaeological integrity of the movable finds from Zavala is insufficient to – at present – allow conclusions to be drawn about their connection to the investigated structures, or even about the interrelationship of all the discovered fragments.

The newly discovered slab, although a large and evidently significant piece, does not facilitate the reconstruction of the stone screen as a functional and visual whole,<sup>56</sup> but it is crucial for the iconographic (re)interpretation and in supplementing previous stylistic considerations.

The iconographic and stylistic similarities of the two large slabs, with their stronger correspondences in certain details (such as the treatment of the nimboes and semi-circular niches, as well as the linear rendering of the feathers), clearly place them in direct correlation and within the same chronological period, with the possibility existing that they belonged to the same stone screen. It could therefore be assumed that they originated from the same workshop. However, evident differences in technical execution point to different stone carvers: the new slab is characterized by a more precise cut and finer treatment of details, while Slab 1 shows a softer handling of form. The smaller slabs with birds (Slabs 2 and 3) can be related to the larger ones only at a general iconographic level, as part of the same visual repertoire. In stylistic terms, Slab 2 shows certain correspondences – reduction of volume in favour of line and the shaping of the body and feathers by means of horizontal incisions – while Slab 3 is executed more crudely, with only occasional formal similarities to the other examples. At the same time, they appear to be fragments of a different type of decoration, not necessarily of the same stone screen. On the basis of comparative analysis and stylistic features – above all the pronounced linear treatment and reduction of volume – the figural slabs could, with greater certainty, be broadly dated to the period between the 9th and 11th centuries, taking into account changes in artistic expression at the beginning of the 12th century.<sup>57</sup> The close cultural connection with the Dubrovnik area significantly reduces the likelihood of markedly delayed forms in the south of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>58</sup> Due to the iconographic and stylistic specificity of these figural slabs, in the search for models, workshops, and generally new insights, it is necessary to expand research in multiple directions. In further analysis, Byzantine influences in the southern Adriatic coast and its hinterland should also be taken into account, with the possibility that

56 Za jednu od mogućih rekonstrukcija zavalske oltarne pregrade, načinjene od ranije otkrivenih fragmenata (iako ne svih), vidj. Praštalo 2003, T. VI: 3 (T. III: 3).

57 U 11. stoljeću u predromaničkoj skulpturi istočnjadranskog primorja uočavaju se promjene. Osjeća se povratak plastičnim vrijednostima, punoća oblika, odnosno udaljavanje od geometrizacije i dekorativnosti, uplitanje življih i slobodnijih motiva u staru linearnu shemu reljefa, kao i brižljivije predstavljanje antičkih motiva. Subotić 1963, 62.

58 Cf. Džino 2023. o uključenosti Zahumlja u prostor istočnog Jadrana i komunikacijama duž doline Neretve, koje su povezivale obalu i zaleđe; o društvenim i političkim transformacijama prostora Huma u 9. stoljeću, te o teritorijalnom opsegu Zahumlja (Huma) u 10. stoljeću između Dubrovnika i Neretve, pri čemu se Zavala navodi kao područje koje je vjerojatno ulazilo u teritorij Zahumlja na granici prema Travuniji Džino, op. cit. 131, 158.

59 Na fenomen ploča iz Zavale osvrće se i Jurković. Ističe da bizantski utjecaj u većoj ili manjoj mjeri postaje trajni dio kulturne baštine ovih prostora, te se prenosi i u kasnija razdoblja. Autor pritom naglašava da ponovna prisutnost Bizanta na istočnoj jadranskoj obali ne mora značiti uvođenje novih oblika, već može predstavljati oživljavanje ranijih stilskih karakteristika. Jurković 1987, 109. Sličan interpretativni okvir Jurković razvija i u raspravi o kontinuitetu između antike i romanike u umjetnosti istočnog Jadrana, gdje ukazuje na dugotrajnost i transformaciju pojedinih obrazaca. Jurković 1988, 41-47.

56 For one of the possible reconstructions of the Zavala altar screen, made from previously discovered fragments (though not all), see Praštalo 2003, Pl. VI: 3 (Pl. III: 3).

57 In the 11th century, changes in the pre-Romanesque sculpture of the eastern Adriatic Littoral can be observed. A renewed emphasis on plasticity and volumetric form is evident, marking a departure from strict geometrization and ornamentality, along with the introduction of more dynamic and freer motifs into the traditional linear relief scheme, as well as a more refined treatment of classical elements (Subotić 1963, 62).

58 cf. Džino 2023 on the inclusion of Zahumlje within the eastern Adriatic sphere and the communications along the Neretva valley connecting the coast and the hinterland, on the social and political transformations of the Hum region in the 9th century, and on the territorial scope of Zahumlje (Hum) in the 10th century between Dubrovnik and the Neretva and its hinterland, with Zavala claimed as an area that likely fell within the territory of Zahumlje on the border with Travunia (Džino, op. cit., 131, 158).

Budući da nije u potpunosti razjašnjeno vrijeme devastacije trolisne građevine, okolnosti podizanja niza kasnijih objekata iznad nje, način postupanja s pronađenim ulomcima kroz stoljeća ni to je li reljefna ploča namjerno ili slučajno završila na zatečenoj lokaciji i dalje ostaju otvorena brojna pitanja sudbine i izgleda ostalih profiliranih kamenih fragmenata.

Ikonološka interpretacija reljefa, u ovom trenutku, ostaje na nivou hipoteza, ali ponuđeno tumačenje usmjereno je prema simbolici rajskoga vrta i temi uskrsnuća kao mogućem ključu čitanja. Ikonografski motiv ptice s nimбом može se dovesti u vezu s eshatološkim značenjima, odnosno s idejom uskrsnuća duše i života poslije smrti, dok prisustvo polukružnih niša i niza bisera na vijencu dodatno naglašava zaštitnu i simboličku dimenziju prikaza. U kontekstu trolisne građevine i jasno izraženog funerarnog okruženja to upućuje na naglašenu memorijalno-sepulkralnu dimenziju datog prostora. Stoga ikonografija cijele skupine figuralne kamene plastike iz Zavale prerasta u argument u funkcionalnoj interpretaciji samog lokaliteta kao mjesta snažnog i dugotrajnog sakralnog i memorijalnog značaja, pri čemu se novootkriveni objekt može s većom vjerojatnošću tumačiti kao memorija, a ne isključivo kao crkva.

Novim arheološkim otkrićima u Zavali još jednom je potvrđena važnost ovog područja u ranom i razvijenom srednjem vijeku. S obzirom na slojevitu arheološku sliku lokaliteta Crkvina – postojanje više različitih objekata, bogato obrađene kamene plastike i višestrukih ukopa – jasno se očituje njegov sakralni kontinuitet. Nalazi nedvosmisleno ukazuju na postojano korištenje prostora kroz više faza gradnje i sepulkralne namjene, što dodatno potvrđuje njegovu ulogu lokalnog kulturnog središta. Daljnja i tehnološki naprednija arheološka istraživanja u široj okolici Ravnoga mogla bi dovesti do novih otkrića i doprinijeti potpunijem razumijevanju ove složene cjeline. Time bi se ujedno proširilo i naše, trenutno još uvijek ograničeno, poznavanje rano-srednjovjekovne sakralne umjetnosti na prostoru današnje Bosne i Hercegovine.

these are represented within the autochthonous artistic language through the inheritance of early Christian traditions.<sup>59</sup>

Since numerous issues – including the time of the devastation of the triconchal structure, the circumstances under which a series of later buildings were erected above it, the way in which the discovered fragments were handled over the centuries, and whether the relief slab ended up at its present location intentionally or by chance – have not been fully resolved, numerous questions concerning the fate and appearance of the remaining profiled stone fragments remain open.

The iconological interpretation of the relief, at this stage, remains at the level of hypothesis, but the proposed reading is directed toward the symbolism of the Garden of Paradise and the theme of resurrection as a possible key to its interpretation. The iconographic motif of a bird with a nimbus may be associated with eschatological meanings, i.e. with the idea of the resurrection of the soul and life after death, while the presence of semi-circular niches and a string of pearls on the moulding further emphasizes the protective and symbolic dimension of the depiction. In the context of the triconchal structure and the clearly expressed funerary environment, this points to a pronounced memorial-sepulchral dimension of the space in question. Thus, the iconography of the entire grouping of figural stone sculpture from Zavala develops into an argument as to the functional interpretation of the site itself as a place of strong and long-lasting sacred and memorial significance, whereby the newly discovered structure can, with greater probability, be interpreted as a memoria rather than exclusively as a church.

New archaeological discoveries in Zavala have once again confirmed the importance of this area in the Early and High Middle Ages. Given the stratified archaeological picture of the Crkvina site – the presence of several different structures, richly carved stone sculpture, and multiple burials – its sacred continuity is clearly evident. The finds unequivocally indicate the continuous use of the space through several phases of construction and sepulchral function, which further confirms its role as a local cult centre. Additional, technologically more advanced archaeological research in the wider area of Ravno could lead to new discoveries and contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of this complex site. In doing so, it would also expand our currently still-limited knowledge of Early Medieval sacred art upon the territory of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Marasović je smatrao da se rano-srednjovjekovna arhitektura u Bosni i Hercegovini ne može promatrati kao izolirana ili zakašnjela pojava, već kao dio šireg dalmatinsko-jadranskog kulturnog kruga, te je dijelom priključio građi Dalmatia praeromanica. Razmatra tipološka rješenja, poput centralnih i više-apsidalnih osnova, kao rezultat dugotrajnog kontinuiteta i lokalne transformacije kasnoantičkih graditeljskih tradicija. Marasović 2013.

59 Jurković also addresses the phenomenon of the slabs from Zavala. He emphasizes that Byzantine influence became, to a greater or lesser extent, a permanent part of the cultural heritage of these regions and was transmitted into later periods. He stresses that the renewed presence of Byzantium on the eastern Adriatic coast does not necessarily imply the introduction of new forms, but may instead represent the revival of earlier stylistic characteristics (Jurković 1987, 109). A similar interpretative framework is developed by Jurković in his discussion of the continuity between Antiquity and the Romanesque in the art of the eastern Adriatic, where he points to the longevity and transformation of certain patterns (Jurković 1988, 41–47). Marasović considered that Early Medieval architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina should not be viewed as an isolated or belated phenomenon, but as part of the broader Dalmatian-Adriatic cultural sphere, partially incorporating it into the corpus of *Dalmatia praeromanica*. He examines typological solutions, such as central and multi-apsed plans, as the result of long continuity and the local transformation of Late Antique building traditions (Marasović 2013).

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## Građa (projektna dokumentacija):

*Idejni projekt konzervacije i restauracije tri crkve, zid i obnova Crkve sv. Petra, arheološki lokalitet Crkva u Zavali, kat. č. 583/1, k.o. Zavala. TD 74-01/19, 2019. AG Burić d.o.o., projektna dokumentacija.*

T. 1

Pl. 1



1



2



3



4



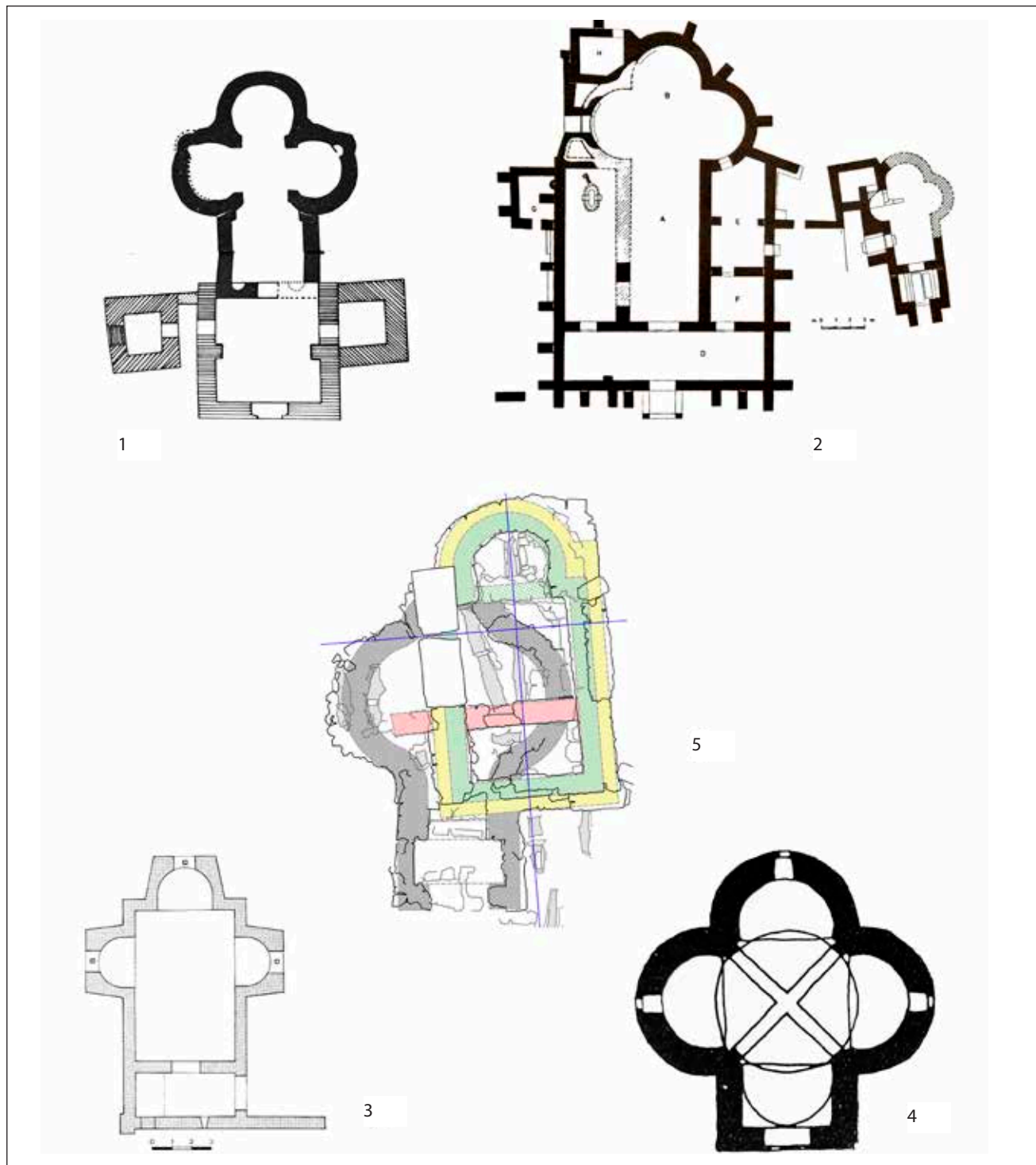
5

1, 2. Pronalazak reljefne ploče, listopad 2020. godine (arhiva S. Vasilj).

3-5. Konhe predromaničke građevine: u fazi istraživanja terena (3; arhiva S. Vasilj) i nakon konzervacije (4, 5; snimila: A. Mekić).

1, 2. Discovery of the relief slab, October 2020. (archive of S. Vasilj).

3-5. Conches of the pre-Romanesque building: during the archaeological investigation stage (3, archive of S. Vasilj) and after conservation (4, 5; photography: A. Mekić).

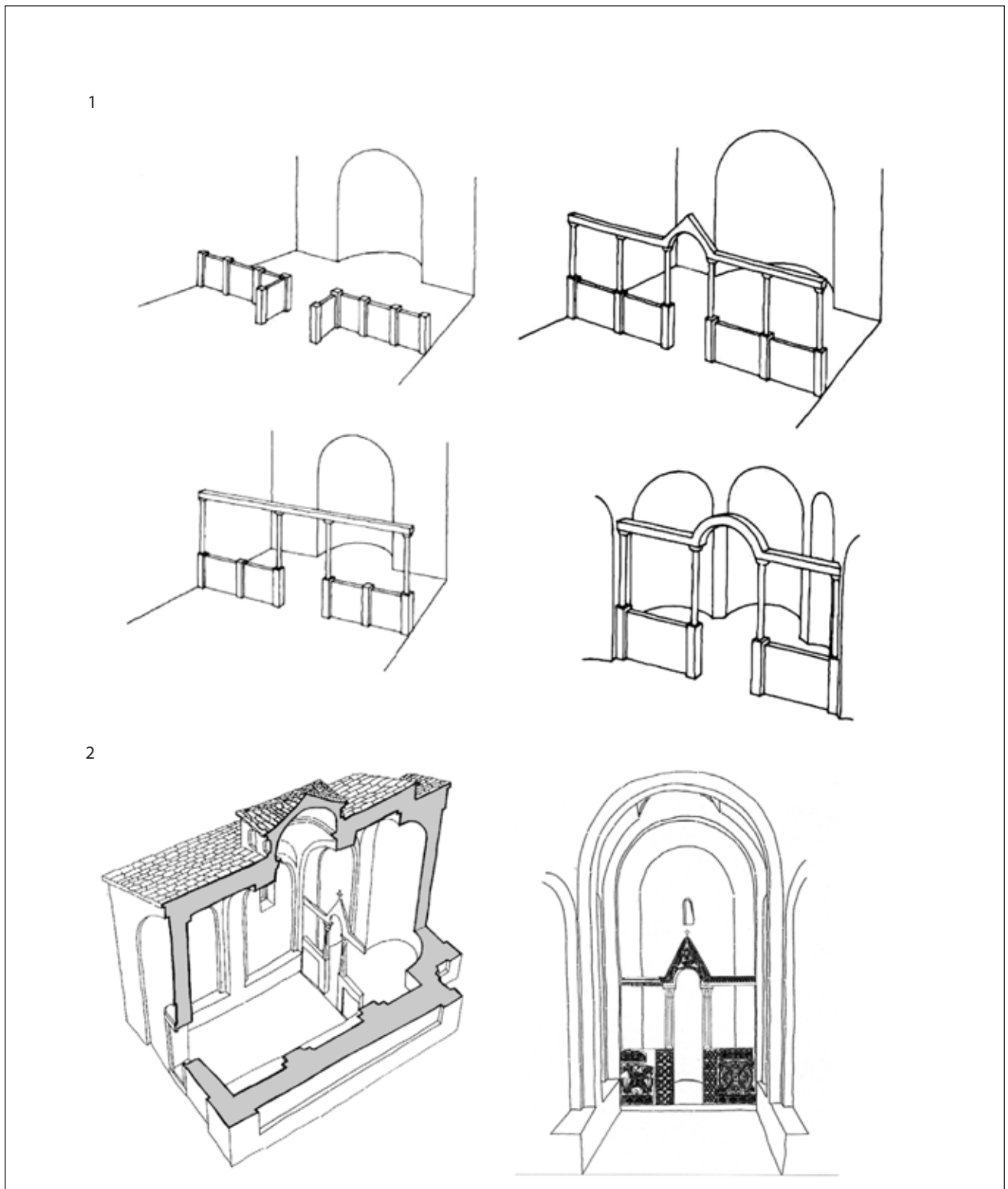


**Komparativna građa: trolisne građevine**

1. Tlocrt Crkve sv. Jovana, Zaton na Limu (prema: Đurić 1986, crtež str. 58/59).
2. Tlocrt starokršćanske bazilike u Cim i grobne kapele/memorije južno od bazilike (prema: Paškvalin, 2003, SGM 50, str. 336).
3. Tlocrt Crkve sv. Pavla, Čičevo kod Trebinja (prema: Popović 1973, sl. 3, 324).
4. Tlocrt Crkve sv. Nikole, Nin (prema: Subotić 1963, sl. 1, 2, 17).
5. Tlocrt trikonhosa u Zavali, razmjera 1:100 (AG Burić d.o.o.).

**Comparative material: triconchal buildings**

1. Floor plan of the Church of St. John at Zaton on Lim (acc.: Đurić 1986, drawing 58/59).
2. Floor plan of the early Christian basilica in Cim and the burial chapel/memorial south of the basilica (acc.: Paškvalin, 2003, SGM 50, 336).
3. Floor plan of the Church of St. Paul in Čičevo near Trebinje (acc.: Popović 1973, fig. 3, 324).
4. Floor plan of the Church of St. Nicolas in Nin (acc.: Subotić 1963, fig. 1, 2, 17).
5. Floor plan of triconchal plan in Zavala, scale 1:100 (AG Burić d.o.o.).



**Izgled oltarnih pregrada**

1. Tipovi oltarnih pregrada (prema: Marasović 2007, 111).
2. Idejna rekonstrukcija crkve Sv. Mihajla na Koločepu (prema: Marasović 2007, 112).
3. Idejna rekonstrukcija oltarne pregrade iz Zavale (prema: Praštalo 2003, T-IV).

**Appearance of altar screens**

1. Types of altar screens (acc.: Marasović 2007, 111).
2. Conceptual reconstruction of the Church of St. Michael on Koločep (acc.: Marasović 2007, 112).
3. Conceptual reconstruction of the altar screen from Zavala (acc.: Praštalo 2003, T-IV).



1 a



1 b



2 a



2 b

**Komparativna građa: motivi ptica**

1 (a, b). Zabati sa sučeljenim pticama: Uzdolje kod Knina (prema: Jakšić 2015, 358, sl. 9b), Crkva sv. Petra i Mojsija u Solinu (prema: Marasović 2008, 313, sl. 353a).  
 2 (a, b). Motivi ptica s grozdom u kljunu (prema: Josipović, Magaš Mesić, 27, sl. 5), plutej iz Novigrada (prema: Jakšić 2015, naslovnica knjige).

**Comparative material: bird motifs**

1 (a, b). Gables with opposed birds: Uzdolje near Knin (acc.: Jakšić 2015, 358, fig. 9b), Church of St. Peter and Moses in Solin (acc.: Marasović 2008, 313, fig. 353a).  
 2 (a, b). Motifs of birds with grapes in their beaks (acc.: Josipović, Magaš Mesić, 27, fig. 5), pluteus from Novigrad (acc.: Jakšić 2015, book cover).



#### Komparativna građa: simbolika rajskoga vrta

1. Teodohildin sarkofag, Opatija Notre-Dame de Jouarre, Francuska (uz dozvolu preuzeto s oficijelne web stranice <https://www.abbayejouarre.org/>).
- 2 (a, b). Nišne ploče, Pozantiguo (Zamora). Museo de Zamora, Španija (fotografija: Estudio Mynt).
3. Detalj luka ciborija iz crkve Sant'Ambrogio u Milanu (snimila: A. Mekić).
4. Mramorni plutej u Novigradu (prema: Jakšić 2015, 71, sl. 17).
5. Dio pluteja iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu (prema: Subotić 1963, 31, sl. 11: detalj).
6. Plutej iz Arheološkog muzeja u Zadru (prema: Jakšić 2015, 83, sl. 36).
7. Ploča oltarne pregrade s motivima niša iz Manastira Ilovica (prema: Janković 2007, 100, sl. 87).
8. Mali sarkofag iz kompleksa katedrale u Zadru (prema: Jakšić 2015, 474, sl. 29).

#### Comparative material: symbolism of the Garden of Eden

1. Theodohilda's sarcophagus, Notre-Dame de Jouarre Abbey, France (taken with permission from the official website <https://www.abbayejouarre.org/>).
- 2 (a, b). Niche slabs, Pozantiguo (Zamora). Museo de Zamora, Spain (photography: Estudio Mynt).
3. Detail of the ciborium arch from the church of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan (photography: A. Mekić).
4. Marble pluteus from Novigrad (acc.: Jakšić 2015, 71, fig. 17).
5. Part of a pluteus from the Archaeological Museum in Split (acc.: Subotić 1963, 31, fig. 11: detail).
6. Pluteus from the Archaeological Museum in Zadar (acc.: Jakšić 2015, 83, fig. 36).
7. Plate of the altar screen with niche motifs from the Ilovica Monastery (acc.: Janković 2007, 100, fig. 87).
8. Small sarcophagus from the Zadar cathedral complex (acc.: Jakšić 2015, 474, fig. 29).



# Ćirilичni zapis na olovnoj pločici iz Fatničkog polja: Prilog proučavanju srednjovjekovnih bosanskih amuleta

## Cyrillic Inscription on a Lead Tablet from Fatničko Polje: A Contribution to the Study of Medieval Bosnian Amulets

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**Sažetak:** U radu se donosi čitanje i analiza apotropejskog ćiriličnog zapisa s olovne pločice koja je pohranjena u Zemaljskom muzeju BiH pod inventarnim brojem 807. Pločica je pronađena krajem 19. stoljeća na ruševinama stare crkve u Fatničkom polju kod Bileća, na posjedu Jovana Popare, a 1895. godine u Zemaljski muzej ju je poslao Kotarski ured Bileća. Riječ je o oštećenom amuletu čiji je sadržaj molitva sv. Trifuna protiv najezde štetočina koje napadaju njive, vrtove i vinograde. U ovom radu se, pored čitanja i transliteracije teksta, komentira pismo i jezik zapisa te se njegov sadržaj stavlja u kontekst sličnih slavenskih apokrifnih tekstova. Poređenje fatničkog zapisa s drugim dostupnim primjercima ove molitve pokazalo je da se ovaj zapis najbolje podudara s tekstom molitve u zborniku apokrifa iz manastira Savina (XVI–XVII), na osnovu čega se može pretpostaviti da su ovakvi apokrifi bili rašireni u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni.

**Ključne riječi:** olovna pločica, amulet, Fatničko polje kod Bileća, ćirilični apotropejski zapis, molitva sv. Trifuna, slavenski apokrifi

**Summary:** This paper presents the reading and analysis of the apotropaic Cyrillic inscription from a lead tablet stored in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina under inventory number 807. The tablet was found at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century at the ruins of the old church in Fatničko Polje (Fatnica Field) near Bileća, on the property of Jovan Popara. It was sent to the National Museum by the District Office of Bileća in 1895. It is a damaged amulet whose content is the prayer of St. Tryphon against infestations of pests that attack fields, gardens and vineyards. This paper, in addition to presenting a reading and transliteration of the text, comments on the script and language of the inscription, and its content is placed in the context of similar Slavic apocryphal texts. A comparison of the Fatnica inscription with other available copies of this prayer showed that this record best matches the text of a prayer in the collection of apocrypha from the Savina monastery (XVI–XVII), on the basis of which it can be assumed that such apocrypha were widespread in medieval Bosnia.

**Keywords:** Lead tablet, amulet, Fatničko Polje near Bileća, Cyrillic apotropaic inscription, Prayer of St. Tryphon, Slavic apocryph

## UVOD

U Arheološkoj zbirci Zemaljskog muzeja BiH pohranjena je olovna pločica koja je pronađena krajem 19. stoljeća u Fatničkom polju kod Bileće. Prema podacima u inventarnoj knjizi, gdje je pločica zavedena pod brojem 807, riječ je o artefaktu pronađenom na ruševinama stare crkve u Fatničkom polju kod Bileće, na posjedu Jovana Popare. Godine 1895. pločicu je u Zemaljski muzej poslao Kotarski ured Bileća.<sup>1</sup>

O okolnostima pronalaska pločice dostupna literatura ne nudi nikakve podatke. Također se ne zna da li je pločica pronađena u sklopu arheološkog istraživanja ili je slučajni nalaz. Budući da u arheološkoj literaturi izostaju bilo kakvi podaci o nekom sistemskom istraživanju ovoga terena,<sup>2</sup> moguće je da je nalaz slučajan te da je vlasnik posjeda artefakt predao Kotarskom uredu Bileća. Otprilike u isto vrijeme, 1890. godine, otkriven je i rimski nadgrobni spomenik uz cestu iz Stoca do Bileće. Sadržaj njegovog natpisa objavio je Radimský 1892. godine pri tome navodeći da je za nalaz saznao sasvim slučajno te da je spomenik pronađen na razvalinama stare zgrade.<sup>3</sup> Nadgrobnik je kasnije prenesen u lokalni muzej, o čemu izvještava C. Patsch, koji također ponavlja mogućnost da je na lokalitetu postojala crkvice za koju je upotrijebljeno rimsko kamenje kao glavice pilastrima.<sup>4</sup> Podaci iz članka Radimskog poslužili su kao osnova za natuknicu u *Arheološkom leksikonu Bosne i Hercegovine* (1988) u kojem se navodi da su ruševine male zgrade možda ostaci crkvice iz kasnijeg doba, što bi upućivalo na to da je rimski nadgrobnik u sekundarnoj upotrebi.<sup>5</sup> Ovi podaci čine se važnim zbog toga što se za kontekstualizaciju amuleta koji je predmet naše analize mora pretpostaviti postojanje određenog vjerskog centra u kojem je on nastao. Ovome treba dodati i to da su u Fatnici i njenoj okolini evidentirani brojni stećci: u selu Glavica nalazi se kasnosrednjovjekovna nekropola koju čini 27 stećaka,<sup>6</sup> a u okolini se nalaze i tri nadgrobna natpisa: na velikom krstu u Kalcu, na visokom sanduku kod osnovne škole i na grobnoj ploči u pravoslavnom groblju. Njima treba pridružiti i stećke u selu Davidovići, koje je također pripadalo Fatnici.<sup>7</sup> Sve ovo ukazuje na to da je Fatnica važan srednjovjekovni lokalitet s razvijenom pismenošću.<sup>8</sup> Međutim, pomalo je zagonetno zašto o pločici, koja je više od sto godina pohranjena u Zemaljskom muzeju, nema nikakvih bilješki u literaturi, kao ni

## INTRODUCTION

The Archaeological Collection of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina holds a lead tablet that was found at the end of the 19th century in Fatničko Polje (Fatnica Field) near Bileća. According to the data in the inventory book, where the tablet is registered under number 807, it is an artifact found at the ruins of an old church in Fatničko Polje, on the property of Jovan Popara. In 1895, the tablet was sent to the National Museum by the Bileća District Office.<sup>1</sup>

The available literature offers no information about the circumstances of the tablet's discovery, nor whether the tablet was found during an archaeological excavation or by chance. Since the archaeological literature lacks any data on any systematic research of this terrain,<sup>2</sup> it is possible that the find was accidental and that the owner of the property handed the artifact over to the Bileća District Office. Around the same time, in 1890, a Roman tombstone was discovered along the road from Stolac to Bileća. The content of its inscription was published by Radimský in 1892, noting that he had learned about the find entirely by chance and that the monument had been found among the ruins of an old building.<sup>3</sup> The tombstone was later transferred to a local museum, as reported by C. Patsch, who also reiterated the possibility that there was a small church on the site that had employed Roman stones as pilaster capitals.<sup>4</sup> The data from Radimský's article served as the basis for an entry in the *Archaeological Lexicon of Bosnia and Herzegovina* (1988), which states that the ruins of the small building might be the remains of a later-period church, implying that the Roman tombstone had been used secondarily.<sup>5</sup> This data seems rather important because, in order to contextualize the amulet that is the subject of our analysis, one must assume the existence of some kind of religious center from which it originated. To this, it should be added that numerous stećci (medieval tombstones) have been recorded in Fatnica and its surroundings: in the village of Glavica there is a late medieval necropolis consisting of 27 stećci,<sup>6</sup> and in the surrounding area three tombstone inscriptions were found: on a large cross in Kalac, on a tall *sanduk*-type stećak near an elementary school, and on a tombstone in an Orthodox cemetery. Stećci in the village of Davidovići, which also belonged to Fatnica,<sup>7</sup> should also be considered alongside these. All of this indicates that Fatnica was an important medieval site with a developed written culture.<sup>8</sup> However, the fact that there are no notes in the literature

1 Za podatke iz inventarne knjige srdačno zahvaljujem kolegici Adisi Lepić, arheologinji na Odsjeku za srednji vijek Zemaljskog muzeja BiH.

2 O srednjovjekovnoj pograničnoj župi Fatnica najvažnije podatke donose P. Anđelić (1982; 1983) i M. Vego (1957), a u posljednje vrijeme R. Pečić (2010), koji ističe da je ova župa uglavnom ostala na periferiji naučnog interesovanja. Formirana je na obodu Fatničkog polja, u izvorima se prvi put spominje u 12. stoljeću pod nazivom Vetanica. Pečić na osnovu građe iz dubrovačkih izvora pokazuje da je riječ o vrlo dinamičnom prostoru koji je početkom 15. stoljeća bio pod vlašću Sandalja Hranica, dok kasnije dolazi pod upravu Kosača. Osmanski izvori govore da je na ovom području bilo razvijeno stočarstvo i poljoprivreda, naročito vinogradarstvo.

3 Radimský 1892, 126–127.

4 Patsch 1894, 348.

5 Čović 1988, III, 174.

6 Bešlagić 1971, 383; Čović 1988, III, 174.

7 Vego 1964a, 190, 209; Пекић 2010, 225.

8 Dovoljno je spomenuti da je s ovoga prostora i jedan od najznamenitijih epitafa, onaj Vukana Radonjića: а СНЕ ЛЕЖН ВЪКАН| РАДОННЪ А МНО|ГО ЛН САМЪ ЛЕЖО| а МНОГО ЛН МН Е| ЛЕЖАТН. Vego 1964b, 201.

1 I would like to sincerely thank my colleague Adisa Lepić, archaeologist at the Section for Middle Ages of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, for providing me with the information from the inventory book.

2 The most important information about the medieval border parish of Fatnica is presented by P. Anđelić (1982; 1983) and M. Vego (1957), and more recently by R. Pečić (2010), who points out that this parish has largely remained on the periphery of scholarly interest. It was formed on the edge of Fatničko Polje, and is first mentioned in sources from the 12th century under the name *Vetanica*. Based on material from the Dubrovnik Archive, Pečić shows that this was a highly dynamic area, which in the early 15th century was under the rule of Sandalj Hranic, and later came under the administration of the Kosača family. Ottoman sources indicate that livestock breeding and agriculture, particularly viticulture, were well developed in this area.

3 Radimský 1892, 126–127.

4 Patsch 1894, 348.

5 Čović 1988, III, 174.

6 Bešlagić 1971, 383; Čović 1988, III, 174.

7 Vego 1964a, 190, 209; Пекић 2010, 225.

8 One of the most remarkable epitaphs comes from this area, that of Vukan

pokušaja čitanja njenoga teksta. Mogući razlog može ležati u činjenici da je poprilično oštećena te da sadrži veći dio teže čitljivog teksta za čije je smisao kompletno rekonstrukcija i usporedba sa srodnim tekstovima. Stoga valja pretpostaviti da eventualni pokušaji čitanja nisu urađali plodom te je zbog toga ostala nepoznata.

Kako je riječ o neobrađenom artefaktu, u ovome radu najprije ćemo dati najvažnije podatke o vanjskim karakteristikama pločice, zatim ćemo ponuditi čitanje teksta i njegovu latiničnu transliteraciju. Nakon toga bit će moguće komentirati grafijske i jezičke odlike teksta, naročito u usporedbi sa srodnim tekstovima zabilježenim u drugim slavenskim tradicijama.

## PLOČICA I TEKST ZAPISA

Na Odjeljenju za konzervaciju i restauraciju Zemaljskog muzeja BiH pločica je 2017. godine konzervirana<sup>9</sup> te su načinjene fotografije koje su mi omogućile raščitanje njenoga teksta (sl. 1 i sl. 2). Prema podacima iz inventarne knjige, olovna pločica na kojoj je urezan zapis ima dimenzije 11,9 x 13,2 cm; njena debljina varira 0,6–0,9 mm. Vrlo je moguće da je pločica u izvornom stanju bila u formi svitka, na što upućuju horizontalna pucanja koja nastaju prilikom razmatavanja svitka. Danas pločicu čini 10 dijelova čiji su prijelomi na pojedinim mjestima zahvatili i slova, uključujući desni i donji dio pločice. S obje strane pločice urezan je oštrim predmetom ćirilčni tekst: na prvoj strani u 14 redova, na drugoj u 9 ili 10 redova. Na dnu druge strane izvedene su tri šestokrake zvijezde (heksagrami), a u tekstu magijskog zapisa spomenut je Solomonov pečat. U srednjem vijeku termin Solomonov pečat označavao je upravo ovakve znakove, heksagrame, ali i pentagrame, dok je u kasnijoj zapadnoj magijskoj tradiciji u apotropejskoj i magijskoj ulozi poznat i Solomonov ključ, sa složenim kružnim dijagramima u koje se upisuju simboli ili kraći tekst, a smatralo se da iz ovakvih amuleta ili talismana izvire moć nad nadnaravnim silama, demonima i životinjama.<sup>10</sup>

about the tablet, which has been stored in the National Museum for more than a hundred years, nor have any attempts been made to read its inscription, stands as something of a surprise. A possible reason for this may lie in the fact that the tablet is considerably damaged and that much of its text is difficult to read, requiring reconstruction and comparison with related texts for a meaningful interpretation. Therefore, it can be assumed that any previous attempts at decipherment were unsuccessful, leading to the tablet having remained unknown.

Since this artifact has not been previously studied, in this paper we will first present the most important information about the tablet's external features, then provide a reading of the text and its Latin script transliteration. Subsequently comments on the graphic and linguistic characteristics of the text will be presented, particularly in comparison with related texts recorded in other Slavic traditions.

## TABLET AND PRAYER TEXT

In 2017, the tablet was conserved at the Department for Conservation and Restoration of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and photographs were taken that enabled the decipherment of its text (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2).<sup>9</sup> According to the data from the inventory book, the lead tablet bearing the inscription measures 11.9 x 13.2 cm, with a thickness varying between 0.6 and 0.9 mm. It is highly possible that the tablet in its original state was in the form of a scroll, as indicated by the horizontal cracks present, which commonly occur when such scrolls are unrolled. Today, the tablet consists of ten fragments, whose breaks in certain places have also affected the lettering, especially on parts of the right and lower edges of the tablet. On both sides, the text in Cyrillic script was engraved with a sharp object; on the first side in fourteen lines, and on the second side in nine or ten lines. At the bottom of the second side are three six-pointed stars (hexagrams), with the Seal of Solomon also being mentioned within the text of the magical inscription. In the Middle Ages, the term "Seal of Solomon" referred precisely to such symbols – hexagrams, but also pentagrams – whereas in later Western magical tradition, the "Key of Solomon" also became known for its apotropaic and magical function. This key contained complex circular diagrams within which symbols or short texts were inscribed, and it was believed that power over supernatural forces, demons and animals emanated from such amulets or talismans.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Srdačno zahvaljujem višoj konzervatorici Zemaljskog muzeja BiH Lejli Bajramović koja mi je ustupila fotografije pločice nakon konzervacije.

<sup>10</sup> Solomonovo ime, kao i predstava, uobičajeni su na olovnim pločicama još od pojave prvih kršćanskih amuleta. Naslikani amuleti (medaljoni) na kojima anđeo i kralj Solomon ili sveti Sisin na konju ubijaju ženskog demona pojavljuju se u 3. stoljeću na egipatskim i bizantskim spomenicima. Cf. Pantelić 1973, 162. O Solomonovom pečatu u hrišćanskim rukopisima vidi: Гудков 2019.

Radonjić: а снѣ лѣжн вѣкан| радоннѣ а мно|го лн самъ лежю| а много лн мн е| лѣжн. (Here lies Vukan Radonjić; how long have I lain, and how long is yet for me to lie.): Vego 1964b, 201.

<sup>9</sup> I would like to sincerely thank Lejla Bajramović, senior conservator at the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, for providing me with the photographs of the plaque after conservation.

<sup>10</sup> The name and depiction of Solomon have been common on lead tablets since the appearance of the first Christian amulets. Painted amulets (medallions) depicting an angel and King Solomon or Saint Sisinnius on horseback slaying a female demon appear in the 3rd century on Egyptian and Byzantine monuments; cf. Pantelić 1973, 162. On the Seal of Solomon in Christian manuscripts, see: Гудков 2019.

Kad je riječ o sadržaju amuleta, na pločici je moguće iščitati sljedeći tekst:

*Prva strana*

1 

IC	Xc
NI	Ka

 ω нменн г̄а нашего [н̄са] х̄а̄ зап̄ѣцаю вн [въ] сн злодѣнставнн гверн м̄нѣвомь све  
таго ѣнфона да творнѣ пакѣтъ ннвѣмь  
н жнѣтом н лозню рабѣомь б̄жне[мь] [н]  
5 зау[атнхь] [нме]номь нже с̄х̄ъ д̄ере[сн]  
[под]равь вашца евнма ж̄жжелнц[а]  
лнсто[гр]нз[ь] л̄нѣѣѣѣѣ л̄нѣѣѣѣѣ  
[ев̄ѣротось д̄]адавлаци дарвонось ко  
10 [нцогрнзь] грнзель кор̄но[гр]н[з]аць с̄х̄о[лнс]  
ть плъмень еврндннась прнкнносъ ма  
крнпнносъ хамелеосъ мол[ь] к[орн]ωсь вр̄ь  
[х]осъ л̄нѣосъ ѣстосмосъ к[о]с[ь]м[озовь]  
[скорьпнѣ нернплѣтосъ кр̄ьпелосъ кр]  
ь[п̄е]лакѣнь ва[л]о[с]ь

*Druga strana*

1 клѣн  
[аплоснр]нѣтосъ пр̄ѣгь презо[стрнѣгь]  
космозовь змне г̄усеннца  
н проӯнн нже соутъ на пакѣтъ ж̄нѣо  
мь н лозню за[лѣваю олово]м[ь] [н]  
5 [за]печатлѣхь п̄ѣуатию [со]ломо  
[нею да в̄л]д̄ете с̄вез[а]нн ѣ[се]  
[лѣ] н н[е]разрнешнѣ се во в[ѣкн]  
10 [а]м[ннѣ]

пнл̄хснѣтъ

Latinična transliteracija:

Is(us̄) H(ri)s(t̄) Nika! O(t) imeni G(ospod)a našego [l(su)sa] H(ri)st̄)a!  
Zapr̄ēštaju vi [v̄]si zlod̄ēistavii zveri m(ol)itvom̄ svetaḡo Trifona da [ne] tvorite pakost̄ njivam̄ i žitom i loziju rabom̄ B(o)žije[m̄] [i]zač[atih̄] [ime]nom̄ iže sūt̄ dere[si], [pod]rav̄, vašca, evima, žuželic[a], listo[r]iz[ь], listotr̄ēḡ, [ev̄]rotos̄, d]adavlas̄, dar̄vonos̄, ko[ncogriz̄], grizelj̄, kor̄eno[gr]i[z]ac̄, suho[li]s̄t̄, pl̄men̄, evridinas̄, prikinos̄, makripios̄, hameleos̄, molj[ь], k[ori]os̄, vr̄[h]os̄, litos̄, čestosmos̄, k[os]s[ь]m[ozov̄], [skor̄]p̄ija, neripl̄etos̄, kr̄peljos̄, kr̄ь[pe]ljakom̄, va[l]o[s]ь, [aplosir]itos̄, pruḡ, prezo[striḡ], kosmozov̄, zmīje, gusenica i proči iže sūt̄ na pakost̄ žitom̄ i loziju za[l̄]evaju olovo[m̄] [i] [za]pečatl̄eh̄ p̄čatju [So]lomo[neju da bu]dete svez[a]ni ot̄[sel̄] i n[e] razriješite se vo v[ĕki] [a]m[in̄].  
Pilusiot̄!

As for the content of the amulet, the following text can be discerned on the tablet:

*First side*

1 

IC	Xc
NI	Ka

 ω нменн г̄а нашего [н̄са] х̄а̄ зап̄ѣцаю вн [въ] сн злодѣнставнн гверн м̄нѣвомь све  
таго ѣнфона да творнѣ пакѣтъ ннвѣмь  
н жнѣтом н лозню рабѣомь б̄жне[мь] [н]  
5 зау[атнхь] [нме]номь нже с̄х̄ъ д̄ере[сн]  
[под]равь вашца евнма ж̄жжелнц[а]  
лнсто[гр]нз[ь] л̄нѣѣѣѣѣ л̄нѣѣѣѣѣ  
[ев̄]ротось д̄]адавлаци дарвонось ко  
10 [нцогрнзь] грнзель кор̄но[гр]н[з]аць с̄х̄о[лнс]  
ть плъмень еврндннась прнкнносъ ма  
крнпнносъ хамелеосъ мол[ь] к[орн]ωсь вр̄ь  
[х]осъ л̄нѣосъ ѣстосмосъ к[о]с[ь]м[озовь]  
[скорьпнѣ нернплѣтосъ кр̄ьпелосъ кр]  
ь[п̄е]лакѣнь ва[л]о[с]ь

*Second side*

1 клѣн  
[аплоснр]нѣтосъ пр̄ѣгь презо[стрнѣгь]  
космозовь змне г̄усеннца  
н проӯнн нже соутъ на пакѣтъ ж̄нѣо  
мь н лозню за[лѣваю олово]м[ь] [н]  
5 [за]печатлѣхь п̄ѣуатию [со]ломо  
[нею да в̄л]д̄ете с̄вез[а]нн ѣ[се]  
[лѣ] н н[е]разрнешнѣ се во в[ѣкн]  
10 [а]м[ннѣ]

пнл̄хснѣтъ

Latin-script transliteration:

Is(us̄) H(ri)s(t̄) Nika! O(t) imeni G(ospod)a našego [l(su)sa] H(ri)st̄)a!  
Zapr̄ēštaju vi [v̄]si zlod̄ēistavii zveri m(ol)itvom̄ svetaḡo Trifona da [ne] tvorite pakost̄ njivam̄ i žitom i loziju rabom̄ B(o)žije[m̄] [i]zač[atih̄] [ime]nom̄ iže sūt̄ dere[si], [pod]rav̄, vašca, evima, žuželic[a], listo[r]iz[ь], listotr̄ēḡ, [ev̄]rotos̄, d]adavlas̄, dar̄vonos̄, ko[ncogriz̄], grizelj̄, kor̄eno[gr]i[z]ac̄, suho[li]s̄t̄, pl̄men̄, evridinas̄, prikinos̄, makripios̄, hameleos̄, molj[ь], k[ori]os̄, vr̄[h]os̄, litos̄, čestosmos̄, k[os]s[ь]m[ozov̄], [skor̄]p̄ija, neripl̄etos̄, kr̄peljos̄, kr̄ь[pe]ljakom̄, va[l]o[s]ь, [aplosir]itos̄, pruḡ, prezo[striḡ], kosmozov̄, zmīje, gusenica i proči iže sūt̄ na pakost̄ žitom̄ i loziju za[l̄]evaju olovo[m̄] [i] [za]pečatl̄eh̄ p̄čatju [So]lomo[neju da bu]dete svez[a]ni ot̄[sel̄] i n[e] razriješite se vo v[ĕki] [a]m[in̄].  
Pilusiot̄!

Sadržaj teksta olovne pločice je molitva sv. Trifuna protiv najezde insekata i životinja koji napadaju njive, vrtove i vinograde. Inače, riječ je o apotropijskom zapisu poznatom i drugim slavenskim tradicijama i sačuvanom u različitim zbornicima apokrifa, trebnicima i euhologijima. Kombinacija slavenskog idioma i grčkih riječi zapisanih ćirilicom nije nimalo neobična u ovom žanru, a nije nepoznata ni bosanskoj tradiciji jer su takvi apotropijski zapisi iz Slatnice kod Prozora i Hodbine kod Mostara čija je revidirana čitanja objavila L. Nakaš (2016).<sup>11</sup> Prije nego nešto kažemo o samome sadržaju, pismu i jeziku zapisa, neophodno se osvrnuti na ponuđeno čitanje s obzirom na to da je pločica iznimno oštećena te ni nakon konzervacije pojedina mjesta nisu posve jasna. U odgonetanju sadržaja pomaže tekst iz apokrifnog zbornika manastira Savina (XVI–XVII) koji sadrži dionicu teksta podudarnu s fatničkim zapisom. Međutim, njihovim poređenjem određena mjesta i dalje ne mogu dobiti potpuno pouzdanu verziju čitanja, čemu je uzrok kombinacija dva faktora – oštećenja pločice te naknadno popunjavanje usjeka crnom bojom kako bi se istakle slovne forme. Stoga su na nekim mjestima prisutni oblici koji traže komentar.

U prvom redu ponuđene verzije čitanja moguće je pročitati glagolski oblik запрѣцаю, dok u tekstu iz zbornika manastira Savina, ali i u drugim primjercima molitve dolazi glagol заклнати, čije je prvo lice jednine prezenta (заклнаю: ѓркіџω) dio uobičajene egzorcističke formule kojom se naređuje štetočinama da napuste njivu, vrt ili vinograd i odu “u puste gore” (vidi niže o tome). Nije isključena mogućnost da je i u fatničkom zapisu također stajao ovaj glagolski oblik, ali na današnjoj reprodukciji stoji nešto što je bliže glagolskom obliku запрѣцаю (запрѣцати), koji je također dio uobičajene egzorcističke formule protjerivanja štetočina.<sup>12</sup>

Izostavljanje negacija prije glagolskog oblika творите govori o tome da pisar/urezivač zapisa ne obraća pažnju na sadržaj jer prijetnja štetočinama podrazumijeva *da ne tvorite pakost*. U posljednjoj riječi koju čitamo ннвѣмь natpisano je slovo ρ pa bi se moglo pretpostaviti da je tu nadredno napisana riječ врьтомь, što ima uporište u drugim primjercima molitve, naročito u molitvi iz zbornika manastira Savina: да не творите врьда ннвѣмь нн врьтомь нн вноградомь нн жнтомь.

Posebno je zanimljiv oblik дере[сн], umjesto kojeg u drugim primjercima molitve stoji ереснвн, ероуснн и ересевнн (vidi niže). Dodavanje slova д најvjerojatnije ima veze s nekom od verzija molitve u čijoj je podlozi prije popisa štetočina stajao broj 4 (Δ), kao u nekim grčkim verzijama molitve sv. Trifuna (τέσσαρα θηρία: četiri zvijeri),<sup>13</sup> s tim da mistični broj 14 dolazi i u molitvi iz zbirke zakletvi od zlih zvijeri i grada popa Ivana Rudića koju je objavio Strohal.<sup>14</sup> Inače, deformacije

The content of the lead tablet inscription is a prayer to St. Tryphon for protection against the invasion of insects and animals that attack fields, gardens and vineyards. This is an apotropaic text, known also from other Slavic traditions, preserved in various collections of apocrypha, *trebnici* (service books), and *euchologia* (prayer books). The combination of a Slavic idiom with Greek words written in Cyrillic is by no means unusual in this genre, nor is it unknown in the Bosnian tradition, since similar apotropaic inscriptions are known from Slatnica near Prozor and Hodbina near Mostar, whose revised readings were published by L. Nakaš (2016).<sup>11</sup> Before we say anything about the content itself, the script, or the language of the inscription, it is necessary to refer to the offered reading, given that the tablet is extremely damaged and, even after conservation, some parts are not entirely clear. In deciphering the content, a text from the apocryphal collection of the Savina Monastery (16th–17th centuries) proved helpful, as it contains a passage identical to that of the Fatnica inscription. However, even through a comparison, certain sections cannot be fully established with confidence. The reason for this lies in the combination of two factors: the damage to the tablet, and the subsequent filling of the cut with black paint to highlight the letter forms. As a result, some word forms appear that require further elaboration.

In the first line of the offered version of the reading, it is possible to read the verb form запрѣцаю, while in the text from the collection of the Savina Monastery, as well as in other copies of the prayer, the verb заклнати appears, whose first person singular present (заклнаю: ѓркіџω) is part of the usual exorcism formula that orders pests to leave the field, garden or vineyard and go “to the desolate mountains” (see below). It is not excluded that this verb form was also used in the Fatnica record, but on today’s reproduction it says something closer to the verb form запрѣцаю (запрѣцати), which also forms part of the usual exorcistic formula for banishing pests.<sup>12</sup>

The omission of negations before the verb form of творите indicates that the scribe or engraver of the record does not pay attention to the content, because the threat directed at the pests implies “that you do not commit harm.” In the last word that we read, ннвѣмь, the letter ρ is written, suggesting a superscribed word врьтомь, which has its support in other examples of the prayer, especially in the prayer from the collection of the Savina Monastery: да не творите врьда ннвѣмь нн врьтомь нн вноградомь нн жнтомь.

The form дере[сн] is particularly interesting; in other versions of the prayer, this appears as ереснвн, ероуснн and ересевнн (see below). The addition of the letter д most likely stems from one of the versions of the prayer in which the number 4 (Δ) was used before the list of pests, as in some Greek versions of the prayer of St. Tryphon (τέσσαρα θηρία: four beasts).<sup>13</sup> Additionally, the mystical number fourteen also appears in the prayer from the collection of oaths against evil

11 U oba zapisa ključ za odgonetanje predstavljaju srodni tekstovi iz dvaju zbornika apokrifa iz manastira Savina. Nakaš 2016, 8–9.

12 Cf. npr. u trećoj molitvi koju je objavila Dimitrova: запрѣцаю вамь. нзыдѣте ѿ внограда сегд. н ѿтндѣте въ поустье горы. Димитрова 2013, 339.

13 Дмитриевский 1901/1965, 120.

14 Cf. u molitvi koju je objavio Strohal: I poklonivši se oni gospodinu Bogu, snide s nebes 7 anjelov prognati svi gadi, 14 zviri. I kako sveti Trifon i kako sveti Polikarp, anjel njega Mihovil i Gabrijel i Rafajel i paki proklinjaju i zaklinjaju svih 14 zviri, ke škodite njive i vinogradi (...) Strohal 1910, 135.

11 In both records, the key to interpretation lies in related texts from two collections of apocrypha from the Savina Monastery: Nakaš 2016, 8–9.

12 Cf., for example, the third prayer published by Dimitrova: запрѣцаю вамь. нзыдѣте ѿ внограда сегд. н ѿтндѣте въ поустье горы. (I forbid you, depart from this vineyard and go into the wilderness of the mountains.): Димитрова 2013, 339.

13 Дмитриевский 1901/1965, 120.

naziva štetočina javljaju se i u drugim tekstovima ovih molitvi, posebno u oblicima leksema koje nisu pripadale općeuopotrebnim pa su se u procesu stalnog prepisivanja udaljavale od svog izvornog oblika. Kako je centralni dio ovog amuleta popis naziva štetočina – na slavenskom i grčkom idiomu – o njihovim verzijama čitanja detaljnije govorimo u drugom dijelu rada.

Na ovome mjestu potrebno se osvrnuti i na dvije riječi koje dolaze na vrhu i dnu druge strane: κλητη и пнлхснхът. Prva bi mogla imati veze s glagolom *klȇti*, dok bi druga – пнлхснхът – mogla biti ime anđela koji se u molitvi iz zbornika manastira Savina zove φηλοτεως.<sup>15</sup> Slično ime sadrži i tekst Kunovskog zapisa – Putos (? Filoteos) – za koje Nakaš pronalazi paralele u drugim zapisima: u zborniku apokripha manastira Savina iz 16. stoljeća – Filoteos – i u rukopisa karlovačke Patrijaršijske biblioteke br. 3624 koji je objavio Novaković – Polutos (? Filoteos).<sup>16</sup> Spominjanje ovih imena u slavenskim rukopisima dobija novu funkciju. Možda bi se moglo reći da lišena izvorne semantike ta imena dolaze kao prepoznatljiviji magijski znakovi, pratitelji svetaca i zaštitnici polja ili vinograda.<sup>17</sup>

Ponuđena verzija čitanja zapisa omogućava da se ponešto kaže o njegovim paleografskim i ortografskim odlikama. Od specifičnih slovnih oblika koji govore o različitim tradicijama utkanim u tekst vrijedi posebno istaknuti slovo з (зверн), u bosanskoj tradiciji prisutno uglavnom u brojnoj vrijednosti, ali prisutno u tekstovima nastalim u pravoslavnim tradicijama. Tome se može pridružiti i pojava ligaturâ ѣ (коѣно[г]рн[з]аць) и ѣ (ѣнфона, лѣтоѣъгъ) te nešto češća upotreba omega (крнпнхъс, хамелехъс, к[нр]хъс). Netipična je za bosansku tradiciju i slovná forma ѣ (лѣтоѣ, [аплоснр]лѣтоѣ, жѣтоѣ), tako da sve ove pojave idu u prilog tumačenju da se tekst molitve oslanja na predložak istočne tradicije.<sup>18</sup> Međutim, u drugim rješenjima pravopis slijedi onaj prisutan u bosanskim tekstovima: u zapisu nema ligature ѣ, nego je vrijednost /je/ zabilježena slovom е: бѣне[мъ], змне.

Jezičke odlike zapisa uglavnom su podudarne s onima u tekstu iz zbornika manastira Savina, što znači da bi vrijeme nastanka pločice trebalo biti 16/17. stoljeće. U primjerima gdje je došlo do zamjene jata pojavljuju se grafije е и не. Iako su likovi зверн (psl. \*zvěrb) и гѣсеннца (psl. \*gъsěnica) zapisani tako da ih je moguće tumačiti kao ekavizme, koji su mogli doći i iz predloška, glagolski oblik u posljednjem redu nudi mogućnost čitanja не: н[е] разрешнте (Sav. не разрешеть). Kako Fatnica pripada istočnohumskom dijalektu u kojem je diftonški refleks jata defonemiziran, različita grafija u navedenim primjerima najprije govori o ijekavskom refleksu jata koji se različito bilježi. To dodatno potvrđuje primjer пѣнато (psl. \*pečatъ) u kojem je slovo jat poslužilo da se obilježi iskonski vokal /e/, kako je i u zapisu iz zbornika manastira Savina,

beasts by the priest Ivan Rudić, published by Strohal.<sup>14</sup> Deformations of the names of pests also appear in other texts of these prayers, especially in the form of lexemes that were not commonly used and that, in the process of constant copying, deviated from their original form. Since the central part of this amulet is a list of pest names – in both Slavic and Greek idioms – we will discuss versions of their reading in more detail in the second part of this paper.

At this point, it is necessary to refer to two words that appear at the top and bottom of the second page: κλητη and пнлхснхът. The first could be related to the verb *klȇti*, while the second – пнлхснхът – could be the name of the angel referred to as φηλοτεως in the prayer from the Savina Monastery collection.<sup>15</sup> A similar name also appears in the text of the Kunovo inscription – Putos (? Filoteos) – for which Nakaš identifies parallels in other sources: in the collection of apocrypha from the Savina Monastery from the 16th century (Filoteos), and in the manuscript of the Karlovac Patriarchal Library No. 3624 published by Novaković (Polutos (? Filoteos)).<sup>16</sup> The mention of these names in Slavic manuscripts assumes a new function. It could be said that, stripped of their original semantic meaning, these names appear as recognizable magical symbols; companions of saints and protectors of fields or vineyards.<sup>17</sup>

The offered version of the reading of the record makes it possible to say something about its paleographic and orthographic features. Of the specific letter forms that speak of different traditions woven into the text, it is worth highlighting the letter з (зверн), which is present mainly as a numerical value in the Bosnian tradition, but present in texts created in Orthodox traditions. This can be joined by the appearance of the ligatures ѣ (коѣно[г]рн[з]аць) and ѣ (ѣнфона, лѣтоѣъгъ) and the somewhat more frequent use of omega (крнпнхъс, хамелехъс, к[нр]хъс). The letter form is also atypical for the Bosnian tradition ѣ (лѣтоѣ, [аплоснр]лѣтоѣ, жѣтоѣ), so that all these occurrences support the interpretation that the prayer's text is based on the template of the Eastern tradition.<sup>18</sup> However, in other solutions, the spelling follows the one present in the Bosnian texts: there is no ligature ѣ, but the value /je/ is recorded with the letter е: бѣне[мъ], змне.

The linguistic features of the inscription largely correspond to those in the text from the Savina Monastery collection, suggesting that the lead tablet likely dates to the 16th or 17th century. In examples where the *yat* reflex appears, the characters е and не are used interchangeably. Although the characters зверн (psl. \*zvěrb) and гѣсеннца (psl. \*gъsěnica) are written so that they can be interpreted as ekavisms, the verb form in the last line offers the possibility of reading не: н[е] разрешнте

14 Cf. the prayer published by Strohal: *And bowing before the Lord God, there descended from heaven seven angels to drive away all reptiles, fourteen beasts. And as Saint Tryphon and Saint Polycarp, the angels Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael again curse and adjure all fourteen beasts that harm the fields and vineyards (...):* Strohal 1910, 135.

15 Kačanovskij 1881, 158.

16 Nakaš 2015, 28.

17 Professor Nakaš drew my attention to the similarity of the name with that in the Kunovo record and manuscript no. 3624 of the Karlovac Patriarchal Library, and I would like to sincerely express my gratitude to her for this.

18 Đorđić notes that the form of the letter τ, resembling the printed numeral 7, was adopted in the 15th century from Greek minuscule script, and that the ligature τ + ρ ѣ is also of Greek origin: Ђорђић 1990, 109, 188.

15 Kačanovskij 1881, 158.

16 Nakaš 2015, 28.

17 Na sličnost imena s onim u Kunovskom zapisu i rukopisu karlovačke Patrijaršijske biblioteke br. 3624 ukazala mi je prof. Nakaš, kojoj se ovom prilikom srdačno zahvaljujem.

18 Đorđić navodi da je forma slova τ, nalik štampanoj cifri 7 : ѣ, preuzeta u 15. stoljeću iz grčkog minuskulnog pisma, a grčkog je porijekla i ligatura τ + ρ : ѣ. Ђорђић 1990, 109 i 188.

dok bi se u liku коѣно[г]рн[з]аць trebao vidjeti rezultat hiperdiftongizacije (up. Sav.1 кореногрнзаць).<sup>19</sup> U tekstu zapisa bilježe se primjeri vokalizacije jakog poluglasa u formantu -сьь: [Д]адавлаць (Sav.1 дарвальць) i коѣно[г]рн[з]аць (Sav.1 кореногрнзаць).

Stanje u sistemu oblika dobro prati staroslavensku normu: zadržavaju se stariji padežni oblici imenica: ннвѣмъ, лозню, равѡмъ, пѣуатю; u oblicima pridjeva i zamjenica prisutni su stari genitivni nastavci -ego i -ago: нашего i светаро, a izrazito crkvenoslavensko obilježje je i prisustvo zamjeničkog oblika нже, kao i glagolskog oblika 3. l. jd. prezenta сѣтъ.

Sadržaj zapisa, kao što je već navedeno, molitva je sv. Trifuna. Najstarija slavenska verzija ove molitve nalazi se u glagoljskom Sinajskom euhologiju s kraja 10. ili početka 11. stoljeća, što znači da je njen tekst vrlo rano preveden u slavenskoj tradiciji, vjerovatno još u ćirilometodskom periodu. Inače, sv. Trifun bio je ranokršćanski mučenik iz Frigije u Maloj Aziji, kojemu je glava odrubljena u Nikeji (Bitiniji) u vrijeme progona kršćana pod rimskim carem Decijem Trajanom (249–251). Štuje se u Carigradu, Maloj Aziji, Rusiji, Balkanu, južnoj Italiji, Veneciji i Rimu, a zaštitnik je grada Kotora, gdje su mu relikvije prenesene iz Carigrada 809. godine.<sup>20</sup> Njegovo ime prisutno je i u srednjovjekovnim kalendarima,<sup>21</sup> a njegov dan se obilježava 1. februara. Hagiografski tekstovi predstavljaju ga kao iscjelitelja i egzorcistu te mu se pripisuju apokrifne molitve s bajalstvima protiv štetočina na poljima, vrtovima i vinogradima, tj. protiv nečistih životinja. Zbog toga se smatra zaštitnikom vrtlara i vinogradara.

U zborniku apokrifnih tekstova iz manastira Savina (XVI–XVII), u kojem ova molitva nosi naziv ѡнѣ бн(ва)ѡмн на ннѣѣ нлн на лозѣ нлн въ врьѣ, prije samog teksta molitve zapisane su upute kako se provodi ovaj egzorcizam. Obred počinje okupljanjem boljara i sveštenika koji najprije trebaju zapaliti kandila i poјати liturgiju sv. Trifunu i sv. Julijanu Livijskom. Potom se polivaju i мажу посвећеном водом i uljem te tom водом zalivaju njivu, vrt ili vinograd. Noseći krstove čitaju molitvu sv. Trifuna na četiri strane sela, a u uputi stoji da je ovu molitvu podobno ispisati na olovnu ploču.

ѡнѣ бн(ва)ѡмн на ннѣѣ нлн на лозѣ нлн въ врьѣ  
аще прнлѡунт се врьѣнтн се таковоѡ коѡмуждо ѡтъ гадѡвѣ  
нлн ѡтъ ннехѣ врьѣещнхъ такова подобаетъ снѣе сѣратн  
се болары н да сабѣрѡтъ се свещеннцн н запалѣтъ канднла  
н да поѣтъ лнтоургю светѡмѡ мѡуеннкѡ трѣфѡнѡ н светѡмѡ  
ноулнанѡ лнѡнскомѡ по томѡ да свѣтетѣ водѡ н светѡе масло  
н покроповѣтъ людн н помажѣтъ свѣтнм' маслом' н вазмѡтъ  
ѡтъ кан'днла масла н вазмѡтъ агѡзмо сѣн реѣе свещенѡю  
водѡ ѡтъ свѣтнхъ боѡжавленѣн н валнють ва водѡ н покропѣтъ

(Sav.1 не разрешѣтъ). Since Fatnica falls within the range of the East Hum dialect, where the diphthongal reflex of *yat* was de-phonemized, the variation in the written forms primarily indicates an *ijekavian* reflex of *yat*, recorded in several ways. This is further confirmed by the example пѣуатю (psl. \**pečaty*), where *yat* marks the original vowel /e/, just as in the Savina manuscript. The form коѣно[г]рн[з]аць, however, seems to reflect *hyperdiphthongization* (cf. Sav.1: кореногрнзаць).<sup>19</sup> The inscription also preserves examples of the vocalization of the strong semivowel in the suffix -сьь: [Д]адавлаць (Sav.1 дарвальць) and коѣно[г]рн[з]аць (Sav.1 кореногрнзаць).

The morphological system remains consistent with Old Church Slavonic norms: older case endings are preserved in nouns (ннвѣмъ, лозню, равѡмъ, пѣуатю), adjectival forms retain archaic genitive endings -ego and -ago (нашего and светаро), while distinctly Church Slavonic traits are seen in the use of the relative pronoun нже and the third person singular present tense form сѣтъ.

The content of the record, as already mentioned, is the prayer of St. Tryphon. The oldest Slavic version of this prayer is found in the Glagolitic *Sinai Euchologion* from the late 10th or early 11th century, which means that its text was translated very early in the Slavic tradition, probably as early as the Cyril and Methodius period. St. Tryphon was an early Christian martyr from Phrygia in Asia Minor, who was beheaded in Nicaea (Bithynia) during the persecution of Christians under the Roman emperor Decius Trajan (249–251). He is venerated in Constantinople, Asia Minor, Russia, the Balkans, southern Italy, Venice and Rome, and is the patron saint of the city of Kotor, where his relics were transferred to from Constantinople in 809.<sup>20</sup> His name is also present in medieval calendars, and his saint's day is celebrated on February 1.<sup>21</sup> Hagiographic texts present him as a healer and exorcist, to whom apocryphal prayers with exorcistic and agrarian charms – intended to protect fields, gardens, and vineyards from pests and impure creatures – are attributed. For this reason, he is regarded as the patron saint of gardeners and vine growers. In the Savina Monastery collection of apocryphal texts (16th–17th c.), where this prayer is titled ѡнѣ бн(ва)ѡмн на ннѣѣ нлн на лозѣ нлн въ врьѣ, the text is preceded by detailed exorcism instructions. The ceremony begins with the gathering of nobles and priests, who first light oil lamps and sing the liturgy of St. Tryphon and St. Julian of Livia. They are then anointed and sprinkled with holy water and oil, and use this to water the field, garden, or vineyard. Carrying crosses, they recite St. Tryphon's prayer on all four sides of the village, with the instructions stating that it is appropriate to write this prayer on a lead tablet.

19 Leksema *корень* u praslavenskom je imala /e/ u osnovi (\**korēnъ*), što potvrđuju i kanonski crkvenoslavenski tekstovi gdje se bilježi kao *корень*. U ijekavskim govorima došlo je do diftongizacije /e/ te je dobijen lik *korijen* (< *korēnъ*).

20 Димитрова 2013, 328.

21 Sveti Trifun pojavljuje se u bosanskom srednjovjekovnom kalendaru iz Parmaskog zbornika apokrifa *Libro di mantica* (Ms. Parm. 1993, Biblioteca Palatina). U rukopisu stoji da se Trifun (трнѡнѡ) obilježava 1. februara. Vidi o tome u: Mazrak 2018, 254.

19 The lexeme *корень* in Proto-Slavic had /e/ in its root (\**korēnъ*), as is also confirmed by canonical Church Slavonic texts, where it appears as *корень*. In the Ijekavian dialects, /e/ underwent diphthongization, resulting in the form *korijen* (< *korēnъ*).

20 Димитрова 2013, 328.

21 Saint Tryphon appears in the Bosnian medieval calendar from the Parma collection of apocrypha *Libro di mantica* (Ms. Parm. 1993, Biblioteca Palatina). The manuscript records that Trifun (трнѡнѡ) is commemorated on February 1. See: Mazrak 2018, 254.

крѣстаѡбразно ннвыи н врьтн нлн вноградн понесоуть крьстн по ѡбыѣаю н уатѣть молнтѣвыи светаго трѣфѣна на ·д· стране ѡко села нлн врьта нлн внограда подобаеть н запнсатн на ѡловнѣ плоуѣ сѣе пншн<sup>22</sup>

Kao što je već nekoliko puta istaknuto, tekst fatničkog zapisa najsličniji je tekstu gore navedene molitve iz zbornika manastira Savina, s tim što tekst iz zbornika sadrži dužu verziju molitve u čijem drugom dijelu dolazi popis svetaca. Međutim, u dijelu teksta koji je podudaran, bilježe se određene razlike koje su posljedica različitih predložaka molitve, ali je ipak srodnost tekstova više nego očita.

Tekst zapisa iz Fatničkog polja

ѡ нменн г̄а нашего [н̄са] х̄а запрѣшаю вн [въ]сн злодѣнставнн гверн м̄твомь светаго ѣнфона да творнте пакѡтъ ннвѣмь н жнтѡм н лозню рабѡмь б̄жне[мь] [н]зая[атнхъ] [нме]номь нже сѣть дере[сн] [под]равь вашца евнма жѣжелнц[а] лнсто[гр]-нз[ъ] л̄нтоѣѣгь л̄нтоѡвѣзъ· [евьротосъ д]адавлаць дарвоносъ ко[нцогрнзъ] грнзель коѣрно[грн]з[а]ць сѣхо[лнс]ть плъмень еврндннасъ прнкнносъ макрнпнхъ хамелешъ мол[ъ] к[орн]-ѡсь врь[х]ѡсь л̄нтось ѣстосмосъ к[о]с[ъ]м[озовь] [скорьпнѣ нернплѣтосъ крьпелосъ кр[ъ]п[е]лакѡнь ва[л]ѡ[с]ъ [аплоснр]-нѣосъ прѣгь презѡ[стрннгъ] космозѡвь змне гѣсеннца н проуѣ нже соуть на пакѡсть ж̄нтѡмь н лозню за[лѣ]ваю олово[м]ь [н] [за]печатлѣхъ пѣуатю [со]ломо[нею] да вѣ[д]ете свез[а]нн ѡ[селѣ] н н[е]разрншнтѣ се во вѣ[кн] [а]м[ннъ] пнлѣснѡтъ

Tekst zapisa iz zbornika apokrifā manastira Savina (XVI–XVII)

ѡ нменн господа нашего ісоуса хрнста закнннаю в̄н всн злодѣнставнн гадове н васн гвѣрїе земал'сн молнтѣѡ светаго мѣуеннка трнфоуна да нетворнте врьда ннвѡмь нн врьтомь нн вноградѡмь нлн жнтѡмь нлн воцїінамь села сего нме р нх'же скврьнїнмь звѣрѡмь нз'уатыхъ нмена нже соуть: ересн подравн ваш'це евнмїе жоужелнце лнстогрнзъ лнстотрьгь лнстовѣзъ ев'ротосъ дарвалѣць дрвоносъ концогрѣзъ грнзель кореногрнзѡць соухолнсть плъмень еврндннас прнкнносъ макрннѡсь, хамелеш гѣсеннца мѡль кыросъ врьтосъ лнтосъ ѣстосносъ космозѡвь скоропїа нернплѣтосъ крьпелосъ крьпелакѡнь вѣлосъ, аплоснрнѣосъ проугн прѣзострннгъ козмозѡвь мышн н г'мїевѣ н проуа снмь подѡбна еже соуть на пакѡсть ннвѡмь н жнтѡмь н врьтомь н вноградѡмь н проуе снѣдемь села сего нме р· запрѣшаю вн нменемь хрнстовемь н светымь моуеннкомь трнвѣншмь н свѣзгаю вн словѡмь божїемь н залѣваю ѡло(во)мь н за(печ)атлѣю пѣуатїю соломѡнею да вѣдѣть ннна свѣзанн н нераздрешеть се во вѣкы амнн<sup>23</sup>

Razvoj teksta molitve sv. Trifuna u slavenskoj tradiciji može se pratiti od uzorka zabilježenog u kanonskom Sinajskom euhologiju s kraja 10. stoljeća, a prisustvo različitih tekstualnih verzija molitve ne samo u smislu obima teksta – dužih i kraćih – nego i sadržaja u zbornicima i slavenskih i grčkih apokrifā pokazatelj je vrlo dinamičnog života teksta

уннѣ бн(ва)емн на ннвѣ нлн на лозе нлн въ врьте аще прнлѣунтъ се врьднтн се таковѡмѣ коемуждо ѡтъ гадовѣ нлн ѡтъ ннѣхъ врьдешнхъ такова подобаеть снце съратн н болары н да савѣрѣтъ се свещеннцн н запалеть канднла н да поеть лнтоургїю светѡмѣ мѣуеннкѣ трѣфѣнѣ н светѡмѣ ноуланѣ лнвїнскомѣ по томь да свѣтеть водѣ н светѡе масло н покроповѣть людн н помажѣть светнм' маслом' н вазмѣть ѡтъ кан'днла масла н вазмѣть агїазмо сїн реуе свещенїю водѣ ѡтъ светнхъ богоавленїн н валнютъ ва водѣ н покропеть крѣстаѡбразно ннвыи н врьтн нлн вноградн понесоуть крьстн по ѡбыѣаю н уатѣть молнтѣвыи светаго трѣфѣна на ·д· стране ѡко села нлн врьта нлн внограда подобаеть н запнсатн на ѡловнѣ плоуѣ сѣе пншн<sup>22</sup>

As has been pointed out several times, the text of the Fatnica inscription is most similar to the text of the above-mentioned prayer from the Savina Monastery collection, except that the collection contains a longer version of the prayer, the second part of which contains a list of saints. Within the section where the two texts overlap, certain variations can be observed; differences that likely stem from the use of distinct textual exemplars of the prayer. Nonetheless, the close affinity between the two versions remains unmistakable.

Text of the Fatnica inscription:

ѡ нменн г̄а нашего [н̄са] х̄а запрѣшаю вн [въ]сн злодѣнставнн гверн м̄твомь светаго ѣнфона да творнте пакѡтъ ннвѣмь н жнтѡм н лозню рабѡмь б̄жне[мь] [н]зая[атнхъ] [нме]номь нже сѣть дере[сн] [под]равь вашца евнма жѣжелнц[а] лнсто[гр]-нз[ъ] л̄нтоѣѣгь л̄нтоѡвѣзъ· [евьротосъ д]адавлаць дарвоносъ ко[нцогрнзъ] грнзель коѣрно[грн]з[а]ць сѣхо[лнс]ть плъмень еврндннасъ прнкнносъ макрнпнхъ хамелешъ мол[ъ] к[орн]-ѡсь врь[х]ѡсь л̄нтось ѣстосмосъ к[о]с[ъ]м[озовь] [скорьпнѣ нернплѣтосъ крьпелосъ кр[ъ]п[е]лакѡнь ва[л]ѡ[с]ъ [аплоснр]-нѣосъ прѣгь презѡ[стрннгъ] космозѡвь змне гѣсеннца н проуѣ нже соуть на пакѡсть ж̄нтѡмь н лозню за[лѣ]ваю олово[м]ь [н] [за]печатлѣхъ пѣуатю [со]ломо[нею] да вѣ[д]ете свез[а]нн ѡ[селѣ] н н[е]разрншнтѣ се во вѣ[кн] [а]м[ннъ] пнлѣснѡтъ

Text from the Collection of Apocryphal Writings of the Savina Monastery (16th–17th century):

ѡ нменн господа нашего ісоуса хрнста закнннаю в̄н всн злодѣнставнн гадове н васн гвѣрїе земал'сн молнтѣѡ светаго мѣуеннка трнфоуна да нетворнте врьда ннвѡмь нн врьтомь нн вноградѡмь нлн жнтѡмь нлн воцїінамь села сего нме р нх'же скврьнїнмь звѣрѡмь нз'уатыхъ нмена нже соуть: ересн подравн ваш'це евнмїе жоужелнце лнстогрнзъ лнстотрьгь лнстовѣзъ ев'ротосъ дарвалѣць дрвоносъ концогрѣзъ грнзель кореногрнзѡць соухолнсть плъмень еврндннас прнкнносъ макрннѡсь, хамелеш гѣсеннца мѡль кыросъ врьтосъ лнтосъ ѣстосносъ космозѡвь скоропїа нернплѣтосъ крьпелосъ крьпелакѡнь вѣлосъ, аплоснрнѣосъ проугн прѣзострннгъ козмозѡвь мышн н г'мїевѣ н проуа снмь подѡбна еже соуть на пакѡсть ннвѡмь н жнтѡмь н врьтомь н вноградѡмь н проуе снѣдемь села сего нме р· запрѣшаю вн нменемь хрнстовемь н светымь моуеннкомь трнвѣншмь н свѣзгаю вн словѡмь божїемь н залѣваю ѡло(во)мь н за(печ)атлѣю пѣуатїю соломѡнею да вѣдѣть ннна свѣзанн н нераздрешеть се во вѣкы амнн<sup>23</sup>

22 Kačanovskij 1881, 157–158.

23 Ibid., 158.

22 Kačanovskij 1881, 157–158.

23 Ibid., 158.

u obje tradicije. U najstarijoj slavenskoj verziji teksta, onoj u Sinajskom euhologiju, moli se Gospod i njegovi anđeli da izgone štetočine iz njiva i vinograda te da iz loza, njiva i vinograda odu *u gore puste* (въ горы поустиѡ); ukoliko štetočine ne poslušaju, prijeti im se da će ih izjesti čovječije ptice (Ѹлскыѡ пѣтнѡ).<sup>24</sup> U ovoj molitvi pobrojani su sljedeći slavenski i grčki nazivi za štetočine:

ЗАУБНЖ НЫИѢ ГЛАТН · НМЕНА ГАДОМЪ · ПРЖГЪ · СЛАНЖ · УРЪВЕНЪ ПРЖГЪ · КАТААРОСЪ · ФНЛОСЪ · ИЛОСЪ · ВЛАНТНСЪ · КАРЪКННОСЪ · ВРЪХОСЪ · Sin. 59a.<sup>25</sup>

U razvijenijim tekstovima molitve sv. Trifuna mogu biti utkani i drugi tekstovi, poput različitih popisa svetaca, dijevoja evanđeoskog teksta, kao i veći broj naziva poljoprivrednih štetočina. U trebniku iz manastira Hilandar (Hil. 167) iz druge četvrtine 15. stoljeća sadržano je pet verzija ove molitve. M. Dimitrova, koja u svom radu donosi transkript svih pet tekstova, ističe da je u grčkim rukopisima prisutan veliki broj verzija molitve, a među slavenskim kodeksima trebnik Hil. 167 jedinstven je po tome što okuplja čak pet tekstnih verzija ove molitve. Prema tumačenju autorice, nije isključeno da je ciklus sastavljen upravo u manastiru Hilandar za potrebe litanija u vrtu ispred manastira, gdje se nalazila kapela (crkva) sv. Trifuna.<sup>26</sup> Sve ovo govori da su različiti primjerci molitve prevedeni i prilagođavani prema grčkim rukopisima, zbog čega je i broj verzija u slavenskoj tradiciji poprilično razgranat. Iako se u tekstualnom pogledu fatnički zapis ne podudara s primjercima molitvi iz trebnika Hil. 167, zanimljiva je usporedba naziva štetočina. Ovdje ćemo najprije prikazati spisak naziva štetočina iz fatničkog zapisa u usporedbi s nazivima u drugim molitvama: iz zbornika apokrifa manastira Savina (XVI–XVII) dvije su molitve koje sadrže nazive štetočina: već navođena molitva protiv štetočina na njivi (Sav.1) i molitva sv. Trifuna (Sav.2), dok se u Hilendarskom trebniku nalazi pet verzija molitvi sv. Trifuna (Hil.1,2,3,4,5). Nazive za štetočine klasificirat ćemo u dvije grupe: slavenske i grčke. Slavenski nazivi su sljedeći:

*čestosomes* (Ѹестосмось: Sav.1 Ѹестосносъ); *dadavlac* ([Д]адавлѡць: Sav.1 дарвалѡць); *darvonos* (дарвонось: Sav.1 дрвоносъ); *grizelj* (грнзель: Sav.1 грнзель); *gusenica* (гусенница: Sav.1 гусенница, Sav.2 Hil.1,2,5 гоуѡнница, Hil.3 гоуѡнница); *koncogriz* (ко[нцогрнз]: Sav.1 концогрнзъ); *korėnogrizac* (ко[р]но[г]рн[з]ѡць: Sav.1 кореногрнзаць); *kosmozob* (космозобь: Sav.1 космозобь); *krpeljakon*

The development of the *Prayer of St. Tryphon* within the Slavic tradition can be traced back to the version recorded in the canonical *Sinai Euchologion* from the late 10th century. The existence of multiple textual variants of this prayer – not only in terms of length, with both longer and shorter forms, but also in terms of content found in collections of both Slavic and Greek apocrypha – attests to the highly dynamic life of the text in both traditions. In the oldest Slavic version of the text, the one in the *Sinai Euchologion*, prayers are made to the Lord and his angels to expel pests from the fields and vineyards sending them *into the desolate mountains* (въ горы поустиѡ). Should the pests refuse to obey, they are threatened with being devoured by human birds (Ѹлскыѡ пѣтнѡ).<sup>24</sup> The following Slavic and Greek names for pests are listed in this prayer:

ЗАУБНЖ НЫИѢ ГЛАТН · НМЕНА ГАДОМЪ · ПРЖГЪ · СЛАНЖ · УРЪВЕНЪ ПРЖГЪ · КАТААРОСЪ · ФНЛОСЪ · ИЛОСЪ · ВЛАНТНСЪ · КАРЪКННОСЪ · ВРЪХОСЪ · Sin. 59a.<sup>25</sup>

In the more developed versions of the *Prayer of St. Tryphon*, other texts may also be interwoven, such as various lists of saints, excerpts from the Gospel, and an expanded catalogue of agricultural pests. The *trebnik* ("book of needs") from the Hilandar monastery (Hil. 167), which dates to the second quarter of the 15th century, contains five versions of this prayer. M. Dimitrova, who provides a transcript of all five texts in her work, points out that a large number of versions of the prayer are present in Greek manuscripts. Among Slavic codices, however, the Hilandar manuscript is unique in gathering as many as five textual versions of the *Prayer of St. Tryphon*. According to Dimitrova's interpretation, it is quite possible that this cycle was compiled in the Hilandar Monastery itself for use in the litanies held in the garden located in front of the monastery, where a chapel (church) dedicated to St. Tryphon once stood.<sup>26</sup> All this suggests that various copies of the prayer were translated and adapted according to Greek manuscripts, which is why the number of versions in the Slavic tradition is quite extensive. Although the Fatnica inscription does not textually coincide with the Hilandar *trebnik* versions (Hil. 167), a comparison of the names of pests proves particularly interesting. Below, a list of pest names from the Fatnica inscription are presented in comparison with names used in other prayers: from the collection of apocrypha of the Savina monastery (16th–17th century), which contains two prayers listing pest names: the already-mentioned prayer against pests in the field (Sav.1) and the prayer of St. Tryphon (Sav.2), and from the five versions of the prayers of St. Tryphon contained in the Hilandar

24 Izraz Ѹлскыѡ пѣтнѡ u Sinajskom euhologiju poprilično je zagonetan. Dok su neki smatrali da je ova sintagma posljedica pogrešnog prevodenja: Ѹлскыѡ пѣтнѡ fortasse per errorem ex нѡскыѡ пѣтнѡ (Пенкова 2008, 328), Diddi smatra da se Ѹлскыѡ пѣтнѡ odnosi na rode, ptice koje imaju poseban status kod Slavena. Naime, roda pripada skupini svetih, "čistih" životinja, pripisuje joj se mržnja prema zmijama i drugim "nečistim" životinjama; postoji ukorijenjeno vjerovanje da ova ptica potječe od ljudskog roda, gotovo od prvog čovjeka – Adama, da posjeduje anatomske i moralne osobine čovjeka. Stoga Diddi smatra da izraz Ѹлскыѡ пѣтнѡ nije rezultat pogreške prepisivača (ili prevodioca) već odraz specifičnih vjerovanja. Cf. detaljnije u: Дидди 2011.

25 Geitler 1882, 108–109.

26 Димитрова 2013, 332.

24 The expression Ѹлскыѡ пѣтнѡ in the Sinai Euchologion is rather enigmatic. While some have suggested that this phrase resulted from a mistranslation: Ѹлскыѡ пѣтнѡ fortasse per errorem ex нѡскыѡ пѣтнѡ (Пенкова 2008, 328), Diddi argues that Ѹлскыѡ пѣтнѡ refers to storks; birds that held a special status among the Slavs. The stork belongs to the group of sacred, "pure" animals, is attributed with a hatred of snakes and other "impure" creatures, and a longstanding belief exists that this bird descends from the human line, almost from the first man – Adam – possessing human anatomical and moral characteristics. Therefore, Diddi considers that the expression Ѹлскыѡ пѣтнѡ is not the result of a scribe's (or translator's) error, but instead reflects specific beliefs; cf. Дидди 2011.

25 Geitler 1882, 108–109.

26 Димитрова 2013, 332.

([кр]ь[пе]лаконь: Sav.1 крьпелаконь); *listogrizzь* (лнсто[гр]нз[ь]: Sav.1 лнстогрнзь); *listotrěgь* (лнѣтоѣгь: Sav.1 лнстотръгь); *listovězь* (лнѣтовѣзь: Sav.1 лнстовѣзь); *moljь* (мол[ь]: Sav.1 моль, Hil.1,2 молен); *plьmenь* (пльмень: Sav.1 пльмень); *prezostri-gь* (презо[стрн]гь: Sav.1,2 прѣзострнъ, Hil.5 празострнъ); *podravь* ([под]равь: Sav.1 подравн); *prugь* (прѣгь: Sin. прхгъ, Sav.1 проугн, Hil.1,2 проугы, Hil.3 проузн); *suholistь* (сѣхо[лн]с[т]ь: Sav.1 соухолнсть); *vašca* (вашца: Sav.1 ваш'це, Sav.2 вьщце, Hil.5 вьшнце); *zmije* (змне: Sav.1 s'мїевѣ); *žuželica* (жѣжелнц[а]: Sav.1 жоужелнце).

Kao što pokazuje navedeni popis, nazivi u fatničkom zapisu gotovo se u potpunosti podudaraju s onima u molitvi iz apokrifnog zbornika manastira Savina (XVI–XVII). Jedna skupina ovih leksema su općeslavenske: *gusjenica* (psl. \*gōsēnica) 'ličinka leptira'; *moljь* (psl. \*moljь) 'leptirić iz porodice Tineidae; moljac'; *vaš/vaška* (psl. \*vъšь) 'naziv za različite nametnike na životinjama i biljkama'; *žuželica/žuželjka* (psl. \*žuželica) 'kukac iz porodice Forficula auricularia'; *krpeljь* (*krpeljakom*) (psl. \*kъrp'l'a) 'nametnik iz porodice Ixodes ricinus'; *plьamen* (psl. \*plamenъ) 'gljiva nametnica iz porodice peronospora (*Plasmopara viticola*), napada listove i plodove vinove loze; plamenjača' te *zmija* 'gmizavac iz reda Ophidia; općenito gmizavac'. Leksema *suholistь* poznata je i drugim slavenskim jezicima (up. rus. сѣхоленстннк) i vjerovatno označava kukca (*Phasmidae*) koji uništava list tako što ga suši. U slavenske lekseme za koje se u crkvenoslavenskim tekstovima pojavljuju i grčke paralele spada прхгъ (psl. \*prъgь)<sup>27</sup> 'skakavac', koja je slavenski ekvivalent grecizmu ακρηδъ (ἀκρίς), dok za leksemu *grizeljь* ne nalazimo potvrde u rječnicima, ali je značenje jasno – kukac ili životinja koja grizenjem pravi štetu (psl. \*gryzti).

Posebnu skupinu čine nazivi za štetočine koji su po svojoj strukturi složenice. Za većinu gore navedenih leksema teško je sa sigurnošću utvrditi o kojoj je štetočini riječ, ali je vrlo vjerovatno da su većina kalkovi grčkih složenica nastali u nekom od brojnih prijevoda molitve: tri su naziva sačinjena od im. *list* kao prvog dijela složenice (up. u grč. φυλλίστης), dok je drugi dio složenice nastao od glagolâ kojima se iskazuju načini kako nastaje šteta: *listogrizzь* (: grize list), *listotrěgь* (: trga list) i *listovězь* (: vjerovatno obara, veže list). Od glagola *gristi* kao drugog dijela složenice formirane su složenice *koncogrizzь* i *korēnogrizzь*, a od glagola *zobati* složenica *kosmozobbь*, čiji bi prvi dio mogao imati veze s nazivom za vinovu lozu zabilježenom na Cresu – *kosmaj*, s tim da se imenica *kosmatka* upotrebljava i za opću imenica biljka, a sve se izvode iz etimona \**kosmь*/*\*kosma*.<sup>28</sup> Za прѣзострнъ

*trebnik* (Hil.1,2,3,4,5). The names of pests are classified here into two groups: Slavic and Greek.

The Slavic names are as follows:

*čestosmosь* (честосмось: Sav.1 честоснось); *dadavlacь* ([д]адавляць: Sav.1 дарвальць); *darvonosь* (дарвонось: Sav.1 дрвонось); *grizeljь* (грнзель: Sav.1 грнзель); *gusenica* (гѣсеннца: Sav.1 гѣсеннца, Sav.2 Hil.1,2,5 гоусѣннца, Hil.3 гоусѣннца); *koncogrizzь* (ко[н]цогрнзь: Sav.1 концогръзь); *korēnogrizzь* (ко[р]но[г]рн[з]аць: Sav.1 кореногрнзаць); *kosmozobbь* (космозобь: Sav.1 космозобь); *крьпелаконь* ([кр]ь[пе]лаконь: Sav.1 крьпелаконь); *listogrizzь* (лнсто[гр]нз[ь]: Sav.1 лнстогрнзь); *listotrěgь* (лнѣтоѣгь: Sav.1 лнстотръгь); *listovězь* (лнѣтовѣзь: Sav.1 лнстовѣзь); *moljь* (мол[ь]: Sav.1 моль, Hil.1,2 молен); *plьmenь* (пльмень: Sav.1 пльмень); *prezostri-gь* (презо[стрн]гь: Sav.1,2 прѣзострнъ, Hil.5 празострнъ); *podravь* ([под]равь: Sav.1 подравн); *prugь* (прѣгь: Sin. прхгъ, Sav.1 проугн, Hil.1,2 проугы, Hil.3 проузн); *suholistь* (сѣхо[лн]с[т]ь: Sav.1 соухолнсть); *vašca* (вашца: Sav.1 ваш'це, Sav.2 вьщце, Hil.5 вьшнце); *zmije* (змне: Sav.1 s'мїевѣ); *žuželica* (жѣжелнц[а]: Sav.1 жоужелнце).

As the above list demonstrates, the names in the Fatnica inscription almost completely correspond to those found in the prayer from the apocryphal collection of the Savina monastery (16th–17th century). One group of these lexemes are common Slavic: *gusjenica* (psl. *gōsēnica*) – "caterpillar, larva of a butterfly"; *moljь* (psl. *moljь*) – "a small butterfly of the family *Tineidae*; moth"; *vaš/vaška* (psl. *vъšь*) – "a term for various parasites on animals and plants"; *žuželica/žuželjka* (psl. *žuželica*) – "an insect of the species *Forficula auricularia*"; *krpeljь* (with the variant *krpeljakom*) (psl. *kъrp'l'a*) – "a parasite of the family *Ixodes ricinus*; tick"; *plьamen* (psl. *plamenъ*) – "a parasitic fungus of the family *Peronospora* (*Plasmopara viticola*), attacking the leaves and fruits of grapevines; downy mildew"; and *zmija* – "a reptile of the order *Ophidia*; more generally, any reptile."

The lexeme *suholistь* is also known in other Slavic languages (cf. Russian сѣхоленстннк) and probably denotes an insect (*Phasmidae*) that damages leaves by drying them out.

Slavic lexemes for which Greek parallels also appear in Church Slavonic texts include прхгъ (psl. \*prъgь) 'grasshopper';<sup>27</sup> which is the Slavic equivalent of the Greek word ακρηδъ (ἀκρίς), while we do not find any confirmation of the lexeme *grizeljь* in dictionaries, but the meaning is clear: an insect or an animal that causes damage by biting (psl. \*gryzti).

A special group consists of the names for pests that are compound forms in structure. For most of the above-mentioned lexemes, it is difficult to determine with certainty which pest it is, but it is very likely that most of the calques are Greek compounds created in one of the numerous translations of the prayer. Three names are made up of the noun *leaf* as the first part of the compound (cf. in Greek φυλλίστης), while the

27 Zanimljiv je primjer zamjene lekseme прхгъ lekseмом проуи u Djelima apostolskim u Hvalovom zborniku: 9:1 Hval. ѿ безаднѣи н разоумннхъ проуѣи ~ Mlet. ѿ безаднѣи н разоумннхъ прѣзѣхъ ~ Giljf. ѿ безаднѣи н разоумннхъ прѣзѣхъ (ANUBiH, n. a.). Ova zamjena ne bi bila toliko čudna da se u Trifunovoj molitvi nakon popisa štetočina ne dodaje: н проуи нже соуѣи на пакость жнѣтѣмъ (i ostalim koji su na pakost žitu). Stoga greška možda ima veze Hvalovim poznavanjem molitve sv. Trifuna ili pak pisara čiji je rukopis poslužio Hvalu kao predložak.

28 Skok 1972, II, 161.

27 An interesting example is the substitution of the lexeme прхгъ with проуи in the *Acts of the Apostles* in the Hval Manuscript: 9:1 Hval. ѿ безаднѣи н разоумннхъ проуѣи ~ Mlet. ѿ безаднѣи н разоумннхъ прѣзѣхъ ~ Giljf. ѿ безаднѣи н разоумннхъ прѣзѣхъ (ANUBiH, n.a.). This substitution would not be so surprising if, in Saint Tryphon's prayer, after the list of pests, the phrase н проуи нже соуѣи на пакость жнѣтѣмъ ("and others who are harmful to the grain") were not added. Therefore, the error may be related to Hval's familiarity with Saint Tryphon's prayer or to the scribe whose manuscript served as a model for Hval.

Dimitrova navodi da je hibrid, odnosno polukalk grč. πρασίκουρος.<sup>29</sup> Neki su nazivi nejasni: *dadavlačь* (!) (Sav.1 дарвальць), *darvonosъ* i *čestosmosъ* (Sav.1 ѹстосмосъ), s tim da bi prva dva trebala imati vezu s korijenom \**deriv-* 'drvo'.

Kad je riječ o grčkim nazivima, u zapisu dolaze sljedeći: *aplosiritosъ* ([απλοσρη]нтосъ: Sav.1 απλοσρηθοςъ); *eresi* (Δερε[сн]: Sav.1 ересн, Sav.2 ереснвн, Hil.5 ёресѣвы); *evima* (евнма: Sav.1 евнмїе); *evridinasъ* (еврндннасъ: Sav.1 еврндннасъ); *hameleosъ* (хамелеωсъ: Sav.1 халемевосъ); *kirosъ* (κ[ορη]ωсъ: Sav.1 кыросъ); *litosъ* (ληтосъ: Sav.1 лнтосъ); *makripiosъ* (макрпнносъ: Sav.1 макрннїωсъ); *prikinosъ* (прнкнносъ: Sav.1 прнкыносъ); *valosъ* (ва[λ]о[с]ь: Sav.1 вьлосъ); *vrbhosъ* (врѣ[χ]осъ: Sin. врѣхосъ, Sav.1 врѣтосъ).

Potruga za pojašnjenjem značenja nekih leksema nije urodila plodom tako da nazivi *aplosiritosъ*, *evima*, *evridinasъ* i *litosъ* zasad ostaju neprozirni.<sup>30</sup> Druge su pak potvrđene u staroslavenskim rukopisima, ali i u rječnicima. Za grč. ἐρουσίβη staroslavenski tekstovi i rječnici nude oblike: ероуснн i ересевнн 'žitna hrđa koju izaziva gljivica iz porodice Pucciniomycotina', a sinonim joj je slavenska leksema ржда (hrđa).<sup>31</sup> Leksemu *hameleosъ*, za koju u Sav.1 dolazi oblik sa slovnom permutacijom халемевосъ, ne bilježe staroslavenski rječnici, ali je najvjerojatnije riječ o grč. χαμαιλέοντας 'kameleon (porodica Chamaeleonidae)', odnosno gušter, s obzirom na to da kameleoni pripadaju porodici guštera. Grčka leksema *makripiosъ* (grč. μακρόπους) u fatničkom i Sav.1 zapisu se ne prevodi, dok u verzijama iz Hil. dolazi slavenski kalk дългокракъ, što odgovara grčkim sastavnicama μακρό- 'dug, dugačak' + -πους 'krak, noga'.

Grčka leksema βροῦχος u crkvenoslavenskim tekstovima javlja se u likovima врѣхосъ i врѣхъ i označava vrstu neletećeg kukca koji pravi štetu žitu, grašku itd. Za oblik врѣхосъ, koji je zabilježen u Sinajskom euhologiju, Frček navodi značenje 'qui dessèche les rameaux (?) et la cime'.<sup>32</sup> U zborniku Sav. stoji oblik sa τ: врѣтосъ, koji je najvjerojatnije greška jer je leksema *vruh* 'žizak' prisutna i u ruskom crkvenoslavenskom врухъ, ali i u rumunskom jeziku *vruh*.<sup>33</sup> Za grčku leksemu κόρις, κοριός, koja odgovara slavenskom nazivu *stjenica*, u Sav. stoji leksema кыросъ, dok je u fatničkom zapisu zbog oštećenja dio lekseme nečitljiv. Kako se u Sav. i na drugim mjestima pojavljuju greške, za fatnički zapis može se rekonstruirati κ[ορη]ωсъ, što je zamjena za grč. κοριός iz

second part of the compound is formed from verbs that express the ways in which damage occurs: *listogrizъ* (= bites a leaf), *listotrěbъ* (= tears a leaf) and *listovězъ* (= probably breaks, warps a leaf). The compounds *koncogrizъ* and *korěnogrizacъ* were formed from the verb *gristi* (to bite) as the second part of the compound. The compound *kosmozobъ* was formed from the verb *zobati* (to peck), while the first part of the word could be related to the name for the grapevine recorded on Cres – *kosmaj*, with the noun *kosmatka* also being used for the general noun plant, with all being derived from the etymon \**kosmъ*/\**kosma*.<sup>28</sup> Regarding πρѣзостρηγъ, Dimitrova notes that it represents a hybrid or semi-calque of the Greek πρασίκουρος.<sup>29</sup>

Some names remain unclear: *dadavlačь* (!) (Sav.1 дарвальць), *darvonosъ*, and *čestosmosъ* (Sav.1 ѹстосмосъ), though the first two are likely related to the root *deriv-* meaning 'tree'.

As for the Greek names recorded in the inscription, the following appear:

*aplosiritosъ* ([απλοσρη]нтосъ: Sav.1 απλοσρηθοςъ); *eresi* (Δερε[сн]: Sav.1 ересн, Sav.2 ереснвн, Hil.5 ёресѣвы); *evima* (евнма: Sav.1 евнмїе); *evridinasъ* (еврндннасъ: Sav.1 еврндннасъ); *hameleosъ* (хамелеωсъ: Sav.1 халемевосъ); *kirosъ* (κ[ορη]ωсъ: Sav.1 кыросъ); *litosъ* (ληтосъ: Sav.1 лнтосъ); *makripiosъ* (макрпнносъ: Sav.1 макрннїωсъ); *prikinosъ* (прнкнносъ: Sav.1 прнкыносъ); *valosъ* (ва[λ]о[с]ь: Sav.1 вьлосъ); *vrbhosъ* (врѣ[χ]осъ: Sin. врѣхосъ, Sav.1 врѣтосъ).

The search for explanations of certain lexemes has not been fruitful, so the terms *aplosiritosъ*, *evima*, *evridinasъ*, and *litosъ* remain unclear for now.<sup>30</sup> Others are confirmed in Old Slavic manuscripts, but also in dictionaries. For the Greek ἐρουσίβη, Old Slavic texts and dictionaries offer the forms: ероуснн and ересевнн meaning *grain rust caused by a fungus from the family Pucciniomycotina*, and its synonym is the Slavic lexeme ржда (rust).<sup>31</sup> The lexeme *hameleosъ*, which in Sav.1 appears with a letter permutation as халемевосъ, is not recorded in Old Church Slavonic dictionaries, but it most likely corresponds to the Greek χαμαιλέοντας ('chameleon', family *Chamaeleonidae*), that is, to a type of lizard, since chameleons belong to the lizard family. The Greek lexeme *makripiosъ* (Greek μακρόπους) is not translated in the Fatnica and Sav.1 records, while in the versions from Hilandar it comes from the Slavic calque дългокракъ, which corresponds to the Greek components μακρό- 'long' + -πους 'leg'.

The Greek lexeme βροῦχος appears in Church Slavonic texts as врѣхосъ and врѣхъ, denoting a type of flightless insect that causes damage to grain, peas, and similar crops. For the form

29 Димитрова 2013, 345.

30 Nazivi za štetočine znaju biti neprozirni i u grčkim i u bizantskim verzijama molitve, o čemu govori Marciniak (2023), a to potvrđuju i izdanja molitvi, kao što je npr. popis štetočina u grčkog Euhologiju № 523 iz 1613. godine u kojem su oznakom sic obilježeni nejasni nazivi: ἀκρίς, κάμμη, σκωλυκοκάμμη, σκώλυξ γής, ἐρουσίβη, μαριής, βροῦχος, καλήγαλη, μακρόπους, ἦρα, φυλλόκουρος, καυλοκάπος (sic), ριζιώτης, κεφαλιώτης, ἦπα, ἐπίμαλος, πάππας, σιδηροτράχηλος, ποντικός, κουρευτικός, κοχλιός, βοσπορινός, ἡδηρικός, ζαυχιπόδ, γοθτικός, μακρομήτης, κόνος, κόνων, ἐμφυλιστής, μιξιος, βλαστοκόπος, κικιών, φθειρα, ἀμιγδαλώρα, ριζοκόπος, κύδαλος, σιρός, τίθος, φυλλίτης, ρυγίτης, μῶρος, μύρμηξ, ἀσπάλαξ, ἐνδειξής, πτώξ, ἀλώπηξ, ἀυρίοχηρος (sic), δράκων, κύων, κονοῦ. Дмитриевский 1901/1965, 964.

31 Cf. Pilát 2016.

32 Frček 1933, XXIV, 780.

33 Фасмер 1986, I, 362.

28 Skok 1972, II, 161.

29 Димитрова 2013, 345.

30 The names of pests are often opaque in both Greek and Byzantine versions of the prayer, as noted by Marciniak (2023); a point confirmed by published prayer editions. For example, the list of pests in the Greek Euchologion № 523 from 1613 marks unclear names with sic: ἀκρίς, κάμμη, σκωλυκοκάμμη, σκώλυξ γής, ἐρουσίβη, μαριής, βροῦχος, καλήγαλη, μακρόπους, ἦρα, φυλλόκουρος, καυλοκάπος (sic), ριζιώτης, κεφαλιώτης, ἦπα, ἐπίμαλος, πάππας, σιδηροτράχηλος, ποντικός, κουρευτικός, κοχλιός, βοσπορινός, ἡδηρικός, ζαυχιπόδ, γοθτικός, μακρομήτης, κόνος, κόνων, ἐμφυλιστής, μιξιος, βλαστοκόπος, κικιών, φθειρα, ἀμιγδαλώρα, ριζοκόπος, κύδαλος, σιρός, τίθος, φυλλίτης, ρυγίτης, μῶρος, μύρμηξ, ἀσπάλαξ, ἐνδειξής, πτώξ, ἀλώπηξ, ἀυρίοχηρος (sic), δράκων, κύων, κονοῦ. Дмитриевский 1901/1965, 964.

31 Cf. Pilát 2016.

drugih primjeraka molitve.<sup>34</sup> Nazivu *valosъ* (βα[λ]ο[с]ъ), ako ga ja uopće moguće rekonstruirati u fatničkom zapisu, odgovara φηλοσъ iz Sin. euhologija, a oboje je zamjena za grč. ψυλλίτης, ψύλλος, odnosno ψαλίτης.<sup>35</sup>

Na samome kraju valja istaći da proširivanje usporedbi pruža mogućnost za rješavanje manje jasnih mjesta, ali da udaljavanja od izvornika, pri čemu mnoge karike zasigurno nisu preživjele, uveliko otežavaju rasvjetljavanje svih mjesta.

## ZAKLJUČAK

U dosadašnjim proučavanjima bosanske srednjovjekovne pisane tradicije žanru magijske književnosti nije pridavan naročit značaj zbog toga što je sačuvani fond ovih rukopisa iznimno skroman. Međutim, u posljednje vrijeme, otkrivanjem nepoznatih amuleta, kao i revidiranim čitanjem ranije otkrivenih, moguće je govoriti o cijelom jednom žanru od kojeg su do nas, nažalost, doprli samo ostaci. U nedavnom revidiranom čitanju apotropijskog zapisa iz Slatnice kod Prozora (Nakaš 2016), koji pored slavenskog teksta sadrži i grčki zapisan ćirilicom, poređenjem sa srodnim tekstovima u drugim slavenskim zbornicima apokrifna napravljena je pomak u interpretaciji bosanske magijske tradicije. Zapisima iz Slatnice kod Prozora i Hodbine kod Mostara danas se može pridružiti i zapis iz Fatničkog polja koji dodatno potvrđuje postojanje cijelog jednog žanra književnosti. Prisustvo grčkih magijskih formula u slavenskom idiomu svjedoči o uklopljenosti bosanske magijske literature u bizantsku tradiciju oslonjenu na grčku apokrifnu književnost. Iako iz bosanskog srednjovjekovlja nije sačuvan nijedan rukopis čiji su sadržaji ovakvi apokrifi, postojanje amuleta s takvim zapisima navodi na zaključak da su takvi zbornici morali postojati i da su, po svemu sudeći, bili slični apokrifnom zborniku iz manastira Savina (XV–XVII). Nadu u pronalazak novih artefakata posebno snaži novootkrivena olovna pločica s tekstom molitve protiv zloga dažda pronađena 2025. godine u blizini srednjovjekovne gradine Bedem u okolini Visokog. Otkrivanje novih tekstova, kao i revidiranje poznatih, pomaže u osvjetljavanju vrsta i namjena apokrifnih tekstova koji su prepisivani u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni, premda se i na osnovu sačuvanih primjeraka može s relativnom sigurnošću pretpostaviti mnogo bogatiji sistem žanrova nego što to pokazuju do danas preživjeli primjerci.

врѣхосъ, attested in the Sinai Euchologion, Frček provides the meaning *qui dessèche les rameaux (?) et la cime*<sup>32</sup> (one who dries up the branches (?) and the top). In the collection of Sav. there is a form with τ: врьтосъ, which is most likely a mistake because the lexeme *vruh* (weevil) is also present in the Russian Church Slavonic врьхъ, but also in the Romanian language, as vruh.<sup>33</sup> For the Greek lexeme κόρις, κοριός, which corresponds to the Slavic name bedbug, in Sav. the lexeme reads as кыросъ, while in the Fatnica inscription part of the lexeme is illegible due to damage. Since errors also appear in Sav. and elsewhere, for the Fatnica record it is possible to reconstruct κ[ορι]ωσъ, which is a replacement for the Greek κοριός from other copies of the prayer.<sup>34</sup> The name *valosъ* (βα[λ]ο[с]ъ), if it is at all possible to reconstruct it in the Fatnica record, corresponds to φηλοσъ from Sinai Euchologion, both being replacements for the Greek ψυλλίτης, ψύλλος, or ψαλίτης.<sup>35</sup>

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that broadening the scope of comparison enables the resolution of less clear passages, but deviations from the original – many links to which have undoubtedly not survived – greatly complicate the elucidation of all parts of the text.

## CONCLUSION

In previous studies of the Bosnian medieval written tradition, the genre of magical literature has not been afforded special importance, largely due to the fact that the preserved fund of these manuscripts is extremely limited. However, with the recent discovery of previously unknown amulets, as well as the revised readings of those found earlier, it is now possible to speak of an entire literary genre of which, unfortunately, only remnants have survived. In the recently revised reading of the apotropaic inscription from Slatnica near Prozor (Nakaš 2016), which contains both a Slavic text and Greek written in Cyrillic, comparison with related texts found in other Slavic apocryphal collections has led to progress in interpreting Bosnian magical tradition. Records from Slatnica near Prozor and Hodbina near Mostar can now be joined by a record from Fatničko Polje, which additionally confirms the existence of an entire genre of literature. The presence of Greek magical formulas in the Slavic idiom testifies to the incorporation of Bosnian magical literature into the Byzantine tradition based on Greek apocryphal literature. Although no manuscripts containing such apocryphal texts have survived from medieval Bosnia, the existence of amulets with such inscriptions suggests that collections of this nature must have existed and that, by all accounts, they were similar to the apocryphal collection from the Savina Monastery (15th–17th centuries). In particular, the recent discovery of a lead tablet inscribed with a prayer against evil rain, unearthed in 2025 near the medieval fortification of Bedem, near Visoko strengthens hopes for the finding of new artifacts. The discovery of new texts, as well as the revision of known ones, helps to shed light on the types and purposes of apocryphal texts that were copied in medieval Bosnia, although one can assume with relative certainty – on the basis of those preserved – a much richer system of genres than is shown by the surviving copies.

32 Frček 1933, XXIV, 780.

33 Фасмер 1986, I, 362.

34 Дмитриевский 1901/1965, 119.

35 In the *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského*, it simply states: "a name of a harmful insect", but even Greek dictionaries do not provide a precise identification; cf., for example, ψαλίτης: a type of insect that harms vegetables (Liddell *et al.* 2013).

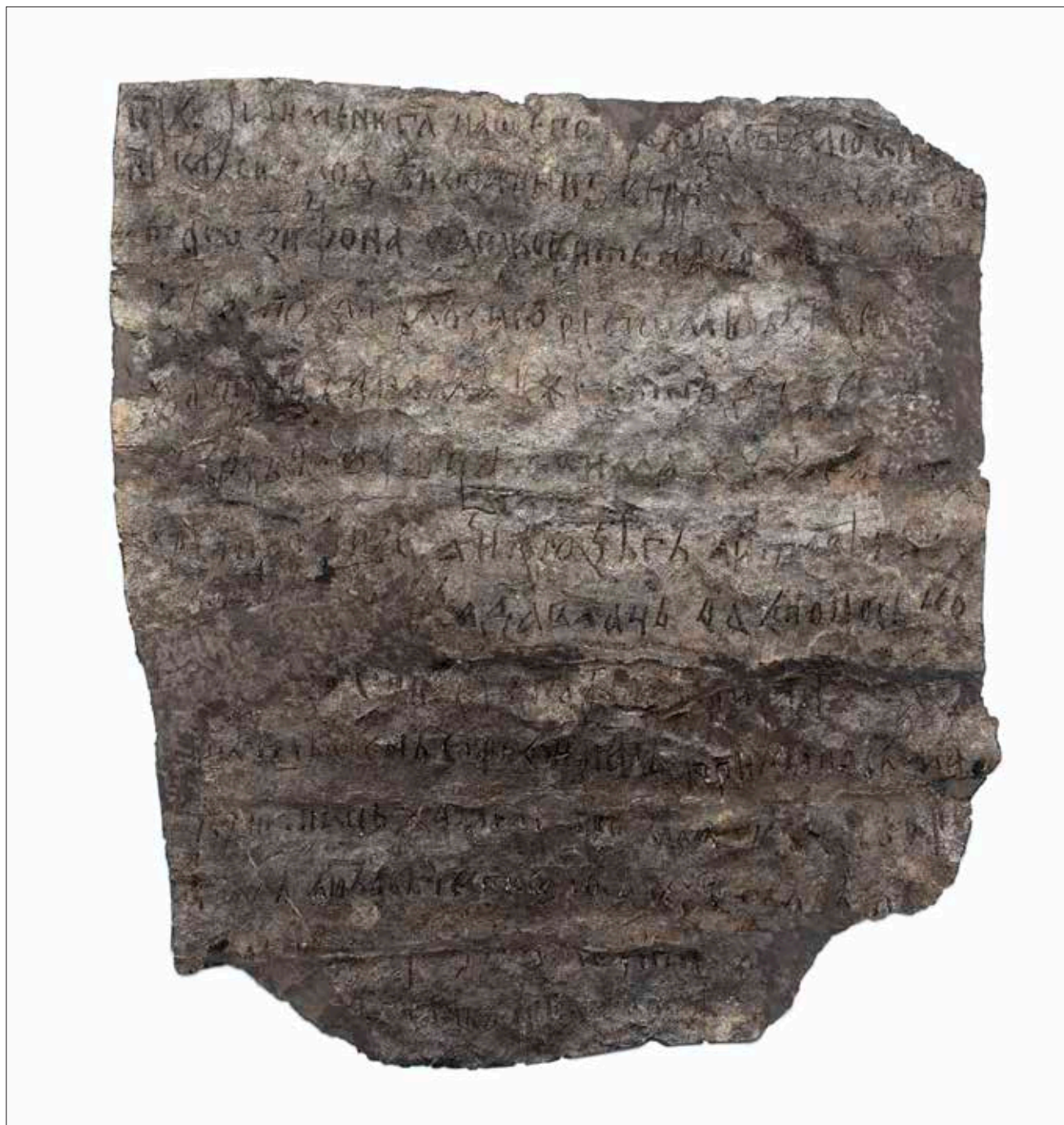
34 Дмитриевский 1901/1965, 119.

35 U *Slovníku jazyka staroslověnského* stoji samo: "a name of a harmful insect", ali ni grčki rječnici ne preciziraju: up. npr. ψαλίτης: vrsta insekta koji šteti povrću (Liddell *et al.* 2013).

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**PRILOG: OLOVNA PLOČA IZ FATNICE**



Sl. 1. Prva strana pločice (snimio: Adnan Šahbaz)

Fig. 1. First side of tablet (photo: Adnan Šahbaz)



Sl. 2. Druga strana pločice (snimio: Adnan Šahbaz)

Fig. 2. Second side of tablet (photo: Adnan Šahbaz)



## In memoriam: Tihomir Glavaš (1951–2021.)

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Tihomir Glavaš (1951–2021.)\*  
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\* I would like to thank my colleague Merdina Tekić, a documentarian at the Department of Ethnology, for the provided photograph, and my colleague Ivo Dragičević for processing and preparing the photograph for publication.

Tihomir Glavaš bio je istaknuti arheolog i historičar koji je svoju profesionalnu karijeru, kao i prve naučnoistraživačke radove, započeo upravo u Zemaljskom muzeju Bosne i Hercegovine, gdje je ostao punih 17 godina. Bile su to za Glavaša godine ispunjene značajnim istraživačkim radom, prvenstveno iz oblasti predromaničke i romaničke arhitekture i skulpture, čemu je, i u godinama poslije, najviše posvetio vrijeme.

Krajem 2021. godine primili smo vijest da je naš dugogodišnji zaposlenik zauvijek napustio ovaj svijet nakon duže bolesti. Osjećali smo dug prema njegovom liku i djelu u vidu objavljivanja prikaza u spomen Tihomira Glavaša u

Tihomir Glavaš was a distinguished archaeologist and historian who began his professional career, and likewise undertook his first scholarly research, at the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where he remained for a full 17 years. These were years in which Glavaš was engaged in significant research work, primarily in the field of pre-Romanesque and Romanesque architecture and sculpture, to which he devoted most of his time both during that period and in the years that followed.

At the end of 2021, we received the news that our long-time colleague had passed away after a prolonged illness. We felt an obligation to honour his life and work by publishing a memorial piece dedicated to him in the journal in

časopisu u kojem je najviše publikovao svoje naučne i stručne radove – u *Glasniku Zemaljskog muzeja BiH*.

Tihomir Glavaš rođen je 1. januara 1951. godine u Drinovcima, gdje je završio osnovno obrazovanje. Gimnaziju je pohađao u Metkoviću i Grudama. Godine 1975. diplomirao je na Filozofskom fakultetu u Sarajevu na dvopredmetnom studiju na Odsjeku za historiju i Odsjeku za romanistiku (latinski jezik). Iste godine zapošljava se u Zemaljskom muzeju Bosne i Hercegovine kao pripravnik za mjesto kustosa za kasni srednji vijek. Te godine učestvuje u nastavku arheoloških istraživanja na predromaničkoj crkvi u Vrutcima na vrelu Bosne kod Ilidže, gdje se, pored arheoloških istraživanja, radilo na privremenoj konzervaciji lokaliteta. Kao dio tima okupljenog oko oblikovanja stalne postavke "Bosna i Hercegovina u srednjem vijeku", vrši rekognosciranje terena u zapadnoj Bosni s ciljem izrade karte srednjovjekovnih gradova i naselja. U narednim godinama rada u Zemaljskom muzeju Bosne i Hercegovine istakao se kao voditelj istraživanja na mnogim arheološkim lokalitetima: zaštitno arheološko iskopavanje na starom gradu Doboru kod Modriče (1978), iskopavanje srednjovjekovne crkve sv. Stjepana Prvomučenika u Gorici Grude (1978), iskopavanje u selu Podgrađu kod Gornjeg Vakufa s ciljem otkrivanja srednjovjekovne crkve (1978), probno iskopavanje na lokalitetu Crkvina i steći u Ljutom Docu kod Lištice (Široki Brijeg) (1979), zaštitno iskopavanje na lokalitetu Grčko groblje u selu Smrekovica kod Breze (1979), arheološko iskopavanje i zaštita srednjovjekovnog grada Ključa (1980), zaštitno arheološko iskopavanje srednjovjekovne nekropole Zabrišće kod Livna (1980), Vranjevo selo kod Neuma (1980-ih), iskopavanja crkve u Barama kod Konjica (1983), iskopavanje lokaliteta Crkvina u Kaošici kod Višegrada (1989). Kao dio stručnog arheološkog tima Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine učestvovao je u nekoliko vrlo značajnih istraživanja, od kojih se izdvajaju istraživanja na srednjovjekovnom gradu Visoki u Visokom (1976) pod rukovodstvom dr. Pave Anđelića, iskopavanje lokaliteta Ostojićevo kod Bijeljine (1979) pod rukovodstvom dr. Irme Čremošnik te iskopavanje u Arnautovićima kod Visokog (1978. i 1988) pod rukovodstvom prvo Pave Anđelića, a zatim Slaviše Perića. Iz ovog vrlo aktivnog terenskog rada do kraja 80-ih godina Tihomir Glavaš objavio je niz značajnih priloga, kao što su: "A Contribution to the Study of the Medieval Town of Visoki" (1978), "Iskopavanja predromaničke crkve u Vrutcima kod vrela Bosne" (1982), "Nekropola knezova Nikolića u Vranjevom selu" (1989). Paralelno je radio na pripremi magistarskog rada na Sveučilištu u Zadru, gdje je stekao zvanje magistra znanosti.

Bio je član Saveza arheološkog društva Jugoslavije te je aktivno učestvovao na kongresima Saveza, skupštinama i sastancima srednjovjekovne sekcije Saveza. Obavljaio je poslove kao što su topografska istraživanja u svrhu projekta "Srednjovjekovne župe Humske zemlje", učestvovao na naučnim skupovima i studijskim putovanjima u regionu.

which he had published many of his scholarly and professional works: the *Herald of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina*.

Tihomir Glavaš was born on January 1, 1951, in Drinovci, where he completed his primary education, subsequently attending high school in Metković and Grude. In 1975, he graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo with a double major in History and Romance Studies (Latin language). That same year, he became employed at the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a trainee for the position of curator for the Late Middle Ages. In 1975, he also participated in the continuation of archaeological excavations at the pre-Romanesque church in Vrutci, at the source of the Bosna River near Ilidža, where, in addition to excavations, temporary conservation of the site was carried out. As part of the team working on the permanent exhibition "Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Middle Ages," he conducted field reconnaissance in western Bosnia with the aim of creating a map of medieval towns and settlements. In the following years, he distinguished himself at the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina as the director of excavations at numerous archaeological sites: protective excavations at the old town of Dobor, near Modriča (1978); excavations of the medieval church of St Stephen the Protomartyr in Gorica, Grude (1978); excavations in the village of Podgrađe, near Gornji Vakuf, aimed at uncovering a medieval church (1978); trial excavations at the site of Crkvina and the steći at Ljuti Doc near Lištica (Široki Brijeg) (1979); protective excavations at the site of Grčko Groblje in the village of Smrekovica, near Breza (1979); archaeological excavations and protection of the medieval town of Ključ (1980); protective excavations of the medieval necropolis of Zabrišće near Livno (1980); Vranjevo Selo near Neum (1980s); excavations of the church at Bare, near Konjic (1983); excavations at the site of Crkvina in Kaoštica, near Višegrad (1989).

As part of the professional archaeological team of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, he participated in numerous other important investigations, including the excavations at the medieval town of Visoki in Visoko (1976) led by Dr Pavao Anđelić, excavations at the site of Ostojićevo near Bijeljina (1979) led by Dr Irma Čremošnik, and excavations in Arnautović near Visoko (1978 and 1988), first under the direction of Pavao Anđelić, and later Slaviša Perić. From this period of high activity in terms of fieldwork until the late 1980s, Tihomir Glavaš published a number of significant contributions, such as: "A Contribution to the Study of the Medieval Town of Visoki" (1978), "Excavations of the Pre-Romanesque Church in Vrutci near the Source of the Bosna River" (1982) and "The Necropolis of the Nikolić Princes in Vranjevo Selo" (1989). At the same time, he worked on his master's thesis at the University of Zadar, where he earned the title of Master of Science.

Tokom rada u Zemaljskom muzeju Bosne i Hercegovine, Tihomir Glavaš poseban je doprinos dao u posljednjim godinama rada kroz angažman na prikupljanju podataka i rekognosciranju terena za potrebe izrade Arheološkog leksikona BiH, kao i angažmanom na izložbi "Oružje kroz vjekove", koja je bila jedna od brojnih aktivnosti Muzeja povodom obilježavanja stogodišnjice rada Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine. Izložba je rezultirala publikovanjem istoimenog kataloga autora T. Glavaša, zajedno sa Brunislavom Marijanovićem, Ivanom Marijanović i Miroslavom Niškano- vićem. U Zemaljskom muzeju Bosne i Hercegovine 1989. godine priredio je izložbu pod nazivom "Pismenost na tlu BiH u srednjem vijeku". Također, bio je jedan od članova stručnog tima koji je donio vizuelno rješenje o izgledu novog grba i zastave Republike Bosne i Hercegovine, koje je usvojeno na sjednici Predsjedništva R BiH 4. maja 1992. godine. Kao iskus- san muzealac i istraživač dao je svoj doprinos u formiranju arheoloških postavki u samostanskim muzejskim zbirka- ma na Humcu u Ljubuškom i Livnu te zbirke u župnoj crkvi sv. Stjepana Prvomučenika u Gorici u Grudama.

Tokom rata u Bosni i Hercegovini, Tihomir Glavaš sa svo- jom porodicom u jesen 1992. godine odlazi u Hercegovinu, gdje svoju karijeru i život nastavlja sve do smrti. Od 1994. godine radio je u Ministarstvu prosvjete, znanosti, kulture i športa Hercegbosanske županije, a od 1996. godine obavl- jao je dužnost direktora Zavoda za zaštitu i korištenje kul- turno-povijesne i prirodne baštine pri Ministarstvu obra- zovanja, znanosti, kulture i športa Zapadnohercegovačke županije, gdje je ostao sve do penzije 2017. godine. Njegov najveći fokus istraživanja u drugoj polovici 90-ih i početkom 2000-ih godina bio je livanjski kraj i njegovo rodno mjesto Drinovci (Grude) pa se izdvajaju višegodišnja istraživanja u Grabarju i Šamatorju u Gorici (1995–2003) kao i istraživanja na groblju sv. Ive u Livnu. Neka od posljednjih istraživanja koja je Glavaš predvodio bila su istraživanja franjevačke župne kuće iz 16. stoljeća u selu Podbila kod Posušja, sred- novjekovne crkve u selu Varda kod Knešpolja, istraživanja na kuli u Počitelju i mnoga druga istraživanja zaštitnog karaktera.

Kao arheolog koji je dio svoje karijere proveo u institu- cijama koje se direktno bave zaštitom, očuvanjem i valori- zacijom kulturnog dobra, dao je nemjerljiv doprinos na tom polju. Prvenstveno se taj doprinos ogleda u postavljanju zakonodavnog okvira zaštite kulturno-historijskog dobra. Kroz aktivan terenski rad od svojih prvih istraživanja do pos- ljednjih, doprinio je dokumentovanju i preventivnoj zaštiti lokaliteta, a to se, između mnogih aktivnosti, ogleda i kroz dokumentovanje svih arheoloških spomenika za Park Priro- de Blidinje, što je obavio 1998. godine. Tokom 1994. i 1995. godine bio je član Komisije za zaštitu spomenika kulture, arhivske i muzejske građe, knjižničnog fonda na području Šipova, Glamoča, Drvara, Jajca i Kupresa. Učestvovao je u ekshumacijama žrtava Drugog svjetskog rata istraživši više

He was a member of the Association of Archaeologi- cal Societies of Yugoslavia, and actively participated in the association's congresses, assemblies, and meetings of its medieval section. He carried out tasks such as topographic surveys for the project "Medieval Counties of the Hum Land," and participated in academic conferences and study trips throughout the region.

During his work at the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Tihomir Glavaš made a particularly valuable contribution in his final years through his involvement in collecting data and conducting field reconnaissance for the *Archaeological Lexicon of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, as well as through his participation in the exhibition "Weapons Through the Ages," which was one of the Museum's numer- ous activities to mark its centenary. The exhibition resulted in the publication of a catalogue of the same name authored by himself, together with Brunislav Marijanović, Ivana Mari- janović and Miroslav Niškano- vić. In 1989, he organized the exhibition *Literacy on the Territory of Bosnia and Herzegovi- na in the Middle Ages* at the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He was also a member of the expert team that designed the visual identity of the new coat of arms and flag of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, adopted at the session of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Her- zegovina on 4 May 1992. As an experienced museum pro- fessional and researcher, he contributed to the creation of archaeological displays in the monastic museum collections at Humac in Ljubuški and in Livno, as well as the collection in the parish church of St Stephen the Protomartyr in Gorica, Grude.

During the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Tihomir Glavaš left for Herzegovina with his family, where he contin- ued his career and life until his death. From 1994, he worked in the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sports of the Canton of Herzeg-Bosnia, and from 1996, he served as the director of the Institute for the Protection and Use of Cul- tural-Historical and Natural Heritage within the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sports of the West Herzego- vina Canton, where he remained until his retirement in 2017. His primary research focus in the late 1990s and early 2000s was the Livno region and his native Drinovci (Grude), with long-term excavations at Grabarje and Šamatorje in Gorica (1995–2003) and excavations at the Sveti Ive cemetery in Livno (1991–94). Some of the last projects he led included research on the 16th-century Franciscan parish house in the village of Podbila near Posušje, the medieval church in the village of Varda near Knešpolje, excavations at the tower in Počitelj, alongside several rescue excavations.

As an archaeologist who spent a significant part of his career in institutions directly responsible for the protection, preservation and valorization of cultural heritage, he made an immeasurable contribution to that field; this can be pri- marily seen through the establishment of a legislative frame- work for the protection of cultural and historical heritage.

od 100 žrtava i zabilježivši mjesto masovne grobnice u okolini Ljubuškog.

Tihomir Glavaš tokom svog radnog vijeka nije ostao dužan ni kao vrsni predavač i edukator, pa je tako, predajući na kolegiju Očuvanje i zaštita spomenika kulture i Muzeologija na Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Mostaru, ostavio snažan utisak na studente arheologije i povijesti.

Kolege, prijatelji i saradnici pamte ga kao velikog poznavoca kulturnog naslijeđa ove zemlje, ali prvenstveno kao plemenitu i susretljivu osobu. Svojim karakterom i ugledom zadužio je mnoge, a u godinama poslije njegove smrti neki od najbližih saradnika (fra Ante Marić, Miran Palčok i Maja Soldo) priredili su i uredili prvi broj *Goromita*, koji su posvetili izvještaju s arheoloških istraživanja na kuli u Počitelju. U Zemaljskom muzeju BiH pamte ga kao mladog i perspektivnog istraživača arheologa, koji je bio u prilici da svoje prve godine karijere ispuni radom s tada velikim imenima jugoslavenske arheologije, a kasnije je i sam postao jedan od njih. Posljednji ispraćaj Tihomiru Glavašu upriličen je u njegovom rodnom mjestu, u Drinovcima, gdje je na Groblju Bartuluša 4. oktobra 2021. sahranjen dva dana nakon smrti.

Throughout active fieldwork from his earliest investigations to his last, he contributed to the documentation and preventive protection of sites. These included, among many activities, the documentation of all archaeological monuments in the Blidinje Nature Park in 1998. In 1994 and 1995, he was a member of the Commission tasked with safeguarding cultural monuments, archival and museum holdings, and library collections across the regions of Šipovo, Glamoč, Drvar, Jajce, and Kupres. He participated in the exhumations of victims of the Second World War, investigating more than 100 victims and recording the site of a mass grave in the area of Ljubuški.

Throughout his career, Tihomir Glavaš was also an excellent lecturer and educator, teaching the courses "*Preservation and Protection of Cultural Monuments*" and "*Museology*" at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Mostar, where left a strong impression on archaeology and history students.

He is remembered by colleagues, friends and associates as a profound connoisseur of the cultural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and, above all, as a person of great kindness and approachability. With his character and reputation, he left a lasting mark on many, and in the years after his death, some of his closest collaborators (fra Ante Marić, Miran Palčok, and Maja Soldo) prepared and edited the first issue of *Goromita*, dedicated to the report on archaeological excavations at the tower in Počitelj. Within the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, he is remembered as a young and promising archaeologist who had the opportunity to spend the early years of his career working with the leading names of Yugoslav archaeology of the time, later becoming one of them himself. The funeral of Tihomir Glavaš was held in his birthplace, Drinovci, where he was buried at the Bartuluša Cemetery on 4 October 2021, two days after his death.

## In memoriam Ante Milošević (1953.–2025.)

### In memoriam Ante Milošević (1953–2025)

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\* The author thanks the Milošević family for providing the photograph and allows its publication.

Ante (Tonči) Milošević, hrvatski arheolog, povjesničar, povjesničar umjetnosti i muzeolog nas je zauvijek napustio 24. 7. 2025., ostavljajući tako golemu prazninu u arheologiji istočnojadranskoga područja i njegovoga šireg zaleđa. Milošević je rođen 5. ožujka 1953. u Sinju. Studirao je na *Filozofskom Fakultetu u Zadru*, gdje diplomira, magistrira i konačno doktorira 2005. godine. Obnašao je dužnosti ravnatelja *Muzeja Cetinske krajine* u Sinju (1977. – 1994.) i ravnatelja *Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika* (MHAS) u Splitu (1994. – 2005. i od 2013. do umirovljenja 2018. godine), gdje je dostigao rang muzejskog savjetnika. Milošević je osnivač i urednik znanstvenog recenziranog časopisa *Zbornik Cetinske krajine*, a kao ravnatelj MHAS bio je glavni urednik



Ante Milošević (1953.–2025.)  
(Sl. Privatna foto arhiva)\*  
(Fig. Private photo archive)\*

Ante (Tonči) Milošević, Croatian archaeologist, historian, art historian, and museologist, left us forever on 24 July 2025, leaving a vast void in the archaeology of the eastern Adriatic region and its wider hinterland. Milošević was born on 5 March 1953, in Sinj (Dalmatia, Croatia). He studied at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zadar, where he graduated, earned his master's degree, and finally his doctorate in 2005. He served as director of the Museum of the Cetinska Krajina in Sinj (1977–1994) and as director of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments (MHAS) in Split (1994–2005, and again from 2013 until his retirement in 2018), where he attained the rank of museum advisor (the highest rank within the Croatian

muzejskog znanstvenoga časopisa *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*. Godine 2017. pokreće novu seriju publikacija *Korpus rano-srednjovjekovne skulpture* u izdanju MHAS-a, koja ima za cilj katalogizaciju ranosrednjovjekovne skulpture hrvatskih povijesnih zemalja.

Pod Miloševićevim vodstvom, MHAS je organizirao nekoliko značajnih izložbi, od kojih je bez dvojbe najznačajnija *Hrvati i Karolinzi* iz 2000. – 2001., u kojoj je sudjelovalo preko 100 muzeja i institucija iz Hrvatske i drugih država. Projekt *Hrvati i Karolinzi* bio je dio europskog muzeološkog projekta *Charlemagne – The Making of Europe* u kojem su, uz MHAS, sudjelovale muzejske institucije iz Velike Britanije, Italije, Španjolske i Njemačke. Ova izložba proglašena je kulturnim događajem 2000. godine u Republici Hrvatskoj. MHAS je za svoju ulogu u ovoj izložbi dobio prestižnu *Godišnju nagradu grada Splita*, a popratni katalog izložbe u dva sveska, čiji je urednik bio Milošević, dobitnik je *Nagrade Josipa Juraja Strossmayera* Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti za 2001. godinu, kao najbolja knjiga iz područja humanističkih znanosti te godine.

Miloševićevi najznačajniji muzeološki projekti izvan *Muzeja Cetinske krajine* i MHAS-a uključuju kulu Minčetu u Dubrovniku, gdje su *in situ* prezentirani arheološki ostatci kasnosrednjovjekovne ljevaonice Gornji ugao, te muzejsku zbirku na Bribirskoj glavici koju je napravio sa sukustosicom Nikolinom Urodom. Milošević je u Sinju, zajedno s Joškom Belamarićem, razradio ideju *Muzeja Sinjske alke* i značajno pridonio njegovom osnivanju. Ovaj je muzej nagrađen mnogim hrvatskim i međunarodnim nagradama poput nagrade *Europa Nostra* za kulturnu baštinu (2018.), međunarodne nagrade *Plautilla* za kulturno-turistička dostignuća *Kongresa povijesnih gradova u Solinu* (2017.), nagrade Živa za najbolji slavenski muzej koju dodjeljuje *Forum slavenskih kultura* te autorske *Nagrade Slobodne Dalmacije* iz Splita.

Uz rad u MHAS, Milošević je između 2007. i 2013. bio gostujući izvanredni profesor na Filozofskom fakultetu u Splitu, gdje je predavao kolegije o kiparstvu i arhitekturi ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske. Kao priznanje za doprinose u javnom životu i znanosti, dobitnik je *Godišnje nagrade grada Sinja* (2011.), a 2016. nagrađen je i *Nagradom grada Skradina*. Godine 2024. u njegovu čast izišao je zbornik radova *FORTUNATUS LIGO: Zbornik povodom sedamdesetog rođendana Ante Miloševića*, u izdanju *Međunarodnog istraživačkog centra za kasnu antiku i srednji vijek sveučilišta i Zagrebu, Filozofskog fakulteta u Splitu i Sveučilišta u Zadru*, koji su uredili Ivan Basić, Ivan Josipović i Miljenko Jurković. U zborniku su objavljeni radovi znanstvenika iz Hrvatske, Rusije, Francuske, Njemačke, Italije, Slovenije, Australije, Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, Sjeverne Makedonije i Velike Britanije, a čitatelja upućujemo na Miloševićevu detaljnu biografiju, punu bibliografiju do 2024. te sjećanja i osobne dojmove kolega koje su u zborniku napisali: Ivan Basić, Ivan Josipović, Miljenko Jurković, Danijel Džino, Kristina Babić, Blagoje Govedarica i Ivan Matejčić.

Od 1977. do 2008. Ante Milošević član je *Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, obnašajući dužnost člana izvršnog odbora

museological hierarchy). Milošević was the founder and editor of the peer-reviewed journal *Zbornik Cetinske krajine*, and, as director of MHAS, he served as editor-in-chief of the museum's scholarly journal *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*. In 2017, he launched a new MHAS publication series, *Corpus of Early Medieval Sculpture*, aimed at cataloguing early medieval sculpture from the historical Croatian lands.

Under Milošević's leadership, MHAS organized several major exhibitions, the most significant being *Croats and Carolingians* (2000–2001), involving over 100 museums and institutions from Croatia and abroad. The project was part of the European museological initiative 'Charlemagne – The Making of Europe', which included institutions from the United Kingdom, Italy, Spain and Germany. The exhibition was declared the cultural event of the year 2000 in Croatia. MHAS received the prestigious 'Annual Award of the City of Split' for its role, while the accompanying two-volume catalogue, edited by Milošević, won the 'Josip Juraj Strossmayer Award' of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in 2001 for best book in the humanities.

Among Milošević's most notable museological projects outside the Sinj and Split museums were the Minčeta Tower in Dubrovnik, where remains of a late medieval foundry at Gornji Ugao were presented *in situ*, and the museum collection at Bribirska glavica, created with co-curator Nikolina Uroda. In Sinj, together with Joško Belamarić, he developed the concept of the Museum of the Sinj Alka, also making a significant contribution to its establishment. The museum later received numerous awards, including the 'Europa Nostra Award for Cultural Heritage' (2018), the 'Plautilla International Award for Cultural-Tourism Achievements' (Solin, 2017), the 'Živa Award for Best Slavic Museum' (Forum of Slavic Cultures), and the 'Slobodna Dalmacija Authors' Award'.

Alongside his museum work, Milošević was a visiting associate professor at the Faculty of Humanities in Split (2007–2013), where he lectured on early medieval Croatian sculpture and architecture. In recognition of his contributions to scholarship and public life, Milošević received the 'Annual Award of the City of Sinj' (2011) and the 'City of Skradin Award' (2016). In 2024, a volume in his honor, *FORTUNATUS LIGO: Festschrift on the occasion of Ante Milošević's 70<sup>th</sup> birthday*, was published by the International Research Centre for Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages (University of Zagreb), the Faculty of Humanities in Split, and the University of Zadar, edited by Ivan Basić, Ivan Josipović and Miljenko Jurković. The volume included contributions from scholars from Croatia, Russia, France, Germany, Italy, Slovenia, Australia, the United States, North Macedonia and the United Kingdom, along with a detailed biography, complete bibliography up to 2024, and personal reminiscences written by Ivan Basić, Ivan Josipović, Miljenko Jurković, Danijel Džino, Kristina Babić, Blagoje Govedarica and Ivan Matejčić.

ove udruge 1989. – 1993. Godine 1996. postaje članom *Njemačkog arheološkog instituta*, a od 2007. godine član je *Europske arheološke asocijacije*. Kao potvrda njegovih znanstvenih postignuća, 2009. godine izabran je za člana *Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja Akademije nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine* u Sarajevu, postavljeni ujedno i članom uredništva *Godišnjaka*, znanstvene publikacije toga Centra. Milošević je također jedan od osnivača i vodećih članova *Centra za interdisciplinarnu studiju Studia Mediterranea*, osnovanog 2008. godine u sklopu *Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Splitu*. Centar je izdavač serije knjiga *Studia Mediterranea* u kojoj je Milošević od 2008. do 2022. objavio ili suizdao sedam monografija.

Miloševićev je doprinos arheologiji šireg istočnojadranskoga regiona, kao istraživača, ili voditelja iskapanja, neizmjeran. Najznačajniji realizirani arheološki projekt, čiji je Milošević bio suvoditelj, jest međunarodni projekt iskapanja na Bribirskoj glavici kod Skradina *Varvaria-Breberium-Bribir* koji je započeo 2013. i rezultirao sa šest sezona iskapanja (2014. – 2019.). Ovaj međunarodni arheološki pothvat uključivao je uz MHAS partnere iz Hrvatske (*Muzej grada Šibenika*), Australije (*Sveučilište Macquarie u Sydneyu*), a naknadno i Norveške (*Teološki fakultet iz Osla*). Ova je inicijativa okupila međunarodni tim stručnjaka iz Hrvatske, Australije, Norveške, Italije, Velike Britanije, Francuske i Švedske, zajedno sa studentima iz Australije i Norveške. Ova su iskapanja iznijela na vidjelo brojna otkrića iz perioda antike, kasne antike i srednjeg vijeka, od kojih je najznačajniji pronalazak ranije nepoznate ranokršćanske rotonde nekonvencionalnog dizajna, izgrađene oko 500. godine.

Uz muzeološku i arheološku djelatnost, Milošević je bio iznimno plodan znanstvenik koji je kao autor ili suautor objavio 12 monografija (još jedna je u pripremi za posthumnu objavu), urednik ili suurednik je 10 zbornika radova i autor ili suautor preko 110 radova objavljenih u znanstvenim časopisima i zbornicima radova, ne računajući muzejske vodiče, kratka izvješća s iskapanja, izložbene kataloge, novinske članke i sl. Njegovi znanstveni interesi protezali su se na arheologiju, povijest i povijest umjetnosti od pretpovijesti do ranog novog vijeka, s posebnim naglaskom na kasnu antiku i rani srednji vijek. Prostorno, Milošević se bavio istočnojadranskom obalom sa zaleđem, u čemu je posebno mjesto imao njegov rodni Sinj i Cetinska krajina. Njegovi najznačajniji znanstveni doprinosi bez dvojbe su povezivanje pojave stećaka u Dalmaciji sa seobom Vlaha, istraživanja preživjelog kasnoantičkog stanovništva u VII. i VIII. stoljeću, zatim o seobi Hrvata, koju Milošević datira oko 800. godine, te diskusije o materijalnoj kulturi karolinškoga doba.

## DOPRINOS ARHEOLOGIJI BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE

Ante Milošević dao je značajan doprinos arheologiji Bosne i Hercegovine, na nekoliko razina. Uz već spomenutu suradnju i članstvo u *Centru za balkanološka ispitivanja* u Sarajevu te brojne radove objavljene u časopisu *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja*, Milošević je predvodio

From 1977 to 2008, Milošević was a member of the Croatian Archaeological Society, also serving on its executive committee (1989–1993). In 1996, he became a member of the German Archaeological Institute, and, in 2007, a member of the European Association of Archaeologists. In 2009, in recognition of his achievements, Milošević was elected a member of the Centre for Balkan Studies of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo, joining the editorial board of its journal *Godišnjak*. He was also a co-founder and leading member of the Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies *Studia Mediterranea*, established in 2008 at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Split. The Centre published the *Studia Mediterranea* book series, in which Milošević published or co-published seven monographs between 2008 and 2022.

Milošević's contribution to archaeology in the wider eastern Adriatic region, both as a researcher and excavation leader, was immense. His most significant realized archaeological project was the international excavation at Bribirska glavica near Skradin (*Varvaria-Breberium-Bribir*), co-directed from 2013. This resulted in six excavation seasons (2014–2019), involving MHAS, the Šibenik City Museum, Macquarie University (Sydney), and later the Faculty of Theology (Oslo). The initiative brought together experts from Croatia, Australia, Norway, Italy, the UK, France and Sweden, along with students from Australia and Norway. Among the various discoveries from Antiquity, Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, the most significant was a previously unknown early Christian rotunda of unconventional design, built around 500 AD.

As a scholar, Milošević was exceptionally prolific. He authored or co-authored 12 monographs (with another forthcoming posthumously), edited or co-edited 10 collected volumes, and published over 110 articles in scholarly journals and edited volumes not counting guides, excavation reports, catalogues, and newspaper articles. His research spanned archaeology, history and art history from prehistory to the Early Modern period, with special focus on Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Geographically, his work centered on the eastern Adriatic coast and hinterland, especially his native Sinj and the Cetina region. Milošević's most important contributions include linking the emergence of late medieval *stećci* tombstones in Dalmatia with Vlach migrations, investigating the survival of late antique populations in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, dating the Croatian migration to around 800, and analyzing the material culture of the Carolingian era.

## CONTRIBUTION TO THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Milošević also made significant contributions to the archaeology of Bosnia and Herzegovina on several levels. Besides his membership and publications with the Centre for Balkan Studies in Sarajevo, he led comprehensive excavations on both sides of Hayreddin's (Old) Bridge over the Neretva in

sveobuhvatna istraživanja s objiju strana Hayreddinovoga (Staroga) mosta na Neretvi u Mostaru. Ova istraživanja bila su uvjetovana ratnim razaranjima 1992. – 1995. i rušenjem luka mosta 1993., a neposredno su prethodila njegovoj obnovi 2004. godine. Nakon početnog raščišćavanja ruševina na kraju 2001. godine, istraživanja, pod pokroviteljstvom UNESCO-a, započela su početkom siječnja 2002. i s prekidima trajala do ožujka 2004. godine. Tijekom dvije i pol godine istražen je u potpunosti čitav prostor unutrašnjosti utvrđenja na lijevoj i desnoj obali Neretve. Nakon tih zahvata most i tvrđavska postrojenja uz njega su obnovljeni i predani na upotrebu nakon svečanog otvorenja 24. srpnja 2004. godine. Postignuti istraživački rezultati, objavljeni nepotpuno u par znanstvenih članaka i potpuno u monografiji *Stari mostovi i utvrde Mostara* koju supotpisuju Milošević i Željko Peković u izdanju Core i MHAS (Dubrovnik – Split, 2022.), pokazali su da je lučni kameni most, koji je majstorski izgradio osmanski arhitekt Hayreddin u XVI. stoljeću, bio zapravo najnovija iteracija na tom mjestu. Ovaj kameni most zamijenio je ranije građevine na prijelazu preko Neretve, uključujući srednjovjekovni prijelaz sa žičarom i dva uzastopna drvena mosta.

Miloševićev znanstveni rad često se doticao predmeta karolinškoga podrijetla iz Bosne i Hercegovine kao što su pojasni jezičac majstora Tetgisa iz Gornjih Vrbaljani te pojasna garnitura iz Mogorjela, a predmeti karolinške provenijencije iz BiH uključeni su i u katalog izložbe *Hrvati i Karolinzi*. Uz značajnu diskusiju o ranosrednjovjekovnoj obnovi ranokršćanskoga sklopa u Bilimišću (Zenica) objavljenom na njemačkom i hrvatskom jeziku (*Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, ser. III, 30; 2003.; *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja ANUBiH* 31; 2004.), Milošević se više puta osvrtao na kamenu skulpturu iz srednjobosanskih ranokršćanskih crkava u Bilimišću, Dabravini i Lepenici. On je zastupao ideju da kamene skulpture pokazuju ranosrednjovjekovne stilističke osobine pod jakim utjecajem langobardske umjetnosti VIII. stoljeća u Italiji, slijedeći ideje francuskog povjesničara umjetnosti Andréa Grabara. Ovo zapažanje isto se odnosilo i na građevinu poznatu u literaturi kao Breza 2, čije datiranje u ranijim znanstvenim istraživanjima ostaje neuvjerljivo, oscilirajući između kasnoantičkog i srednjovjekovnog. Milošević je u nekoliko publikacija osnažio ranije mišljenje Đure Baslera da se ne radi o ranokršćanskoj bazilici, već o svjetovnoj građevini u kojoj su živjeli pripadnici elite, koju je on datirao u VIII. stoljeće.

Ovaj osvrt na život i djelo Ante Miloševića dotiče se samo najznačajnijih dostignuća iz njegove bogate biografije i ni u kom slučaju se ne treba shvatiti njezinim potpunim prikazom. Miloševićeva smrt prekinula je dugotrajnu karijeru uspješnog znanstvenika, muzealca i arheologa koji je ostavio neizbrisiv trag u svim aspektima svoga djelovanja i čiji će radovi još dugo vremena biti neizostavan dio znanstvene arheološke literature.

Mostar. These works, arising from the wartime destruction of 1992–1995 and the bridge's collapse in 1993, immediately preceded its reconstruction in 2004. After the initial clearance of ruins in late 2001, excavations under UNESCO sponsorship ran from January 2002 to March 2004. They revealed the entire fortification interior on both banks of the Neretva. Following restoration, the bridge and fortifications were reopened on 24 July 2004. Findings – published partly in articles and fully in the 2022 monograph *The Old Bridges and Fortifications of Mostar* (co-authored with Željko Peković, Core/MHAS: Dubrovnik/Split) – demonstrated that Hayreddin's 16<sup>th</sup>-century stone arch bridge masterpiece was the latest in a sequence of crossings, replacing earlier constructions including a medieval cable crossing and two successive wooden bridges.

Milošević also studied Carolingian-period objects from Bosnia and Herzegovina, such as the belt tongue crafted by master Tetgis from Gornji Vrbaljani and the belt set from Mogorjelo. They were included in the *Croats and Carolingians* exhibition catalogue together with other artifacts of Carolingian origin from Bosnia and Herzegovina. He published important studies on the early medieval restoration of early Christian complexes at Bilimišće (Zenica) and examined sculpture from early Christian churches in Bilimišće, Dabrovina and Lepenica. Milošević argued these works displayed early medieval stylistic features under strong Lombard influence of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, following the ideas of André Grabar. Milošević also strengthened Đuro Basler's interpretation of the so-called Breza 2 site as not a basilica but a secular elite residence, dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> century.

This overview of Ante Milošević's life and work touches only on the most significant achievements of his rich biography, and should not be considered a complete account. His passing ended a long career as a successful scholar, museologist and archaeologist, who left an indelible mark on every field of his activity. Milošević's work will remain an essential part of archaeological scholarship for many years to come.

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**Marijan, B.** 2010, *Crtice iz prapovijesti Slavonije (brončano doba)*, Sveučilište Josipa Jurja Strossmayera Osijek, Filozofski fakultet Osijek, Osijek.

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Čović, B. 1983b

#### **Examples:**

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**Benac, A., Čović, B.** 1956, *Glasinac 1 – Bronzano doba / Glasinac 1 – Bronzezeit*, Katalog prehistorijske zbirke Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu, sveska 1, Zemaljski muzej u Sarajevu, Sarajevo.

**Hofmann, R., Kujundžić-Vejzagić, Z., Müller, J., Rassmann, K., Müller-Scheessel, N.** 2009, Rekonstrukcija procesa naseljavanja u kasnom neolitu na prostoru centralne Bosne, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu, Arheologija, n. s., 50/51*, Sarajevo (2008/2009), 11–178.

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**Čović, B.** 1965, Uvod u stratigrafiju i hronologiju praistorijskih gradina u Bosni, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu, Arheologija, n. s., god. XX*, Sarajevo, 27–145.

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**Marijan, B.** 2010, *Crtice iz prapovijesti Slavonije (brončano doba)*, Sveučilište Josipa Jurja Strossmayera Osijek, Filozofski fakultet Osijek, Osijek.

#### Two or multiple authors

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